

Nancy H. Hornberger  
*General Editor*

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# Encyclopedia of Language and Education

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ENCYCLOPEDIA OF LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION  
SECOND EDITION

# Encyclopedia of Language and Education

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## VOLUME 1: LANGUAGE POLICY AND POLITICAL ISSUES IN EDUCATION

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# Encyclopedia of Language and Education

Volume 1

## LANGUAGE POLICY AND POLITICAL ISSUES IN EDUCATION

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GENERAL EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION

This is one of ten volumes of the *Encyclopedia of Language and Education* published by Springer. The Encyclopedia bears testimony to the dynamism and evolution of the language and education field, as it confronts the ever-burgeoning and irrepressible linguistic diversity and ongoing pressures and expectations placed on education around the world.

The publication of this work charts the deepening and broadening of the field of language and education since the 1997 publication of the first Encyclopedia. It also confirms the vision of David Corson, general editor of the first edition, who hailed the international and interdisciplinary significance and cohesion of the field. These trademark characteristics are evident in every volume and chapter of the present Encyclopedia.

In the selection of topics and contributors, the Encyclopedia seeks to reflect the depth of disciplinary knowledge, breadth of interdisciplinary perspective, and diversity of sociogeographic experience in our field. Language socialization and language ecology have been added to the original eight volume topics, reflecting these growing emphases in language education theory, research, and practice, alongside the enduring emphases on language policy, literacies, discourse, language acquisition, bilingual education, knowledge about language, language testing, and research methods. Throughout all the volumes, there is greater inclusion of scholarly contributions from non-English speaking and non-Western parts of the world, providing truly global coverage of the issues in the field. Furthermore, we have sought to integrate these voices more fully into the whole, rather than as special cases or international perspectives in separate sections.

This interdisciplinary and internationalizing impetus has been immeasurably enhanced by the advice and support of the editorial advisory board members, several of whom served as volume editors in the Encyclopedia's first edition (designated here with\*), and all of whom I acknowledge here with gratitude: Neville Alexander (South Africa), Colin Baker (Wales), Marilda Cavalcanti (Brazil), Caroline Clapham\* (Britain),

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<sup>1</sup> This introduction is based on, and takes inspiration from, David Corson's general editor's Introduction to the First Edition (Kluwer, 1997).

Bronwyn Davies\* (Australia), Viv Edwards\* (Britain), Frederick Erickson (USA), Joseph Lo Bianco (Australia), Luis Enrique Lopez (Bolivia and Peru), Allan Luke (Singapore and Australia), Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (Denmark), Bernard Spolsky (Israel), G. Richard Tucker\* (USA), Leo van Lier\* (USA), Terrence G. Wiley (USA), Ruth Wodak\* (Austria), and Ana Celia Zentella (USA).

In conceptualizing an encyclopedic approach to a field, there is always the challenge of the hierarchical structure of themes, topics, and subjects to be covered. In this *Encyclopedia of Language and Education*, the stated topics in each volume's table of contents are complemented by several cross-cutting thematic strands recurring across the volumes, including the classroom/pedagogic side of language and education; issues of identity in language and education; language ideology and education; computer technology and language education; and language rights in relation to education.

The volume editors' disciplinary and interdisciplinary academic interests and their international areas of expertise also reflect the depth and breadth of the language and education field. As principal volume editor for Volume 1, Stephen May brings academic interests in the sociology of language and language education policy, arising from his work in Britain, North America, and New Zealand. For Volume 2, Brian Street approaches language and education as social and cultural anthropologist and critical literacy theorist, drawing on his work in Iran, Britain, and around the world. For Volume 3, Marilyn Martin-Jones and Anne-Marie de Mejía bring combined perspectives as applied and educational linguists, working primarily in Britain and Latin America, respectively. For Volume 4, Nelleke Van Deusen-Scholl has academic interests in linguistics and sociolinguistics, and has worked primarily in the Netherlands and the USA. Jim Cummins, principal volume editor for Volume 5 of both the first and second editions of the *Encyclopedia*, has interests in the psychology of language, critical applied linguistics, and language policy, informed by his work in Canada, the USA, and internationally. For Volume 6, Jasone Cenoz has academic interests in applied linguistics and language acquisition, drawing from her work in the Basque Country, Spain, and Europe. Elana Shohamy, principal volume editor for Volume 7, approaches language and education as an applied linguist with interests in critical language policy, language testing and measurement, and her own work based primarily in Israel and the USA. For Volume 8, Patricia Duff has interests in applied linguistics and sociolinguistics, and has worked primarily in North America, East Asia, and Central Europe. Volume editors for Volume 9, Angela Creese and Peter Martin, draw on their academic interests in educational linguistics and linguistic ethnography, and their research in Britain and Southeast Asia. And for Volume 10, Kendall A. King has academic interests in sociolinguistics

and educational linguistics, with work in Ecuador, Sweden, and the USA. Francis Hult, editorial assistant for the Encyclopedia, has academic interests in educational and applied linguistics and educational language policy, and has worked in Sweden and the USA. Finally, as general editor, I have interests in anthropological linguistics, educational linguistics, and language policy, with work in Latin America, the USA, and internationally. Beyond our specific academic interests, all of us editors, and the contributors to the Encyclopedia, share a commitment to the practice and theory of education, critically informed by research and strategically directed toward addressing unsound or unjust language education policies and practices wherever they are found.

Each of the ten volumes presents core information and is international in scope, as well as diverse in the populations it covers. Each volume addresses a single subject area and provides 23–30 state-of-the-art chapters of the literature on that subject. Together, the chapters aim to comprehensively cover the subject. The volumes, edited by international experts in their respective topics, were designed and developed in close collaboration with the general editor of the Encyclopedia, who is a co-editor of each volume as well as general editor of the whole work.

Each chapter is written by one or more experts on the topic, consists of about 4,000 words of text, and generally follows a similar structure. A list of references to key works supplements the authoritative information that the review contains. Many contributors survey early developments, major contributions, work in progress, problems and difficulties, and future directions. The aim of the chapters, and of the Encyclopedia as a whole, is to give readers access to the international literature and research on the broad diversity of topics that make up the field.

The Encyclopedia is a necessary reference set for every university and college library in the world that serves a faculty or school of education. The encyclopedia aims to speak to a prospective readership that is multinational, and to do so as unambiguously as possible. Because each book-size volume deals with a discrete and important subject in language and education, these state-of-the-art volumes also offer highly authoritative course textbooks in the areas suggested by their titles.

The scholars contributing to the Encyclopedia hail from all continents of our globe and from 41 countries; they represent a great diversity of linguistic, cultural, and disciplinary traditions. For all that, what is most impressive about the contributions gathered here is the unity of purpose and outlook they express with regard to the central role of language as both vehicle and mediator of educational processes and to the need for continued and deepening research into the limits and possibilities that implies.

Nancy H. Hornberger

INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME 1: LANGUAGE POLICY  
AND POLITICAL ISSUES IN EDUCATION

ADDRESSING THE POLITICS OF LANGUAGE

The late David Corson, the General Editor of the first edition of the *Encyclopedia of Language and Education*, was both an outstanding social theorist of language and a committed activist in the language policy and language education fields. His position was that an acute understanding of theory was a necessary prerequisite for action, not an alternative to it—particularly if one were ever to hope to change existing language conditions that disadvantage, most often, minority groups. Corson articulated this position consistently throughout his work (see May, 2002) and this might explain why the first volume of that first edition of the *Encyclopedia*, under Ruth Wodak's editorship, began with the question of the politics of language.

Under Nancy Hornberger's General Editorship of the second edition, this understanding and commitment remain intact, and the first volume of this current edition again begins with a focus upon the politics of language—highlighting and foregrounding the importance of the social and political contexts of language policy and language education. And yet, for some, this might still seem surprising. After all, for much of its history, linguistics as an academic discipline, particularly in its more trenchant structuralist forms, has been preoccupied with idealist, abstracted approaches to the study of language. But this is precisely the problem. Language has too often been examined in isolation from the social and political conditions in which it is used, resulting in a synchronic or 'presentist' approach to language (Bourdieu, 1982, 1991; May, 2005). As the French sociologist and social anthropologist, Pierre Bourdieu, comments ironically of this process:

bracketing out the social . . . allows language or any other symbolic object to be treated like an end in itself, [this] contributed considerably to the success of structural linguistics, for it endowed the 'pure' exercises that characterise a purely internal and formal analysis with the charm of a game devoid of consequences. (1991, p. 34.)

The legacy of this decontextualized approach to language analysis can be seen in the ahistorical, apolitical approach perspectives that have too often characterized academic discussions of language policy and

language education. In the language policy (LP) arena, for example, this was most evident in the early stages of formal LP development, in the 1960s–1970s. During this period, LP was seen by its proponents as a non-political, non-ideological, pragmatic, even technicist, paradigm (see Tollefson, *Language Planning in Education*, Volume 1). Its apparently simple and straightforward aim was to solve the immediate language problems of newly emergent postcolonial states in Africa, Asia and the Middle East. While concern was often expressed for the ongoing maintenance of minority languages in these contexts, the principal emphasis of LP at this time was on the establishment and promotion of “unifying” national languages in postcolonial contexts, along the lines of those in Western, developed contexts.

What was not addressed by these early efforts at LP were the wider historical, social and political issues attendant upon these processes, and the particular ideologies underpinning them. As Luke, McHoul and Mey observe, while maintaining a ‘veneer of scientific objectivity’ (something of great concern to early language planners), LP ‘tended to avoid directly addressing social and political matters within which language change, use and development, and indeed language planning itself, are embedded’ (1990, pp. 26–27.).

To take just one example: this presentist approach to LP did not question or critique the specific historical processes that had led to the hierarchizing of majority and minority languages, along with their speakers, in the first place. As we shall see, these processes are deeply imbricated with the politics of modern nationalism, and its emphasis on the establishment of national languages and public linguistic homogeneity as central, even essential, tenets of both modernization and Westernization (see, for example, May, *Language Education, Pluralism and Citizenship*, Volume 1; Branson and Miller, *National Sign Languages and Language Policies*, Volume 1). Consequently, the normative ascendancy of national languages was simply assumed, even championed, by early advocates of LP, and all other languages were compared in relation to them. As Bourdieu again observes of this process:

To speak of *the* language, without further specification, as linguists do, is tacitly to accept the *official* definition of the *official* language of a political unit. This language is the one which, within the territorial limits of that unit, imposes itself on the whole population as the only legitimate language . . . The official language is bound up with the state, both in its genesis and its social uses . . . this state language becomes the theoretical norm against which all linguistic practices are objectively measured. (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 45.; emphases in original)

As Jan Blommaert argues, this kind of approach to LP—or to sociolinguistics more generally—takes no account of human agency, political

intervention, power and authority in the formation of particular (national) language ideologies. Nor, by definition, is it able to identify the establishment and maintenance of majority and minority languages as a specific ‘form of practice, historically contingent and socially embedded’ (1999, p. 7.). In contrast, all the contributions to this volume highlight the importance of adopting a wider sociohistorical, sociocultural, socioeconomic and sociopolitical analysis of LP and/or language education. In particular, the contributions explore ongoing questions surrounding the status, use, and power of various languages or language varieties, along with the contexts in which they are situated. These contexts include a wide variety of local, national and transnational ones and, at least for English, a global context as well, given its current ascendancy as the world language, or *lingua mundi*.

This focus on the wider social, economic and political contexts of language policy and language education is consonant with recent research on the ideological influences of language policy (Blommaert, 1999; May, 2001, 2005; Patrick and Freeland, 2004; Ricento, 2006; Schiffman, 1996; Schmid, 2001; Woolard, 1998). It is also consonant with more critical, postmodernist conceptions of language (Makoni and Pennycook, 2007; Pennycook, 2001). As such, the contributions in this volume incorporate and address the very latest developments in language policy and education.

Section 1 focuses directly on contextual factors. James Tollefson begins the section with a summary of key developments in language policy and planning. Stephen May addresses the highly relevant, and still-often controversial challenge faced by many modern nation-states—how to accommodate cultural and linguistic diversity without prejudicing social cohesion. David Block discusses key trends and challenges in the current globalization of language(s), particularly English. Joan Kelly Hall explores the multiple connections between language and culture, while Aneta Pavlenko and Ingrid Piller examine the intersections of language and gender, particularly in multilingual contexts. These latter two contributions, along with Ben Rampton, Roxy Harris, James Collins and Jan Blommaert’s analysis of language and class, address directly questions of identity politics, as well as their material consequences. The material consequences of language policies, and language education, are also a principal concern of François Grin, who provides a timely analysis of language and economics. The final contribution in this section, by Bill Johnston and Cary Buzzelli, explores the moral dimensions of language education and some of the potential challenges and controversies therein.

A key concern that threads throughout this volume is given particular attention in Section 2. This section focuses on the importance of addressing, and where possible remedying, underlying, often highly

discriminatory processes that stigmatize and undermine minority languages and their speakers—not only linguistically, but also culturally, socially, economically and politically. Tove Skutnabb-Kangas examines how linguistic human rights for minority language speakers might ameliorate existing contexts of linguistic disadvantage and/or discrimination, arguing strongly for their further development in both national and supranational contexts. Fernand de Varennes discusses this issue also but in relation to wider developments in international law, outlining the history of minority rights protection schemes and the possibilities that recent changes offer for the further development of minority language rights, particularly at the supranational level. Teresa McCarty explores how the world's indigenous peoples have established a highly effective international movement over the last 40 years or so, aimed specifically at redressing the long colonial histories of minoritization and disadvantage they have faced. This has included a particular focus on the revitalization of indigenous languages and cultures, and the crucial role that education has come to play in this. Jan Branson and Donald Miller conclude this section by discussing the language rights of deaf communities around the world, with a particular focus on their long struggle for the recognition of sign languages.

Section 3 focuses on key theoretical and related pedagogical developments in the language education field. Alastair Pennycook provides an overview of the critical turn in sociolinguistics and language education, discussing the ongoing development of the still nascent field of critical applied linguistics. Hilary Janks explores the impact of such developments on language pedagogy and practice, particularly via the emergence of critical literacy approaches to teaching and learning, which highlight and deconstruct notions of power. Mary Kalantzis and Bill Cope examine these developments from another direction—the emergence of an educational approach focused on the promotion of multiliteracies. Multiliteracies include those new literacies needed in a digital age and in relation to new forms of work in an increasingly globalized world. The remaining three chapters in this section explore the implications of these various developments in critical language theory and practice in relation to particular fields of education. Suresh Canagarajah examines, and at times problematizes, the arena of second language education, particularly in relation to the increasingly global reach of English. Terrence Wiley discusses the field of teacher education and how neophyte teachers might be better equipped to address positively these new literacy demands and the increasing cultural and linguistic diversity of our student populations. Noeline Wright extends this analysis into schools themselves, exploring what schools require in order to change their literacy practices along these lines.

Section 4 completes this volume by providing a wide range of contributions that focus on the language policies and language education characteristics of particular regional or national contexts. While this section is inevitably selective, there has been a deliberate attempt to include more non-Western contexts—extending the range of contexts discussed and providing at least the beginnings of a more representative overview of such contexts. Links are also made throughout this section with the more general issues and concerns discussed in the previous sections. Robert Phillipson begins by analysing language policy developments at the European supranational level. Naz Rassool discusses language policy in Britain—including the often-overlooked areas of Scotland, Wales and Ireland. Thomas Ricento and Wayne Wright provide an overview of language debates in the USA, including the latest developments in the so-called English-Only movement. Enrique Hamel discusses Mexico and Juan Carlos Godenzzi the region of the Andes, with both authors highlighting the significance of indigenous language education initiatives within their respective regions, as well as the ongoing legacy of Spanish colonialism. Barbara Burnaby updates the language policy context in Canada, while Joseph Lo Bianco discusses recent developments in Australian language policy, most notably, with respect to the retrenchment of some of the key multicultural language policy initiatives of the 1980s. Kathleen Heugh provides an overview of the latest language policy and language education developments in South Africa, highlighting how the potential of the new, ostensibly multilingual, South African Constitution is being undermined by an increasingly de facto English-language education approach. Lachman Khubchandani examines the multiple challenges and opportunities for language policy and language education in multilingual India, while Tariq Rahman focuses on the similarly multilingual language context in Pakistan. Sachiyo Fujita-Round and John C. Maher discuss language policy in Japan, while Agnes Lam concludes this volume by examining the complexity of language policy and language education in Greater China.

All of the contributions to this volume acknowledge the centrality of the politics of language in discussions of language policy and language education. Such policies and educational practices are *always* situated in relation to wider issues of power, access, opportunity, inequality and, at times, discrimination and disadvantage. Returning to the quote by Bourdieu at the beginning of this introduction: language policy and language education are demonstrably not games ‘devoid of consequences’ which can be examined blithely by a synchronic or presentist approach. Rather, as these contributions hope to show, it is only when a diachronic, critical view is taken that we can begin to understand just what is at stake—socially, politically, economically and

linguistically—for all those affected by language policy and language education initiatives. As David Corson would have argued, such an understanding is also the only effective basis we have for changing such policies for the better.

Stephen May

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# Encyclopedia of Language and Education

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## VOLUME 2: LITERACY

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# Encyclopedia of Language and Education

Volume 2

## LITERACY

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## GENERAL EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

### ENCYCLOPEDIA OF LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION

This is one of ten volumes of the *Encyclopedia of Language and Education* published by Springer. The Encyclopedia bears testimony to the dynamism and evolution of the language and education field, as it confronts the ever-burgeoning and irrepressible linguistic diversity and ongoing pressures and expectations placed on education around the world.

The publication of this work charts the deepening and broadening of the field of language and education since the 1997 publication of the first Encyclopedia. It also confirms the vision of David Corson, general editor of the first edition, who hailed the international and interdisciplinary significance and cohesion of the field. These trademark characteristics are evident in every volume and chapter of the present Encyclopedia.

In the selection of topics and contributors, the Encyclopedia seeks to reflect the depth of disciplinary knowledge, breadth of interdisciplinary perspective, and diversity of sociogeographic experience in our field. Language socialization and language ecology have been added to the original eight volume topics, reflecting these growing emphases in language education theory, research, and practice, alongside the enduring emphases on language policy, literacies, discourse, language acquisition, bilingual education, knowledge about language, language testing, and research methods. Throughout all the volumes, there is greater inclusion of scholarly contributions from non-English speaking and non-Western parts of the world, providing truly global coverage of the issues in the field. Furthermore, we have sought to integrate these voices more fully into the whole, rather than as special cases or international perspectives in separate sections.

This interdisciplinary and internationalizing impetus has been immeasurably enhanced by the advice and support of the editorial advisory board members, several of whom served as volume editors in the Encyclopedia's first edition (designated here with\*), and all of whom I acknowledge here with gratitude: Neville Alexander (South Africa), Colin Baker (Wales), Marilda Cavalcanti (Brazil), Caroline Clapham\* (Britain),

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<sup>1</sup> This introduction is based on, and takes inspiration from, David Corson's general editor's Introduction to the First Edition (Kluwer, 1997).

Bronwyn Davies\* (Australia), Viv Edwards\* (Britain), Frederick Erickson (USA), Joseph Lo Bianco (Australia), Luis Enrique Lopez (Bolivia and Peru), Allan Luke (Singapore and Australia), Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (Denmark), Bernard Spolsky (Israel), G. Richard Tucker\* (USA), Leo van Lier\* (USA), Terrence G. Wiley (USA), Ruth Wodak\* (Austria), and Ana Celia Zentella (USA).

In conceptualizing an encyclopedic approach to a field, there is always the challenge of the hierarchical structure of themes, topics, and subjects to be covered. In this *Encyclopedia of Language and Education*, the stated topics in each volume's table of contents are complemented by several cross-cutting thematic strands recurring across the volumes, including the classroom/pedagogic side of language and education; issues of identity in language and education; language ideology and education; computer technology and language education; and language rights in relation to education.

The volume editors' disciplinary and interdisciplinary academic interests and their international areas of expertise also reflect the depth and breadth of the language and education field. As principal volume editor for Volume 1, Stephen May brings academic interests in the sociology of language and language education policy, arising from his work in Britain, North America, and New Zealand. For Volume 2, Brian Street approaches language and education as social and cultural anthropologist and critical literacy theorist, drawing on his work in Iran, Britain, and around the world. For Volume 3, Marilyn Martin-Jones and Anne-Marie de Mejia bring combined perspectives as applied and educational linguists, working primarily in Britain and Latin America, respectively. For Volume 4, Nelleke Van Deusen-Scholl has academic interests in linguistics and sociolinguistics, and has worked primarily in the Netherlands and the USA. Jim Cummins, principal volume editor for Volume 5 of both the first and second editions of the *Encyclopedia*, has interests in the psychology of language, critical applied linguistics, and language policy, informed by his work in Canada, the USA, and internationally. For Volume 6, Jasone Cenoz has academic interests in applied linguistics and language acquisition, drawing from her work in the Basque Country, Spain, and Europe. Elana Shohamy, principal volume editor for Volume 7, approaches language and education as an applied linguist with interests in critical language policy, language testing and measurement, and her own work based primarily in Israel and the USA. For Volume 8, Patricia Duff has interests in applied linguistics and sociolinguistics, and has worked primarily in North America, East Asia, and Central Europe. Volume editors for Volume 9, Angela Creese and Peter Martin, draw on their academic interests in educational linguistics and linguistic ethnography, and their research in Britain and Southeast Asia. And for Volume 10, Kendall A. King has academic

interests in sociolinguistics and educational linguistics, with work in Ecuador, Sweden, and the USA. Francis Hult, editorial assistant for the Encyclopedia, has academic interests in educational and applied linguistics and educational language policy, and has worked in Sweden and the USA. Finally, as general editor, I have interests in anthropological linguistics, educational linguistics, and language policy, with work in Latin America, the USA, and internationally. Beyond our specific academic interests, all of us editors, and the contributors to the Encyclopedia, share a commitment to the practice and theory of education, critically informed by research and strategically directed toward addressing unsound or unjust language education policies and practices wherever they are found.

Each of the ten volumes presents core information and is international in scope, as well as diverse in the populations it covers. Each volume addresses a single subject area and provides 23–30 state-of-the-art chapters of the literature on that subject. Together, the chapters aim to comprehensively cover the subject. The volumes, edited by international experts in their respective topics, were designed and developed in close collaboration with the general editor of the Encyclopedia, who is a co-editor of each volume as well as general editor of the whole work.

Each chapter is written by one or more experts on the topic, consists of about 4,000 words of text, and generally follows a similar structure. A list of references to key works supplements the authoritative information that the chapters contains. Many contributors survey early developments, major contributions, work in progress, problems and difficulties, and future directions. The aim of the chapters, and of the Encyclopedia as a whole, is to give readers access to the international literature and research on the broad diversity of topics that make up the field.

The Encyclopedia is a necessary reference set for every university and college library in the world that serves a faculty or school of education. The encyclopedia aims to speak to a prospective readership that is multinational, and to do so as unambiguously as possible. Because each book-size volume deals with a discrete and important subject in language and education, these state-of-the-art volumes also offer highly authoritative course textbooks in the areas suggested by their titles.

The scholars contributing to the Encyclopedia hail from all continents of our globe and from 41 countries; they represent a great diversity of linguistic, cultural, and disciplinary traditions. For all that, what is most impressive about the contributions gathered here is the unity of purpose and outlook they express with regard to the central role of language as both vehicle and mediator of educational processes and to the need for continued and deepening research into the limits and possibilities that implies.

Nancy H. Hornberger

## INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME 2: LITERACY

This collection of articles is intended to be both Encyclopaedia and something more. The chapters represent an Encyclopaedic account of current knowledge in the literacy field, in the sense that they cover a broad range of topics and regions by the leading researchers in the field. But they also aim to provide something more in that they are also cutting edge considerations of the nature of the field and how new concepts and ideas are being applied in different contexts. And that itself is a break through in literacy studies, in the sense that traditionally research in literacy has tended to focus on narrower issues, such as the acquisition of skills by those lacking literacy—mostly children but also encompassing ‘illiterate’ adults—and the measurement and recording of these skill ‘levels’. Certainly national and international agencies have been concerned to address this category of people and to ‘improve’ their ‘literacy rates’ by enhancing methods of delivery, so requiring attention to pedagogy, curriculum and assessment. But recent research in the field has begun to step back from these assumptions and has asked ‘what is literacy?’ as a prior question to issues of delivery and learning. The answers to the question ‘what is literacy?’ have been sometimes surprising. It turns out that literacy means different things to different people across different periods of time and in different places. So the concern for those ‘lacking’ literacy has first to be located in time and space and the practical and policy responses will differ accordingly.

To address these prior questions, we have asked historians, anthropologists, linguists, and educationalists to review what we know about literacy across these spans of time and space and to explain to readers in accessible language how we can come to understand what literacy means in these different contexts and from these different perspectives. The result is not simple answers but further complexity. The in-depth, scholarly accounts provided here indicate just how literacy varies as authors consider what it has meant in past times, whether in Europe and the USA (*Harvey J. Graff and John Duffy*), in Africa (*Pippa Stein*) or in South America (*Kwesi K. Prah*) or across different social contexts, such as urban spaces in the UK (*Eve Gregory*) communities in Australia (*Trevor Cairney*) or Nepal (*Roshan Chitrakar and Bryan Maddox*) or Latin America (*Judy Kalman*). Or, to take another cut through the perspectives that scholars now bring to bear on literacy, some authors address what literacy means for children and parents in

South Africa (*Pippa Stein*) or the USA (*Vivian Gadsden, Kathy Schultz, and Glynda Hull*). And this perspective raise further conceptual points, as researchers consider the relationship between literacies in and out of school (*Jabari Mahiri; Kathy Schultz and Glynda Hull; David Bloome; Alan Rogers*) and also in higher education (*Mary Lea*).

Nor is it just a matter of educational contexts, whether for children or adults, that are at stake in reviewing what we know about literacy. What we take literacy to be, whose definitions count and have power in different societies, lie at the heart of all of these accounts—as *Arlette Ingram Willis* brings out in her accounts of Critical Race Theory and *Gemma Moss* in considering Gender and Literacy. The issue of definitions and of power is also evident in chapters on language and literacy by *Jim Cummins, Marcia Farr* and *Constant Leung* and how we frame these social issues associated with the definitions and meanings of literacy are put into broader context for us by *Peter Freebody* in a review of the literature on Critical Literacy and by *Viniti Vaish* on Biliteracy and Globalization. Still, this does not exhaust the range of topics we need to take into account in considering literacy in the contemporary age. Inevitably, we have to look at the place of literacy in broader communicative patterns, notably recent developments in ‘Literacy and Internet Technologies’, which are explored in a chapter by *Kevin Leander and Cynthia Lewis* whilst *Brian Street* attempts an overview of these developments in his ‘New Literacies, New Times’ piece. But at the same time, more familiar considerations regarding how literacy is acquired remain important for our understanding of the field and a number of papers do address reading as a significant dimension of literacy practices, notably *John Edwards* in his chapter ‘Reading: Attitudes, Interests, Practices’ and also those papers already signalled that deal with literacies in and out of school, such as those by *David Bloome* and by *Kathy Schultz and Glynda Hull*.

This summary, then, has in a sense come full circle, starting with reference to ‘traditional’ concerns with literacy as reading acquisition, moving through varieties of time and space, attending to social categories such as gender and race, taking on board recent sophisticated considerations of language and language varieties as they relate to literacy, noting the significance of new technologies and finally reminding ourselves of the role that education and learning must play in addressing these issues. And that is probably the major significance of what the authors in this volume have to tell us—that if we wish to address issues of policy and practice with regard to literacy, including how we learn to use it, then we will need to take account of various combinations of all of these other issues and the complexity they indicate even as we address any one context and set of practices. How these issues and topics combine will vary, as the authors show in demonstrating the different

literacies and policies and meanings to be found in Africa, Asia, the American continent and Europe and across different time spans. If that makes it harder for all of those involved—policy makers, educationalists and researchers—then that is the job of an Encyclopaedia such as this, to help us to come to such topics in the full light of what is known rather than acting out of partial knowledge.

Having indicated some of the key themes and issues, we now provide a brief summary of the 26 chapters included in this Volume, as a kind of map of the overall text. The first section of the volume is entitled ‘Literacies and Social Theory’ and attempts to provide the reader with some key theoretical frames and organising concepts before authors address more closely particular social institutions, in Section 2 and particular social and cultural experiences of literacy, in Section 3. The sections inevitably overlap but this organisation can provide one route through the volume for those who wish to move from the more theoretical to the more concrete and contextualised accounts of literacy. However, since the topic itself is literacy, we are acutely conscious that each reader will develop your own route through the text.

## SECTION 1: LITERACIES AND SOCIAL THEORY

The volume begins with a piece by the editor, who suggests his own map of the field of literacy studies and how it is learning to deal with what he terms ‘New Literacies, New Times’. He begins with an outline of the current theoretical frameworks, in particular work in New Literacy Studies, in multi-modality, and in theories of technology and artefact. He then considers some of the educational responses evident in different countries as they come to terms with the challenges posed by new literacies. Anticipating the end rather than the beginning of the Volume, he also makes some suggestions as to why it is that policy in some countries—notably the USA and UK—seems to be facing in the opposite direction to that which the research base tells us is needed. We begin to see possible answers to this question straight away in the recognition by *Arlette Willis*, writing about the USA, that literacy cannot be separated from social position, which for many is a racialised position. In addressing Critical Race (CRT) Theory she argues, firstly, that this topic is not limited to some sub categories of society, such as African Americans’ experience, or individual acts of prejudice. Rather, she suggests, activists and scholars have long believed that it is equally important to address epistemological and ideological racism along with psychological and emotional effects of racism situated in US social and political systems and institutions. And secondly, she argues that the acquisition and use of literacy can be seen as a key component of such epistemological and ideological positioning. To understand

the nexus of CRT and literacy, she reviews the genesis, definitions, basic concepts, and tenets of CRT from legal studies, followed by its evolution in educational and literacy research. Pointing, as all of the chapters do, to 'Future Directions', she suggests that work by Literacy scholars will envisage CRT's 'emancipatory and transformative positioning' so that knowledge of racial/cultural positioning will be effected through use of narratives and voice and that this in turn will offer a more adequate route to examine race, racism, and power in society. Literacy, in the sense of narrative and voice, calling upon autobiography, biography, parables, stories, *testimonio*, voice infusing humor, and allegory can expose hidden truths and explicate and situate race, racism, and power within the experiences of people of colour. This, then, is a broader and more 'social' and power laden view of literacy than many accounts simply of acquisition or of reading have allowed.

Moving to another continent, *Kwesi K. Prah* provides a scholarly and detailed summary of Language, Literacy and Knowledge Production in Africa, that likewise brings home the significance of power relations and of different epistemological and language based definitions in understanding literacy. Kwesi locates our view of literacy within the larger purview of language and provides a detailed account of the different languages known to exist in Africa and how they have been mapped by linguists. This is partly in contrast with earlier and perhaps still dominant perspectives that are uncertain what we really know about Africa—the 'uncertainty principle lingers,' as Prah suggests. Following this account we should be less uncertain both about the actual languages but also about their social roles and their relationship to literacy. For instance, Prah indicates the difference to be observed between the languages of the elites and the languages of the broad societal majorities. Education and literacy, in the dominant languages (and in English), have a significant role to play in both reinforcing and challenging this divide. The relationship between oral and written channels of communication and bases for knowledge may not be as clear cut as earlier scholars such as Goody suggested or as superficial views of Africa may suggest—indigenous knowledge, embedded in oral cultures, plays a significant role even as literacy spreads. Following a scholarly summary of the impact of outside scripts and the development of indigenous scripts in Africa in the past century, Prah argues that African development requires the spread of literacy in African languages.

Prah's historical account of literacy development in Africa is complemented by an analysis by *Harvey J. Graff* and *John Duffy* of the development of literacy in western societies. Building on Graff's earlier historical work they argue that our understanding of these developments is often better characterised as 'Literacy Myths' and, like Prah, they throw doubt on Goody's and others' hypotheses that 'the acquisition

of literacy is a necessary precursor to and invariably results in economic development, democratic practice, cognitive enhancement, and upward social mobility'. Problems of definition and measurement in particular have undermined such claims. Despite this, as they show, many public institutions continue to develop policy and practice based on this myth. In keeping with many of the chapters, for which theirs provides a key conceptual framing, they argue that the myth 'is not so much a falsehood but an expression of the ideology of those who sanction it and are invested in its outcomes'. Building on this social analysis, they document major elements of the myth over time—the myth of decline, and the myth of the alphabet—and then consider its role in current public policy. Like many authors in this volume they suggest that what research can tell us, in terms of educational implications, is that 'there are multiple paths to literacy learning'. They conclude that the reflections provided in this chapter 'offer a more complex narrative than that of the Literacy Myth. They may also point toward new and different ways of understanding, using, and benefiting from the broad and still developing potentials that literacy may offer individuals and societies'.

*Kevin Leander* and *Cynthia Lewis* bring these historically based arguments up to date in a chapter entitled 'Literacy and Internet Technologies'. In keeping with the other authors, Leander and Lewis recognise that such an account 'reveals as much about the current theoretical and ideological paradigms operating in any time period as it does about technology's relationship to literacy'. Nevertheless, we learn a great deal about contemporary technologies and their uses in literacy activity, such as interactive and networked computing media, and the use of a range of semiotic modalities beyond just print in order to make meaning, including sound, icons, graphics, and video. They are particularly interested in 'how networked technologies fundamentally change the relationships of literacy to social relations' and the chapter provides detailed examples of such practices in and out of school, including inevitable reference to blogs, video games, multimedia etc. Maintaining their focus, though, on the social contexts rather than just the technologies, they point to the location of technologies in fanfiction communities, in children's learning in and out of school, and in 'zones of mobility for underserved youth' and argue for multidisciplinary approaches to understanding such processes.

*Jim Cummins* has been one of the leading scholars in developing theory about language development in educational settings and in this chapter he addresses some of the criticisms that have been made of his work as it relates to literacy theory. He takes us through the distinction he developed, that has provided the basis for much work in education, between basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS) and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP). He discusses

its relationship to other theoretical constructs, and shows how it has evolved such as with regard to studies of power relations between teachers and students and with respect to theories of multiple literacies. With regard to critiques that his distinction locates him within an autonomous model of literacy, Cummins argues that there is no contradiction between his theoretical interests and those of New Literacy Studies but that the BICS/CALP distinction has been specifically located in educational settings where likewise different literacies may be operationalised: 'One can accept the perspective that literacies are multiple, contextually specific, and constantly evolving (as I do) while at the same time arguing that in certain discursive contexts it is useful to distinguish between conversational fluency and academic language proficiency'. This latter stance is developed later in the volume in the account of 'academic literacies' by Mary Lea and what the argument indicates is that the authors in this Volume, whilst strongly grounded in the scholarship of their field, are using their chapters to develop key arguments and debates, not just providing lists of previous knowledge. In that spirit he concludes by seeing future directions in the field being dependent on 'teachers, students, and researchers working together in instructional contexts collaboratively pushing (and documenting) the boundaries of language and literacy exploration'.

*John Edwards* picks up exactly this nexus of researchers and practitioners as the site for development of our understanding of that dimension of literacy concerned with 'Reading: Attitudes, Interests, Practices'. He argues for the importance of the social psychology of reading, that attends to the 'questions of what people read, how much they read, and the purposes and effects of their reading' and not just the technical decoding skills that continue to dominate the literature and to influence policy and educational design. In this vein, he argues that 'in many modern societies, *aliteracy* is as much an issue as functional literacy. It is certainly more compelling in a social-psychological sense, because the question here is why some of those who *can* read *don't* read'. He summarises the research literature that considers what and why people read rather than more narrowly their cognitive skills, using surveys such as the Roehampton Institute's study of children's reading habits in the UK. He addresses through such studies, issues of gender differences in reading, the difficulty of measurement and questions of content and preferences such as fiction and non fiction, citing also his own survey of children's reading habits that combined large respondent numbers with detailed assessment instruments. Despite a long record of such work, he still sees 'future directions' as needing to move beyond descriptive to more robust theoretical perspectives. One possibility here might be the marrying of the more 'technical' approaches with the more social ones evident in his work and that of others in the volume.

A number of the chapters reviewed so far indicate that understanding of the relationship between gender and literacy is crucial to such new social and theoretical approaches. *Gemma Moss* provides an incisive overview of work in this field, linking it especially to educational interests. She notes that interest in gender and literacy has recently shifted from concern for girls to current worries about boys' underachievement. She links this to the current dominance of performance-management cultures and their aim of securing maximum homogeneity in outcomes from education. Literacy plays a leading role in these debates but, as we have seen with other chapters, its definition is contingent on both specific contextual issues and broader policy frames, such as the concern for 'homogeneity' identified by Moss. Moss firstly summarises debates in the field, notably the two strands represented by feminist concern with content on the one hand and those more focussed on literacy learning on the other. By the 1990s it was boys' underperformance that became a centre of attention and she provides close summaries of different perspectives on this theme, addressing views of what needed to be 'fixed'. Her own position focuses on what she sees as the 'turn in analysis from what the curriculum says directly about gender to how the curriculum orders its knowledge base and regulates knowers' and she wonders whether this might be the best direction for committed researchers to turn. New regimes of accountability and managerialism, she suggests, may create new struggles for gender politics and the role of literacy may take on a different hue in this context than it did in earlier ones.

*Peter Freebody* addresses many of the themes raised so far, under the heading of 'Critical Literacy Education' for which he provides a sub heading that indicates the focus of the chapter: On Living with 'innocent language'. What he means by this is that 'Socialization entails, among other things, using language as if its relation to material and social realities were innocent and natural—transparently determinable, fixed, singular, and portable'. It is this critical reflection on language that provides a grounding for likewise critical perspectives on literacy, a link that occurs in a number of other chapters in this Volume (e.g. *Sichra, Leung, Farr*). The educational dimension of this, especially, involves the contest between training students to critically think and providing regulatory frameworks. He summarises early accounts of this contestation and its significance for literacy in both theory and practice and then describes a 'loose affiliation of theories' that have particularly focussed on literacy in education. He then identifies some of the problems currently facing critical theories generally, notably their particular expressions in different disciplines, and 'tussles between these disciplines for the ownership of the essence of the critical literacy education project'. He lists a set of questions that critical literacy theorists

will have to address and attempts to articulate in a succinct conclusion exactly what distinguishes the field:

“There is a positive thesis at the heart of critical literacy pedagogies, methodologies, and practices: Interpreting and producing texts is a way of rendering experience more understandable, of transforming experience through the productive application of epistemological, ideological, and textual resources, thereby re-visiting and re-understanding experience through active work on articulating the ‘stuff’ of experience and on re-articulating the experience of others”

An appropriate conclusion to the first Section of this Volume is provided by *Viniti Vaish* whose chapter ‘Biliteracy and Globalization’ brings together many of the themes raised, within the wider context of global movements. Building on Hornberger’s seminal work on bi-literacy, she asks telling questions about who meets around what texts in the new global flows. More precisely, she asks ‘What does a biliterate text in our globalizing world look like?’, a question addressed (as do others in this volume) to both in and out of school. As a way of addressing these questions, she provides data from two countries where she conducted research—India and Singapore. In ‘Early Developments’ she provides a helpful summary of theoretical work in globalisation and in the field of biliteracy and raises a number of themes that emerge from putting these areas together: ‘changing media of instruction in national school systems, new literacies required in the workplace, the threatened linguistic ecology of the globe, and finally biliterate textual practices influenced by the internet’. She concludes with a brief summary of some of the problems that work in these areas signals, notably what implications new texts and practices have for the bilingual classroom, a theme that complements the questions raised by Street in the opening chapter. Future directions will include studies of local workplaces and their relationship to global markets and what role schools play in providing the skills needed in these new contexts. Many of the chapters in subsequent sections of this volume address these issues from their own specific contexts and the theme of literacy, language and education runs throughout.

## SECTION 2: LITERACIES AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

In this Section authors consider many of the issues raised above in the context of specific social institutions in which literacy practices are located. Given the importance of educational institutions for the overall theme of this volume, a number of the chapters address educational issues both inside and outside of the formal institutions with which literacy is usually associated. We begin with a paper on Informal

Learning and Literacy by *Alan Rogers* who points out that formal institutions tend to have dominated not only education for children but also that for adults. In contrast, he explores the learning of literacy by adults outside of the formal learning process. He first reviews some of the developments in our understanding of informal learning, discusses some new findings from research into adult literacy learning in developing societies, and suggests some applications of this to literacy learning programmes in the future. These proposals include a greater emphasis on task-related learning; cyclic rather than linear; collaborative learning rather than individual; real literacy activities and texts drawn from the literacy learners themselves rather than imposed from outside; critical reflection on both the literacy learning tasks and the contents of the teaching-learning materials; changed relationships of the teacher and learners.

*Constant Leung* brings together two aspects of literacy learning that have sometimes been kept too separate: Second Language learning and Academic Literacies. He points out that literacy learning has often been seen as a matter of moving to a second language, frequently English in formal educational contexts in many parts of the world. However, the ability to communicate informally for social purposes in a second language does not automatically translate into effective academic use, particularly in relation to reading and writing. Some of the requirements of academic literacy, as we saw in Cummins' piece and as Mary Lea also points out in her paper, may be specific to that context and not easily derived from more everyday social uses of a second language (L2). Drawing upon communicative approaches to language learning he concludes that we need to move beyond general abstractions and take account of the actual ways in which students and tutors do things with language in context, as a way to then facilitate the learning of academic literacy in context.

*Vivian Gadsden* brings together many of the themes raised by other authors under the heading of Family Literacy. She notes the shift in this as in other such topic areas within the overall field of literacy, from a more normative perspective focused on an autonomous model of literacy to a more analytic approach based on the notion of multiple literacies. In particular she cites the traditional deficit views that informed family literacy policy and shows how more recent research has looked more broadly at the cultural and social dimensions of learning and the contexts in which it occurs. Future work, then, is likely to address a more in depth focus on and analysis of culture, attention to gender and identity, and recognition of the different learning environments for families and their literacies. Understanding of variation and difference seems to be the underlying theme here, as in many of the chapters. Gadsden concludes by recognising just what a challenge this shift of agenda and perspective entails.

Gadsden's reference to gender here echoes that by Gemma Moss in Section 1, which provided an overview of the ways in which gender issues have been raised in the context of literacy learning. *Anna Robinson-Pant* now provides an application of some of these themes in the field of Literacy and Development. She reviews early programmes that focused on Women in Development (WiD) and charts the change to a Gender and Development (GAD) approach. Current work in feminist and 'ideological' approaches to literacy, informed by the New Literacy Studies challenges the dominant agenda evident in the programmes of development agencies. She concludes by noting the slow movement towards a rights perspective on literacy and argues that the growing popularity of qualitative research approaches within this area suggests that a gendered perspective on literacy and development may be more evident in the future.

Still working within the development context, *Roshan Chitrakar and Bryan Maddox* describe A Community Literacies Project in Nepal in which many of the principles raised by authors so far, including by Anna Robinson-Pant who also worked in Nepal, are worked through in practice. They begin with the principle enshrined in the programme that local meanings and uses of literacy should inform the design and implementation of adult literacy programmes, and that literacy programmes should respond, and be flexible to people's expressed needs. They describe how this principle was worked through in a number of sites in Nepal, and indicate the problems this raised in particular concerning the tensions between the articulation of 'local' meanings of literacy within the wider national and international discourses of development. Indeed this raises questions about any reified use of the term community, since 'local' communities are always shot through with national and international politics and institutional politics, a theme that again runs throughout the Volume and is picked up in the next chapter by *Trevor Cairney*. He looks at Community Literacy Practices and Education in Australia, using the local case to make broader points beyond, for instance, the focus on 'family literacy' that has tended to dominate government agendas. Cairney is especially interested to identify variation in literacy practices within the community and draws upon the home school literature cited by authors in Section 1. One such variation is to be seen in the changing nature of communication and growth in multimedia, of the kind signalled earlier by Leander and Lewis and by Street, whilst another range of community literacy practices is signalled by work in critical theory, of the kind summarised by Freebody who also works in Australia. Building on these insights, Cairney offers a review of the literature that encompasses, firstly, early foundational research efforts that explored community literacy practices as well as the relationship of this work to major theoretical traditions. Secondly

he summarises significant recent and current explorations that have acknowledged more complex definitions of literacy and community, with special consideration of work in Australia, including that on indigenous literacy. Finally he iterates the need to problematise the existing research literature in this area and map out possible future directions. These include again a recognition of how literacy varies across home, school and community contexts, and how these relate to other factors such as social disadvantage, gender, and language diversity.

*Mary Lea* moves from everyday community contexts to the role of literacy in higher education, applying many of the same theoretical and methodological principles as we have seen in other contexts. She explores the concept of Academic Literacies as a way of understanding student writing, which highlights the relationship between language and learning in higher education. She reviews early approaches that tended to see literacy as a unitary skill, looking at work in freshman composition in the USA and notes the shift there and elsewhere to a more social view of writing. Recent expansion of universities, in the UK amongst other countries, has led to concern there too for student writing and approaches from New Literacy Studies, notably the concept of 'academic literacies', have been added to the array of theoretical perspectives. Lea also notes the methodological issues involved here, as approaches shifted from simple 'measurement' of student attainment to new forms of data collection that are more qualitative and ethnographic. She locates current research in the larger context of globalisation and of changing media, of the kind already indicated by Leander and Lewis and by Vaish, amongst others. One new direction she indicates in these changing contexts is for researchers to pay more explicit attention to reading as part of writing, in both print based and virtual contexts and she suggests that this could be combined with research that addresses the lack of longitudinal ethnographic research in specific institutional settings.

Work on literacies in and out of school has already been signalled by a number of authors and *Kathy Schultz and Glynda Hull* look at research in this area in the USA, at the same time offering broader theoretical and practical frameworks for comparative work. They sketch the major theoretical traditions that have shaped research on the relationships and borders of literacy in- and out-of-school—the ethnography of communication, cultural historical activity theory, and the New Literacy Studies—and then introduce recent perspectives from cultural geography and semiotics. Their own previously published work has established a key benchmark for such approaches and they locate this in the longer history of approaches to literacy in both the in-school and the out-of-school traditions. They summarise the recent documentation of literacy practices across the boundaries of school and out-of-school

contexts, noting such specific examples as Chinese immigrant youth in the USA, and youth uses of digital technologies and blogging. They conclude by expecting and encouraging research on several fronts: ever changing conceptions of space, place, and borders; multiple identities; and inequality and social reproduction. Many of the chapters in this volume offer ways of addressing these aims in specific contexts, in and out of formal education.

*David Bloome* then brings us back to Literacies in the Classroom, but now seen from a broader and more methodologically sophisticated perspective than usually serves to pronounce on mandated policy in this area. Whilst recognising the role of ‘unofficial’ literacies, he focuses here on ‘official’ literacies. He summarises research on the nature of classroom literacy practices; on the relationship of literacy practices outside of the classroom (in home and community) to literacy practices in classrooms; and on the use of classroom literacy practices for schooling, academic literacies, critique, and community action, many of which have been addressed in other chapters in this volume. His particular concern is with such questions as what is going on in the literacy classroom and how can we research it? He notes recent interest in the cultural and the power dimensions of such activity and cites research that has facilitated students themselves to reflect upon their own community literacies, using ethnographic methods. Such work points towards a way of handling the problems of the next generation, how to conceptualise and to teach literacy in changing times. For instance, communities will variously choose to resist, to adapt themselves, to balance between the local and the global, to incorporate globalisation within their own economic, cultural, and linguistic frames, or some combination. Such choices will affect classroom literacy practices as such choices shift the epistemological content and the context of social relationships. We cannot, then, avoid making the links across contexts for literacy learning and use that tend to be ignored in research and policy that detaches school from its wider context.

### SECTION 3: LIVING LITERACIES—SOCIAL AND CULTURAL EXPERIENCE

In this section authors explore in greater depth the specific issues associated with literacy for people in different social and cultural environments, whether multilingual Chicago, post apartheid South Africa or South American communities. *Marcia Farr* opens the section with a classic linguistic survey of the city of Chicago and draws out the implications of such language variation for literacy uses and learning. An immediate link to the chapters we have been considering above is that she sees Chicago as a global city, closely linked to other places in the

world economically, culturally, and linguistically. Another is that she addresses the issue of identities in such a context, as linked to the ways of using language and literacy. She takes us through historical accounts of the language map of the city, looks at current demographics that show the linguistic and ethnic diversity and the associated variations in scripts and uses of literacy. Amidst these general surveys she also focuses upon specific examples that indicate the relationship between identities and literacies, noting how use of proverbs constructs people in a Mexican transnational social network and how Chinese migrants use traditional Chinese writing systems. There are many populations in Chicago not yet studied in these ways and the links across communities also remain to be researched. Farr's work provides a model of how such future research could be conducted.

In a similar vein, *Inge Sichra* documents Language Diversity and Indigenous Literacy in the Andes. In particular she provides a review of indigenous literacy in the Andes centering on Andean languages that have managed to survive Spanish language rule and maintain certain functional spaces in national societies and she puts such local language variety in the broader context of national policies and of research interests. Local languages have increasingly come to symbolise ethnic identity and she notes how in this context literacy acquires a driving role in the social participation of sectors traditionally marginalised by their societies. She reviews the literature from seventeenth century Spanish conquest through to current post-Freirean debates, educational reforms and indigenous publishing. One ironic problem is that amidst all of this challenge to central hegemony of Spanish, the language of the conquest is still seen as the model for standards and for education by many in government. Against this and building upon new research directions that are more sensitive to multiple literacies, she sees two directions for research in this field: On the one hand, understanding and promoting indigenous literacy must take as a point of departure the indigenous languages themselves and their characteristic orality. On the other hand, multiple, complementary modes of literacy (alphabetic, graphic, textile) must be taken into account.

*Jabari Mahiri* shows the limitations of depending upon the traditional view, in this case within cities in the USA, where surprisingly similar issues emerge to those signalled by Sichra and others for different contexts. He looks at Literacies in the Lives of Urban Youth and pays particular attention to What They Don't Learn in School. He sees the urban youth he is concerned with as living in the new digital age, the new times signalled by authors in Section 1 and his work, both in this chapter and more broadly published, can be read as a concrete working through of the implications of some of those ideas. Again he associates local literacies for such youth with broader links to global culture

that involve particular styles of music, language, dress, and other practices linked to hip-hop culture and that serve for core representations of meaning and identity. He takes us through shifts in literacy theory as researchers have attempted to come to terms with these changes and then focuses in on work that began to explore sociocultural contexts like transnational communities and the uses of new media. In doing so he draws upon ethnographic work amongst Mexican communities, Heath's accounts of communities in the Piedmont Carolinas, Gutiérrez's notion of 'third space' and the work of Richardson whose chapter in this volume on Hip Hop literacies nicely complements that by Mahiri. Indeed, his own current research is at the intersection of digital media and hip-hop culture and he cites others who are building up a rich pool of data in this field. A key direction, then, for future research on the literacy and learning of youth is the centrality of practices of meaning making and representation through musical texts and how their selection enacts narratives.

Shifting continents again, *Pippa Stein* takes us to urban and rural schools and out of school practices in South Africa, again pursuing many similar themes. Her particular question in the context of literacy and education is: what does it mean, in practice, to design a curriculum which works towards integrated understandings of South African identities, despite the diversity of races, cultures, languages, religions, and histories? To address this question she provides a selected overview of research projects in South Africa which investigate alternative ways of conceptualising literacy learning. For Stein, literacy is constructed as a multiple semiotic practice, in keeping with the frequent references by authors in the volume (Leander and Lewis, *Literacy and Internet Technologies*, Volume 2; Street, *New Literacies, New Times: Developments in Literacy Studies*, Volume 2, etc.). She summarises, firstly, work in post-colonial, cultural and historical studies that explores the relations between indigenous cultural and linguistic forms in Southern Africa, which were predominantly oral and performative in nature, and their interaction with western cultural forms and epistemologies, including literacy. She then looks at education policy initiated in the post apartheid era and its implications for literacy learning. Here significant research projects have been conducted in and out of school to address these changes and their implications in a multilingual and multiethnic context. Stein herself has been involved in the Wits Multi-literacies Project that has developed classroom-based pedagogies which are multimodal, multilingual and involve different kinds of 'crossings'. Pointing to future directions, she calls for not only a continuation of the research on out-of-school literacies that she has cited, but also for research into 'in' school literacies which has been neglected: it is time to look in much deeper ways into children's actual experience of

literacy learning across the curriculum (as Bloome, *Literacies in the Classroom*, does in Volume 2).

Switching continent again, *Judy Kalman* provides an overview of research into Literacies in Latin America. Complementing *Sichra's* account of Andean Literacies, Kalman likewise provides an overview of research traditions in the region known as Latin America and the Caribbean that includes not only the land mass stretching from Mexico to Argentina but also the small English, Spanish, and French speaking islands as well. Unlike many of the other regions mentioned in this volume, Latin America has high educational gender equality. Male and female enrolment is nearly equal and the difference between genders in adult literacy statistics is just 4%. However, indigenous peoples are more likely to be illiterate than other groups and, as with Andean literacies it is here in particular that research and policy are focusing. Kalman provides first an overview of the role of schooling in the region. With respect to literacy she notes that not all prehispanic languages were unwritten; in Mexico, for instance, writing developed around 600 B.C. and was passed on from one culture to another. In more recent times, the role of literacy has been located within national educational development programmes but research suggests that their attention to narrow technical features of acquisition was in practice offset by the importance of literacy classes as sites for socialisation. Again the broader view of literacy described by many authors in this volume points towards new understandings and indeed new data sets. There is now a small but growing body of research on literacy, schooling, and social practice in Latin America. Indeed, Kalman's own study from Mexico, documenting the dissemination of literacy in a semi urban township, recently won the UNESCO International Literacy Research Award. Ongoing discussions in Latin America and the Caribbean around the meanings of the term literacy and its representation in different languages and the recent UNESCO Global Monitoring Report have given more credence in policy circles to the notion of a 'literate environment' rather than simply individual skills and statistical accounts of 'literacy rates'. However, one direction for future research is to study literacy in indigenous communities which continues to be problematic and insufficiently understood. Like other authors, Kalman also notes that new literacies, including graffiti and murals and new technologies will become increasingly important in practice and therefore need to be taken into account in both educational policy and in research.

In the USA similar themes emerge as researchers look more closely at youth patterns of literacy use and their connections with other media of communication. *Elaine Richardson's* account of African-American Literacies complements both the kind of study indicated by Kalman for other continents and also the work on urban youth already signalled

in the chapter by Mahiri. Focusing on African American literacies involves looking at how cultural identities, social locations, and social practices influence ways that members of this discourse group make meaning. She takes us through sociocultural approaches to African American literacy education advanced by the various subfields: including sociolinguistics, rhetoric and composition, and New Literacies Studies. Early developments in African-American literacies, as Willis showed in her piece on Critical Race Theory, inevitably involved issues of race and prejudice as the Civil Rights and Black Liberation Movements of the 1950s and 1960s struggled for access to educational and other institutions for African American people. The work of academic researchers played a part here as it showed the validity and power of local dialects, a perspective that has only recently begun to also play a part in the definition and consideration of local literacies. In this vein, researchers have sought to develop literacy curricula using well-documented research on African American language and culture as the basis of instruction. Making visible language and literacy practices that appeared hidden has been a major role of researchers in both educational environments and policy more broadly. The achievement gap for African American children in formal education may, from this new research perspective, have to be explained in terms other than cognitive 'deficit'. Work in progress includes attention to youth identities, links to other semiotic practices: again the role of music, hip hop—on which Richardson has just written a significant book—and new media play a key role. Richardson concludes by noting the contribution of the work on African American literacies to broader comparative study of the kind indicated by the authors in this volume.

Finally, *Eve Gregory* brings us back to the theme of cities, focusing on London where she has conducted ethnographic research on community literacies over a long period but also, like Richardson and others, linking this local knowledge with the broader themes articulated throughout the volume. Cities, she suggests, are the home of many of the world's great libraries, and have traditionally been recognised as a hub of both literacy and illiteracy. She provides, then, a review of existing literature documenting the history and development of 'city literacies', translated into 'literacies in cities'. This is followed by a more detailed account of recent major contributions to the field and trends in research in progress with special reference to individuals growing up and becoming literate at the beginning and the end of the twentieth century in London, one of the largest and most ethnically diverse cities in the world. Looking at early developments in the study of city literacies, she goes back to Athens around 500 B.C., gradually bringing us up to date with accounts of Renaissance cities and then the industrial revolution with its associated class and educational issues. Throughout, the theme has been of cities as

both facilitating high levels of ‘cultural’ literacy and at the same time excluding a great many of their inhabitants. More recent debates have addressed inequality though largely in policy terms through surveys, tables indicating literacy rates and it is only now that the literacy lives of urban populations are being addressed in more qualitative and ethnographic terms. Gregory’s own work (with Williams) entitled ‘City Literacies’ represents one amongst a small number of key contributions to this growing field (along with that of the Lancaster group in the UK and of a UK organisation Research and Practice in Adult Literacy and the recent publication by the UNESCO Institute of Education (UIE) of studies in *Urban Literacy*—see Rogers, *Informal Learning and Literacy*, Volume 2). New directions she signals will have to include taking account of the literacies brought by the many migrants who now move into cities from rural areas, bringing with them literacy practices developed in their own communities and sometimes perhaps not acknowledged by educators and policy makers. Here, as in Far’s and others’ work, the issue of multi-lingual literacies will loom large, whilst in educational terms the key issue will be the ‘many pathways to literacy’ that such varied backgrounds involve, as well as new ways of addressing the relationship of literacies in and out of formal contexts. Finally new technologies may mean that libraries may no longer be the main repositories of information, giving way to new digital technologies which may be sited outside as well as within new urban contexts.

As with other papers and in keeping with the opening comments of this Introduction, we find that when we address a particular site of literacy practice—in this case urban literacy, but in others as we have seen it might embrace different continents and different time periods—we have to take into account a range of themes that until recently were considered extraneous to the study of literacy: gender, class, race; literacies in and out of school; language variety; new technologies and in particular their uses by youth; national policy and its relation to what ethnographic accounts tell us about actual uses and meanings of literacy on the ground. This volume, then, has pointed to such themes as key elements in future literacy research and practice.

Brian V. Street

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# Encyclopedia of Language and Education

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VOLUME 3: DISCOURSE AND EDUCATION

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Volume 3

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## GENERAL EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

### ENCYCLOPEDIA OF LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION

This is one of ten volumes of the *Encyclopedia of Language and Education* published by Springer. The Encyclopedia bears testimony to the dynamism and evolution of the language and education field, as it confronts the ever-burgeoning and irrepressible linguistic diversity and ongoing pressures and expectations placed on education around the world.

The publication of this work charts the deepening and broadening of the field of language and education since the 1997 publication of the first Encyclopedia. It also confirms the vision of David Corson, general editor of the first edition, who hailed the international and interdisciplinary significance and cohesion of the field. These trademark characteristics are evident in every volume and chapter of the present Encyclopedia.

In the selection of topics and contributors, the Encyclopedia seeks to reflect the depth of disciplinary knowledge, breadth of interdisciplinary perspective, and diversity of sociogeographic experience in our field. Language socialization and language ecology have been added to the original eight volume topics, reflecting these growing emphases in language education theory, research, and practice, alongside the enduring emphases on language policy, literacies, discourse, language acquisition, bilingual education, knowledge about language, language testing, and research methods. Throughout all the volumes, there is greater inclusion of scholarly contributions from non-English speaking and non-Western parts of the world, providing truly global coverage of the issues in the field. Furthermore, we have sought to integrate these voices more fully into the whole, rather than as special cases or international perspectives in separate sections.

This interdisciplinary and internationalizing impetus has been immeasurably enhanced by the advice and support of the editorial advisory board members, several of whom served as volume editors in the Encyclopedia's first edition (designated here with\*), and all of whom I acknowledge here with gratitude: Neville Alexander (South Africa), Colin Baker (Wales), Marilda Cavalcanti (Brazil), Caroline Clapham\* (Britain),

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<sup>1</sup> This introduction is based on, and takes inspiration from, David Corson's general editor's Introduction to the First Edition (Kluwer, 1997).

Bronwyn Davies\* (Australia), Viv Edwards\* (Britain), Frederick Erickson (USA), Joseph Lo Bianco (Australia), Luis Enrique Lopez (Bolivia and Peru), Allan Luke (Singapore and Australia), Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (Denmark), Bernard Spolsky (Israel), G. Richard Tucker\* (USA), Leo van Lier\* (USA), Terrence G. Wiley (USA), Ruth Wodak\* (Austria), and Ana Celia Zentella (USA).

In conceptualizing an encyclopedic approach to a field, there is always the challenge of the hierarchical structure of themes, topics, and subjects to be covered. In this *Encyclopedia of Language and Education*, the stated topics in each volume's table of contents are complemented by several cross-cutting thematic strands recurring across the volumes, including the classroom/pedagogic side of language and education; issues of identity in language and education; language ideology and education; computer technology and language education; and language rights in relation to education.

The volume editors' disciplinary and interdisciplinary academic interests and their international areas of expertise also reflect the depth and breadth of the language and education field. As principal volume editor for Volume 1, Stephen May brings academic interests in the sociology of language and language education policy, arising from his work in Britain, North America, and New Zealand. For Volume 2, Brian Street approaches language and education as social and cultural anthropologist and critical literacy theorist, drawing on his work in Iran, Britain, and around the world. For Volume 3, Marilyn Martin-Jones and Anne-Marie de Mejia bring combined perspectives as applied and educational linguists, working primarily in Britain and Latin America, respectively. For Volume 4, Nelleke Van Deusen-Scholl has academic interests in linguistics and sociolinguistics, and has worked primarily in the Netherlands and the USA. Jim Cummins, principal volume editor for Volume 5 of both the first and second editions of the *Encyclopedia*, has interests in the psychology of language, critical applied linguistics, and language policy, informed by his work in Canada, the USA, and internationally. For Volume 6, Jasone Cenoz has academic interests in applied linguistics and language acquisition, drawing from her work in the Basque Country, Spain, and Europe. Elana Shohamy, principal volume editor for Volume 7, approaches language and education as an applied linguist with interests in critical language policy, language testing and measurement, and her own work based primarily in Israel and the USA. For Volume 8, Patricia Duff has interests in applied linguistics and sociolinguistics, and has worked primarily in North America, East Asia, and Central Europe. Volume editors for Volume 9, Angela Creese and Peter Martin, draw on their academic interests in educational linguistics and linguistic ethnography, and their research in Britain and Southeast Asia. And for Volume 10, Kendall A. King has academic interests in sociolinguistics

and educational linguistics, with work in Ecuador, Sweden, and the USA. Francis Hult, editorial assistant for the Encyclopedia, has academic interests in educational and applied linguistics and educational language policy, and has worked in Sweden and the USA. Finally, as general editor, I have interests in anthropological linguistics, educational linguistics, and language policy, with work in Latin America, the USA, and internationally. Beyond our specific academic interests, all of us editors, and the contributors to the Encyclopedia, share a commitment to the practice and theory of education, critically informed by research and strategically directed toward addressing unsound or unjust language education policies and practices wherever they are found.

Each of the ten volumes presents core information and is international in scope, as well as diverse in the populations it covers. Each volume addresses a single subject area and provides 23–30 state-of-the-art chapters of the literature on that subject. Together, the chapters aim to comprehensively cover the subject. The volumes, edited by international experts in their respective topics, were designed and developed in close collaboration with the general editor of the Encyclopedia, who is a co-editor of each volume as well as general editor of the whole work.

Each chapter is written by one or more experts on the topic, consists of about 4,000 words of text, and generally follows a similar structure. A list of references to key works supplements the authoritative information that the chapter contains. Many contributors survey early developments, major contributions, work in progress, problems and difficulties, and future directions. The aim of the chapters, and of the Encyclopedia as a whole, is to give readers access to the international literature and research on the broad diversity of topics that make up the field.

The Encyclopedia is a necessary reference set for every university and college library in the world that serves a faculty or school of education. The encyclopedia aims to speak to a prospective readership that is multinational, and to do so as unambiguously as possible. Because each book-size volume deals with a discrete and important subject in language and education, these state-of-the-art volumes also offer highly authoritative course textbooks in the areas suggested by their titles.

The scholars contributing to the Encyclopedia hail from all continents of our globe and from 41 countries; they represent a great diversity of linguistic, cultural, and disciplinary traditions. For all that, what is most impressive about the contributions gathered here is the unity of purpose and outlook they express with regard to the central role of language as both vehicle and mediator of educational processes and to the need for continued and deepening research into the limits and possibilities that implies.

Nancy H. Honberger

INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME 3: DISCOURSE  
AND EDUCATION

This volume of the Encyclopaedia surveys the diverse and changing landscape of research on discourse and education. In order to capture the full sweep of this landscape, we have adopted the broadest definition of ‘discourse’, as embracing both the view of discourse as ‘talk-in-interaction’, commonly espoused in studies of classroom discourse, and the critical, post-structuralist view of discourse as ‘ways of understanding and constituting the social world’.

The first view of discourse has, of course, been influential in research on language in education, since the 1970s, and emerged as part of the broad interactional turn which took place as new fields of social science, such as ethnomethodology, conversation analysis, interactional sociolinguistics and micro-ethnography were being established. Within this tradition of work, the contexts for teaching and learning are not taken as given but as being constituted in and through everyday discourse practices and interactional routines and therefore continually open to change and negotiation. Meanings are seen as being situated, moment by moment, in the ongoing flow of talk-in-interaction.

The second view of discourse has been developed, more recently, by researchers concerned with the ways in which power relations are played out within educational institutions. In this body of work, the term ‘discourse’ is often used in the plural (e.g. official pedagogic discourses; school discourses; discourses about language). Discourses are seen as socially constitutive systems of meaning, which are embedded in particular social, institutional and historical contexts, and “as different ways of structuring areas of knowledge and social practice” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 3). They are also viewed as sources of power—the power to define boundaries and categories and to construct objects and social subjects.

Different chapters in the volume draw on, and sometimes combine, these two broad views of discourse in education. They do so in diverse and subtle ways and offer different means of conceptualising the relationship between ideological and interactional processes. The first section of the volume presents different theoretical and methodological perspectives on discourse, encompassing ethnomethodology, conversation analysis, genre theory, critical discourse analysis (CDA), post-structuralist approaches to discourse, recent theory-building around

the notion of 'voice' and practice-based approaches, focusing on language-in-use and on power relations, which have been developed within linguistic anthropology. Individual chapters in this section foreground the influence of different strands of social and anthropological theory, including the work of Bakhtin (1953/1986), Bernstein (1996), Bourdieu (1991), Foucault (1972), Hymes (1974), Silverstein (1992), Walkerdine (1990) and Wetherell (1998), offering diverse lenses through which to view the links between the everyday interactions that take place in schools and classrooms and wider social, cultural and ideological processes.

The second section focuses on the workings of discourse in local cultural and institutional contexts. Here, we see different approaches to the study of situated discourse practices, including the ethnography of communication, micro-ethnography, conversation analysis and discursive psychology. We also see the ways in which constructionist perspectives have been incorporated in these different strands of work on discourse in education. These chapters make reference to studies of spoken interaction in classrooms and in other educational settings (e.g. in school staff meetings about pupil welfare, as in the chapter by Eva Hjörne and Roger Säljö). Different authors have different foci: some provide accounts of discourse practices in routine educational encounters, detailing some of the ways in which these practices contribute to language socialisation, to the construction of teacher or learner identities (e.g. along the lines of class, ethnicity or gender) or to the construction of different categories of learners (e.g. 'slow readers', 'students with learning difficulties', or 'exceptionally gifted learners'). Identity is a recurring theme in this section. In some chapters, we see primacy given to the ways in which 'identities' are imposed from above, within prevailing social and institutional orders. And, in other chapters, the focus is on the negotiation of identities within local interactional orders.

The third section foregrounds the ways in which ideologies about language or linguistic diversity are constructed in language policies, in language planning processes and in national debates about language in the media. As Monica Heller points out in her chapter, research on the discursive processes involved in the choice and legitimisation of particular languages or language varieties as media of instruction provides key insights into one of the central sociological issues of our times, namely the role of education in social and cultural reproduction. Drawing on the work of Bourdieu (1977), she argues that education is a key site for defining what counts as 'legitimate language', that is, language and literacy practices which are considered to be 'good', 'normal', 'appropriate' or 'correct'. By exercising control over the value of linguistic resources in societal domains such as education,

dominant groups in society contribute to the regulation of access to other resources (such as knowledge or material goods). The authors in the chapters in this section provide different windows on the discursive processes involved in defining 'legitimate language'. These processes are uncovered through different levels of analysis: at the global or national level, at the level of local education or curriculum authorities or in local school and classroom contexts.

The fourth section deals with the role of disciplinary discourses and of everyday interactional practices in classrooms in the construction of knowledge and 'ways of knowing'. Here, there are contributions which focus on classroom talk and multimodal communication in different kinds of classrooms, in different kinds of classroom conversations with different participant structures (e.g. conversations between teachers and learners or among small groups of learners) and in different areas of the curriculum (e.g. in the teaching and learning of mathematics, science or language). Some authors (e.g. Elizabeth Birr Moje) are also concerned with the nature and significance of the interface between everyday funds of knowledge (from outside the classroom) and school discourses, and with identifying ways in which change-oriented third space for knowledge-building can be created.

#### THEMES RESONATING ACROSS THE VOLUME

Several themes resonate across these four sections and the chapters within them. We will touch on just three here. All three relate to different aspects of theory and method in research on discourse and education.

##### *Widening the Scope of Enquiry, Combining Approaches to Discourse*

Several authors in the volume propose ways of combining approaches to discourse so as to widen the scope of enquiry. Whilst rigour and fine-tuning of approach is achieved through specialisation within one particular empirical tradition, these authors take the view that significant insights can be achieved through interaction across research traditions.<sup>1</sup>

For example, Monica Heller argues for an approach to language choice which combines close analysis of the interactional order of schools and classrooms with social and historical analysis of the wider social and symbolic order, so as to explain why particular language choices in particular settings turn out to be the way they are. Harriet

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<sup>1</sup> This is part of a more general trend already identified in a special issue of *Applied Linguistics* in 2002, focusing on approaches to the analysis of classroom discourse (see Rampton, Roberts and Harris, 2002).

Bjerrum Nielson and Bronwyn Davies suggest that different perspectives on discourse and gender in education, perspectives which emphasise gender structures, gender identity formations and gender positionings, need to be seen as complementary rather than as distinct and separate. They argue that it is by linking an account of the processes of “‘being’ gendered and ‘doing’ gender” that a full account can be given of the social and discursive processes involved in gender identity construction. Rebecca Rogers sees considerable scope for combining CDA with the critical ethnographic study of literacy, as developed within the New Literacy Studies tradition. She cites, in particular, the need for closer attention to multimodal literacies and to the uses of digital texts in schools and classrooms. Silvia Valencia Giraldo echoes this concern, drawing attention to the profoundly textually mediated nature of contemporary social life, in and out of classrooms.

A significant proportion of the authors in this volume (e.g. Judith Baxter, Jill Bourne, Grace Bunyi, Charlotte Haglund, Monica Heller, Carey Jewitt, Jasmine Luk Ching Man, Vally Lytra, Janet Maybin, Rani Rubdy and Silvia Valencia Giraldo) mention that they are concerned with identifying means of linking the analysis of macro-social structures and of the discursive processes at work in educational institutions (e.g. the categorisation and positioning of learners, the production and reproduction of ‘legitimate language’) with the close study of day-to-day discourse practices in classrooms. At the same time, they are mindful of the significance of human agency and they argue that the imposition of dominant discourses about identity, about language or about ways of knowing is always open to contestation and change.

Among these authors, there is considerable consensus about the need for close study of everyday interactional practices as an essential part of any research endeavour, while also aiming to link analyses of these practices to wider social and ideological processes. Methodologically, this is what Judith Baxter calls a ‘bottom-up’ and ‘top-down’ approach.

### *Linking the Study of Discourse with Ethnography*

A particularly salient theme in this volume is that of linking the study of discourse in education with ethnography. This theme has its origins in early work on the ethnography of communication and in the work of scholars such as Erickson (1986), Gumperz (1982) and Hymes (1974) who were concerned to ensure that the cultural context of discourse was not taken for granted and that the perspectives of participants in day-to-day conversations, in and out of classrooms, should be taken into account. However, since the 1970s, there has been considerable diversification within ethnographic studies of language and literacy in

education. Goals and methods have been conceptualised in different ways. This increasing diversity is reflected in the chapters of this volume.

Some authors suggest ways of linking research on discourse, in their particular area, with Hymes' original approach to the ethnography of communication. Jasmine Luk Ching Man stresses the value of this approach, in combination with other perspectives. Diana Boxer takes a similar stance, using the related term 'ethnography of speaking'.

Some authors note the contributions made to the study of discourse in education in particular strands of ethnography. Thus, for example, both Jasmine Luk Ching Man and Vally Lytra mention the work on micro-ethnography, developed by Erickson (1986), with its close focus on the interplay between verbal and non-verbal cues in speech events, in and out of classrooms. Junko Mori and Jane Zuengler suggest that ethnographic approaches can be particularly fruitful, when combined with conversational analysis, in the study of institutional discourse (although they do note that there is ongoing debate about this among conversation analysts).

Other authors give primacy to the link with sociolinguistics and to the project of combining micro-analysis of everyday discourse practices with the study of wider social and ideological processes. Jeff Bezemer and Sjaak Kroon use the term 'sociolinguistic ethnography'. This was first employed by Monica Heller (1999/2006) in her ethnographic work in French Canada and was then taken up again by Heller and Martin-Jones (2001) in an edited volume on discourse practices in multilingual schools and classrooms. Vally Lytra describes her current research collaboration with colleagues as being 'ethnographically informed sociolinguistics', echoing recent writing on this topic by Hornberger (1995). In looking ahead to future research on discourse practices and identities among urban youth, Charlotte Haglund argues that critical ethnography will be best suited to such work, since future researchers will need to take into account not only micro-level interactional practices and narratives, but also asymmetries of power at the macro-level, along with widening processes of socio-cultural transformation and change, such as globalisation and transnationalism.

There are also chapters in the volume that orient to two distinct strands of ethnographic research on language and literacy that have been developed in recent years, in the North American context (linguistic anthropology) and in the British context (linguistic ethnography). Over the last two decades, linguistic anthropologists in North America have become increasingly concerned with inequality and ideology in language, with the discursive construction of authority and with reflexivity in fieldwork and ethnographic writing. Stanton Wortham is located within this tradition and has brought particular insights into

the ways in which linguistic anthropology can be applied to research in educational settings (e.g. Wortham and Rymes, 2003). In his chapter in the volume, he outlines a linguistic anthropological approach to the discourse processes involved in the construction of social relations in educational settings.

Whilst North American linguistic anthropology is rooted within the Boasian tradition of cultural anthropology, British ethnographic writing on language and literacy has emerged primarily from the field of applied linguistics. Rampton et al. (2004) trace this genealogy, arguing that “UK researchers tended to develop their commitment to ethnography in the process of working from language, literacy and discourse outwards” (2004, p. 11). This recent work in linguistic ethnography, developed over the last decade, is mentioned in the chapters by Sheena Gardner and Aizan Yaacob and by Silvia Valencia Giraldo. It is also reflected (though not explicitly mentioned) in the chapter by Janet Maybin, a British researcher who has been a key contributor to the development of this particular strand of ethnographic research on language, literacy and discourse.

### *Dealing with the Changing Nature of Contemporary Patterns of Communication*

A third theme that cuts across the chapters in the volume is that of meeting the challenge of dealing with the rapidly changing nature of contemporary patterns of communication. We are witnessing far-reaching changes in forms of representation due to the advent of new technologies. In anticipating future directions in research on discourse, a substantial number of the authors in the volume draw attention to the challenge posed to theory and method by the increasingly multimodal nature of contemporary communication.

Frances Christie makes explicit reference to the new text types and genres emerging in this new media age and notes that we need to further refine theory-building around the notion of ‘genre’. She says that: “the contemporary multimodal world will require much more sophisticated tools for analysis to explain the meanings of texts in which verbal, visual and diagrammatic resources . . . all operate”. Jeff Bezemer and Sjaak Kroon draw attention to the methodological challenges posed by the increasing multimodality of educational practice. Their particular focus is on research on discourses about national standard languages. They note that: “recent classroom studies show that discourses on standard language teaching are indeed realised not only through speech, but also, and often primarily, through image, gesture, wall displays, and other worlds of representation and communication”. Carey Jewitt reviews some of the ways in which the challenges of

multimodality are being addressed in classroom-based research, focusing on different areas of the curriculum, such as language and science.

Jill Bourne points to the opportunities opened up by the changing nature of contemporary modes of representation and communication and, in particular, by the shift away from uni-directional to multi-directional communication, from a central 'message producer' aiming at a mass audience to multiple 'message producers' involved in more complex, and more egalitarian, communicative exchanges. As she puts it: "this shift offers space for a transformative remaking of pedagogic discourse". However, she also acknowledges the need to remain wary of 'management interests' in exploring the potential of hypertextual links. This concern is echoed in Rebecca Rogers' recommendations regarding the future directions of critical research on multimodal discourse. She warns of the dangers inherent in globalised flows, particularly in the circulation and commodification of educational software and calls for the development of critical approaches to 'network effects', on and off-line.

#### THE INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THIS VOLUME

Many of the contributions to this volume come from scholars who have led the way in developing particular approaches to empirical work and/or theory-building. The volume also provides international coverage of research on discourse in education. Our intention, as editors, was to build on the ground established by Bronwyn Davies, the editor of the volume on *Oral Discourse*, in the first edition of the Encyclopaedia and to chart new directions opened up over the last decade, extending and deepening our understanding of discursive processes in education.

##### *Section 1. Discourse in Education: Theory and Method*

Judith Green and Carol Dixon focus on the nature of the relationship between classroom interaction and situated learning. They approach this topic by tracing the distinct intellectual traditions within which the study of these two dimensions of classroom life have been developed, by drawing attention to the key theoretical and disciplinary perspectives that have been incorporated into these traditions and, then, by showing how greater convergence has been achieved in research on classroom interaction and learning as a result of the emergence of new ways of theorising learning as a situated process.

Junko Mori and Jane Zuengler chart the contribution of conversation analysis to our understanding of the dynamics of talk-in-interaction in classrooms and the interactional processes involved in construction of

local social orders. They discuss current controversies concerning the adequacy of this type of analysis for the investigation of classroom interaction and they consider whether other theoretical or methodological approaches, such as CDA, ethnography or socio-cultural perspectives, should be combined with conversational analysis with a view to developing deeper insights into classroom discourse.

The chapter by Frances Christie provides a detailed account of the development and application of the notion of ‘genre’ in three areas of educational linguistics: in systemic functional linguistics (SFL), in English for Special Purposes (ESP) and in the New Rhetoric Studies. Christie also weighs up the different points of view in the intense debates that have taken place in the field of genre studies. Then, in the final section of her chapter, there is a discussion of the particular challenges facing researchers in this field, notably that of developing an adequate account of multimodality.

Jill Bourne examines, in detail, a key concept from the later work of Basil Bernstein—the concept of “official pedagogic discourse” (Bernstein, 1996)—and shows that it provides a means of theorising the link between macro-social structures, institutional processes of categorisation and the micro-interactional practices of classroom life. She also traces the ways in which pedagogic discourse and models of pedagogy have been played out in multilingual contexts. Taking the UK as an example, she shows that not only have different models of pedagogy been ushered in with shifts in educational policy over time but, also, that particular models have predominated in the organisation of educational provision for different categories of student (e.g. students learning English as an additional language vs. monolingual English speakers).

Rebecca Rogers examines some of the ways in which CDA has been applied to the interpretation and analysis of issues related language and literacy education. She begins by tracing different strands of CDA, foregrounding commonalities across strands, and then shows how new avenues of investigation are being explored in contemporary research. She focuses, in particular, on research which links CDA and social action, on research where CDA is used to uncover different ways in which social identities are represented and research which reveals the ways in which ideologies are constructed in written texts.

Judith Baxter describes recent empirical work and theory-building in a related field: that of post-structuralist discourse analysis (PDA). Researchers in this field share, with critical discourse analysts, a concern with developing means of conducting bottom-up *and* top-down analyses of discourse in educational settings. As Baxter demonstrates, the development of PDA has been shaped by influences from research on language and gender, so it foregrounds the multifaceted nature of

subjectivity. It also explores the ways in which participants in classroom conversations can be positioned, as either powerful or powerless, by different discourses. The chapter provides an account of intersecting influences in the development of PDA, starting out from positioning theory (Davies and Harré, 1990), early work by sociologists such as Valerie Walkerdine (1990) on the construction of gendered identities and more recent work in discursive psychology which draws together post-structuralist and conversation analytic approaches to discourse (e.g. Wetherell, 1998).

Janet Maybin interrogates Bakhtin's notions of 'voice' and 'revoicing' and considers the ways in which they have been employed in different kinds of educational research: research which draws primarily on socio-cultural theory relating to learning and socialisation, and research which focuses on the linguistic features of recontextualised discourse and the links between these features and wider social practices. She also provides examples of recent research on revoicing in both spoken and written discourse. This includes research with students in different age groups and in different social and cultural contexts: for example, research on young children's appropriation of fragments of texts from popular culture in their own writing; research on revoicing in the informal talk of 10–12-year-old children (Maybin's own research); studies of 'language crossing' among adolescents as part of everyday talk and social activity (i.e. the use of words and phrases from languages not associated with the speakers' cultural inheritance) and research on the use of different sources in academic writing by university students. In contemplating the significance of this strand of research, Maybin stresses that students' revoicing practices constitute important strategies for exploring new kinds of knowledge, new relationships and identities and suggests that closer attention could be paid to their practices in studies of the daily cycles of life in and out of classrooms.

Stanton Wortham locates his approach to language use in education within the North American tradition of linguistic anthropology. The concepts that are central to his approach are 'signs' (e.g. language forms), 'sign use' and 'contextualisation', 'ideologies of language' and 'domains'. 'Domains' are defined as "the set of people who recognize the indexical link between a type of sign and the relevant ideology". This broad conceptual framework makes it possible to capture some of the complexity of the semiotic processes at work in educational settings and to show how signs come to have both referential and relational meaning in different kinds of educational encounters. Wortham stresses, in particular, the value of the concept of 'language ideology' in building an account of the relationship between signs in use, ideologies which circulate across space and time and wider social structures and he reminds us that educational institutions are key sites

for the legitimisation of the ideological links between types of speakers and types of sign use.

### *Section 2. Educational Discourses, Situated Practices and Identities*

In the first chapter in this section, Patricia Duff provides an overview of ethnographic research examining language socialisation, participation and identity, with particular reference to the North American tradition. She shows us how ethnographic research on educational discourse has provided insights into how students learn to engage with the 'legitimate' oral and written discourse practices associated with different areas of the curriculum and, in particular, how, in the daily rounds of classroom life, they negotiate the routine questions, responses and evaluative practices of their teachers and peers. Throughout the chapter, she emphasises the need to see these processes of negotiation and engagement as part of a broader process of language socialisation taking place through participation in different learning communities.

Jasmine Luk Ching Man examines the intricate relationship between identity and contextualised use of language in the classroom and traces the ways in which this relationship has been explored in different traditions of research. She also provides a useful overview of different perspectives on identity, mapping the shift away from essentialist notions of identity towards the more dynamic and fluid conceptualisations adopted in recent work embracing social constructionist and post-structuralist viewpoints. She maintains that these recent perspectives on identity enable us to gain deeper insights into the ways in which teachers' and students' identities are negotiated, moment by moment, within the ebb and flow of classroom talk.

Eva Hjörne and Roger Säljö focus on discourse practices outside of the classroom. They draw on data from their own research in Sweden on 'pupil welfare meetings' conducted by multi-professional teams for example, school staff, school psychologists and social workers. This illuminating data are used to demonstrate how particular learners are categorised, in the talk exchanged at such meetings, as having 'learning difficulties'. Hjörne and Säljö show that categories are defined in vague, ambiguous and negative ways and that there is considerable consensus among participants in these meetings. They also show that the learners' difficulties are represented as traits located in individuals rather than being shaped in any way by the learning environment. The discussion of the data from the Swedish context is embedded in a wider account of research on the discursive processes involved in categorisation, focusing in particular on research in institutional contexts. The authors conclude by considering the implications of such research in the context of the growing trend, in different public

education systems, towards organising special education provision, outside the mainstream, for learners identified as having ‘special needs’.

In the next chapter, Grace Bunyi begins by tracing the social and historical processes involved in the construction of elites in Kenya via the introduction of western type education and the use of English as a medium of instruction by missionaries in the eighteenth century. Using ethnographic evidence from contemporary research, she then shows how social hierarchy continues to be produced and reproduced through school policies and classroom discourse practices and through the expansion of English-medium private education. She draws attention, in particular, to the differences that have been identified between the routine interactions between teachers and learners in elite schools and those in non-elite schools, often in rural areas, and she considers the implications of these differences for learners of non-elite backgrounds. The issues addressed in this chapter regarding school language policy and classroom discourse practices resonate clearly with the findings of research in other African countries (e.g. see Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001).

Harriet Bjerrum Nielsen and Bronwyn Davies elaborate in detail on research that has investigated the complex relations between usual patterns of talk in classrooms and the formation of gendered identities. They show that early qualitative research revealed that the apparent success of strategies aimed at ‘gender neutrality’ was illusory and that gender inequality resulted from differential treatment and double standards in the classroom. They then chart a shift in research focus, from the 1980s onwards, towards an emphasis on the active role that learners play in constructing gendered social worlds and in responding to gendered discourses. They note that, in this body of research, classroom discourse practices were seen as embedded within a broader cultural context and within wider social processes of gender identity formation. In the final part of their chapter, they consider research that incorporated social constructionist and post-structuralist perspectives, from the 1990s onwards. They demonstrate how this most recent body of research has challenged the representation of gender in binary terms and has reconceptualised identity in a more dynamic and processual way.

Charlotte Haglund approaches the question of identity through the lens of ethnicity. She builds her chapter around ethnographic research that she has carried out recently, in Sweden, with young people of migrant origin (primarily Turkish and Kurdish) in a multi-ethnic neighbourhood. She gives an account of some of the ways in which the identifications and allegiances of these young people were played out in everyday encounters in school and community contexts. She also

draws attention to the resonances between the discourse practices she observed in these contexts and the findings of other studies in other cities which have become hubs for migration. Charlotte's account of her study in Sweden is embedded in a penetrating discussion of the wider research context. She reviews studies that have considerably advanced our understanding of how 'new ethnicities of the margins' are being constructed and what the social and cultural consequences of these processes might be. She also considers the theoretical and methodological challenges facing researchers who wish to probe the relationship between everyday social and cultural practices (including discourse practices) and the wider socio-historical and economic conditions of the late modern age.

Vally Lytra focuses on learners' active role in the construction of identities in schools and classrooms and on the semiotic resources and discourse strategies they draw on in 'doing' identity work. Here, the starting point is with Janet Maybin's (2006) observation that research on classroom discourse has tended to adopt an 'educational gaze', focusing on curriculum-oriented talk, often involving teacher-learner interaction. Vally Lytra argues for more focus on 'off-task' talk in school corridors, playgrounds and canteens. The term 'playful talk' is used, in this chapter, as a general analytic category that includes ritualised verbal activities, such as teasing, and other more fleeting verbal activities, like chanting, humour, joking, making inter-textual references to popular culture, parody, singing, verbal play. With reference to a number of studies, including her own study in Greece, Vally Lytra argues for adopting playtalk as a lens on the processes of identification. She also points out that focusing on playtalk provides an important means of uncovering some of the heterogeneity of voices, genres, practices and discourses in school and classroom life, and of exploring the ways in which these resources are drawn upon in identification processes.

### *Section 3. Discourses about Language and Linguistic Diversity*

The starting point for Monica Heller's chapter is with the key question of how schooling contributes to the reproduction of existing social hierarchies. Drawing on the early work of Bourdieu (1977), she argues that language is central to social and cultural reproduction and to the ways in which the symbolic domination of the privileged classes in society is achieved. She then makes the case for research which draws together the strengths of the interpretive tradition within sociolinguistics and the perspectives on symbolic domination and social and cultural reproduction offered within French social theory. This approach is proposed as a means of going beyond earlier debates about how to account for

different patterns of school achievement among children of different backgrounds, from different social classes and from different minority ethnic groups. The second section of her chapter provides a valuable overview of three main ways in which differential patterns of achievement have been conceptualised. The third section considers and exemplifies some of the directions taken in research which seeks to identify the linkages between the interactional order of schools and classrooms and the wider social and institutional order. Monica Heller emphasises that this is still work in progress and that these linkages still need to be more fully understood. She anticipates that a deepening of our understanding is likely to come from research that combines close analysis of interaction with institutional ethnography and socio-historical analysis. She also calls for moves towards comparison across socially and historically situated cases, so as to gain insights into the impact of wider processes of change, such as globalisation.

Rani Rubdy focuses on one particular field of research in sociolinguistics, namely that of the study of language planning and policy. She shows that, since the 1990s, there has been a significant shift in the discourses about language planning and policy processes within this field: this was a shift from discourses about modernity and about the 'neutrality' of top-down planning to a discourse about the central role of language and ideologies of language in social and cultural change and about the ways in which asymmetries of power are constructed through language policy-making. The second section of her chapter considers the themes emerging in this new critical, post-modernist body of research on language planning processes. The third section examines the issues that have been opened up through the extension of research on language policy-making from the countries of the South to the countries of the North (e.g. those in North America and in Europe). These include issues related to bilingual education, to English-only policies and to the impact of globalisation. In the concluding pages of her chapter, Rubdy draws attention to the increasing interest among language policy and planning scholars in developing an understanding of the role of human agency in language change processes and, specifically, in ways of developing critical perspectives on the link between ecology, ideology and agency.

Jeff Bezemer and Sjaak Kroon focus on the teaching of national standard languages in multicultural urban contexts in Europe, taking particular account of the ways in which teachers' practical knowledge and monolingual bias is reflected in the discourses they produce in classrooms and in interviews. The chapter draws on extensive empirical work carried out as part of a European research project (IMEN—International Mother Tongue Education Network). The authors draw attention to the ideological processes of attribution and legitimisation

at work in the teaching of the so-called ‘mother tongues’ of European nations and they remind us that the teaching of national standard languages has, since the nineteenth century, been seen as a key part of the process of cultivating future citizens and defining national culture.

Ann Williams focuses on one particular standard language, standard British English, and on the changing discourses about it in educational policy and practice in England. She traces the ideological processes which led to standard British English being seen as the main code of authority and distinction in England and she examines, in detail, the consequences of the rise of standard English for speakers of other varieties of English, particularly in the context of education. Her account is illustrated with reference to transcripts of classroom conversations and to interviews with teachers in different regions of England. From the detail about language policy and practice in her chapter, we see how ideologies of language become embedded in a particular social and historical context and what is at stake for speakers of different language varieties. There are clear resonances here with the ideological processes at work in other national contexts (e.g. those described by Jeff Bezemer and Sjaak Kroon).

#### *Section 4. Discourse and the Construction of Knowledge*

Frank Hardman’s chapter opens the section on the role of discourse in the construction of knowledge. It surveys the ways in which researchers working within a broadly social constructionist view of learning have investigated classroom discourse. It also traces the roots of this approach to learning in the work of scholars such as Bruner (1996) and Vygotsky (1992). And, in addition, it considers different types of educational intervention which have drawn inspiration from constructionist thinking about learning. Frank Hardman interrogates the findings of different studies of teacher–student interaction, including studies of whole class and small group settings and studies of small group interaction between students. He also outlines some of the debates that have centred on research topics such as teachers’ questions, teacher evaluations, the link between teachers’ theories of learning and the patterns of talk in their classes and, most recently, the concept of ‘dialogic talk’. His concluding sections focus on ongoing research which draws attention to the persistence of teacher-led recitation routines and on the implications of such findings, especially for teacher education.

Silvia Valencia Giraldo’s chapter draws our attention to the significance of texts in day-to-day classroom routines and in meaning-making in different kinds of classroom encounter. She defines the notion of ‘text’ in the broadest sense, including students’ handwritten notes and

electronic texts, as well as school textbooks and other printed materials (e.g. occasional handouts) used in teaching and learning. The chapter reviews a selection of studies which have investigated the uses of texts and talk around text in different kinds of classrooms, in monolingual and multilingual settings, and shows how pedagogy is enabled and constrained by different kinds of textual practices. We see the importance of taking account of the textual dimensions of classroom life and we also see how micro-analysis of talk around texts in classrooms can provide a window on wider processes of social and cultural change, such as globalisation.

Susan Lyle opens a window for us on research that has focused on collaborative talk between learners. She shows how this research is ground in 'hybrid' fields of study, such as cultural psychology, socio-cultural studies and discursive psychology and she provides details of early ground-breaking work. She then identifies some of the directions that have been taken in the empirical work conducted within these fields of study. These include explorations of the link between collaborative talk and the development of learners' thinking skills; the contribution of collaborative talk to second language learning; the role of narrative and playful talk in building understanding in group work and the role of teachers in planning opportunities for collaborative talk. The chapter concludes with an expression of concern about the ways in which the demands of national curricula and a shift back towards whole class teaching constrains teachers committed to encouraging dialogue and collaboration between learners.

Sheena Gardner and Aizan Yaacob provide an account of studies that have focused on sociodramatic play in early childhood and on the ways in which these studies, in early years education and in home and community contexts, have enhanced our understanding of role play and dialogue in child development. They begin with the interdisciplinary work of the 1970s that first established the link between sociodramatic play and the language and literacy development of pre-school children. They then outline different strands of research on role play and dialogue that have been developed since then. This includes experimental research, involving role play in educational interventions and research of an interpretive, ethnographic nature that explores role play in natural settings, at school and at home. In the former strand of research, the concern is with the links between sociodramatic play and cognition. In the latter strand, the research aims to reveal the spontaneous ways in which children incorporate other voices, genres, texts and languages into their play. Sheena Gardner and Aizan Yaacob also review recent studies which focus on different contextual variables, such as the resources available for sociodramatic play, the role of adults, negotiation of play involving blind and sighted children and

the availability of different channels of communication (e.g. pretence play using the telephone). In concluding, they allude to the fact that, despite this rich vein of research demonstrating the value of play, the early years curriculum in different countries is increasingly being organised in ways which close off opportunities for play.

Diana Boxer presents a detailed and probing analysis of the ways in which research on second language acquisition (SLA) has advanced through the incorporation of insights from discourse analysis and, specifically, conversation analysis. She begins by reviewing studies in the 1970s that laid the groundwork for the turn towards discourse in some strands of SLA research. She then surveys three main ways in which SLA research has been extended, in recent years, to take account of learners' points of view and learners' contributions to conversations, in and out of classrooms. These include approaches that foreground language identity or language socialisation and those which are based on social-cultural theory. She gives examples of recent empirical work to illustrate the different themes that have been addressed at the interface between discourse and language learning. She then outlines the different positions taken in recent debates about the nature and significance of the insights that accrue from the application of conversation analysis in SLA research. Diana Boxer's final section calls for further extension of research on spontaneous use of language in both interactional and transactional contexts with a view to developing a baseline for SLA research and practice.

Richard Barwell directs our attention to research that has investigated the use of language in the teaching and learning of mathematics. He starts out from seminal work on mathematical registers and shows how this laid the foundations for later discourse-oriented research. He then gives us a clear overview of three different areas of research on the role of discourse in mathematics education. He covers studies which incorporate different perspectives from social theory, including sociological, socio-cultural, social semiotic and post-structuralist perspectives and he demonstrates how this empirical work has advanced understanding of the conventions of mathematics classroom talk (including talk around texts) and of the role of teachers in the socialisation of learners into local conventions. In his conclusion, Richard Barwell anticipates that the increasing multilingualism of the mathematics classrooms of the future will pose challenges and create opportunities for future research.

Gregory Kelly opens a window for us on the world of research on discursive practices in the teaching and learning of science. He charts the shift from research that focused on individuals acquiring 'final form scientific knowledge' to research that focuses on the social interactions that contribute to knowledge-building about the natural world and that

enable or constrain learner participation in science classrooms. He begins with reference to the seminal work of Jay Lemke (1990) who opened up the possibility of researching the day-to-day discursive practices of science learning, by introducing a social semiotic perspective on classroom discourse. Then, in the central sections of the chapter, Kelly examines some of the insights gleaned from contemporary research on scientific discourse (e.g. the discourse of published articles) and research on discourse in science education. These include insights into the diverse nature of science discourse, the uses of analogy, metaphor and argumentation in the teaching and learning of the sciences, the socio-cultural dimensions of learning science in small group work, the uses of written texts in science classes and the role of teacher education in raising awareness of the discourse practices of science teaching and learning. He then identifies four directions in which research on the discourse practices of science learning is moving. These relate to access and equity in science, the practical sense-making and knowledge-building that takes place in the daily routines of school science, the application of activity theory to the study of situated learning in science classrooms and research taking on the theoretical and methodological challenges posed by multimedia literacy and talk about different kinds of texts, artefacts and electronic resources in science classrooms.

In her chapter, Elizabeth Birr Moje explores the interface between research that has documented the funds of knowledge, networks and ways of knowing associated with students' lives outside school and research on school discourses. School discourses include ways of talking, reading and writing historically associated with different disciplines *and* the discourse practices associated with the teaching and learning of different subjects in the school curriculum. Taking examples from school-based instruction in science and in history, Elizabeth Birr Moje shows how practices vary across subjects, in the type of evidence used to provide warrants for claims and in the types of texts that are produced. Her main concern is with identifying ways in which teachers can provide students with practice in recognising the different school discourses that they encounter and, at the same time, engage them in discussion about those discourses. The goal of such discussions, she argues, should be to raise students' awareness of the privileged nature of different school discourses and to develop a metadiscursive approach, that is, not only to get students to engage with different discourse communities but also to know how and why they are engaging and what these engagements mean for them in terms of social positioning and power relations. Her vision for metadiscursive pedagogy is that it can be a means of creating change-oriented third space for learners at different stages of their school experience.

The final chapter of the volume looks to the past and to the future, focusing on the study of multimodal discourse in educational settings. Carey Jewitt opens the chapter with a brief genealogy of research on multimodality, tracing its origins to Halliday's (1978) social semiotic theory of language. She shows how the first conceptual advances were made through attempts to link verbal and visual signs as different modes of meaning making (e.g. in work by Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996 and by the New London Group, 1996). She also notes that these attempts to develop new conceptual frameworks constituted a response to the changing nature of the contemporary landscape of communication. Carey Jewitt then goes on to consider major developments in research on multimodality. These include refinement in the description and analysis of specific modes, including sound, movement, gesture and spatiality as well as verbal and visual signs; investigation of multimodality in new media and exploration of the interplay of modes in teaching and learning in different areas of the curriculum. She also outlines recent directions in theory-building, noting the shift from descriptive accounts to making more explicit connections with macro-social, political and cultural concerns in education. She concludes with a call for future research which explores the 'change potential' of multimodality in education and for consideration of how research can link in with future-thinking about educational practice.

#### DESIGNING RESEARCH ON DISCOURSE AND EDUCATION FOR THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

In addressing themes, issues and debates such as those detailed above, several authors point to the need to develop spaces for dialogue across academic traditions and across approaches to discourse (e.g. Richard Barwell, Judith Baxter, Diana Boxer, Gregory Kelly, Jasmine Luk Ching Man, Elizabeth Birr Moje, Junko Mori and Jane Zuengler, Harriet Bjerrum Nielsen and Bronwyn Davies, Rany Rubdy and Silvia Valencia Giraldo). We hope that this volume of the Encyclopaedia will contribute to the facilitation of such dialogues. Setting out to survey, the broad landscape of research on discourse in education has been fruitful in that it has not only enabled us to identify different traditions of theory-building and empirical work, but also numerous areas of overlap and interaction. We have also been able to identify research that is conducted 'bottom-up' or 'top-down' (or both) and research conducted with or without particular strands of ethnography.

In a recent review of research on critical approaches to language, culture and society, Blommaert (2005) demonstrates how linguistic anthropology, originating in the North American context, and CDA, originating in Europe, have become 'separate worlds' where there are

'untapped sources of mutual inspiration' (2005, p. 9). The separation of these particular intellectual worlds has taken place despite the fact that researchers have broadly similar concerns, draw on overlapping strands of social theory and sometimes employ similar analytic tools.

The researchers contributing to this volume represent a much wider range of intellectual worlds and participate in diverse scholarly networks that span the countries of the South as well as the countries in North America and Europe. We thus hope that the readers of the chapters in the volume will be able to identify themes that are pertinent to them and will find sources of inspiration that they can build on in their own research. We also hope that there will be greater South-North and South-South dialogue (as well as North-North dialogue) in the coming years. It is through dialogue and exchange of perspectives that we are likely to be able to design and develop robust new approaches for research on discourse and education in the twenty-first century and move towards deepening our understanding of the global processes of change at work in education.

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Volume 4

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GENERAL EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION

This is one of ten volumes of the *Encyclopedia of Language and Education* published by Springer. The Encyclopedia bears testimony to the dynamism and evolution of the language and education field, as it confronts the ever-burgeoning and irrepressible linguistic diversity and ongoing pressures and expectations placed on education around the world.

The publication of this work charts the deepening and broadening of the field of language and education since the 1997 publication of the first Encyclopedia. It also confirms the vision of David Corson, general editor of the first edition, who hailed the international and interdisciplinary significance and cohesion of the field. These trademark characteristics are evident in every volume and chapter of the present Encyclopedia.

In the selection of topics and contributors, the Encyclopedia seeks to reflect the depth of disciplinary knowledge, breadth of interdisciplinary perspective, and diversity of sociogeographic experience in our field. Language socialization and language ecology have been added to the original eight volume topics, reflecting these growing emphases in language education theory, research, and practice, alongside the enduring emphases on language policy, literacies, discourse, language acquisition, bilingual education, knowledge about language, language testing, and research methods. Throughout all the volumes, there is greater inclusion of scholarly contributions from non-English speaking and non-Western parts of the world, providing truly global coverage of the issues in the field. Furthermore, we have sought to integrate these voices more fully into the whole, rather than as special cases or international perspectives in separate sections.

This interdisciplinary and internationalizing impetus has been immeasurably enhanced by the advice and support of the editorial advisory board members, several of whom served as volume editors in the Encyclopedia's first edition (designated here with\*), and all of whom I acknowledge here with gratitude: Neville Alexander (South Africa), Colin Baker (Wales), Marilda Cavalcanti (Brazil), Caroline Clapham\* (Britain),

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<sup>1</sup> This introduction is based on, and takes inspiration from, David Corson's general editor's Introduction to the First Edition (Kluwer, 1997).

Bronwyn Davies\* (Australia), Viv Edwards\* (Britain), Frederick Erickson (USA), Joseph Lo Bianco (Australia), Luis Enrique Lopez (Bolivia and Peru), Allan Luke (Singapore and Australia), Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (Denmark), Bernard Spolsky (Israel), G. Richard Tucker\* (USA), Leo van Lier\* (USA), Terrence G. Wiley (USA), Ruth Wodak\* (Austria), and Ana Celia Zentella (USA).

In conceptualizing an encyclopedic approach to a field, there is always the challenge of the hierarchical structure of themes, topics, and subjects to be covered. In this *Encyclopedia of Language and Education*, the stated topics in each volume's table of contents are complemented by several cross-cutting thematic strands recurring across the volumes, including the classroom/pedagogic side of language and education; issues of identity in language and education; language ideology and education; computer technology and language education; and language rights in relation to education.

The volume editors' disciplinary and interdisciplinary academic interests and their international areas of expertise also reflect the depth and breadth of the language and education field. As principal volume editor for Volume 1, Stephen May brings academic interests in the sociology of language and language education policy, arising from his work in Britain, North America, and New Zealand. For Volume 2, Brian Street approaches language and education as social and cultural anthropologist and critical literacy theorist, drawing on his work in Iran, Britain, and around the world. For Volume 3, Marilyn Martin-Jones and Anne-Marie de Mejia bring combined perspectives as applied and educational linguists, working primarily in Britain and Latin America, respectively. For Volume 4, Nelleke Van Deusen-Scholl has academic interests in linguistics and sociolinguistics, and has worked primarily in the Netherlands and the USA. Jim Cummins, principal volume editor for Volume 5 of both the first and second editions of the *Encyclopedia*, has interests in the psychology of language, critical applied linguistics, and language policy, informed by his work in Canada, the USA, and internationally. For Volume 6, Jasone Cenoz has academic interests in applied linguistics and language acquisition, drawing from her work in the Basque Country, Spain, and Europe. Elana Shohamy, principal volume editor for Volume 7, approaches language and education as an applied linguist with interests in critical language policy, language testing and measurement, and her own work based primarily in Israel and the USA. For Volume 8, Patricia Duff has interests in applied linguistics and sociolinguistics, and has worked primarily in North America, East Asia, and Central Europe. Volume editors for Volume 9, Angela Creese and Peter Martin, draw on their academic interests in educational linguistics and linguistic ethnography, and their research in Britain and Southeast Asia. And for Volume 10, Kendall A. King has academic interests in

sociolinguistics and educational linguistics, with work in Ecuador, Sweden, and the USA. Francis Hult, editorial assistant for the Encyclopedia, has academic interests in educational and applied linguistics and educational language policy, and has worked in Sweden and the USA. Finally, as general editor, I have interests in anthropological linguistics, educational linguistics, and language policy, with work in Latin America, the USA, and internationally. Beyond our specific academic interests, all of us editors, and the contributors to the Encyclopedia, share a commitment to the practice and theory of education, critically informed by research and strategically directed toward addressing unsound or unjust language education policies and practices wherever they are found.

Each of the ten volumes presents core information and is international in scope, as well as diverse in the populations it covers. Each volume addresses a single subject area and provides 23–30 state-of-the-art chapters of the literature on that subject. Together, the chapters aim to comprehensively cover the subject. The volumes, edited by international experts in their respective topics, were designed and developed in close collaboration with the general editor of the Encyclopedia, who is a co-editor of each volume as well as general editor of the whole work.

Each chapter is written by one or more experts on the topic, consists of about 4,000 words of text, and generally follows a similar structure. A list of references to key works supplements the authoritative information that the chapter contains. Many contributors survey early developments, major contributions, work in progress, problems and difficulties, and future directions. The aim of the chapters, and of the Encyclopedia as a whole, is to give readers access to the international literature and research on the broad diversity of topics that make up the field.

The Encyclopedia is a necessary reference set for every university and college library in the world that serves a faculty or school of education. The encyclopedia aims to speak to a prospective readership that is multinational, and to do so as unambiguously as possible. Because each book-size volume deals with a discrete and important subject in language and education, these state-of-the-art volumes also offer highly authoritative course textbooks in the areas suggested by their titles.

The scholars contributing to the Encyclopedia hail from all continents of our globe and from 41 countries; they represent a great diversity of linguistic, cultural, and disciplinary traditions. For all that, what is most impressive about the contributions gathered here is the unity of purpose and outlook they express with regard to the central role of language as both vehicle and mediator of educational processes and to the need for continued and deepening research into the limits and possibilities that implies.

Nancy H. Hornberger

## INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME 4: SECOND AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE EDUCATION

### INTRODUCTION

The present volume brings together a wide variety of perspectives on second and foreign language learning and teaching. As reflected in the title of the second edition, this volume has added an emphasis on “foreign language” in addition to second language education to underscore the increasing significance of foreign language learning in a global context, and both the commonalities and differences between foreign and second language teaching. The Volume contains a unique collection of chapters which examine the most recent theoretical, methodological, and pedagogical insights in the field of foreign and second language education and focuses on diverse educational settings and situations, learner populations, proficiency levels, and teaching practices.

Over the past decade, significant economic and political changes have affected language teaching and learning in many regions across the world. In the USA, for example, two issues in particular have drawn attention to the need for improving the language skills and cultural awareness of the population: the events of September 11, 2001, and the impact of globalization (Met). In Europe, the expansion of the European Union has been accompanied by expanded opportunities for language learning, recognition of the rights of regional and minority languages, and greater emphasis on intercultural communication and plurilingualism as policy goals. The European Language Portfolio, an outcome of the project on Language Learning for European Citizenship, takes into consideration the multiple contexts within which languages are used and learned (Broeder and Martyniuk). A final example is South Africa, where postapartheid political and educational reforms are reflected in new language policies, the most visible of which is the New Constitution which recognizes 11 official languages (Kamwangamalu).

The 27 contributions in the present volume reflect the diversity of the field with chapters that represent a wide range of geographic and disciplinary perspectives and present in-depth chapters of current theory and research as well as examinations of methodology and teaching practices. These chapters cover a broad array of innovative approaches across the globe and describe the current state of the art in technology-based second and foreign language teaching and learning. Of the original 22

contributors to the first edition, 5 (Oxford, Gardner, Gunnarsson, Pakir, and Watts) are represented in the second edition of this volume with substantially expanded and updated chapters.

#### THEMATIC ORGANIZATION OF THE VOLUME

The volume is organized into five thematic sections that include theoretical perspectives as well as practical approaches. Each section covers a broad area within the field of second and foreign language teaching and learning, focusing on theory, methodology, learning, teacher training, and technology, respectively.

The first section addresses the *Theoretical underpinnings* of second and foreign language education. Contributions by Kramersch, McKay, Gardner, and Oxford represent the interdisciplinary nature of the field and demonstrate how insights from applied linguistics, sociolinguistics, and psycholinguistics have contributed to our current perspectives on language teaching and learning. Kramersch argues for a more “socially and culturally aware” applied linguistic theory that—within the current context of globalization—must be critically informed by the theoretical perspectives of diverse fields, such as educational, literary, and political theory rather than restrict itself to its traditional focus on second language acquisition and communicative competence. McKay links the theoretical insights from sociolinguistics to language education and lists a number of pedagogical implications for teaching practice, such as creating awareness of language variation within specific linguistic contexts or recognizing the multiple standards of global languages such as English and other major languages. Gardner’s contribution focuses on four classes of variables that have received considerable research attention over the years: language aptitude, attitudes and motivation, language anxiety, and language-learning strategies. Oxford draws upon and critically evaluates a range of linguistic theories from both within and outside the second language (L2) field to outline the major conditions under which L2 learning occurs.

The second section, *Current approaches to second and foreign language education*, focuses on teaching methodologies which are based on recent research findings. While communicative language teaching remains the predominant approach within second and foreign language instruction, its limitations have become increasingly clear over the past decade of research in second language acquisition, sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, and related fields (Kramersch). Specifically, the lack of emphasis on explicit grammar instruction, its primary focus on basic interpersonal communication, and the limited relevance of its pedagogy for learners’ academic and professional goals are among the main objections to the traditional communicative methodology. New approaches

have attempted to address these concerns while maintaining a communicative focus, emphasizing a highly interactive learning environment, and increasingly providing a more authentic context for learning. Pica characterizes task-based instruction as an instructional approach that has had both a theoretical and an empirical grounding since its inception. Firmly grounded in second language acquisition (SLA) research, task-based activities engage learners in meaningful, goal-oriented communication to solve problems, complete projects, and reach decisions.

Stoller and Coyle describe two different models that integrate language and content in the teaching and learning of second and foreign languages. Stoller outlines the field of content-based instruction (CBI) in the broad context of instructional settings across various countries, among diverse student populations, and proficiency levels, and underscores the strong academic orientation of this approach. Coyle discusses the diversity of models and pedagogies for Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) and characterizes this approach as uniquely situated within the European cultural and pedagogical traditions. Gunnarsson's contribution provides an overview of research on communication in professional settings, a field that used to be termed Language for specific or special purposes (LSP), but is now more commonly designated as professional discourse or professional communication. The final chapter in this section is by Freed who discusses language learning in study abroad settings, situating the field within the broader context of research on second language acquisition (SLA).

Section 3, *International Perspectives on second and foreign language learning*, reflects a diversity of learning contexts as well as a broad range of viewpoints on language learning from around the globe. The first three contributions focus primarily on the USA. Met describes the current status of foreign language learning in K-12 classrooms and points to the impetus provided by both the tragic events of September 11 and by the global economic changes that have prompted the USA to support efforts to promote development of language skills and cultural understanding. At the same time, however, she emphasizes the value of learning other languages as part of a well-rounded education. Kagan and Dillon outline the major issues of heritage language learning, a new field that has begun to emerge in the USA within the past decade or so. They emphasize the need for further development of a theoretical base, curricular models, and instructional materials. Closely connected to this is the contribution by Hinton, which details the current situation of the many endangered indigenous languages in North America and describes innovative approaches, such as the Master-Apprentice language program, to teach these languages to new generations as a way to reverse language shift and promote their survival and revitalization.

Clyne and Fernandez provide a comprehensive overview of community language learning in Australia and describe the institutional contexts (e.g., day schools, language schools, and ethnic community schools) in which languages other than English (LOTE) are taught, while Early outlines the trends and initiatives in second and foreign language education in Canada and focuses in particular on (i) integrated language and content programs for English language learner (ELL) students and (ii) Core French programs.

A perspective on language learning in Europe is provided by Broeder and Martyniuk who sketch the main goals of the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR), a document that includes both a Descriptive Scheme of language competences and a Common Reference Level system detailing language proficiency levels. They also include a discussion of the newly developed European language portfolio (ELP). Kamwangamalu chapters pedagogical issues in second and foreign language learning—in and of themselves highly contested terms in South Africa—against the background of the sociopolitical changes, especially the end of apartheid, that have taken place in that country since 1994. He describes a new pedagogical framework, outcomes-based education (OBE), which is currently in the process of being implemented.

The final three contributions in this section each cover geographically vast and culturally diverse regions. Al-Khatib's contribution deals with the Middle East and North Africa, comprising more than 23 countries, the majority Arab states. He notes that English teaching and learning is gaining importance across the region, in part due to its association with modernization and globalization. Pakir identifies a similar trend in Southeast Asia, a region of half a billion people, and details the situations of four countries in particular: Brunei, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Singapore. Each of these has a long internal history with English, which functions as second language, but in the current context of globalization English has become a lingua franca, a situation which has led to a rethinking of language policies as well as curriculum practice and planning, materials development, and teacher training. Watt's chapter discusses the linguistically complex region of the South Pacific, with over 800 languages spoken in Papua New Guinea and more than 100 in Vanuatu. Among the innovative approaches in this region are distance education initiatives which bring foreign language learning to remote areas, and vernacular education programs. While each of these chapters points to numerous successes and advances in language education across these geographic contexts, they also share concerns about very similar problems, such as the need for adequate language and education policies and greater emphasis on teacher training.

The fourth section of this volume, devoted to *Teacher Preparation and Professional Development*, offers four different perspectives on

the professional preparation of instructors, an issue of critical significance to language learning. Von Hoene points out the heterogeneity among foreign language instructors in postsecondary education and calls for different approaches to their professional development that bring the insights of different disciplinary perspectives to teacher training. The chapter by Kern, Ware, and Warschauer focuses specifically on the pedagogical issues of network-based language teaching (NBLT) within the larger context of computer-assisted language learning (CALL). The final two chapters in this section call attention to the challenges that language teachers encounter in many regions of the world. Tarnopolsky discusses the strengths and weaknesses that nonnative speaking teachers bring to the teaching of English in its expanding global role, while Zavala focuses on the training of teachers in Peru within the complex bilingual context of Spanish and the various indigenous languages, such as Quechua, Aymara, and others.

The last section, *The Role of Technology in Second and Foreign Language Education*, presents a new and exciting direction in the field of language teaching and learning, one which had only begun to emerge when the first edition of the Encyclopedia was issued, and includes contributions that discuss the potential applications of technology to both research and practice. Thorne provides an overview of research in computer-mediated communication (CMC) and describes its educational uses as well as its contexts of use, emphasizing its multimodal nature. He also touches on emerging technologies, such as blogs, wikis, podcasting, etc. The next contribution by Granger outlines the relatively new resource of computer learner corpora (CLC), a branch of corpus linguistics, which offers exciting opportunities for research and innovative pedagogical applications based on analyses of authentic learner data. Winke and Fei focus attention on how recent advances in technology are enabling more sophisticated approaches to assessment of language skills, and describe the ongoing innovations in the emerging field of computer-assisted language testing (CALT). The final chapter by Blake deals with a new mode of delivery of language instruction through distance learning (DL) or online courses. He lists among its potential benefits increased access to the less commonly taught languages (LCTLs) and flexibility in scheduling, but cautions that the technology is still evolving and implementation remains a challenge.

#### MAJOR CROSSCUTTING THEMES

Despite the diversity of perspectives and variety of learning contexts touched on in this volume, a number of common themes emerge from the contributions as increasingly relevant to the field of second and foreign language education. Several authors point out the limitations

of the ways communicative language teaching has been applied as too utilitarian and suggest new perspectives which take into consideration the social and cultural context within which languages are learned, learner identities, and the multiple goals and purposes of language education within plurilingual/pluricultural environments (e.g., Kramsch, von Hoene) New approaches to language teaching and learning include task-based instruction (Pica), models for integration of language and content (e.g., Stoller; Coyle; Early), and language learning for professional communication (Gunnarsson) and crossnational citizenship (Broeder and Martyniuk).

Second, language and educational policies have been created across the world to address the rights of minority language speakers and support the maintenance or revitalization of indigenous and heritage languages. Examples of this can be found in the contributions by Kagan and Dillon, and Hinton (on heritage and indigenous languages in the USA, respectively), Zavala (on the bilingual situation in Peru), Clyne and Fernandez (on community languages in Australia), Kamwangamalu (on South Africa), Watts (on vernacular language programs in the South Pacific), and others. Several of the contributors caution, however, that despite the many positive developments, serious challenges remain, particularly with respect to policy implementation. Clyne and Fernandez, for example, note the “monolingual mindset” in Australia, while Early comments on the inability of policies and pedagogies to “bring into the classroom the heritage languages and cultures of the learners.” Zavala, Al-Khatib, and Watts express concerns about the long-term effects of educational policies on language educational practices and stress the need for more teacher training. Clyne, Watts, and Al-Khatib, however, all point to the increasing opportunities provided by the internet to bring together the language teaching community to exchange ideas and experiences, to create collaborative learning environments, and to promote learning of the smaller and less dominant languages.

This, then, connects to a final theme that is echoed among many of the contributions, the emergence of technology as a tool that is transforming both language pedagogy and teacher and learner roles. Several authors describe its potential applications for classroom practice and curricular innovation (e.g., Thorne, Granger, Al-Khatib), teacher training (Kern, Ware, and Warschauer), testing and assessment (Winke), and its impact on mode of delivery (Blake, Watts). Blake and Thorne note the rapid evolution of new technologies and the shift toward increasingly mediated forms of communication in society, which may provide new opportunities for language teaching and learning.

Underscoring the significance of these themes are a number of new journals that have appeared in recent years which provide a forum for further research and debate in these areas, including the *Journal*

*of Language, Identity, and Education*, the *Heritage Language Journal*, *Language Learning and Technology*, and the *CALICO (Computer-Assisted Language Instruction Consortium) Journal*. Clearly, the field of foreign and second language teaching and learning has established itself as a dynamic academic discipline which shows tremendous vitality as exemplified by the diverse perspectives represented in this volume.

Nelleke Van Deusen-Scholl

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# Encyclopedia of Language and Education

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## VOLUME 5: BILINGUAL EDUCATION

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# Encyclopedia of Language and Education

Volume 5

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## GENERAL EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

### ENCYCLOPEDIA OF LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION

This is one of ten volumes of the *Encyclopedia of Language and Education* published by Springer. The Encyclopedia bears testimony to the dynamism and evolution of the language and education field, as it confronts the ever-burgeoning and irrepressible linguistic diversity and ongoing pressures and expectations placed on education around the world.

The publication of this work charts the deepening and broadening of the field of language and education since the 1997 publication of the first Encyclopedia. It also confirms the vision of David Corson, general editor of the first edition, who hailed the international and interdisciplinary significance and cohesion of the field. These trademark characteristics are evident in every volume and chapter of the present Encyclopedia.

In the selection of topics and contributors, the Encyclopedia seeks to reflect the depth of disciplinary knowledge, breadth of interdisciplinary perspective, and diversity of sociogeographic experience in our field. Language socialization and language ecology have been added to the original eight volume topics, reflecting these growing emphases in language education theory, research, and practice, alongside the enduring emphases on language policy, literacies, discourse, language acquisition, bilingual education, knowledge about language, language testing, and research methods. Throughout all the volumes, there is greater inclusion of scholarly contributions from non-English speaking and non-Western parts of the world, providing truly global coverage of the issues in the field. Furthermore, we have sought to integrate these voices more fully into the whole, rather than as special cases or international perspectives in separate sections.

This interdisciplinary and internationalizing impetus has been immeasurably enhanced by the advice and support of the editorial advisory board members, several of whom served as volume editors in the Encyclopedia's first edition (designated here with\*), and all of whom I acknowledge here with gratitude: Neville Alexander (South Africa), Colin Baker (Wales), Marilda Cavalcanti (Brazil), Caroline Clapham\* (Britain),

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<sup>1</sup> This introduction is based on, and takes inspiration from, David Corson's general editor's Introduction to the First Edition (Kluwer, 1997).

Bronwyn Davies\* (Australia), Viv Edwards\* (Britain), Frederick Erickson (USA), Joseph Lo Bianco (Australia), Luis Enrique Lopez (Bolivia and Peru), Allan Luke (Singapore and Australia), Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (Denmark), Bernard Spolsky (Israel), G. Richard Tucker\* (USA), Leo van Lier\* (USA), Terrence G. Wiley (USA), Ruth Wodak\* (Austria), and Ana Celia Zentella (USA).

In conceptualizing an encyclopedic approach to a field, there is always the challenge of the hierarchical structure of themes, topics, and subjects to be covered. In this *Encyclopedia of Language and Education*, the stated topics in each volume's table of contents are complemented by several cross-cutting thematic strands recurring across the volumes, including the classroom/pedagogic side of language and education; issues of identity in language and education; language ideology and education; computer technology and language education; and language rights in relation to education.

The volume editors' disciplinary and interdisciplinary academic interests and their international areas of expertise also reflect the depth and breadth of the language and education field. As principal volume editor for Volume 1, Stephen May brings academic interests in the sociology of language and language education policy, arising from his work in Britain, North America, and New Zealand. For Volume 2, Brian Street approaches language and education as social and cultural anthropologist and critical literacy theorist, drawing on his work in Iran, Britain, and around the world. For Volume 3, Marilyn Martin-Jones and Anne-Marie de Mejia bring combined perspectives as applied and educational linguists, working primarily in Britain and Latin America, respectively. For Volume 4, Nelleke Van Deusen-Scholl has academic interests in linguistics and sociolinguistics, and has worked primarily in the Netherlands and the USA. Jim Cummins, principal volume editor for Volume 5 of both the first and second editions of the *Encyclopedia*, has interests in the psychology of language, critical applied linguistics, and language policy, informed by his work in Canada, the USA, and internationally. For Volume 6, Jasone Cenoz has academic interests in applied linguistics and language acquisition, drawing from her work in the Basque Country, Spain, and Europe. Elana Shohamy, principal volume editor for Volume 7, approaches language and education as an applied linguist with interests in critical language policy, language testing and measurement, and her own work based primarily in Israel and the USA. For Volume 8, Patricia Duff has interests in applied linguistics and sociolinguistics, and has worked primarily in North America, East Asia, and Central Europe. Volume editors for Volume 9, Angela Creese and Peter Martin, draw on their academic interests in educational linguistics and linguistic ethnography, and their research in Britain and Southeast Asia. And for Volume 10, Kendall A. King has academic interests in

sociolinguistics and educational linguistics, with work in Ecuador, Sweden, and the USA. Francis Hult, editorial assistant for the Encyclopedia, has academic interests in educational and applied linguistics and educational language policy, and has worked in Sweden and the USA. Finally, as general editor, I have interests in anthropological linguistics, educational linguistics, and language policy, with work in Latin America, the USA, and internationally. Beyond our specific academic interests, all of us editors, and the contributors to the Encyclopedia, share a commitment to the practice and theory of education, critically informed by research and strategically directed toward addressing unsound or unjust language education policies and practices wherever they are found.

Each of the ten volumes presents core information and is international in scope, as well as diverse in the populations it covers. Each volume addresses a single subject area and provides 23–30 state-of-the-art chapters of the literature on that subject. Together, the chapters aim to comprehensively cover the subject. The volumes, edited by international experts in their respective topics, were designed and developed in close collaboration with the general editor of the Encyclopedia, who is a co-editor of each volume as well as general editor of the whole work.

Each chapter is written by one or more experts on the topic, consists of about 4,000 words of text, and generally follows a similar structure. A list of references to key works supplements the authoritative information that the chapter contains. Many contributors survey early developments, major contributions, work in progress, problems and difficulties, and future directions. The aim of the chapters, and of the Encyclopedia as a whole, is to give readers access to the international literature and research on the broad diversity of topics that make up the field.

The Encyclopedia is a necessary reference set for every university and college library in the world that serves a faculty or school of education. The encyclopedia aims to speak to a prospective readership that is multinational, and to do so as unambiguously as possible. Because each book-size volume deals with a discrete and important subject in language and education, these state-of-the-art volumes also offer highly authoritative course textbooks in the areas suggested by their titles.

The scholars contributing to the Encyclopedia hail from all continents of our globe and from 41 countries; they represent a great diversity of linguistic, cultural, and disciplinary traditions. For all that, what is most impressive about the contributions gathered here is the unity of purpose and outlook they express with regard to the central role of language as both vehicle and mediator of educational processes and to the need for continued and deepening research into the limits and possibilities that implies.

Nancy H. Hornberger

INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME 5: BILINGUAL  
EDUCATION

The term *bilingual education* refers to the use of two (or more) languages of instruction at some point in a student's school career. The languages are used to teach subject matter content rather than just the language itself. This apparently simple description entails considerable complexity deriving from a multitude of sociopolitical, sociolinguistic, psychological, economic, administrative, and instructional factors. Thus, the goals, implementation, and outcomes of bilingual education programs can be analyzed from a wide range of disciplinary perspectives.

Bilingual education can be traced back to Greek and Roman times and currently a large majority of countries throughout the world offer some form of bilingual education either in public or private school settings. Formal academic research has been conducted on bilingualism and bilingual education since the 1920s and a voluminous academic literature has accumulated on these topics. Since the publication of the first edition of the *Encyclopedia of Language and Education* in 1997, the psychoeducational research on bilingual education has been synthesized and evaluated by several independent research teams (e.g., August and Shanahan, 2006; Cummins, 2001; Genesee, Lindholm-Leary, Saunders, and Christian, 2006) and considerable confidence can be placed in some general conclusions about the outcomes of bilingual education. However, controversy surrounding bilingual education continues unabated in a number of countries.

To take just one example, the level of antipathy towards bilingual education in the USA over a 25-year period is reflected in the views of prominent politicians and social commentators. President Reagan characterized bilingual education in 1981 as "absolutely wrong and against American concepts." Ten years later, historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr. opined that "bilingualism shuts doors" and "monolingual education opens doors to the larger world" (see Cummins, 2001). In early 2007, former Speaker of the House of Representatives, Newt Gingrich, characterized bilingual education as "stunningly destructive" and argued that American civilization will "decay" unless the government declares English the nation's official language.

These conclusions are contradicted by the outcomes of all recent research reviews on the effects of bilingual education, including the

August and Shanahan volume that reported the findings of the National Literacy Panel on Language Minority Children and Youth set up by the US government to evaluate the scientific evidence on this topic. The oppositional hyperbole clearly reflects the sociopolitical and ideological dimensions of bilingual education rather than its educational outcomes. The use of a language as a medium of instruction in state-funded school systems confers recognition and status on that language and its speakers. Consequently, bilingual education is not simply a politically neutral instructional phenomenon but rather is implicated in national and international competition between groups for material and symbolic resources.

Bilingual programs are usually minimally controversial when they are implemented to serve the interests of dominant groups in the society. In Canada, for example, little controversy exists in relation either to French immersion programs intended to support anglophone students in learning French or French language programs intended to help minority francophone students outside of Quebec maintain French. These programs serve the interests of the two official language groups. However, only in the province of Alberta and the territory of Nunavut in the Arctic region has there been widespread implementation of bilingual programs involving languages other than English and French. Similarly, in Europe, there have been very few bilingual programs set up to serve migrant populations in comparison to those that teach the languages of national minorities whose status has been formally recognized within the society.

Thus, the controversy in the USA can be seen in the context of the fact that it is one of the few countries in the world that has implemented bilingual education on a reasonably large scale for minority groups that do not have legally recognized status as national minorities or as official language groups.

#### RESEARCH FOUNDATION

As noted above, there is considerable consensus among applied linguists regarding the outcomes of bilingual programs. The research on bilingual education supports the following conclusions:

1. **Bilingual programs for minority and majority language students have been successfully implemented in countries around the world.** As documented in the reviews in this volume and its first edition predecessor, students educated for part of the day through a minority language do not suffer adverse consequences in the development of academic skills in the majority language. As one example, there are more than 300,000 English-background students in various forms of French–English bilingual programs

in Canada (see Genesee and Lindholm-Leary, *Dual Language Education in Canada and the USA*, Volume 5).

2. **The development of literacy in two languages entails linguistic and cognitive advantages for bilingual students.** There are hundreds of research studies carried out since the early 1960s that report significant advantages for bilingual students on a variety of metalinguistic and cognitive tasks (reviewed in Cummins, 2001). Bilingual students get more practice in learning language resulting in greater attentional control and higher levels of metalinguistic awareness.
3. **Significant positive relationships exist between the development of academic skills in first and second languages (L1 and L2).** This is true even for languages that are dissimilar (e.g., Spanish and Basque; English and Chinese; Dutch and Turkish). These cross-lingual relationships provide evidence for a *common underlying proficiency* (or what Genesee, Lindholm-Leary, Saunders, and Christian (2005) call a *cross-linguistic reservoir of abilities*) that permits transfer of academic and conceptual knowledge across languages. This transfer of skills and knowledge explains why spending instructional time through a minority language entails no adverse consequences for the development of the majority language.
4. **The most successful bilingual programs are those that aim to develop bilingualism and biliteracy.** Transitional bilingual programs provide some L1 instruction as a short-term bridge to mainstream instruction in the dominant language. However, these short-term programs are less successful, in general, than programs that continue to promote both L1 and L2 literacy throughout elementary school. Particularly successful (in the USA) are *dual-language programs* that serve majority-language dominant students in the same classes as minority students with each group acting as linguistic models for the other.
5. **Bilingual education for minority students is, in many situations, more effective in developing L2 literacy skills than monolingual education in the dominant language but it is not, by itself, a panacea for underachievement.** Francis, Lesaux, and August (2006), writing in the August and Shanahan volume, summarize the outcomes of the bilingual programs they reviewed:

In summary, there is no indication that bilingual instruction impedes academic achievement in either the native language or English, whether for language-minority students, students receiving heritage language instruction, or those enrolled in French immersion programs. Where differences were observed, on average they

avored the students in a bilingual program. The meta-analytic results clearly suggest a positive effect for bilingual instruction that is moderate in size. (2006, p. 397)

However, underachievement derives from many sources and simply providing some first language instruction will not, by itself, transform students' educational experience. As outlined in many of the papers in this volume, effective instruction will affirm student identities and build on the cultural and linguistic knowledge they bring to the classroom.

## OVERVIEW

The first ten chapters analyze a range of conceptual issues in bilingual education while the remaining chapters focus on bilingual programs in specific geographical contexts. McCarty and Skutnabb-Kangas initially clarify the terminology, distinctions, and definitions that clutter the bilingual education landscape. They pay particular attention to the ideological underpinnings of terminology evident in the ways in which issues and debates are framed.

May elaborates on some of the relevant types of bilingual education and reviews some of the major research studies supporting the positive outcomes of L1 instruction for minority language students. He cautions, however, that research results cannot be interpreted in a vacuum—the social and educational context is always relevant in determining what types of program will be appropriate and successful.

Lo Bianco reviews some of the early findings that suggested positive cognitive and linguistic effects of bilingualism and which opened the field of discourse to the implementation of enrichment, as opposed to compensatory, bilingual education. He then goes on to examine the intersection of sociopolitical and educational factors in the ways bilingual programs have been implemented in the USA, Australia, and Sri Lanka.

Schwinge focuses on the development of biliteracy within bilingual programs. She adopts Hornberger's (1990, p. 213) definition of biliteracy as "any and all instances in which communication occurs in two (or more) languages in or around writing." The research she reviews is primarily ethnographic in nature, some of which is framed explicitly within Hornberger's (2003) *Continua of Biliteracy* framework. Schwinge's review emphasizes the importance of students' linguistic and cultural funds of knowledge as a basis for learning, the reality of transfer across languages as revealed by qualitative research, and instructional approaches that have shown promise in promoting biliteracy.

Cummins highlights the fact that monolingual instructional assumptions continue to dominate pedagogy in bilingual programs. These assumptions are reflected in the rigid separation of languages in many

bilingual programs and the rejection of translation as a potential instructional strategy (e.g., in the writing and web-publication of dual-language books by students). These assumptions have resulted in minimal teaching for transfer (L1 to L2, L2 to L1) within bilingual programs and lost opportunities to optimize both language accomplishments and academic achievement.

Freeman's paper examines how broader societal power relations among local and global communities shape the forms of bilingual education that are implemented and the teacher–student interactions that occur within bilingual programs. The historical and current power relations operating in any particular society can affect how the term *bilingual education* is perceived by different groups. In New Zealand, for example, the term has negative connotations for Maori educators and communities attempting to revitalize the Maori language through Maori-medium schooling. In this context, bilingual education implies a dilution of the emphasis on Maori language and culture. Freeman points out that student identities are constantly being negotiated and shaped within all forms of schooling and thus different forms of bilingual or monolingual instruction are never neutral with respect to the intersection of student/community identities and societal power relations.

Jessner reviews recent challenges to the implicit conceptualization of the bilingual as a “double monolingual.” The term *multicompetence* has been adopted to highlight the fact that L2 users have a different mental structure than monolinguals. The dynamic model of multilingualism described by Jessner goes beyond just positing an overlap or interdependence between L1 and L2; rather a complete metamorphosis of the cognitive systems of the bi/multilingual individual is involved. This approach adopts a holistic view of L2/L3 users, and argues for the establishment of multilingual rather than monolingual norms within sociolinguistic and educational contexts. This orientation has important implications for both instruction and assessment of L2 users.

Francis presents an alternative approach to conceptualizing the cognitive structure of bi/multilingual individuals. He points out that modular approaches to the study of bilingualism attempt to analyze the cognitive components that make up a person's knowledge of two languages and his or her ability to use them. To what extent are these components autonomous domains and in what ways do they interact with other components? Francis discusses the possibility that there may be degrees of modularity in which some aspects of language development might unfold in a highly modular or “closed” way while others may be more interactive or open-ended. He relates this discussion to the notion of a cross-linguistic common underlying proficiency as well as to a number of practical issues in instruction and testing.

Skutnabb-Kangas analyzes the intersections between language rights and bilingual education. Linguistic minorities are protected by specific language rights in certain countries and, in addition, all are provided with some general protections under various United Nations charters and other conventions. However, there are relatively few binding *positive* rights to mother-tongue medium education or bilingual education in present international law. Most language-related human rights are *negative* rights designed to promote equality by prohibiting discrimination on the basis of language. Skutnabb-Kangas suggests that the resistance by national governments to the implementation of maintenance-oriented mother-tongue education derives from the fact that these programs are capable of reproducing minorities as minorities—in other words, they operate to counteract assimilation and the disappearance of the minority group as a distinct entity.

The final chapter of this initial section illustrates the struggle for linguistic human rights by means of a case study of the implementation of bilingual-bicultural education for Deaf students in Ontario, Canada. Small and Mason point out that the Education Act in Ontario allows the use of American Sign Language (ASL) and Langue des signes quebécois (LSQ) as languages of instruction in schools. However, the legislation is only permissive insofar as it does not *require* schools serving Deaf students to use ASL nor does it require teachers to have ASL proficiency. The Deaf community has mobilized to pressure the province to strengthen ASL regulations and also to ensure that all Deaf children have the opportunity to gain access to a strong first language. Currently, children who receive a cochlear implant are effectively prohibited from learning ASL by provincial regulations despite the fact that there is no research evidence to support this policy. In fact, the research clearly shows that Deaf children who develop strong ASL proficiency perform better in English literacy skills.

The remaining chapters focus on illustrative bilingual education programs and policies in different regions of the world. Obondo reviews the situation in several post-colonial African countries where policy-makers have struggled with the decision of whether to continue with programs that use the colonial language as the medium of instruction in schools or to implement initial mother tongue or bilingual instruction. Research data suggest that significantly better outcomes are attained in mother-tongue medium programs. However, the sociolinguistic complexities of the relationships between local, regional, and national languages in many countries create challenges for implementing mother tongue programs.

Similar multilingual complexities exist in India. Mohanty traces the development of multilingual education from the inception of the “three-language policy” in 1957. This policy envisaged a regional

language or mother tongue as the language of instruction for the first five years of schooling followed by Hindi (in non-Hindi areas) or another Indian language (in Hindi areas) from the sixth to the eighth year of schooling, with English taking over as the language of instruction after that point. This policy has evolved such that currently the majority language of each state has become the first language and medium of instruction in state-sponsored schools with English as the most common second language subject followed by either Hindi or Sanskrit as a third language subject. Mohanty concludes that application of the three-language formula has been erratic and that there has been a lack of coherent language planning in the Indian context.

Yu focuses on recent developments in English–Chinese bilingual education in the Chinese context. Programs have been implemented at the university level and in both public and private schools. At the university level the goal of English–Chinese bilingual education is to meet the challenge of economic globalization and technological expansion by ensuring that Chinese scholars have access to scientific developments which are predominantly published and discussed in English at this point in time. Yu points out that English–Chinese bilingual education is at a very early stage in the Chinese context. For example, the bilingual programs in secondary and primary schools in Shanghai do not have their own curriculum and the teachers who are teaching through English must adapt the regular Chinese-medium curriculum. No guidelines are available for how to improve English proficiency within the context of a bilingual program and thus teachers involved in these recent innovations are faced with multiple challenges.

Pakir provides a historical overview of the development of bilingual education policy in Singapore and evaluates its outcomes in light of international academic comparisons. English is the major medium of instruction in all Singapore schools but the mother tongues of the major groups (Chinese, Malay, Tamil) are also taught. In general, students from the major language backgrounds in Singapore have performed well in international comparisons, not only in mathematics and science but also on measures of English literacy where their scores are at similar levels to several countries where English is the first language of students and the medium of instruction in school (e.g., New Zealand, Scotland).

The chapter by Bahry, Niyozov, and Shamatov reviews the complex sociolinguistic situation in the Central Asian independent states of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan all of which were republics of the USSR until 1991. The chapter traces developments in the types of schooling provided in Central Asia and outlines current and future challenges for bilingual education as an option for the education systems of this region. Despite the multilingualism that characterizes the entire region, there are relatively few

examples of genuine bilingual education at this point in time. Schools teaching through the major language of the country co-exist with Russian-medium schools and schools operating through the mediums of various minority languages in regions where those languages are spoken. Other languages (e.g., the majority language, Russian) are typically taught as subjects rather than being used as mediums of instruction. The authors point out that these newly independent countries are engaged in complex identity discourses and are likely to experiment cautiously with bilingual programs that might be seen as potentially disrupting a delicate balance in relations between social and ethnic groups.

Within the European context, support for “lesser used languages” within the European Union and the demise of autocratic regimes (e.g., Franco in Spain) have resulted in a variety of bilingual education programs for the languages of groups recognized as national minorities. Huguet, Lasagabaster, and Vila discuss the evolution of bilingual and immersion programs in the autonomous Spanish regions of Catalonia, the Basque Country, Aragon, and Asturias. Extensive research in the Basque Country and Catalonia, and to a lesser extent in other regions, has established the effectiveness of bilingual/immersion programs in developing and reinforcing students’ abilities in the minority language at no cost to their proficiency in Spanish. As in other parts of Europe and North America, however, policy-makers are also faced with the challenge of integrating significant numbers of migrant students into the school system and ensuring that they also have the opportunity to acquire the languages of the society.

In the North American context, McCarty reviews the shift that has taken place in the goals of bilingual programs involving indigenous populations. Whereas previously bilingual programs were seen as helping to maintain the indigenous language while supporting students in developing strong academic English skills, the rapid decline in transmission of indigenous languages in the home has given rise to programs that aim to revitalize and reclaim indigenous languages. Thus, immersion programs involving various languages have been established, often in opposition to restrictive state legislation that mandates English-only instruction. For example, the Navajo immersion program in Window Rock, Arizona, has been engaged in a protracted fight with the Arizona State Department of Education which has attempted to shut it down by withholding funds. Evaluations of indigenous language programs tend to show highly positive outcomes (on English tests) in comparison to monolingual English programs. McCarty notes an increase in activism and confidence among indigenous communities in demanding control over their educational futures.

Genesee and Lindholm-Leary review the outcomes of dual-language education (DLE) in the USA and Canada. They define DLE as

schooling at the elementary and/or secondary levels in which English along with another language are used for at least 50% of academic instruction *during at least one school year*. In other words, the minority language must be used for at least 50% of the time for at least one school year but, in other years, the ratio of English to minority language might be 60:40 or 70:30. This definition also allows for the minority language to be used for 90% or more of the time at some stage of the program. Clearly DLE encompasses many forms of bilingual program for minority groups as well as immersion programs for majority groups. The authors note the convergence in findings across these different programs types and related sociolinguistic contexts. Specifically, within DLE, minority languages can be used as mediums of instruction at no long-term cost to students' proficiency in the majority language.

The two chapters that focus on the Pacific region and Australasia address a wide range of topics and issues. Lotherington notes that the predominant program model in the South Pacific is transitional bilingual education which aims to develop functional proficiency in the second (colonial) language within primary school education. There is a trend in some Polynesian countries away from a purely transitional model towards maintenance bilingual but submersion programs conducted through the former colonial language predominate in polyglot Melanesian societies. Among the barriers to the implementation of more widespread bilingual education are the lack of materials in vernacular languages, the limited support available to strengthen instruction of both the vernacular and international languages, and ambivalent attitudes towards the value of vernacular languages.

Cruikshank focuses on the sociolinguistic situation of the Arabic-speaking community in Australia. He notes that the teaching of Arabic and other community languages was marked by "a dramatic flourishing in the early 1980s, some consolidation and then a period of neglect in the last decade." Currently, Arabic is taught in community schools, in primary and secondary schools and in tertiary institutions. However, relatively few students continue to study Arabic throughout secondary school. Technological changes have exerted a significant impact on patterns of language use in the home. Many families have access to 24 hour Arabic channels such as *Al Jazeera* through cable and satellite television, and children and most teenagers watch videos and various types of television programs in Arabic regularly. There is also regular communication with family members in the countries of origin. Thus, transmission of the oral language is relatively strong despite the limited literacy abilities that most second generation students attain.

The final three chapters address the implementation of bilingual education in Latin American countries. López and Sichra note that

indigenous bilingual education dates from the early 1900s and initially was conceived as an instrument of assimilation. However, large-scale transitional bilingual projects carried out in countries such as Mexico, Peru, Guatemala, Bolivia, and Ecuador showed positive outcomes and reassured communities that use of the indigenous language was feasible and would not adversely affect students' development of Spanish proficiency. This growth in legitimacy associated with indigenous language use in educational contexts resulted in a gradual evolution in the late twentieth century towards more maintenance models designed to help develop the indigenous language as well as Spanish. Indigenous organizations and leaders have assumed a much more prominent role in the planning and implementation of bilingual education and these programs are now seen as playing an important role in recuperating indigenous views and voices.

Hamel elaborates on this general picture with a detailed examination of indigenous education in Mexico. Although the focus has been traditionally on using the indigenous language as a means to better develop Spanish skills, a shift similar to that noted by López and Sichra is evident in some contexts. For example, in 1995 the P'urhepecha (Tarascan) teachers from two bilingual elementary schools in Michoacán, in the central Highlands of Mexico, changed the curriculum so that all subject matter including literacy and mathematics was taught in P'urhepecha, the children's L1. Teachers had to create their own materials and develop a writing system. Comparative research several years later reported that students who had acquired literacy in their L1 achieved significantly higher scores in both languages than those who were taught reading and writing in Spanish.

In the final paper, de Mejia describes developments in enrichment bilingual education in South America. Most of these programs have been implemented in private schools with the same kinds of positive outcomes documented elsewhere. She notes that there have recently been attempts to connect the academic discourse on bilingual education across the majority/minority divide where the principles underlying programs for indigenous communities, Creole speakers, and Deaf communities are linked to those involving majority language speakers. De Mejia argues that there are significant areas of convergence between majority- and minority-oriented bilingual programs in relation to the maintenance of cultural identity, the status and development of the L1, and the importance of contextual factors in the design and modification of all bilingual education programs.

In conclusion, the chapters in this volume complement those in the corresponding volume of the first edition of the Encyclopedia in showing that bilingual education programs are expanding in contexts

around the globe, are highly successful in developing both L1 and L2 proficiency when implemented appropriately, and are always nested in contexts that are ideologically and sociopolitically complex.

Jim Cummins

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### VOLUME 5: BILINGUAL EDUCATION

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# Encyclopedia of Language and Education

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## VOLUME 6: KNOWLEDGE ABOUT LANGUAGE

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# Encyclopedia of Language and Education

Volume 6

## KNOWLEDGE ABOUT LANGUAGE

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GENERAL EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION

This is one of ten volumes of the *Encyclopedia of Language and Education* published by Springer. The Encyclopedia bears testimony to the dynamism and evolution of the language and education field, as it confronts the ever-burgeoning and irrepressible linguistic diversity and ongoing pressures and expectations placed on education around the world.

The publication of this work charts the deepening and broadening of the field of language and education since the 1997 publication of the first Encyclopedia. It also confirms the vision of David Corson, general editor of the first edition, who hailed the international and interdisciplinary significance and cohesion of the field. These trademark characteristics are evident in every volume and chapter of the present Encyclopedia.

In the selection of topics and contributors, the Encyclopedia seeks to reflect the depth of disciplinary knowledge, breadth of interdisciplinary perspective, and diversity of sociogeographic experience in our field. Language socialization and language ecology have been added to the original eight volume topics, reflecting these growing emphases in language education theory, research, and practice, alongside the enduring emphases on language policy, literacies, discourse, language acquisition, bilingual education, knowledge about language, language testing, and research methods. Throughout all the volumes, there is greater inclusion of scholarly contributions from non-English speaking and non-Western parts of the world, providing truly global coverage of the issues in the field. Furthermore, we have sought to integrate these voices more fully into the whole, rather than as special cases or international perspectives in separate sections.

This interdisciplinary and internationalizing impetus has been immeasurably enhanced by the advice and support of the editorial advisory board members, several of whom served as volume editors in the Encyclopedia's first edition (designated here with\*), and all of whom I acknowledge here with gratitude: Neville Alexander (South Africa), Colin Baker (Wales), Marilda Cavalcanti (Brazil), Caroline Clapham\* (Britain),

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<sup>1</sup> This introduction is based on, and takes inspiration from, David Corson's general editor's Introduction to the First Edition (Kluwer, 1997).

Bronwyn Davies\* (Australia), Viv Edwards\* (Britain), Frederick Erickson (USA), Joseph Lo Bianco (Australia), Luis Enrique Lopez (Bolivia and Peru), Allan Luke (Singapore and Australia), Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (Denmark), Bernard Spolsky (Israel), G. Richard Tucker\* (USA), Leo van Lier\* (USA), Terrence G. Wiley (USA), Ruth Wodak\* (Austria), and Ana Celia Zentella (USA).

In conceptualizing an encyclopedic approach to a field, there is always the challenge of the hierarchical structure of themes, topics, and subjects to be covered. In this *Encyclopedia of Language and Education*, the stated topics in each volume's table of contents are complemented by several cross-cutting thematic strands recurring across the volumes, including the classroom/pedagogic side of language and education; issues of identity in language and education; language ideology and education; computer technology and language education; and language rights in relation to education.

The volume editors' disciplinary and interdisciplinary academic interests and their international areas of expertise also reflect the depth and breadth of the language and education field. As principal volume editor for Volume 1, Stephen May brings academic interests in the sociology of language and language education policy, arising from his work in Britain, North America, and New Zealand. For Volume 2, Brian Street approaches language and education as social and cultural anthropologist and critical literacy theorist, drawing on his work in Iran, Britain, and around the world. For Volume 3, Marilyn Martin-Jones and Anne-Marie de Mejia bring combined perspectives as applied and educational linguists, working primarily in Britain and Latin America, respectively. For Volume 4, Nelleke Van Deusen-Scholl has academic interests in linguistics and sociolinguistics, and has worked primarily in the Netherlands and the USA. Jim Cummins, principal volume editor for Volume 5 of both the first and second editions of the *Encyclopedia*, has interests in the psychology of language, critical applied linguistics, and language policy, informed by his work in Canada, the USA, and internationally. For Volume 6, Jasone Cenoz has academic interests in applied linguistics and language acquisition, drawing from her work in the Basque Country, Spain, and Europe. Elana Shohamy, principal volume editor for Volume 7, approaches language and education as an applied linguist with interests in critical language policy, language testing and measurement, and her own work based primarily in Israel and the USA. For Volume 8, Patricia Duff has interests in applied linguistics and sociolinguistics, and has worked primarily in North America, East Asia, and Central Europe. Volume editors for Volume 9, Angela Creese and Peter Martin, draw on their academic interests in educational linguistics and linguistic ethnography, and their research in Britain and Southeast Asia. And for Volume 10, Kendall A. King has academic

interests in sociolinguistics and educational linguistics, with work in Ecuador, Sweden, and the USA. Francis Hult, editorial assistant for the Encyclopedia, has academic interests in educational and applied linguistics and educational language policy, and has worked in Sweden and the USA. Finally, as general editor, I have interests in anthropological linguistics, educational linguistics, and language policy, with work in Latin America, the USA, and internationally. Beyond our specific academic interests, all of us editors, and the contributors to the Encyclopedia, share a commitment to the practice and theory of education, critically informed by research and strategically directed toward addressing unsound or unjust language education policies and practices wherever they are found.

Each of the ten volumes presents core information and is international in scope, as well as diverse in the populations it covers. Each volume addresses a single subject area and provides 23–30 state-of-the-art chapters of the literature on that subject. Together, the chapters aim to comprehensively cover the subject. The volumes, edited by international experts in their respective topics, were designed and developed in close collaboration with the general editor of the Encyclopedia, who is a co-editor of each volume as well as general editor of the whole work.

Each chapter is written by one or more experts on the topic, consists of about 4,000 words of text, and generally follows a similar structure. A list of references to key works supplements the authoritative information that the chapters contain. Many contributors survey early developments, major contributions, work in progress, problems and difficulties, and future directions. The aim of the chapters, and of the Encyclopedia as a whole, is to give readers access to the international literature and research on the broad diversity of topics that make up the field.

The Encyclopedia is a necessary reference set for every university and college library in the world that serves a faculty or school of education. The encyclopedia aims to speak to a prospective readership that is multinational, and to do so as unambiguously as possible. Because each book-size volume deals with a discrete and important subject in language and education, these state-of-the-art volumes also offer highly authoritative course textbooks in the areas suggested by their titles.

The scholars contributing to the Encyclopedia hail from all continents of our globe and from 41 countries; they represent a great diversity of linguistic, cultural, and disciplinary traditions. For all that, what is most impressive about the contributions gathered here is the unity of purpose and outlook they express with regard to the central role of language as both vehicle and mediator of educational processes and to the need for continued and deepening research into the limits and possibilities that implies.

Nancy H. Hornberger

INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME 6: KNOWLEDGE  
ABOUT LANGUAGE

The study of knowledge about language or language awareness in education has seen important development in the last decades. Even though interest in knowledge about language goes back a long time, the publication of Hawkins' book, *Awareness of Language: An Introduction* (1984) and the Kingman Report in the UK (1988) triggered an intensified focus on reflecting about language and its importance (James, 1999). Nowadays, there is an Association for Language Awareness (<http://www.lexically.net/ala/>) which defines language awareness as '*the explicit knowledge about language, and conscious perception and sensitivity in language learning, language teaching and language use.*' Other indicators of the intense activity in the field organized by the Association for Language Awareness are the journal '*Language Awareness*' which has been published since 1993 and the Language Awareness conference which takes place every 2 years.

There are some terminological problems with the definition of 'knowledge about language' and other related terms such as 'language awareness' or 'metalinguistic awareness.' According to James (1999), there is a strong support to use 'knowledge about language,' 'language awareness' and even 'metalinguistic awareness' interchangeably. In practice, 'knowledge' and 'awareness' are used in the same way by most researchers and at the same time 'knowledge about language' and 'language awareness' are broader in scope than 'metalinguistic awareness.' 'Metalinguistic awareness' usually refers to the more specific conscious knowledge of the formal aspects of language.

The study of knowledge about language or language awareness has focused both on the mother tongue and second and foreign languages and it is clearly interdisciplinary. Some of the work in this area is educational and addresses ways of improving the teaching of languages at school and other educational settings. Another perspective considers the psycholinguistic processes involved in second language acquisition and examines the role of explicit and implicit knowledge, noticing or 'Focus on Form.' Other researchers have looked at the effect of bilingualism and multilingualism on the development of knowledge about language, in particular metalinguistic awareness. Another interesting development is that of 'critical language awareness' which analyses

social practices and language and discusses the role of power and ideology. All these perspectives are discussed in this volume.

The present volume aims at giving a state-of-the-art review of academic work on knowledge about language in education and at showing that language awareness is crucial in education. The chapters included in this volume reflect the breadth of this area and chart its possible development. Most of the reviews examine the more 'classical' areas of language awareness which can be considered as the 'core,' such as language awareness in education, critical language awareness, explicit knowledge and attention in second language acquisition. Other reviews discuss new perspectives related to knowledge about language such as awareness of the linguistic landscape or the role of technology in research on language awareness. The volume is interdisciplinary in perspective and coverage.

The volume includes a special emphasis on multilingualism and language awareness. In addition to a section on bi/multilingualism which discusses the effect of bilingualism, multilingualism and language awareness in multilingual educational contexts, most of the chapters in the volume are on second/foreign language learning and bi/multilingualism. This reflects the situation of many schools nowadays all over the world. In fact, learning a second or additional language is very common in school curricula and the school language is the second or additional language for many children who speak a minority language in the community or are immigrants.

There are 29 chapters altogether, ranging from overviews of theoretical trends and empirical studies about knowledge about language to more specific projects to develop this knowledge. The contributors come from 17 different countries from all over the world and work with different languages. In spite of this diversity, all the chapters discuss in a direct or indirect way the development of knowledge about language in education. They demonstrate that language awareness is certainly necessary for all schoolchildren at all levels.

The first section, '*Knowledge about Language and Theoretical Perspectives*,' includes seven chapters which elaborate different theoretical issues about language awareness and education. The section begins by reviewing the development of the core areas in knowledge about language and critical language awareness and goes on to discuss other related theories and proposals. Van Essen gives a historical overview of language awareness and knowledge about language and goes back to Wilhelm von Humboldt's ideas as a source of inspiration for the study of language awareness. Cots offers a state-of-the-art view of studies on knowledge about language and highlights the two main trends: psycholinguistic and educational. The next two chapters, by Janks and by Locke and Norton, adopt a critical approach to the study

of language awareness by exploring power and identity aspects of the relationship between language and society. Kasper examines the way cognition is addressed in social interaction, from the perspective of ethnomethodology, conversation analysis and discursive psychology. Verspoor provides information about cognitive linguistics and explores its applicability to second language acquisition and second language teaching. Rajagopalan closes the section with a summary of different perspectives on the study of emotion, and draws some implications for language education and second language learning.

Section two looks at '*Knowledge about Language and Language Learning.*' This section discusses psycholinguistic aspects of language awareness, in relation to both first and second language acquisition. Kovacevic explores language awareness in first language acquisition both in the situations of acquiring one single language and early bilingual development. The next three papers by N. Ellis, Robinson and R. Ellis focus on some of the psycholinguistic processes of second language acquisition. These chapters discuss crucial research in knowledge about language in second language acquisition and offer insights into concepts such as explicit and implicit knowledge, noticing, attention and Focus on Form. The next four chapters by Piske, Nation, Sharwood Smith and Alcón and Safont also explore the relationship between language awareness and second language acquisition, focusing on phonetic, lexical, morphological, syntactic and pragmatic awareness. These four reviews give a picture of the role of the specific knowledge about language in the different linguistic levels when acquiring a second language. In the final review of this section, Ranta discusses metalinguistic knowledge in oral production in a second language and elaborates on concepts such as structured input and output practice and corrective feedback.

The third section, '*Knowledge about Language, the Curriculum, the Classroom and the Teacher,*' includes seven chapters which highlight the importance of language awareness in education. Some of the reviews provide specific examples of projects and methodological approaches to foster knowledge about language while others discuss aspects related to the curriculum or the teacher. This section provides a pedagogical focus and can be very useful not only for researchers but also for practitioners. Candelier discusses two European projects to develop an awakening to languages. The idea is to carry out activities with languages not included in the school curriculum so as to develop positive attitudes and knowledge required for individual development in multilingual and multicultural contexts. Marsh discusses 'Content and Language Integrated Learning,' a European approach which uses the foreign language as the medium of instruction, and demonstrates its benefits to develop language awareness. Little focuses on another angle of language awareness, elaborating on learner autonomy understood as a particular instance

of a general human capacity which can be exploited and developed further as learners acquire communicative and metacognitive proficiency in their target second language. The next two entries by Tsui and Fenner focus on the classroom but discuss different aspects of knowledge about language. Tsui reviews research on the linguistic and non-linguistic elements involved in classroom interaction and she highlights the role of the sociocultural context in shaping classroom discourse. Fenner argues that cultural awareness is not an addition to the study of a foreign language but an integral part of second language learning. She highlights the need to develop cultural awareness and to learn a second language 'through' culture. Andrews looks at teacher language awareness understood as the interface between teachers' knowledge about language and their pedagogical practice. He provides an overview of the development of teacher language awareness and its main challenges. In the final review in this section, Sanz and Lado focus on the role of technology in research in second language acquisition and on the advantages of technology in the design of specific treatments in research studies. The use of new technologies in the study of language awareness provides access to new information regarding instruments and data collection techniques.

The fourth section, '*Knowledge about Language, Bilingualism and Multilingualism*,' includes six articles, which take up various psycholinguistic, sociolinguistic, and educational approaches to multilingualism and language awareness. Baker discusses metalinguistic awareness as related to bilingualism, code-switching, interpretation and language brokering and remarks that there are still important limitations in the field. The next two chapters approach the relationship between language awareness and bi/multilingualism from a sociolinguistic and social psychological perspective. Ó Riagáin discusses language attitudes as related to minority languages and the research methods used to assess attitudes in bilingual and multilingual contexts. This chapters shows the complexity of the concept of attitudes and the different roles of minority and majority languages in the solidarity and status dimensions. Gorter and Cenoz focus on the study of the linguistic landscape understood as the study of public and private language signs. They relate linguistic landscape to language awareness and language learning and summarize studies conducted in different multilingual contexts. They also focus on the different research methodologies used in the study of the linguistic landscape and its perception. Jessner goes beyond bilingualism and examines metalinguistic awareness in multilinguals. She highlights the interdisciplinary nature of studies in multilingualism by focusing on contributions coming from linguistics, developmental psychology and educational linguistics. The last two chapters in the volume focus on multilingual classrooms. Helot looks at an applied issue, discussing models of language education that can foster positive attitudes towards multilingualism at primary level.

She considers different ways to promote language awareness in general and also explains the Didenheim project, built on a collaborative approach with parents in an effort to move from monolingual attitudes to a situation in which multilingualism is valued. In the last chapters in this volume, García focuses on multilingual awareness in teacher education and argues that it should be the core of teacher education programs in today's multilingual schools. She describes the different degrees of multilingual awareness and its central role in education.

All in all, these 29 contributions provide an informative introduction to the complexities and controversies in this developing field of knowledge. The collection as a whole covers a broad spectrum of approaches, from educational to psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic including the study of critical language awareness. The volume adopts an interdisciplinary approach and illuminates the crucial role of language awareness in education.

Jasone Cenoz

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VOLUME 6: KNOWLEDGE ABOUT LANGUAGE

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# Encyclopedia of Language and Education

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VOLUME 7: LANGUAGE TESTING AND ASSESSMENT

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# Encyclopedia of Language and Education

Volume 7

## LANGUAGE TESTING AND ASSESSMENT

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## GENERAL EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

### ENCYCLOPEDIA OF LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION

This is one of ten volumes of the *Encyclopedia of Language and Education* published by Springer. The Encyclopedia bears testimony to the dynamism and evolution of the language and education field, as it confronts the ever-burgeoning and irrepressible linguistic diversity and ongoing pressures and expectations placed on education around the world.

The publication of this work charts the deepening and broadening of the field of language and education since the 1997 publication of the first Encyclopedia. It also confirms the vision of David Corson, general editor of the first edition, who hailed the international and interdisciplinary significance and cohesion of the field. These trademark characteristics are evident in every volume and chapter of the present Encyclopedia.

In the selection of topics and contributors, the Encyclopedia seeks to reflect the depth of disciplinary knowledge, breadth of interdisciplinary perspective, and diversity of sociogeographic experience in our field. Language socialization and language ecology have been added to the original eight volume topics, reflecting these growing emphases in language education theory, research, and practice, alongside the enduring emphases on language policy, literacies, discourse, language acquisition, bilingual education, knowledge about language, language testing, and research methods. Throughout all the volumes, there is greater inclusion of scholarly contributions from non-English speaking and non-Western parts of the world, providing truly global coverage of the issues in the field. Furthermore, we have sought to integrate these voices more fully into the whole, rather than as special cases or international perspectives in separate sections.

This interdisciplinary and internationalizing impetus has been immeasurably enhanced by the advice and support of the editorial advisory board members, several of whom served as volume editors in the Encyclopedia's first edition (designated here with\*), and all of whom I acknowledge here with gratitude: Neville Alexander (South Africa), Colin Baker (Wales), Marilda Cavalcanti (Brazil), Caroline Clapham\* (Britain),

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<sup>1</sup> This introduction is based on, and takes inspiration from, David Corson's general editor's Introduction to the First Edition (Kluwer, 1997).

Bronwyn Davies\* (Australia), Viv Edwards\* (Britain), Frederick Erickson (USA), Joseph Lo Bianco (Australia), Luis Enrique Lopez (Bolivia and Peru), Allan Luke (Singapore and Australia), Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (Denmark), Bernard Spolsky (Israel), G. Richard Tucker\* (USA), Leo van Lier\* (USA), Terrence G. Wiley (USA), Ruth Wodak\* (Austria), and Ana Celia Zentella (USA).

In conceptualizing an encyclopedic approach to a field, there is always the challenge of the hierarchical structure of themes, topics, and subjects to be covered. In this *Encyclopedia of Language and Education*, the stated topics in each volume's table of contents are complemented by several cross-cutting thematic strands recurring across the volumes, including the classroom/pedagogic side of language and education; issues of identity in language and education; language ideology and education; computer technology and language education; and language rights in relation to education.

The volume editors' disciplinary and interdisciplinary academic interests and their international areas of expertise also reflect the depth and breadth of the language and education field. As principal volume editor for Volume 1, Stephen May brings academic interests in the sociology of language and language education policy, arising from his work in Britain, North America, and New Zealand. For Volume 2, Brian Street approaches language and education as a social and cultural anthropologist and critical literacy theorist, drawing on his work in Iran, Britain, and around the world. For Volume 3, Marilyn Martin-Jones and Anne-Marie de Mejía bring combined perspectives as applied and educational linguists, working primarily in Britain and Latin America, respectively. For Volume 4, Nelleke Van Deusen-Scholl has academic interests in linguistics and sociolinguistics, and has worked primarily in the Netherlands and the USA. Jim Cummins, principal volume editor for Volume 5 of both the first and second editions of the *Encyclopedia*, has interests in the psychology of language, critical applied linguistics, and language policy, informed by his work in Canada, the USA, and internationally. For Volume 6, Jasone Cenoz has academic interests in applied linguistics and language acquisition, drawing from her work in the Basque Country, Spain, and Europe. Elana Shohamy, principal volume editor for Volume 7, approaches language and education as an applied linguist with interests in critical language policy, language testing and measurement, and her own work based primarily in Israel and the USA. For Volume 8, Patricia Duff has interests in applied linguistics and sociolinguistics, and has worked primarily in North America, East Asia, and Central Europe. Volume editors for Volume 9, Angela Creese and Peter Martin, draw on their academic interests in educational linguistics and linguistic ethnography, and their research in Britain and Southeast Asia. And for Volume 10, Kendall A. King has academic interests in sociolinguistics

and educational linguistics, with work in Ecuador, Sweden, and the USA. Francis Hult, editorial assistant for the Encyclopedia, has academic interests in educational and applied linguistics and educational language policy, and has worked in Sweden and the USA. Finally, as general editor, I have interests in anthropological linguistics, educational linguistics, and language policy, with work in Latin America, the USA, and internationally. Beyond our specific academic interests, all of us editors, and the contributors to the Encyclopedia, share a commitment to the practice and theory of education, critically informed by research and strategically directed toward addressing unsound or unjust language education policies and practices wherever they are found.

Each of the ten volumes presents core information and is international in scope, as well as diverse in the populations it covers. Each volume addresses a single subject area and provides 23–30 state-of-the-art chapters of the literature on that subject. Together, the chapters aim to comprehensively cover the subject. The volumes, edited by international experts in their respective topics, were designed and developed in close collaboration with the general editor of the Encyclopedia, who is a co-editor of each volume as well as general editor of the whole work.

Each chapter is written by one or more experts on the topic, consists of about 4,000 words of text, and generally follows a similar structure. A list of references to key works supplements the authoritative information that the chapter contains. Many contributors survey early developments, major contributions, work in progress, problems and difficulties, and future directions. The aim of the chapters, and of the Encyclopedia as a whole, is to give readers access to the international literature and research on the broad diversity of topics that make up the field.

The Encyclopedia is a necessary reference set for every university and college library in the world that serves a faculty or school of education. The Encyclopedia aims to speak to a prospective readership that is multinational, and to do so as unambiguously as possible. Because each book-size volume deals with a discrete and important subject in language and education, these state-of-the-art volumes also offer highly authoritative course textbooks in the areas suggested by their titles.

The scholars contributing to the Encyclopedia hail from all continents of our globe and from 41 countries; they represent a great diversity of linguistic, cultural, and disciplinary traditions. For all that, what is most impressive about the contributions gathered here is the unity of purpose and outlook they express with regard to the central role of language as both vehicle and mediator of educational processes and to the need for continued and deepening research into the limits and possibilities that implies.

Nancy H. Hornberger

## INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME 7: LANGUAGE TESTING AND ASSESSMENT

This volume addresses the broad theme and specific topics associated with current thinking in the field of language testing and assessment. Interdisciplinary in its nature, language testing and assessment build on theories and definitions provided by linguistics, applied linguistics, language acquisition and language teaching, as well as on the disciplines of testing, measurement and evaluation. Language testing uses these disciplines as foundations for researching, theorizing and constructing valid language tools for assessing and judging the quality of language.

The field of language testing is therefore viewed as consisting of two major components: one focusing on the ‘what’, referring to the constructs that need to be assessed (also known as ‘the trait’); and the other component pertaining to the ‘how’ (also known as ‘the method’), which addresses the specific procedures and strategies used for assessing the ‘what’. Traditionally, ‘the trait’ has been defined by the language testing field; these definitions have provided the essential elements for creating language tests. The ‘how’, on the other hand, is derived mostly from the field of testing and measurement which has, over the years, developed a broad body of theories, research, techniques and practices about testing and assessment. Language testers incorporated these two areas to create the discipline of language testing and assessment, a field which includes theories, research and applications; it has its own research publications, conferences and two major journals, *Language Testing* and *Language Assessment Quarterly*, where many of these publications appear.

An examination of the developments in the language testing and assessment field since the 1960’s reveals that its theories and practices have always been closely related to definitions of language proficiency. Matching the ‘how’ of testing with the ‘what’ of language uncovers several periods in the development of the field, with each one instantiating different notions of language knowledge along with specific measurement procedures that go with them. Thus, discrete-point testing viewed language as consisting of lexical and structural items so that the language tests of that era presented isolated items in objective testing procedures. In the integrative era, language tests tapped integrated

and discursual language; in the communicative era, tests aimed to replicate interactions among language users utilizing authentic oral and written texts; and in the performance testing era, language users were expected to perform tasks taken from 'real life' contexts. Alternative assessment was a way of responding to the realization that language knowledge is a complex phenomenon, which no single procedure can be expected to capture. Assessing language knowledge therefore requires multiple and varied procedures that complement one another.

While we have come to accept the centrality of the 'what' to the 'how' trajectory for the development of tests, extensive work in the past decade points to a less overt but highly influential dynamic in another direction. This dynamic has to do with the pivotal roles that tests play in societies in shaping the definitions of language, in affecting learning and teaching, and in maintaining and creating social classes. This means that contemporary assessment research perceives its obligations as being to examine the close relationship between methods and traits in broader contexts and to focus on how language tests interact with societal factors, given their enormous power. In other words, as language testers seek to develop and design methods and procedures for assessment (the 'how') they become mindful not only of the emerging insights regarding the trait (the 'what'), and its multiple facets and dimensions, but also of the societal role that language tests play, the power that they hold, and their central functions in education, politics and society.

In terms of the interaction of society and language, it is evident that changes are currently occurring in the broader contexts and spaces in which language testing takes place. It is being realized nowadays that language testing is not occurring in homogenous, uniform and isolated contexts but, rather, in diverse, multilingual and multicultural societies and thus posing new challenges and questions with regards to what it means to know language(s) in education and society. For example, different meanings of language knowledge may be associated with learning foreign languages, second languages, language by immersion, heritage languages, languages of immigrants arriving to new places with no knowledge of the new languages, and the languages of those defined as 'trans-nationals'. Knowing the English language, the current world's *lingua franca*, is different from knowing other languages. Similarly, the language of classrooms and schools may be different from that of the workplaces or communities where bi- or multi-lingual patterns are the norm. Each of these contexts may require different and varied theories of language knowledge and hence different definitions, applications and methods of measuring these proficiencies.

In other words, the languages currently being used in different societies in different contexts, no longer represent uniform constructs as

these vary from one place to another, from one context to another, creating different language patterns, expectations and goals, and often resulting in hybrids and fusions, especially with regards to English. Such dynamic linguistic phenomena pose challenging problems to language testers. What is the language (or languages) that needs to be assessed? Where can it be observed in the best ways? Is it different at home, in schools, in classrooms and in the workplace? Should hybrids and fusions be assessed and how? Can levels of languages even be defined? How should language proficiency be reported and to whom? What is 'good language'? Does such a term even apply? Who should decide how tests should be used? Do testers have an obligation to express their views about language and testing policy? What is the responsibility of testers to language learning and language use in classrooms and communities? How can ethical and professional behaviours with regards to tests be maintained?

These are some of the questions that language testers are currently pre-occupied with. Language testers are not technicians that just invent better and more sophisticated testing tools. Rather, they are constantly in search for and concerned with the 'what' and its complex meanings. Going beyond 'general testing', the unique aspect of *language* testing is that it is an integral part of a defined discipline, that of 'language'. In this respect, language testers and the field of language testing are different from the field of 'general testing' in that language testers are confined to a specific discipline and are therefore in constant need of asking such language-related questions as listed above in order to develop valid language assessment tools.

The concern of language testers in the past decade about the use of tests and their political, social, educational and ethical dimensions has made the field even more complex and uncertain and in need of new questions and debates. The current era can be described as the era of uncertainty, where questions are being raised about the meaning of language and the possibilities for measuring this complex and dynamic variable. At the same time, it is an era of an ever more compelling need to ensure that these tests are reliable and valid, where validity includes the protection and guarding of the personal rights of others, as well as positive washback on learning by addressing the diverse communities in which the tests are used. Thus, the current era is not only concerned with a broader and more complex view of what it means to know a language, or with innovative methods of testing and assessment of complex constructs, but also with how these tests can be more inclusive, democratic, just, open, fair and equal and less biased. Even within the use of traditional large-scale testing, the field is asking questions about tests' use: Why test? Who benefits, who loses? What are the impacts on, and consequences for definitions of

language in relation to people, education, language policy, and society? Tests are not viewed as innocent tools, but rather as instruments that play central roles for people, education and societies. Language testers, therefore, are asked to deal with broader issues: to examine the uses of tests in the complex multilingual and multicultural societies where tests are used, not only as naïve measurement tools, but also as powerful educational, societal and political devices.

This is the conceptual premise of this volume of the *Encyclopedia of Language and Education on Language and Assessment*. It aims to cover (and uncover) the multiple versions and perspectives of the ‘what’ of languages along with the multiple approaches developed for assessment of the ‘what’, especially given the multiplicity of languages used by many diverse groups of learners in many different contexts. It aims to focus on the societal roles of language testers and their responsibility to be socially accountable and to ensure ethicality and professionalism. A special focus is given in this volume to the multilingual and diverse contexts in which language testing and assessment are currently anchored, and the difficult task of ‘doing testing’ in this complex day and age.

Accordingly, the first part of the volume addresses the ‘what’ of language testing and assessment. It no longer divides language into neat and clear-cut skills of reading, writing, speaking and listening, but rather examines the ‘what’ of language in the diverse contexts in which it is used. Rather than proposing one uniform way of defining the language construct, the chapters in Part 1 present language from multiple perspectives. It begins with a chapter by Alister Cumming who reviews research and practices of language assessment from the perspectives of oral and literate modes of communication and their meanings in relation to language competencies, language learning and multimodalities. He notes that language assessment needs to be informed and extended by multiple forms of evidence in relation to educational purposes as well as diverse societies. Rama Mathew surveys developments in language assessment from the perspective of multilingual competencies as manifested in the case of India. She highlights the legitimacy of a multilingual reality in many societies nowadays, and emphasises the need to answer this call for different ways of thinking about language assessments. This is demonstrated through a survey of multilingual and multi-dialectal tests for assessing English. She then raises a number of assessment issues that emerge in these complex realities. Heidi Byrnes focusses on the role of ‘content’ as part of language proficiency as it is closely embedded with language. By using a Hallidayan approach to texts and knowledge, she shows how assessment can be interpreted as part of a set of sophisticated text meanings as well as part of knowledge that is relevant to handling content and granting differing

priority to various elements of texts and their contribution to content. These approaches are anchored within multilingualism, mainstream L2 curricula and second language literacy of diverse professional contexts, needed for 'global literacy'.

Jim Purpura applies the 'Communicative Language Ability' framework to the task of defining language and uses it as the basis for test development. By surveying the different theoretical models (and the tests developed based on them), he argues that these models represent targets of assessment that can be adapted for a range of test purposes and contexts, which consist of both grammatical and pragmatic knowledge. Accordingly, tests which are developed based on such models can help to better understand the components underlying communicative language ability, and can also help to provide useful diagnostic information to learners. Kieran O'Loughlin examines language from the angle of the workplace, focussing on language as related to the occupational purposes of professional duties. He provides a review of historical and current practices of performance-based tests related to 'real world' functions and tasks in a number of professional areas. At the same time, he is sceptical of the future of these tests, given the spread of large-scale standardized tests. Stansfield and Winke provide a somewhat different perspective of the language construct by re-visiting language aptitude. They re-define language aptitude by expanding its meaning to include second language learning aspects such as the diagnosis and treatment of L2 learning problems in order to inform curricular design and to examine the relationship between working memory and L2 learning across a range of cognitive abilities. They survey the types of aptitude tests that are in line with these new theoretical constructs and raise questions about the validity of these tests and their uses. Together, these six chapters provide multiple perspectives of the language construct and assessment practices associated with it. As these chapters demonstrate, definitions of language cannot be detached from the diverse contexts in which they are used.

The second part of the volume addresses the diverse methodological issues that language testers face in assessing the complex construct of language: that is, the 'how'. These chapters demonstrate the sophisticated issues and deliberations as well as specific procedures used for assessing language. In the first chapter, Janna Fox reviews the developments in, and outlines the procedures of alternative assessment. She expands the theoretical perspective not only by providing a longer list of 'alternatives', but also by asking whether alternative assessment represents a real paradigm shift or just additional procedures that actually preserve traditional methods of testing. She then expands the notion by incorporating different ways of thinking about testing in alternative modes, including accommodations, dynamic assessment

and ethical, democratic, and equitable values. One of the dominant cases of alternative assessment is that of task and performance, issues that Jill Wigglesworth reviews in a chapter which focusses on the tasks designed to measure learners' productive language skills through performances related to real world contexts (e.g. the workplace). She surveys the vast research literature on this topic, demonstrating the value of certain performance tests, the effect on task quality of certain variables, such as difficulty levels, cognitive demands, type of discourse they produce, as well as the extent to which they indeed represent 'real life'. In continuation with the discussion of the variety of possible assessment methods, Carol Chapelle delineates the new and current methods of utilizing technology in language assessment—(i.e. Computer-Assisted Testing (CAT)) by reviewing tests using Micro computers and the Internet, and analysing them not only in terms of their greater efficiency but also in terms of the serious problems that they pose. She surveys research on multimedia testing and its effects on learners in relation to specific skills such as listening, natural language processing, and written and spoken language. Issues of cost, training, access to infrastructure, and the intersections with construct validity are brought up, along with the question of whether computerized testing has been evolutionary or revolutionary.

While the debates on the appropriate methods of assessment are taking place, large-scale testing continues to be administered with even more force than ever before by governments and educational systems worldwide. In schools, tests are used for diagnostic purposes and to monitor students' progress (through standardized tests); at college and university levels, tests are used for the screening and selection of applicants. Antony Kunnan discusses these issues and raises questions about the advantages of uniformity of tests for the sake of fairness. He reviews the history of large-scale testing and provides safeguards for fairness in the form of descriptive test information, codes of practices, test design and psychometric qualities.

Criteria for language assessment, such as the Common European Framework, have been receiving major attention and gaining dominance over the past decade, especially with regards to their effects on the definitions of language and language policy. Glenn Fulcher provides a comprehensive description of the methods used for examining the quality of language via rating scales, standards, benchmarks, band levels, frameworks and guidelines. He shows the advantages and disadvantages of these tools in terms of validity of progression, equivalence across languages, hierarchies, false claims and their effects on definitions of language beyond serving as criteria for language evaluation.

The field of psychometrics has gone through major changes as it has attempted to accommodate the more complex tests and tasks so that

they will pass criteria of reliability, validity and ethicality. The chapter by Xiaoming Xi provides a comprehensive examination of these issues and updated methods of test validation. She shows how advances in validity benefit from progress in educational measurement, psychometrics and statistics, qualitative methods, discourse analysis, cognitive psychology as well as introspective methods about tasks' complexity. Anne Lazaraton introduces new ways of utilizing qualitative methods for designing, describing and validating language tests, a topic that is gaining acceptance and legitimacy within the field of language testing, especially given the limitations of traditional statistical methods. She demonstrates how qualitative methods can provide indication of the quality of tests both on the process and the product levels. The chapter co-authored by Micheline Chaloub-Deville and Craig Deville examines the common psychometric methods that are used in the field through a review and analysis of language testing research as reported in highly regarded testing journals. They show the multiple and varied methods which are used in testing research.

Margaret Malone introduces the topic of training and teaching about language testing given the vast amount of knowledge available today so that testers can make informed decisions throughout the assessment process about test development, scoring, interpretation, selection and administration of tests. She introduces the term 'assessment literacy' to refer to the required knowledge about testing and its multiple interpretations. Another new topic relates to the emerging field of corpus linguistics. In the chapter by Linda Taylor and Fiona Baker they illustrate how the field of corpus linguistics has become an important and relevant source of accurate language data which is useful for constructing tests based on scientific and empirical language documentation. Together, the chapters in Part 2 present multiple methods of language assessment while responding to current changes in the definitions of language.

Part 3 of the volume addresses issues of language testing as they are embedded in educational systems and contexts, where language tests are so widely used. It is in the educational system that tests and various assessment methods serve as major tools for: assessing language for learning and teaching, making decisions about programmes, teachers and learners, and finally creating changes that lead to school reforms and that bring intended and un-intended washbacks in classrooms and schools. Pauline Rae-Dickins opens Part 3 with a chapter focusing on classroom assessment, an area which is rather overlooked in relation to external high-stakes testing. She makes the distinction between assessment *of* learning (that is focused on achievement and summative in orientation) and assessment *as* learning (formative in its purpose, providing feedback to learners so that they can improve

their learning). She points to the ample progress in the latter area in the past decade and surveys studies of the many uses of different assessment tools in the classroom for feedback and effective instructional methods. Another new topic receiving recognition recently is that of Dynamic Assessment. Lantolf and Poehner introduce the topic in the context of language testing by applying Vygotsky's sociocultural theories to show how testing and learning are closely connected. This approach leads to effective learning *through* testing, as it is revealed that tests are embedded *in* learning and can therefore also contribute to its improvement. Another new development is the increased attention to assessment as part of effective learning and teaching in schools. Ofra Inbar reviews studies that address the topic of 'testing culture', showing how the use of ongoing assessment in schools is an integral part of effective and beneficial learning, as well as of school organization.

It is the realization that current schools are diverse in terms of students' languages and cultural backgrounds that has led to different assessment approaches especially with regards to immigrants and indigenous populations. Using tests in the dominant school languages poses great difficulties for these students who are engaged in language acquisition while attempting to acquire school contents. Several chapters in Part 3 address these issues. Constant Leung and Jo Lewkowicz provide an overview of the types of assessment procedures used in diverse multilingual and plurilingual communities in the context of second language assessment designed to measure language development of linguistic minority students where another language is the majority language. They note that new developments in this area are indicative of more progressive views, which recognize the multifaceted value of language proficiency. Cath Rau discusses assessment strategies for indigenous populations in schools in places where indigenous groups make up a big part of the population, as in the case of the Maōri and other groups in New Zealand. She surveys descriptions of a number of strategies used to practice testing in fairer ways, incorporating existing language knowledge.

Test accommodations refer to strategies used for language learners to assess their content knowledge while compensating for lack of language knowledge in order to create fairer testing conditions for those for whom the language of assessment is their second language. Jamal Abedi reviews the extensive research that has been conducted in the past decade on the topic, examining effective accommodations for language learners, mostly in the context of English language learners in the USA. He brings evidence from research about different types of accommodations in content areas such as Mathematics while being critical of the uses of some accommodations that have no empirical bases.

Issues of washback and impact of large-scale testing on teaching and learning have stimulated ample research and writings in the past decade. The chapter by Liying Cheng surveys the large number of empirical studies that have documented the effects and impacts that tests have on learning, teaching and curriculum development. It is evident that test washback is considered nowadays as an integral part of construct validity since it is incorporated in developments of large-scale tests. Geoff Brindley demonstrates how language tests are used by governments to reform educational systems, pointing to serious problems related to the practice of relying exclusively on tests for educational reform. Alison Bailey addresses methods and techniques used for assessing the language of young learners in schools, pointing to the different strategies of these kinds of tests compared with those used for adults. This topic is gaining major attention nowadays with the growing number of young learners of English worldwide. Taken together, the chapters in Part 3 cover a wide range of topics related to broad issues of language assessment in education, especially amidst the changing realities of school demographics with regards to diverse populations and the use of tests in bringing about educational reform.

The fourth and concluding part of the volume addresses societal, political, professional and ethical dimensions of tests; a topic that has been a major concern in the language testing field over the past decade. Each of the four chapters addresses different aspects of these dimensions. The chapter by Kate Menken illustrates how national language tests, especially those administered by government initiatives (e.g. the No Child Left Behind mandate in the US) affect language policy in schools and societies and deliver direct messages about the significance and insignificance of certain languages and language instruction policies. She shows how language testing and language policy are closely connected, arguing that language tests have a greater effect than is viewed on the surface. This is especially relevant in contexts that include learners for whom the language of the test affects their ability to perform academically. Tim McNamara explains the need for taking into account the social and political dimensions of tests versus the structuralist and psychometric dimensions which have previously dominated academic discussions around language testing. In his chapter, he surveys various social theories of linguistics and their important input into the field of language testing, with special attention to the work of Messick, who described the values and consequences of tests as part of construct validity. He surveys studies and cases where language tests are used unjustly, such as in determining citizenship, employment and the status of asylum seekers. Alan Davies, who has written extensively on the ethical dimensions of tests and especially on the professional aspects related to ethicality, addresses these issues by covering the developments in the language

testing field, showing how the Code of Ethics and Code of Practice, developed by the language testing profession via the International Language Testing Association (ILTA), can lead to the more ethical use of tests. He warns against the use of such codes as face-saving devices, action which, Davies argues, overlooks the real commitment to ethics that is instrumental for the profession itself, for its stakeholders and for the rights of individual test-takers. The final chapter, by Bernard Spolsky, examines the past, present and future of the field of language testing, providing guidance and direction for future vision. He surveys the history of the field with its advances as well as the ample questions and uncertainties that emerge and that need to be addressed in the future, while pointing to the contradictions, problems and difficulties of measuring and assessing such a complex construct as ‘language’. He ends the chapter by stating that he remains sceptical given the role of industrial test-makers in computerizing tests and in reducing multidimensional profiles into uniform scales, and also given that educational systems continue to interpret test scores as if they are meaningful. At the same time, he expects the quality research that has been conducted in the field of language testing to continue—especially that which has been conducted in relation to the ‘nature’ of language proficiency and the diverse approaches to assessing it in defined social contexts.

I would like to thank each and every author of these chapters, which together make up a most valuable contribution to current thinking in the field of language testing and applied linguistics. The authors selected to write these chapters are among the most distinguished scholars and leaders in the field of language testing. The chapters herein reveal that the language testing field is dynamic, striving and vital. It is clear from these chapters that the field of language testing raises important and deep questions and does not overlook problems, difficulties, contradictions, malpractices and new societal realities and needs. While viewed by some as a technical field, this volume convincingly demonstrates that language testing and assessment is above all a scholarly and intellectual field that touches the essence of languages and their meanings. The need to get engaged in testing and assessment forces testers to face these issues head-on and attempt to deliberate on creative and thoughtful solutions.

Finally, special personal and deep thanks to Caroline Clapham who in her 1997 volume on Language Testing in the first edition of the *Encyclopedia of Language and Education* set the foundations and grounds for the field in such insightful and thorough ways that it has now been possible to expand and create this very comprehensive and stimulating volume.

Elana Shohamy

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# Encyclopedia of Language and Education

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## VOLUME 8: LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION

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# Encyclopedia of Language and Education

Volume 8

## LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION

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GENERAL EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION

This is one of ten volumes of the *Encyclopedia of Language and Education* published by Springer. The Encyclopedia bears testimony to the dynamism and evolution of the language and education field, as it confronts the ever-burgeoning and irrepressible linguistic diversity and ongoing pressures and expectations placed on education around the world.

The publication of this work charts the deepening and broadening of the field of language and education since the 1997 publication of the first Encyclopedia. It also confirms the vision of David Corson, general editor of the first edition, who hailed the international and interdisciplinary significance and cohesion of the field. These trademark characteristics are evident in every volume and chapter of the present Encyclopedia.

In the selection of topics and contributors, the Encyclopedia seeks to reflect the depth of disciplinary knowledge, breadth of interdisciplinary perspective, and diversity of sociogeographic experience in our field. Language socialization and language ecology have been added to the original eight volume topics, reflecting these growing emphases in language education theory, research, and practice, alongside the enduring emphases on language policy, literacies, discourse, language acquisition, bilingual education, knowledge about language, language testing, and research methods. Throughout all the volumes, there is greater inclusion of scholarly contributions from non-English speaking and non-Western parts of the world, providing truly global coverage of the issues in the field. Furthermore, we have sought to integrate these voices more fully into the whole, rather than as special cases or international perspectives in separate sections.

This interdisciplinary and internationalizing impetus has been immeasurably enhanced by the advice and support of the editorial advisory board members, several of whom served as volume editors in the Encyclopedia's first edition (designated here with\*), and all of whom I acknowledge here with gratitude: Neville Alexander (South Africa), Colin Baker (Wales), Marilda Cavalcanti (Brazil), Caroline Clapham\* (Britain),

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<sup>1</sup> This introduction is based on, and takes inspiration from, David Corson's general editor's Introduction to the First Edition (Kluwer, 1997).

Bronwyn Davies\* (Australia), Viv Edwards\* (Britain), Frederick Erickson (USA), Joseph Lo Bianco (Australia), Luis Enrique Lopez (Bolivia and Peru), Allan Luke (Singapore and Australia), Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (Denmark), Bernard Spolsky (Israel), G. Richard Tucker\* (USA), Leo van Lier\* (USA), Terrence G. Wiley (USA), Ruth Wodak\* (Austria), and Ana Celia Zentella (USA).

In conceptualizing an encyclopedic approach to a field, there is always the challenge of the hierarchical structure of themes, topics, and subjects to be covered. In this *Encyclopedia of Language and Education*, the stated topics in each volume's table of contents are complemented by several cross-cutting thematic strands recurring across the volumes, including the classroom/pedagogic side of language and education; issues of identity in language and education; language ideology and education; computer technology and language education; and language rights in relation to education.

The volume editors' disciplinary and interdisciplinary academic interests and their international areas of expertise also reflect the depth and breadth of the language and education field. As principal volume editor for Volume 1, Stephen May brings academic interests in the sociology of language and language education policy, arising from his work in Britain, North America, and New Zealand. For Volume 2, Brian Street approaches language and education as social and cultural anthropologist and critical literacy theorist, drawing on his work in Iran, Britain, and around the world. For Volume 3, Marilyn Martin-Jones and Anne-Marie de Mejia bring combined perspectives as applied and educational linguists, working primarily in Britain and Latin America, respectively. For Volume 4, Nelleke Van Deusen-Scholl has academic interests in linguistics and sociolinguistics, and has worked primarily in the Netherlands and the USA. Jim Cummins, principal volume editor for Volume 5 of both the first and second editions of the *Encyclopedia*, has interests in the psychology of language, critical applied linguistics, and language policy, informed by his work in Canada, the USA, and internationally. For Volume 6, Jasone Cenoz has academic interests in applied linguistics and language acquisition, drawing from her work in the Basque Country, Spain, and Europe. Elana Shohamy, principal volume editor for Volume 7, approaches language and education as an applied linguist with interests in critical language policy, language testing and measurement, and her own work based primarily in Israel and the USA. For Volume 8, Patricia A. Duff has interests in applied linguistics and sociolinguistics, and has worked primarily in North America, East Asia, and Central Europe. Volume editors for Volume 9, Angela Creese and Peter Martin, draw on their academic interests in educational linguistics and linguistic ethnography, and their research in Britain and Southeast Asia. And for Volume 10, Kendall A. King has academic interests in sociolinguistics

and educational linguistics, with work in Ecuador, Sweden, and the USA. Francis Hult, editorial assistant for the Encyclopedia, has academic interests in educational and applied linguistics and educational language policy, and has worked in Sweden and the USA. Finally, as general editor, I have interests in anthropological linguistics, educational linguistics, and language policy, with work in Latin America, the USA, and internationally. Beyond our specific academic interests, all of us editors, and the contributors to the Encyclopedia, share a commitment to the practice and theory of education, critically informed by research and strategically directed toward addressing unsound or unjust language education policies and practices wherever they are found.

Each of the ten volumes presents core information and is international in scope, as well as diverse in the populations it covers. Each volume addresses a single subject area and provides 23–30 state-of-the-art chapter of the literature on that subject. Together, the chapters aim to comprehensively cover the subject. The volumes, edited by international experts in their respective topics, were designed and developed in close collaboration with the general editor of the Encyclopedia, who is a co-editor of each volume as well as general editor of the whole work.

Each chapter is written by one or more experts on the topic, consists of about 4,000 words of text, and generally follows a similar structure. A list of references to key works supplements the authoritative information that the review contains. Many contributors survey early developments, major contributions, work in progress, problems and difficulties, and future directions. The aim of the chapters, and of the Encyclopedia as a whole, is to give readers access to the international literature and research on the broad diversity of topics that make up the field.

The Encyclopedia is a necessary reference set for every university and college library in the world that serves a faculty or school of education. The encyclopedia aims to speak to a prospective readership that is multinational, and to do so as unambiguously as possible. Because each book-size volume deals with a discrete and important subject in language and education, these state-of-the-art volumes also offer highly authoritative course textbooks in the areas suggested by their titles.

The scholars contributing to the Encyclopedia hail from all continents of our globe and from 41 countries; they represent a great diversity of linguistic, cultural, and disciplinary traditions. For all that, what is most impressive about the contributions gathered here is the unity of purpose and outlook they express with regard to the central role of language as both vehicle and mediator of educational processes and to the need for continued and deepening research into the limits and possibilities that implies.

Nancy H. Hornberger

## INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME 8: LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION

Since the late 1970s, considerable research has been conducted on how children and other novices become both communicatively and culturally competent within their homes, schools, and other discourse communities. The research has examined spoken, written, signed, and additional linguistic and semiotic systems people use to convey meanings. It has also studied the identities, stances or values, and practices that characterize membership in a particular cultural group that newcomers are expected to appropriate when learning language.

This eighth volume of the *Encyclopedia of Language and Education*, with its focus on language socialization, has been added to the original set published a decade ago to reflect the burgeoning research in this area, especially since the late 1980s. Language socialization complements research on language acquisition and formal language education by paying particular attention to the social, cultural, and interactional contexts in which language and other kinds of knowledge are learned, both formally and informally, and by examining the role of teachers, peers, siblings, and other more experienced members of the culture who explicitly or implicitly help novices gain expertise in the ways of the community.

Although most chapters in this volume include a section on the early developments of research within the particular learning context that is featured, Elinor Ochs and Bambi Schieffelin, in the first chapter, provide an important 30-year retrospective of the historical and disciplinary roots of language socialization in psychology, anthropology, linguistics, sociology, and education and its development in the USA, particularly, where the majority of scholars doing language socialization research have been educated—many of them by Ochs and Schieffelin themselves. Because of its early and enduring association with American linguistic anthropology, language socialization research has only gradually been taken up by communities of researchers in non-English-dominant societies or approaching similar phenomena from different analytic traditions but also framed as “language socialization.” Unfortunately, Volume 8 has fewer authors from different countries than other volumes do, as a result. Yet the research represented in this volume does include, to the extent possible, work being undertaken in

a wide and diverse range of linguistic, ethnic, and geographical regions of the world, from small-scale and pre-industrialized societies to highly industrialized ones. Samoa, Papua New Guinea, Cameroon, Thailand, Japan, Hungary, Sweden, Israel, Italy, Canada, the UK, Australia, and the USA are just some of the countries whose cultures and languages and socialization routines are examined here.

One crucial aspect of language socialization that is emphasized in each chapter as well as within and across the sections is the following: that gaining competence in new ways of using language and representing meanings, including in our own primary languages, is an ongoing one that occurs throughout one's life, from birth to death. However, whereas many studies of children's language and literacy socialization have been conducted, insufficient research to date has examined the other end of the continuum, namely, communities of the elderly living together or elderly persons functioning within their own multigenerational communities. Too little attention has been paid to aging and, in some cases, the attendant degenerative conditions that necessitate the learning of new ways of speaking, signing, writing, and comprehending texts for geriatric populations themselves and also for their loved ones and caregivers. In view of the quickly aging populations in most industrialized countries, future editions of this volume or similar publications would ideally have a section on language socialization and aging, assuming that sufficient research will be conducted on these topics in the near future: among healthy older individuals learning new languages and literacy practices required for work, leisure, or (im)migration, for example; among older adults learning new communication strategies as their erstwhile "normal" functioning begins to change or deteriorate for a variety of social, psychological, and medical reasons; and among the caregivers who assist these individuals, who must also be socialized into comprehensible new modes of communication, responsive to the needs and conditions of their interlocutors.

In addition to being a lifelong process, language socialization and its accompanying discourse practices vary *across* the activities and communities one participates in at any given age or stage in life. Each community of practice has its own norms, preferences, and expectations about language and literacy practices and ideologies within that local "culture." The chapters in this volume reflect that diversity of experience by noting the different ways in which people may engage in language socialization across activities within the home, or at school, or in youth groups, gangs, gendered groups, in cyberspace and in community organizations, or in higher education or vocational training, across a range of professions, or among people with disabilities affecting their socialization and communication.

Certainly, these are but a few of the communities that could have been included. Missing are accounts of language socialization within religious communities (for indigenous members as well as outsiders seeking entry), in transgendered or other sexual-minority subcultures, in sports clubs, in the myriad professions or vocations not described here, in South Asia, the Middle East, and other underrepresented regions in this volume and their ethnolinguistic populations, and among people across a wider spectrum of disabilities (apart from schizophrenia, which is included) as well as abilities. Thus, the chapters in this volume represent just a partial selection of current scholarship on language socialization. Fortunately, the research surveyed in the other nine volumes in the Encyclopedia complements what is presented here to some extent.

The creation of the sections used in this volume on language socialization, within the home or at school (with a focus on children), among adolescents and adults, or, alternatively, in particular communities where one age group is not being foregrounded, is meant to reflect an organic and situated lifespan approach. However, this clustering of chapters and thus of research approaches, populations, and communities might be construed as too delimited and restrictive. As many authors note, successful engagement in the discourse practices in one context (e.g., at school, in higher education, or at work) typically presupposes prior language/literacy socialization of a particular type in other contexts. Furthermore, acknowledging, as many scholars do, that language socialization is a bi- or multidirectional process in which not only novices but also more experienced community members are being socialized by mutual engagement in language/literacy practices, a focus on children in the home or at school may inadvertently obscure the notion that within those same contexts older siblings, parents, teachers, and others are being socialized into new practices, orientations, and understandings at the same time. Also, language socialization at home, in community groups, and at school is often concurrent and interdependent; it may occur in a very similar, compatible, and complementary manner, or in a completely different, even contradictory, way. Thus, the section divisions are mainly used for heuristic thematizing purposes but readers should think of these sections as layers in multi-layered and heavily textured experiences of lifewide as well as lifelong socialization.

In addition to conceiving of these contexts as different, overlapping and intersecting layers of experience, we must understand the potential for innovation and syncretism within any particular stratum or locus of socialization. Language socialization for many people and communities in the twenty-first century involves the co-existence of more than

one language or dialect, may be mediated by new information and communication technologies, and may entail the development of syncretic linguistic, discursive, and cultural practices and correspondingly hybrid identities. Nowhere is such hybridity and multilingualism more apparent than in some of the transnational, diasporic, immigrant, and postcolonial communities described in this volume, in contrast, perhaps, to some earlier work that focused on primarily monolingual populations and discourse processes. Of course, in many regions of the world, numerous local languages and cultures have co-existed or been in contact for many generations so this is not a new phenomenon (as other volumes in the Encyclopedia demonstrate so well) but it is an important current focus in language socialization. Much research in “foreign-” or second-language learning contexts, as well as in multilingual or diglossic contexts in which a colonial language may be the language of formal education, foregrounds the different language ideologies and norms into which newcomers are socialized and the discontinuities as well as continuities that may exist between home/community and school practices.

This volume is organized around five sections. Section One, the largest section, highlights historical, theoretical, and methodological approaches to language socialization research and the emergence of language socialization as a distinct subfield of linguistic anthropology and applied linguistics with obvious relevance to education. In addition to the previously mentioned overview piece by Ochs and Schieffelin, Claire Kramsch and Sune Vork Steffensen examine theoretical issues in second-language acquisition and socialization in light of current “ecological” perspectives (the primary focus of Volume 9). Betsy Rymes describes the relationship between language socialization and the linguistic anthropology of education, a conceptual and methodological orientation. Matthew Bronson and Karen Watson-Gegeo examine language socialization in contrast with the shortcomings in second-language acquisition research that is uncritical, socially uncontextualized, and unconcerned with issues of learner agency and voice. Next, Geoff Williams presents a Systemic Functional Linguistic approach to language socialization, drawing on the foundational social and linguistic scholarship of Basil Bernstein, Michael Halliday, and Ruqaiya Hasan, in particular. The sixth chapter, by Duanduan Li, examines research on the socialization of pragmatics, such as speech acts and politeness routines, in first- and second-language contexts and among children and adults. Readers are also referred to the chapter by Paul Garrett in Volume 10 on research methods in language socialization, which we have not wanted to duplicate in this volume.

Section Two focuses to a great extent on children in their interactions with family members, siblings, and peers at home and in the

community. Shoshana Blum-Kulka describes studies of language socialization in the context of family dinnertime discussions in the USA, Italy, Greece, and Israel, among other countries. Amy Paugh looks at how children are socialized into understandings about the nature, value, and tensions connected with work as a result of hearing about and observing the working lives of their parents. Kate Pahl highlights language socialization and multimodality (e.g., involving different kinds of juxtaposed images, scripts, and texts) in multilingual urban homes. Delyth Morris and Kathryn Jones focus specifically on minority language revitalization in Europe (and especially Wales) by investigating home language socialization. The last chapter in this section, by Amy Kyratzis and Jenny Cook-Gumperz, describes gendered language socialization among children, critiquing earlier work that examined gender in an overly static, dichotomous, or essentialized manner and presenting currently favored approaches that take context, contingency, and agency into account more fully.

The third section surveys research on language and literacy socialization and schooling. Patricia Baquedano-López and Shlomy Kattan describe general themes in research in schools in the USA and elsewhere in terms of their sociological versus ideological orientation. Leslie Moore presents research on language education (second/foreign and multilingual) in non-Western settings in Africa (especially Cameroon), Asia, and Central Europe and the effects of colonialism, missionization, and globalization on indigenous practices and language ideologies. Examining cross-generational language shift among school-aged children, Kathryn Howard provides examples of research in a similarly broad cross-section of geographical domains, from Papua New Guinea and Thailand to islands in the Caribbean, where vernacular and national Standard languages at home and at school, respectively, may give way to syncretic or hybrid codes and practices or may cross domains (e.g., use of the vernacular language at school or the standard national variety at home). The last chapter in this section, by Agnes He, describes research on heritage language education and socialization, one of the newer domains for language socialization research, particularly in immigrant-receiving countries such as the USA.

In the fourth section, Shirley Brice Heath provides a far-reaching, multi-century perspective on the socialization and apprenticeship of adolescents and young adults into a range of language/literacy practices within their learning communities, both legal—or condoned by society—and not. Daryl Gordon reviews research on gendered second-language socialization among immigrant populations, focusing primarily on adolescents and adults but noting important studies involving children as well. Naoko Morita and Masaki Kobayashi then describe academic second-language discourse socialization at the

postsecondary level mainly. Finally, Patricia Duff examines the relationship between language socialization in higher education contexts, such as universities and vocational programs, and socialization for work in the service sector and in professions such as medicine and law.

Section Five concludes the volume with fascinating accounts of socialization within and across particular communities where the focus is less on childhood versus adolescence versus adulthood, or home versus school versus work domains, but, rather, on the particular languages, language ecologies, as well as modes of communication that are in use or, conversely, may be in decline. Diane Pesco and Martha Crago describe language socialization in Canadian Aboriginal communities, representing both rural and urban, and monolingual and bi- or multilingual groups (e.g., Cree, Inuit, or Algonquin, in combination with French and/or English). Carol Erting and Marlon Kuntze present research on language socialization into Deaf communities—or the “DEAF-WORLD”—both nationally and internationally, which often occurs in late childhood or even adulthood and thus presents a unique context for first-language socialization. Eva Lam describes language socialization and hybrid languages, identities, and textual practices fostered in online communities among diasporic and transnational groups, for example. Haruko Cook documents research on socialization in Japanese as a first and second language in Japan and elsewhere, highlighting how learners of Japanese learn to encode affect, honorifics, gender-appropriate forms, and formal register in their speech. The final chapter, by Irene Walsh, deals with the challenges of language socialization (or resocialization) for people with mental health disorders, such as schizophrenia, and those employed to assist them.

As these chapters reveal, developments in the young field of language socialization are very exciting. The authors included in the volume have approached the phenomenon of language socialization from different but complementary traditions and disciplines, and using a variety of methods: drawing on linguistic anthropology, functional linguistics, psychology, applied linguistics, semiotics, speech and language pathology, and education, for example. As a set, the papers provide compelling insights into the intricacies novices encounter when trying to become proficient in another culture’s or community’s codes and practices.

The conditions for learning vary considerably across the chapters. In some contexts, strong, stable models of the target practices exist (e.g., in longstanding family dinnertime narrative traditions); in others, practices are being contested or are undergoing significant change or innovation, as in communities experiencing language shift, language revitalization, or the development of new communication codes (e.g., in cyber-communication). In yet other contexts, expert models of

communicative competence may be fleeting, inaccessible, or absent from language learners' immediate lives (e.g., for the deaf children of hearing parents who do not have access to signed language in the home, community, or school sometimes for many years); and in quite different cases, the communication skills once possessed by mature, communicatively competent individuals, for complex neurological and cortical reasons, may have regressed dramatically; or, in the case of some autistic individuals, they may never have fully attained a normal repertoire of linguistic and communicative ability and therefore require assistance to gain independence and greater functionality through specialized language-socialization interventions. The co-existence of multiple language codes, orthographies, and symbolic or semiotic systems only increases the possible range of trajectories, experiences, challenges, and epistemologies learners might experience in any of the above contexts.

It is our hope that this volume will contribute meaningfully to current understandings and debates about language socialization and language education and will also catalyze future research in thematic areas recommended by the authors as well as in those ethnolinguistic, geographical, developmental, and other community contexts that have not been adequately represented here or investigated up to now. Further scholarship in language socialization, as demonstrated so well in these chapters, will help illuminate the often taken-for-granted richness and complexity of everyday interactions in the service of human learning, enculturation, and communicative competence, and will also inform effective educational interventions for novices seeking legitimacy, proficiency, and integration in their new discourse communities.

Patricia A. Duff

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# Encyclopedia of Language and Education

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## VOLUME 9: ECOLOGY OF LANGUAGE

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# Encyclopedia of Language and Education

Volume 9

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## GENERAL EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

### ENCYCLOPEDIA OF LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION

This is one of ten volumes of the *Encyclopedia of Language and Education* published by Springer. The Encyclopedia bears testimony to the dynamism and evolution of the language and education field, as it confronts the ever-burgeoning and irrepressible linguistic diversity and ongoing pressures and expectations placed on education around the world.

The publication of this work charts the deepening and broadening of the field of language and education since the 1997 publication of the first Encyclopedia. It also confirms the vision of David Corson, general editor of the first edition, who hailed the international and interdisciplinary significance and cohesion of the field. These trademark characteristics are evident in every volume and review of the present Encyclopedia.

In the selection of topics and contributors, the Encyclopedia seeks to reflect the depth of disciplinary knowledge, breadth of interdisciplinary perspective, and diversity of sociogeographic experience in our field. Language socialization and language ecology have been added to the original eight volume topics, reflecting these growing emphases in language education theory, research, and practice, alongside the enduring emphases on language policy, literacies, discourse, language acquisition, bilingual education, knowledge about language, language testing, and research methods. Throughout all the volumes, there is greater inclusion of scholarly contributions from non-English speaking and non-Western parts of the world, providing truly global coverage of the issues in the field. Furthermore, we have sought to integrate these voices more fully into the whole, rather than as special cases or international perspectives in separate sections.

This interdisciplinary and internationalizing impetus has been immeasurably enhanced by the advice and support of the editorial advisory board members, several of whom served as volume editors in the Encyclopedia's first edition (designated here with\*), and all of whom I acknowledge here with gratitude: Neville Alexander (South Africa), Colin Baker (Wales), Marilda Cavalcanti (Brazil), Caroline Clapham\* (Britain),

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<sup>1</sup> This introduction is based on, and takes inspiration from, David Corson's general editor's Introduction to the First Edition (Kluwer, 1997).

Bronwyn Davies\* (Australia), Viv Edwards\* (Britain), Frederick Erickson (USA), Joseph Lo Bianco (Australia), Luis Enrique Lopez (Bolivia and Peru), Allan Luke (Singapore and Australia), Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (Denmark), Bernard Spolsky (Israel), G. Richard Tucker\* (USA), Leo van Lier\* (USA), Terrence G. Wiley (USA), Ruth Wodak\* (Austria), and Ana Celia Zentella (USA).

In conceptualizing an encyclopedic approach to a field, there is always the challenge of the hierarchical structure of themes, topics, and subjects to be covered. In this *Encyclopedia of Language and Education*, the stated topics in each volume's table of contents are complemented by several cross-cutting thematic strands recurring across the volumes, including the classroom/pedagogic side of language and education; issues of identity in language and education; language ideology and education; computer technology and language education; and language rights in relation to education.

The volume editors' disciplinary and interdisciplinary academic interests and their international areas of expertise also reflect the depth and breadth of the language and education field. As principal volume editor for Volume 1, Stephen May brings academic interests in the sociology of language and language education policy, arising from his work in Britain, North America, and New Zealand. For Volume 2, Brian Street approaches language and education as social and cultural anthropologist and critical literacy theorist, drawing on his work in Iran, Britain, and around the world. For Volume 3, Marilyn Martin-Jones and Anne-Marie de Mejia bring combined perspectives as applied and educational linguists, working primarily in Britain and Latin America, respectively. For Volume 4, Nelleke Van Deusen-Scholl has academic interests in linguistics and sociolinguistics, and work in the Netherlands and the USA. Jim Cummins, principal volume editor for Volume 5 of both the first and second editions of the *Encyclopedia*, has interests in the psychology of language, critical applied linguistics, and language policy, informed by his work in Canada, the USA, and internationally. For Volume 6, Jasone Cenoz has academic interests in applied linguistics and language acquisition, drawing from her work in the Basque Country, Spain, and Europe. Elana Shohamy, principal volume editor for Volume 7, approaches language and education as an applied linguist with interests in critical language policy, language testing and measurement, and her own work based primarily in Israel and the USA. For Volume 8, Patricia Duff has interests in applied linguistics and sociolinguistics, and has worked primarily in North America, East Asia, and Central Europe. Volume editors for Volume 9, Angela Creese and Peter Martin, draw on their academic interests in educational linguistics and linguistic ethnography, and their research in Britain and Southeast Asia. And for Volume 10, Kendall A. King has academic interests in sociolinguistics and educational

linguistics, with work in Ecuador, Sweden, and the USA. Francis Hult, editorial assistant for the Encyclopedia, has academic interests in educational and applied linguistics and educational language policy, and has worked in Sweden and the USA. Finally, as general editor, I have interests in anthropological linguistics, educational linguistics, and language policy, with work in Latin America, the USA, and internationally. Beyond our specific academic interests, all of us editors, and the contributors to the Encyclopedia, share a commitment to the practice and theory of education, critically informed by research and strategically directed toward addressing unsound or unjust language education policies and practices wherever they are found.

Each of the ten volumes presents core information and is international in scope, as well as diverse in the populations it covers. Each volume addresses a single subject area and provides 23–30 state-of-the-art reviews of the literature on that subject. Together, the reviews aim to comprehensively cover the subject. The volumes, edited by international experts in their respective topics, were designed and developed in close collaboration with the general editor of the Encyclopedia, who is a co-editor of each volume as well as general editor of the whole work.

Each review is written by one or more experts on the topic, consists of about 4,000 words of text, and generally follows a similar structure. A list of references to key works supplements the authoritative information that the review contains. Many contributors survey early developments, major contributions, work in progress, problems and difficulties, and future directions. The aim of the reviews, and of the Encyclopedia as a whole, is to give readers access to the international literature and research on the broad diversity of topics that make up the field.

The Encyclopedia is a necessary reference set for every university and college library in the world that serves a faculty or school of education. The encyclopedia aims to speak to a prospective readership that is multinational, and to do so as unambiguously as possible. Because each book-size volume deals with a discrete and important subject in language and education, these state-of-the-art volumes also offer highly authoritative course textbooks in the areas suggested by their titles.

The scholars contributing to the Encyclopedia hail from all continents of our globe and from 41 countries; they represent a great diversity of linguistic, cultural, and disciplinary traditions. For all that, what is most impressive about the contributions gathered here is the unity of purpose and outlook they express with regard to the central role of language as both vehicle and mediator of educational processes and to the need for continued and deepening research into the limits and possibilities that implies.

Nancy H. Hornberger

## INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME 9: ECOLOGY OF LANGUAGE

Language ecology may be defined as the study of interactions between any given language and its environment . . . The true environment of a language is the society that uses it as one of its codes. Language exists only in the minds of its users, and it only functions in relating these users to one another and to nature, i.e. their social and natural environment. Part of its ecology is therefore psychological: its interaction with other languages in the minds of bi- and multilingual speakers. Another part of its ecology is sociological: its interaction with the society in which it functions as a medium of communication. The ecology of a language is determined primarily by the people who learn it, use it, and transmit it to others. (Haugen, 1972, p. 325)

Since Haugen made this statement, the term ‘language ecology’ has increasingly appeared in the literature, in a range of guises. This literature on language ecology includes discussion related to cognitive development and human interaction, the maintenance and survival of languages, the promotion of linguistic diversity, language policy and planning, language acquisition, language evolution, language ideology, the ecology of (multilingual) classroom interaction and the ecologies of literacy, oracies and discourses. Indeed, it has been noted that there is an ‘infinite world of possibilities’ for language ecology (Barron et al., 2002, p. 10).

This volume collects together chapters concerned with ecologies of language, literacy and learning. The study of language ecology is the study of diversity within specific socio-political settings where the processes of language use create, reflect and challenge particular hierarchies and hegemonies, however transient these might be. It will be at once apparent that all of the themes above (language, literacy and learning) are central to our understanding of education and an ecological perspective demands a particular view of education and classroom practice as situated and localised. However, it also views these schools and classrooms and their interactive practices as part of a bigger and more powerful political state in which ideologies function to reproduce particular balances of power. It is not surprising then that many of the

chapters in this volume start small and describe big with authors reporting on how an ecological perspective provides researchers and practitioners with the means to argue for political rights and challenge prevailing views of knowledge and patterns of schooling. Many of the chapters in this volume are overtly 'political' in arguing for the 'rearrangement of power' (López) in support of minority and indigenous groups. This interest in counter hegemony is also apparent in seemingly less political debates such as new and community literacies where we see how people use new technologies and existing resources to create new diversity in their literacy and oral practices.

An ecological approach does more than describe the relationships between situated speakers of different languages. Rather, it is proactive in pulling apart perceived natural language orders. That is, where a particular language and its structure and use becomes so naturalised that it is no longer seen as construing a particular ideological line, an ecological approach attempts to make this transparent. 'Unnaturalising' these discourses becomes necessary to make clear 'what kinds of language practices are valued and considered good, normal, appropriate, or correct' in particular classrooms and schools, and who are likely to be the winners and losers in the ideological orientations (Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001, p. 2). To take this one step further, Hornberger (2002, p. 30) argues that 'multilingual language policies are essentially about opening up ideological and implementational space in the environment for as many languages as possible'.

The volume reflects major theoretical debates within language ecology. In particular it discusses the usefulness of the metaphor itself and we see running through the chapters different interpretations of the term 'ecology of language' with some claiming its essential place in the human rights agenda and others questioning the metaphor's fundamental usefulness arguing that the term weakens theoretical accounts of diversity.

For the majority of writers in this volume the metaphor offers a space for creativity and extension through connection to the term biodiversity. Today we are very familiar with the concept of biodiversity and its concern with variety of life. We have a better understanding of biological connectivity and the importance of conserving and maintaining the variety of life forms. Many of the writers in this volume use the metaphor of language ecology to creatively and pragmatically describe languages/literacies and their speakers in particular kinds of relationships to one another. An example of this is the ecological approach to multilingual language policies and the continua of biliteracy (Hornberger). Hornberger states that the language ecology metaphor 'captures a set of ideological underpinnings for a multilingual language policy' (Hornberger, 2002, p. 35). In particular, she points to how languages exist and evolve in an ecosystem along with other

languages, and how they [their speakers] ‘interact with their socio-political, economic and cultural environments’. A further example of using the ecological metaphor creatively is classroom ecologies (Creese and Martin, 2003) in which classrooms are described as ecological micro-systems where local interactions are linked to wider socio-political ideologies.

The volume is made up of five sections. The chapters in Section One, Historical and Theoretical Perspectives, reflect on some of the major themes in language ecology which have emerged since Haugen first introduced the term in 1972, and they demonstrate how the discussion of the ecology of language has evolved since Haugen’s seminal work. In the first chapter, Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson provide a human rights perspective on language ecology. The authors stress the need for language rights in the present world context where many languages are becoming endangered. Using examples from a range of contexts, Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson show how the subtractive learning of dominant languages may violate linguistic human rights and contribute to what they refer to as ‘linguistic genocide’. In the second chapter, Edwards argues for a broader ecological sensitivity but, at the same time, cautions against the ‘new’ ecology of language and its concern with linguistic human rights, particularly the way it is used in educational contexts. His chapter problematises some of the issues associated with linguistic rights in the new ecology of language.

In the third chapter, Blackledge argues that language ecologies can be better understood if they are linked with a discussion of language ideologies. This is particularly salient as language ecology relates to the inter-relationships between speakers of languages, and these relationships are seen in the way in which languages are used, and in the speakers’ attitudes to and beliefs about language. Kaplan and Baldauf, in Chapter Four, provide an ecology perspective on language planning. In their review they emphasise the usefulness of the ecology metaphor, and how it allows for a move away from the traditionally narrow way in which language policy and planning have been seen. Using the Japanese context as an example, Kaplan and Baldauf illustrate the relationships between language ecology and language planning. The final chapter in Section One, by van Lier, explores the ecology of language learning and sociocultural theory. He notes the prominence of sociocultural theory in language education in recent decades, much of it emerging from the work of Vygotsky. In this review, van Lier takes forward the work of Vygotsky by discussing it from within an ecological worldview, placing key ecological themes within a sociocultural theory perspective.

Section Two consists of reviews of the Language Ecologies of Selected Countries and Regions. Each review focuses on some aspect

of the linguistic ecology of the country or region, with specific links to important educational issues. Some reviews focus on the 'whole' language ecology of the country or region while others describe a particular ethno-linguistic group within the wider language ecology of the country or region. Kipp's chapter considers the language ecology of Australia's community languages, focusing on the complexity of the multilingual history of the country, and steps that have been taken to ensure the maintenance of these languages. The review makes particular reference to the position of these languages in the education systems in the country. Chebanne discusses the language ecology of marginalised ethno-linguistic groups in Botswana, Namibia and South Africa within the framework of language diversity as a problem and as a resource. In reviewing the language ecology of these groups, Chebanne illustrates the various difficulties faced by the groups, and the role that education plays for these groups.

Fraser Gupta focuses on the language ecology of Singapore and the way that this has been shaped by educational policy. An important aspect of the language ecology of Singapore is language shift, which according to Fraser Gupta, is motivated by pragmatism and linked to educational policy, which is in turn linked to the politics of race. Tosi reports on the language ecology of multilingual Italy, focusing specifically on the issues of language survival and language death. The chapter provides an historical review of the linguistic transformations in Italy since 1861, including the spread of Italian and the impact of education on the survival and maintenance of languages in the country. Suleiman reviews the language ecology of Jordan as a case study from the Arabic-speaking part of the Middle East. The review concentrates on the dialectal varieties of Arabic with reference to the standard form of the language used in education. In the final chapter in this section, López reports on indigenous contributions to an ecology of language learning in Latin America. He notes the lack of study on indigenous views of language in Latin America and points to the important insights, which would have major benefits for more situated and meaningful language teaching practices in the region.

Section Three, on Language Ecologies of Dispersed and Diasporic Communities, comprises four chapters, which focus on the language ecologies of four communities with specific reference to the dominant language(s) of education in these contexts. The chapter by Collins considers language ecologies in the Malay world, with reference to the languages of education in the area, Malay and Indonesian. He reports on the diversity of language in the Malay/Indonesian world, as well as the myriad varieties of Malay and Indonesian, many of which have never been studied. Wang explores the ecology of the Chinese languages in the USA. She reviews the assimilationist ideologies and

polices in the USA, and the role of Chinese heritage language schools and their contribution to the maintenance of Chinese. Sercombe reports on the language ecology of the Penan, a formerly nomadic group, in northern Borneo (Sarawak in Malaysia and Brunei). The chapter reviews the changing ecology of the Penan, from nomadism to sedentism, and links this to a discussion of educational issues and language shift. The final paper in the section is Nortier's review of the language ecology of the Moroccan communities in the Netherlands. Nortier considers how these communities settled in the Netherlands in the 1960s and 1970s, and the languages that they brought with them. The chapter reviews the history of Moroccan mother tongue teaching and what support has been provided.

Section Four provides five reviews of Classroom Language Ecologies in a range of multilingual contexts. The chapters in this section describe bi/multilingual classroom contexts in which 'concurrent' linguistic practices such as code-switching are usual and language separation strategies are often seen as problematic. Probyn reviews the language ecologies of South African classrooms, with particular emphasis on the issues of policy, practice and power. It is noted how the linguistic ecologies of classrooms in South Africa are embedded in complex local, national and global ecologies, and how this has major implications for access and equity in education. Jaffe reports on classrooms in Corsica in the context of the bilingual education system which is explicitly intended to change the language ecology of the island. The paper reviews the bilingual school practices and ideologies related to regional dialectal diversity of Corsican, and to diversity resulting from language contact, domination and shift. Kanno's focus is language minority education in Japan, with specific reference to the education of non-Japanese speaking children in public schools. She reports on the building of an infrastructure for the education of these children and on the many issues which emerge in these children's education. Saxena reports on the sultanate of Brunei Darussalam and, in particular, on the ideology, policy and practice in bilingual classrooms in the country. The final chapter, by Creese and Martin, provides a case study of the multilingual experiences in one complementary ('community') school in England, where the community language taught is Gujarati.

Section Five explores the Language Ecology of Literacies, Oracies and Discourses.

The chapters in this section explore how the literacy/oracy distinction has evolved and has resulted in an understanding of their connectedness through the local production of discourses. The contexts reported on in these chapters range widely both geographically and temporally. Hornberger's chapter reviews the conceptual origins and practical applications of the continua of biliteracy, an ecological framework in which

to situate research, teaching and language planning in linguistically diverse settings. We see the continua applied in the following two chapters in this section. Lin explores the ecology of literacy in Hong Kong, and begins to unpack youth sub-cultural literacies and the educational potential of these informal youth literacies. She speaks of the need to build bridges between school literacies and the everyday new media literacies of young people. This focus on everyday practice is also taken up in the next chapter, which also speaks of the heuristic importance of the continua of biliteracy. Pahl looks at the ecology of literacy and language, focusing on discourses, identities and practices in homes, schools and communities. She shows how the ecology metaphor provides a lens to reveal webs and connections in social relationships and texts in wider social practice. The final chapter, by Tusting, provides an ecological perspective on new literacies (mainly within the paradigm of New Literacy Studies) and the implications of these new literacies for education. Tusting shows how 'literacy' has extended its meaning in the digital age to encompass the understanding of information presented in many different ways and goes on to outline the debate within the social ecology of education.

In putting together this new volume in the *Encyclopedia of Language and Education*, we hope that the chapters that appear here will provide some indication of how far the study of the ecology of language has moved forward since Haugen used the term in 1972. The volume contains chapters which cover the historical and theoretical perspectives of language ecology, including areas traditionally associated with language ecology and areas such as the language ecologies of literacies, oracies and discourses, which have not normally been the focus of language ecology studies. In addition, the volume provides accounts of communities and geographical areas which are not traditionally covered in the literature on language and education. We believe that the chapters in the volume will contribute to the on-going debate on the ecology of language and its interconnectedness with education and lead to further critical reflection.

Angela Creese and Peter Martin

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# Encyclopedia of Language and Education

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VOLUME 10: RESEARCH METHODS IN LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION

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# Encyclopedia of Language and Education

Volume 10

## RESEARCH METHODS IN LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION

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GENERAL EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION

This is one of ten volumes of the *Encyclopedia of Language and Education* published by Springer. The Encyclopedia bears testimony to the dynamism and evolution of the language and education field, as it confronts the ever-burgeoning and irrepressible linguistic diversity and ongoing pressures and expectations placed on education around the world.

The publication of this work charts the deepening and broadening of the field of language and education since the 1997 publication of the first Encyclopedia. It also confirms the vision of David Corson, general editor of the first edition, who hailed the international and interdisciplinary significance and cohesion of the field. These trademark characteristics are evident in every volume and chapter of the present Encyclopedia.

In the selection of topics and contributors, the Encyclopedia seeks to reflect the depth of disciplinary knowledge, breadth of interdisciplinary perspective, and diversity of sociogeographic experience in our field. Language socialization and language ecology have been added to the original eight volume topics, reflecting these growing emphases in language education theory, research, and practice, alongside the enduring emphases on language policy, literacies, discourse, language acquisition, bilingual education, knowledge about language, language testing, and research methods. Throughout all the volumes, there is greater inclusion of scholarly contributions from non-English speaking and non-Western parts of the world, providing truly global coverage of the issues in the field. Furthermore, we have sought to integrate these voices more fully into the whole, rather than as special cases or international perspectives in separate sections.

This interdisciplinary and internationalizing impetus has been immeasurably enhanced by the advice and support of the editorial advisory board members, several of whom served as volume editors in the Encyclopedia's first edition (designated here with\*), and all of whom I acknowledge here with gratitude: Neville Alexander (South Africa), Colin Baker (Wales), Marilda Cavalcanti (Brazil), Caroline Clapham\* (Britain),

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<sup>1</sup> This introduction is based on, and takes inspiration from, David Corson's general editor's Introduction to the First Edition (Kluwer, 1997).

Bronwyn Davies\* (Australia), Viv Edwards\* (Britain), Frederick Erickson (USA), Joseph Lo Bianco (Australia), Luis Enrique Lopez (Bolivia and Peru), Allan Luke (Singapore and Australia), Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (Denmark), Bernard Spolsky (Israel), G. Richard Tucker\* (USA), Leo van Lier\* (USA), Terrence G. Wiley (USA), Ruth Wodak\* (Austria), and Ana Celia Zentella (USA).

In conceptualizing an encyclopedic approach to a field, there is always the challenge of the hierarchical structure of themes, topics, and subjects to be covered. In this *Encyclopedia of Language and Education*, the stated topics in each volume's table of contents are complemented by several cross-cutting thematic strands recurring across the volumes, including the classroom/pedagogic side of language and education; issues of identity in language and education; language ideology and education; computer technology and language education; and language rights in relation to education.

The volume editors' disciplinary and interdisciplinary academic interests and their international areas of expertise also reflect the depth and breadth of the language and education field. As principal volume editor for Volume 1, Stephen May brings academic interests in the sociology of language and language education policy, arising from his work in Britain, North America, and New Zealand. For Volume 2, Brian Street approaches language and education as social and cultural anthropologist and critical literacy theorist, drawing on his work in Iran, Britain, and around the world. For Volume 3, Marilyn Martin-Jones and Anne-Marie de Mejia bring combined perspectives as applied and educational linguists, working primarily in Britain and Latin America, respectively. For Volume 4, Nelleke Van Deusen-Scholl has academic interests in linguistics and sociolinguistics, and has worked primarily in the Netherlands and the USA. Jim Cummins, principal volume editor for Volume 5 of both the first and second editions of the *Encyclopedia*, has interests in the psychology of language, critical applied linguistics, and language policy, informed by his work in Canada, the USA, and internationally. For Volume 6, Jasone Cenoz has academic interests in applied linguistics and language acquisition, drawing from her work in the Basque Country, Spain, and Europe. Elana Shohamy, principal volume editor for Volume 7, approaches language and education as an applied linguist with interests in critical language policy, language testing and measurement, and her own work based primarily in Israel and the USA. For Volume 8, Patricia Duff has interests in applied linguistics and sociolinguistics, and has worked primarily in North America, East Asia, and Central Europe. Volume editors for Volume 9, Angela Creese and Peter Martin, draw on their academic interests in educational linguistics and linguistic ethnography, and their research in Britain and Southeast Asia. And for Volume 10, Kendall A. King has academic interests in sociolinguistics

and educational linguistics, with work in Ecuador, Sweden, and the USA. Francis Hult, editorial assistant for the Encyclopedia, has academic interests in educational and applied linguistics and educational language policy, and has worked in Sweden and the USA. Finally, as general editor, I have interests in anthropological linguistics, educational linguistics, and language policy, with work in Latin America, the USA, and internationally. Beyond our specific academic interests, all of us editors, and the contributors to the Encyclopedia, share a commitment to the practice and theory of education, critically informed by research and strategically directed toward addressing unsound or unjust language education policies and practices wherever they are found.

Each of the ten volumes presents core information and is international in scope, as well as diverse in the populations it covers. Each volume addresses a single subject area and provides 23–30 state-of-the-art chapters of the literature on that subject. Together, the chapters aim to comprehensively cover the subject. The volumes, edited by international experts in their respective topics, were designed and developed in close collaboration with the general editor of the Encyclopedia, who is a co-editor of each volume as well as general editor of the whole work.

Each chapter is written by one or more experts on the topic, consists of about 4,000 words of text, and generally follows a similar structure. A list of references to key works supplements the authoritative information that the chapter contains. Many contributors survey early developments, major contributions, work in progress, problems and difficulties, and future directions. The aim of the chapters, and of the Encyclopedia as a whole, is to give readers access to the international literature and research on the broad diversity of topics that make up the field.

The Encyclopedia is a necessary reference set for every university and college library in the world that serves a faculty or school of education. The encyclopedia aims to speak to a prospective readership that is multinational, and to do so as unambiguously as possible. Because each book-size volume deals with a discrete and important subject in language and education, these state-of-the-art volumes also offer highly authoritative course textbooks in the areas suggested by their titles.

The scholars contributing to the Encyclopedia hail from all continents of our globe and from 41 countries; they represent a great diversity of linguistic, cultural, and disciplinary traditions. For all that, what is most impressive about the contributions gathered here is the unity of purpose and outlook they express with regard to the central role of language as both vehicle and mediator of educational processes and to the need for continued and deepening research into the limits and possibilities that implies.

Nancy H. Hornberger

## INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME 10: RESEARCH METHODS IN LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION

This final volume of the *Encyclopedia of Language and Education* takes a different approach from the others in the set as it focuses less on current theory and findings within particular language and education topic areas, and more on research approaches and methods for investigating and analysing those topics. Together, the 23 contributions compiled here provide insights into how diverse language and education topics have been approached methodologically, highlighting the early developments, recent advances, and current challenges in data collection and analysis within each area. The line between what might be considered discussions of research *findings* and considerations of research *methods* is not always crystal clear. Some overlap between the two is inevitable and indeed, often beneficial. While some of the chapters here include discussion of pivotal findings, a consistent theme across all reviews is the careful consideration of research theory, approaches and methods for investigating these topics.

Since the publication of the first edition of the *Encyclopedia* more than 10 years ago, the broad field of language and education has changed in myriad ways. Many of these shifts are reflected in this latest edition. For instance, the divisive debate, and in some cases polarization, between quantitative and qualitative researchers is now much less prominent than in the 1990s (see Fishman for an overview of the tensions across paradigms within the sociology of language in education). Concomitantly, there is growing recognition of the need to draw on, and in some cases, integrate both quantitative and qualitative approaches in order to gain a more complete understanding, for instance, of the links between narrative skills and literacy development (Melzi and Caspe).

Perhaps even more striking in this new edition is the evidence of the growing salience of particular fields of study within language and education. In some cases, such as language socialization (Garrett), these areas have gained prominence through the adoption of theory and method from other social sciences to the study of language education processes. In other cases, the boundaries and approaches of language and education have been pushed by global developments and pedagogical needs. For instance, with greater recognition of widespread language contact, multilingualism, and in many cases, language shift, researchers have increasingly focused on topics such as third language

acquisition (Sanz and Lado) and language loss and revitalization (Huss).

Like the first edition, co-edited by Nancy H. Hornberger and David Corson (1997), this volume of the *Encyclopedia* is organized into four sections following Hornberger's (1989) quadrant typology. Within this typology, the two axes are defined by micro/macro-linguistic and social levels of analysis, yielding four quadrants (see [Figure 1](#)). These axes reflect that research in language and education encompasses emphases on the linguistic and on the social, and perspectives running the gamut from macro- to micro-levels of analysis. With respect to social context, for example, one might be concerned with the national level, the face-to-face interactional level, or with the level of domains or communities of practice bridging macro to micro. With respect to linguistic issues, questions might revolve around learners' choice of language or use of phonological variant, or around the intermediary levels of discourse bridging macro to micro (McKay and Hornberger, 1996).

As Hornberger observes in her introduction to the previous edition, an important assumption of this typology is that perspectives that bridge micro- to macro-understandings, as well as societal and linguistic analyses, are crucial to understanding most language and education processes. Put another way, in order to gain a complete picture of, for instance, language learning in immersion classrooms, we need not only a macro-level understanding of the development of supporting national and local language education policy, but also fine-grained, micro-level

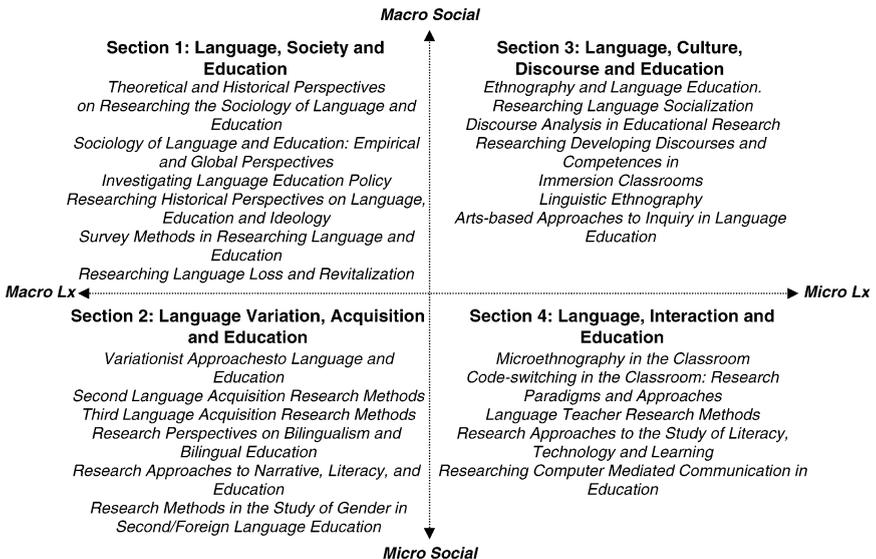


Figure 1 Hornberger's (1989) micro and macro quadrant typology.

analyses of teacher–student and student–student interactional patterns in this context. By the same token, in order to fully understand the classroom role of minority language varieties such as African American English in the USA, we need not only micro-linguistic level, variationist analysis of how different English varieties are employed in classroom contexts, but also larger, macro-language-and-societal level analyses of language contact over time and language ideologies. The aim of the present volume is to provide readers with an overview of the wide range of methodological approaches to language and education across these micro- and macro-axes, as well as the multiple connections between them.

To this end, each of the four sections focuses on a particular sub-area of language and education research methods: ‘Language, Society and Education’ in Section 1; ‘Language, Variation, Acquisition and Education’ in Section 2; ‘Language, Culture, Discourse and Education’ in Section 3; and ‘Language, Interaction and Education’ in Section 4. Again in keeping with the first edition, within each of these four sections, the first three or four reviews represent different broad areas or subfields within that focus. The final reviews, in turn, tend to focus more narrowly on a particular area of research, and in some cases, demonstrate the application of such approaches to a particular context of study.

Section 1, ‘Language, Society and Education’, opens the volume with six chapters that overview recent research approaches to macro-level analysis of the relationship between language, society, and education. Joshua A. Fishman provides a historical perspective on the inception and evolution of the sociology of language as a field of study, as well as key methodological tensions and debates within the field over time. Valerie S. Jakar and Ofra L. Inbar, in turn, focus on more recent trends, and consider how forces of globalization have shaped the field of the sociology of language as it relates to education. Drawing from his experience with minority language planning on three continents, Bernard Spolsky provides an overview of research approaches to language policy, which for him includes the practices of the members of the speech community, their beliefs, and the management of their languages. Next, Thomas Ricento’s review introduces readers to research methods for studying the historical development of language, education, and ideology, focusing on the examination of social hierarchies that are reflected in and produced through ideologies of language. Colin Baker describes the foundations and recent shifts in the use of surveys for researching language and education, and emphasizes in particular surveys that have been influential in shaping educational policy, provision, and practice. The final chapter in this section focuses more narrowly on an important area of macro-level research in the last decade as Leena Huss describes the development of research approaches to studying language loss and revitalization. Her review highlights

on-going research challenges in the field, including defining ‘successful’ revitalization, determining best practices for collaboration across language activists and language researchers, and appropriately incorporating technology into revitalization efforts.

In Section 2, ‘Language, Variation, Acquisition and Education’, the focus shifts to a micro-level analysis of language while keeping a macro-level societal perspective. Kirk Hazen reviews current variationist approaches and how they have been applied to understanding language use in schools, with special attention to how teaching opportunities can be enhanced through teachers’ adoption of a variationist perspective. The next two chapters focus more narrowly on the relationship between interactional context and the processes of language learning. Rebekha Abbuhl and Alison Mackey provide a broad overview of quantitative and qualitative approaches to the study of second language acquisition. Cristina Sanz and Beatriz Lado, in turn, describe the diverse research methods used to answer empirical and theoretical questions within the newly established field of third language acquisition. Li Wei then reviews research on bilingualism and bilingual education from linguistic, psycholinguistic, and sociolinguistic perspectives. His piece highlights both the interdisciplinary nature of this field of study and the dramatic changes in how bilingualism has been conceptualized over the last century. Next, Gigliana Melzi and Margaret Caspe summarize current research approaches to understanding cross-cultural variation in narrative style and development, and how these differences are linked to literacy and education success more broadly. Finally, Aneta Pavlenko considers research approaches to the study of language and gender in education. Her critical review examines the relationship between theory and research method within this area, considers the strengths and weaknesses of current approaches, and suggests promising directions for future work.

The reviews in Section 3, ‘Language, Culture, Discourse and Education’, in turn, focus on the relationship between language, culture, discourse and education, taking a macro-linguistic perspective and micro-societal one. Kelleen Toohey describes the ways in which ethnographic language education researchers attempt to understand learners’ and teachers’ perspectives on how languages are taught and learned. Paul Garrett reviews the inception and development of the field of language socialization. His piece emphasizes the central methodological contours of this approach and spotlights the benefits and challenges of doing language socialization work in multilingual and educational contexts. Next, Doris Warriner examines the historical development of a broad range of approaches to discourse analysis, including conversational analysis, the ethnography of communication, and interactional sociolinguistics among others. Her review highlights how each of these traditions have been productively applied to first language classroom

contexts. Anne-Marie de Mejía, in turn, addresses early and current research approaches to studying second language discourses and competences in language immersion classrooms. Her review traces the development of the field from early work in Canada to the current internationalization of the immersion movement and its varied conceptualizations. Angela Creese describes an emerging subfield of study, linguistic ethnography, which builds on the traditions of interactional sociolinguistics and the ethnography of speaking, and has evolved on the premise that detailed analysis of situated language provides fundamental insights into both the mechanisms and dynamics of social and cultural production in everyday life. Lastly, Misha Cahnmann Taylor draws from ethnographic approaches in her piece, but focuses more narrowly on the newly emerging field of arts-based approaches to language and education research. She describes how researchers in this area are increasingly turning to artistic forms of representation such as poetry, story, theatre, and visual images as means of collecting, analysing, and presenting complex and multidimensional data.

Section 4, 'Language, Interaction and Education', focuses on micro-level linguistic and micro-level societal analyses of language and education. Pedro Garcez describes the evolution and recent developments in micro-ethnography, a research approach typically involving audiovisual machine recordings of naturally occurring social encounters in order to investigate in close detail what interactants do in real time as they co-construct talk-in-interaction in everyday life. His review demonstrates how such an approach has been successfully applied to the study of classroom interaction. Next, Angel Lin describes research methods, ranging from positivist to interpretive, for the study of code-switching in the classroom, drawing many of her examples from her own research in Hong Kong. Manka Varghese then details the research approaches of a relatively new area of investigation: how second language teachers learn to teach, how they teach, and who they are as individuals and professionals. The final two chapters of this volume consider the quickly changing role of technology in language and education classrooms and research: Ilana Snyder describes the evolution as well as more recent and cutting-edge approaches to the study of literacy, technology and learning; Wan Fara Mansor and Mohamad Hassan Zakaria detail the development and current best practices in researching computer-mediated communication in education. Both of these reviews demonstrate the myriad inter-relationships across technological innovation, research methods, and pedagogical practice.

One of the hallmarks of the *Encyclopedia* is its international scope, both in terms of the range of the research reviewed and diversity of scholarly perspectives. The contributors to this volume represent more than ten countries and a total of five continents. More important than

their geographic diversity, however, is their diversity of experience and the resultant breadth and depth of theoretical and methodological research perspective that they collectively bring to the present volume. It is their vast expertise—and their dedicated efforts both to their craft and to their individual contributions here—that makes this volume a unique and highly valuable resource.

Kendall A. King

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## LANGUAGE EDUCATION, PLURALISM AND CITIZENSHIP

### INTRODUCTION

Debates over citizenship in modern liberal democracies have often focussed on the significance of language to both national identity and state citizenship. These debates have addressed, in particular, two key issues:

1. Whether speaking the state-mandated or national language—that is, the majority or dominant language of the state—is, or should be, a *requirement* of national citizenship and a demonstration of both political and social integration by its members (especially for those who speak other languages as a first language)
2. Whether this requirement should be at the *expense* of, or in *addition* to the maintenance of other languages—minority, or non-dominant languages, in effect—within the state. Or to put it another way, whether public monolingualism in the state-mandated language should be enforced upon an often-multilingual population or whether some degree of public as well as private multilingualism can be supported.

Needless to say, how these two issues are addressed has significant implications for the development of language policy and the provision of language education in modern nation-states. In particular, they require modern nation-states to address the balance between social *cohesion*, a key concern of all such states, and the recognition (or lack thereof) of cultural and linguistic *pluralism*. This chapter addresses this important dialectic, although as we shall see, modern nation-states have more often than not actually constructed these two positions in opposition to each other, rather than in tandem.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

#### *The Pluralist Dilemma*

The often-difficult balancing act between maintaining cohesion on the one hand and recognising pluralism on the other within modern nation-states has been termed by Brian Bullivant (1981) as ‘the pluralist dilemma’. The pluralist dilemma, for Bullivant, is ‘the problem of

reconciling the diverse political claims of constituent groups and individuals in a pluralist society *with the claims of the nation-state as a whole*' (1981, p. x; my emphasis); what he elsewhere describes as the competing aims of 'civism' and 'pluralism'. Other commentators have suggested similar distinctions (see, e.g. Dauenhauer, 1996; Edwards, 1994), while also emphasising, like Bullivant, the difficulties of reconciling social cohesion on the one hand with, on the other, a recognition and incorporation of ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity within the nation-state.

In an earlier analysis, Schermerhorn has described these countervailing social and cultural forces as *centripetal* and *centrifugal* tendencies. As he observes:

Centripetal tendencies refer both to cultural trends such as acceptance of common values, styles of life etc ... Conversely, centrifugal tendencies among subordinate groups are those that foster separation from the dominant group or from societal bonds in one way or another. Culturally this most frequently means retention and presentation of the group's distinctive tradition in spheres like *language*, religion, recreation etc. (1970, p. 81; my emphasis)

How then can the tensions arising from the pluralist dilemma best be resolved in the social and political arena? Drawing on political theory, two contrasting approaches have been adopted in response to this central question, which Gordon (1978, 1981) has described as 'liberal pluralism' and 'corporate pluralism'. Liberal pluralism is characterised by the absence, even prohibition, of any ethnic, religious, or national minority group possessing separate standing before the law or government. Its central tenets can be traced back to the French Revolution and Rousseau's conception of the modern polity as comprising three inseparable features: freedom (non-domination), the absence of differentiated roles, and a very tight common purpose. On this view, the margin for recognising difference within the modern nation-state is very small (Taylor, 1994; see also later).

In contrast, corporate pluralism—now more commonly known by the term 'multiculturalism'—involves the recognition of minority groups as legally constituted entities, on the basis of which, and depending on their size and influence, economic, social and political awards are allocated. Glazer (1975) and Walzer (1992) draw similar distinctions between an approach based on 'non-discrimination'—which involves, in Glazer's memorable phrase, the 'salutary neglect' of the state towards minority groups—and a 'corporatist' (Walzer) or 'group rights' (Glazer) model.

It is clear, however, that for most commentators the merits of liberal pluralism significantly outweigh those of a group-rights or

multiculturalist approach. In effect, the answer to the pluralist dilemma has been consistently to favour civism over pluralism. This is certainly Bullivant, Glazer and Walzer's own conclusion (see also Edwards, 1985, 1994; Rawls, 1971; although for contrasting views, see the Major Contributions sections later). On this basis, the 'claims of the nation-state as a whole'—emphasising the apparently inextricable interconnections between social cohesion and national (including linguistic) homogeneity—have invariably won the day over more pluralist conceptions of the nation-state where ethnic, linguistic and cultural differences *between different groups* are accorded some degree of formal recognition. The resulting liberal consensus is well illustrated by Brian Bullivant:

Certain common institutions essential for the well-being and smooth functioning of the nation-state as *a whole* must be maintained: common language, common political system, common economic market system and so on. Cultural pluralism can operate at the level of the *private*, rather than public, concerns such as use of ethnic [sic] language in the home. . . . But, the idea that maintaining these aspects of ethnic life and encouraging the maintenance of ethnic groups almost in the sense of ethnic enclaves will assist their ability to cope with the political realities of the nation-state is manifestly absurd. (1981, p. 232; emphases in original)

Why is this apparent consensus so strongly in favour of cohesion at the expense of pluralism? In addressing this question, we have to turn to the origins of modern nation-states themselves, and the public role of language within them.

### *Nation-State Organisation and the Role of Language*

Modern nation-state organisation is actually a relatively recent historical phenomenon, deriving from the rise of political nationalism in Europe from the middle of the last millennium onwards. In particular, the French Revolution of 1789 and its aftermath are often credited with establishing the archetypal modern nation-state—a form of political organisation not countenanced before, a polity represented and *unified* by a culturally and linguistically homogeneous civic realm (see Edwards, 1985; Fishman, 1989a, b; May, 2001; Wright, 2000 for further discussion). Previous forms of political organisation had not required this degree of linguistic uniformity. For example, empires were quite happy for the most part to leave unmolested the plethora of cultures and languages subsumed within them—as long as taxes were paid, all was well. But in the politics of European nationalism—which, of course, was also to spread subsequently throughout the

world—the idea of a single, common ‘national’ language (sometimes, albeit rarely, a number of national languages) quickly became the leitmotif of modern social and political organisation.

How was this accomplished? Principally via the political machinery of these newly emergent European states, with mass education often playing a central role. As Gellner (1983) has outlined, the nationalist principle of ‘one state, one culture, one language’ saw the state, via its education system, increasingly identified with a specific language and culture—invariably, that of the majority ethnic group. The process of selecting and establishing a common national language as part of this wider process usually involved two key aspects: *legitimation* and *institutionalisation* (May, 2001; Nelde, Strubell and Williams, 1996). Legitimation is understood to mean here the formal recognition accorded to the language by the nation-state—usually, by the constitutional and/or legislative benediction of official status. Accordingly, ‘la langue officielle a partie liée avec l’État’ (Bourdieu, 1982, p. 27)—the legitimate (or standard) language becomes an arm of the state. Institutionalisation, perhaps the more important dimension, refers to the process by which the language comes to be accepted, or ‘taken for granted’ in a wide range of social, cultural and linguistic domains or contexts, both formal and informal. Both elements achieve a central requirement of the modern nation-state—that all its citizens adopt a common (usually singular) language and culture for use in the civic or public realm.

This establishment of chosen ‘national’ languages, however, usually also occurred alongside an often-punitive process of ‘minoritising’ or ‘dialectalising’ potentially competing language varieties within these same nation-states. These latter language varieties were, in effect, *positioned* by these newly formed states as languages of lesser political worth and value. Consequently, national languages came to be associated with modernity and progress, while their less fortunate counterparts were associated (conveniently) with tradition and obsolescence. More often than not, the latter were also specifically constructed as *obstacles* to the political project of nation-building—as threats to the ‘unity’ of the state. The inevitable consequence of this political imperative is the establishment of an ethnically exclusive and culturally and linguistically homogeneous nation-state—a realm from which minority languages and cultures are effectively banished. Indeed, this is the ‘ideal’ model to which most nation-states (and nationalist movements) still aspire—albeit in the face of a far more complex and contested multiethnic and multilingual reality (May, 2001; McGroarty, 2002, 2006). As Nancy Dorian summarises it: ‘it is the concept of the nation-state coupled with its official standard language. . . that has in modern times posed the keenest threat to both the identities and the

languages of small [minority] communities' (1988, p. 18). Florian Coulmas observes, even more succinctly, that 'the nation-state as it has evolved since the French Revolution is the natural enemy of minorities' (1998, p. 67).

The result of the pre-eminence of this organisational principle of cultural and linguistic homogeneity is that there are only a very few *formal* multilingual nation-states in the world today—India (see Khubchandani, *Language Policy and Education in the Indian Subcontinent*, Volume 1) and Switzerland being two notable examples. Where English is the dominant language, the prospects of formal multilingualism become even more remote, not least because of the additional position of English as the current world language or *lingua mundi* (see also Canagarajah, *The Politics of English Language Teaching*, Volume 1; Phillipson, *Language Policy and Education in the European Union*, Volume 1). In this respect, even nation-states such as Canada and Australia, who have adopted overtly multilingual policies in recent times, still continue to struggle to bring that multilingualism *effectively* into the public domain (see Burnaby, *Language Policy and Education in Canada*, Volume 1; Lo Bianco, *Language Policy and Education in Australia*, Volume 1).

### *Individual Versus Collective Rights*

The ongoing influence of political nationalism, with its emphasis on cultural and linguistic homogeneity—most often via the promotion of public monolingualism—is one key reason why civism continues to be consistently favoured over pluralism in modern nation-states. Another reason is an emphasis in international and national law since the establishment of the United Nations after World War II on *individual* as opposed to *collective* rights (see Kymlicka, 1989, 1995; May, 2001: Chapter 5 for further discussion; see also de Varennes, *International Law and Education in a Minority Language*, Volume 1; Skutnabb-Kangas, *Human Rights and Language Policy in Education*, Volume 1). Such an approach, which may be described as orthodox liberalism, promotes individual rights as the *only* rights that can be attributable in democratic states. An orthodox view of liberalism thus addresses the person only as a political being, with rights and duties attached to their status as *citizens*. Such a position does not countenance private identity, including a person's communal membership (and/or the languages they speak), as something warranting similar recognition. These latter dimensions are excluded from the public realm because their inevitable diversity would lead to the complicated business of the state mediating between different conceptions of 'the good life' (Rawls, 1971). On this basis, personal *autonomy*—based on the

political rights attributable to citizenship—always takes precedence over personal (and collective) *identity* and the widely differing ways of life that constitute the latter. In effect, personal and political participation in liberal democracies, as it has come to be constructed, ends up denying group difference and posits all persons as interchangeable from a moral and political point of view.

This position contrasts starkly with a *communitarian* view of rights, which posits that the strict separation of citizenship and identity in the modern polity understates, and at times disavows, the significance of wider communal (including linguistic) affiliations to the construction of individual identity. As Michael Sandel (1982) observes, there is no such thing as the ‘unencumbered self’—we are all, to some extent, *situated* within wider communities which shape and influence who we are. Likewise, Charles Taylor argues that identity ‘is who we are, “where we’re coming from”. As such, it is the background against which our tastes and desires and opinions and aspirations make sense’ (1994, p. 33–34). Accordingly, individualistic conceptions of the good life may preclude shared community values that are central to one’s identity. Conversely, as Habermas has put it, ‘a correctly understood theory of [citizenship] rights requires a politics of recognition that protects the individual in the life contexts in which his or her identity is formed’ (1994, p. 113). The languages one speaks would also thus be included in this communitarian view. However, communitarian critiques have themselves been widely criticised for privileging the collective over the individual and thus essentialising group identities. In effect, communitarians are charged with operating a model of group membership that is at odds with the complexities of identity in the modern world (for further discussion, see Coulombe, 1995; Donahue, 2002; May, 2001: Chapter 3).

Consequently, an ongoing emphasis on individual rights, and a related scepticism about collective rights, continues to make it difficult for minority language speakers in modern nation-states to argue for group-based language rights (such as the right to be educated in their first language). As the earlier quote from Bullivant indicates, following the principles of orthodox liberalism, the right to continue to speak a language other than the state language may *possibly* be allowed in the private domain, but not in public, since the latter is constructed as undermining personal and political autonomy, and fostering social and political fragmentation.

Closely allied with this position is a view that the ongoing promotion of ethnocultural and/or ethnolinguistic difference is problematic in and of itself. As Joshua Fishman summarises it:

Unlike ‘human rights’ which strike Western and Westernized intellectuals as fostering wider participation in general societal

benefits and interactions, 'language rights' still are widely interpreted as 'regressive' since they would, most probably, prolong the existence of ethnolinguistic differences. The value of such differences and the right to value such differences have not yet generally been recognised by the modern Western sense of justice ... (1991, p. 72)

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

### *Opponents of Pluralism*

Given the dominance of the nation-state model of public monolingualism, allied with the ongoing ascendancy of orthodox liberalism's emphasis on individual rights, it is not surprising perhaps that opponents of multiculturalism or corporate pluralism are many and various. For the sake of brevity, I will focus here on the often-vituperative debates surrounding multiculturalism and bilingualism in the USA, particularly in relation to education, as broadly representative of this position.

One prominent example is Arthur Schlesinger's *The Disuniting of America* (1992). As his title suggests, Schlesinger, a noted liberal historian, has argued to much public acclaim against the 'disuniting' of America by the 'cult of ethnicity' which, in his view, 'reverses the historic theory of America as one people—the theory that has thus far managed to keep American society whole' (1992, p. 15–16). The result is a 'multiethnic dogma [which] abandons historic purposes, replacing assimilation by fragmentation, integration by separatism' (1992, p. 16–17). In the face of this assault, Schlesinger gloomily wonders: 'The national ideal had once been *e pluribus unum* [out of many, one]. Are we now to belittle *unum* and glorify *pluribus*? Will the centre hold? Or will the melting pot give way to the Tower of Babel?' (1992, p. 18).

The mention of the Tower of Babel is significant here, since Schlesinger directs particular opprobrium towards the bilingual movement in the USA, along with its strong links to various Latino communities there (for further discussion, see also Ricento and Wright, *Language Policy and Education in the United States*, Volume 1). In so doing, Schlesinger rejects out of hand the official recognition of minority languages. As he argues, '[b]ilingualism shuts doors. It nourishes self-ghettoisation, and ghettoisation nourishes racial antagonism ... using some language other than English *dooms* people to second class citizenship in American society' (1992, p. 108; my emphasis). In asserting this position, Schlesinger invokes the rhetoric of national cohesion: 'A common language is a *necessary* bond of

national cohesion in so heterogeneous a nation as America. . . *institutionalised* bilingualism remains another source of the fragmentation of America, another threat to the dream of “one people” (1992, p. 109–110; my emphases).

These arguments have been closely echoed more recently by a number of other prominent US commentators. Samuel Huntington (2005) likewise rails against the apparent threat of Latinos (and Spanish) to a ‘cohesive’ (read: English-speaking) US public culture. While the political theorists Brian Barry (2000), Laitin and Reich (2003) and Pogge (2003) all pursue the line that continuing to promote Spanish in the USA, particularly via bilingual education, amounts to enforced ghettoisation, terminally restricting (in their view) the social mobility of its speakers. Laitin and Reich, for example, argue that the consequence of ‘forcing’ bilingual education on children would be the curtailing of ‘their opportunities to learn the language of some broader societal culture’ (2003, p. 92). And Pogge concludes that a public education *in* English, as opposed to a bilingual approach, is unquestionably in the ‘best interests of the child’ in relation both to developing ‘fluency in English’ and in ‘enabling all students to participate fully in US society’ (2003, p. 118; for a rejoinder, see May, 2003a).

The fact that these views contradict the well-attested research on the efficacy of bilingual education (see Skutnabb-Kangas, *Human Rights and Language Policy in Education*, Volume 1, and May, *Bilingual/Immersion Education: What the Research Tells Us*, Volume 5) highlights how linguistically ill-informed many commentators often are when discussing the role and influence of minority languages, and by extension minority language education, within modern nation-states. What is also strikingly apparent is a lack of any cognisance that linguistic inequality is often a daily experience for minority groups (cf. Sonntag and Poole, 1987), along with an implicit, and often explicit, assertion of the benefits, and inevitability, of linguistic modernisation—a process of modernisation, moreover, that is linked ineluctably with majority languages, and particularly English. Not surprisingly, minority languages come to be constructed in this view as irrelevant, quaint and/or antediluvian, by definition. Relatedly, there is an almost unquestioned legitimacy ascribed to majority languages—particularly national languages—in such discussions, and the similarly unquestioned acceptance of their dominant social and political position and function—their normative ascendancy—within modern nation-states. This ignores, or at best underemphasises, the specific sociohistorical and sociopolitical processes by which these majority languages have come to be created, and accepted as dominant and legitimate, in the first place (Bourdieu, 1982, 1991; May, 2005)—the result, in turn, of the political nationalism of the last three centuries, as discussed above.

*Proponents of Pluralism*

Despite the ascendancy of arguments for civism over pluralism in much academic and political commentary on nation-state organisation, there are still some dissenting voices advocating for a more inclusive, pluralist approach. One of the most prominent of these is the political theorist Will Kymlicka's advocacy of public multiculturalism (1995; see also Parekh 2000; Taylor 1994). Kymlicka's influential thesis involves arguing from within liberal political theory for the ongoing importance of individual rights while, at the same time, developing an understanding of the importance of wider cultural (and linguistic) membership to such rights. In this sense, he does not endorse the communitarian advocacy of collective rights. Rather, he argues for what he terms 'group-differentiated rights'. Crucially, these rights are not necessarily 'collective' in the sense that they privilege the group over the individual—they can in fact be accorded to individual members of a group, or to the group as a whole, or to a federal state/province within which the group forms a majority. For example, the group-differentiated right of Francophones in Canada to use French in federal courts is an *individual* right that may be exercised at any time. The right of Francophones to have their children educated in French-medium schools, outside of Québec, is an individual right also but one that is subject to the proviso in international law 'where numbers warrant' (see de Varennes, *International Law and Education in a Minority Language*, Volume 1; see also later). Alternatively, the right of the Québécois to preserve and promote their distinct culture in the province of Québec highlights how a minority group in a federal system may exercise group-differentiated rights in a territory where they form the majority. In short, there is no simple relationship between group-differentiated rights accorded on the basis of cultural membership and their subsequent application. As Kymlicka concludes, 'most such rights are not about the primacy of communities over individuals. Rather, they are based on the idea that justice between groups requires that the members of different groups be accorded different rights' (1995, p. 47).

A second argument that Kymlicka employs is to highlight that minority rights claims are principally concerned with wanting a measure of 'external protection' from larger groups. External protections relate to inter-group relations where a minority group seeks to protect its distinct identity (including a linguistic one) by limiting the impact of the decisions of the larger society. External protections are thus intended to ensure that individual members are able to maintain a distinctive way of life *if they so choose* and are not prevented from doing so by the decisions of members outside of their community (see Kymlicka, 1995, p.204. n.11). As Kymlicka argues: 'Granting special representation

rights, land claims, or *language rights* to a minority . . . can be seen as putting the various groups on a more equal footing, by reducing the extent to which the smaller group is vulnerable to the larger' (1995, p. 36–37; my emphasis).

Given this, it is possible to argue that the maintenance of a minority language constitutes a legitimate external protection (May, 2001; see also later). After all, if majority group members within a nation-state typically value their own cultural and linguistic habitus, it is clearly unfair to prevent minorities from continuing to value theirs. As Kymlicka concludes, 'leaving one's culture, while possible, is best seen as renouncing something to which one is reasonably entitled' (1995, p. 90).

Stephen May (2001, 2003a, b, 2005) has applied Kymlicka's more general arguments about minority rights to argue specifically for the extension of *ethnolinguistic democracy* in modern nation-states. May argues that the preoccupation of modern nation-state organisation with a single language and culture, and an allied public monolingualism, is both unnecessarily unjust to and exclusive of minority language groups (see also Skutnabb-Kangas, *Human Rights and Language Policy in Education*, Volume 1). Contrary to the assertion by proponents of liberal pluralism such as Schlesinger, the public realm of nation-states is not, nor has it ever been, a neutral or equal linguistic space. Rather, as Fernand de Varennes argues, '[b]y imposing a language requirement, the state shows a definite preference towards some individuals on the basis of language' (1996, p. 86). As de Varennes proceeds to argue, this is so for two reasons:

1. The state's chosen language becomes a condition for the full access to a number of services, resources and privileges, such as education or public employment. . . .
2. Those for whom the chosen state speech is not the primary language are thus treated differently from those for whom it is: the latter have the advantage or benefit of receiving the state's largesse in their primary tongue, whereas the former do not and find themselves in a more or less disadvantaged position. . . . a person faced with not being able to use his primary language [in the public domain] *assumes a heavier burden* (1996, pp. 86–87; my emphasis)

From this, May argues that speakers of the dominant language variety are immediately placed at an advantage in both accessing and benefiting from the civic culture of the nation-state. A dominant language group usually controls the crucial authority in the areas of administration, politics, education and the economy, and gives preference to those with a command of that language. Meanwhile, other language groups are invariably limited in their language use to specific domains, usually

solely private and/or low status, and are thus left with the choice of renouncing their social ambitions, assimilating, or resisting in order to gain greater access to the public realm.

In contrast, May argues, drawing on the work of Kloss (1977; see also Churchill, 1986), that minority groups be accorded not only 'tolerance-oriented' language rights (allowing individuals to continue speaking a language unmolested in the private or familial domain) but also, where appropriate, 'promotion-oriented' rights, which regulate the extent to which minority language rights are recognised within the *public* domain, or civic realm of the nation-state, including its key public institutions such as schools. Two particular contexts are outlined by May where such latter rights might be appropriate.

The first is for national minority groups—a term drawn from Kymlicka's work—who have always been associated historically with a particular territory, but who have been subject to colonisation, conquest, or confederation and, consequently, now have only minority status within a particular nation-state. These groups include, for example, the Welsh in Britain, Catalans and Basques in Spain, Bretons in France, Québécois in Canada, and some Latino groups (e.g. Puerto Ricans) in the USA, to name but a few. They also include indigenous peoples, who have increasingly been regarded in both international and national law as a separate category of peoples (see McCarty, *Language Education Planning and Policies by and for Indigenous Peoples*, Volume 1). Following Kymlicka, May argues that these groups can claim, *as of right*, at least some of the benefits that majority national languages currently enjoy—including publicly funded education in their languages.

A second possibility applies to ethnic minorities, who have migrated from their country of origin to a new host nation-state, or in the case of refugees have been the subject of forced relocation. Here, a promotion-oriented language right cannot be argued as of right, but can still be advanced on the basis of the widely accepted principle in international law of 'where numbers warrant'. That is, in order to avoid language discrimination, it is important that where there is a sufficient number of other language speakers, these speakers should be allowed to use that language as part of the exercise of their individual rights as citizens. Or to put it another way, they should have the *opportunity* to use their first language if they so choose—an opportunity which amounts, in effect, to Kymlicka's understanding of an 'external protection'.

By extension, May's argument questions and discards the requirement of a singular and/or replacement approach to the issue of other linguistic identities which, as we have seen, arises specifically from the nationalist principle of linguistic and cultural homogeneity.

Linguistic identities—and social and cultural identities more broadly—need not be constructed as irredeemably oppositional. Narrower identities do not necessarily need to be traded in for broader ones—one can clearly remain both Spanish-speaking and American, Catalan-speaking and Spanish, or Welsh-speaking and British. The same process applies to national and international language identities, where these differ (see May, 2001, 2003b for further discussion). Such a position more accurately reflects the communicative profiles of multilingual speakers, as well as according with postmodernist understandings of language and multiple linguistic identities (see Pennycook, *Critical Applied Linguistics and Language Education*, Volume 1).

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

As this chapter has made clear, the issue of granting minority languages some public recognition in modern nation-states continues to remain a highly controversial one, particularly with respect to education. Indeed, Addis has observed that the choice of language in public domains such as education is ‘the most difficult question that a multicultural and multiethnic [and, one might add, *multilingual*] society has to address’ (1997, p. 138). However, an increasing number of scholars within both language policy and language education are beginning to address directly exactly this question. In so doing, they are also increasingly critiquing the limits of traditional nation-state organisation, along with its historical contingency, and the related exclusion of minority languages from the public domain that has resulted. Most notable here are contributions by Tollefson (1991, 1995, 2002, *Language Planning in Education*, Volume 1), Tollefson and Tsui (2004), McGroarty (2002, 2006) and Ricento (2000, 2006). These contributions also accord closely with important related research on the ideological influences of language policy (see, e.g. Blommaert, 1999; Schmid, 2001; Woolard, 1998).

All these contributions, along with the contributions of Kymlicka and May, discussed above, attempt to rethink nation-states in more linguistically plural and inclusive ways. The aim, in so doing, is to foster the prospect of more *representational* multinational and multilingual states by directly contesting the historical inequalities that have seen minority languages, and their speakers, relegated to the social and political margins. As James Tollefson has observed of these developments:

the struggle to adopt minority languages within dominant institutions such as education, the law, and government, as well as the struggle over language rights, constitute efforts to legitimise the minority group itself and to alter its relationship

to the state. Thus while language planning reflects relationships of power, it can also be used to transform them. (1991: p. 202)

On this basis, changing the language preferences of the state and civil society, or at least broadening them, would clearly better reflect the diverse and legitimate linguistic interests of *all* those within them, even if such recognition may also present new organisational challenges for nation-states not used to the public accommodation of diversity (cf. McGroarty, 2002). Not only this, it could significantly improve the life chances of those minority language individuals and groups who are presently disadvantaged in their access to, and participation in public services, employment and education, as a result of restrictive, majoritarian language and language education policies.

And, finally, with traditional nation-state organisation increasingly under attack—both from above, via globalisation (cf. Block, *Language Education and Globalization*, Volume 1), and from below, via the increasing discontent and dissension of minority groups—rethinking the nation-state in more culturally and linguistically plural ways may provide it with a crucial further lease of life in a world where many think it has already passed its useful sell-by-date.

*See Also:* James W. Tollefson: *Language Planning in Education (Volume 1)*; Tove Skutnabb-Kangas: *Human Rights and Language Policy in Education (Volume 1)*; Fernand de Varennes: *International Law and Education in a Minority Language (Volume 1)*; Teresa L. McCarty: *Language Education Planning and Policies by and for Indigenous Peoples (Volume 1)*

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# **Section 1**

## **Social and Policy Contexts**

## LANGUAGE PLANNING IN EDUCATION

## INTRODUCTION

*Language planning* refers to deliberate efforts to affect the structure, function, and acquisition of languages. In education, the most important language planning decisions are about the choice of medium of instruction (Tollefson and Tsui, 2004)—which variety or varieties should be used as the medium (or media) of instruction? In many settings, it is widely assumed that the obvious choice is a standard variety, normally with high prestige and spoken by powerful groups, including the upper-middle class. Particular varieties become standardized as a result of complex social processes in which powerful groups shape language attitudes, and linguistic norms are codified (e.g., in dictionaries and grammar books). When official bodies, such as ministries of education, undertake language planning, the result may be *language policies* in education, that is, statements of goals and means for achieving them that constitute guidelines or rules shaping language structure, language use, and language acquisition within educational institutions. This chapter summarizes research on the role of language policy and planning (LPP) within educational institutions.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

LPP emerged as a distinct field of research in the 1960s. The term *language planning* was initially used in Haugen's (1959) study of the development of standard Norwegian, and referred to both corpus planning and status planning. Corpus planning entails efforts to affect the structure of language varieties, and includes processes such as standardization, graphization, purification, and terminology development. Status planning involves efforts to affect the status of language varieties—which varieties should be used in government, the media, the courts, schools, and elsewhere? The initial period of development in the field of LPP took place through a series of influential publications in the 1960s and early 1970s (Fishman, 1968a, 1972, 1974; Fishman, Ferguson, and Das Gupta, 1968; Rubin and Jernudd, 1971).

Much of the earliest research in LPP focused attention on devising a conceptual framework for LPP and on a limited range of practical concerns, primarily involving corpus planning in newly emerging

nation-states. Thus in its early years, LPP was closely linked with “modernization” and “development” programs in “developing” countries, and it was heavily influenced by modernization theory (Rostow, 1960). Although LPP in education was not a major focus of this initial research, it soon emerged as a central concern, because corpus-planning issues such as language standardization and script reform necessarily involve educational institutions. It was widely believed that LPP in education could play a significant role in the processes of political and sociocultural integration that were crucial for new states formed at the end of colonialism in Africa and Asia (see Fishman, 1968b). Thus, by the early 1970s, LPP research examined such central educational issues as the role of vernacular and standard varieties in schools, bilingualism, teacher training, and the education of linguistic minorities (Spolsky, 1972).

Early LPP in education shared three key assumptions with modernization and development theory. The first assumption was an optimistic belief that LPP in education would benefit ethnolinguistic minorities. The spread of Malay and Indonesian, for example, exemplified the important consequences of LPP in education for newly independent states. A second key assumption was that technical experts in LPP should play a central role in formulating and implementing efficient, rational plans and policies. This separation of LPP from the political process reflected a belief in the skills of LPP specialists and an emphasis on the technical aspects of corpus planning, as well as a failure to appreciate the fundamentally political nature of LPP generally. A third assumption of early LPP in education was that the nation-state should be the focus of research and practice. The main actors in LPP were believed to be government educational agencies at the national level, and thus a top-down perspective dominated early LPP research.

During the 1980s, a critique of early LPP in education focused on the impact of the local context on national policies and the limitations of a technical rather than political context for LPP, as well as the failure of many language plans and policies to achieve their stated goals. Critics argued that the early approach was flawed in several ways. First, it ignored the complexity of sociopolitical systems, in which cause–effect relationships between policies and outcomes are highly complex and social groups often have covert and competing goals (see also May, *Language Education, Pluralism and Citizenship*, Volume 1). Second, by focusing on national plans and policies, early research largely ignored the attitudes and practices of communities affected by LPP in education, particularly the processes by which local communities can challenge or transform national plans. Third, the optimistic belief in the value of LPP in education for integrating linguistic minorities into national political and economic systems could not be maintained in the light of research on contexts such as apartheid South Africa, where

the white minority government promoted mother-tongue instruction and used codification and standardization as tools of apartheid while promoting Afrikaans as the dominant language (de Klerk, 2002; see also Probyn, *Policy, Practice and Power: Language Ecologies of South African Classroom*, Volume 9; Heugh, *Language Policy and Education in Southern Africa*, Volume 1). Similarly, in some states in sub-Saharan Africa, LPP in education helped to overcome the immediate problem of national integration (e.g., in Tanzania), but often the result was an educated elite in control of educational systems that largely ignored the educational needs of masses of the population with limited political power (Mazrui, 2002). Summarizing the impact of this critique, Blommaert (1996) stated that LPP “can no longer stand exclusively for practical issues of standardization, graphization, terminological elaboration, and so on. The link between language planning and sociopolitical developments is obviously of paramount importance” (p. 217).

### RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS

The major achievement of early LPP research was an understanding of the relationship between language structure and language function on the one hand, and various forms of social organization (ethnic groups, nation-states) on the other. This early work in LPP was also linked with microsociolinguistics, particularly research on interaction in educational settings (e.g., Cazden, John, and Hymes, 1972) and the relationship between bilingualism and diglossia (Fishman, 1967). The later critique of LPP shifted attention to questions of ideology, power, and inequality. This research, based on a growing body of empirical studies in widely varying contexts, focused on three key areas in education: language and ideology; the role of nonstandard varieties in education; and monolingual versus bilingual approaches to education. (For an extended discussion of recent work in this area, see Ricento, 2006.)

#### *Language and Ideology*

The term “ideology” refers to implicit or unstated (“common sense”) notions about the nature of language and communication that position individuals and groups within a social order (Woolard, 1992; see also Rubdy, *Language Planning Ideologies, Communication Practices and their Consequences*, Volume 3). Various ideologies of language have been examined, including linguistic assimilation, linguistic pluralism, and internationalization (see Reagan and Osborn, 2002). In LPP, *standard language ideology* (Lippi-Green, 1997) has received particular attention. Standard language ideology refers to a “bias toward an abstract, idealized homogenous spoken language, which is imposed and maintained by

dominant bloc institutions and which names as its model the written language, but which is drawn primarily from the spoken language of the upper middle class” (Lippi-Green, 1997, p. 64). Educational institutions play a central role in imposing standard language ideology, by rewarding users of standard varieties and imposing sanctions against those who use other varieties (Tollefson, 1991). Critical analysis of standard-language ideology raises important empirical questions about the impact of non-standard varieties in education (see also Williams, *Discourses about English: Class, Codes and Identities in Britain*, Volume 3).

### *Nonstandard Varieties in Education*

Nonstandard varieties (also called “stigmatized” varieties) include regional dialects, social varieties used by poor or working-class groups, and pidgins and creoles. In many contexts, medium of instruction policies require standard varieties, whereas nonstandard varieties are blamed for the limited educational and employment opportunities of their users. Policies that exclude nonstandard varieties from the schools are often justified on pedagogical grounds, namely that they interfere with effective instruction in the standard variety. In a review of research on this claim, Siegel (1999) found clear evidence that the use of non-standard varieties has a positive effect on the acquisition of the standard, as well as on students’ participation, self-esteem, performance on standardized tests, and overall academic achievement. Indeed, there is little evidence that using nonstandard varieties as media of instruction interferes with learning of the standard (Corson, 1997, 2000). Despite these research findings, however, language policies in many educational contexts continue to preclude the use of nonstandard varieties, perhaps due to the continuing influence of standard language ideology (cf. Cummins, 1999).

### *Monolingual and Bilingual Approaches to Education*

Emphasis on the use of standard varieties in schools implies a largely monolingual approach to LPP, in which students’ home varieties are excluded from classes. Thus, an important empirical issue for evaluating language policies is a comparison of monolingual versus bilingual approaches in education (see also May, *Bilingual/Immersion Education: What the Research Tells Us*, Volume 5). Auerbach (1993) argues that there is virtually no research supporting the claim that exclusive use of the target (standard) language is the most efficient way to promote language- or subject-matter-learning. Moreover, research on English-only instruction exploring its impact on students’ dropout rates, social isolation, progress in subject-matter instruction, and other variables, finds

significant advantages for the use of students' vernaculars, along with the standard (see Snow, 1990; Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo, 1995). Despite these findings supporting bilingual policies in education, policy makers and practitioners in many contexts continue to favor monolingual approaches (see also Lo Bianco, *Bilingual Education and Socio-political Issues*, Volume 5; May, *Bilingual/Immersion Education: What the Research Tells Us*, Volume 5).

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

The revitalization of interest in LPP since 1990 is due in part to the collapse of the idealized vision of the linguistically and ethnically homogenous nation-state. Indeed, not only is the monolingual state largely impossible in an age of migration, but there is also a growing recognition that language issues are at the core of political and military conflict in a range of settings worldwide, including Spain, UK, Yugoslavia, India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Philippines, Mexico, Guatemala, Uganda, Nigeria, Iraq, Turkey, and elsewhere (see Blackledge, 2004; Christ, 2003; May, 2001). Thus, much of the current research in LPP focuses on globalization and language loss, as well as language maintenance and revitalization. In addition, there is growing interest in language rights.

The impact of globalization on the unprecedented spread of English and on the rapid loss of languages worldwide has received serious attention in LPP (Nettle and Romaine, 2000; see also Block, *Language Education and Globalization*, Volume 1). A central question in this research is the role of planning bodies in the spread of English and in language loss (Philippson, 1992). In addition, programs of language maintenance and revitalization are the focus of research in many settings (Fishman, 2001). Work in the US Southwest is particularly important in this area, as scholars examine efforts to use Navajo as a medium of instruction (McCarty, 2002a). Similarly, policies supporting the Māori language in New Zealand offer an opportunity to discover factors that facilitate successful language revitalization (May, 2004).

Research on language revitalization is closely linked with efforts to develop a critical research methodology that places indigenous groups at the center of the research process, shaping fundamental questions such as: What research questions are legitimate? What research methodologies are acceptable? What forms of evidence are persuasive? What are the ethical responsibilities of scholars engaged in LPP research? Who should benefit from the research? This direction in research methodology is in part a response to criticisms of the research process. For example, Smith (1999, p. 1) points out that "from the vantage point of the colonized . . . the term 'research' is inextricably linked

to European imperialism and colonialism. The word itself, ‘research,’ is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world’s vocabulary.” Thus, some LPP scholars are developing a “critical method” in which an examination of their relationship to “others” who are the focus of research is at the center of the research process (see Blommaert, 1996; Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo, 1995; see also McCarty, *Language Education Planning and Policies by and for Indigenous Peoples, Volume 1*; Spolsky, *Investigating Language Education Policy, Volume 10*).

Research on language rights in education has also expanded in recent years, fueled in part by the attention to human rights in international organizations such as the United Nations and European Union (see also Skutnabb-Kangas, *Human Rights and Language Policy in Education, Volume 1*). In some settings indigenous groups have been able to invoke a discourse of language rights to win support for community schools in which an indigenous language is the medium of instruction (see also Candelier, “Awakening to Languages” and *Educational Language Policy, Volume 6*). In New Zealand, for instance, the rapid spread of Māori in the schools has been shaped by a renewed discourse of social justice and the effort to confront the legacy of discrimination against the Māori (May, 2003a). Research on the symbolic politics of language suggests that a broad system of language rights may offer significant protections for linguistic minorities in some contexts (Tollefson, 2002; Wiley, 2002). The key question is under what conditions language rights may have such an impact (McCarty, 2002b; Pennycook, 2002; see also Skutnabb-Kangas, *Language Rights and Bilingual Education, Volume 5*). Perhaps research on new forms of citizenship emerging under globalization will help LPP scholars answer this important question (McGroarty, 2002).

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Despite its many advances, LPP continues to face several problems, among them: disillusionment with the language rights movement in education, an inadequate relationship between LPP and other social sciences, and lack of impact of research on policy and practice in many settings.

### *Disillusionment with the Language Rights Movement*

Some LPP scholars argue that the main impact of the language rights movement in education is “marvelous human rights rhetoric” (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2002, p. 179; see also May, *Language Education, Pluralism and Citizenship, Volume 1*) that has not improved the lives of linguistic minorities. Indeed, “the sad conclusion is that so far, a HRs

[human rights] approach to language planning and policy has not been effective in promoting educational equity for diverse student populations” (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2002, p. 179). Whereas some scholars have concluded that language rights provide an inadequate basis for LPP theory or for practical efforts to reduce the link between language and inequality (Brutt-Griffler, 2002), others argue that language rights should remain central to LPP (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2002). With the importance of language rights in LPP research and practice, this debate will continue (see May, 2003b, 2005).

### *Inadequate Relationship Between LPP and Other Social Sciences*

Both Fishman (1992) and Williams (1992) have articulated the disappointing failure of LPP to be sufficiently influenced by (or to influence) other fields in the social sciences. The paucity of sociological research on language is particularly striking, given the belief among LPP scholars that language is central to many social processes. Nevertheless, some theoretical work in LPP has begun to forge links with other areas in the social sciences. Particularly important is research by Dua (1996) and May (2001, 2003) that connects LPP with political theory. Another connection is between LPP and the local legal framework for plans and policies (Wiley, 2002). For example, the body of law on “free speech” in the USA affects debates about state efforts to restrict languages other than English and the use of stigmatized varieties in schools. Supporters of policies favoring multilingualism and language diversity rely on constitutional protections of speech as a basis for promoting languages other than English in state institutions such as the schools. In the Philippines, ongoing policy debates about the bilingual education program make sense only when viewed within the long history of constitutional regulation of the role of English, Filipino, and other languages. Thus, LPP may increasingly consider local legal frameworks in analysis of plans and policies in education.

### *Lack of Impact of Research on Policy and Practice*

LPP scholars have increasingly expressed frustration about their inability to influence the policy-making process. For example, Cummins (1999) points out that language-policy debates in the USA are characterized by a remarkable disregard for research and “blatant internal contradictions” (p. 13; see also May, *Bilingual/Immersion Education: What the Research Tells Us*, Volume 5). Examining the lack of rational analysis in public discussion of official-English laws in the USA, Donahue (2002) argues that incoherent and unsystematic debate provides opportunity for dominant groups with access to mass media to

manipulate public opinion. He concludes that the resulting “frustrating sense of anomic normlessness” and ideological confusion preserve “an extraordinary advantage for those in power” (p. 138 and p. 159). To some LPP scholars, this situation is a result of the continuing impact of standard language ideology (Lippi-Green, 1997). Others argue that a renewed effort to influence policy making is essential (Tollefson, 2004).

#### FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS

With the recent expansion in LPP research, new and unexpected directions are likely to emerge. Among these, work is likely to focus on LPP and inequality, LPP and identity, the impact of global institutions, and critical pedagogy for social change.

##### *LPP and Inequality*

Much of the research in LPP in the past decade has focused on the role of LPP in education in creating and sustaining inequality. This work is likely to continue, but perhaps with a change in focus. While recent research has amply documented the ways in which LPP in education is used by dominant groups to sustain their systems of privilege, additional work is needed to develop a better understanding of how common institutional practices contribute to inequality, largely without conscious discussion or critical awareness by participants in educational systems. Particularly promising in this regard is work by Pennycook (2002) and Moore (2002) on “governmentality,” which refers to discourses, practices, and patterns of language use as techniques by which individuals and institutions shape public behavior and enact programs of government. This research, which shifts attention away from explicit policies adopted by the state, promises to link LPP in education with work in discourse analysis and various approaches to interaction analysis and microsociolinguistics.

##### *LPP and Identity*

Recent work on language and identity has focused in part on LPP in education. Particularly promising is the effort by some scholars to examine language and identity explicitly within educational institutions. Institutional patterns of language use and the multiple institutional roles played by language users have broad implications for understanding LPP and identity. On the theoretical level, innovative work on language, gender, and language learning should be tied explicitly to research on LPP (see Davis and Skilton-Sylvester, 2004; Norton, 2000; see also Pavlenko and Piller, *Language Education and Gender*, Volume 1).

*The Impact of Global Institutions*

While research on state educational institutions continues, equally important is study of the increasing role of multinational corporations and other global institutions that affect LPP in education (see also Block, *Language Education and Globalization*, Volume 1). Work by Alidou (2004), for instance, on the World Bank's influence on education in sub-Saharan Africa, offers a model for this research. How are some state education ministries constrained by policies of the World Bank and other global institutions? How are decisions of such global institutions implemented at the local level? How can local educators, students, and their families shape the policies that affect them? These are questions for research in this direction.

*Critical Pedagogy and Social Change*

With a growing number of LPP scholars openly advocating involvement in efforts for social change (Nettle and Romaine, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000), a focus on critical pedagogy for social change is likely to continue. Particularly influential is seminal work on indigenous schooling in the Solomon Islands (Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo, 2002), in the Southwestern USA (McCarty, 2002a) and in New Zealand (May, 2004). Although some researchers fear that critical pedagogy has politicized scholarship, the crisis of language loss among indigenous people and pervasive economic, social, and political inequalities based on language will continue to motivate LPP scholars to participate in language maintenance and revitalization programs, as well as efforts to develop language policies that further social justice (see also McCarty, *Language Education Planning and Policies by and for Indigenous Peoples*, Volume 1 and Kaplan and Baldauf, *An Ecological Perspective on Language Planning*, Volume 9).

**See Also:** *Ann Williams: Discourses about English: Class, Codes and Identities in Britain (Volume 3); Rani Rubdy: Language Planning Ideologies, Communication Practices and their Consequences (Volume 3); Joseph Lo Bianco: Bilingual Education and Socio-political Issues (Volume 5); Tove Skutnabb-Kangas: Language Rights and Bilingual Education (Volume 5); Michel Candelier: "Awakening to Languages" and Educational Language Policy (Volume 6); Robert Kaplan and Richard Baldauf Jr.: An Ecological Perspective on Language Planning (Volume 9); Margie Probyn: Policy, Practice and Power: Language Ecologies of South African Classrooms (Volume 9); Bernard Spolsky: Investigating Language Education Policy (Volume 10); Stephen May: Language Education, Pluralism and Citizenship (Volume 1); Teresa*

*L. McCarty: Language Education Planning and Policies by and for Indigenous Peoples (Volume 1); Skutnabb-Kangas: Human Rights and Language Policy in Education (Volume 1); Kathleen Heugh: Language Policy and Education in Southern Africa (Volume 1); David Block: Language Education and Globalization (Volume 1); Aneta Pavlenko and Ingrid Piller: Language Education and Gender (Volume 1); Stephen May: Bilingual/Immersion Education: What the Research Tells Us (Volume 5)*

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## LANGUAGE EDUCATION AND GLOBALIZATION

### INTRODUCTION: GLOBALIZATION

In his oft-cited book on globalization and modernity, Anthony Giddens defines globalization as:

the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa. (Giddens, 1990, p. 64)

A more elaborate definition, taken from Held, McGrew, Goldblatt and Perraton (1999, p. 15), is as follows:

Globalization can be located on a continuum with the local, national and regional. At the one end of the continuum lie social and economic relations and networks which are organized on a local and/or national basis; at the other end lie social and economic relations and networks which crystallize on the wider scale of regional and global interactions. Globalization can be taken to refer to those spatio-temporal processes of change which underpin a transformation in the organization of human affairs by linking together and expanding human activity across regions and continents.

In these two definitions, globalization is framed as the ongoing process of the increasing and intensifying interconnectedness of communications, events, activities and relationships taking place at the local, national or international level. However, while globalization theorists tend to agree on the general parameters of globalization, there are differing views about when it actually started. Robertson (1995) and Held et al. (1999) acknowledge that globalization is perhaps a pre-modern phenomenon with beginnings in the fifteenth century. According to these authors, it was at this time that the nation-state in Europe was born, and with it the beginnings of international economics and politics. In addition, at this time, the Catholic Church began to spread worldwide and thus became the first global religion. Finally, the fifteenth century was when the European superpowers, such as Portugal, Spain and England, began to spread outwards and colonize the world.

However, other globalization theorists (e.g. Cox, 1996) take a more here-and-now position, situating the beginnings of globalization at the

time of the first major fuel crisis of 1973, the decline of traditional modes of industrial production and the subsequent move towards a demand-led economy. It was at this time that the developed capitalist states began to abandon 'Fordism', the post-World War 2 economic model of rationalized mass production, stabilized work routines, organized labour, wage-driven demand for more products and the welfare state. In its place came what eventually was called the Washington Consensus, which was about the dismantling of Fordism, especially unionized labour and the welfare state.

In the globalization literature, there is also a question of whether globalization is the continued global spread of capitalism, albeit by more sophisticated and technologically advanced means, or if it is indeed something the likes of which humanity has never experienced. For the proponents of the former view (e.g. Smith, 1997; Wallerstein, 2004), we are still at a stage in history that is imminently modern, in which, for example, international capitalism, the nation-state and the national cultures are still very much intact. However, other theorists (e.g. Bauman, 1998) argue that modernity has been left behind and in its wake we live in world in which the nation-state is progressively more and more superfluous as regards its impact on people's lives, and culture is more an ongoing contested process than a solid social structure that withstands pressures from without.

Another issue arising in discussions of globalization is whether or not globalization is hegemonically Western, and above all an extension of American imperialism. For example, Latouche (1996) writes about the 'Westernization of the world' and the progressive 'worldwide standardization of lifestyles'. He and other authors (e.g. Ritzer, 1998) lament how Western ideology and culture, best exemplified in the USA, are becoming the norm around the world. Ritzer in particular argues convincingly that in recent years, there has been a convergence in all aspects of people's lives: how they dress, how they eat, their entertainment preferences, their work habits and so on.

However, other scholars would disagree with the view that globalization is merely US imperialism by other means. Writing in the early 1990s, Giddens acknowledges that '[t]he first phase of globalization was plainly governed, primarily, by the expansion of the West, and institutions which originated in the West' (Giddens, 1994, p. 96). However, he goes on to state:

Although still dominated by Western power, globalization today can no longer be spoken of only as a matter of one-way imperialism ... now, increasingly, ... there is no obvious 'direction' to globalization at all, as its ramifications are ever-present . . . (Giddens, 1994, p. 96)

To capture the great number of potential angles on globalization, some theorists have proposed frameworks that are meant to encapsulate the totality of the phenomenon.

For Held and his colleagues (Held et al., 1999), globalization can be examined from at least eight different angles: global politics and the nation-state; organized violence and military globalization; global trade and markets; global finance; multinational corporations and production networks; globalization and migration; cultural globalization; and globalization and the environment. Held et al.'s attempt to construct a comprehensive model has echoes of an earlier more modest framework developed by Arjun Appadurai (1990). For Appadurai, globalization is a 'complex, overlapping and disjunctive order' made up of five dimensions of cultural flows called 'scapes'. These scapes are listed, defined and exemplified in [Table 1](#).

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The globalization themes discussed earlier are inextricably linked to questions of language, and more specifically to questions of language education. This was realised from the 1950s onwards by the authors of reports produced by international organisations such as UNESCO. For example, in an early publication about vernacular and national languages in these former European colonies, UNESCO (1963) addressed the tension between a desire to strengthen national identity in former

Table 1 Appadurai's (1990) scapes

| Scape         | Gloss                | Examples  |
|---------------|----------------------|---|
| Ethnoscapes   | Flows of people      | Migrants, asylum seekers, exiles, tourists  |
| Technoscapes  | Flows of technology  | Hardware components, technical know-how   |
| Financescapes | Flows of money       | National stock exchanges, commodity speculations  |
| Mediascapes   | Flows of information | Newspapers, magazines, satellite television channels, websites and the images and symbols they create and provide |
| Ideoscapes    | Flows of ideas       | Human rights, environmentalism, free trade movements, fear of terrorism   |

colonies and the continued technical, financial, mediatic and ideological power of former colonisers, in part via the continued predominance of languages such as English and French in education. The link between the global and the local has also been a constant in the work of African scholars such as Ali Mazrui. In his classic book, *The Political Sociology of the English Language*, Mazrui examines the predominance of English in the political, religious and educational spheres of post-colonial African societies, as well as the ambivalent feelings of individuals educated in English who then contest continued post-colonial imperialism (see also, the work of authors such as Chinua Achebe, 1975, and Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, 1993). Elsewhere, in collections such as Fishman, Cooper and Conrad (1977) and Kachru (1983), sociolinguists have explored in detail issues such as the spread of English across nation-state and cultural borders.

This is but a small sample of what might be considered early work on language education in globalization. These authors, and others not mentioned here for lack of space (see Pennycook, 1994, and Phillipson, 1992, for more thorough coverage), were focussing on some of the global phenomena identified in the introduction to this chapter, such as flows of people, money, technology and ideas; tensions between the global and the local; and questions of cultural imperialism. However, these discussions of global issues were not carried out according to the models of globalization outlined in the introduction for the simple reason that the latter were not common currency in the social sciences when most of this work was being carried out. For a more direct link between the discussion of globalization in the introduction and language education, one needs to examine research that is more recent. In the next section, I examine what I consider to be three key areas of inquiry.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS AND PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

##### *The Commodification of Language*

One could argue that disputes in different parts of the world over which of two or more languages are to dominate in different spheres of society have always been fundamentally about economics. Nevertheless, it has traditionally been national and cultural identity, and appeals to the authentic spirit and character of a people, to which language policy makers have appealed when supporting one language over another. This certainly has been the case for well-known minority language contexts around the world, such as French in Canada and Catalan in Spain. It has also been the case for nation-states around the world, which have identified nationhood with official national languages.

Examples include Bahasa in Indonesia and Swahili in Tanzania. However, with the rise of deregulated and hyper-competitive post-industrial economies and the global spread of the new work order—the conditions under which individuals work in these economies (Gee, Hull and Lankshear, 1996)—new ways of framing languages have arisen. Now languages not only are signs of authentic national identities, they are also seen as commodities, the possession of which is a valued skill in the job market.

Two consequences flow from this commodification of language. On the one hand, it changes the rationale for conserving and promoting a language: now it is not only about saving a nation or a people; it makes good economic sense. The second consequence flows from the first: as a commodity, a language comes to be seen ‘as measurable skill, as opposed to a talent, or an inalienable characteristic of group members’ (Heller, 2003, p. 474). In her research over the past decade, Monica Heller (2002, 2003) has explored the shift from ‘an ideology of an authentic nation to an ideology of commodification’ (Heller, 2002, p. 47), which has taken place in Canada with regard to French. Much of this shift is due to changes in the economy in Québec and Canada in general over the past 40 years. When Québécois nationalism began to gather strength in the 1960s, the majority of French speakers were gathered in agriculture, mining, fishing and manufacturing, where their French language skills were not valued and they were economically marginalized. However, since this time, the Canadian and Québec economies have evolved into globalized, post-industrial, services-based markets in which language is a key element and the command of more than one language or language variety is highly valued (see also Burnaby, *Language Policy and Education in Canada*, Volume 1).

In this pro-bilingual climate, Heller’s research has focussed on both public and private sectors in which commodified bilingualism is flourishing. Thus, those working in education, health and welfare, as well as those working in the private sector (e.g. call centres, the tourist trade) must conform to the model of ‘perfect’ bilinguals in both French and English, that is, they are expected to have a command of what are considered standard varieties of both languages. The consequences for education are immense and, as Heller explains, they emerge in ‘debates over when and if to introduce English teaching into French-language schools; over the relative importance of French versus other languages (Japanese or Spanish, for example) in language education in English-language schools; over the value of the vernacular versus standard French; over the very nature of standard French; and over how best to be bilingual; to name just a few of the debates current in Canadian society’ (Heller, 2002, p. 62).

A large part of this commodification process is about framing language as a communication skill that can be taught, a topic that Deborah Cameron (2000, 2002) has researched in detail. Whereas in the past, it was assumed that human beings acquired the ability to communicate with one another through practice and experience, today the view is increasing that formal instruction provided by communication specialists is required. This communication skills revolution has taken place at three general levels. First, in an ever-increasing number of workplaces, communication skills training has become an integral part of staff development and, indeed, communication skills are seen as an essential qualification for many jobs. Second, outside the workplace, advice on the development and the enhancement of communication skills has become a basic element in the ever-growing self-help and self-improvement market. Third and finally, educational authorities in many parts of the world, no doubt with their eyes on what is happening in the job market, have made communication skills training a part of their national curricula.

### *The Spread of English as an International Language*

The commodification process of languages is one thing; quite another is the choice of which language is to be adopted as a country's official language of education or which languages are to be taught as foreign languages in secondary schools. The one language that is the focus of debates at both levels in recent years is English. Indeed, the English language is for many people in the world today, the medium that makes possible what Giddens (op. cit.) refers to as 'the intensification of worldwide social relations'. It seems that there is no part of the world where there has not been at least some contact with English, although, paralleling globalization, the incidence and significance of English is unequal in different parts of the world. About such issues, there seems to be little disagreement.

By contrast, there is disagreement about whether or not the spread of English is a good thing, and in recent years the issues brought to the fore by scholars such as Mazrui (op. cit.) have resurfaced, but this time framed more deliberately within discourses of globalization. Thus, in recent years, Robert Phillipson (1992) has developed the concept of 'linguistic imperialism' to explain how the English language grows continually stronger around the world, at the expense of local languages. For Phillipson, there are economic and cultural powers in the world that prime English over other languages. For example, the business world, headed by English-speaking North America, has propagated the idea that English is the international language of business. In the cultural sphere, English language culture (e.g. Hollywood,

pop music, fast food) is one thing that most inhabitants of the world have in common. Elsewhere, Tove Skutnabb-Kangas has introduced the terms 'linguicide' and 'linguistic genocide' (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; see also Skutnabb-Kangas, *Human Rights and Language Policy in Education*, Volume 1) to describe how English has effectively become a 'killer' of less powerful language around the world. The work of Phillipson, Skutnabb-Kangas and other scholars concerned about the spread of English and the death of smaller languages has led to general area of inquiry which May (2003, 2005) terms 'language rights'.

Over the past decade, the issue of English and minority language rights has generated much debate (e.g. Hall and Eggington, 2000; Tollefson, 1995, 2002; special issues of *Journal of Sociolinguistics* in 2003 and 2005), some of which has been quite confrontational. For example, Janina Brutt-Griffler (2002) takes issue with the concept of linguistic imperialism, in particular the suggestion that English was imposed on the colonized peoples of the British Empire. Brutt-Griffler (2002, p. 31) argues that 'the spread of English involved a contested terrain in which English was not unilaterally imposed on passive subjects, but wrested from an unwilling imperial authority as part of the struggle by them against colonialism'. Echoing Bisong's (1995) view of English as a valued language in Nigeria for its communication potential, she also argues that the protection of endangered languages, as proposed by Skutnabb-Kangas in her publications over the years, goes against the wishes of many parents in African and Asian countries, who would like their children to have the opportunity to learn English.

Brutt-Griffler's criticisms have spawned a series of rebuttals and counter rebuttals (see the special issues of the *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 7/4, 2003 and the *Journal of Language Identity and Education*, 1/3, 2002, as well as the forum section of *JLIE*, 3/2, 2004). They also contrast with the views of other scholars who have framed the debate in different ways. Steering a course between those in favour of Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas's theses and those against, Marnie Holborow (1999) makes a clear distinction between what Pennycook (1994) calls 'discourses of colonialism' and what she sees as the material practices of colonialism. For Holborow, one cannot contest discourses, while one can engage with material reality. Adopting a Marxist stance, Holborow is far more attracted to the Phillipson and Sktunabb-Kangas view of the world, although here too she does have her criticisms. For example, she sees the broad contrast between the north and the south and the centre and periphery as over-simplistic, ignoring as it does the roles of ruling local elites, who are complicit in global capitalism. Similarly, she is wary of fostering local nationalism as a defence against imperialism: very often, it is conservative ruling local elites leading the defence of the local against imposition from without.

In addition to steering a course between and among different camps, May (2003, 2005) notes how the framing of language rights strictly in terms of economic prospects, as authors such as Brutt-Griffler (2002) and John Edwards (1985) have done, ignores the way that people often value their affective ties and affiliations to a particular language over the relative 'usefulness' of that language in terms of gaining access to key social and economic resources. Indeed, if abandonment of the minority language and the embracing of English were so obviously the only rational way forward for ethnolinguistic minority groups in established nation-states, then Latinos in the USA would not continue using Spanish; the Québécois, as citizens of Canada, would not have spent as much time and money as they have over the past several decades on the preservation and promotion of French; and the citizens of African countries would have abandoned local languages and vernaculars long ago.

Elsewhere, Pennycook (1994, 1998; Pennycook, *Critical Applied Linguistics and Language Education*, Volume 1) and Canagarajah (1999, 2005a; Canagarajah, *The Politics of English Language Teaching*, Volume 1) take a post-modern view of the world informed by critical theory, framing the spread of English as altogether too complicated to be considered as oppressive and dehumanising as Phillipson and others suggest. Both scholars allow for the capacity of L2 English users around the world to resist (that is, to combat rationally and reflectively) linguistic imperialism (Canagarajah, 1999). This may be done by engaging in what Pennycook (1994), following authors such as Achebe (1975), terms 'writing back', the process by which users of English around the world appropriate English and make it work for their various personal, professional and political purposes. This appropriation may work at the more literary and academic levels in the form of published articles and books for national and international consumption. However, it might also work at the local level, be it the nation-state, community or even neighbourhood.

For example, in the context of post-colonial Tanzania, where Swahili was promoted as the national language from the mid-1960s, Blommaert (2005) notes that English remains an important and extended medium of communication at all levels of society. However, rather than seeing uses of English, such as in business signage, as evidence of 'an invasion of an imperialist or killer language' (p. 404), Blommaert finds it more useful to situate them in a global hierarchy in which small business operators in Tanzania connect with their potential clientele, using English to index their sophistication in taste (e.g. making reference to European norms of consumption), their business knowledge (English sounds business-like) or their connections to international business (English is the international language). For Blommaert, over-simplified essentialist associations of one language or one identity do not survive

the scrutiny of ethnographic research. Neither do de-essentialised approaches that in effect amount to rational choice theory, whereby individuals make interested choices about language affiliations based solely on factors such as economic gain or prestige (for further discussion and critique of this, see May, 2003, 2005). What is needed is an approach to English as an international phenomenon that escapes essentialism but recognises social structures, in particular the unequal access to all semiotic resources, including language, that reigns in the world today.

### *The Effects of Globalization on the Language Teaching Practices*

As Pennycook (1994) and Phillipson (1992) note, inextricably intertwined with the spread of English as an international language is the spread of teaching methodologies that originate in countries like the USA and Britain. From the 1970s onwards, what is known as Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) has been at the forefront of debate about language teaching methodology in different parts of the world. From its beginnings in the Council of Europe (Van Ek, 1975), CLT has become the first truly global method. Thus, while it is not written into every national curriculum in the world today, it is a point of reference in discussions about language teaching around the world. In succinct form, CLT is an approach to language teaching which views language as being about communicative competence (Hymes, 1971), that is, the ability to use the linguistic system appropriately, and language learning as emergent from the use of the target language in interaction as opposed to an explicit focus on grammar (Richards and Rodgers, 2001). A key feature of CLT is the attempt to replicate, in the classroom, the experiences of regular users of the target language. Thus, there is an emphasis on classroom activities that mimic activities in the 'real' world (or in any case, what many language educators and materials writers imagine the world outside the classroom to be like). For its proponents, it represents a positive step forward in the history of language teaching, from more old-fashioned approaches to teaching, which are text-based (grammar translation) or based on generally discredited learning theories (e.g. Audiolingualism and behaviourist psychology).

In Appadurai's (op. cit.) terms, CLT is an example of a pedagogical *ideoscape*, a global flow of ideas about teaching. However, this flow has been neither one-way nor unproblematic, as more and more applied linguists have come to question the spread of CLT in recent years. In sections of their respective books dealing with language teaching methodology and social context, Holliday (1994), Pennycook (1994), and Phillipson (1992) discuss the gap between imported pedagogical principles and local teaching contexts. For example, Pennycook

questions the assumption that learners of English must participate in information gap activities if they are to learn the target language in contexts such as Malaysia. This global exhortation to chat runs up against intercultural walls (Pennycook points out that silence is an integral part of communication in Malay), as well as intracultural walls (the different conversation roles according to gender which exist in some cultures). Following a similar line, Ellis (1996) writes specifically about CLT in East Asian countries such as China and Vietnam, making the point that the focus on process inherent in this approach to language teaching does not sit well in societies in which content is considered important. Kramsch and Sullivan (1996), referring to Vietnam as well, point out that the concept of group might better refer to the entire class as one unit, as opposed to collections of three or four students separated from their classmates.

Other authors have explored the extent to which teachers teach according to the basic tenets of CLT. Mitchell and Lee (2003) compared the teaching of French as a foreign language in a classroom in the UK with the teaching of EFL in a South Korean classroom. They found that in these two classrooms, CLT was not alive and well, as lessons were teacher-centred and there was not much in the way of pair- and group-speaking activities. Elsewhere, Sakui (2004) examined how 30 Japanese teachers defined and implemented CLT, the official methodology of the Japanese Ministry of Education since 1989. She found that while teachers were knowledgeable about pedagogical options, they tended to adopt something akin to grammar translation as their dominant methodology, because this was deemed to be the best way to prepare students for their university entrance exams, which were still grammar-based. Sakui documents a situation in which ministerial methodological dictates have changed while examination structures have not.

The resolution of conflicts arising when the global spread of method collides with local educational cultures has been discussed by many authors over the years (Bax, 2003; Canagarajah, 1999; Holliday, 1994; Kumaravadivelu, 1994; McKay, 2002). While the proposals of these authors vary considerably, they all involve a call for local teachers to work out their own solutions, appropriating what they deem suitable from without, while relying on home-grown strategies that have ecological validity. For example, Holliday (1994) discusses 'appropriate methodology' as a means of breaking away from pedagogical recommendations from without and moving towards approaches that start with the teacher's understanding of classroom activity, which in turn inform future classroom teaching. Starting with teachers' understandings in local context, of course, would mean moving away from the importation of teaching technology from abroad as part of the

global network. Elsewhere, Kumaravadivelu (1994, 2003) discusses the 'post-method' condition, in which the adoption of a particular method has ceased to be regarded as the solution to all problems, and there is no longer a one-way flow of expertise from centre to periphery. As Canagarajah (2002) notes, this state of affairs opens up new opportunities for the knowledge and expertise of local teachers in periphery contexts to be recognized and valued.

### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The three areas of inquiry discussed earlier all show great potential and promise as regards research and debate in the future. Thus far, research into the commodification and skilling of language has focussed primarily on events in a few select locations. However, as applied linguists adopt a more global agenda, research begins to catch up with other instances of these phenomena around the world. There is a need, for example, for studies of the ways that languages around the world have been commodified. In addition, Cameron's (2000, 2002) research into communication skilling, originally based in the UK, should be extended to other parts of the world.

As regards the spread of English around the world, and concepts such as linguistic imperialism and linguicide, there is little doubt that Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas have initiated and helped to maintain on the applied linguistics agenda the issue of the spread of English and English language teaching around the world. And, with authors such as Brutt-Griffler questioning some of the foundational concepts and extensions of their arguments, English as a globalized language will no doubt continue to generate debate and research. However, following authors such as Blommaert, Canagarajah, May and Pennycook, this debate is becoming increasingly nuanced as relatively simple models and frameworks are replaced by even more complex ones.

Finally, the ongoing global-local tension emerging from the spread of CLT as something akin to a global language teaching methodology seems set to continue. Future research needs to be along the lines of the contributions to Canagarajah (2005b) and discussions such as Holliday (2005); while the former explores teacher-generated practices in a variety of local contexts, the latter looks at the difficulties facing native and non-native speakers of English as they reconcile global and local forces in the teaching of English as an international language.

**See Also:** *Alastair Pennycook: Critical Applied Linguistics and Language Education (Volume 1); Tove Skutnabb-Kangas: Human Rights and Language Policy in Education (Volume 1); Suresh Canagarajah: The Politics of English Language Teaching (Volume 1); Joan Kelly*

*Hall: Language Education and Culture (Volume 1); Stephen May: Language Education, Pluralism and Citizenship (Volume 1); Mary Kalantzis and Bill Cope: Language Education and Multiliteracies (Volume 1)*

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## LANGUAGE EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### INTRODUCTION

No two concepts are more intimately linked than language and culture. In our interactions with others, we use language not only to refer to or represent our sociocultural worlds. It is also the central means by which we bring our cultural worlds into existence, maintain them, and shape them for our own purposes. Long recognized in fields such as linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics, the interdependent nature of language and culture has been a key premise of a substantial body of research on linguistically and culturally diverse groups. Findings demonstrate in compelling ways the myriad linguistic resources that members of a wide range of sociocultural groups use to both reflect and create their social worlds.

Findings from this rather large body of research have led to new ways of understanding the connections between the linguistic and cultural diversity of learners in educational institutions and the nature of schooling. These new understandings have, in turn, led to the creation of several pedagogical innovations captured under the broadly conceived framework of culturally responsive pedagogy. A primary premise of this pedagogy holds that exemplary teaching builds on rather than ignores the rich reservoirs of knowledge, experiences, and beliefs that linguistically and culturally diverse learners bring to their schooling experiences from their homes and communities. Provided here is a review of some of the more prominent innovations founded on this premise and a brief discussion of possible pitfalls and future possibilities.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Changing immigration patterns over the latter half of the twentieth century led to an increase in the linguistic and cultural diversity of communities in all corners of the world. Despite apparent good intentions of educational institutions in dealing with the upsurge in linguistic and cultural diversity of their learner populations, the efforts of teachers, administrators, and other institutional authorities were hampered by a widely held belief that linguistic and cultural *differences* reflected linguistic and cultural *deficiencies*. Consequently, differences in levels

of academic achievement between mainstream, i.e. white, native English speaking, learners and nonmainstream learners were attributed to the latter's rearing in home and community settings considered to be linguistically and culturally deprived.

Early research in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology sought to counter this belief by detailing the richness of linguistically and culturally diverse learners' worlds outside schools. Studies from the 1960s and 1970s examining the dynamics of varieties of English found in the USA (e.g. Labov, 1972; Wolfram, 1974; Wolfram and Christian, 1976), for example, made apparent the structural soundness and functional importance of different dialects found in American society. Findings from these and other studies demonstrated rather conclusively that rather than a deficient version of some idealized standard, language varieties are systematized, legitimate tools by which members of different sociocultural groups and communities participate in and manage their social worlds.

Also influential in countering the deficit view of linguistically and culturally diverse learners is much ethnographic research from the field of linguistic anthropology. The studies by Shirley Brice Heath (1983) and Susan Phillips (1983) are arguably two of the more influential early investigations. Each study provides rich descriptions of the language practices and larger sociocultural beliefs and values found in communities of learners who are not considered standard or mainstream English speakers. Heath's study examined the practices of two rural US communities, Trackton, a black community, and Roadville, a white community, and one urban, middle-class community comprising both black and white families. Phillips investigated the home socialization practices of a native American community, the Warm Springs Indians. Both studies found that the home practices of these communities comprised a myriad of linguistic and cultural experiences, knowledge, skills and beliefs, which, although different from mainstream practices, were equally rich and of vital importance to these communities.

This early work paved the way for a great deal of subsequent research on language and literacy practices of many different communities and cultural groups around the world (Barton and Hamilton, 1998; Martin-Jones and Bhatt, 1998; Watahomigie and McCarty, 1997). In addition to enriching our understandings of the linguistic and cultural dynamics of these communities and groups, these findings have added greatly to our understandings of the significant connections between the home practices of linguistically and culturally diverse learners and the practices of mainstream schooling contexts. We know, for example, that the linguistic and cultural practices of sociocultural groups and communities who are not considered mainstream often differ from those practices found in schools. We also know that

children who have been reared in nonmainstream practices often do not perform as well academically as those whose practices are more similar to those found in schools do. The differences in performances, however, are not because the home practices of the nonmainstream children are linguistically and culturally inferior. It has to do, instead, with compatibility. Children whose home activities reflect the linguistic and cultural practices of schools are likely to have more opportunities for success because they only need to link to and build on the practices into which they have been socialized at home. On the other hand, children whose home practices are linguistically and culturally different are likely to have more difficulty because they must add new linguistic and cultural practices and create new links to those they already know.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The findings from many studies illustrating the vitality and importance of linguistically and culturally diverse learners' worlds outside schools conducted throughout the last few decades of the twentieth century provided the foundation for the development of several innovative approaches to language education that can be subsumed under the broad framework of culturally responsive pedagogy. This pedagogy is based on a key premise that considers the different worlds that linguistically and culturally diverse learners bring with them to the classroom to be rich reservoirs of resources to draw on rather than sources of deprivation and thus obstacles to overcome. Thus, exemplary educational programs seek to build on rather than replace the languages and cultures that learners bring with them to school.

Several pedagogical innovations grounded in culturally responsive pedagogy deal with matters of curriculum. One innovation is often referred to as *language awareness* or *dialect education* curricula. Drawing directly from the research on language variation, it proposes adding a curricular component designed specifically to raise learners' awareness of the variable nature of language and its link to their cultural identities. One way this is done is by involving learners in the study of the language varieties found in their local communities (Wolfram, Christian, and Adger, 1999). In addition to raising learners' awareness of the importance of their own language variety, such study helps learners to understand the social, political, and historical nature of languages considered standard and against which their own varieties are judged.

A second approach advocating curricular change is *funds of knowledge*, which calls for drawing on learners' diverse worlds outside the classroom to create linguistically and culturally meaningful curricula

and instructional practices in the classroom. It was originally developed by Luis Moll and his colleagues (Moll, Amanti, Neff, and González, 1992) in their work with working-class Mexican-American communities in Arizona in the USA. The purpose of their work was to tap into these communities' funds of knowledge, a term coined to refer to the communities' significant sociocultural practices, bodies of knowledge, skills, and beliefs, and to use the funds to transform the curricula of these communities' schools. A defining feature of the approach is the active involvement of teachers in the ethnographic study of their students' worlds outside the school and in the use of their newfound understandings to redesign or transform their curricula and instructional activities. Most funds of knowledge projects have been conducted by teachers from public schools, primarily at the elementary level, in the USA (González et al., 1993).

Another, more broadly conceived approach calling for curricular changes that draw on learners' home practices is *multicultural education*, a term used by educational institutions primarily to refer to a range of programs and policies developed to address concerns of historically marginalized groups. Originating with the civil rights movement in the USA in the early 1960s, multicultural education was initially conceived to address the concerns of three groups in particular: those identified by race, class, and gender, but more recent articulations address concerns of linguistically and culturally diverse immigrant groups as well, and not just in the USA but around the world (Banks and Banks 1995; May 1999a). Considered one of the pioneers of multicultural education, James Banks (1981) called for a total transformation of schools, including their placement, disciplinary and other policies, and testing and assessment measures in addition to curricula and instructional practices and materials. Early attempts at reform were, for the most part, limited to making slight changes or additions to traditional school practices. These included integrating into the regular curriculum interpersonal activities and textual information about those groups marked as different that were meant primarily to enhance the group members' dispositions and attitudes about themselves.

More recently, education scholars such as Carl Grant and Christine Sleeter (2003), Sonia Nieto (2002), and Geneva Gay (2000) have made visible how longstanding schooling practices such as tracking (streaming) and standardized tests continue to constrain the educational advancement of nonmainstream learners. In response to this, they have called for more profound structural changes grounded in dual concerns with equal educational opportunity and social change. In noting the tendency for multicultural education practices to take accommodation to mainstream culture as its pedagogical goal, Stephen May (1999a, b) has also called for a more critical approach to multicultural education.

The changes he proposes seek to encourage and preserve “a reflexive critique of specific cultural practices that avoids the vacuity of cultural relativism... allows for criticism (both internal and external to the group), transformation, and change” (May, 1999b, p. 33).

A final, broadly conceived approach drawing on the basic premises of a culturally responsive pedagogy is *participatory pedagogy*. This approach has its roots in the work of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire (1972, 1973) who argued for a pedagogy that took into account rather than ignored the social, cultural, and political worlds of learners. In Freire’s model, the teacher becomes a facilitator and the curriculum is organized around experiences, needs, and concerns that learners consider to be central to their lives. Also referred to as critical pedagogy (cf. Morgan, 1998; Pennycook, 2001), participatory pedagogy aims to create classroom environments that help learners first to understand more fully their local conditions and circumstances, and second, to take action toward changing their lives. One way this is done is by helping learners understand the myriad ways in which the contexts of their lives are publicly constructed and the means they have available for recreating their worlds in ways that are meaningful and appropriate for them.

The works of some of the more prominent participatory pedagogy scholars including, for example, Henry Giroux (1997), Ira Shor (1996), and Michael Apple (1996), are more theory-based in that they build on and extend Freire’s philosophy in arguing against what they perceive to be deeply embedded inequities in the educational system and for major reform. The work of other critical pedagogues is more practice-based, in that it attempts to apply these ideas to specific learning contexts. The approaches advocated by Brian Morgan (1998), Elsa Auerbach (1992), and Bonnie Norton Peirce (1995), for example, are geared to community-based adult immigrant language programs, whereas that of Heath and Mangiola (1991) is aimed at school-aged children.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

The move into the twenty-first century has brought with it myriad models and approaches to language education that are grounded in culturally responsive pedagogy. Although the basic premise of these approaches remains the same, there are some conceptual changes afoot in terms of how we understand language and culture that are having a significant impact on the design of educational programs. The acknowledgment of the intrinsic link between language and culture notwithstanding, it has been the case that most approaches associated with culturally responsive pedagogy have held on to, or, at the very least, have not questioned, a view of language as stable structural

systems and of culture as fixed bodies of knowledge. Moreover, it has taken for granted the idea that the knowledge of both systems is shared equally by all members of a particular group and thus, homogeneous and stable across speakers and contexts.

This traditional view runs counter to contemporary understandings, which consider language to be fundamentally dynamic, provisional, grounded in and emergent from its locally situated uses in culturally framed and discursively patterned communicative activities, which, in turn, are tied to specific sociocultural communities of practice (Hall, Cheng, and Carlson, 2006; see also May, *Language Education, Pluralism and Citizenship*, Volume 1 and Pennycook, *Critical Applied Linguistics and Language Education*, Volume 1). The nature of culture is considered to be equally dynamic, comprising recurring constellations of dispositions and expectations that are continually recreated in the myriad intellectual and practical communicative activities constituting our daily lives. Culture is located then not in accumulated bodies of static knowledge, but in the daily interactions occurring between individuals in particular sociocultural contexts at particular moments of time. Through our participation in myriad, varied activities, we take on and negotiate multiple cultural identities. Cultural identity, then, is not seen as singular and unitary, but rather as multiple and malleable, a dynamic creation of the social, historical, and political contexts of our lived experiences.

One recently developed approach that fully incorporates contemporary perspectives on language and culture is the pedagogy of multiliteracies (New London Group, 1996; see also Kalantzis and Cope, *Language Education and Multiliteracies*, Volume 1). The approach was proposed by a group of ten scholars from the USA, England, and Australia in response to what they consider to be two important challenges to education. The first is the ever-increasing cultural and linguistic diversity of communities around the world. Such diversity, they argue, not only means “that there can be no standard.” (p. 10). It also means “that the most important skill students need to learn is to negotiate regional, ethnic, or class-based dialects. . . hybrid cross-cultural discourses; the code switching often to be found within a text among different languages, dialects, or registers; different visual and iconic meanings; and variation in the gestural relationships among people, language, and material objects” (ibid.). The second challenge is the increasing creation and spread of multimodal means for communicating within and across these communities.

To meet these challenges, they call for a pedagogy whose goal is to develop in learners a critical understanding of how their communicative activities—oral, written, and multimodal—are historically and socially located and produced, along with skills for shaping available

meaning-making resources into new patterns and activities with new meanings. To meet this goal, they propose that instruction be organized around four dimensions of learning opportunities. Situated practice immerses learners in practices that are important to their lives and provides opportunities for them to learn on their own, to figure out what they need to do to make sense in them. Overt instruction helps learners to gain control over and develop a language for describing the resources and patterns by which meaning is made in their activities. The purpose of the third learning opportunity, critical framing, is to help learners understand more fully the historical, social, cultural, political, and ideological perspectives embodied in their activities. The New London Group argues that such reflective explorations will lead to learners' development of a broader perspective of the ways in which locally situated meanings both converge and diverge from the learners' own worldviews. They will also learn to recognize that meanings and rules for the use of communicative resources are arbitrary, tied to their contexts of use in complex, and sometimes contradictory, ways. Such awareness in turn can enable learners to make informed choices about their own participation. The final opportunity, transformed practice, provides learners with opportunities to use their new understandings, knowledge, and skills to try out different voices in familiar contexts, to invent new means and, where possible, create new practices and new goals for self-expression and connecting with others.

The approach proposed by the New London Group differs from earlier approaches grounded in culturally responsive pedagogy in at least two ways. First, it considers all members of educational institutions to be linguistically and culturally diverse and, in doing so, does away with the notion of one language standard and the act of cultural "othering" that has marked earlier approaches. Second, it considers the goal of learning to be not just mastery but also invention. The conditions for learning fostered in each of the four overlapping spheres of opportunities conceptualized by the New London Group not only promote learners' development of a complex range of understandings and perspectives, knowledge and skills, and values and motivations needed for full personal, social and cultural participation in their classroom communities as well as in their larger, social communities. It also fosters in learners the development of an ability to see from multiple perspectives, to be flexible in their thinking, to solve problems creatively and, ultimately, to develop new ways of becoming involved in their worlds. Cope and Kalantzis (2000) provide several case studies of attempts to put the ideas proposed by the New London Group into practice (see also <http://multiliteracies.com/> for samples of current projects undertaken by groups of educators in Australia and Malaysia).

## PROBLEMS, DIFFICULTIES, AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The efforts described in this chapter have enjoyed success in transforming language programs and enhancing the academic performances of linguistically and culturally diverse learners in schooling contexts around the world. However, as the diversity of our communities continues to increase, educational institutions face two critical challenges. The first has to do with the issue of linguistic and cultural representation of learners' worlds outside schools. Much of the work cited earlier has indeed helped to raise our awareness of the richness of learners' linguistic and cultural worlds. However, even as understandings of the concepts of language and culture change, too often learners' worlds continue to be treated as stable and homogeneous. Moreover, possibilities for individual identity are often limited to membership in one group only, with boundaries between groups considered fixed and impermeable. So, for example, learners are identified as either Mexican, or African-American, or Caucasian, and are then held accountable for living in ways that reflect particular linguistic and cultural idealizations of these groups. Possibilities for hybridization, for living multiple, heterogeneous, malleable linguistic and cultural lives are too often treated as phenomena to be controlled or ignored rather than explored and celebrated (see also May, *Language Education, Pluralism and Citizenship*, Volume 1).

The second challenge comes from the larger political front. Despite the continued calls for social justice, scholars (Dyson, 2003; Gutierrez, Asato, Santos, and Gotanda 2002; May, 1999b) note that in many cases, current instantiations of culturally responsive pedagogy have become comfortable, neutral, stuck in liberal ideologies that offer few real solutions for effecting change to current structures. As these educational programs stagnate, public resistance to them has begun to grow louder and more insistent. Referred to as "backlash pedagogy" (Gutierrez, Asato, Santos, and Gotanda, 2002, p. 335), this counterattack places blame for the perceived educational crisis on "teachers, so-called 'liberal' pedagogies, and linguistically and culturally diverse and poor children" (ibid.). In educational institutions across the USA, for example, this resistance is reflected in the dismantling of educational programs that were created specifically to improve opportunities for learning for linguistically and culturally diverse groups, as well as in the continued reliance on structures and processes such as tracking students according to categories such as class, culture and language and diluting the curriculum for nonmainstream learners.

These challenges call for movement on at least two planes. On one, we must increase efforts in critically examining how school structures

and processes continue to subjugate those who are linguistically, culturally and in other ways different from the mainstream and constructing a framework for reexamining both schools and society that are both progressive and transformative. As we move forward in these efforts, we must ensure that our discourses “affirm the critical but refuse the cynical, and establish hope as central to a critical pedagogical and political practice” (Giroux, 2000, p. xv). We must also reach to extend the conversation across national boundaries, to create as May (1999a, p. 6) proposes “a cross-national dialectic” and include context-specific efforts from settings that up until now have been largely unexplored territories (Makoni and Pennycook, 2005).

At another level, we need to increase efforts in formulating ways of dealing with, indeed, making possible, the continual reinvention, of learners’ linguistic practices and cultural identities between and across constructed and imagined boundaries, both within and outside our educational institutions (cf. Makoni and Pennycook, 2005). Shields, Bishop and Mazawi (2005), Iddings, Haught, and Devlin (2004), Lin and Luk (2004), and Locke and May (2004) are just a few telling examples from real classrooms around the world of possible directions for these efforts.

Ultimately, calls for transformation will not—and, in fact—cannot lead to the development of a panacea for addressing the myriad issues and concerns with linguistic and cultural diversity, both reflected and created in our educational institutions. As the sociohistorical conditions of our learners’ lives change, so do their needs and concerns, and their linguistic and cultural resources for dealing with them. And so it may be that as we move more fully into the twenty-first century, one mark of effective educational programs will be their ability to remain provisional, always in the state-of-becoming, with their practices and policies tied to the specific historical, social, and political conditions that arise from and in turn help shape the diversity of experiences in ours and our learners’ everyday lives.

**See Also:** *Mary Kalantzis and Bill Cope: Language Education and Multiliteracies (Volume 1); Stephen May: Language Education, Pluralism and Citizenship (Volume 1); Alastair Pennycook: Critical Applied Linguistics and Language Education (Volume 1)*

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## LANGUAGE EDUCATION AND GENDER

### INTRODUCTION

In the past three decades, gender issues have received a wide coverage in the education literature. Working at the intersections of gender, race, and class, education scholars have tried to understand which students are disadvantaged by particular contexts and what can be done to address these inequities. Two areas remain largely invisible in the larger field of research on gender in education, however. One relates to the unique challenges faced by educators working in linguistically and culturally diverse contexts, where learners bring with them distinct and oftentimes conflicting gender ideologies and practices. Second, are those working in foreign Language Classrooms, where students are introduced to the ‘imaginary worlds’ of other languages whose gender ideologies and practices may appear unfamiliar or perhaps even illegitimate. Consequently, the aim of this chapter is to survey research on gender issues in the education of linguistically diverse speakers and in foreign/second language education.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Early research sparked by Lakoff’s (1975) *Language and Woman’s Place* and Thorne and Henley’s (1975) *Language and Sex: Difference and Dominance* conceptualized the relationship between language and gender through the notions of difference and dominance, and, implicitly, the notion of deficit. In the deficit framework, women were viewed as inferior language users and oftentimes as “the muted group” who speaks a “powerless language.” In the study of linguistic diversity, this view translated into the *linguistic lag* hypothesis, the view of minority women as less bilingual than men, and thus lagging linguistically behind them (Stevens, 1986). In the *dominance* framework, theorized in Lakoff (1975) and Thorne and Henley (1975), “women-as-a-group” were seen as linguistically oppressed and dominated by “men-as-a-group.” In the study of linguistic diversity, this view led to an argument that women lag behind because they are linguistically oppressed by men (Burton, 1994).

In the *differences* framework, introduced by Maltz and Borker (1982) and developed and popularized by Tannen (1990), “women-as-a-group” and “men-as-a-group” were seen as speakers of different “genderlects,” developed through socialization in same-gender peer-groups. In the study of linguistic diversity, this approach explained instances of language shift spearheaded by women (Gal, 1978; McDonald, 1994) as rooted in women’s preference for more prestigious languages and varieties. In the study of second/foreign language education, this approach led researchers to posit that females generally do better than males and to explain their achievement through more positive attitudes and better use of learning strategies (Oxford, 1994).

Beginning in the early 1990s, all three frameworks were criticized by feminist linguists for their essentialist assumptions about “men” and “women” as homogeneous categories, for lack of attention to the role of context and power relations, and for insensitivity to ethnic, racial, social, and cultural diversity that mediates gendered behaviors, performances, and outcomes in educational contexts (Cameron, 1992; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992).

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS AND WORK IN PROGRESS

The postmodern turn in educational and gender scholarship (see also Pennycook, *Critical Applied Linguistics and Language Education*, Volume 1) led to a reconceptualization of gender as a socially constructed and dynamic system of power relations and discursive practices, rather than an intrinsic property of particular individuals (Cameron, 1992, 2005; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992). This means that “women” and “men” are no longer seen as uniform natural categories where all members have common behavioral traits. Rather, these labels function as discursive categories imposed by society on individuals through a variety of gendering practices and accompanying ideologies about “normative” ways of being “men” and “women.” It is these practices, and ways in which individuals adopt or resist them, that are at the center of current research. Gender categories in this inquiry intersect with those of age, race, class, sexuality, and (dis)ability to understand how particular groups of people are privileged or marginalized. They are also placed within the larger context of globalization to examine ways in which social, political, and economic changes affect gender ideologies, relationships, and practices (Cameron, 2005; see also Block, *Language Education and Globalization*, Volume 1).

Consequently, where possible, our discussion will not focus on “men” and “women” per se, but on particular groups of people, such as older immigrant women or working-class men in specific cultural and institutional contexts. We will review four major contributions of

recent scholarship that have influenced the ongoing work in the field. These contributions have advanced our understanding of: (i) gendered access to linguistic resources; (ii) gendered agency in language learning; (iii) gendered interactions in the classroom; and (iv) gender in the foreign and second language curriculum.

### *Gendered Access to Linguistic Resources*

Research conducted since the early 1990s has significantly enhanced our understanding of ways in which gendered practices mediate immigrants' access to educational and interactional opportunities. Studies conducted in North America demonstrate that immigrant women from traditionally patriarchal communities, and in particular older women and women with families, face a range of gatekeeping practices that restrict and at times even prevent their access to English as a Second Language (ESL) classes and to opportunities that would allow them to practice the language (Goldstein, 1995, 2001; Kouritzin, 2000; Norton, 2000; Norton Peirce, Harper and Burnaby, 1993; Tran, 1988; Warriner, 2004).

Gatekeeping practices in the majority community include the lack of daycare, inconvenient locations that make access to classes difficult for women who do not drive, and inconvenient times that make access impossible for women who work or for women who are afraid of being out of the house late at night. Access may also be complicated by economic factors that force women to prioritize immediate employment (Norton Peirce et al. 1993). Gatekeeping practices in some immigrant communities may prevent young women from being in the same classroom as men (Goldstein, 1995) and require that family care be offered exclusively by wives and mothers (Kouritzin, 2000). A study of workplace instruction by Norton Peirce et al. (1993) also revealed that some immigrant women were reluctant to attend ESL classes because their husbands did not want the wives to become more educated than they were. Lack of prior education, together with family responsibilities, was also shown to negatively affect older immigrant women's access to interactional opportunities outside the classroom (Norton, 2000; Tran, 1988).

Other studies in this area document successful attempts to respond to the needs of immigrant women and offer evening and weekend programs, externally funded daycare, and programs centered around these women's needs (Frye, 1999; Norton Peirce et al. 1993; Rivera, 1999). For instance, Rivera (1999) describes a program based in the United States, where all classes, those in Spanish and in English, aim at helping working-class immigrant Latina women acquire literacy skills, improve their basic education, increase English proficiency, and prepare for the high school equivalency exam. The curriculum and the pedagogy implemented

in the program build on the strengths, survival skills, and linguistic and cultural resources of these women and question and challenge the social and economic forces that shape their lives.

Studies by Gordon (2004), Kouritzin (2000), Norton (2000), Pavlenko (2005), and Warriner (2004), also remind us that immigrant women in western countries are not helpless creatures who passively await help from the majority society—rather, they are adults who are able to use their linguistic and cultural resources creatively to deal with everyday challenges of living in a new language and to contest and negotiate their positioning in the labor force. The gendering of household responsibilities may become an advantage to these women as they benefit from linguistic opportunities offered by domestic language events, that is, interactions with social institutions connected to care for children and the home (e.g. childcare, schools, welfare offices, etc.) (Gordon, 2004; Norton, 2000). Greater access to educational and employment opportunities offered to immigrant women in western societies may eventually lead to their empowerment, whereas immigrant men who are not fluent in the majority language may actually experience a loss of power and authority (Gordon, 2004).

### *Gendered Agency in Language Learning*

Recent research has also resulted in a more nuanced picture of ways in which gender ideologies and practices shape learners' desires, investments, and actions with regard to what languages they choose to learn and speak. Perhaps, the best-known finding in this field is that in some contexts girls and women may be more inclined to study foreign and second languages and that they may outperform boys or men in this area (Sunderland, 2000). Rather than a cause for celebration of feminine accomplishments, as it would have been earlier, this finding became an impetus for inquiry into the social and economic factors affecting investments and disinvestments of particular learners.

Studies conducted in Japan show that young Japanese women are more likely than their male peers to study English, train for English-related professions, and travel to English-speaking countries (Kobayashi, 2002; see also Fujita-Round and Maher, *Language Education Policy in Japan*, Volume 1). This trend is most commonly explained by the marginalized status of young women in mainstream Japanese society and their limited choice of employment opportunities; English offers the women an advantage in the marketplace (Kobayashi, 2002), it also becomes a means of empowerment and a lens that offers a critical perspective on their lives and society (McMahill, 2001). Piller and Takahashi (2006) show that this trend is exploited by the booming English language industry in Japan that aims to sell English language to young women as a way to change

their lives, to enter a glamorous western world, to enjoy an emancipated lifestyle, and to form relationships with “chivalrous” western men.

Ideologies that link gender and language may also inspire resistance toward particular linguistic markers or practices. Studies of English-speaking women learning Japanese in Japan show that some women resist certain linguistic features associated with native-speaker competence (e.g., high pitch), because they associate these features with an undesirable gender performance of excessive, “silly” or “fake” femininity (Ohara, 2001; Siegal, 1996).

Overall, the studies to date suggest that it is not the essential nature of femininity or masculinity that shapes language learning trajectories of particular individuals, but rather the nature of gendered social and economic relations, as well as culture-specific ideologies of language and gender that mediate these relations and assign particular symbolic values to linguistic forms and discursive practices (cf., Rampton et al., *Language, Class and Education*, Volume 1).

### *Gendered Interactions in the Classroom*

Recent research has also contributed toward a more nuanced view of ways in which gender shapes interactions in the classroom, asking which participants have the right to speak and to define meaning, and who remains invisible and why. Heller’s (1999, 2001) ethnography of a French-language school in Toronto demonstrated that older immigrant girls had least access to the school’s linguistic resources, in particular, English, whereas academically successful middle-class males were most likely to become bilingual in a way envisaged by school. Girls who are ethnically or racially distinct from the mainstream population are particularly likely to be rendered invisible or inaudible. Miller’s (2003) study of immigrant students in an Australian school shows that blond white-skinned Bosnian girls were easily accepted by their teachers and peers and perceived as competent speakers of English, whereas Chinese girls who arrived in the school at about the same time were oftentimes excluded from social interactions and positioned as incompetent. What is at play here is not gender or race or culture per se, but assumptions made about members of a particular community. The role of assumptions is highlighted in Julé’s (2004) study of a Canadian classroom, where a middle-class white Canadian teacher firmly believed that Punjabi culture was a disadvantage from which the students, in particular girls, had to be rescued. She also ignored Punjabi girls’ contributions in her class, thus contributing to their silencing.

Yet immigrant girls are not necessarily the only disenfranchised group. Heller’s (1999, 2001) study points to another population alienated by the French-language school in Toronto—working-class male

speakers of vernacular Canadian French. Marginalized by the discourses of *francophonie internationale* that devalued their variety of French, these men often stopped speaking French at school altogether.

Studies conducted in kindergartens and elementary schools show that gender ideologies and practices shape access, interactions, and outcomes not only for the older learners, but also for the youngest ones (Hruska, 2004; Willett, 1995). Hruska's (2004) study, for example, shows how a discussion of soccer in a US classroom drew on gendered cultural knowledge and constrained opportunities for participation for girls from Latin America. McKay and Wong (1996) and Kanno (2003) also draw attention to the links between athletic prowess and the "normative" narrative of masculinity, and demonstrate that athletic Chinese and Japanese boys in their studies had an easier time gaining acceptance by the mainstream students and access to interactional opportunities than girls or nonathletic boys.

Together, these studies indicate that, rather than favoring undifferentiated "men" or "women," patterns of classroom interaction marginalize *specific* learners and/or groups of learners, such as immigrant and minority girls, working-class boys or nonathletic boys. Cultures of learning play an important role in this process as learners often hold beliefs about classroom behaviors and patterns of teacher–student interaction that do not fit well with majority classroom discursive practices and may be further alienating the learners. As a result, students whose voices are not being acknowledged in the classroom may lose their desire to learn the language, or even engage in passive resistance to classroom practices and curriculum demands.

### *Gender in the Curriculum*

Recent scholarship has also made a major contribution toward ways in which issues regarding gender and sexuality can be broached in the classroom (Norton and Pavlenko, 2004). Boxer and Tyler (2004) propose scenarios as a way to discuss diverging views of what constitutes sexual harassment in International Teaching Assistant training. Nelson (2004) shows how one ESL teacher incorporated a discussion of gay and lesbian identities into the unit on modal auxiliary verbs. She argues that such discussions offer a relatively safe space in which students could explore their own and others' views of potentially ambiguous gender and sexual identities and acquire new interpretive skills.

Studies conducted in Japan illustrate practical ways in which critical reflection about language and gender can be incorporated in EFL curricula through examinations of gendered vocabulary and discursive practices in English and Japanese, and through discussions of sexuality, sexual harassment, domestic violence, and sexism in textbooks and

the media (Cohen, 2004; McMahill, 2001; Saft and Ohara, 2004; Simon-Maeda, 2004; Toff, 2002). Toff (2002) uses lifewriting to help her female students to discuss and analyze topics that they might otherwise find too difficult or controversial. A reliance on personal narratives is also found in a grassroots feminist class described by McMahill (2001), where the teacher acts as a discussion facilitator, while Japanese women take charge of the learning process and class management, inviting or disinviting instructors and negotiating the class content with them. Both the teachers and the learners approach English as a tool that would allow Japanese women to resist their marginalization and give them an edge in the sexist job market. The class time is used to discuss feminist readings and analyze and critique gender ideologies and practices prevalent in the women's own lives. These analyses are often embedded in personal narratives, where individual experiences are used as a source of knowledge and authority.

Similar practices emerge in Frye's (1999) study that examines implementation of critical feminist pedagogy in a literacy class for immigrant low-income Latina women in the USA. Among the favorite forms of participation in this class were discussions and storytelling where the women could share experiences, give each other advice, and explore differences in age, race, social class, religious background, sexual orientation, national origin, educational background, and the use of Spanish. It is these explorations that engendered most meaningful—albeit heated and at times even angry—conversations, discussions, and activities where the participants learned to negotiate differences and to practice their own new voices. The comparison of their own stories to those of others allowed the women to see commonalities and disparities, to question the oppressive social and cultural forces which shaped their lives, and to perform new critical selves, constructing new possibilities and new visions for the future.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Problems and difficulties in current research on gender in language education often stem from oversimplified assumptions about gender effects, inherited from earlier research. One research area plagued by such problems is the study of gender differences in the amount and quality of classroom interaction (Chavez, 2001; Julé, 2004; Losey, 1995; Shehadeh, 1999). These studies show that in some contexts teachers address boys more than girls, that boys and men may dominate classroom talk and mixed-gender interactions through interruptions and unsolicited responses, whereas girls and women profit more from same-gender group discussions, and that girls may be silenced by the classroom culture. These findings are undoubtedly important and

informative, but they may also be misleading because they are based on problematic assumptions.

The first problematic assumption is the essential nature of men and women: boys and men are assumed to be dominant, whereas girls and women are seen as easily silenced. These assumptions may well hold true for certain contexts, but not without an explanation as to why particular men and women behave in particular ways in these contexts. Second, these studies commonly assume that a high amount of interaction is in itself a positive phenomenon that leads to higher achievement. In reality, it is quite possible that some students may speak up quite frequently but progress very little, if at all, whereas others, who contribute little to classroom discussions, for individual or cultural reasons, may succeed in accomplishing their own language learning goals. For instance, in a foreign language class studied by Sunderland (2004) boys received more attention from the teacher overall, but girls received more academically useful attention. These results suggest that studies of interactional patterns in foreign and second language classrooms should focus on the distribution of interactional opportunities beneficial for language learning, such as speaking practice or requests for clarification and feedback. Even more importantly, we should look beyond “donation” of equal classroom time, as this focus skirts “the structural problematic of who, in schools or universities, has the authority to speak, to critique, and to judge what is worthwhile (student) speech and critique” (Luke, 1992, p. 39).

Another area that often suffers from shortcomings is the study of textbook representations of gender. These studies show that language textbook stereotypes that place men in the public domain and women in the home had continued well into the 1980s, despite the appearance of nonsexist guidelines for educational materials. Since the 1990s, the situation has been steadily improving. Nevertheless, analyses of ESL and EFL texts published around the world (Sunderland, 1994) and of Greek, Russian, and Japanese textbooks published in the USA (Poulou, 1997; Rifkin, 1998; Shardakova and Pavlenko, 2004; Siegal and Okamoto 1996) reveal that many foreign and second language textbooks continue to reproduce gender biases. Siegal and Okamoto (1996) found that Japanese textbooks aimed at American students present highly stereotypical linguistic “norms” based on the hegemonic ideologies of class, language, and gender. Poulou (1997) demonstrated that Greek textbooks reproduce traditional gender roles through discursive roles assigned to men and women in dialogues.

Though important and informative, this line of inquiry is also overly narrow in that it does not document the uptake of materials by the students. Very few studies clarify the link between what is deemed to be gender biases or sexist representations, the role these representations play

in the teaching process, and students' learning outcomes. Consequently, it is possible that biased representations may not affect the students at all. This lack of connection is documented in Pavlenko's (2005) historiographic study of gendered aspects of the Americanization movement in the early twentieth century. The study shows that Americanizers had distinct "hidden curricula" for men and women of different racial and ethnic origins: European-born men were offered instructional support for their citizenship exams, European-born women were offered "pots and pans" English and encouraged to remain at home, and Asian and Mexican immigrants were conceived of as a cheap labor force and were not encouraged to assimilate at all. Using oral histories, immigrant memoirs, and Americanization reports, the study showed that immigrant women mostly ignored Americanizers' messages. Even when they took the classes and used the texts in question, the women did not necessarily adopt the femininities imposed on them—rather, many were appropriating English to join the labor force.

Interesting questions with regard to the impact of perceived gender biases are raised in Durham's (1995) study of the controversy at Yale, where students filed a complaint stating that their textbook, *French in Action*, and the accompanying video were explicitly sexist and offensive. Durham argues that the students engaged in an ethnocentric reading of the text and—since their teachers did not attempt to counteract such a reading—lost an opportunity to access important dimensions of French culture. Their interpretation of depictions of the female body as sexist and of female silence as powerless was consistent with the principles of American academic feminism, but displayed a lack of knowledge and understanding of French discourses of feminism, sexuality, and gender. In other words, argues the researcher, they imposed their own culturally informed beliefs and stereotypes on what could be alternatively perceived as an ironic postmodernist feminist critique of Hollywood's sexual romance narrative and of conventional discourses of masculinity. These concerns are echoed in the work of Kramsch and von Hoene (1995, 2001) who argue that foreign language instruction in the USA promotes a biased and ethnocentric knowledge, or "single-voiced consciousness", and does not allow students to view themselves from the perspective of other cultures and thus acquire intercultural competence, or "multi-voiced consciousness."

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

To sum up, we have discussed four focal points where gender issues are central in language education: (i) access to linguistic resources; (ii) agency and (dis)investment into language learning; (iii) classroom interaction; (iv) textbooks and teaching practices. Throughout, we have

tried to highlight studies of educational contexts that respond to the needs of marginalized learners, striving to (i) ensure equal access and equal conditions for participation for all students, (ii) create curricula that legitimize the students' daily realities and multilingual lives, and (iii) approach language teaching from an intercultural and critical perspective which, on the one hand, engages students with cross-linguistic and cross-cultural differences in gender ideologies, constructions and performances and, on the other, allows students to analyze how dominant discourses of gender function to subordinate individuals.

Future research in this area should go beyond the issues of access, interaction, and representation, and consider ways in which changes in the global economy affect linguistic, educational, and labor markets (Piller and Pavlenko, in press; see also Block, *Language Education and Globalization*, Volume 1; Kalantzis and Cope, *Language Education and Multiliteracies*, Volume 1). It also needs to pay close attention to changes in gender ideologies and relationships in particular communities and to ways in which these changes affect learners' investments into particular languages or resistance to them. Studies of foreign and second language pedagogy should engage with the challenging questions raised in the work of Durham (1995), Kramsch and von Hoene (1995, 2001) and Pavlenko (2004), and particularly relevant for North American contexts, often accused of linguistic imperialism: What conceptions and discourses of gender do we aim at reflecting in our texts and classes, the ones accepted in the target language communities or the ones that have currency in our own? And if we aim at avoiding gender biases in our foreign language materials, are we engaged in ethnocentric oversimplification, portraying the world on our own terms and not providing our students with important linguistic and cultural capital? On the other hand, if we are aiming at reflecting gender discourses of other cultures—which may be quite different from our own—what if in the process we offend or upset our students who by now are fairly used to bland and noncontroversial teaching materials? And what if, in our attempt to ensure the students' comfort, we erase differences in cross-cultural understandings of gender—will we simply end up teaching our students to speak English in a variety of languages?

*See Also:* David Block: *Language Education and Globalization* (Volume 1); Ben Rampton, et al.: *Language, Class and Education* (Volume 1); Mary Kalantzis and Bill Cope: *Language Education and Multiliteracies* (Volume 1); Alastair Pennycook: *Critical Applied Linguistics and Language Education* (Volume 1)

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## LANGUAGE, CLASS AND EDUCATION

### INTRODUCTION

The twentieth century saw some significant efforts to redistribute wealth and income throughout most of the century, but over the last 25 years, material inequalities have persisted and in many ways increased. Traditionally, ‘class’ has been a term used to define and analyse identities and relations between groups located at different levels of the national socioeconomic hierarchy. In Britain, for example, class ‘linked together and summarized. . . many aspects of any individual’s life’ (Abercrombie and Warde, 2000, pp. 145–6): family background, main source of income, cultural tastes and political associations. However, in spite of continued inequalities, the analytic utility and the cultural salience of social class have been drawn into question by a number of shifts over the last 30 years: the socioeconomic changes associated with globalisation, the decline of traditional collectivist politics, the emergence of gender, race and ethnicity as political issues and the ascendance of the individual as consumer (Abercrombie and Warde, 2000, p. 148).

Our contribution focuses on the connections between class stratification, education and language. We argue that class remains an important concept in the analysis of stratification and its effects, and suggest that it can be productively extended beyond the nation-state to issues of language and inequality in colonial and post-colonial settings. We begin with some comments on the definition of social class, clarifying its relation to other axes of inequality (race, ethnicity, gender, generation, etc.). Then we provide a sketch of debates about language, education and class leading up to the 1980s, and point to similarities of the dynamics in both ‘First’ and ‘Third World’ countries. After that, we consider processes involved in the ‘retreat’ from class analysis over the last 15–20 years.

### DEFINING SOCIAL CLASS

The term ‘class’ points to a very broad principle of organization in capitalist societies, a principle of inequality (‘stratification’) structuring the distribution of resources, both material and symbolic, a source of domination, conflict and suffering. As with other ‘principles of organization’

(e.g. race, gender), class is lived with varying degrees of awareness and expression. It may be mutely experienced or given full-throated articulation; it may be a key to self-understanding, group mobilization and society-wide struggles for power, or it may be denied and displaced—personally, socially and politically. As lived, class is always entangled with other forms of social being and social consciousness.

‘Social being’ and ‘social consciousness’—terms introduced by Marx and Engels in *The German Ideology*—merit elaboration (cf. Thompson, 1978, p. 18). ‘Social being’ refers to material conditions, ordinary experience and everyday discourses, activities and practices—the ‘primary realities’ of practical activity. ‘Social consciousness’ refers to secondary or ‘meta-level’ representation developed by participants and analysts: ideologies, images and discourses *about* social groups. When focussing on the primary realities of social being/practical activity—the routine interaction of embodied individuals in real world tasks—singling out class as an influence distinct from gender, race and lots of other social categories is likely to be difficult. However, at the level of ‘social consciousness’/secondary representations, there are clear differences between discourses *about* class, ethnicity, gender and generation, etc.—they have different histories and direct attention to different social processes and arenas. Discourses about class, gender, race and ethnicity differ substantially in the kinds of solidarity and opposition they propose, and in the ways in which the inequalities they are associated with are described, challenged and defended. Therefore, while ‘class’ as a social category refers to lived relations surrounding social relations of production, exchange, distribution and consumption, ‘race’ and ‘ethnicity’ are used to explain a highly complex set of territorial relationships involving conquest, migration and the development of nation-states (Bradley, 1996, pp. 19–20). In fact the play between social being and social consciousness, between everyday experience and its secondary representation, is often a central issue in politics, with different interests promoting rival accounts of the processes, relations and identities shaping social life. The ‘being’/‘consciousness’ distinction partly resembles the relationship between objective social structure on the one hand, and subjecthood and identity on the other, the former referring to patterns and processes of stratification, and the latter to claims, attributions and denials around ‘groupness’. The implications of both distinctions are threefold: (i) they provide a rationale for including ‘class’ and ‘race’ in the same discussion, as different ways of construing inequality and domination in (objective) ‘social being’; (ii) they mean that analysis is itself part of the ideological debate and (iii) they remind us that systematic inequalities in the distribution of hardship, pain and pleasure do not disappear just because people stop talking about them in the ways they used to.

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS: CLASS, LANGUAGE AND  
EDUCATION UNTIL THE 1980s*The Industrialized West: the UK and USA*

*Nineteenth and early twentieth centuries:* The 'industrial revolution' of the nineteenth century shaped the modern working classes in much of Western Europe and North America. It coincided with the heyday of nationalism, the period of building and consolidating modern nation-states. And in the nationalist tool kit, schooling and the promulgation of standard languages were important elements, especially through schooled literacy. Standard or 'legitimate' languages were historically resources of metropolitan elites, of reforming middle classes, but in an ideological manoeuvre described by Marx, what was particular—the language of a literate middle class—was presented as universal, as 'the language of the nation'. In Britain and the USA, schooling, literacy and the teaching of Standard English were seen by many education activists and reformers as the means to self-improvement and social harmony—they would ameliorate social differences, replace 'seditious' with 'helpful' literacies, and in general serve as an equalising and unifying influence. However in actuality, the nineteenth- and twentieth-century provisioning of universal education and literacy was the product of struggle, a process of exclusion and hierarchisation much more than equalizing (Collins and Blot, 2003).

Rather late in Britain, universal public education was established in the 1870s, more than half a century after the upheavals of the industrial revolution and much class-based political conflict, and perhaps for this reason, the relation between standard and non-standard languages was always understood in class terms. In the USA in the 1820–1840s, the 'Common Schools' were one of the earliest systems of universal schooling, predating a good deal of the industrializing of the nation as well as the Civil War. However, for much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, they were not universal. Before the Civil War, southern states made educating African-American slaves a crime, and after the short-lived reconstruction, they established the infamous Jim Crow system of two-tiered education that lasted until the 1960s. Throughout much of this period, if they were formally educated, Native Americans were not part of the public school system, and with its working-class majorities formed through enslavement (African Americans), through expropriation and containment (Native Americans), through military appropriation (Mexican Americans) as well as the better known immigration, schooling was seen more as a project of ethnic and racial assimilation than of social class harmonizing (e.g. Nasaw, 1979). So typically in the USA, the relationship between standard and non-standard

languages (and the educational problems attributed thereto) has been understood in race and ethnic terms.

*1960s–1980s:* In the decades after World War II, it was clear in Britain that public education had not eradicated class difference, and that non-standard speech had not disappeared. During the 1960s and 1970s, language took over from IQ as an explanation of social stratification and it was analysed by sociolinguists as a constitutive element contributing to class differentiation in education. In the USA, the failure of the school-based equalizing project was seen differently. There were references to ‘disadvantaged’ and ‘low-income’ children, but class was regularly obscured by the prominence of ethnicity and race during the era of Civil Rights mobilization (Collins, 1988). But whether seen as class or race/ethnicity-that-happened-to-be-working-class, there were two major approaches in research on language and inequality in education, one orienting more to ‘social being’ and the other more to ‘social consciousness’.

The former emphasized the role that everyday discourse played in the cultural reproduction of class inequality. In one strand of this work, research focussed on the home and argued that traditional patterns of language use produced communicative dispositions, which influenced people’s performance at school and opportunities in life. The home practices of subordinate groups were seen as leading to subordinate identities/positions in cycles of reproduction (Bernstein, 1971; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Heath, 1983). In the other strand, research focussed on schools and argued that conventional classroom discourse was inhospitable to the speech styles of students from subordinated communities (Philips, 1972).

The second major approach stressed the part that language ideologies and attitudes to grammar and accent played in the production of subordinate identities. Sociolinguists and education researchers argued that teachers picked up on dialect features, that they held lower expectations for children with working-class accents, and that the lower achievement of these children was thus the outcome of sociolinguistically tuned ‘self-fulfilling prophecies’ (Edwards, 1976; Labov, 1972). On another tack, it was argued that the schools’ standard language ideologies made working-class people think that their subordinate position was justified (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Hymes, 1996, p. 84; Labov, 1972).

However particularly when class, rather than race or ethnicity, was in focus, neither of these two approaches attributed any political agency to the subordinate groups they studied. In the first perspective, the working class was the unknowing victim of either its own or the dominant culture, and in the second, it was the victim of class prejudice and standard language ideology. Neither approach recognized the skilful ways

in which people blend dominant and subordinate varieties of language (Gumperz, 1982; Rampton, 1995), or focussed on the ways in which language use was integrated with both family life, morality, sense of person and institutional encounters (Lareau, 2003). This neglect of class agency was partly due to 'class' being treated as a structural category rather than a group identification (Ortner, 1991, pp. 168–169). Structural and statistical notions of class were ascendant in research, and informants were allocated to classes by analysts on the basis of fact-sheet variables like 'occupation' and 'level of education'. When studies used ethnographic methods, class was cast as an abstract and macroscopic process, at some remove from lived cultural experience—for the latter, researchers used other labels and focussed on local networks rather than societal groupings (Eckert, 2000; Ohmann, 1982).

### *Colonial and Post-Colonial Settings*

In some respects, colonial settings resembled the industrialized west. Systems of education-and-language were/are stratified, class-specific linguistic resources were/are presented as the general idiom of nation and modernity, and education was/is meant to improve the lower orders, here seen in race and ethnic terms as 'natives' rather than 'lower classes'. However, there were also substantial differences. The hierarchies were more sharply drawn, education was more clearly exclusionary, and debates about inequality and difference referred to distinct languages rather than to differences within a language.

*The colonial period:* The class analysis of colonial societies came very late and remained the province of left wing movements. That does not mean that there were no class politics or class effects in colonial societies—these were racially organized societies with extremely deep class rifts.

Colonial education systems addressed 'the natives' ('Indians', 'Negroes', etc.) rather than 'the lower classes', and to the extent that emancipatory goals were formulated, colonial education sought to 'civilize the natives', rescuing them from ignorance (and sin), inserting them into the small emergent class of schooled workers and clerks needed to support the colonial administrative, industrial or religious complex. Education was not aimed at self-liberation or self-improvement, nor seen as a tool for making the colonial populations less dependent on the colonial apparatuses. It was a highly selective and exclusionary add-on to the colonial enterprise. There was little formal education beyond primary school levels, there was tight control by the colonial authorities, and this control intensified at higher levels of education (Mazrui, 1978). This created a strongly stratified sociolinguistic market, in which control over particular linguistic resources

was an immediate result of access to higher levels of education—for example, English equalled elite identity. In this way, the colonial system established a class-sensitive linguistic pyramid, in which language pointed towards (non-)membership of particular strata in society and in which the strata became more prestigious the closer they came to the centres of colonial power (Blommaert, 1999).

*The post-colonial context:* After colonialism, the nationalist leaderships consisted of people who had been successful in colonial education, experiencing post-school education in the metropolitan languages and centres of the empire. However, their very real self-interest as a class was generally disguised by nationalist fervor immediately post-independence, and in this atmosphere, a massive expansion of educational access, rather than system change, was often treated as the top priority. In this way, the linguistic hierarchies of colonialism were reproduced and extended, and the retention of colonial languages as media of instruction and literacy was legitimated (i) in terms of national unity in ethnically divided societies, (ii) as the most efficient use of economic resources, (iii) in terms of available teacher resources and printed materials and (iv) as symbolising modernization and progress (Fardon and Furniss, 1994).

At the same time, these leaderships often maximized the opportunities for their own children to acquire prestige varieties of languages like English and French (through their use in the home, at pre-school, and in university education in the former colonial centres), and to become part of a global elite with mobile, well-paid employment. The rest of their populations have either become more or less marginal (depending on the overall wealth of their countries), or have accessed local varieties of the powerful global languages by migrating en-masse to the cities of the former colonial centres where they have joined the low-wage sectors of the economy, becoming members of the local working classes. There, the schooling of their children generates new versions of the old debates on language, class and education, though once again, the class element is normally misread or reconfigured as an ethnic minority problem, with the main emphasis on transition to European languages as the key to educational achievement.

### *Summary of Class, Language and Education until the 1980s*

Language and class were conspicuous educational issues in countries like the UK and USA up until the mid/late 1980s, although racialized stratification in the USA and the distortions of colonialism and the post-colonial system often camouflaged class, replacing it with a pre-occupation with inequalities of race/ethnicity. In the era of the new globalized economy, mass migration and population mobility, analysis

without a sense of class has become both increasingly common and increasingly inadequate. We turn now to reasons for the retreat from class in official, popular and academic discourses.

#### CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS: THE DISCURSIVE ERASURE OF CLASS SINCE THE 1980s

Beginning in the 1980s, Thatcherism in the UK and Reaganism in the USA were successful conservative movements that attacked social democratic (class-oriented) policies and politics (public ownership of housing and transport, social welfare provisions, trade unions) and promoted private ownership, individual choice and ideologies of merit over concerns with equality. By arguing that social position is due to individual merit (or lack thereof), and not to advantages or disadvantages perpetrated by the institutional systems, these 'neo-liberal' movements discursively discredited the notion of class, while themselves being savvy orchestrations of ruling class power and working-class dissatisfaction. At the same time, the 'politics of redistribution' was being displaced by a 'politics of recognition' rooted in the feminist and anti-racist movements of the 1960s and 1970s (Fraser, 1995). These advanced the causes of women and ethnoracial minorities in numerous institutional and public arenas, but did not prioritize the challenge for state power. The politics of redistribution occupied the traditional terrain of class, combating economic inequalities and poverty, but the politics of recognition targeted cultural and legal evaluation structures, stigma and discrimination based on ethnicity, gender and sexuality.

These shifts seemed profound for the popular apprehension of injustice, and workplace exploitation (a basic issue in class politics) became much harder to articulate and oppose. In education in the USA and UK, reports and policies since the 1980s have stressed the importance of 'maintaining standards' and promoting general-purpose literacy skills, but have detached these from any analysis of class inequalities (e.g. the Kingman Report on language awareness in the UK, 1988, and the Reagan-commissioned 'A Nation At Risk', 1983 in the USA). More recently, the UK's 'New Literacy Strategy' and the USA's 'No Child Left Behind' programme share a belief that literacy skills in the standard language can be disseminated by formal pedagogy closely monitored by the national government, but they operate with a very narrow conception of literacy and standard language, and they largely ignore the economic resources necessary to begin the change they prescribe (Allington, 2002; Rothstein, 2004).

In research, class analysis has generally been less prominent in the USA than the UK, for reasons already identified (Bradley, 1996,

p. 75; Ortner, 1991, p. 64). In addition in the USA, anthropology has been much more influential in the study of education than it has been in the UK, where sociology has played a more important role: '[f]or the (American) anthropologist the classroom is the site of cultural differences, often ethnic in origin, and the teacher an agent of cultural imposition. For the (British) sociologist the frame of reference is a class-based social structure, in which teachers and pupils alike are subject to the everyday disciplines of work' (Delamont and Atkinson, 1995, p. 34). However, during the late 1980s and 1990s in Britain, language and education research lost much of this traditional interest in class. This was partly in line with growing social scientific interest in human agency—in the 1960s and 1970s, research had over-emphasized the structural and normative dimensions of class, neglecting the agentive, performative, interactive aspects of class-as-lived (Ohmann, 1982), and as a result, 'class' felt too deterministic a concept for the 1990s. However, at the same time, sociolinguists interested in education refocused on the new populations from the ex-colonies (see earlier), and in doing so, they drew their inspiration from the ethnography of communication in North America, with its anthropological roots and pre-occupation with ethnicity, rather than from the more class-focussed, sociological ethnographies produced in Britain in the 1970s and 1980s (e.g. Willis, 1977). In their socioeconomic positioning, the ethnic minority students they studied might be working class, but theoretical explications tended to dwell primarily on ethnicity and race.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS: THE CONTINUING REALITIES OF STRATIFICATION

As is now widely recognized, metadiscourses about social groups and categories form part of the dialectical processes through which specific groups and categories are constituted, reproduced and/or contested. Whether and how class is defined is a significant element in what class is, and this adds to concern about the reification of class in the 1970s and 1980s, about the retreat from class analysis in research in the 1990s, and about the failure to understand the connections between class, gender and ethnicity. In our view, what used to be called 'class' in rather totalizing ways can be usefully seen as the patterns of stratification that emerge in social systems in which a range of differences come to mean inequality within schemes and hierarchies of value linked to the hard economy. Class in this sense is a structuring principle, tied in some way to modes of production and divisions of labor in a social system, but with considerable room for interaction with other structuring principles. Thus, other widely used parameters—gender, race,

ethnicity, linguistic difference—may display the same processes of stratification as what was previously called ‘class’.

The ascendancy of neo-liberal doctrine and governance since the 1980s may have undermined the dominance and legitimacy of discourses of class, but it has been accompanied by a widely acknowledged increase in socioeconomic inequality, both within nations and internationally (Rothstein, 2004). Exactly how we think about that inequality in language and education remains an open question, but to facilitate further reflection, we conclude by listing some of the continuing realities of stratification.

1. Immigrant minority populations often find themselves in run down areas and schools, and situations of relative poverty, and though the public discourse might focus on ethnicity and gender, factors traditionally associated with class still affect educational achievement in the UK (Gillborn and Mirza, 2000).
2. Survey studies of language variation may have suggested that regional difference between non-standard dialects may have diminished in the UK, and there is also evidence that British Received Pronunciation has lost quite a lot of its cultural status. However, no one suggests that style-shifting between standard and vernacular speech varieties has disappeared, and it is this that displays a class-habitus in Bourdieu’s terms. Indeed, what evidence there is suggests that as the children and grandchildren of immigrants grow up using English, they acquire both class-marked features and a style-shifting capacity tuned to the socio-linguistic stratification traditionally linked to class hierarchy (Harris, 2003; Rampton, 2006, Part III).
3. There has been quite a lot of both UK and US work on the ways in which minority speech features are taken up by young whites (Creole, Panjabi, African-American Vernacular English, etc.), but the manner and extent to which this happens is extensively influenced by actual familiarity with the inheritors of these languages, which is itself extensively shaped by socioeconomic positioning (Cutler, 1999; Rampton, 1995).
4. Recent survey research on the stratifying dynamics of class and ethnicity in US education (Rothstein, 2004) demonstrates the cognitive and non-cognitive consequences of basic inequalities in resources such as income, housing, health care and nutrition, as well as linguistic habits and personality traits. This research is complemented by Lareau’s (2003) long-term in-depth ethnographic work on class, race and language socialization, and this concludes that class is the most significant dimension in the ‘unequal childhoods’ of urban and suburban children.

*See Also:* François Grin: *The Economics of Language Education (Volume 1)*; Naz Rassool: *Language Policy and Education in Britain (Volume 1)*

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## THE ECONOMICS OF LANGUAGE EDUCATION

### INTRODUCTION

Because the economics of language education, as a field of investigation, differs somewhat from most of the scholarly work on language and education presented in this volume, this entry does not offer a descriptive or historical account of research, but instead emphasises the presentation of analytical concepts along with their meaning, their function and the relationships between them.

The following section “Definitions and Scope” provides a general framework that explains the position of the economics of language education with respect to three closely related areas, namely education economics, language economics and policy evaluation, before introducing key concepts and analytical distinctions. The section on “Major Contributions” presents the application of human capital theory to foreign language (FL) skills, which makes up the bulk of the literature on the economics of language education. The section on “Problems and Difficulties” turns to important issues of resource distribution. The section on “Challenges” addresses a set of unsolved issues in the field. The last section, on “Future Directions” discusses likely developments in the light of policy needs.

We shall not examine the teaching of children’s mother tongue when the latter also is the dominant or official language (e.g. the teaching of French to children of francophone families in France), because the corresponding economic issues are analytically very different from those that arise in the context of foreign language teaching, which is the focus of this entry.

### DEFINITIONS AND SCOPE: ALLOCATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES IN LANGUAGE EDUCATION

The economics of language education is a specific area of inquiry that may be approached from different disciplinary perspectives. Starting out from mainstream economics, one would generally use the well-established conceptual and methodological apparatus of education economics as a stepping stone (Johnes and Johnes, 2004). This strategy, however, may confine the examination to a relatively narrow range of

issues, particularly applications of human capital theory to FL learning. However, FL education raises economic questions that go far beyond human capital investment, because it is also a key component of language policy. For this reason, this entry approaches the economics of FL education through the distinct (and less institutionally established) subfield of language economics (Grin, 1996).

Language economics studies the mutual relationships between linguistic and economic variables. What matters, however, is not their mere co-occurrence, but the fact that they actually influence each other. In this perspective, the use of various languages at work, for example, does not per se constitute a relevant research object unless it has an impact on the economic processes at hand. The focus of attention may be either an economic or a linguistic variable. For example, an economist of language may investigate whether a company can increase its profits (the dependent *economic* variable) by advertising its goods in the local language even on a very small market. Reciprocally, she may examine language maintenance among immigrants (the dependent *linguistic* variable) and assess whether the pattern observed reflects labour market participation. However, particularly since the mid 1990s, language economics has been paying increasing attention to language policy issues (Grin, 2003). Even if none of the variables involved in the selection, design and implementation of a given language policy explicitly refers to economic activity, choosing an appropriate policy requires weighing the advantages and drawbacks of the options considered. This represents a very direct application of economic analysis because it is, at heart, a theory of how choices are made, and this rationale also applies to the economics of language education. Therefore, the economics of language education largely coincides with an in-depth application of policy evaluation techniques to language education, in the broader context of language policy (on the links with language policy, see also Tollefson, *Language Planning in Education*, Volume 1).

The rationale of policy evaluation is straightforward and can be characterised, in the case of *ex ante* evaluation, by the following steps: define policy alternatives, identify their consequences, translate the latter into advantages and drawbacks, compute the 'net value' of each alternative by subtracting drawbacks from advantages expressed in terms of a comparable unit of measurement, and select the policy with the highest net value. Policy evaluation casts the net wide and should in principle take account of advantages (or 'benefits') and drawbacks (or 'costs') in the broadest sense. More specifically, proper policy evaluation is not interested in financial or material advantages and drawbacks only; non-material and symbolic values are just as relevant. This is why the distinction often made in other disciplines between

‘instrumental’ and ‘intrinsic’ values or motivations has little analytical relevance in economics, although it does make a difference at the empirical level, when these effects have to be evaluated (see Major Contributions).

The costs and benefits of each policy option can often be interpreted as inputs and outputs respectively. It is safe to assume that all other things being equal, social actors prefer efficient policies, that is, those that yield more output (benefit) per unit of input (cost). This generates a useful set of criteria for comparing options. In the field of education, however, it is essential to make a distinction between *internal* and *external* efficiency.

Internal efficiency refers to processes that occur *within* the educational sphere. In the particular case of FL education, the FL skills acquired normally play the role of the output, while the inputs comprise all the resources used to teach those skills, taking account of the way in which they are used (teacher and learner time, textbooks, pedagogical approach, etc.). Internal efficiency evaluations are not specific to education economics, and are carried out in various areas of educational research; there is, however, surprisingly little empirical work focusing on the internal efficiency of FL teaching.

External efficiency, by contrast, starts out from the assumption that education is not pursued for its own sake, but in order to secure benefits *outside* of the education system. External efficiency evaluation is crucial (and arguably more important than internal efficiency evaluation) because it addresses the questions ‘what?’ (i.e. ‘what FLs should we teach?’) and ‘why?’ (‘for what reasons?’), whereas internal effectiveness evaluation focuses on the question ‘how?’ (‘how best to teach FLs?’). For this reason, we shall now concentrate on external efficiency evaluation.

Some of these benefits may be *market related*, such as higher earnings, access to more desirable jobs, etc.; other benefits are of the *non-market* kind, such as direct access, thanks to language competence, to other cultures and the people carrying them. In usual practice, however, the external efficiency of FL skills is only assessed in terms of market value (more precisely, through earnings differentials; see section “Major Contributions”), because the necessary data can be collected relatively easily through surveys or, in a favourable statistical context like Canada, retrieved from the decennial census. By contrast, the data required to assess the existence and magnitude of non-market benefits are difficult to collect, and this has apparently never been done in large-scale surveys.

Whether of the market or of the non-market kind, the benefits and costs of education, and hence the more or less efficient relationship

between them, may be evaluated at the *private* or *social* level. The private level reflects the conditions confronting the typical or average person, whereas the social level concerns benefits and costs for society as a whole. In mainstream education economics, defining social benefits and costs as the simple sum, across members of society, of individual benefits and costs, is usually an acceptable simplification. In the case of FL education, however, such a procedure is less satisfactory, because of one specific feature of language, namely, the fact that language learning gives rise to what is known, in economic theory, as ‘externalities’, which are best explained with a hypothetical example. As more people learn a given language (say, language *L*), the value of knowing this language is affected. It is commonly assumed that this effect can only be positive (De Swaan, 2002; van Parijs, 2004) because people who already speak *L* gain additional potential interlocutors. However, the effect can work both ways, because this amounts to an increase in the overall supply of *L*-language skills, which would lower their value on the labour market. Which of the two effects dominates under various conditions remains an unsolved issue, and the attending theoretical difficulties this raises have not been fully explored. Consequently, empirical results on the social value of FL education must be interpreted with caution, even within the better-known market values (see section “Problems and Difficulties”).

Empirical work therefore yields estimates of the labour market value, to the average person and/or to society (under the limitations just pointed out), of competence in various FLs. The standard policy recommendation would be to prioritise the teaching of FLs that give rise to the highest returns, because these are taken as a good indicator of the usefulness of those skills. FL teaching can therefore be seen as an efficient allocation of resources by one generation that pays for it while the beneficiaries are from a younger generation.

However, policy evaluation is not confined to *allocative* efficiency. It also assesses competing scenarios in terms of their respective fairness. Since all policy choices make some people better off and other worse off, they have a *distributive* effect. One important criterion for choosing among scenarios, therefore, is whether these distributive effects are morally and socially acceptable, and if not, if those who ‘win’ from a policy can offer appropriate compensation, in money or otherwise, to the ‘losers’. Such questions tie into discussions of social justice applied to language policy choices (van Parijs, 2002), and are discussed in the section “Problems and Difficulties”.

Combining the four analytical distinctions just made, we can use a diagram to provide of bird’s-eye view of the scope of the economics of language education (Figure 1).

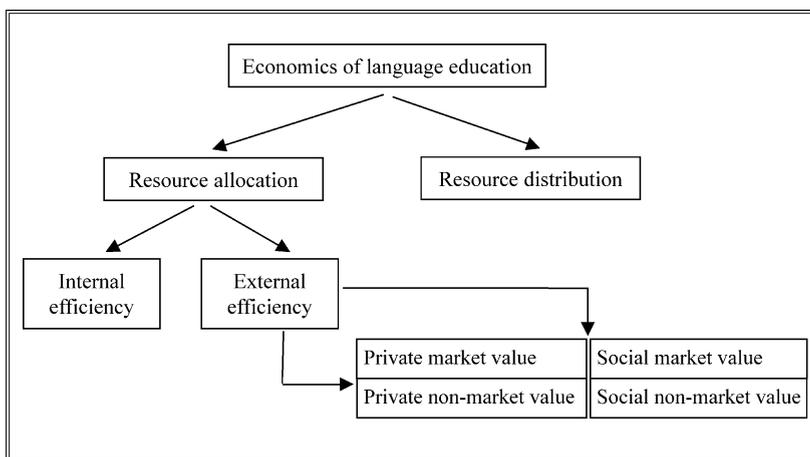


Figure 1 The structure of the economics of foreign language education

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS: RATES OF RETURN ON FOREIGN LANGUAGE SKILLS

The estimation of the market rates of return on FL skills makes up the main part of published work in the economics of language education even though, as we have just seen, this captures only one side of their value. These rates of return may be estimated at the level of the individual or of society. In either case, two main research orientations can be identified. Let us first discuss them in the case of private returns, which accrue to individuals.

The first orientation studies the value to immigrants of learning the dominant language of their new country of residence. In this case, 'FL' must be understood as a language other than the speaker's mother tongue or L1, although it is the main and/or official language of the country of residence. Most of the empirical work uses samples of immigrants to the USA, occasionally Australia, Canada, Israel, or Germany (see e.g. Chiswick, 1999, 2002; Chiswick and Miller, 1995). In general, their (unsurprising) finding is that competence in the country's dominant or official language yields statistically significant advantages to immigrants, although this gain is less pronounced in so-called language enclaves where immigrants are more concentrated (Bloom and Grenier, 1996).

The second line of research examines the rates of return on skills in a language which, apart from not being the actor's mother tongue, is also other than the main language in the actor's place of residence. This case is therefore closer to the standard notion of FL. A further distinction

can be made between two types of cases. The first is that of the ‘other’ language(s) in multilingual countries with a de facto and/or officially enshrined territorial distribution of languages, for example English in Québec (Vaillancourt, 1996), French in German-speaking Switzerland (Grin, 1999), or Russian in Western Ukraine (Kastoukievitch, 2003). The second is that of truly foreign languages like English in Switzerland (Grin, 1999) or Luxembourg (Klein, 2004).

Across these various situations, results show that FL skills can be highly valuable and significantly add to a person’s labour income, although major variations are observed depending on various elements of context and on the FL concerned. Of course, in any of the situations discussed in this section, it is essential to disentangle the effect of FL skills from that of other determinants of income, particularly when the latter are likely to be correlated with the presence of FL skills. The typical response to this challenge is to apply multivariate analysis to estimate language-augmented earnings equations (Psacharopoulos and Patrinos, 2004), usually with ordinary least squares. Applying this technique generally confirms the profitability of FL skills after even controlling for (at least) education and work experience. This nevertheless requires detailed and reliable individual (as opposed to grouped) data. Suitable databases are rare, which probably explains why this has only been done for relatively few countries. The information needed includes, at the very least, each person’s labour income (often using after-tax earnings), education, gender, age and/or experience, L1 and, of course, FL skills. Depending on the degree of detail of the data base, it is sometimes possible to distinguish the impact of productive versus receptive and of oral versus written skills in the language concerned, and to differentiate between basic, advanced and native-like competence. It is also desirable to include additional information, in particular individual respondents’ economic sector of activity, hierarchical position at work, and geographical location. Interested readers can find more practical detail on the procedure in Vaillancourt (1985) or Grin (1999).

The type of estimates described so far are, in fact, *net earnings differentials*, in the sense that they attempt to single out the effect of FL skills on earnings, *net* of the effect of other variables like education. They are often called ‘rates of return’ because FL skills can be seen, in line with human capital theory, as an investment made at a certain time and yielding a certain return in the form of higher earnings later in life. However, estimating rates of return in the strict sense requires taking account of the time lag between the investment and the reaping of the corresponding benefits. Though this is usually not done in the type of estimates presented so far, it is an essential part of the calculation of *social* rates of return, whose goal is to assess the value, for society as a whole, of teaching FLs through the education system.

Social benefits are generally assumed to be the sum of private benefits; there again, given the absence of data on non-market benefits, calculations are usually confined to market benefits in the form of earnings differentials. However, calculations will be based on pre-tax instead of after-tax earnings. Furthermore, earnings differentials accruing in the distant future are worth less than those that appear immediately, and they must therefore be discounted. FL teaching costs are then deducted from the sum, over a person's lifetime, of discounted pre-tax earnings differentials. This requires additional information on public expenditure on foreign language teaching. Typically, educational statistics do not offer subject-based expenditure accounting, which means that approximations of the expenditure specifically devoted to FL teaching must be derived from data on enrolments, time endowments for FLs, and per capita spending, for successive cycles in the education system. To our knowledge, social rates of return on FL skills have only been estimated for Switzerland, where they are shown to be positive for French (in German- and Italian-speaking Switzerland), German (in French- and Italian-speaking Switzerland) and English (across the country) (Grin, 1999).

The general policy implication of high rates of return (whether private or, if possible, social) on FL skills is that it is efficient to allocate resources to FL education.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES: LANGUAGE EDUCATION AND LINGUISTIC JUSTICE

The estimation of rates of return responds to a concern for the efficient allocation of resources (even if it focuses on the market dimensions of value, largely ignoring, for lack of data, its non-market dimensions). Let us now turn to matters of resource distribution, which raise questions of social justice.

Any policy choice, including in language of education, will tend to make some groups better off and other groups worse off. Theorists have considered different criteria for deciding whether this redistribution of resources is just or not (Arnsperger and van Parijs, 2003). These effects can be considered socially acceptable if it improves the lot of those who were worst off, if those previously better off enjoyed unjust advantages, or if the policy gives rise to sufficient net gains in the aggregate for the winners to be *able* to offer compensation to the losers (whether such compensation is actually paid being a separate question). We shall not discuss this particular issue further here, but note that one crucial, and generally under-researched dimension of the problem is that of the *criteria* on the basis of which we should define groups between which policies redistribute resources. Most of the literature

on equity or fairness concerns socioeconomic groups defined by income, education, indicators of social class, etc. (see also Rampton et al., *Language, Class and Education*, Volume 1). However, it is also possible to investigate resource redistribution between age groups, men and women, ethnic groups, families and single households, etc. In the case of FL education, peoples' L1 becomes a relevant dimension. This reflects the fact that the cost of FL learning is often borne unequally.

This point is best explained by using the example of international communication, although it could also be illustrated in terms of the respective position of speakers of minority languages who have to adopt a majority language. Consider the case of the 25-member European Union (EU). For a variety of reasons (Graddol, 2005; Phillipson, 2003; Phillipson, *Language Policy and Education in the European Union*, Volume 1), English is currently the most frequently used language between Europeans of different mother tongues. Consequently, non-native speakers of English devote considerable time and effort to learning the language, at a massive cost to the education systems of the countries of about 85% of Europe's residents. By contrast, the United Kingdom has decreased its effort in FL teaching. Current public effort on FL teaching in the UK can be estimated at between one third and one fourth of that of other EU member countries. The amounts thus saved can be invested in other forms of human capital development. In other words, the non-English-speaking countries of the EU are subsidising the UK on this plane as well. Controversy is currently ongoing over the extent of these transfers, and the identification of the best solution to this problem, taking account of both efficiency and fairness; this debate, however, raises questions that go well beyond language education and plugs into wider issues of language policy and macro-level language dynamics (see also Block, *Language Education and Globalization*, Volume 1).

## CHALLENGES

To a large extent, the controversies just mentioned hark back to empirical questions. This also applies to the issue of the actual magnitude of non-market returns to language skills, which have never been evaluated but could, in principle, be estimated by adapting instruments applied in the evaluation of environmental assets. A number of other questions in the economics of language education, however, raise theoretical challenges.

One of the most important is that of the long-term evolution of rates of return. As we have seen, rates of return are estimated at time  $t$ , but language education policy decisions made on their basis will affect learners who already are in the education system or who will enter

it in the future. Suppose for example that high rates of return on competence in a certain FL, say language  $L$ , have been observed at time  $t$ , and that a policy decision is made to increase, from time  $t + 1$ , the endowment for  $L$ -language teaching across the education system. Therefore, those learners who actually receive more  $L$ -language training only arrive on the labour market some years later. There is no certainty that, at that time,  $L$ -language skills will still be as profitable. High rates of return are therefore a relevant, but not a sufficient guide for language education policy decisions.

In order to make reliable policy recommendations to education authorities, it would be necessary to have a robust predictive model of the evolution of the value of FL skills. This, in turn, requires a deeper understanding than the literature currently offers of several interconnected processes, particularly of the ways in which employees' FL skills are exploited by employers. It should be clear that ethnographic accounts (often found in the applied linguistics literature) of how various languages are used in the workplace are of limited usefulness, because what matters is whether FL skills, when appropriately used in specific jobs within a company, have an actual impact on *economic* processes of production and distribution, and can therefore contribute to increased profits, market shares, etc. Only if such impacts do exist will firms have an incentive to recruit people with particular FL skills, thereby driving up the demand for such skills and keeping up, by way of consequence, the rate of return on them. If not, the language learning that occurs in response to earnings differentials observed, at time  $t$ , in favour of persons who are fluent in language  $L$ , will soon erode these very differentials. The incentive to learn language  $L$  will therefore decline, and language spread will continue on a large scale only if other factors come into play—for example, the fact that the social relevance of the language keeps increasing along with the number of learners and users, thereby renewing the incentive for more actors to learn it.

This question is particularly intriguing in the case of English. The reasons for its rapid spread are only partly understood (Graddol, 2005). Circumstantial evidence suggests that a plausible scenario is one of long-term decline in the labour market value of competence in English, as such skills are acquired by more people and become banal (just like the ability to read and write, once the preserve of a numerically small group of literate individuals, has become a basic requirement for all). Competence in English, at least up to a certain level, is likely to keep spreading, but for reasons distinct from labour market value, such as social participation. Consequently, maintaining a competitive advantage in the labour market is likely to constitute an incentive for individuals to learn additional FLs, and competence in Chinese

may become a significant asset for this reason (cf. Lam, *Language Education Policy in Greater China*, Volume 1).

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The economic analysis of language addresses a wide range of questions of considerable social and political significance; many of them also tie into major language policy debates. This is likely to be reflected in research in coming years. We may therefore expect future work to emphasise policy issues and to address both the relative efficiency and the fairness of various forms of multilingual communication. In particular, should policies favour the emergence of one lingua franca (e.g. at the European level) or encourage a partnership between a few major languages? In the former case, is a natural language like English a suitable lingua franca despite the major equity problems that its spread generates, or should some alternative like Esperanto be actively promoted through internationally coordinated action? How extensive should social plurilingualism be, given that linguistic diversity carries benefits and costs (both of the market and non-market kind)? All these questions clearly indicate that language education needs to be investigated, also when using economic analysis, in relation to broader social and political issues. The research needed, however, is not necessarily located entirely at the macro level, and also requires micro-level investigation.

At the same time, there is also work to be done on processes within education systems. Economics may help in the measurement of the respective contribution of school and non-school channels of FL acquisition, or by providing instruments for the systematic comparison of the performance of various forms of FL instruction, such as CLIL, 'inter-comprehension' within language groups, etc., in comparison with more traditional forms of instruction. Empirical results in those areas can help design efficient, yet differentiated FL education curricula appropriate for different language learning contexts.

In all cases, however, it is important to remember that the issues at hand are highly complex. It would undoubtedly be useful for them to receive more sustained attention from economists. At the same time, further research needs to be carried out with a strongly interdisciplinary ethos in order to yield policy-relevant results.

*See Also:* David Block: *Language Education and Globalization (Volume 1)*; Ben Rampton, et al.: *Language, Class and Education (Volume 1)*; Robert Phillipson: *Language Policy and Education in the European Union (Volume 1)*; James W. Tollefson: *Language Planning in Education (Volume 1)*

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THE MORAL DIMENSIONS OF  
LANGUAGE EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

Like other kinds of teaching, language education is fundamentally and, some would argue, primarily moral in nature. By “moral,” we mean that it involves crucial yet difficult and ambiguous beliefs and decisions about what is right and good for learners and others. The moral dimensions of teaching inhere in certain key facts. First, all teaching aims to change people; there is an implicit assumption that this change is for the better. Second, there are limitations on the degree to which science, research, and objective facts about teaching and learning can guide teachers in the decisions they make; the great majority of teachers’ work in actual classrooms has to be based on teachers’ beliefs about what is right and good for their learners—that is to say, it is rooted in moral values. Third, like any relations between human beings, relations between a teacher and her students are moral in nature, revolving around key issues such as trust and respect. The innate power differential between teacher and students merely reinforces this basic fact. The moral landscape of the language classroom is rendered even more complex than in other contexts by the fact that the teaching of languages by definition takes place at the intersection between different national, cultural, and political boundaries, representing often radically different sets of values. Furthermore, the different cultures and value systems represented in classrooms, like the individuals taking part in language education, are not equally positioned in terms of cultural capital (see also Kelly Hall, *Language Education and Culture*, Volume 1) but, quite the opposite, are usually in unequal relations in ways frequently involving race, gender, sexual orientation, and other crucial differences.

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS: FINDINGS FROM  
GENERAL EDUCATION

As the preceding paragraph suggests, work on the moral dimensions of language teaching has largely been grounded in work on morality in general education. In this section, we review the principal contributions to this line of research.

John Dewey, in his seminal book, *Moral Principles in Education* (1909), drew an important distinction between the *teaching of morality*—the explicit teaching of specific moral values, and the *morality of teaching*—the ways teaching is imbued with moral significance. Despite the importance of Dewey's early writings in this area, little attention was paid to the morality of teaching until the early 1980s.

The publication of Tom (1984) marked the beginning of a renewed interest in the moral aspects of teaching. Tom critiqued the long-held view of teaching as an applied science, according to which research in the social and behavioral sciences will yield principles and strategies teachers “apply” to the problems they encounter in their classrooms. Tom proposed the metaphor of teaching as a moral craft. For Tom, two aspects of teaching imbue it with moral meaning: the relationship between teacher and student is a moral relationship, and the curriculum, as selectively planned and taught, reflects a desired goal. Craft can be described as an activity involving the application of analytical knowledge, synthetic thinking, and technical skill to a specific situation. By combining the moral aspects of teaching with the notion of craft, teaching as a moral craft is the “reflective, diligent, and skillful approach toward the pursuit of desirable ends” (p. 128).

Noddings' (1984) ethic of caring has been very influential over the past 20 years. Central to Noddings' work is her fundamental premise about teaching: that the relationship between teacher and student is at the core of teaching; concern for students comes before concern for content, assessment, and other aspects of schooling. These aspects are not ignored, nor considered of minor importance; but they are understood first and foremost through their connection to students and their learning.

Palmer (1998) offers another view of teaching and teachers' lives, one that draws primarily on personal reflection with a strong spiritual dimension. His deep explorations of his own work as a teacher and that of other teachers are inspirational rather than academic in tone and intent. While not based upon empirical investigations, his writings have nevertheless greatly influenced a number of researchers.

The ways teachers engage students in activities, indeed, the ways teachers act in all ways in the classroom, was the focus of the Moral Life of Schools Project undertaken by Jackson, Boostrom, and Hansen (1993). Through their extensive observations of K-12 classrooms in the USA, the authors sought to uncover and understand how the moral is present in schools. From their observations, two sets of categories emerged. The first set included five types of activities through which teachers and schools overtly teach moral content or nurture moral behaviors: moral instruction as a formal part of the curriculum, moral instruction as woven into the set curriculum, the use of ritual and

ceremonies, visual displays of moral messages, and spontaneously introduced moral commentary in the flow of classroom activities.

The second set of categories involves practices of teachers and schools that intentionally or unintentionally are of moral significance. This set of three categories include: the moral content of classroom practices and rules; the curricular substructure, a set of assumptions which allow teachers to teach and students to learn; and expressive morality—the moral significance of the many ways teachers act and speak in classrooms.

Hansen (2001) has continued to explore many of these themes. His central premise throughout is that teaching draws its moral significance from the very nature of its practice. Thus, rather than seeking moral meaning from sources outside of teaching, for example from philosophical discussions of virtue, teaching as a practice is itself imbued with moral significance.

For Fenstermacher (1992), the moral in teaching is present in the manner of the teacher. This position is based upon an Aristotelian view of how virtue is acquired by the young: teachers act as models and moral agents in the lives of their students. Teachers who act justly, honestly, and with compassion and tolerance, express these virtues through their teaching, thus instilling these traits and virtues in their students. Manner, then, is seen as separate from a teacher's method of teaching, the behaviors teachers use that promote children's learning.

Sockett (1993) offers a moral basis for teacher professionalism by describing its four dimensions: the professional community, professional expertise, professional accountability, and the professional ideal of service. Yet, Sockett acknowledges that discussions of teaching and teacher professionalism sorely lack any type of moral vocabulary and moral language. Thus, Sockett frames each of the dimensions of teacher professionalism in moral terms through which the descriptions and criteria for the quality of practice are guided by moral rather than technical language.

Another major study conducted by Noblit and Dempsey (1996) examined the ways schools and communities construct values and virtues that often guide their teaching practices and curricula. Through interviews with teachers, students, families, and community members, Noblit and Dempsey uncovered how the virtues and values deemed important by each group were a major moral influence on teachers and children.

More recently, Buzzelli and Johnston (2002) have examined the moral nature of classroom interaction through the lenses of language, power, and culture. The examination of teaching practices through these lenses uncovers the moral significance of various types of classroom discourse, of classroom rules, and of the ways that majority

culture teachers can limit the participation of minority students in classroom learning activities. These findings have implications for how teachers' practices directly and indirectly influence the ways students are represented through curricular materials and subsequently how educational practices contribute to the identities that students construct of themselves and that are attributed to them by peers.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Two articles in the mid-1990s can be said to have opened up inquiry into the moral dimensions of language education. Edge (1996), in a paper examining what he called the "cross-cultural paradoxes" of the profession of English teaching, identified three such paradoxes of values. These were first, the mismatch that is frequently found between the values of what Edge calls "TESOL culture" (p. 9) and the national educational cultures in which English teaching is conducted. Second, the fact that in any context, English teaching is unavoidably wrapped up with political issues of both "liberation and domination" (p. 17). Third, the paradox between "respect for the right to be different" (p. 21), a value Edge claims that the field of English teaching embraces, and the intolerance sometimes expressed by the students whose views teachers are supposed to respect.

Johnston, Juhász, Marken, and Ruiz (1998) in turn, took a much more "local" and small-scale approach, examining discourse from the classrooms of three ESL teachers at a university-based intensive English program (IEP) to reveal aspects of what they called the "moral agency" of the teacher: that is, the ways in which the teacher's actions and words convey usually implicit moral messages to her learners. Johnston et al. borrowed part of the theoretical framework of "categories of moral influence" proposed by Jackson et al. (1993) (see earlier), and looked at the three categories said to capture the "morality of teaching" in introducing implicit moral messages into teaching: classroom rules and regulations; the curricular substructure; and expressive morality. Johnston et al. (1998) identified examples of all three categories in the classroom data they studied. They argued further that in relatively culturally homogeneous classrooms, such as those studied by Jackson et al. (1993), there is likely to be a large degree of shared understanding between teacher and students about elements such as the curricular substructure. However, in multilingual and multicultural classrooms there may be profound disjunctures between the moral messages sent, usually unconsciously, by teachers and the way those messages are interpreted, also usually unconsciously, by different learners.

Subsequent research in the moral dimensions of language education has partially followed the lead of these two pieces and has concentrated

around certain key topics. These include: the moral dimensions of classroom interaction; values and politics; professional ethics; and the role of religious beliefs in language teaching.

Various aspects of the moral dimensions of classroom interaction have been examined. Ewald (in press) looked at student perceptions of critical moral incidents in a US university Spanish classroom; she found the students highly sensitive to moral messages in the words and actions of their teachers. Johnson (2003) described clashes of values between a white American female mentor teacher and an African Muslim man in a practicum (teaching practice) placement in a US IEP. Buzzelli and Johnston (2002) looked at a range of classroom issues including, in particular, cultural aspects of minority children in mainstream classes.

As Edge's (1996) work indicates, moral values have always been at least implicitly present in the expanding literature on the politics of language teaching (Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 1992; see also Canagarajah, *The Politics of English Language Teaching*, Volume 1). Above all, as Edge pointed out, the central moral question that this literature raises for teachers is how to position themselves morally in relation to national and international political realities in which they are implicated, yet with which they may vehemently disagree.

Along with inquiry into morality, narrowly conceived, there have also been several investigations into ethical issues in language teaching, many of which cover similar ground to that found in research on morality. (It is worth pointing out that in philosophy no distinction is usually drawn between morals and ethics, though some authors, e.g., Buzzelli and Johnston (2002), suggest that it can be helpful to use *ethics* to refer to codes of conduct and to behavior, and *morality* to refer to personal beliefs.) Research has looked, amongst other things, at the ethics of testing (Hamp-Lyons, 1998; Shohamy, 2001), and at the centrality of ethical issues in the work of teachers (Hafernik, Messerschmitt, and Vandrick, 2002).

Finally, there have been the beginnings of attention to the vast area formed by the intersection between language teaching and religious beliefs, a domain in which moral values are particularly prominent and often highly contentious. This is an area of central concern in language education, in particular because of the strong connection between English teaching and mission work worldwide, an issue on which moral views are strongly divided in the field. The Christian viewpoint has been put forward by Smith and Carvill (2000) and Snow (2001). On the other hand, there have recently been severe critiques of evangelical involvement in English teaching around the world, amongst others by Pennycook and Coutand-Marin (2003) and Edge (2003). There are also the beginnings of empirical research on evangelical teachers by nonevangelicals (Varghese and Johnston, 2004).

The most extensive examination of the moral dimensions of language teaching to date is probably Johnston (2003). In his book, which focuses specifically on English language teaching while considering examples from different national settings, Johnston looks in particular at five major areas, some of which overlap with the areas outlined earlier: the moral dimensions of classroom discourse and classroom interaction; moral aspects of critical pedagogy and the political dimensions of language teaching; the morality of forms of assessment and evaluation; the moral underpinnings of language teacher identity, including religious identity; and the role of values in various aspects of teacher professional development.

Johnston's work is built around the notion of *moral dilemmas*: that is to say, points at which teachers are obliged to choose between two or more courses of action knowing that any possible choice will have both good and bad consequences, many of which are largely unpredictable. Johnston identifies a number of key moral dilemmas frequently encountered in the field of English language teaching, categorizing them into dilemmas of pedagogy, of teacher–student relations, and of beliefs and values (pp. 145–146). Johnston claims that moral ambiguity and polyvalence are permanent features of all teaching, including language teaching; but he argues that an awareness of the moral dimensions of teaching and of the moral consequences of alternative courses of action is crucial for effective decision-making in classrooms and schools.

In summary, it is clear that inquiry into the moral dimensions of language teaching has extended to numerous aspects of classroom teaching, schools, and educational systems, and has frequently overlapped with areas such as ethics, the politics of language teaching, social responsibility, teacher education and development, and religion. Many of these lines of inquiry continue to be expanded as the following section indicates.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

A number of projects currently in progress expand on or otherwise develop many of the ideas and topics outlined earlier, and also introduce new fields of interest and new theoretical possibilities.

Research has continued to look at the ways in which moral issues are enacted in classrooms. Johnston, Ruiz, and Juhász (2002) conducted a follow-up study to Johnston, Juhász, Marken, and Ruiz (1998) in which they examined student perspectives on moral critical incidents in an adult ESL classroom. Student perspectives often differed from teacher and researcher perspectives and from each other; but all students perceived the classroom as a place of moral interaction. Zahler

(2003) looked at one nonnative English-speaking ESL teacher in a North American IEP, analyzing his relations with his students in terms of the solidarity-authority distinction.

A number of scholars have followed Johnston's (2003) lead in extending research on the moral dimensions of teaching into language teacher education. For example, Johnston and Buzzelli (in progress) describe a study of two teacher education programs, one of which is an MA program in TESOL and applied linguistics. The authors' goal is to explore real-life moral dilemmas of teaching and teacher education while seeking new theoretical and conceptual lenses with which to understand classroom and program events; they are particularly interested in the moral dimensions of community, ideology, and identity as these play out in the context of teacher education classrooms.

Wong and Canagarajah (in progress), both evangelical Christians, have undertaken to attempt a professional dialog concerning the significant presence of evangelicals in the field of English teaching. Their book contains chapters and responses by both evangelical and nonevangelical (often non-Christian) scholars, in an attempt to find common ground.

Lastly, research on the political dimensions of language teaching has moved beyond the relatively narrow confines of critical pedagogy to take in more varied perspectives. An example of this development is Edge's (2006) edited volume, which offers multiple perspectives on responses in the field of English teaching to US neo-imperialism, especially in the post-9/11 world.

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

The problems and difficulties of research on the moral dimensions of language teaching are both evident and numerous.

First, there is the most obvious matter of how "morality" is understood and defined for research purposes. Conceptual work is still needed to clarify what is meant by basic terms such as "moral," "right," and "good." There is an ever-present temptation to drift toward everyday understandings of these terms, which can be dangerous and misleading.

Second, the location of morality and values at the intersection between the social and the individual makes it hard to attempt valid generalizations about moral dilemmas. Societal values (for example, individualism, collectivism, privacy, solidarity) can be identified, but it is hard to say to what extent particular individuals share them. Working at the intersection of cultures and languages compounds the difficulties of research.

Third, the aspects of morality that are of most interest are also those that are buried deepest and are least available for inspection. For this

reason, speculation is often the only recourse for the researcher. For example, in the study by Johnston, Ruiz, and Juhász (2002) mentioned earlier, looking at student perspectives on critical moral incidents in an ESL classroom, the researchers interviewed the students extensively, yet even so, the interviews themselves still had to be analyzed and interpreted. As with much cultural and psychological behavior, motivations and perceptions are in most cases simply not available for easy introspective access for research purposes.

Fourth, there are considerable barriers to conducting effective research across cultural and linguistic borders. Linguistic and discourse limitations make it very difficult to find stable points of vantage from which to work conceptually and to analyze and evaluate data and evidence. Notions such as “morality” or “right,” for instance, do not translate easily across languages.

Lastly, it is worth noting that in some areas of research, objectivity is hard to come by. A case in point is the topic of religious beliefs in language teaching, in particular that looking at the presence of evangelical Christians in English teaching. The professional discourse on this topic has been marked by extreme polarization, and it remains unclear whether it is even possible to find a common language in which to conduct a debate (Varghese and Johnston, 2004). This seems a reflection of the broader fact that questions of morality and values tend to “push people’s buttons,” and that this can happen even in academic circles and can seriously compromise possibilities for inquiry.

The net result of the problems and difficulties reviewed here is that all work on the moral dimensions of teaching must acknowledge its own limitations, and the field as a whole must move forward cautiously and tentatively. Findings must always be regarded as provisional and subject to change.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Research on the moral dimensions of language teaching is in its infancy, and numerous important future directions suggest themselves. First of all, a deeper understanding of the moral dimensions of language classroom discourse necessitates discourse-analytic research in a range of contexts and settings. Understandings of moral meanings differ widely across cultural and national boundaries, and it would be a grave mistake to imagine that the moral landscape, say, of North American classrooms can be used to understand that of classrooms in other countries—quite aside from the radical differences from setting to setting within each country.

Second, as pointed out earlier, values differ significantly from one culture to the next, and these differences have a profound impact on

local educational cultures; inquiry into the moral landscapes of language classrooms in different national settings would do much to give this work a fuller international and comparative dimension.

Third, a crucial arena in which moral values and issues are played out is that of curriculum and coursebooks; the moral dimensions of published materials, and the moral consequences of choices about which vocabulary, what form of pronunciation, what grammar, and what pragmatics competencies to teach is an area that is ripe for inquiry (see e.g., Smith and Carvill, 2000, pp. 55–56). This matter also extends to the question of the representation of cultures, individuals, and their values in curricular materials (see Buzzelli and Johnston, 2002, pp. 97–105).

Fourth, the specifically moral aspects of the intersection between language teaching and power also require closer examination (see Janks, *Teaching Language and Power*, Volume 1); whether considering the work of expatriate teachers of English around the world, or the presentation of unfamiliar cultures and peoples in the foreign language classroom, the juncture of individual or communally held moral beliefs and political hegemonies represents a major yet under-investigated aspect of language teaching.

Fifth, and finally, there is still much more work to be done in the area of religious beliefs and their place in language teaching. The work on evangelical Christianity mentioned in the previous sections needs to be expanded to include other forms of Christianity and other religions; there is an ever more pressing need to look closely at the complex moral dilemmas that arise when teachers' personal religious beliefs directly affect classroom instruction and relations with students.

*See Also:* Joan Kelly Hall: *Language Education and Culture (Volume 1)*; Suresh Canagarajah: *The Politics of English Language Teaching (Volume 1)*; Hilary Janks: *Teaching Language and Power (Volume 1)*

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# **Section 2**

## **Minorities and Education**

## HUMAN RIGHTS AND LANGUAGE POLICY IN EDUCATION

### INTRODUCTION

The United Nation's 2004 Human Development Report (<http://hdr.undp.org/reports/global/2004/>) links cultural liberty to language rights and human development and argues that there is

... no more powerful means of 'encouraging' individuals to assimilate to a dominant culture than having the economic, social and political returns stacked against their mother tongue. Such assimilation is not freely chosen if the choice is between one's mother tongue and one's future. (p. 33)

The press release about the UN report (see web address provided earlier) exemplifies the role of language as an exclusionary tool:

Limitations on people's ability to use their native language—and limited facility in speaking the dominant or official national language—can exclude people from education, political life and access to justice. Sub-Saharan Africa has more than 2,500 languages, but the ability of many people to use their language in education and in dealing with the state is particularly limited. In more than 30 countries in the region, the official language is different from the one most commonly used. Only 13 percent of the children who receive primary education do so in their native language.

One might expect that the report would suggest a positive solution, which not only respects human rights (HRs), but is also based on solid research. Sadly, this is not the case. The report suggests that:

Multilingual countries often need a three-language formula

1. A national or official state language.
2. A lingua franca to facilitate communications among different groups (in some cases the official language serves this purpose).
3. Official recognition of the mother tongue or of indigenous languages *for those without full command of the official language or lingua franca* (ibid.; emphasis added).

The first two, enabling children through education to become fully competent in one or two languages of wider communication, is what a human rights-oriented educational language policy should include. The third suggestion is clearly based on deficit theories and either/or

thinking, characteristic of much of language policy today in indigenous and minority education (see also Kelly Hall, *Language Education and Culture*, Volume 1). Schools often see the mother tongues of minorities as necessary but negative temporary tools while the minority child is learning a dominant language. As soon as he or she is deemed in some way competent in the dominant language, the mother tongue can be left behind, and the child has no right to maintain it and develop it further in the educational system.

This can be seen as a serious HRs violation. It violates the right to education (see Magga, Nicolaisen, Trask, Dunbar and Skutnabb-Kangas, 2004; Tomaševski, 2001; and [www.right-to-education.org/content/primers/\\_rte03.pdf](http://www.right-to-education.org/content/primers/_rte03.pdf)). It may result in linguistic genocide, according to two of the United Nations' definitions of genocide (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; see also the section Work in Progress).

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

There have been many language rights for dominant language speakers for millennia, without anybody calling them language rights. Additionally, several linguistic minorities have for centuries had some language rights, in some countries even legally formalised. Rights have been formulated pragmatically, and mostly by lawyers. The first bilateral agreements (between two countries), also old, were mostly about religious not linguistic minorities, but often the two coincided. The first multilateral agreement covering national minorities was the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna 1815 (Capotorti, 1979, p. 2). During the nineteenth century, several national constitutions and some multilateral instruments safeguarded some national linguistic minorities (see the historical overview in Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 1994). The Peace Treaties that concluded the First 'World' War and major multilateral and international conventions under the League of Nations improved the protection. After the Second World War, the individual rights formulated by the United Nations were supposed to protect minority persons as individuals and collective minority rights were seen as unnecessary. A better protection of linguistic minorities only started to develop after Francesco Capotorti, as a UN Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Minorities, published his 1979 report. The protection is still far from satisfactory (see also de Varennes, *International Law and Education in a Minority Language*, Volume 1).

It was only in the early 1990s that the area of linguistic human rights (LHRs) started crystallising as a multidisciplinary research area. Earlier, language rights and human rights were more separated from each other; both were the domain of lawyers, with few, if any, linguists involved. Both areas were driven by practical-political concerns and

the research was mainly descriptive, not analytical. Even today, there is a fairly tight separation. Few lawyers know much about language (some exceptions are Fernand de Varennes, e.g. 1996, *International Law and Education in a Minority Language*, Volume 1; Dunbar, 2001; Fife, 2005) or education. Many of those sociolinguists, political scientists and educationists who are today writing about LHRs, know too little about international law (also here there are exceptions, e.g. May 2001, *Language Education, Pluralism and Citizenship*, Volume 1; Tollefson and Tsui 2003). This is a fast growing area where major concept clarification and multidisciplinary teamwork is urgently needed. It should be clear, though, that those language rights are LHRs, which are so basic for a dignified life that everybody has them because of being human; therefore, in principle no state (or individual) is allowed to violate them. The first multidisciplinary book about LHRs seems to be from the mid-1990s (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 1994).

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The world's spoken languages are disappearing fast: pessimistic but realistic estimates fear that 90–95% of them may be extinct or very seriously endangered by the year 2100. Transmission of languages from the parent generation to children is *the* most vital factor for the maintenance of both oral and sign languages. When more children gain access to formal education, much of their more formal language learning, which occurred earlier in the community, takes place in schools. If an alien language is used in schools—i.e. if children do not have the right to learn and use their language in schools (and, of course, later in their working life)—the language is not going to survive. Thus educational LHRs, especially an unconditional right to mother tongue medium (MTM) education, are central for the maintenance of languages and for the prevention of linguistic and cultural genocide. ‘Modernisation’ has accelerated the death/murder of languages, which, without formal education, had survived for centuries or millennia. It is clear, though, that neither LHRs nor schools alone can in any way guarantee the maintenance and further development of languages—they are both necessary but not sufficient for this purpose. There are no miracle cures or panaceas.

Dominant and/or majority language speakers in many cases have most of those rights that can be seen as LHRs, also in education, and most of them seem to take their existence for granted. Indigenous peoples and minorities are the ones whose LHRs need strengthening. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights website [www.unhchr.ch](http://www.unhchr.ch) is a good place to start finding out what educational LHRs exist today in international or regional HRs instruments. See <http://www.ohchr.org/english/law/index.htm> for texts of the HRs

instruments themselves and <http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf> for States parties to the treaties; Mercator Linguistic Rights and Legislation web-site is also useful: [http://www.ciemn.org/mercator/Menu\\_nou/index.cfm?lg=gb](http://www.ciemn.org/mercator/Menu_nou/index.cfm?lg=gb).

Minorities have some HRs support for other aspects of using their languages in areas such as public administration, courts and the media (Frowein and co-worker's edited books about minority rights in European States 1993 and 1994 give excellent overviews of Europe). However, international and European binding Covenants, Conventions and Charters provide in fact very little support for LHRs in education, and language is accorded in them much poorer treatment than other central human characteristics such as 'race', gender and religion (see also de Varennes, *International Law and Education in a Minority Language*, Volume 1). Often language disappears completely in educational paragraphs. For instance, the (non-binding) Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) paragraph on education (26) does not refer to language at all. Similarly, the UN International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, having mentioned language on par with race, colour, sex, religion, etc. in its general Article (2.2), explicitly refers to 'racial, ethnic or religious groups' in its educational Article (13), but omits reference to language or linguistic groups.

When 'language' is present in Articles on education, especially MTM education, the formulations are more vague and/or contain many more opt-outs, modifications and claw-backs than other Articles; these create obligations and contain demanding formulations, where the states are firm duty-holders and '*shall*' do something positive in order to ensure the rights. Many books and articles on LHRs show this. For some key books on language rights, see: Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 1994; Kibbee, 1998; Guillorel/Koubi, 1999; Kontra, Phillipson, Skutnabb-Kangas and Várady, 1999; Phillipson, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; May, 2001.

We can see these patterns of vague formulations, modifications and alternatives even in the latest minority or language-specific international and regional instruments. In the Council of Europe's European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (1998), a state can choose which paragraphs or subparagraphs it wishes to apply (a minimum of 35 is required). The education Article 8, includes a range of qualifications, including 'as far as possible', 'relevant', 'appropriate', 'where necessary', 'pupils who so wish in a number considered sufficient', 'if the number of users of a regional or minority language justifies it', as well as a number of alternatives, as in 'to allow, encourage or provide teaching in or of the regional or minority language at all the appropriate stages of education'. Similar formulations abound in the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National

Minorities (1998). The Article covering medium of education is so heavily qualified that the minority is completely at the mercy of the state:

In areas inhabited by persons belonging to national minorities traditionally or in **substantial** numbers, **if there is sufficient demand**, the parties shall **endeavour** to ensure, **as far as possible** and **within the framework of their education systems**, that persons belonging to those minorities have **adequate** opportunities for being taught in the minority language **or** for receiving instruction in this language (emphases added for modifications).

The Framework Convention has been criticised by politicians and international lawyers, who are normally very careful in their comments. Law professor Patrick Thornberry's general assessment is:

In case any of this [provisions in the Convention] should threaten the delicate sensibilities of States, the Explanatory Report makes it clear that they are under no obligation to conclude 'agreements'. . . . Despite the presumed good intentions, the provision represents a low point in drafting a minority right; there is just enough substance in the formulation to prevent it becoming completely vacuous. (Thornberry, 1997, pp. 356–357)

Of course the balance between binding formulations and sensitivity to local conditions is a difficult one. The Charter permits a reluctant state to meet the requirements in a minimalist way, which it can legitimate by claiming that a provision was not 'possible' or 'appropriate', or that numbers were not 'sufficient' or did not 'justify' a provision, or that it 'allowed' the minority to organise teaching of their language as a subject, at their own cost. Both the European Charter and the Framework Convention (for the latest news about both, see <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/EN/v3News.asp>; their treaty numbers are 148 and 157) have monitoring bodies which seem to be doing a good job in trying to stretch the states' willingness to follow more than minimalist requirements—but, again, when it comes to MTM education, these bodies seem to be somewhat ignorant about language-in-education issues (see Skutnabb-Kangas, 2004; Wilson, 2004). The (non-binding) UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities ([http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/d\\_minori.htm](http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/d_minori.htm)) suffers from similar vague formulations.

A recent NGO attempt to promote language rights (a draft Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights, handed over to UNESCO in Barcelona in June 1996; see <http://www.linguistic-declaration.org/index-gb.htm>; from the index one can go to the Declaration itself), also suffers from similar shortcomings, even if, for several beneficiaries ('language

communities' and, to some extent, 'language groups'), it represents great progress in relation to the other instruments described. Still, indirectly, its education section forces all others except those defined as members of language communities (which roughly correspond to national territorially based minorities) to assimilate. Despite hard work by Catalans (who, together with the Basques, have been extremely active in getting LHRs on a global agenda), the draft Declaration is not going to be accepted by UNESCO member states in its present form.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

New interpretations (Article 27, discussed subsequently) or enlargement of the scope (linguistic genocide) of older instruments, new instruments under negotiation (e.g. indigenous instruments, see McCarty, *Language Education Planning and Policies by and for Indigenous Peoples*, Volume 1; or LHRs for the Deaf, see Branson and Miller, *National Sign Languages and Language Policies*, Volume 1), and the development of non-binding Declarations or Recommendations (e.g. the Hague Recommendations) in a more binding direction may in time improve the situation.

Article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) 1966, in force since 1976), still contains the most far-reaching binding protection for LHRs for minority languages (see also de Varennes, *International Law and Education in a Minority Language*, Volume 1). It declares:

In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language.

Earlier interpretations of this Article did not grant much support to LHRs. It was seen as only granting negative non-discrimination rights and did not place any obligations on states. The linguistic protection of national minorities rests, according to van der Stoel, on two HRs pillars: the right to non-discrimination in the enjoyment of human rights; and the right to the maintenance and development of identity through the freedom to practice or use those special and unique aspects of their minority life - typically culture, religion, and language. The first protection . . . ensures that minorities receive all of the other protections without regard to their ethnic, national, or religious status; they thus enjoy a number of linguistic rights that all persons in the state enjoy, such as freedom of expression and the right in criminal

proceedings to be informed of the charge against them in a language they understand, if necessary through an interpreter provided free of charge. The second pillar, encompassing affirmative obligations beyond non-discrimination... It includes a number of rights pertinent to minorities simply by virtue of their minority status, such as the right to use their language. This pillar is necessary because a pure non-discrimination norm could have the effect of forcing people belonging to minorities to adhere to a majority language, effectively denying them their rights to identity. (OSCE—Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe, High Commissioner on National Minorities, 1999, p. 8–9)

In 1994, the United Nations Human Rights Committee (UNHRC) published a General Comment on UN ICCPR, Article 27 (4 April 1996, UN Doc. CCPR/C/21/Rev.1/Add.5). The UNHRC interpreted Article 27 as protecting all individuals on the state's territory or under its jurisdiction (i.e. also immigrants and refugees), irrespective of whether they belong to the minorities specified in the article or not. It stated that the existence of a minority does not depend on a decision by the state, but requires to be established by objective criteria (important in relation to countries which deny having linguistic minorities—e.g. France, Greece, Turkey). It recognised the existence of a 'right', and imposed positive obligations on the states. The revised Human Rights Fact Sheet No. 15 on ICCPR from the Committee (2005) sustains this interpretation.

When the United Nations did preparatory work for what became the International Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (E 793, 1948), linguistic genocide as a central aspect of cultural genocide was discussed alongside physical genocide as a serious crime against humanity (see Capotorti, 1979, p. 37).

When the UN General Assembly finally accepted the Convention, Article III covering linguistic and cultural genocide was voted down by 16 states (see Official Records of the General Assembly, Third Session, Part I, Sixth Committee, 83rd meeting). It is thus not included in the final Convention of 1948. Denmark, USA and UK were among those who opposed the prohibition of cultural genocide and UK wanted the Convention to be limited in the strict sense to the physical extermination of human groups. The Soviet bloc countries, China, Pakistan and Venezuela, among others, wanted to keep Article 3 in force.

The present Convention has five definitions of genocide. Two of them fit most indigenous and minority education today

- II(e), '*forcibly transferring children of the group to another group*';
- II(b), '*causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group*'; (emphasis added).

Assimilationist submersion education, where indigenous and minority children are forced to accept teaching through the medium of dominant languages (see also McCarty, *Language Education Planning and Policies by and for Indigenous Peoples, Volume 1*), can cause serious mental harm and often leads to the students using the dominant language with their own children later on—i.e. over a generation or two the children are linguistically, and often in other ways too, forcibly transferred to a dominant group. This happens to millions of speakers of threatened languages all over the world. There are no schools or classes teaching the children through the medium of the threatened indigenous or minority languages. The transfer to the majority language-speaking group is not voluntary; alternatives do not exist, and parents do not have enough reliable information about the long-term consequences of the various choices. Because of this, disappearance of languages cannot be labelled ‘language suicide’, even if it might at first seem like the speakers are themselves abandoning their languages.

Most children obviously want in their own interest to learn the official language of their country. This is also one of the important LHRs and implies the right to become a high-level bilingual. Most children also want to learn English if it is not one of the official languages. But learning new languages, including the dominant languages, should not happen subtractively, but rather additively, in addition to their own languages. Subtractive formal education, which teaches children (something of) a dominant language at the cost of their first language, is genocidal. This dominant language can be official (e.g. French in France) or semi-official (e.g. English in the USA); it can be the language of a numerical majority (as in France or the USA); often it is an old colonial language, spoken only by a small but powerful numerical minority (e.g. as in many African countries). A false educational philosophy claims that minority children learn the dominant language best if they have most of their education through the medium of it. Many studies have shown that the longer the mother tongue remains the main medium of education, the better the minority children learn the dominant language and other subjects (see, e.g. Thomas and Collier, at [http://www.crede.ucsc.edu/research/llaa/1.1\\_final.html](http://www.crede.ucsc.edu/research/llaa/1.1_final.html); May, Hill and Tiaikiwai (2004), at <http://www.minedu.govt.nz/index.cfm?layout=document&documentid=9712&data=1>, and other articles in Volumes 1 and 5).

Some lawyers claim that the deliberate intention required by the Convention is not there. If minority education has been and is organised against what considerable research evidence proposes, while the authorities (including churches) have (and have had for at least one and a half centuries) solid information about how it should be organised, the prohibition, the mental harm caused and the forcible transfer

must be seen as deliberate and intentional acts on behalf of states (see Magga, Nicolaisen, Trask, Dunbar and Skutnabb-Kangas, 2004).

The (non-binding) Hague Recommendations Regarding the Education Rights of National Minorities ([http://www.osce.org/documents/html/pdf/oh/html/2700\\_en.pdf.html](http://www.osce.org/documents/html/pdf/oh/html/2700_en.pdf.html)) from OSCE's High Commissioner on National Minorities were worked out by a small group of experts on HRs and education. They represent an authoritative interpretation and concretisation of the minimum in present HRs standards. In the section, 'The spirit of international instruments', bilingualism is seen as a right and responsibility for persons belonging to national minorities (Article 1), and states are reminded not to interpret their obligations in a restrictive manner (Article 3). In the section on 'Minority education at primary and secondary levels', MTM education is recommended at all levels, including bilingual teachers in the dominant language as a second language (Articles 11–13). Teacher training is made a duty on the state (Article 14). Finally, the Explanatory Note states that 'submersion-type approaches whereby the curriculum is taught exclusively through the medium of the State language and minority children are entirely integrated into classes with children of the majority are not in line with international standards' (p. 5). UNESCO's 2003 Position paper 'Education in a Multilingual World' (<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001297/129728e.pdf>) follows the Hague Recommendations fairly closely.

#### PROBLEMS, DIFFICULTIES AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

One problem has been that, even if minorities have been granted the right to found private schools with their own language as the main medium of education, the state has not had any obligation to participate in the costs. This was made clear in a landmark case in Belgium (the Belgian Linguistic Case, <http://www.arts.uwaterloo.ca/MINELRES/coe/court/Belglin.htm>). Few minorities can bear the full cost of primary education while contributing through their taxes to dominant-language-medium education. If the Human Rights Committee's reinterpretation of Article 27 starts having some effect (and new litigation would be needed to test this), the economic hurdles might be solved. After all, it hardly costs the state more to change the language in minority schools, as compared with using the dominant language (see also Grin, *The Economics of Language Education*, Volume 1). This is also pointed out in The Asmara Declaration on African Languages and Literatures, from a conference 17 January 2000 (<http://www.outreach.psu.edu/C&I/AllOdds/declaration.html>) when demanding MTM education.

The Draft United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (contained in the 1994 Sub-Commission annual report, document E/CN.4/Sub.2/1994/56, annexed to resolution number 45; go to it through <http://www.ohchr.org/english/issues/indigenous/declaration.htm>) was, after a decade of careful work, handed over to the UN in 1994 and has been under negotiation ever since. The USA, Canada and Australia seem to be among the countries most prominent in delaying its acceptance. In an interview in PFII's Quarterly Newsletter *Message Stick* 3:2; (<http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfi/en/newsletter.html>; choose Message Stick Vol. 4, number 2), PFII's (UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues) first Chair, Professor Ole Henrik Magga sums up the connections between the concepts in the title of this entry: human rights, language, language policy and education. He sees LHRs in education as a necessary prerequisite for the maintenance of indigenous languages and traditional knowledge. See also Hamel, 1994, 1997; May, 1999; McCarty, 2005; Magga, Nicolaisen, Trask, Dunbar and Skutnabb-Kangas, 2004, for some assessments of the situation.

Without implementation, monitoring and proper complaint procedures, many of the possibilities in the new or emerging instruments are lost. The European Charter is supposed to be an inclusive, positive language rights instrument. Still, it excludes many more languages in Europe than it includes. It excludes explicitly immigrant languages and 'dialects' of languages. Covertly, it has also excluded all Sign languages, using completely false argumentation (see also Branson and Miller, *National Sign Languages and Language Policies*, Volume 1).

The often-appalling ignorance about basic language matters is a serious gap, and it should be the ethical responsibility of researchers to remedy it. False information or lack of information about both research results and details in HRs instruments that the various countries have signed and ratified are also more the rule than the exception when decisions are made about education. Important language status planning decisions are often based on false information, even in situations where the correct information is easily available and has in fact been offered to the decision makers. More transdisciplinary cooperation between HRs lawyers, sociolinguists and educationists is urgently needed (see the Introduction in *Kontra*, Phillipson, Skutnabb-Kangas and Várady, 1999; May, 1999, 2001). Often Western researchers also suffer from ethnocentricity, and lack of knowledge of the languages and cultures of others (see, e.g. Tuhiwai Smith, 1999; *Kontra*, 2000; Hountondji, 2002).

But lack of LHRs is not only an information problem. The political will of states to grant LHRs is the main problem. HRs, especially economic and social rights, are, according to HRs lawyer Katarina Tomaševski (1996, p. 104), to act as correctives to the free market.

She claims (*ibid.*, p. 104) that the ‘purpose of international human rights law is [...] to overrule the law of supply and demand and remove price-tags from people and from necessities for their survival’. These necessities for survival include not only basic food and housing (which would come under economic and social rights), but also basics for the sustenance of a dignified life, including basic civil, political and cultural rights—and LHRs are a part here of cultural rights. The message from both sociologists like Zygmunt Bauman and HRs lawyers like Katarina Tomaševski, and many others, is that unless there is a redistribution of resources for implementing HRs, progress will be limited. It is probably not even of any use to spread knowledge of HRs as a basis for self-directed human development, unless the resources for implementation follow, and that can only happen through a radical redistribution of the world’s material resources.

Why have states not granted LHRs to indigenous peoples and most minorities? The general attitudes behind state policies leading towards diminishing numbers of languages see, falsely, monolingualism as something:

1. Normal and natural; however, most countries are multilingual
2. Desirable, more efficient and economical; however, if citizens do not understand the language they are governed in and if huge talent is wasted because children do not profit and are even harmed by formal education, this is inefficient and wasteful
3. Inevitable; modernisation leads to linguistic homogenisation and only romantics regret it; however, linguistic diversity and multilingualism enhance creativity (see May, *Bilingual/Immersion Education: What the Research Tells Us*, Volume 5) and are necessary in information societies where the main products are diverse ideas and diverse knowledges (see Kalantzis and Cope, *Language Education and Multiliteracies*, Volume 1).

In addition, states seem to see granting of LHRs as divisive. The rationale is that they result in minorities reproducing themselves as minorities. These minorities then supposedly follow the old nation-state thinking and want cultural autonomy, economic autonomy and, in the end, political autonomy: their own state. Thus MTM education for minorities is ultimately seen as leading to the disintegration of nation states. These erroneous beliefs are an important causal factor in linguistic genocide and lack of LHRs in education.

**See Also:** *Fernand de Varennes: International Law and Education in a Minority Language (Volume 1); Stephen May: Language Education, Pluralism and Citizenship (Volume 1); Teresa L. McCarty: Language Education Planning and Policies by and for Indigenous Peoples (Volume 1); Jan Branson and Don Miller: National Sign Languages*

*and Language Policies (Volume 1); Joan Kelly Hall: Language Education and Culture (Volume 1); François Grin: The Economics of Language Education (Volume 1); Tove Skutnabb-Kangas: Language Rights and Bilingual Education (Volume 5); Stephen May: Bilingual/Immersion Education: What the Research Tells Us (Volume 5)*

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INTERNATIONAL LAW AND EDUCATION IN A  
MINORITY LANGUAGE

INTRODUCTION

While many linguists and educationalists often refer to a “right to language” or to a “right to be educated in one’s own language”, and have done some extremely detailed and well-researched work (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 1994, pp. 71–110), the purely legal point of view at the international level has not been so accommodating. Only in the last few years have international legal instruments—those which impose legally binding rules rather than noble aspirations—recognised, strictly speaking, such a right. An increasing variety of documents such as the United Nations’ Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities ([http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/d\\_minori.htm](http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/d_minori.htm)) and the 1996 The Hague Recommendations regarding the Education Rights of National Minorities (<http://www.minelres.lv/osce/hagrec.htm>), prepared on behalf of the High Commissioner on National Minorities of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), have more recently articulated such a “right” more clearly, but caution must be used in their use since, from a legal point of view, they are not binding in international law (see also Skutnabb-Kangas, Human Rights and Language Policy in Education, Volume 1).

It is nevertheless true that, at least from the point of view of the Council of Europe, two separate treaties—the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities ([http://www.coe.int/T/E/human\\_rights/minorities/](http://www.coe.int/T/E/human_rights/minorities/)) and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (<http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/EN/Treaties/Html/148.htm>)—have more recently enshrined unambiguously a right to be educated in one’s language, though in both cases this right is circumscribed to particular situations and conditions and is not a right available in all situations.

Additionally, developments in the application of the rights to education and non-discrimination in international law suggest that further clarifications as to the impact of this law on education in a minority language are emerging and will take some time before there is a fuller understanding of the role international law plays in this area.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

International law is mainly found in treaties and international customary law and dealt traditionally with relations between states. There have, however, been throughout history some bilateral treaties—treaties between two states—or multilateral treaties—involving more than two states—which provided for “rights” to individuals belonging to certain ethnic or religious communities (de Varennes, 1996, chapter 2).

Not many of these early examples of bilateral treaties in international law referred specifically to language. The more notable of these were the 1516 Treaty of Perpetual Union between the King of France and the Helvetic state, which contained a provision identifying those who were to receive certain benefits as the “Swiss who speak no language other than German”, and the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna of 1815, which contained certain rights to ensure the preservation of the Polish “nationality”, thus resulting in Poznan Poles retaining the right to use Polish for official purposes.

International law as reflected in bilateral treaties protecting communities also occasionally had linguistic ramifications. For example, in the nineteenth century when the Muslim minority in Greece had largely adopted the Turkish language, the 1881 Convention for the Settlement of the Frontier between Greece and Turkey, guaranteeing the free exercise of the Islamic faith and the maintenance of Islamic courts and other community “structures”, also in practice resulted in the continued use of the Turkish language as part of the Muslim religious and community activities.

At the start of the twentieth century, there appeared the first treaties which were explicit in providing for the right to have schools teaching in a minority language. Thus the Vlach- and German-speaking minorities schools were protected under the Treaty of Peace between Bulgaria, Greece, Montenegro, Romania and Serbia of 1913, as Turkish language private schools were for Muslims living in Serbia under the 1914 Treaty between Serbia and Turkey.

These early developments were however of an ad hoc nature and only affected a very small number of countries. It was not until the advent of the League of Nations at the end of the First World War that there emerged a slightly more generalised, though still not universal, system under which it could be said that there existed—in some situations—a right to be educated in a minority language.

There were a number of so-called “minorities treaties” adopted and subsequently overseen by the League of Nations. Essentially, the provisions for minorities fell into three different types of instruments: first, there were a series of treaties imposed upon the defeated states of Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey. The second involved new states

born of the remains of the Ottoman Empire, as well as states whose boundaries were altered under the self-determination principle put forward by American President Woodrow Wilson (namely Czechoslovakia, Greece, Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia). The final category included a number of special provisions relating to minorities in Åland, Danzig, the Memel Territory and Upper Silesia, as well as a series of five unilateral declarations made by Albania, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Iraq upon their admission to the League of Nations. Most of these treaties contained provisions which guaranteed the right of minorities to establish and control their own institutions, including schools using their own language as medium of instruction.

[Those states] have further agreed, in towns and districts where a considerable proportion of nationals of the country whose mother tongue is not the official language of the country is resident, to make provision for adequate facilities for ensuring that, in the primary schools . . . instruction shall be given to the children of such nationals through the medium of their own language, it being understood that this provision does not prevent the teaching of the official language being made obligatory in those schools. (Capotorti, 1979, pp. 18–19)

At that stage, international law seemed to be moving towards accepting a “right of education” in a minority language, though this right could perhaps more accurately be described as including two distinct rights: in the case of private schools, minorities were seemingly to be entitled to create and operate their own schools and use their own language free from any restrictions or obstacles by state authorities, except of course for requirements relating to curriculum content. In addition, they had the right to education in their own language in “adequate facilities” provided by states, as in state schools, though only in town and districts where the minority was present “in considerable numbers”.

That movement came to a rather abrupt end with the disappearance of the League of Nations and its eventual replacement after the Second World War by the United Nations. Following the war, a study by the United Nations Secretariat concluded that the engagements entered into by states after First World War under the minorities system had ceased to exist, except for the Åland Islands agreement. The tentative movement of the League of Nations and international law towards perhaps recognising some kind of eventual right to education in a minority language thus seemed to also come to an abrupt end.

The rhetoric was seen to shift after 1945 to one emphasising universal protection of individual rights and freedoms, an approach which at least at surface seemingly shied away from recognising any rights to specific communities or groups such as minorities. Thus,

discussions leading up to the creation of the United Nations based on a “new covenant” and a “fresh approach” (McKean, 1983, p. 53) were focussed on the principle of individual rights exclusively, no reference being made to the previous minorities treaties.

Indeed, an initial draft outline of what was to become the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proposed that states with “substantial numbers of persons differing in race, language, or religion from the majority of the population, should give such persons the right to establish and maintain out of an equitable proportion of public funds, schools, cultural and religious institutions, and they should be entitled to use their own language before the courts and other authorities and organs of state and in the press and in public assembly” (McKean, 1983, p. 63). This was ultimately rejected, partly because it was seen as inconsistent with the new individualistic approach (see also Skutnabb-Kangas, *Human Rights and Language Policy in Education*, Volume 1).

Thus, most of the early legal developments after the Second World War rejected any reference to minorities having specific rights in relation to education in their own language. There was therefore a fundamental shift in the treatment of the rights of minorities pre- and post-1945: the approach after that date is generally seen as only involving the protection of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all human beings, and not to favour any measures designed especially to protect minorities (Capotorti, 1979, p. 27).

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

As international law is not stagnant, the apparent *tabula rasa* in relation to the rights of minorities in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War was soon to be displaced by the gradual appearance of a number of treaty provisions. These quickly started to acknowledge that there are rights which minorities can invoke in relation to educational rights and language preferences, though there is a noteworthy evolution which can be detected in the actual content of these rights.

Initially, a small number of bilateral peace treaties concluded after the war provided for minority schools to operate and use a minority language in their activities. For example, the 1946 Treaty of Peace with Italy, specifically guaranteed the right of the German-speaking minority in the province of Bolzano (Bozen) to “elementary and secondary teaching in the mother-tongue”.

These localised steps in relation to the rights of minorities in the area of education would however only begin to extend to the global scene a decade later, first with the adoption of a treaty which provided a degree of protection for indigenous and tribal populations (which

may in some states constitute minorities but are not necessarily so) and then with a truly international treaty dealing with discrimination in education. The International Labour Organisation Convention No. 107 of 1957 concerning Indigenous and Tribal Populations provides for protected indigenous populations the right to be taught in their mother tongue or, where this is not practicable, in the language most commonly used by the group to which they belong (see also McCarty, *Language Education Planning and Policies by and for Indigenous Peoples*, Volume 1).

The more significant treaty at the global level for minorities from a legal point of view would be, however, the UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education of 1960 which makes it clear, in Article 2(b), that it does not constitute discrimination to establish or maintain, for linguistic reasons, separate educational systems or institutions. The UNESCO Convention also provides in Article 5(1)(c) that it is essential to “recognise the right of members of national minorities to carry on their own educational activities, including the maintenance of schools and, depending on the educational policy of each state, the use or the teaching of their own language”, provided that “this right is not exercised in a manner which prevents the members of these minorities from understanding the culture and language of the community as a whole and from participating in its activities, or which prejudices national sovereignty”.

The wording of these early provisions almost half a century ago does not necessarily grant a right of minorities to be educated in their language. On the one hand, the treaty acknowledges the fundamental entitlement of minorities to have their “own”, meaning private as opposed as to state-operated, educational activities. On the other hand, the UNESCO Convention does not appear to extend this right automatically in terms of the choice of the language of instruction to be used in these private minority schools, as this choice is not left to the parents but is dependent “on the educational policy of each state”. Furthermore, even if a state’s educational policy permits the use of a minority language in these schools, it must never prevent “the members of these minorities from understanding the culture and language of the community as a whole and from participating in its activities, or which prejudices national sovereignty”. It is at the very best a timid, undemanding provision in terms of language requirements (Hastings, 1988, p. 21).

There is therefore some ambivalence in this treaty which impairs the usefulness of Article 5 as a basis for the right of minorities to receive education in their own language: first, Article 5 only deals with the creation of private schools and does not actually require that state authorities establish publicly funded schools for minorities. Second, the treaty does not guarantee that the language used in these schools

actually be the language of the minority. It is permissive rather than mandatory in this regard, meaning that this will only eventuate if the state's educational policy permits the use of a minority language. While some would have thought that a minority should be entitled automatically to freely determine the language of instruction used in its own schools, this early treaty—while not rejecting outright such use—did not go so far as to actually require it of all states from a strict reading of Article 5.

Still, the general tone of the UNESCO Convention is far from antagonistic to minorities being educated in their own language, quite the contrary. Read as a whole, it could be said to actively encourage states to permit minorities to use their language in their own schools, even if not making it a strict legal obligation on states. In this sense, the UNESCO Convention can be seen as an early precursor to later legal developments in international law of the modern post-war period.

The main developments in the last 25 years in terms of international law need to be divided into two parts: those at the truly global level which have been more timid and restrained, and those at the regional level of the Council of Europe that have been very significant in giving a truly legal recognition and structure to an actual right for minorities to be educated in their own language (see also Phillipson, *Language Policy and Education in the European Union*, Volume 1; Skutnabb-Kangas, *Human Rights and Language Policy in Education*, Volume 1).

At the global level, the legal instruments dealing with education in minority (or indigenous) languages are limited to provisions such as Article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) which provides that “[i]n those states in which. . .linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture. . .or to use their own language” (silent on education but widely believed to at least protect private minority schools), and the International Labour Organisation's Convention (No. 169) Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries, in relation to indigenous and tribal peoples, which guarantees a right to education in indigenous languages, but only “where practicable” and an entitlement to measures to preserve and promote the development and practice of indigenous languages. Even more recently at the global level, the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child asserts in Article 29 that the education of the child shall be directed to the development of respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values. Here again, however, the wording clearly does not require any use of a minority language as a medium

of education, or even any suggestion that it should be taught: it only requires that states must direct education in a way that develops respect for his or her language, cultural identity and values.

Other documents at the global level often referred to as proving a more direct or general “right” to education in a minority language, such as the UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities and the draft UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, are unfortunately not legally binding instruments (see also Skutnabb-Kangas, *Human Rights and Language Policy in Education*, Volume 1). While they are indicative of a growing trend towards acceptance in international law of the principle that a right to be educated in one’s language should be guaranteed, the fact remains that there is not yet such a general, unambiguous and legally binding obligation. The limitations and vague wording of Article 27 of the ICCPR and Article 29 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the small number of ratifications of the Convention (No. 169) Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries, and subjecting the Article 5 right in the UNESCO Convention to a state’s policy all suggest that there is still, in strictly legal terms at the global level, some difficulty in getting the broad international consensus to make this a legally binding norm.

Developments within the Council of Europe in the last 20 years have been dramatically different and offer a much more solid basis for education in minority languages from a strictly legal point of view. Two legally binding treaties have given definite form and structure to this right: Article 14 of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and Article 8 of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages both indicate that “in appropriate circumstances” states must make available in schools the teaching of or in a minority language. Although both treaties have been criticised for the various ways states could circumvent the impact of their provisions (such as limiting the treaties’ application to national minorities or traditional languages, the possibility for states to “opt out” from some clauses or even only nominate certain specific minorities as being protected) and the weakness of both treaties’ enforcement mechanisms, it remains that in legal terms they are the clearest expression of a right to not only learn, but in some cases to also receive some part of their education in, their own language.

Some scholars have urged caution in relation to these “European” legal standards (de Varennes and Thornberry, 2005, pp. 426–428). The right as expressed in the two treaties of the Council of Europe is either restricted to undefined “national minorities” under the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, a category

seemingly different from the more inclusive concept of minorities contained in United Nations treaties, or to “regional or minority languages” as defined in the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. Furthermore, even in the case of either a national minority language or a regional language, education in this language is not automatic: it is limited to situations where it is “justified”, “reasonable”, or where the number of students in part of a territory is “substantial” or “sufficient”. It would seem that the extent of the right varies, and that tiny minorities would in practical terms not be entitled to such a right.

Thus, the exact degree of use of a minority language as medium of instruction required varies according to the particular context of each situation: the extent of demand for such instruction, the degree of use of medium of instruction, the state’s ability to respond to these demands and so on.

A national minority or speakers of a regional language would have, under these European treaties, at minimum, the right to be taught their language in schools where practical and justified, even if their numbers are not sufficient for the use of their language as medium of instruction.

The most detailed treaty in this area, the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, indicates, for example, that the numbers must be “sufficient” for this purpose. This could suggest that the mere presence of one or a handful of pupils in a district would not automatically give rise to a right to be taught a minority language in a public school. However, in light of the many international and European instruments which generally refer to a state’s obligation to protect and promote the language (and culture) of minorities, it would seem that what is “sufficient” should be interpreted in a generous and flexible way, and that the number of pupils required to be able to claim the right to be taught the minority language should be quite small if a State’s resources make it reasonably practical to accommodate them.

There are, beyond these legal developments, numerous political and other pronouncements which together create an impressive foundation acknowledging the validity of providing education in a minority language. Among the more prominent are of course the UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, the draft UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, the Organisation on Security and Cooperation in Europe’s Document of the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension, The Hague Recommendations regarding the Education Rights of National Minorities, as well as a very large number of resolutions from bodies such as the European Parliament.

While this corpus may appear as eloquent recognition of the right to education in one’s language, these are not, strictly speaking, legally binding instruments, and thus cannot alone form the basis for such a

right in international law. Confusingly, some writers in this area tend to refer to these documents as evidence of an “implicit” right, not distinguishing the provisions which create clear legal obligations from those which may later form the basis of an emerging standard for “what the law ought to be” (*lege ferenda*) (Thornberry, 1991, chapter VII).

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

The relative youth of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and other instruments means that there are still a large number of uncertainties as to the exact parameters for the exercise of these rights, and indeed some degree of inconsistency can be noted in the way the monitoring bodies under their supervisory mechanisms interpret the obligations from these two treaties (Weller, 2005, chapter 14).

Much of the earlier work on education in a minority language supposed that there was in international law, somewhere and almost mystically somehow, an implicit “right to identity” which could be used to buttress claims to education in a minority language (Smith, 2003, pp. 130–132), even though no treaty actually spelled this out. Most treaties, with the exception of the two more recent Council of Europe treaties, in fact appear to subject any use of a minority language as medium of instruction, outside of private schools, to the whims of state authorities’ educational policies rather than providing for such instruction as of right under specific conditions.

Interestingly, a perhaps more “traditionalist” stream adopted the completely opposite point of view, claiming on the contrary that there was absolutely no basis for a right to minority instruction, at least in public schools, either because such a right was not specifically spelt out in a treaty provision or the right to education itself (see the European Court of Human Rights comments in the Belgian Linguistics Case, available at <http://cmiskp.echr.coe.int/tkp197/search.asp?skin=HUDOC-EN>, where it stated that the right to education does not automatically or necessarily include the right to education in a particular language), or because once a state has determined an official language, no other language could be used officially in state institutions, including presumably state schools and education provided in these schools (some of the minority views of the UN Human Rights Committee in *Diergaardt v. Namibia*, available at <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/undocs/session69/view760.htm>).

The latter views must not be underestimated. Most lawyers, judges and legal scholars in the world were advised during their legal training, and probably still hold the opinion, that “[o]nce a State party has adopted any particular language or languages as official language or languages, it would be legitimate for the State party to prohibit the

use of any other language for official purposes . . .” (Diergaardt v. Namibia, dissident views, par. 5). In other words, there is no obligation for state authorities to use any minority language for any purpose whatsoever, including in public schools, if a State so decides.

A better understanding, somewhere in the middle, is now starting to take shape. In Europe, the presence of specific treaties that enshrine a right to be educated in a minority language, at least where there is a sufficient critical mass to make this practical, means that more and more work from a purely legal perspective is proceeding as to the implementation and a better understanding of these legal obligations (generally de Varennes, 2004; Martín Estébanez and Gál, 1999; Weller, 2005; Wilson, 2002).

At the global level, despite the lack of an international treaty clearly protecting an unambiguous right to education in a minority language, two new trends are appearing: first, the relatively rigid view that no international law is applicable in language matters once a state has chosen an official language is starting to make way for the recognition that rights such as non-discrimination may permit the use of other languages in addition to an official one. In other words, it may be unreasonable and unjustified in some circumstances—such as where a large number of people use a minority language—and therefore discriminatory not to provide for some use of this language by state authorities. This is, in effect, the reasoning which can be extrapolated in the majority position in *Diergaardt v. Namibia*, and a more considered reading of the *Belgian Linguistics Case*. It is only very recently starting to be taken up by jurists (de Varennes, 1996, chapter 4).

Additionally, and surprisingly, the right to education itself is being “revisited” by some courts in a way which directly contradicts the more traditional views. In *Cyprus v. Turkey* (Judgement of 10 May 2001, Grand Chamber, <http://cmiskp.echr.coe.int/tkp197/search.asp?skin=hudoc-en>) the linguistic policies of Northern Cyprus authorities in the area of public education were essentially described as so inadequate in view of the circumstances as to constitute a violation of Article 2, Protocol 1 which deals with the right to education.

The Court noted that children of Greek-Cypriot parents in northern Cyprus wishing to pursue a secondary education through the medium of the Greek language were obliged to transfer to schools in the south, though children could continue their education at a Turkish or English-language school in the north.

On the basis of the court’s previous reasoning in the *Belgian Linguistics Case*, most of the more traditionalist lawyers and experts on the right to education had assumed that this would be the end of the matter, since once a state has an official language, it can choose not to use any

other language for official purposes, including public education. The European Court, however, completely upset that logical edifice when it wrote the following:

277. The Court notes that children of Greek-Cypriot parents in northern Cyprus wishing to pursue a secondary education through the medium of the Greek language are obliged to transfer to schools in the south, this facility being unavailable in the "TRNC" ever since the decision of the Turkish-Cypriot authorities to abolish it. Admittedly, it is open to children, on reaching the age of 12, to continue their education at a Turkish or English-language school in the north. In the strict sense, accordingly, there is no denial of the right to education, which is the primary obligation devolving on a Contracting Party under the first sentence of Article 2 of Protocol No. 1 (see the *Kjeldsen, Busk Madsen and Pedersen v. Denmark* judgment of 7 December 1976, Series A No. 23, pp. 25–26, Section 52). Moreover, this provision does not specify the language in which education must be conducted in order that the right to education be respected (see the *Belgian linguistic judgement*, pp. 30–31).

278. However, in the Court's opinion, the option available to Greek-Cypriot parents to continue their children's education in the north is unrealistic in view of the fact that the children in question have already received their primary education in a Greek-Cypriot school there. The authorities must no doubt be aware that it is the wish of Greek-Cypriot parents that the schooling of their children be completed through the medium of the Greek language. Having assumed responsibility for the provision of Greek-language primary schooling, the failure of the "TRNC" authorities to make continuing provision for it at the secondary-school level must be considered in effect to be a denial of the substance of the right at issue. It cannot be maintained that the provision of secondary education in the south in keeping with the linguistic tradition of the enclaved Greek Cypriots suffices to fulfil the obligation laid down in Article 2 of Protocol No. 1, having regard to the impact of that option on family life . . . .

280. Having regard to the above considerations, the Court concludes that there has been a violation of Article 2 of Protocol No. 1 in respect of Greek Cypriots living in northern Cyprus in so far as no appropriate secondary-school facilities were available to them.

The logic used by the European Court is rather perplexing, to say the least. It admits on the one hand that Article 2 of Protocol No. 1 is devoid of a linguistic component, but then says there is a linguistic component for secondary education because authorities in Northern Cyprus provided Greek-language primary education, and therefore to stop offering it after primary school "negated" the right to education. Indeed, commentators have for the most part remained so unsure on

how to interpret the European Court of Human Rights' seemingly contradictory approaches that most have referred to it without trying to explain it any further (de Varennes, 2004).

Perhaps the European Court intended to say, in line with its previous reasoning in the *Belgian Linguistics Case*, that in light of the circumstances, the restrictions on public education in the Greek language in Northern Cyprus were unreasonable and unjustified because they were so blatantly inappropriate, and therefore discriminatory.

It is probably in this way that the judgement should be properly understood: otherwise, if the main reason—the absence of Greek language secondary education—was in breach of the right to education under Article 2 of Protocol No. 1, it would mean that the authorities of Northern Cyprus could avoid this human rights violation by simply abolishing all education in Greek provided in primary public schools: this is unlikely to be the direction and spirit of tolerance and inclusion the European Court had in mind.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Be that as it may, the above judgement of the European Court of Human Rights raises a new view of the right to education, since it rejects in effect the official language used by authorities in Northern Cyprus as the exclusive language of education at the secondary level, and imposes the use of another language for purposes of public education, contrary to legislation in place. The traditionalist view as expressed by the dissident views in *Diergaardt v. Namibia* thus finds itself also—albeit perhaps implicitly—rejected by the European Court of Human Rights.

Few legal experts have however fully considered, or even acknowledged, the potential ramifications of both of these results. One of the main problems still currently facing most jurists formed along the more traditional lines of international law is that it is not easy to accept that language rights exist, sometimes on the basis of the right to non-discrimination, and require the use of a minority language even if it is not permitted under a state's official language legislation (Stefanescu and Georgeault, 2005, p. 313). For most of them, any language right, including provision of a minority language in a public school, is a "special" or "positive" measure which can only exist if and when specific legislative "permission" is granted by state authorities.

At the other end of the spectrum, jurists who had assumed that the right to education in a minority language in international law naturally had to exist "somewhere" now have another provision which can solidify such claims. The problem here is that even if more reliance may be had on the right to education, in combination with non-discrimination

or the right to family life, it is not an unqualified right to education in a minority language. As shown by the Belgian Linguistics Case and the European Court of Human Rights rather hesitant and contradictory position in *Cyprus v. Turkey*, the exact extent or parameters of a linguistic component for such a right in international law are far from crystal clear, and probably require many more cases before there is a much greater degree of certitude in this area from a legal point of view.

One of the problems with this is that, in the absence of a specific international treaty provision setting out the conditions where a right to education in a minority language in public schools is guaranteed, those two more extreme positions among jurists will probably be battling out this matter internationally for many years to come. It also means that for minorities in most parts of the world, any recourse to the limited remedies and mechanisms available at the international level will likely be fraught with uncertainties and risks.

From a legal point of view at the European level, however, results are likely to be better, at least in states which have ratified one or both of the Council of Europe treaties that impact on the issue of language and education. There are undoubtedly difficulties in terms of the weakness of both implementation mechanisms for these treaties and inconsistencies of interpretation of the rights under the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities by the Committees charged with the supervision of these legal obligations. At least from a legal perspective, however, there is a formally recognised right to education in a minority language, where practical, which can be built upon.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

It was never intended in international law that the right to education include the right to education in one's own language (Lebel, 1974, pp. 231–232). While various UN and other documents would frequently laud the benefits of providing some degree of instruction in a minority language, these documents were either not treaties (UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities) and therefore not a source of international legal obligations, or they contained ambiguous provisions which in the end seemed to leave the matter of choice of language of education in public schools to the discretion and determination of state authorities (see also Skutnabb-Kangas, *Human Rights and Language Policy in Education*, Volume 1).

For legal traditionalists, this meant that while a state could be generous and provide for education in a minority language if state authorities

decided to take “special positive measures”, it was not a right which anyone could claim.

For jurists seeking to protect and promote minorities and their languages, there were attempts to construct arguments for an implicit, if somehow amorphous, right to identity, or culture, or some other bases in support of an international right to education in a minority language.

While the latter’s methods and arguments cannot be said to have won the day, it would seem that for the most part the direction of international law may be reaching the same ultimate goals in the future.

At the level of the Council of Europe, the legal obligation is now entrenched in two treaties: state authorities in countries having ratified these treaties must provide for education in a minority language where it is practical to do so, though acquisition of the official language must also always be assured. Future clarification of these legal norms is however still needed and likely to focus on the circumstances where it can be said to be practical, or not, for this right to be applied.

At the global level, the absence of a clear legal provision in any international treaty for states to unambiguously having the obligation to provide education in a minority language would seem initially to hamper any further recognition of such a right. There are nevertheless two distinct trends that may have considerable impact in the future: first, the more recent development at the global level of various instruments such as the UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities which, while not creating directly any legal obligations, still indicate an acceptance of the validity of an eventual right to education in a minority language. Second, the even more recent re-assessment by legal scholars and adjudicative and monitoring bodies such as the European Court of Human Rights and UN Human Rights Committee of the right to education and non-discrimination may breathe new life into existing legal standards. While not necessarily a view shared by most jurists trained to consider an official language policy in education and other areas of state involvement as exclusive, it would seem that our understanding of international human rights standards such as non-discrimination and education in the area of language is beginning to change. This therefore may be another new frontier that could be increasingly examined and clarified in the years to come, and may well have some potential for minorities and some kind of right to education in their language, where this is reasonable and practical.

*See Also:* Tove Skutnabb-Kangas: *Human Rights and Language Policy in Education (Volume 1)*; Teresa L. McCarty: *Language Education Planning and Policies by and for Indigenous Peoples (Volume 1)*;

*Robert Phillipson: Language Policy and Education in the European Union (Volume 1)*

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LANGUAGE EDUCATION PLANNING AND POLICIES  
BY AND FOR INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

INTRODUCTION

The world's 300 million Indigenous peoples reside in 70 countries and every continent on earth. Identified as Indigenous according to international convention because of their aboriginal occupation of lands before colonization or the establishment of state boundaries, and because they retain some or all of their traditional social, economic, cultural, and political institutions, Indigenous peoples have experienced a history of genocide, the armed invasion of their homelands, and concomitant economic, political, and social disenfranchisement (see the United Nations International Labour Organisation (ILO) Convention 169 Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples, [www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/62.htm](http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/62.htm)). Central to these assaults have been official and unofficial policies that simultaneously dispossessed Indigenous peoples of their languages and their lands. A primary tool for achieving both ends has been state-sponsored schooling.

Thus, Indigenous struggles for language rights have been waged in tandem with those for cultural survival and self-determination. In this chapter, I analyze these struggles and the research into them from a framework that views language planning and policy (LPP) not solely as official government action or texts, but as complex modes of human interaction, negotiation, and production, mediated by relations of power (see also May, *Language Education, Pluralism and Citizenship*, Volume 1; Tollefson, *Language Planning in Education*, Volume 1). This framework enables us to examine LPP as *de facto* and *de jure*—as covert and overt, bottom-up and top-down—and to illuminate cross-cutting themes of cultural conflict and negotiation, identity, language ideology and linguistic human rights (see also de Varennes, *International Law and Education in a Minority Language*, Volume 1; Skutnabb-Kangas, *Human Rights and Language Policy in Education*, Volume 1).

Indigenous peoples represent 4% of the world's population, but they speak 60% of the world's languages. The contexts in which Indigenous languages are spoken are as diverse as humankind itself, spanning language situations such as that of Quechua, spoken by 8–12 million people in 6 South American countries; to Aotearoa/New Zealand, where a single Indigenous language, Māori, shares co-official status

with English and New Zealand Sign Language; to diasporic speech communities such as the Garifuna Nation, dispersed across 3 Central American countries, the Caribbean and the USA; to the extraordinary linguistic diversity of Papua New Guinea, where some 760 distinct languages, most spoken by less than 1,000 people, coexist in an area the size of the US state of California. With some exceptions—Guaraní in Paraguay, for example—the viability of Indigenous languages is severely compromised by legacies of language repression and the modern forces of globalization (see Block, *Language Education and Globalization*, Volume 1). Even languages with large numbers of speakers are increasingly being displaced by dominating world languages. Thus, for Indigenous peoples, language revival, revitalization, maintenance and reversal of language shift are key LPP goals. As will be shown in the sections that follow, there are many positive examples of this from around the world.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Although published accounts of Indigenous language policies have focused on colonial and post-colonial developments, language policies have been operative in Indigenous communities since time immemorial. Kulick, for instance, notes that Papua New Guinea's remarkable linguistic diversity has its roots in widespread language attitudes that emphasized the boundary-marking dimensions of language, cultivating linguistic differences as a way of exaggerating communal identity (1992, p. 2). At the same time, many Papua New Guinean communities placed a high value on multilingualism, with the display of foreign speech varieties viewed as 'one important means of gaining prestige in traditional society' (Kulick, 1992, p. 3). In Native North America, multi-lingualism was always highly valued as a tool of trade and survival in one of the most culturally, linguistically and ecologically diverse regions of the world. And in pre-colonial Africa, according to Brock-Utne and Hopson (2005, p. 3), 'the different ethno-linguistic groups . . . did not have a language of instruction problem', as 'each group used its own language to educate its children'.

Eradicating these language practices has been a prominent goal of every colonial regime. '[Castilian] is a tool for conquest abroad', Antonio de Nebrija, author of the first modern grammar of a European language, told Queen Isabella of Spain in 1492; 'language has always been the consort of empire' (cited in Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p. 506). Nearly 400 years later, the same one-nation/one-language ideology (see May, *Language Education, Pluralism and Citizenship*, Volume 1) justified a fierce English-only policy in American Indian boarding schools: 'No unity of community . . . can be established among different peoples

unless they are brought to speak the same language, and thus to become imbued with like ideas of duty', Commissioner of Indian Affairs J.W.C. Atkins wrote in his 1887 report (cited in McCarty, 2004, p. 71).

Linguicidal policies (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p. 222) went hand-in-hand with physical genocide and territorial usurpation. When the British annexed Australia in 1770, 300,000–600,000 Aboriginal people—speakers of at least 250 languages—came under British rule. By the mid-1930s, only 60,000 Aboriginal people remained. Although there are now 300,000 Aboriginal people in Australia, all but 10% have been dispossessed of their heritage language; of the 90 languages still spoken, 70 are seriously threatened. Similarly, in Aotearoa/New Zealand, the Māori population at the time of European contact in 1769 was 100,000. Within a century, it had been decimated to 42,113, and by 1975, only 5% of Māori school children spoke Māori (May, 2004, 2005).

These human rights violations have only recently been confronted by states and international organizations (de Varennes, *International Law and Education in a Minority Language*, Volume 1; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, *Human Rights and Language Policy in Education*, Volume 1). In 1919, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) was created to defend the rights of ethnic minorities; this was the first international body to address Indigenous issues in a comprehensive manner. It was not until 1957, however, that the ILO adopted Convention No. 107, the first international instrument setting forth the rights of Indigenous peoples and the obligations of ratifying states. Thirty more years would pass before the United Nations established its Working Group on Indigenous Populations. In 1984, the Working Group began preparing the *Draft Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, calling for freedom from ethnocide and the 'right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures' (Article 14, cited in May and Aikman, 2003, p. 141). The *Draft Declaration* was conveyed to the UN in 1994. In July 2006—22 years after work on the *Draft Declaration* began—this policy was ratified by the UN Human Rights Commission, but it still awaits official UN approval.

In addition to the *Declaration*, perhaps the most hopeful international development has been a shift in discourse from populations to peoples, and the parallel creation, in 2000, of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (PFII). 'The most basic right is to be recognized as peoples', Ole Henrik Magga, first chairperson of the PFII writes; '[t]he principle of self-determination is based on the principle of peoplehood' (Magga, 1995, p. 1). Contemporary LPP activities in support of Indigenous languages and speakers all flow from these principles.

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The published literature on language policies by and for Indigenous peoples spans a continuum from actual policy documents, to historical-descriptive accounts, to ethnographic studies and recent work that engages the social justice dimensions of research and the perspectives of Indigenous scholars and practitioners. Heath's seminal (1972) treatise on language policy in Mexico was the first of its kind, providing a description of the cultural contexts for language planning from the time of the Aztec empire (see also Hamel, *Indigenous Language Policy and Education in Mexico*, Volume 1). Romaine (1991) employs a similar comprehensive, descriptive approach to the study of Australian languages (see especially Part I, on Aboriginal and Islander languages and Romaine's introduction). In a recent monograph series, Kaplan and Baldauf examine LPP by and for Indigenous peoples (among others) in polities less well represented in the literature (as one example, see Kaplan and Baldauf, 1999). In complementary counterpoint to these comprehensive treatments are ethnographic case studies such as Hornberger's (1988) research on Quechua bilingual education in southern Peru, King's (2001) research on Quichua language revitalization in two Ecuadorian communities and McCarty's (2002) longitudinal study of Navajo bilingual education and federal Indian policy at Rough Rock, Arizona.

Increasingly, Indigenous and non-Western scholars are leading the way in scholarship on Indigenous LPP. Notable examples include Coronel-Molina's contributions on Quechua (1999; see also, Hornberger and Coronel-Molina, 2004); Kamwangamalu's (2005) analysis of mother tongues and language planning in Africa; Rau's (2005) work on Māori literacy, assessment and corpus planning; López's (2006) study of Indigenous education in Latin America; Magga's (1994) examination of the Sámi Language Act; Mohanty's (2006) studies of language maintenance and education for Aboriginal children in India; Nicholas' (2005) study of Hopi language loss and revitalization and Warner's (1999a, 2001) analysis of the Hawaiian language revitalization movement.

In reviewing more than 30 years of literature on LPP by and for Indigenous peoples, we can see clearly the steady march of linguistic assimilation. The Navajo Reading Study at the University of New Mexico provides a case in point. From 1969 to 1979, Bernard Spolsky directed this study, surveying the language proficiencies of 6-year-old Navajo schoolchildren as a means of informing medium-of-instruction policies. 'Whereas in 1970 some 90 percent of the Navajo children . . . had no preschool experience of English', Spolsky (2002, p. 140) reflects, 'by 1990 the situation had virtually reversed, with six-year-old Navajo children . . . suspected to have little, if any knowledge of the language of their people'.

To the root causes of language shift outlined in this chapter's introduction, we can add the inexorable forces of globalization (see also Block, *Language Education and Globalization*, Volume 1). Writing about Quechua, Hornberger and Coronel-Molina describe the dilemma of many parents who 'believe that bilingual education would deny students access to social mobility' (2004, p. 14). In post-colonial Africa, Brock-Utne and Hopson (2005) outline the LPP challenge faced by Indigenous communities worldwide: How to resolve the tension between languages of wider communication as tools of empowerment and international access, and the desire to maintain local languages as central to Indigenous identities and cultural survival?

These issues dominate recent contributions to the field, as Indigenous peoples work to carve out and protect Indigenous-language-only domains. The task, as Hornberger and King (1996, pp. 299–319) point out, is not bringing the language 'back', but moving it forward into new domains. Hinton and Hale's (2001) *Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice* provides concrete descriptions of how this is being done through Native-language immersion programmes, the cultivation of Indigenous literacies, media and technology and teacher preparation. Similarly, the chapters in Fishman (2001) outline both the challenges and the possibilities in reversing language shift (RLS) for Ainu, Māori, Navajo, Otomí, Oka, and Australian Indigenous languages. Hornberger's (1996) *Indigenous Literacies in the Americas* contains lessons in grass roots or bottom-up language planning in the Americas; her 2007 volume asks (and provides varied answers to) the question, *Can Schools Save Indigenous Languages?*, on four continents. To these works can be added the PFII's 'Indigenous Children's Education and Indigenous Languages' (Magga, Nicolaisen, Trask, Skutnabb-Kangas and Dunbar, 2005), and a burgeoning corpus of themed journals: Henze and Davis (1999) address authenticity and identity in Indigenous LPP in the Pacific Rim; May (1999) analyzes community-based Indigenous language education by and for Māori, Native Americans, Sámi, Quechua and Australian Aboriginal peoples; May and Aikman (2003) explore possibilities and constraints in Indigenous language education in the USA, Amazon Basin, Norway, central India, Western Australia, Aotearoa/New Zealand and Nicaragua; McCarty and Zepeda (1998) and McCarty, Watahomigie, and Yamamoto (1999) examine Indigenous language use, change and RLS efforts in the Americas and King and Hornberger (2004) and May (2005) address Quechua and Māori, respectively. These LPP themes also have been explored in the series growing out of the annual international Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Conference (for a span of conference activity, see Cantoni, 1996; McCarty and Zepeda, 2006).

This brief overview suggests the diversity and extent of recent LPP research and on-the-ground LPP efforts by and for Indigenous peoples. Yet this listing only scratches the surface; a recent Web search on the topic reveals nearly 5 million sources. Although it is impossible to do justice to all of this activity, we can consider more deeply a few selective examples that illustrate concrete victories as well as the challenges that lie ahead.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

This section is organized around three commonly used rubrics for LPP: status planning, or decisions surrounding how and where the Indigenous language will be used, particularly with respect to education; acquisition planning, or activities related to who will use the language and for what purposes; and corpus planning, or the development of linguistic norms and forms (see also Tollefson, *Language Planning in Education*, Volume 1). For each rubric, I begin with a brief overview. I then focus on specific illustrations of each type of activity: the Native American Languages Act (NALA) (status planning), Māori and Hawaiian language immersion (acquisition planning) and Quechua/Quichua unification and literacy development (corpus planning).

##### *Status Planning: How and Where Will the Indigenous Language Be Used?*

At the individual level, status planning involves the minute-by-minute choices made by speakers every day. When a bilingual Navajo child hears a request in Navajo from a parent and responds in English, the child is simultaneously responding to wider policy discourses and negotiating the language policy of the home (McCarty, 2004, p. 72). At the societal level, status planning involves some type of official language and/or medium-of-instruction policy. Both types of decisions are implicated in efforts to revive, revitalize, and maintain Indigenous languages and to assert Indigenous linguistic human rights (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, *Human Rights and Language Policy in Education*, Volume 1).

Formal, societal-level policies exist for Indigenous languages around the world, although their effects on language use and vitality are not easy to gauge. Māori, for instance, has shared co-official status with English since 1987, although restoring natural intergenerational transmission remains a challenge. At the other end of the continuum is Guaraní, co-official (with Spanish) in Paraguay, and spoken by more citizens than Spanish. In post-apartheid South Africa, a National Language Planning Framework recognizes 11 official languages, including

Indigenous languages. Norway's Sámi Language Act grants Sámi co-equal status with Norwegian in core Sámi areas, and promises to 'safeguard and develop [Sámi] language, culture, and way of life' (Magga, 1994, p. 223). Tribal language policies in the USA make tribal languages official on reservations where such policies have been developed (Zepeda, 1990), but even in these settings, language revitalization and maintenance are ongoing concerns.

These language policies have resulted from long-term, bottom-up struggles to assert Indigenous language rights. NALA provides a case in point. First passed by the US Congress in 1990 and authorized for funding in 1992, NALA vows to 'preserve, protect, and promote the rights and freedom of Native Americans to use, practice, and develop Native American languages', including using Native American languages as media of instruction in school (Sec. 104[4], 104[5], cited in Cantoni, 1996, pp. 70–71; see also [www.nabe.org/documents/policy\\_legislation/NAlanguagesActs.pdf](http://www.nabe.org/documents/policy_legislation/NAlanguagesActs.pdf)). Reversing two centuries of US federal Indian policy, NALA grew out of early Indigenous bilingual education programmes and the grass roots networks that developed around them. In the wake of the US Civil Rights Movement, Native American bilingual education programmes proliferated. One offshoot was the American Indian Language Development Institute (AILDI), a summer programme to prepare Native teachers and bilingual/bicultural teaching materials. As Institute participants grew in number, programme leaders recognized the need for a national policy in support of local efforts. At the same time, the passage in Hawai'i of a bill granting co-official status (with English) to Hawaiian provided a model and the political muscle for a broader initiative. These interests united at the 1988 AILDI, where participants from Native nations throughout the USA drafted the resolution that would become NALA. Although funding for NALA has been meagre, it has supported some of the boldest language revitalization efforts to date, including Indigenous-language immersion, master-apprentice language-learning teams and a growing network of Indigenous language planners and advocates such as those represented by AILDI (see the discussion of AILDI in Hinton and Hale, 2001, pp. 371–383, and [www.u.arizona.edu/~aildi](http://www.u.arizona.edu/~aildi)).

*Acquisition Planning: Who Will Use the Language  
and for What Purposes?*

In any situation of language shift and revitalization, a key goal is producing a new generation of speakers. In Hornberger's (1996, p. 7) LPP framework, this is the cultivation dimension of acquisition planning. Hinton (in Hinton and Hale, 2001, pp. 1–18) describes three strategies for achieving this goal: (1) teaching the endangered language as a

subject—less than optimal but often the only option available; (2) bilingual education and (3) full heritage-language immersion (a strong form of bilingual education; see May, *Bilingual/Immersion Education: What the Research Tells Us*, Volume 5, for further discussion), in which all or most instruction is carried out in the Indigenous language. ‘There is no doubt that [Indigenous-language immersion] is the best way to jump-start . . . a new generation of fluent speakers for an endangered language’, Hinton writes (in Hinton and Hale, 2001, p. 8).

Two well-documented Indigenous-language immersion efforts are Māori and Hawaiian. In both cases, by the 1970s, use of the Indigenous language had declined to the point at which language users were primarily of the parent generation and older. In both cases, Indigenous-language immersion programmes were sparked by grass roots ethnic revival movements that led to recognition of the Indigenous language as co-official with English (see May’s [2004] and Spolsky’s [2003] discussion of this for Māori, and Warner’s [2001] and Wilson’s [1999, 2001] discussion for Hawaiian). Thus, by the time immersion pre-schools were established, formal policies were in place to support the cultivation of younger speakers.

Full-immersion Māori language nest pre-schools or *Te Kōhanga Reo* began in the spring of 1982. Later that year, Dr. Tamati Reedy, then director of the New Zealand Office of Māori Affairs, visited Hawai‘i, where a Hawaiian Renaissance was under way. Reedy encouraged the Office of Hawaiian Affairs to fund Indigenous-language pre-schools similar to the *Kōhanga Reo*. In 1984, the first Hawaiian immersion pre-schools (called *Aha Pūnana Leo* and also meaning language nest) were established (May, 1999, 2004; Warner, 1999a; Wilson, 1999; Wilson and Kamanā, 2001).

The Māori and Hawaiian immersion pre-schools recreate environments in which the Indigenous language and culture ‘are conveyed and developed in much the same way that they were in the home in earlier generations’ (Wilson and Kamanā, 2001, p. 151). The pre-schools are parent-driven and share the goal of developing a high level of proficiency in the Indigenous language (May, 2004, 2005; Warner, 2001; Wilson and Kamanā, 2001). Both pre-school initiatives have followed a similar trajectory, as parents successfully fought for Indigenous-language tracks in mainstream K-12 schools, and for full Indigenous-language immersion elementary and secondary schools.

The Māori and Hawaiian immersion efforts have been highly successful in at least four ways. First, they have dramatically increased the availability of bilingual/immersion education in mainstream schools. Second, they have produced significant numbers of new child speakers. Third, they have demonstrated significant academic gains (May, Hill, and Tiakiwai, 2004; Rau, 2005; Wilson and Kamanā, 2001). Finally,

these programmes stand as powerful exemplars of Indigenous self-determination and the exercise of Indigenous/minority language rights.

*Corpus Planning: What Forms and Norms Will the Language Take?*

Corpus planning includes standardization, unification, modernization and the development of practical writing systems, lexicons, grammars and literacy materials. These activities often are described as internal to the language, but they are far from completely so. As Wong points out, 'There is a constant struggle for the right to influence the language use norms of others, and in that struggle each entity . . . seeks to claim higher authority by promoting its version as superior' (1999, p. 96). The case of Quechua/Quichua illustrates these tensions and suggests that efforts to standardize may have counterproductive results.

Quechua (called Quichua in Ecuador) claims the largest number of speakers of any Indigenous language in the Americas. Despite its numbers and huge geographic spread, Quechua's future is by no means guaranteed. As Hornberger and Coronel-Molina (2004, pp. 9–67) note, in the Andean regions where Quechua is spoken (see also Godenzzi, *Language Policy and Education in the Andes, Volume 1*), Spanish continues to reign as the dominant, high-status and official language, while Indigenous languages are stigmatized and devalued.

In this context, recent corpus planning has confronted two competing goals. On the one hand is the perceived need for linguistic unification—the development of language forms and norms acceptable across diverse speech communities. On the other hand are concerns for authenticity and autonomy involving the valuing and promotion of local varieties and their users. (See Warner [1999a] and Wong [1999] for similar analyses of these conflicts for Hawaiian.)

Hornberger and King (1999) examine these tensions as reflected in the three-vowel versus five-vowel debate in Peru, and for the case of Quichua Unificado (Unified Quichua) in Ecuador (King, 2001). The crux of the three-vowel/five-vowel debate is the fact that Quechua has only three vowel phonemes, yet five vowel sounds are pronounced in speech. Further, five vowels have been used in written Quechua since Spanish colonial times. As Hornberger and King (1999) analyze the standoff between Peruvian linguists and bilingual education personnel (three-vowel advocates) and the Peruvian Academy of the Quechua Language (five-vowel proponents), two deeper issues surface: who has the right to make language planning decisions (the linguists and bilingual education practitioners are not fluent speakers of Quechua, whereas Academy members are) and what constitutes language purity (the five-vowel system reflects Spanish influence) (Hornberger and King, 1999, pp. 162–169).

In Ecuador, Quichua Unificado was created to encourage Quichua literacy and language revitalization (Hornberger and King, 1999, p. 171). The difficulty, as King (2001) illustrates for Saraguros in southern Ecuador, is that two varieties, Quichua Unificado and Quichua auténtico (authentic Quichua) have been pitted against each other. Educated, economically successful Saraguros tend to speak the Unified Quichua learned as a second language in school, whereas older, less-educated and more rural Saraguros speak the authentic variety as a first language in everyday affairs. Paradoxically, authentic Quichua is viewed by users of Unified Quichua as impure because it includes Spanish loan words.

These problems can paralyze language revitalization. A more fruitful strategy, Hornberger and King (1999) suggest, is a transformative, diglossic approach that brings each language variety into new domains for distinct and complementary purposes.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

We cannot leave this topic without noting that in many parts of the world, Indigenous LPP goals are overshadowed by ongoing genocide and ethnocide. Further, Indigenous struggles for land rights and economic justice continue to be waged in nation-states around the world, deflecting resources and attention from language issues. Where these human rights violations are not at issue, language repression continues as official government policy, even in allegedly democratic states. In Australia's Northern Territory, for instance, bilingual education programmes were terminated in 1998, putatively because of their 'poor standards of English literacy', although empirical evidence for this claim is questionable (Nicholls, 2005, p. 161). As Nicholls (2005) relates, following the phase-out of bilingual programmes, speakers of Yolngu Matha, one of the affected language groups, organized under the slogan of 'Don't Cut Off Our Tongues'. The same metaphor aptly describes the effects of increasingly ascendant English-only policies in the USA (see also May, *Language Education, Pluralism and Citizenship*, Volume 1; Ricento and Wright, *Language Policy and Education in the United States*, Volume 1). These policies flatly contradict NALA and threaten to end proven bilingual/heritage-language programmes for Indigenous and other language minorities (McCarty, 2004, pp. 85–87).

These struggles expose core issues of social justice that underlie LPP decisions and outcomes. Language is 'the "canary in the coal mine" with regard to the democratic atmosphere in general' Luykx (2004, p. 156) points out; 'rather than flog the canary back to life, we might turn our attention to the air quality in the mine'. Attending to that air quality reminds us that the real challenges in our work lie in dismantling the structures that impede parents from imparting mother tongues

to their children. In this sense, language planning and medium-of-instruction policies are one part of a larger democratizing project to assess and redress the inequities that disable intergenerational language transmission.

### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Warner (1999a, p. 89) reminds us that LPP by and for Indigenous peoples is not about saving a disembodied entity called language, but rather about bringing about ‘changes in society that would lead to true equality, authenticity in the empowerment of a people, . . . and social justice for all’. As we contemplate a second United Nations Decade of Indigenous Peoples, future directions in this work are both global and local in scale. At the international level, we should expect recent initiatives by the PFII—in particular, the drive to approve the *Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*—to bear fruit. This will go a long way towards realizing Corson’s (1997, p. 85) call, published in an earlier edition of this encyclopedia, for all nation-states to ‘designate their aboriginal languages as official’, and to undertake appropriate language planning and teaching activities.

Research in support of these recommendations would address the interface between the local and the global, bottom-up and top-down LPP processes. This involves “studying up”—critically analyzing the actions and responsibilities of dominant national and international agents in promoting linguistic and social justice—as well as examining the development and impacts of LPP processes at the local level. We should continue to probe the academic consequences of LPP decisions, exemplified by the investigation of May, Hill and Tiakiwai (2004) of good practices for Māori education. We also need a much fuller understanding of the language ideologies and practices of Indigenous youth caught up in the process of language shift, a topic currently under investigation in a large-scale study of American Indian language shift and retention (McCarty, Romero-Little, and Zepeda, 2006). The increasing contributions of Indigenous scholars and practitioners to this and related research are crucial.

Finally, it is essential that we widen our analytical lens to focus more fully on out-of-school LPP processes. Warner (1999b), for example, examines community outreach programmes to promote the intergenerational use of Hawaiian language and culture in sports and task-based activities in the home. Programmes and research such as this illustrate Magga’s point that ‘language use is the best language planning and development’ (United Nations Secretariat for the U.N. PFII, 2005, p. 10). Future research and policy activism should heed this advice, thereby assisting Indigenous communities in cultivating a wide variety

of domains in which their languages—and the social bonds they sustain—can grow and thrive.

**See Also:** *Tove Skutnabb-Kangas: Human Rights and Language Policy in Education (Volume 1)*; *Fernand de Varennes: International Law and Education in a Minority Language (Volume 1)*; *David Block: Language Education and Globalization (Volume 1)*; *Stephen May: Language Education, Pluralism and Citizenship (Volume 1)*; *James W. Tollefson: Language Planning in Education (Volume 1)*; *Juan Carlos Godenzzi: Language Policy and Education in the Andes (Volume 1)*; *Stephen May: Bilingual/Immersion Education: What the Research Tells Us (Volume 5)*; *Teresa L. McCarty: Bilingual Education by and for American Indians, Alaska Natives and Native Hawaiian (Volume 5)*.

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## NATIONAL SIGN LANGUAGES AND LANGUAGE POLICIES

### INTRODUCTION

On 27 June 1999, 4,000 people marched through London in support of British Sign Language (BSL), demanding its recognition as the language of the British Deaf community and asserting the right of Deaf children to be educated in a bilingual environment with BSL as the language of instruction (*Deaf History Journal*, 1999). While the British Deaf were marching, the Parliament of Thailand was in the process of formally recognizing Thai Sign Language as a fully fledged language, as the first language of Thai deaf people, and as the language through which Thai deaf people should be educated in a bilingual environment. By late March 2005, the British Deaf community were celebrating the fact that the government had recognized the existence of BSL<sup>1</sup> but were fervent about the need to continue agitating to have BSL legalized so that BSL users have the legal right to use it, “bringing years of language discrimination to an end,” indeed for BSL to be recognized as “the UK’s fourth indigenous language” (BDA News/Press Releases for 16 May 2005, <http://www.signcommunity.org.uk/news>). In June 2004, the New Zealand Sign Language Bill went before a Committee of the New Zealand Parliament. On 10 April 2006, Royal Assent was given to the Bill and NZSL became New Zealand’s third official language, along with English and Maori (see <http://www.odi.govt.nz>). On 6 July 2005, the Austrian Parliament voted for the recognition of Austrian Sign Language, giving the language constitutional recognition.

In countries around the world, in the policy-making bodies of the EU and the UN, and in the World Federation of the Deaf (WFD), Deaf people and their hearing supporters have been agitating, with particular intensity over the past decade, for the formal, legal, and constitutional recognition of sign languages as the natural and first languages of Deaf people. It is a struggle that has challenged the firmly socialized prejudices of individuals and governments alike against the so-called “disabled,” and has also eaten away at the very foundations of linguistics

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<sup>1</sup> BSL was recognized as an official British language by the UK government on 18 March 2003, but it does not have any legal protection.

and the philosophy of language. At its heart has been an ongoing confrontation with the shape and purpose of formal education.

Both the development of national sign languages and the development of formal government language policies associated with sign languages are relatively recent, products of the spread of nationalism and of national and international movements in the fields of human rights and education (cf. May, 2006, *Language Education, Pluralism and Citizenship*, Volume 1; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006, *Human Rights and Language Policy in Education*, Volume 1). Do national sign languages exist, or are they constructed? This is an issue we will deal in the following sections.

### *Sign Language Policies*

There have always been policies towards sign languages, policies which have overtly or covertly been influenced by wider attitudes towards language in general. These policies have often denied sign languages the status of languages and have in turn denied their users their full humanity. The impact of philosophers of language on these policies towards sign languages has often been profound, especially where speech has been assumed to be synonymous with language (see Wilbur, 1987).

Pre-Enlightenment policies towards sign languages were frequently linked to religious practice. Membership of a community was almost invariably membership of a religious community and that membership hinged on effective religious practice. Where speech was assumed to be central to this practice—for example, saying the creed or taking confession—and where signing was not regarded as the equivalent of speech, the Deaf were often denied full communal membership and thus denied their complete humanity. In the post-Enlightenment period, as detailed later, although the impact of religious groups on the use of sign language has remained important, the primary focus of these language policies has shifted to the sphere of education. Language policies in relation to education have both overtly and covertly impacted on the use of sign language not only in the education of the Deaf but in the wider community. Educational policies have operated at times to accept the use of sign languages and to accord them the status of languages, but have more often than not denigrated these languages either by banning their use altogether or by transforming them radically to serve as manually coded versions of the dominant spoken language (see also Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006, *Human Rights and Language Policy in Education*, Volume 1).

The key political issue in relation to policies on sign languages both in education and beyond, continues to be a battle, on the one hand, between signing and oralism (oralism referring to the position taken by those who believe that all deaf people should learn to speak,

lip-read, and “hear” [through the use of aids such as hearing aids or cochlear implants] in the dominant language to the exclusion of sign language), and on the other between the use of sign language and the use of manually coded versions of the dominant spoken language. It must be added, however, that there are still sign languages which are not affected by these educationally based policies, since one country may have many indigenous sign languages used by communities which have not come under the impact of national or even regional language policies (see, e.g., Branson and Miller, 2004; Branson, Miller, and Marsaja, 1999).

Sign languages, like all fully fledged languages, are natural languages that develop through their use for communication within communal contexts. Signing communities might be residential localized communities or dispersed networks of people, and, since sign languages are unwritten languages, the boundaries of their sign languages are defined by the boundaries of their communal activity. The degree to which sign language users within a nation-state use a common sign language will depend on the effectiveness of national networks within the Deaf community, on the impact of national sign language-based education, and on the impact on Deaf communities of formal research into, and the associated standardization and teaching of, a national sign language.

The promotion and indeed the development of national sign languages, as distinct from more localized community sign languages, is associated with four basic movements: the development of national associations of Deaf people; the drive for the achievement of linguistic rights as an aspect of human rights; the development of formal language policies; and the drive for national education systems with sign language as the medium of instruction. This nationalism is manifested in the drive for the publication of national sign language dictionaries. As the WFD report on the status of sign languages reveals, no country has a dictionary for more than one sign language. Of the 43 countries surveyed, only six did not have sign language dictionaries, but all the rest had only one, a national sign language dictionary. The dictionaries themselves embody not only the symbolic representation of a language and thus its recognition, a vital ingredient in the move to achieve the bilingual education of deaf people with a natural sign language as the language of instruction, but also the standardization of language, the move towards linguistic purity that is a feature of literate languages (see Branson and Miller, 2002; Edwards, 1985, p. 27ff; *Sign Language Studies*, 2003). Assumptions about the unitary nature of national spoken and written languages are transferred to the way that sign languages are in turn conceptualized. National sign languages are not only formally standardized and developed through the publication of dictionaries and sign language teaching manuals but are also assumed to exist. An understanding of the concept of a national sign language and of the social, cultural, and

linguistic dynamics involved in their development, therefore requires reference to literature on nationalism itself. Here the work of Benedict Anderson (1991) is particularly pertinent, with its focus on the forces that have created these “imagined communities.” As Anderson points out, the nation assumes the status of a community, encompassing and transforming traditional communities, claiming the loyalties and orientations that were formerly afforded the village, the lineage, the clan, the tribe, the neighbourhood (cf. May, 2006, *Language Education, Pluralism and Citizenship*, Volume 1). We examine the “problems and difficulties” of the drive for the recognition of “national” sign languages later.

### *Sign Languages and Educational Policies*

As indicated earlier, since the Enlightenment, it has been educational policy which has exerted the greatest influence on policies towards sign languages. The development of national sign languages and the history of language policies associated with those languages is therefore an integral part of the history of the education of deaf people in the West and more recently beyond the West in Asia, Africa, and the Americas, particularly under the influence of Western educators. It is also through an examination of the use of sign languages in deaf education that the impact of dominant hearing communities and their languages on the use of “signing” is revealed, initially in the late nineteenth century through the overt banning of sign language use in school, associated with the denial of the linguistic status of sign languages, as well as later, from the 1960s, through the development and promotion of manually coded versions of national spoken and written languages in formal education. Manually coded versions of national spoken and written languages—such as Signed English, Signed Swedish, Signed French, Signed Thai, and Signed Indonesian—have been, and still often are, promoted as national sign languages, particularly by hearing professionals associated with the education of the deaf, who believe that the acquisition of literacy in the national (spoken and written) language occurs most effectively through the use of manually coded versions of that national (spoken and written) language.

These signed versions of dominant languages are neither fully fledged languages of communication nor natural languages, but rather manual codes based on written forms of language, using “frozen signs”—a single unchanging sign for each word or morpheme—and thus making little use of the dynamic and creative features of sign languages. While some signs in natural sign languages are “frozen signs,” much of the lexicon is a productive lexicon—signs change and develop in response to the meaning being generated, using a range of conventions of transformation based on hand shapes, the use of space, orientation, the

face, and body. These dynamic aspects of sign language lexicons contrast starkly with manually coded versions of sound-based languages.

In those non-Western countries which have developed Western-style educational systems, educational policy has also been the forum in which national policies towards sign languages have been developed. In these cases, policies have often been strongly influenced by Western experts, especially Western teachers of the deaf, who have taken a direct role in the development of national policies towards sign languages, frequently in the development of manually coded versions of the national spoken language, for example, Signed Thai and Signed Indonesian, which are then assumed to be the national sign language.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Most early policies developed by default. While there is evidence of deaf people being taught through the medium of natural sign languages to read and write, first in Latin and later in the languages of everyday life, from well before the so-called Enlightenment, it is from the sixteenth century that educators emerge throughout Europe intent on teaching “the Deaf and Dumb” (privileged children of merchants and the nobility) not only to read and write but to speak. They paid little attention to existing sign languages but rather developed systems of finger spelling designed for the purposes of speech training. Finger spelling increasingly became associated with the manual representation of the dominant written language, rather than with the normal processes of borrowing between languages.

As the education of the Deaf moved beyond the very exclusive instruction of the nobility to the development of education for the poor deaf, the impact of national languages on the Deaf became more extreme. In the mid-eighteenth century, in 1755, the Abbé de l’Epée established a school for poor Deaf children in Paris (see Lane, 1988). While teaching the deaf children to speak was one of his educational aims, particularly in the beginning, he moved away from speech training as central to the education of the deaf towards the use of signing as a means for teaching the deaf pupils to read and write. But he did not use the two-handed alphabet in use among the Parisian Deaf communities and did not use existing sign languages with their distinctive syntax as the language of instruction. Rather he used the one-handed alphabet and developed a system of signed French. The die had been cast. While other educators in other times and places—Castberg in Denmark, Bébian in France later, and a string of British educators, for example, Charles Baker, Robert Kinniburgh, William Scott, and Drysdale (see Branson and Miller, 2002)—used natural sign languages to a greater

or lesser degree—often with a lot of finger spelling—and did not necessarily develop manually coded versions of the written language, hearing educators constantly tampered with the signing traditions of their pupils, subordinating and severely restricting their lexicon to the demands of spoken and written languages, some insisting on the possibility of signing and speaking at the same time. The widespread use of signing of various kinds throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries gave way on an almost universal scale from the late nineteenth century to the partial or complete banning of signing in schools and a dedication to oralism—teaching deaf people to speak and lip-read the dominant spoken language. In Milan in 1880, an international conference of teachers of the deaf consolidated processes that had been at work for some time by voting overwhelmingly to ban the use of sign language in the education of the deaf (see Branson and Miller, 2002; Lane, 1988). Signing continued to be used in schools for some time, not only in the USA but also in Britain and Australia, but what Milan did mark very clearly was a change in the overall conceptualization of the educational process as it applied to deaf people. The purpose of that education was changing. By removing signing and deaf teachers from the classroom and even the playground, teachers, therapists, and associated experts sought to normalize deaf people, to destroy their difference, and to destroy the cultural aspects of their deafness. As the twentieth century progressed, sign languages were banned by an increasing number of educational authorities. Their linguistic status was denied. The climb back to linguistic and educational rights for the Deaf was a hard one.

From the late 1960s, the use of signing, albeit often manually coded versions of the dominant spoken language, emerged again in opposition to oralism. Today, the drive throughout much, but by no means all, of the world, is for the use of natural sign languages in a bilingual educational system (see in particular Ahlgren and Hylénstam, 1994 and also see the review by Small and Mason, *American Sign Language (ASL) Bilingual Bicultural Education*, Volume 5). These bilingual policies are again linked to the transformation of national policies. Where bilingual deaf education is promoted, the wider national recognition of sign languages as viable communal languages tends to be found. In Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Thailand, Venezuela, and Uruguay, for example, bilingual education with sign languages as the primary mode of instruction are national policy, supported in most cases by state-run programs for the teaching of sign language to preschool children and their families. Comprehensive international data on national policies towards sign languages have yet to be collected and collated. A survey by Gloria Pullen and Lesley Jones (1990) of policies towards Deaf

people in 11 European countries clearly showed that government policies towards Deaf people and their languages were, with the exception of the one Scandinavian country in the survey, Denmark, governed by their perception of Deaf people as disabled rather than as a linguistic minority. Skutnabb-Kangas has provided more up-to-date information for Europe, especially in her discussions of “Arguments to Exclude Sign Languages from the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages” (see also Skutnabb-Kangas 2006, *Human Rights and Language Policy in Education*, Volume 1).

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS AND WORK IN PROGRESS

Most of the current research into, and commentary on, national sign languages and language policies is conducted under the auspices of international and national associations of the Deaf. Examples are discussed later. The best known work on the history of policies and practices relating to the use of sign language in the education of the Deaf in Western societies, with a particular focus on France and the USA, is Harlan Lane’s *When the Mind Hears* (Lane, 1988), complemented by the valuable collection of historical documents in Lane and Philip (1984) and by Lane’s treatment of the marginalization of the Deaf in the West in his *The Mask of Benevolence* (Lane, 1992). These works, however, misrepresent the history of the education of deaf people in Britain, characterizing it as “oralist” from the beginning of its history. In contrast to France and the USA, natural sign language was widely and effectively used in Britain, until the American educator Edward Miner Gallaudet and his Irish pupil, Francis Maginn succeeded in forcing natural sign languages from the schools in favour of the “combined method,” the simultaneous use of speech and signing (see Branson and Miller, 2002). Comprehensive linguistic research into sign languages is relatively recent, and is associated with a small but very active international community of scholars, with research results published through a few specialized journals and in books based on international conferences (for a critique of sign language linguistics, see Branson and Miller, 2000). Much current writing on the relationship between language policies and educational policies, as they relate to the Deaf, is found in proceedings of national and international conferences of teachers of the deaf. International Congresses on Education of the Deaf are held every 5 years and although they have moved far beyond the complete intolerance of sign languages evident at their congress in Milan in 1880, they still include very few Deaf people. A large proportion of the papers reprinted in their proceedings are still devoted to papers advocating either pure oralism in deaf education or the use of

manually coded versions of the national spoken and written language (e.g. see Taylor, 1988).

Linguistic research has played an important part in questioning the use of manually coded versions of spoken languages in Deaf education (see in particular Johnson, Liddle, and Erting, 1989), providing support to the demands of Deaf communities for the use of their natural sign languages. Examples of this process are well documented for Sweden in Bergman and Wallin (1990), particularly the interweaving of research and the Deaf community organizations in the development and promotion of Swedish Sign Language. Bilingual education for the deaf with a sign language as the prime medium of instruction is the focus for an increasing amount of research (see in particular Ahlgren and Hylenstam, 1994; Bouvet, 1990; Branson and Miller, 2002, p. 220ff.; Hansen, 1990; Heiling, 1995; Jokinen, 2000; Lewis, 1995; Mahshie, 1995; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). Specific discussion of the policies and practices relating to the use of sign languages in Canada, with reference also to the USA, is to be found in Corson and Lemay (1996). For a wide range of well informed papers dealing with the issue of the rights of minority language groups to education through their first language, see the articles in Phillipson (2000).

### *Sign Languages and Linguistic Rights*

The WFD “Fact Sheet” on sign language (<http://www.wfdeaf.org/documents.html>) lists 32 countries in which sign language is formally recognized, constitutionally or in legislation or policy. To this list should be added (at least) Thailand (1999), the UK (2003), and Austria (2005). Today, as throughout much of their history, Deaf communities themselves are the prime movers in the establishment of linguistic rights for the Deaf, particularly in education, and are, in the process, the driving force for the recognition not only of sign languages but of national sign languages (see Jokinen, 2000). These principles and orientations are succinctly stated in the policies of the WFD, specifically their current statement on the “Educational Rights of Deaf Children” ([http://www.wfdeaf.org/pdf/policy\\_child\\_ed.pdf](http://www.wfdeaf.org/pdf/policy_child_ed.pdf)).

The active pursuit of these linguistic human rights is to be seen not only in demands by associations of the Deaf for the formal recognition of sign languages but also in legal action, seeking compensation for the damage caused by the denial of access to education and other services through sign languages. Examples are to be seen in a number of Australian court cases brought on behalf of deaf children by Deaf Children Australia. Evidence of not only the national but international importance of these cases is seen in the following news item circulated in June 2005 by the European Union of the Deaf.

*Court Decision Landmark for Deaf Education in Australia*

The Federal Court of Australia has found that the Queensland government discriminated against a 12-year-old boy by not providing him with a sign language interpreter at school.

The boy who, according to Deaf Children Australia, has the academic skills of a 6-year-old was awarded \$64,000 in compensation for future economic losses as a result of his inadequate education. The implications of this finding could prove to be a landmark decision for Deaf education in Australia as it establishes firmly deaf children's right to an Auslan (Australian Sign Language) interpreter in school.

As James Gray, counsel for the boy's family, asserts any educational authority that does not provide deaf children with an interpreter could be found to be in breach of commonwealth human rights legislation. State governments are not liable to pay compensation in such a situation, he added (*Source*: SIGNMatters, June 2005 [http://www.eudnet.org/update/online/2005/jun05/worn\\_01.htm](http://www.eudnet.org/update/online/2005/jun05/worn_01.htm))<sup>2</sup>.

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

As indicated earlier, most of the dialogue dealing with the linguistic rights of Deaf people continues to be framed in terms of "national sign languages." From 24 January 2005 to 4 February 2005, the fifth session of an ad hoc committee of the United Nations, the Ad Hoc Committee on a Comprehensive and Integral International Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights and Dignity of Persons with Disabilities, met in New York (<http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/enable/rights/ahc5reporte.htm>). Among other documents, they had before them a response from the WFD to proposals about the use of sign languages that had been tabled and reported at earlier sessions of the Ad Hoc Committee.<sup>3</sup> The focus of the WFD response was on article 13 of the Ad Hoc Committee's Draft Report. The chapeau of draft article 13 reads:

States parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure that persons with disabilities can exercise their right to freedom of expression and opinion, including the freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas on an equal basis with others and through sign languages, and Braille, and augmentative alternative communication and all other

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<sup>2</sup> "SIGNMatters" is a newsletter of the British Deaf Association.

<sup>3</sup> See WFD web site (<http://www.wfdeaf.org/>) for their response and for other documents relating to sign languages.

accessible means, modes and formats of communication of their choice . . . (United Nations, 2005, p. 17).

The “means” of concern to WFD delegates was the means contained in subparagraph (h), which, following a submission by Uganda, had read “developing a national sign language.” The WFD listed a range of responses to this subparagraph, which requested the amendment of the phrase “developing a national sign language” to read “recognizing” or “promoting” a “national sign language,” with the WFD proposing the amending of the original to read “recognizing and promoting a national sign language.” In response to this proposal, the fifth session of the United Nation’s ad hoc committee reported that there was no general agreement on how to word subparagraph (h) and therefore that “Subparagraph(h), on which further discussions are required, reads: ‘(h) [Developing/recognizing/promoting] a national sign language.’” (United Nations, 2005, p. 19).

As indicated in our introduction, the majority of statements made about the need to recognize and use sign languages are framed in terms of “national” sign languages. The pressures for the *development* of national sign languages are well illustrated by the example of the *Dictionary of Southern African Signs for Communication with the Deaf* (Penn, 1992). The signs illustrated there come from at least 12 cultural regions, from 12 distinct communities with distinct natural sign languages, and yet, in one of the prefaces to the first volume, Timothy Reagan (2006) states,

A beginning has now been made to record the beauty and diversity of South African Sign Language . . . . Needed as well are studies of the syntax of South African Sign Language in its many forms, . . . . This is a formidable challenge, but it is one that the South African Deaf community is more than capable of meeting (Penn, 1992, p. xi).

The slip from the recognition of the diversity and multilingual nature of the South African Deaf, of the many Deaf communities in South Africa, into a unitary orientation towards “South African Sign Language” and “the South African Deaf community,” both in the singular, is symptomatic of the approach taken by most governments, linguists, and linguistic rights activists alike. Linguists in particular are involved in the standardization of sign languages towards “national” variants—British Sign Language, American Sign Language, South African Sign Language, and so on—each with a dictionary (see Branson and Miller, 2000, 2002; *Sign Language Studies*, 2003).

The drive for the recognition of sign languages as “national” sign languages thus poses a conundrum. The recognition of sign languages involves:

1. the assertion by national Deaf associations of the existence of national sign languages;
2. the drive for formal recognition of these languages as national sign languages; and
3. the demand for and the development of education through these respective languages for all Deaf people nationally.

But the assertion and recognition of national sign languages can lead to the failure to recognize the existence of minority sign languages in precisely the same way as the assertion and promotion of national spoken and written languages lead to the oppression and suppression of minority spoken and written languages. And yet the recognition of the sign languages of the majority is an enormous and vital, even revolutionary, step forward for Deaf communities throughout the world, a conundrum posed by nationalism itself.

In 2003, the European Year of People with Disabilities, the European Union of the Deaf (EUD), in making a statement on sign languages to accompany its mission statement, titled its statement “Sign Languages of (sic) the Right to Use an Indigenous Sign Language.” The statement began:

This is a core tenet of EUD’s working objectives and significant change has occurred over the past years. Successes include the European parliament’s resolutions on the recognition of sign languages in 1988 and again in 1998 and the European Commission sponsored Sign Languages Project (1996–1997) carried out by EUD. These actions have acted as a catalyst for member associations to work with their national governments in securing practical, and in several cases, constitutional or legal recognition of their respective national sign language (<http://www.eudeaf2003.org/en/chapter51.html>).

Although the statement focused on recognition of “national sign languages,” it went on to state that:

EUD continues to strive for full and legal recognition of Sign language/s by the European Union, the Council of Europe and all EU national governments as a minority language, just like they have recognised certain spoken languages as minority and regional languages. There is no ground for excluding sign languages, especially not on linguistic grounds, since research has long since shown that sign languages ARE languages. The major barrier to tear down is the attitude of governments and legal advisers who do not believe that sign languages are real languages and do not realize or understand the importance of sign languages for Deaf people (ibid.).

The EUD statement thus begins to do something that few other statements on sign language rights do, to move away from the assumption that “national sign languages” exist or are the important focus of linguistic rights, to refer to “indigenous sign languages” and to the recognition of “minority and regional languages.” This change is also reflected in the latest WFD statement on the “Educational Rights of Deaf Children” referred to earlier, which states:

To ensure that the educational rights of Deaf learners are fulfilled, WFD . . . :

- Reaffirms its position that all Deaf people, including Deaf children, have the right to full access to quality education through visual modes, including indigenous sign languages.

Reflecting this change, a recent statement by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe states (in part):

9. . . . the Assembly recommends that the Committee of Ministers devise a specific legal instrument on the rights of sign language users, and accordingly:

...

iii. consider drafting an additional protocol to the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages incorporating sign languages into the charter, among the non-territorial minority languages.

10. The Assembly also recommends that the Committee of Ministers encourage member states:

i. to give the sign languages used in their territory formal recognition; (<http://www.eudeaf2003.org/en/counsildocument1.html>).

The move away from referring simply to “national sign languages” is a vital one. It should be noted that one of the few countries without a “national” sign language is overtly multilingual Canada, where American Sign Language (ASL) and Langue des Signes Quebecoise (LSQ) are commonly used. On 11 February 2005, the Canadian Association of the Deaf called for the official recognition of Inuit Sign Language (see <http://www.cad.ca/index2.php?lid=e&cid=9&pid=0> and [http://www.nunatsiaq.com/archives/50204/news/nunavut/50204\\_10.html](http://www.nunatsiaq.com/archives/50204/news/nunavut/50204_10.html)).

## FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The current statements on the linguistic human rights of Deaf people by the WFD and the EUD, show that a solution to the conundrum posed by a focus on “national sign languages” demands the integration of research on sign languages with current research on minority language

rights (see Jokinen, 2000; Phillipson, 2000; Ricento, 2006<sup>4</sup>; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 1994; and see the reviews by Phillipson, *Language Policy and Education in the European Union, Volume 1*; Skutnabb-Kangas, *Human Rights and Language Policy in Education, Volume 1*). Multilingual solutions involving national and local sign languages as well as literacy in the dominant national spoken language must be considered. Moves of this kind are under way in some countries, especially where they are asserting the need for the use of local sign languages in education rather than the use of imported Western sign languages such as American Sign Language, as has frequently been the case (see, e.g. de Carpentier, 1995). Models of bilingual education which assume that a national sign language does or can exist need to be complemented with multilingual models which recognize that sign languages are both natural and face-to-face languages and that it is local languages that must be used. Whether or not national sign languages will emerge is dependent on the networks of effective communication that can also be developed. Towards this end, the sociolinguistics of sign languages is moving towards the study of localized rather than national sign languages, studied within their distinct social and cultural contexts (Branson and Miller, 2004; Branson, Miller, and Marsaja, 1999; Johnson, 1994).

**See Also:** *Tove Skutnabb-Kangas: Human Rights and Language Policy in Education (Volume 1)*; *Stephen May: Language Education, Pluralism and Citizenship (Volume 1)*; *Thomas Ricento and Wayne Wright: Language Policy and Education in the United States (Volume 1)*; *Anita Small and David Mason: American Sign Language (ASL) Bilingual Bicultural Education (Volume 5)*; *Rebecca Freeman Field: Identity, Community and Power in Bilingual Education (Volume 5)*; *Tove Skutnabb-Kangas: Language Rights and Bilingual Education (Volume 5)*; *Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Robert Phillipson: A Human Rights Perspective on Language Ecology (Volume 9)*

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<sup>4</sup> See in particular the chapters by May (2006) on the impact of nationalism on minority rights; by Skutnabb-Kangas (2006) on language policies and linguistic human rights; by Reagan (2006) on language planning and sign languages; and by Phillipson (2006) on language policy and linguistic imperialism.

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# **Section 3**

**Theory, Pedagogy and Practice**

## CRITICAL APPLIED LINGUISTICS AND LANGUAGE EDUCATION

### INTRODUCTION

Critical applied linguistics (CALx) is an emergent approach to language use and education that seeks to connect the local conditions of language to broader social formations, drawing connections between classrooms, conversations, textbooks, tests, or translations and issues of gender, class, sexuality, race, ethnicity, culture, identity, politics, ideology or discourse. In the following sections I provide an overview of this work as the intersection of different critically oriented domains, such as critical discourse analysis, critical literacy and critical pedagogy, before discussing various problems and difficulties faced by this work, including struggles over the meaning of the term *critical*, the need for work beyond only critique, and the question of its applicability to the majority (non-Western) world. Finally I discuss ways in which CALx opens up many new ways of thinking about applied linguistics, and thus presents to applied linguistics more broadly a fresh array of concerns about language, politics, identity, ethics and difference.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Although the term CALx itself is relatively recent (see Pennycook, 2001), and related areas such as critical discourse analysis (CDA) only emerged in the 1980s, critical approaches to applied linguistics nevertheless draw on a critical tradition around language and pedagogy that has earlier origins. As Luke (2002) argues, critical language analysis can be seen as dating back to the work of Vološinov (1895–?), and more recently Foucault (1926–1984). Critical literacy and pedagogy have been greatly influenced by the work of Paulo Freire (1921–1997), while postcolonial critics such as Frantz Fanon (1925–1961) have been influential for the development of an understanding of language, identity, race and colonialism. CALx in its contemporary forms can best be understood as the intersection of various domains of applied linguistic work that operate under an explicit critical label, including critical discourse analysis, critical literacy, critical pedagogy, or critical language testing (CLT); as well as work that may have a less explicitly defined banner (critical approaches to translation, for

example) or that defines its critical work more specifically, such as feminist or antiracist pedagogy. By and large, this work can be characterized as starting with the perspective that language is, as Joseph (2006) puts it, political from top to bottom. CALx therefore deals with applied linguistic concerns (broadly defined) from a perspective that is always mindful of the interrelationships among (adapting Janks, 2000) dominion (the contingent and contextual effects of power), disparity (inequitable access to material and cultural goods), difference (the construction of and engagement with diversity) and desire (the operations of ideology, agency and identity).

While some lament the development of CALx as being “dismissive totally of the attempt since the 1950s to develop a coherent applied linguistics” (Davies, 1999, p. 141.), others see it by contrast as a sign of disciplinary maturity: “the very existence of a transgressive critical applied linguistics which attacks the foundations and goals of applied linguistics is perhaps a sign that applied linguistics is a discipline which has come of age” (Elder, 2004, p. 430.). While CALx is concerned with far more immediate social and political concerns than disciplinary coherence, its development does seem to suggest that ALx may have outgrown its infancy. New journals now testify to the emergence of critical work around language and education: *The Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, for example, includes in its scope “critical studies of literacy policies,” “critical studies of school and community attitudes,” “critical studies about bias in schooling practices” (Contributor information). The newly (2004) established *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies* publishes research on “issues of language, power, and community within educational, political, and sociocultural contexts . . .” And the recent (2004), *Critical Discourse Studies* aims to “publish critical research that advances our understanding of how discourse figures in social processes, social structures and social change” (editorial page).

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS AND CURRENT WORK

CDA and critical literacy share a concern to understand texts and practices of reading and writing in relationship to questions of power, equity, diversity and change. Norman Fairclough, whose approach to CDA has received wide attention, explains that critical discourse analysis “aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (1) discursive practices, events and texts, and (2) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power” (1995, p. 132.). More recently, Fairclough, Graham,

Lemke, and Wodak (2004) locate their approach to critical discourse studies within a broader field of critical social research and the growing awareness that major social issues such as the effects of global capitalism, issues of gender and sexuality, differential relations of power between languages, the need for critical citizenship, discrimination in terms of age or race, changing identities in relation to new transnational structures and changes to new communication media, are “to some significant degree, problems of discourse” (p. 2). They go on to suggest a threefold distinction among ideological critique, which focuses on the “effects of discourse on social structures of power,” rhetorical critique, with its interest in “persuasion in individual texts or talk,” and strategic critique, which looks at how “discourse figures within the strategies pursued by groups of social agents to change societies in particular directions” (p. 5).

Although critical literacy “does not stand for a unitary approach, it marks out a coalition of educational interests committed to engaging with the possibilities that the technologies of writing and other modes of inscription offer for social change, cultural diversity, economic equity, and political enfranchisement” (Luke and Freebody, 1997, p. 1). In some ways, critical literacy may be seen as a form of applied CDA—critical discourse analysis for the classroom—though it also has wider coverage in its focus on literacy in social contexts and practices of writing. Morgan and Ramanathan (2005) describe the contemporary educational task of critical literacy as “cultivating a citizenry that is able to negotiate and critically engage with the numerous texts, modalities, and technologies coming at learners” (p. 152). CDA and critical literacy also come together in the critical analysis of textbooks, showing, for example, how images of gender and race are reproduced in educational contexts (see Dendrinos, 1992; Van Dijk, 1993). CDA and critical literacy can also be seen as two approaches to critical language awareness, the aim of which is to “empower learners by providing them with a critical analytical framework to help them reflect on their own language experiences and practices and on the language practices of others in the institutions of which they are a part and in the wider society within which they live” (Clark and Ivanić, 1997, p. 217).

A further form of critical text analysis that has received less attention is a critical approach to translation, in part because translation itself is a minority focus of applied linguistics. Translation, argues Cronin (2003), nonetheless plays a crucial role within globalization, since one of its primary functions is “to replenish the intertextual resources of a culture” (p. 133). While the responsibility of the translator is conventionally thought of in terms of giving a fair and accurate representation of a source text, this focus on “textual scrupulousness” overlooks the importance of “an activist dimension to translation which involves an engagement with the cultural politics of society at national

and international levels” (p. 134). This notion of activist translation links to Venuti’s (1998) *translingualism*, which aims to disrupt the assimilatory and domesticating tendencies that eradicate difference through translation. Indeed, Venuti’s (1997) approach to translation takes the position that to “shake the regime of English, a translator must be strategic both in selecting foreign texts and in developing discourses to translate them. Foreign texts can be chosen to redress patterns of unequal cultural exchange and to restore foreign literatures excluded by the standard dialect, by literary canons, or by ethnic stereotypes” (pp 10–11).

In addition, focusing on the global hegemony of English and the need to promote diversity, critical work in language policy and planning has opened up new perspectives on language and globalization (see also Block, *Language Education and Globalization*, Volume 1; Tollefson, *Language Planning in Education*, Volume 1). Work in language policy generally has been remarkable for its political quietism, only recently developing more critical theoretical frameworks (Ricento, 2006; Shohamy, 2005). Debates around the global spread of English and the destruction of the world’s linguistic diversity have been at the forefront of this more overt critical agenda. Central here has been Phillipson’s (1992) concept of (English) linguistic imperialism, an argument that English has been spread for the economic and political advantage of the core English-speaking nations. As Tollefson (2000) explains, Phillipson’s work differs markedly from mainstream sociolinguistic work focusing on the global spread of English since he “focuses on the unequal distribution of benefits from the spread of English.” Rather than viewing the spread of English in positive terms and focusing on descriptions of varieties of English, Phillipson’s work “places English squarely in the center of the fundamental sociopolitical processes of imperialism, neo-colonialism, and global economic restructuring” (p. 13). These concerns have then been allied with allegations of “linguistic genocide” and the need for “linguistic human rights” to protect the global diversity of languages (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; see also *Human Rights and Language Policy in Education*, Volume 1). While these arguments have raised considerable debate, especially in relation to the need to understand how the global position of English is resisted and appropriated (Canagarajah, 1999; Pennycook, 2001), or how language rights can be understood in a more complex relation to ethnicity (May, 2001), the focus on the politics of language and globalization has become a key concern within CALx.

Sociolinguistics more generally has also been taken to task for lacking a critical dimension, Mey (1985) calling for a “critical sociolinguistics” that can “establish a connection between people’s place in the societal hierarchy, and the linguistic and other kinds of oppression that they are subjected to at different levels” (p. 342). While sociolinguistics

ought to have the tools to take questions of language and power seriously, it has been hampered by liberal social theory and sociologically deficient conceptions of class, gender and race (Williams, 1992). Some of the ways in which a critical sociolinguistics can operate can be seen in critical analyses of workplace settings which aim not just to describe inequitable practices but also to change them. Wodak's (1996) study of hospital encounters, for example, looks not only at the ways in which "doctors exercise power over their patients" (p. 170) but also at ways of intervening in this relationship. Studies of the literacy practices of young men in prison (Wilson, 2003), or of the discriminatory effects when Australian Aboriginal witnesses are silenced by the standard linguistic procedures of the courtroom (Eades, 2000) similarly seek both critical understanding and social restitution.

Critical approaches to language education—sometimes under the rubric of critical pedagogy—can be viewed, like critical literacy, as both a critical research enterprise and a domain of practice. Significant research in the first category, which, as *critical approaches to analysing learner language* (Ellis and Barkhuizen, 2005), has now been acknowledged as adding an important dimension to the often impervious domain of second language acquisition, includes work such as Canagarajah's (1999) critical ethnographies of 'periphery' students' and teachers' forms of resistance to English and English teaching methods: "It is important to understand the extent to which classroom resistance may play a significant role in larger transformations in the social sphere" (1999, p. 196.). Important here has been Norton's work on the ways in which gender, power and identity are interlinked in the process of language learning (2000; see also Pavlenko and Piller, *Language Education and Gender*, Volume 1). Kumaravadivelu (1999) offers a framework for *critical classroom discourse analysis*, which draws on critical ethnography as a research tool, and "seeks to play a reflective role, enabling practitioners to reflect on and cope with sociocultural and sociopolitical structures that directly or indirectly shape the character and content of classroom discourse" (p. 473). A critical turn in second language teacher education has suggested that the notion of *praxis*—the integration of critical reflection and action—can help transform the teaching practicum from a reproduction of prior practice into the teaching *praxicum* as an incessant problematizing of pedagogical thought and practice (Pennycook, 2004).

A focus on awareness of the inequitable conditions of language learning has produced approaches such as Darder's (1991) *critical biculturalism* or Walsh's (1991) *critical bilingualism*: "the ability to not just speak two languages, but to be conscious of the sociocultural, political, and ideological contexts in which the languages (and therefore the speakers) are positioned and function, and the multiple

meanings that are fostered in each”(Walsh, 1991, p. 127.). Kubota’s (2004) *critical multiculturalism* “critically examines how inequality and injustice are produced and perpetuated in relation to power and privilege” (p. 37). Based on a “a critical understanding of culture” (p. 38), such an approach is also both a research tool and a pedagogical approach, involving students “in critical inquiry into how taken-for-granted knowledge, such as history, geography, and lives of other people, is produced, legitimated, and contested in power struggles” (p. 40; see also May, 1999). Turning to forms of critical pedagogy in the second language classroom, Norton and Toohey (2004) explain that “Advocates of critical approaches to second language teaching are interested in relationships between language learning and social change” (p. 1). Morgan (1998) and many others (see Norton and Toohey, 2004; Pennycook, 1999) focus on how critical pedagogy in the classroom may address issues of power and inequality both within and outside the educational context, and how potential for change and resistance may be developed. Dealing with the very specific domain of academic English, Benesch’s (2001) *critical English for academic purposes*, “assumes that current conditions should be interrogated in the interests of greater equity and democratic participation in and out of educational institutions” (p. 64).

In the related domain of language testing, Spolsky’s (1995) history of the development of the TOEFL exam is clear from the outset that “testing has been exploited also as a method of control and power – as a way to select, to motivate, to punish.” So-called objective tests, he points out, by virtue of their claims to scientific backing and impartiality, are “even more brutally effective in exercising this authority” (p. 1). These concerns have been pursued furthest by Shohamy (2001) in her notion of Critical Language Testing (CLT), which “implies the need to develop critical strategies to examine the uses and consequences of tests, to monitor their power, minimize their detrimental force, reveal the misuses, and empower the test takers” (p. 131). Shohamy’s proposal for CLT clearly matches many of the principles that define other areas of CALx: language testing cannot be separated from social, cultural and political concerns; we need greater awareness and an ethical understanding of the effects and uses of tests; and a critical practice seeks transformative action. Doing applied linguistics critically, then, requires an understanding of the relationships between applied linguistic domains and the workings of power (dominion, disparity, difference, desire) as well as an ethical vision and tools for change.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

CALx faces four main problems: a rearguard action from the gatekeepers of disciplinary ALx; a tension between a normative political stance and

the need for constant problematization; the need to move beyond critique to reconstitutive action; and the question of relevance to diverse contexts round the world. The emergence of these various critical projects has met with mixed responses. First, then, for some, CALx is little more than a critique of other orientations to applied linguistics; thus, Davies (1999) defines CALx as “a judgemental approach by some applied linguists to ‘normal’ applied linguistics on the grounds that it is not concerned with the transformation of society” (p. 145). As is clear from the previous discussion, however, CALx is far more than a mere critique of normative ALx. A more significant concern is that CALx’s overt political stance on issues of inequality, racism, sexism or homophobia unacceptably “prejudges outcomes” (Davies, 2005, p. 32.). As Widdowson (2001) argues, by taking an a priori critical stance (rather than maintaining a critical distance—to use a different sense of the critical), CALx may impose its own views on the objects of inquiry, taking inappropriate and thus hypocritical stances on the social world because of the impossibility of choosing between different ethical and political concerns. A CALx standpoint, by contrast, while mindful precisely of the ethical dilemmas it opens up, suggests that such views overlook their own *locus of enunciation* (Mignolo, 2000): It is mainstream ALx that is hypocritical if it seeks to maintain a belief in critical distance while ignoring the very real social, political and ethical concerns that inevitably come to bear on any applied linguistic context.

This debate—contrasting a political with an apolitical ALx—unfortunately obscures the more important concern that CALx research does indeed need to be wary of its own political normativity. There is a tendency, second, for CALx research to operate with a normative, static politics based on various forms of neo-Marxian analyses of inequality and emancipation, and an equally static applied linguistic epistemology. To move forward, CALx needs a more reflexive politics, a form of *problematizing practice* (Pennycook, 2001). CALx is not only about relating micro-relations of applied linguistics to macro-relations of social and political power; nor is it only concerned with relating such questions to a priori critical analysis of inequality. A problematizing practice, by contrast, suggests a need to develop both a critical political stance and a critical epistemological stance, so that both inform each other, leaving neither the political nor the applied linguistic as static. From this point of view, then, CALx maintains a consistent focus on issues of dominion, disparity, difference and desire while at the same time maintaining a constant scepticism towards cherished concepts of applied linguistics, from language and ethnicity to identity and discourse.

Third, CALx needs to ensure that on the one hand it goes beyond a language only of critique, and that on the other hand its proposed

interventions are not seen as purely partisan. As Luke (2004) warns, CDA needs to move beyond a mode of critique “towards a reconstructive agenda, one designed towards redress, reconciliation and the rebuilding of social structure, institutional lives and identities.” (p. 151). While CDA locates itself as a project of consciousness raising (critical language awareness) or critical literacy, it is only when this becomes a more active project of critical writing—and thus goes beyond literacy as ideology critique—that it becomes a project aimed at active engagement rather than awareness. Critical pedagogy and other domains of CALx are similarly divided between domains that critique pedagogy, multiculturalism or English for Academic Purposes (EAP), and action-oriented domains that seek processes of change and engagement. There is always a challenge, therefore, to move beyond critique towards transformative and reconstitutive action. While this concern may be what Davies (2005) has in mind when he asserts that CALx “refrains from proposing interventions and explanations” (p. 32), paradoxically CALx has also been taken to task for proposing too many explanations and partisan interventions. Here CALx needs to ensure that the quality and reflexivity of its research, politics, epistemology and agendas for reform are more responsible than those in normative applied linguistics.

Finally, CALx is only useful insofar as it is applicable in diverse parts of the world. While applied linguistics generally has been challenged for its relevance to different contexts of global language use, CALx is equally open to such a challenge, in terms of both its critical and its applied linguistic epistemology. The concern here is that since much of the work that comes under the rubric of CALx is based on minority (‘First’/‘Western’) world contexts and theories, CALx is simply not readily usable in the majority (‘Third’) world. As Makoni (2003) has argued, CALx does not have adequately contextualized strategies for engaging with local communities. Remaining aware of the diverse contexts in which it may hope to be applicable, CALx needs to be wary lest the very terms and concepts of any critical project at the same time inflict damage on the communities with which critical applied linguists wish to work (Makoni and Pennycook, 2007). The challenge here is to ensure that “the research agenda is formulated in collaboration and consultation with local communities” (Makoni, 2003, p. 135) in order not only to develop a relationship between this field of critical scholarship and local knowledge and practice but also to encourage the development of CALx as localized practice.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The emergence of a different, alternative, transgressive CALx has far wider implications than merely adding a political dimension to applied

linguistics. It has become both a gateway through which new theories and ways of thinking about applied linguistics are entering and changing the discipline, as well as a developing domain that speaks to contemporary work in the social sciences. A newly emergent CALx that is going beyond the normative politics and epistemologies of emancipatory modernist critical approaches is responsive not only to shifts in mainstream linguistic and applied linguistic theory, but also to the linguistic, performative and somatic turns elsewhere in the social sciences. It is only recently, as Canagarajah (2004) points out, that we have come to “understand identities as multiple, conflictual, negotiated and evolving. We have traveled far from the traditional assumption in language studies that identities are static, unitary, discrete, and given” (p. 117).

To this discursive understanding of the subject has been added a conception of identities as *performed* rather than *preformed*. Drawing on Butler’s (1990) insight that “gender proves to be performative – that is, constituting the identity it is purported to be” (p. 25), Cameron (1997) points out that whereas “sociolinguistics traditionally assumes that people talk the way they do because of who they (already) are,” a performative approach to identity “suggests that people are who they are because of (among other things) the way they talk” (p. 49). A performative view of language, sexuality and education, for example, goes beyond a framing of identity in terms of lesbian and gay identification and instead embraces the broader category of Queer (Nelson, 1999; see also Pavlenko and Piller, *Language Education and Gender*, Volume 1), which as Cameron and Kulick (2003) explain “interrogates heterosexuality by dismissing its claims to naturalness, and examining, instead, how it is vigorously demanded and actively produced in specific socio-cultural contexts and situated interactions” (p. 55). Once we take this performative turn in CALx, it becomes possible to explore the ways not only that identities are performed through language but also that languages are performed through acts of identity. Rather than assuming that languages preexist communicative activity, we can start to explore how languages are produced through communication (Makoni and Pennycook, 2007).

In response to a concern that these linguistic and performative turns may overemphasize discourse, text and semiotics at the expense of spatial, corporeal and institutional relations marked by conflictual relations of class, gender, sexuality, race and other forms of difference, a somatic turn (Shusterman, 2000) has reintroduced the body as a site of struggle. Language, as Bourdieu (1991, p. 86.) insists, “is a body technique, and specifically linguistic, especially phonetic, competence is a dimension of bodily hexis in which one’s whole relation to the social world, and one’s whole socially informed relation to the world, are expressed.”

This emergent form of CALx, both responsive to and influential towards the linguistic, performative and somatic turns in the social sciences, rests therefore on principles of performativity, contextuality, and transgression (Pennycook, 2007): a performative understanding of language that opens up an understanding of the contingent nature of identity; a contextual engagement with the competing demands of dominion, disparity, difference and desire; and a transgressive approach to the boundaries of mainstream thought and politics, maintaining a constant scepticism towards cherished concepts and modes of thought. CALx is therefore far more than the addition of a critical/political dimension to applied linguistics; rather it opens up a whole new array of questions and concerns about language, politics, identity, ethics and difference.

**See Also:** *Tove Skutnabb-Kangas: Human Rights and Language Policy in Education (Volume 1); Aneta Pavlenko and Ingrid Piller: Language Education and Gender (Volume 1); David Block: Language Education and Globalization (Volume 1); Mary Kalantzis and Bill Cope: Language Education and Multiliteracies (Volume 1); Ben Rampton, et al.: Language, Class and Education (Volume 1); Teresa L. McCarty: Language Education Planning and Policies by and for Indigenous Peoples (Volume 1); Hilary Janks: Teaching Language and Power (Volume 1); Bill Johnston and Cary Buzzelli: The Moral Dimensions of Language Education (Volume 1); Suresh Canagarajah: The Politics of English Language Teaching (Volume 1); Peter Freebody: Critical Literacy Education: On Living with "Innocent Language" (Volume 2); Arlette Ingram Willis: Critical Race Theory (Volume 2); Gemma Moss: Gender and Literacy (Volume 2); Harvey J. Graff and John Duffy: Literacy Myths (Volume 2); Kwesi Kwaa Prah: Language, Literacy and Knowledge Production in Africa (Volume 2); Rebecca Rogers: Critical Discourse Analysis in Education (Volume 3); Harriet Bjerrum Nielsen and Bronwyn Davies: Discourse and the Construction of Gendered Identities in Education (Volume 3); Monica Heller: Language Choice and Symbolic Domination (Volume 3); Rani Rubdy: Language Planning Ideologies, Communication Practices and their Consequences (Volume 3); Judith Baxter: Post-structuralist Analysis of Classroom Discourse (Volume 3); Oleg Tarnopolsky: Nonnative Speaking Teachers of English as a Foreign Language (Volume 4); Rebecca Freeman Field: Identity, Community and Power in Bilingual Education (Volume 5); Tove Skutnabb-Kangas: Language Rights and Bilingual Education (Volume 5); Hilary Janks and Terry Locke: Discourse Awareness in Education: A Critical Perspective (Volume 6); Bonny Norton: Identity, Language Learning, and Critical Pedagogies (Volume 6); Kate Menken: High-Stakes Tests as de facto Language Education Policies (Volume 7); Tim McNamara:*

*The Socio-political and Power Dimensions of Tests (Volume 7); Daryl Gordon: Gendered Second Language Socialization (Volume 8); Matthew C. Bronson and Karen Watson-Gegeo: The Critical Moment: Language Socialization and the (Re)visioning of First and Second Language Learning (Volume 8); Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Robert Phillipson: A Human Rights Perspective on Language Ecology (Volume 9); Robert Kaplan and Richard Baldauf Jr.: An Ecological Perspective on Language Planning (Volume 9); Adrian Blackledge: Language Ecology and Language Ideology (Volume 9); Kelleen Toohey: Ethnography and Language Education (Volume 10); Bernard Spolsky: Investigating Language Education Policy (Volume 10)*

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## TEACHING LANGUAGE AND POWER

### INTRODUCTION

The teaching of language and power is now a recognised approach to language education in primary and secondary schools, and in some countries, such as Australia and South Africa, is included in state curricula. Critical literacy is an umbrella term for language pedagogies that grew out of the discipline of linguistics (including critical linguistics, critical language awareness (CLA), genre theory, critical discourse analysis) and out of work in the field of adult literacy. This use of the word ‘critical’ signals a view of language as central to the workings of ideology—as a key means of mobilising meaning to sustain or contest relations of domination in society (see also Pennycook, *Critical Applied Linguistics and Language Education*, Volume 1). Critical literacy education seeks to enable students to ask and answer the questions—whose interests are served by the way in which language is used? Who benefits? Who is disadvantaged?—so that out of this understanding, possibilities for change can emerge. It is underpinned by a strong equity and social justice agenda.

The teaching of language and power depends on understanding that language is not a neutral tool for communication but is everywhere implicated in the ways in which we read and write the world, the ways in which knowledge is produced and legitimated, and the ways in which a human subject is constructed as a complex set of identities based on, amongst other things, race, class, gender, ability, age, nationality, sexual orientation.

Research on diversity, difference and othering, often from a feminist, post-colonial or gay and lesbian perspective, has included careful work on language and its power to construct and delimit the ways in which we think the other and ourselves. Although this work has played a formative role in the development of critical literacy, it is not the focus of this review (see Pavlenko and Piller, *Language Education and Gender*, Volume 1). Here the focus is on critical approaches to language and literacy education.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

When Dell Hymes argued in 1974 that in addition to acquiring linguistic competence children also had to acquire communicative competence,

he brought about a fundamental change in language education. He established that language use is a fundamentally social activity and that communicative competence requires an ability to use language appropriately. Such competence includes knowing which language variety and register of a language is most suited to a social occasion; for multilingual children it requires knowing which language to use when, and the complicated social understanding necessary for codeswitching. His work made space for the social in language education.

At the same time, William Labov was doing important work on language varieties. His work demonstrated conclusively that the so-called non-standard varieties of English are fully systematic, rule-governed languages as capable of abstract logical reasoning as so-called standard varieties (Labov, 1972). What sets these varieties apart is their social status, not any inherent linguistic superiority or inferiority. Basil Bernstein's work, although widely misinterpreted at the time, drew attention to the cultural capital that was necessary for success in schools. Part of that cultural capital included having access to both the linguistic and communicative competences valued uncritically by the school.

The communicative approach was the pedagogic realisation of these theories in second language education. Here the emphasis was placed on effective communication and, for the first time, fluency and appropriateness were seen to be as important as accuracy, which had dominated earlier structural approaches to language teaching. Clark, Fairclough, Ivanić and Martin-Jones (1987) in a paper that gave birth to CLA provided the first challenge to approaches to language education that did not question existing social structures (see also Pennycook, *Critical Applied Linguistics and Language Education*, Volume 1). 'Appropriateness', the concept at the heart of the social in language education, came under their critical knife because what is appropriate is decided by social norms, which in contexts of power (institutions, prestigious job interviews, media) are inevitably the naturalised cultural practices of social élites. CLA developed by Norman Fairclough's research group at Lancaster University was one of the early forms of critical literacy in the UK. It was related to the pioneering work on critical linguistics, developed by Roger Fowler, Gunther Kress, Bob Hodge and Tony Trew (1979).

These developments would not have been possible without systemic functional linguistics (SFL), developed by Halliday (1985). SFL established the foundation for understanding language as a 'social semiotic' and for mapping the relationship between language, text and context. This grammar, which is 'a theory of meaning as choice' (Halliday, 1985, p. xiv), has provided the tools for critical discourse analysis, genre theory and multimodal analysis (see also Kalantzis and Cope, *Language Education and Multiliteracies*, Volume 1). It creates the opportunity to include the power-meaning potential when teaching linguistic structures.

So, for example, students learning grammar can simultaneously learn about the relationship between modality and authority, or about the connection between ‘us’ and ‘them’ pronouns and othering discourses, and they can learn to recognise who is a ‘doer’ and who is a ‘done-to’ when they are taught transitivity and voice. This critical approach to linguistic structures has also been effectively applied to the teaching of critical writing.

In the field of literacy, it was Paulo Freire’s work that inspired the idea of critical literacy. His work in Brazil shows how in the process of learning to read both the word and the world critically, adult literacy learners regain their sense of themselves as agents who can act to transform the social situations in which they find themselves. Freire continues to be the main influence on critical literacy in North America, as can be seen in the work of Roger Simon, Carol Edelsky, Vivian Vasquez and Brian Morgan, for example. It was the work of linguists, such as Courtney Cazden, James Gee, Lisa Delpit, Nancy Hornberger, David Corson and Bonny Norton, on discourse analysis, language and diversity and language and identity that forged links between North American versions of critical literacy and developments elsewhere. Freire’s work was extended by ethnographic research on literacy, which generated the New Literacy Studies (Gee, 1990; Street, 1984). Some of the classroom work it gave rise to focuses on situated literacy practices in contexts of power (e.g. Pahl and Rowsell, 2005; Stein, 2004). Under the editorship of Luke and Elkins, *The Journal for Adolescent and Adult Literacy* (1997 to 2002) made the range of critical approaches more available to teachers in North America.

Australia has been at the forefront of developing theorised classroom practice in the area of critical literacy. The theoretical contributions of Allan and Carmen Luke, Carolyn Baker and Peter Freebody, Bronwyn Mellor and Annette Patterson, Pam Gilbert, Bill Green, Barbara Comber, Barbara Kamler and the New Zealander Colin Lankshear laid the foundations for classroom practice. For example, Barbara Comber and her colleagues at the University of South Australia have for more than a decade theorised, supported and showcased the work of classroom teachers who have made a difference to the lives of marginal students. Their work offers some of the most nuanced descriptions of critical practice in the area of language and literacy education. Luke and his colleagues incorporated critical literacy into Queensland’s *New Basics* curriculum. Patterson and Mellor, in Western Australia led the early development of classroom materials.

More recently, the changing communication landscape prompted theorists to re-think literacy in a digital age. Kress and van Leeuwen’s (2001) work has focused attention on multimodal forms of communication which increasingly use forms of semeiosis (image, gesture, sound) other than language. Under the leadership of Cope and Kalantzis

(2000; see also Kalantzis and Cope, *Language Education and Multiliteracies*, Volume 1), the multiliteracies project has worked with the literacies needed for changes in both semeiosis and technology (computers, Internet, digital recorders). Education now has a responsibility to deliver access to print, screen, information and computer literacies, both productive and receptive, across the inequalities created by the digital divide.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE TEACHING OF LANGUAGE AND POWER IN SCHOOLS

The purpose of this review is to consider the practical issues relating to the teaching of language, literacy and power. The major contributions to our understanding of practice are (i) accounts of critical literacy teaching in classroom-based research and (ii) classroom materials.

*CLA* edited by Fairclough (1992), was the first edited collection of CLA as practice and it raises and begins to answer some of the key questions on the teaching of language and power. How are students to be given access to the discourses of power in their educational institutions so that these are not simply reproduced unproblematically? How much language competence do students need before CLA can be taught in second or foreign language classes? What constitutes critical practice in relation to the place of students' own minority languages? What positions on students' access to the standardised variety are compatible with CLA? How does CLA impact on student subjectivities? Is awareness enough? When does CLA become emancipatory?

In these first accounts of CLA practice (Fairclough, 1992) there is little sense of disruption. Clark recognises that decisions 'to conform or not to conform' (p. 117) involve real risks, and Janks and Ivanič close the collection in the final paragraph with a reminder that 'people endanger themselves when they take on the prevailing power structures' (p. 330). But, the accounts themselves are seamless and there is no sense that CLA might impinge on students' and teachers' identity investments and rock the classroom boat.

However, other classroom-based research points to the disruptive potential of a critical pedagogy which disturbs students taken-for-granted discourses and threatens their sense of self. Ellsworth's (1989) critique of critical pedagogy, in which she raises important questions about critical pedagogy's claims to empower students, remains the seminal text. Several examples from South Africa offer accounts of conflict resulting from the teaching of language and power, particularly in heterogeneous classes. Watson's research on the production of a critical literacy comic (Watson, 1994) with students in a rural school highlights the difficulties that teachers confront when they invite

students to generate materials out of their own ideologically constructed commonsense and the responsibilities and dilemmas a teacher faces in moving towards reconstructing students' belief systems. She shows that teaching can only be transformative in situations which allow different voices to enter and be heard, so that students come to understand the interested nature of all reading positions, including their own.

Readings and reading positions form the focus of secondary school critical literacy materials produced in Australia. The Chalkface Press workbooks introduce students to post-structuralist theory for textual deconstruction, focusing on literary texts, and they use innovative activities that teach an understanding of reading positions—how they are produced, regulated and challenged. The US edition of these workbooks by the National Council for Teachers of English in 2002 has further increased their influence. Two workbooks, *From the Margins* (Martino, 1997) and *Changing Places* (Kenworthy and Kenworthy, 1997), develop students' ability to read aboriginality, colonialism and gender from a post-colonial perspective. In the USA, the Rethinking Schools publications are specifically designed to teach students about equity and social justice. *Reading Writing and Rising Up* (Christenson, 2000) focuses specifically on the power of the written word. All these secondary school classroom materials establish a range of methods for developing students' understanding that discourse is implicated in the production of power and that texts are both constructed and interested. At their best, they require students to consider social effects and possible interventions. They focus on critical reading.

The work of Clark and Ivanič (1997), Ivanič (1998), Lillis (2001) and Kamler (2001) stands out for its focus on critical writing and the relationship between writing and subjectivity. Work still needs to be done to develop classroom-based approaches to critical writing.

Australia also pioneered critical literacy work in primary schools. Here the work of Peter Freebody, Allan Luke and Pam Gilbert has been important for its exploration of literacy practices in primary schools and the way these practices are inscribed on students' bodies to produce docile reading subjects. In addition, both Luke and Gilbert have drawn attention to the ideologies which inform the books children are given to read in primary schools. Luke studied early readers and Gilbert concentrated on gender bias. In South Australia, Barbara Comber and Jennifer O'Brien introduced the critical reading of everyday texts—cereal boxes, toy catalogues, mothers' day catalogues—into the early years of primary school. 'Critical literacies in the primary school' (Knobel and Healy, 1998) provides examples of critical literacy research in primary classrooms as does *Why wait? A way into teaching critical literacies in the early years* (Education Queensland, 2000). Vivian Vasquez' award-winning book *Negotiating Critical Literacies*

with *Young Children* (2004) based on her lived critical literacy curriculum with a Grade 1/2 class in Canada, shows conclusively that there is no need to wait. Very young children are more than capable of problematising their world and of taking social action to transform the inequities that they discover.

Vasquez' book echoes intertextually with the edited collection *Negotiating Critical Literacies in Classrooms*, edited by Comber and Simpson (2001). Designed to include examples of theorised classroom practice from both the political north and the political south, this collection shows the different conditions of possibility for critical literacy at different historical moments in different contexts. For example, it was easy to defend critical literacy as a transformative political project in South Africa during apartheid. However, in the USA, where neo-conservatism and fear have produced 'homeland security' measures, language and power is not widely taught in schools. Instead, retrogressive literacy policies, which treat reading and writing as a set of skills rather than as social practices, continue to privilege middle class children in the US despite the 'no child left behind' rhetoric of the Bush administration.

Once Halliday moved to Australia, the University of Sydney became the centre for SFL. Using SFL, the genre theorists described the generic and linguistic features of six dominant factual genres—reports, recounts, procedures, explanations, expositions and discussions—to be able to teach them to students. Genre pedagogy was specifically designed to give marginalised students in Australia access to dominant forms of language and the Disadvantaged Schools Project developed both classroom materials and an explicit pedagogy. This strong position on access to dominant literacy is supported by Lisa Delpit who works with African American students in the USA. Primary English Teachers' Association (PETA) publications have made both Hallidayan grammar and genre theory widely accessible to teachers.

The genre theorists came into conflict with other critical literacy theorists in Australia. While genre theorists want to enable students to access and use the dominant genres, critical literacy theorists want students to deconstruct and reconstruct them. Serious attention to genre is not antithetical to the aims of critical literacy, provided that genres are not reified and taught as static conventions reduced, in some of the more rigid genre positions, to formulae operating according to fixed rules. What students need is an understanding of the historical and social determinants of these forms and an ability to adapt these forms as the conditions change, and to change these conditions.

How this translates into practice is not yet resolved. How *do* teachers work with the contradiction at the heart of educational access? If you provide extensive access to the dominant forms in a society

(e.g. genres/knowledge/languages/varieties) you contribute to maintaining their dominance. If you deny students access, you perpetuate their marginalisation in a society that continues to recognise mastery of these genres as marks of distinction. A critical approach has to find a way of working inside this contradiction. Whole school ethnographic accounts by Stephen May (1994), Mary Kalantzis and associates (1991) and Rebecca Freeman (1998) have done so.

Wallace's (2003) work in the UK focuses on critical reading in second language education and shows how one can use marginality as a resource for criticality. Readers from the margins are frequently not the 'ideal readers' for whom texts are designed and they can learn to use their outsider insights as a resource for critical deconstruction. They can learn to harness their alternative world views as a means for resisting texts. Brian Morgan's (1998) account of his critical practice in his adult ESL classes demonstrates with Freirean panache how critical literacy enabled his immigrant students to read practices in their adopted society with a greater sense of agency. Norton's (2000) research, also with Canadian immigrants, had helped us to understand the relationship between language, identity and power in ESL. While this work is all with adults, it does provide direction for school-based critical ESL. Since 1994, Pennycook's work has provided a theoretical base for considering the politics of second and foreign language teaching. Although his work has focused on English, a powerful global language, it provides a way of thinking about language education in relation to the political economy of languages more broadly. In a challenge to the dominant applied linguistics paradigm in second language teaching and research, (Pennycook 2001; *Critical Applied Linguistics and Language Education Volume 1*) proposes a 'critical applied linguistics'.

Because of the current global power of English, bilingual and marginalised students tend to find critical literacy extremely engaging. Yet many ESL teachers delay engaging with issues of power in texts, arguing that the ability to decode is a prerequisite for deconstruction. Clearly, an understanding of textual positioning does require an understanding of the subtlety and nuances of words, but there are texts of different degrees of linguistic complexity and any text that is suitable for the level of learners to read is suitable for critical analysis at that level. The principles of critical literacy do not change.

The *CLA Series* (Janks, 1993) situates itself expressly across the first language/second language divide and is deliberately written in English that is accessible to students who speak African languages. This series is still the only set of classroom materials specifically designed to translate CLA into classroom practice. The apartheid context in which they were written gives a political edge to these workbooks, which make it clear

that language is both a site and a stake in struggles for a more humane world.

The contributions to critical literacy referred to here have been limited to language education, but critical literacy has been applied across the school curriculum to the analysis of school history textbooks in Austria, to the exploration of the construction of gendered discourses in school geography, and to citizenship education. The Rethinking Schools project has produced resources for teaching geography, history, mathematics and social studies critically. One workbook focuses specifically on rethinking globalization.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS: PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

A central problem in early accounts of critical literacy was the assumption that critical 'awareness' leads to 'emancipation'. While many students report an ability to interrogate texts, to resist being constructed by othering discourses, to recognise and to refuse interpellation, this is too easy. Given that human subjects are multiply affiliated identities, we have no clear idea of what discursive emancipation might look like. A student who learns a feminist discourse at school might be severely punished for it in a traditional patriarchal home, particularly where sexist practices in the home are further underpinned by religious beliefs. Mellor and Patterson (1994) in fact argue that critical literacy is simply a new 'reading regime', requiring a new normativity. This needs to be weighed against Simon's (1992) 'pedagogy of possibility', which ties the critical endeavour to a political project with an ethical social justice agenda. These differing positions have very different outcomes in classrooms. For example, Mellor and Patterson would expect students to be able to produce an antiracist reading of a text whereas Simon would want to go further. He would want students to become transformed human subjects who reject racism.

The work of Vasquez and Comber provides a way forward. Their research highlights the possibilities for social action. Vasquez' 3 to 5-year old students were able to take action to transform unfair, discriminatory practices. Many of their interventions produced change: they challenged and changed school menus that did not include food for vegetarians; they successfully contested their exclusion from school events simply because they were young; they wrote and performed a play about the plight of the rain forests. The teachers that Comber writes about, Helen Grant and Marg Wells, are similarly successful in creating opportunities for their students to assume agency. Marg Wells began working with her students when they were in Grade 2/3. She developed a literacy and social power curriculum unit in which

children were asked to identify aspects of their 'school, neighbourhood and world' that they were concerned about and to imagine how they might be changed for the better. Her children have since successfully campaigned for the planting of trees in their neighbourhood and they challenged and transformed the designs of urban renewal developers for a local park. Helen Grant has created opportunities for migrant children to use their diverse funds of knowledge in the videos that they produce.

Work in critical literacy is now trying to understand and imagine what pedagogies of 'reconstruction' and 'redesign' look like in schools and classrooms. Robert Hattam is working on an international project on 're-conciliation pedagogies'; Jim Martin is working with 'positive' as opposed to 'critical' discourse analysis; Comber, Thomson, Nixon and Janks' research, which focuses on projects that make a material difference to children's lives, is exploring the role played by literacy; Luke recently directed a major research project in Singapore to effect positive shifts in education in Asia (and by example, elsewhere). This influential new direction in the teaching of language and power signals a move from concerns with negative power and forces of resistance to a view that power can be harnessed by teachers and students for transformative projects of reconstruction.

Competing claims in the field of language and power have been counterproductive. One of the strengths of the multiliteracies project (see Kalantzis and Cope, *Language Education and Multiliteracies*, Volume 1) is that it created a space for thinking about links across the specialist interests brought by members of the New London Group: genre theory, discourse theory, language learning in multilingual and indigenous communities, social and citizenship education, feminist linguistics, cultural diversity in schools, language and learning for 'fast capitalist' workplaces. Janks (2000) in her synthesis model of critical literacy argues in relation to critical literacy that the different positions which foreground either domination, or diversity or access or design/redesign are mutually interdependent, and that one without the other produces a problematic imbalance. Critical literacy has to take seriously the ways in which meaning systems are implicated in reproducing domination and it has to provide access to dominant languages, literacies and genres, while simultaneously using diversity as a productive resource for redesigning social futures and for changing the horizon of possibility (Simon, 1992). This includes both changing dominant discourses as well as changing which discourses are dominant. Genre theory without creativity runs the risk of reifying existing genres; deconstruction without reconstruction or design reduces human agency; diversity without access ghettoises students. Domination without difference and diversity loses the ruptures that produce contestation and change.

Finally, critical literacy has still to meet the criticism that it is fundamentally a rationalist activity that does not sufficiently address the non-rational investments that readers bring with them to texts and tasks. Norton's (1970) theory of 'investment' in relation to language acquisition and identity, Janks' work on identification (2002), Lillis' (2001) work on writing and desire and Kenway and Bullen's (2001) work on 'voluptuous pedagogies' are only a beginning. It is in the realm of discourse and the unconscious that the language/power conjunction produces subjects. Undoubtedly, this is why Foucault (1970, p. 110) maintains that 'discourse is the power which is to be seized'.

**See Also:** *Alastair Pennycook: Critical Applied Linguistics and Language Education (Volume 1); Mary Kalantzis and Bill Cope: Language Education and Multiliteracies (Volume 1)*

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## LANGUAGE EDUCATION AND MULTILITERACIES

### INTRODUCTION: INITIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE 'MULTILITERACIES' CONCEPT

In September 1994, the Centre for Workplace Communication and Culture at James Cook University of North Queensland, Australia, initiated an international project to consider the future of literacy teaching: what would need to be taught in a rapidly changing near future, and how it would be taught. The Centre invited some of the world's leaders in the field of literacy pedagogy to come together for a week in the small town of New London, New Hampshire, USA, in order to consider the 'state of the art'.

As it turned out, there were multiple ironies in the very idea of New London. By the end of the twentieth century one billion people spoke that difficult little language, English, spoken four centuries before by only about a million or so people in the vicinity of London, old London. The story of the language, and the story of the last few centuries, including its many injustices, is the story of many new Londons. This issue—how the language meets with cultural and linguistic diversity—was one of our main concerns. Then there was the irony of the postcard serenity of this particular New London, the affluent, post-industrial village which sold little more than its idyllic eighteenth century postcard image. This, in a world where the fundamental mission of educators is to improve every child's educational opportunities—a world which, much of the time, is far from idyllic.

This seemed a strange place to be asking some of the hardest questions we now face as educators. What is appropriate education for women, for indigenous peoples, for immigrants who do not speak the national language (cf. May, *Language Education, Pluralism and Citizenship*, Volume 1), for speakers of non-standard dialects? What is appropriate for all in the context of the ever more critical factors of local diversity and global connectedness (cf. Block, *Language Education and Globalization*, Volume 1)? As educators attempt to address the difficult question of cultural and linguistic diversity, we hear shrill claims and counterclaims about the canon of great literature, grammar and 'back-to-basics'. These debates seemed a long way from the calm hills of a tourist's New Hampshire.

Ten people met and talked for that week in New London. Courtney Cazden from the USA had spent a long and highly influential career working on classroom discourse (Cazden, 1988, 2001), language learning in multilingual contexts (Cazden, 1989) and on literacy pedagogy (Cazden, 1983). Bill Cope, from Australia, had written curricula addressing cultural diversity in schools (Kalantzis and Cope, 1989), and had researched literacy pedagogy (Cope and Kalantzis, 1993) and the changing cultures and discourses of workplaces (Cope and Kalantzis, 1997a). From Great Britain, Norman Fairclough was a theorist of language and social meaning, and was particularly interested in linguistic and discursive change as part of social and cultural change (Fairclough, 1989, 1992). James Gee, from the USA, was a leading researcher and theorist on language and mind (Gee, 1992, 1996), and on the language and learning demands of the latest 'fast capitalist' workplaces (Gee, Hull, and Lankshear, 1996). Mary Kalantzis, an Australian, had been involved in experimental social education and literacy curriculum projects (Cope and Kalantzis, 1993), and was particularly interested in multicultural and citizenship education (Kalantzis and Cope, 1999; Kalantzis, Cope, Noble, and Poynting, 1991; Kalantzis, Cope and Slade, 1989). Gunther Kress, from Great Britain, was best known for his work on language and learning, semiotics (Kress, 1990), visual literacy (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996) and the multimodal literacies that are increasingly important to all communication, particularly the mass media. Allan Luke, from Australia, was a researcher and theorist of critical literacy who has brought sociological analysis to bear on the teaching of reading and writing (Luke, 1991, 1992a, 1993). Carmen Luke, also from Australia, had written extensively on feminist pedagogy (Luke, 1992b, 1994). Sarah Michaels, from the USA, has had extensive experience in developing and researching programs of classroom learning in urban settings (Michaels, 1986; Michaels, O'Conner, and Richards, 1993). Martin Nakata, an Australian, had researched and written on the issue of literacy in indigenous communities (Nakata, 1993).

Our purpose for meeting was to engage on the issue of what to do in literacy pedagogy on the basis of our different national and cultural experiences and on the basis of our different areas of expertise. The focus was the big picture, the changing word and the new demands being placed upon people as makers of meaning—in changing workplaces, as citizens in changing public spaces and in changing dimensions of our community lives, our lifeworlds.

We decided that the outcomes of the New London discussions could be encapsulated in a single word—'Multiliteracies'—a word we coined to describe two important arguments we might have with the emerging cultural, institutional and global order. The first was the

growing significance of cultural and linguistic diversity (see also May, *Language Education, Pluralism and Citizenship*, Volume 1). The news on our television screens scream this message at us on a daily basis. And, in more constructive terms, we have to negotiate differences every day, in our local communities and in our increasingly globally interconnected working and community lives (see also Block, *Language Education and Globalization*, Volume 1). As a consequence, something paradoxical was happening to English. At the same time as it was becoming a *lingua mundi*, a world language, and a *lingua franca*, a common language of global commerce, media and politics, English was also breaking into multiple and increasingly differentiated 'Englishes', marked by accent, national origin, subcultural style and professional or technical communities. Increasingly, the key communicative challenge was to be able to cross linguistic boundaries, even within English. Gone were the days when learning a single, standard version of the language was sufficient. Migration, multiculturalism and global economic integration daily intensified this process of change. The globalisation of communications and labour markets made language diversity an ever more critical local issue.

The second major shift encompassed in the concept of Multiliteracies was the influence of new communications technologies. Meaning was increasingly being made in ways that were multimodal—in which written-linguistic modes of meaning are part and parcel of visual, audio and spatial patterns of meaning. The New London Group considered the multimodal ways in which meanings are made in places such as the (then very new) World Wide Web, or in video captioning, or in interactive multimedia, or in desktop publishing, or in the use of written texts in a shopping mall. To find our way around this emerging world of meaning required a new, multimodal literacy.

These two developments, the group concluded, had the potential to transform both the substance and pedagogy of literacy teaching in English, and in the other languages of the world. No longer did the old pedagogies of a formal, standard, written national language have the use they once had. Instead, the Multiliteracies argument suggested an open ended and flexible functional grammar which assists language learners to describe language differences (cultural, subcultural, regional/national, technical, context specific, etc.) and the multimodal channels of meaning now so important to communication.

The outcome of the New London meeting was a jointly authored paper—we decided to call ourselves the 'New London Group'—which was later published in the Spring 1996 edition of the *Harvard Educational Review*: 'A Pedagogy of Multiliteracies: Designing Social Futures' (New London Group, 1996) and subsequently, a book, *Multiliteracies: Literacy Learning and the Design of Social Futures*

published in Australia by Macmillan and in the UK and North America by Routledge in 2000 (Cope and Kalantzis, 2000). As one measure of how far the idea has travelled in the subsequent decade, a Google search in 2007 returned 140,000 web pages that mentioned the word ‘multiliteracies’.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS: CHANGING SOCIETY AND CHANGING LITERACIES

The changing social worlds of work, citizenship and identities, require a new educational response. This was the core proposition underlying the Multiliteracies agenda from the start.

To take the world of work, the imagery of the old world of work is familiar—the factories with smokestacks piercing the horizon which we used to see as signs of progress. Behind the factory walls was the heavy plant which added up to the fixed assets of industrial capitalism. Geared for long-run mass production of manufactured things, human beings became mere appendages to the machine. Indeed, the logic of the production line minimised human skill requirements, as tasks were divided into smaller and smaller functions—screwing this particular bolt onto the manufactured object as it went past on the conveyor belt. This was the human degradation of the modern factory. It was also its genius, to arrange technology in such a way as to be able to manufacture items of unprecedented technological sophistication (such as Marconi’s radio set, or Henry Ford’s motor car), using an unskilled workforce (Cope and Kalantzis, 1997a).

Old education systems fitted very neatly into this world of work. The state determined the syllabus, the textbooks followed the syllabus, the teachers followed the textbooks, and the students followed the textbooks, hopefully, in order to pass the tests. Henry Ford knew what was best for his customers—‘any colour you like, so long as it’s black’—and the state knew what was best for children. And, in a way, teachers became a bit like production line workers, slaves to the syllabus, the textbooks and the examination system (cf. Wiley, Language Policy and Teacher Education, Volume 1). The curriculum was packed with information in the form of quite definite facts—‘facts’ about history, facts about science and language facts in the form of ‘proper grammar’ and correct spelling. Together, this was supposed to add up to useful-knowledge-for-life. Many of these facts have proven to be less durable than the curriculum of that time seemed to have been promising. Nevertheless, there was one important lesson which ‘good’ students took into the old workplace. From all the sitting up straight and listening to the teacher, from all the rigid classroom discipline, from all the knowledge imparted to them and uncritically

ingested, they learnt to accept received authority and to do exactly as they were told (Kalantzis and Cope, 2001a).

The 'basics' of old learning were encapsulated in the 'three Rs'—reading, writing and arithmetic. The process was learning by rote and knowing the 'correct answers'. 'Discipline' was demonstrated in tests as the successful acquisition of received facts and the regurgitation of rigidly defined truths. This kind of education certainly produced people who had learnt things, but things which were too often narrow, decontextualised, abstract and fragmented into subject areas artificially created by the education system. More than anything, it produced compliant learners, people who would accept what was presented to them as correct, and who passively learnt off by heart knowledge which could not easily be applied in different and new contexts. They may have been superficially knowledgeable (Latin declensions, or the grammar of adverbial clauses, or the rivers of national geography, or the dates of European history), but they did not have knowledge of sufficient depth for a life of change and diversity. It was a knowledge that was appropriate for a time that imagined itself as ordered and controllable (Cope and Kalantzis, 1993).

If the predominant image of the old economy was the factory and the smokestack, the image of the so-called 'new economy' is the worker sitting in front of a computer screen. Information and communications technologies dominate this 'knowledge economy'. Actually, despite the hype, we do not just live on knowledge, as if the economy has suddenly abandoned making things for trading in information and symbols. We cannot live on symbols alone. But symbols are nevertheless everywhere. They are at the heart of new technologies, and especially the technologies of digital convergence—in the areas of communications, automated manufacturing, e-commerce and the media. Even in the manufacturing sector where people still energetically make things, they now make them using screen-based interfaces, and these are linguistically, visually and symbolically driven. The production line is still there, but now robots are screwing on the bolts. These technologies, moreover, are constantly shifting.

The new technologies are software rather than hardware intensive, as well as flexible and open to multiple uses. Software replacements are made far more frequently than was the case for plant replacement in the old economy. This means that technical knowledge has a shorter and shorter shelflife. Upskilling needs to occur continuously. Indeed, contrary to the old economy process of de-skilling, you need to be multiskilled, to be more flexible, more able to undertake a range of tasks, and able to shift from one task to another, as needs be. The key competitive advantage for an organisation, even the value of that organisation, is no longer grounded in the value of its fixed assets

and plant, or at least not in that alone, but in the skills and knowledge of its workforce. Indeed, technology is now very much a relationship between tools and the knowledge of these tools in people's heads. Wealth increasingly has a human-skills rather than a fixed-capital basis.

Meanwhile, diversity is everywhere in the new economy organisation, and working with culture in fact means working with diversity. Instead of Henry Ford's assertion in which individual customer needs are irrelevant because customers are all the same, organisations now want to be close to customers, to find out what they really want, and to service their needs in a way which works for them. Taking customer service seriously inevitably means discovering that people are different, according to various combinations of age, ethnic background, geographical location, sexual orientation, interest, fashion, fad or fetish. 'Serving niche markets', this is called, and systems of 'mass customisation' are created at the point where 'high tech' meets 'soft touch'—such as the e-commerce systems or hotel registration procedures which build up the profile of a customer, and their precise needs and interests.

Then, there is the diversity within the organisation. Teams work with high levels of interpersonal contact, and work best, not when the members are forced to share the same values, but when differences—of interest, association, network, knowledge, experience, lifestyle and languages spoken—are respected and used as a source of creativity, or as a link into the myriad of niches in the world in which the organisation has to operate. This world of diversity exists both at the local level of increasingly multicultural societies, and at the global level where distant and different markets, products and organisations become, in a practical sense, closer and closer (Cope and Kalantzis, 1997a).

We are in the midst of a technology revolution, moreover, which not only changes the way we work but also the way we participate as citizens. From the old world of broadcasting to the new world of 'narrowcasting', consider what has happened to one of the media, television. Instead of the pressures to conformity, pressures to shape your person in the image of the mass media when everybody watched the old 'national networks', we now have hundreds of channels on cable or satellite television. These channels cater, not to the 'general public', but to ever-more finely defined communities: the services in different languages, the particular sporting interests, the genres of movie. Added to this, we are now watching on-demand TV streamed through the internet.

In fact, to take the internet of today, the millions of sites reflect any interest or style you want to name, nurturing a myriad of ever-more finely differentiated communities. Then there is the phenomenon of 'pointcasting' or syndication feeds, where the user customises the

information feed they want—requesting information to be streamed to them only about a particular sporting team, a particular business sector, a particular country of origin. As a part of this process, the viewer becomes a user; transmission is replaced by user-selectivity; and instead of being passive receptors of mass culture we become active creators of information and sensibilities which precisely suit the nuances of who we are and the image in which we want to fashion ourselves.

In fact, digital convergence turns the whole media relationship around the other way—the digital image of a baby which can be broadcast to the world through the internet, or the digital movie which you can edit on your computer, burn on a CD or broadcast from your home page or YouTube. There is simply more scope to be yourself in this technology environment, and to be yourself in a way which is different. The technology convergence comes with cultural divergence, and who knows which is the greater influence in the development of the other? The only thing which is clear is that technology is one of the keys to these new kinds of self expression and community building. It is part of a process of creating new persons—persons of self-made identity instead of received identity, and diverse identities rather than a singular national identity. In this context, senses of belonging will arise from a common commitment to openness and inclusivity.

So what do all these changes in technology, work and community mean for education? The essence of old basics was encapsulated simply in the subject areas of the ‘three Rs’: reading, writing and arithmetic. Actually, the very idea of the basics indicated something about the nature of knowledge: it was a kind of shopping list of things-to-be-known—through drilling the ‘times tables’, memorising spelling lists, learning the parts of speech and correct grammar. This is not to say that multiplication or understanding the processes of written communication no longer have educational worth—they do, but in a different pedagogical form. The problem was with the former orientation to knowledge: first, the assumption that this kind of knowledge was a sufficient foundation; second, that knowledge involved clearly right and wrong answers (and if you were in any doubt about this, the test results would set you straight); and third, that knowledge was about being told by authority and that it was best to accept the correctness of authority passively. If the underlying lesson of the old basics was about the nature of knowledge, then it is a lesson which is less appropriate in a world which puts a premium on creativity, problem solving and the active contribution of every person in a workplace or community setting.

The fancier contemporary words for these old ‘basics’ are literacy and numeracy. And of course, mathematics, reading and writing are

today as important as ever, perhaps even more important. However, literacy and numeracy can either stand as substitute words for the old basics, or they can mean something new, something appropriate to the new learning. When they are merely substitute words for the old basics, they are mostly no more than statements of nostalgic regret for a world which is disappearing, or else they reflect our incapacity as adults to imagine anything different from, or better than, our own experiences as children at school. 'Let's get back to the basics' people say, and the operative words are 'get back'.

When we use the term 'new basics' we are indicating a very different approach to knowledge. Mathematics is not a set of correct answers but a method of reasoning, a way of figuring out a certain kind of system and structure in the world. Nor is literacy a matter of correct usage (the word and sentence-bound rules of spelling and grammar). Rather, it is a way of communicating. Indeed, the new communications environment is one in which the old rules of literacy need to be supplemented. Although spelling remains important, it is now something for spell-checking programs, and email messages do not have to be grammatical in a formal sense (although they have new and quirky conventions which we have to learn-as-we-go—abbreviations, friendly informalities and cryptic 'in' expressions). And many texts involve complex relationships between visuals, space and text: the tens of thousands of words in a supermarket; the written text around the screen on the news, sports or business programs on the television; the text of an ATM; websites built on visual icons and active hypertext links; the subtle relationships of images and text in glossy magazines. Texts are now designed in a highly visual sense, and meaning is carried as much visually as it is by words and sentences (Kalantzis and Cope, 2001a, 2004, 2005).

This means that the old basics which attempt for whatever reason to teach adverbial clauses of time or the cases around the verb 'to be', need to be supplemented by learning about the visual design of texts (such as fonts and point sizes—concepts which only typesetters knew in the past). It also means that the old discipline division between language and art is not as relevant as it once was.

Nor is literacy any longer only about learning so called 'proper usage'. Rather, it is also about the myriad of different uses in different contexts: this particular email (personal, to a friend), as against that (applying for a job); this particular kind of desktop publishing presentation (a newsletter for your sports group), as against that (a page of advertising); and different uses of English as a global language (in different English speaking countries, by non-native speakers, by different subcultural groups). The capabilities of literacy involve not only knowledge of grammatical conventions but also effective

communication in diverse settings, and using tools of text design which may include word processing, desktop publishing and image manipulation.

More than new contents like these, however, the new basics are also about new kinds of learning. Literacy, for instance, is not only about rules and their correct application. It is about being faced with an unfamiliar kind of text and being able to search for clues about its meaning without immediately feeling alienated and excluded from it. It is also about understanding how this text works in order to participate in its meanings (its own particular 'rules'), and about working out the particular context and purposes of the text (for herein you will find more clues to its meaning to the communicator and to you). Finally, literacy is about actively communicating in an unfamiliar context and learning from your successes and mistakes.

Education always creates 'kinds of persons'. The old basics were about that: people who learnt rules and obeyed them; people who would take answers to the world rather than regard the world as many problems-to-be-solved; and people who carried 'correct' things in their heads rather than flexible and collaborative learners. The new basics are clearly things which set out to shape new 'kinds of persons', persons better adapted to the kind of world we live in now and the world of the near future.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS: THE MEANING-MAKING PROCESS

The 'Multiliteracies' idea addresses some of the major dimensions of the change in our contemporary communications environment. Once, literacy could be understood as the business of putting words in sentences on pages, and doing this correctly according to the standard usage. Now literacies, in the plural, are inevitably multiple, in two major ways. The first is the many kinds of English literacy at work in many different cultural, social or professional contexts. As much as English is becoming a global language, these differences are becoming ever more significant to our communications environment. The second is the nature of new communications technologies. Meaning is made in ways that are increasingly multimodal—in which written-linguistic modes of meaning interface with visual, audio, gestural and spatial patterns of meaning.

The starting point for the Multiliteracies framework is the notion that knowledge and meaning are historically and socially located and produced, that they are 'designed' artefacts. But more than artefacts, Design is a dynamic process, a process of subjective self-interest and transformation, consisting of (i) The Designed (the available meaning-making resources, and patterns and conventions of meaning

in a particular cultural context); (ii) Designing (the process of shaping emergent meaning which involves re-presentation and recontextualisation—this never involves a simple repetition of The Designed because every moment of meaning involves the transformation of the Available Designs of meaning); and (iii) The Redesigned (the outcome of designing, something through which the meaning-maker has remade themselves and created a new meaning-making resource—it is in this sense that we are truly designers of our social futures) (Cope and Kalantzis, 2000).

Two key aspects of the notion of Design distinguish it from the approach to the question of teaching language conventions taken by many earlier traditions of literacy pedagogy: variability and agency. Traditional grammar teaching, for example, taught to a single social-linguistic end: the official, standard or high forms of the national language (cf. Tollefson, *Language Planning in Education*, Volume 1). The issue of language variability was barely part of the teaching process. And always closely linked to this issue of variability is the issue of agency or subjectivity. The language experiences students brought to learning traditional grammars, for instance, were irrelevant; the aim was to induct students into the standard written form through a pedagogy of transmission. School was about the reproduction of received cultural and linguistic forms.

The Design notion takes the opposite tack on both of these fronts: the starting point is language variation—the different accents, registers and dialects that serve different ends in different social contexts and for different social groups. And the key issue of language use is agency and subjectivity—the way in which every act of language draws on disparate language resources and remakes the world into a form that it has never quite taken before. The reality of language is not simply the reproduction of regularised patterns and conventions. It is also a matter of intertextuality, hybridity and language as the basis of cultural change. In this sense, language is both an already Designed resource and the ground of Designs for social futures.

What, then, is the scope of the Designs of meaning? One of the key ideas informing the notion of Multiliteracies is the increasing complexity and interrelationship of different modes of meaning, in which language is often inseparably related to other modes of meaning. We have identified a number of major areas in which functional ‘grammars’—metalanguages which describe and explain patterns of meaning—are required: Linguistic Design, Visual Design, Audio Design, Gestural Design, Spatial Design and Multimodal Design, in which meanings are made in the relation of different modes of meaning. Particularly with the rise of new information and communications

technologies, these different modes of meaning are increasingly interrelated—in email, in desktop publishing, in video and in multimedia and hypermedia. This means that literacy teaching has to move well beyond its old, disciplinary boundaries.

As the basis for interpreting and creating meaning in this environment, we might usefully ask the following five questions.

1. *Representational*—What do the meanings refer to?
2. *Social*—How do the meanings connect the persons they involve?
3. *Organisational*—How do the meanings hang together?
4. *Contextual*—How do the meanings fit into the larger world of meaning?
5. *Ideological*—Whose interests are the meanings skewed to serve?

The answers to these questions form the basis for a functional grammar, for naming the ‘what’ of the particular representation of a particular meaning in relation to its ‘why’.

Such questions are not the basis for rules of correct usage that students might learn. Rather, they are concepts that might be used in an educationally useable contrastive linguistics. They are tools which students can use to assess the reasons why particular Design choices are made in particular cultural and situational contexts. They are, in other words, a heuristic by means of which students can describe and account for Design variations in the world of meaning. The aim is to give students a sense of how patterns of meaning are the product of different contexts—particularly, in the changing contexts created by new communications technologies and the diverse and intercultural contexts in which language is used.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES: TEACHING AND LEARNING

So how does the Multiliteracies view of the changing communications environment and its conception of the process of meaning translate into the pragmatics of pedagogy? The Multiliteracies framework proposes that teaching and learning should be approached from four angles, from the perspective of four orientations. There is nothing terribly surprising in each of these four angles; each is well represented in the history of educational theory and in teachers’ contemporary pedagogical practices. However, all four need to be part of the learning process, though not necessarily in any particular fixed sequence or as neatly separate bits.

Teaching and learning about the Design of meaning, should include a mix of: Situated Practice, Overt Instruction, Critical Framing and Transformed Practice.

*Situated Practice* involves immersion in experience and the utilisation of Available Designs, including those from the students' lifeworlds and simulations of the relationships to be found in workplaces and public spaces. For example, this could involve immersion in Designs of meaning that make 'intuitive' sense, common sense, or at least something more than half sense. In a learning situation this might involve either working with Designs derived from students' own lifeworld experiences, or throwing students in at the deep end with less familiar Designs that will make perhaps only half sense at first, but providing lots of contextual clues. Successful teaching and learning using this pedagogical angle would culminate in a communication problem solved, albeit perhaps intuitively, or with an expert's help, or with scaffolded assistance.

*Overt Instruction* involves systematic, analytical, and conscious understanding. In the case of Multiliteracies, this requires the introduction of explicit metalanguages which describe and interpret the Design elements of different modes of meaning. For example, this involves developing a language that describes the patterns in Available Designs of meaning, how we do Designing and how meaning becomes Redesigned. 'How much does new text express voice and experience?' we might ask. Evidence of successful teaching and learning from the angle of Overt Instruction might be when students have a way to describe the processes and patterns of Design in a meaningful way.

*Critical Framing* means interpreting the social and cultural context of particular Designs of meaning. This involves the students standing back from the meanings they are studying and viewing them critically in relation to their context. For example, how does a Design fit in with local meanings and more global meanings? What is the purpose of the Design? What's it doing? To whom? For whom? By whom? Why? To what effect? What is the immediate social context (localised and particular structures, functions, connections, systems, relationships, effects)? What is the larger social context (culture, history, society, politics, values)? Evidence of successful teaching and learning from this pedagogical angle would be when students show that they know what the Design is for—what it does and why it does it.

*Transformed Practice* entails transfer in meaning-making practice, which puts a transformed meaning to work in other contexts or cultural sites. For example, this might involve applying a given Design in a different context, or making a new Design. It might involve taking a meaning out of context and adapting it in such a way that it works somewhere else. This will inevitably involve students adding something of themselves to the meaning. It will also involve intertextuality (the connections, influences, recreation of other texts and cross-references of history, culture and experience) and hybridity (a Design

has voice, but where does the ring of familiarity come from?). Successful teaching and learning from this particular angle will involve either good reproduction (if that's the game) or some measure of the extent and value of creativity in the transformation and the aptness of the transformation or transfer to another context (does it work)?

These four aspects of pedagogy do not form a rigid learning sequence. Rather, they are four essential elements in a full and effective pedagogy. The Multiliteracies framework aims to supplement—not critique or negate—the various existing teaching practices. In fact, each of the aspects of the pedagogy represents a tradition in pedagogy in general. So, Situated Practice sits in the tradition of many of the various progressivisms, from Dewey to whole language and process writing. Overt Instruction sits in the tradition of many teacher-centred transmission pedagogies, from traditional grammar to direct instruction. Critical Framing is in the more recent tradition of critical literacy. Transformed Practice is somewhat harder to place, but its antecedents are various strategies for transfer of learning from one context to another, turning theory into practice, and so on.

The Multiliteracies case is that all four aspects are necessary to good teaching, albeit not in a rigid or sequential way. And when all four aspects are put together, each is at least softened, and at best transformed by the others. Situated Practice when linked to Overt Instruction is no longer simply situated—in the mindless, populist, commonsense, atheoretical, introspective, liberal-individualist way that many progressivisms are. Overt Instruction when linked to Situated Practice becomes more like teacher scaffolding than teacher-centred transmission pedagogy. Critical Framing when linked to the others becomes more grounded, and less airy-ideological. Yet, the four aspects of the pedagogy do dialogue with the main traditions in teaching, problematic as each of these may be.

The four aspects represent, in one sense, pedagogical universals. The paradox of these universals, however, is their departure point is from the inevitably heterogeneous lifeworlds of Situated Practice. And, to load paradox on paradox, the other three pedagogical angles involve three forms of departure from the Situated, but without ever leaving the Situated behind. The Situated is the realm of the lifeworld, of original 'uneducated' experience, of pragmatic everyday life. Each of the other three pedagogical angles, in its own way, expands the horizons of the lifeworld. Overt Instruction makes implicit patterns of meaning explicit; Critical Framing interrogates contexts and purposes; Transformed Practice takes meanings and subjectivity into new and less familiar domains.

Starting with the cultural phenomena of the lifeworld and always returning to those cultural phenomena, the other three angles add

perspectives of depth and breadth. To take the depth dimension, we need to go beyond our reading of the phenomena of culture and differences and measure these phenomena against the deep structures of everyday life and meaning (which are harder to see when you are immersed in them) and the moral facts of our species being. This involves suspension of belief or 'bracketing': critical thinking, systems thinking, reflexivity, holistic thinking, working through interrelations between apparently separate phenomena, and figuring out paradox and contradiction.

And, on a breadth dimension, we need to undertake the process of crosscultural comparison; how does this particular lifeworld, our lifeworld (or, to be more precise, each of the layers of the multiplicity of overlapping lifeworld sources which constitutes our daily experience), measure up against alternative ways of being human, of doing culture? Nor is this crosscultural breadth simply the view of a disinterested observer, in the manner of a kind of anthropological curiosity. In an era of increasing local diversity and global interconnectedness, this breadth must be the stuff of practice, of learning by constantly crossing cultural boundaries, of shunting between one lifeworld context and another. Both depth and breadth dimensions are processes for 'denaturalising' the lifeworld, of making the everyday strange in order to cast new light on it and so as to have a more informed basis upon which to design both imminent meanings and our larger social futures.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS: APPLICATIONS OF THE MULTILITERACIES CONCEPT

In the decade since the first publication of the original Multiliteracies manifesto in the *Harvard Educational Review*, considerable work has been done internationally, including in South Africa (Newfield and Stein, 2000), Malaysia (Kalantzis and Pandian, 2001; Pandian, 1999), and in Greece (particularly in the work of Intzidis and Karantzola). This work has also been represented in a number of overview publications and anthologies (Cope and Kalantzis, 1997b; Kalantzis and Cope, 2000, 2001b; Kalantzis, Varnava-Skoura, and Cope, 2002). There have also been many applications of the multiliteracies notion beyond the original New London Group and the expanded group of international collaborators, including several books (Healy, 2000; Newman, 2002; Unsworth, 2001) and numerous academic articles.

The annual Learning Conference ([www.LearningConference.com](http://www.LearningConference.com)), continues to be a focal point for discussions of Multiliteracies and for presenting the ongoing work of various members of the New London Group. In recent years, the Learning Conference has been held in Malaysia (Penang, 1999), Australia (Melbourne, 2000), Greece

(Spetses, 2001), China (Beijing, 2002), the United Kingdom (London University, 2003), Cuba (Institute of Pedagogical Sciences, 2004), Spain (University of Granada, 2005) and Jamaica (Montego Bay Teachers' College, 2006). The conference now attracts approximately 800 people annually. The conference papers are published in the *International Journal of Learning* ([www.Learning-Journal.com](http://www.Learning-Journal.com)).

Recent work extending and developing the Multiliteracies notions have included Kress's work on images and multimodality (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996) and contemporary media (Kress, 2003), James Paul Gee's work on video games (Gee, 2003, 2005), Kalantzis and Cope's work on pedagogy (Kalantzis and Cope, 2004, 2005) and a growing literature applying the Multiliteracies concept to the world of digital information and communications technologies (Chandler-Olcott and Mahar, 2003; Cope and Kalantzis, 2003; 2004).

**See Also:** David Block: *Language Education and Globalization (Volume 1)*; Stephen May: *Language Education, Pluralism and Citizenship (Volume 1)*; James W. Tollefson: *Language Planning in Education (Volume 1)*; Joan Kelly Hall: *Language Education and Culture (Volume 1)*; Hilary Janks: *Teaching Language and Power (Volume 1)*; Alastair Pennycook: *Critical Applied Linguistics and Language Education (Volume 1)*

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# THE POLITICS OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING<sup>1</sup>

## INTRODUCTION

Because of its close association with structuralist and, later, Chomskyan linguistics, English language teaching (ELT) remained apolitical for a long time, treating language learning as the psycholinguistic mastery of value-free grammar for instrumental purposes. The uses of ELT in the process of colonization, the purposes of Cold War cultural hegemony, and the needs of economic globalization could be identified as other historical motivations for the delay in addressing the politics of ELT (see Canagarajah, 2005). It is only fairly recently, in the early 1990s, that issues of power have received sustained attention (see also Janks, *Teaching Language and Power*, Volume 1). Though it was initially treated as another optional school or method under the label critical pedagogy (hereafter CP), a power-sensitive orientation has quickly pervaded all areas of ELT. Although many teachers still find it uncomfortable to directly address the politics of ELT, a social and ideological sensitivity colors everything we do in the profession in unacknowledged and subtle ways. No sensible professional can practice ELT today without being alert to the heterogeneity of English varieties, the conflicting claims of community and identity, the values behind methods and materials, and unequal classroom relationships and roles.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The early developments of a political orientation were understandably structuralist and Marxist. Phillipson's (1992) *Linguistic Imperialism*

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<sup>1</sup> Due to limited space, this chapter focuses only on the conceptual debates and theoretical considerations relating to English language teaching. For how these considerations are negotiated in diverse classrooms at the everyday level, see ethnographies such as Canagarajah, 1999; Lin and Martin, 2005, Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001. A comprehensive geographical coverage of scholarship and pedagogy is not attempted here. The works reviewed derive mostly from ESL situations in North America and the postcolonial contexts. For a consideration of issues relating to EFL in Europe, see Phillipson, *Language Policy and Education in the European Union* (Volume 1). There is of course an under-representation of research and pedagogical practices in periphery communities in mainstream journals. Makoni et al. (2005) highlight this problem and also introduce some themes important for such communities.

critiqued the intentions of British Council and other Anglo-American institutions sponsoring ELT worldwide. Showing how the dominant pedagogical assumptions based on monolingualist norms and the methods and materials influenced by Anglo-American interests affected the educational autonomy and socioeconomic development of other communities, Phillipson hoped for a time when the rise of global languages would challenge the dominance of English. Other scholars critiqued the hidden curriculum of ELT in American second language teaching contexts (Auerbach, 1993; Benesch, 1993; Pennycook, 1989). Though Freirean approaches were beginning to inspire a consideration of micro-level instructional relationships, offering the possibility of student empowerment, the early scholarship was still on broad issues of curriculum. It would take a different theoretical lens to address the manifestation of power in more local and personal contexts of language and education.

The next wave of scholarship, informed by the Frankfurt school of critical theory and poststructuralist orientations, opened ELT to issues of consciousness, discourse, and agency (see Canagarajah, 1993b; Peirce, 1995; Pennycook, 1994). The possibility of appropriating English in terms of local interests, and the resultant pluralization of English, shifted the discussion to resistance from within the field of ELT. We did not have to wait for challenges to English from outside—as Phillipson anticipated. The hybridity of English language and postcolonial identity provided a useful construct to complicate the interests of western homogeneity in ELT (see Canagarajah, 1999; Pennycook, 1996). However, the discussion was still couched in terms of national or ethnic considerations (i.e. Sri Lankan Tamils in the case of Canagarajah; East Asians in the case of Pennycook). The world systems perspective of Wallerstein informed the discussion as scholars addressed ELT in terms of a hegemonic English-speaking center and a resistant periphery (see also Block, *Language Education and Globalization*, Volume 1). It would take another wave of theoretical movements to critique the smug multiculturalist discourses fashionable in the West and address power in terms of other variables such as gender, race, and sexual orientation. In adopting constructivist and postmodern perspectives, later scholarship situates teachers and learners in multiple variables and discourses to consider the complex negotiations needed to engage with power in ELT.

Though the beginnings were late, it is remarkable that within a short period the political orientation has become very complex, keeping itself open to critique, rethinking, and paradigm shifts, constituting a vibrant movement in the profession. The CP orientation still maintains a healthy pluralism and openness to new pedagogical questions and research methods.

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

We can consider the contributions of a political orientation to ELT according to several exemplary areas of critical learning and teaching. While we already have a string of labels with the adjective “critical” attached to it—such as critical contrastive rhetoric (Kubota, 1999), critical classroom discourse analysis (Kumaravadivelu, 1999), critical writing (Canagarajah, 1993a), critical applied linguistics (Pennycook, 2001; *Critical Applied Linguistics and Language Education*, Volume 1), and critical EAP (Benesch, 2001)—we do not have to stop there. A critical orientation has infiltrated many other pedagogical domains, even if no labels may have been coined yet. Here is a sampling of the contributions of CP.

*Learning Processes and Teaching Methods*

In recent pedagogical discourse, a process-oriented, student-centered, task-based approach has been treated as the most effective for teaching/learning. The ELT research and professional circles have treated this as “the optimum interactional parameters within which classroom language learning can take place” (Holliday, 1994, p. 54). Myron Tuman (1988) describes how the change toward process-oriented approaches of writing in the American academy is unconditionally treated as a more progressive pedagogical development. From this perspective, pedagogical cultures in many non-Western communities are denigrated. Not only are they essentialized as product-oriented, teacher-dominated, and passive, they are also considered pedagogically dysfunctional for those reasons. Therefore, teachers have attempted to impose the process-oriented pedagogy on other communities, assuming that it is more democratic and empowering (see Pennington, 1995). CP has complicated this pedagogical ideal with new realizations:

1. The social and psychological complexity of product-oriented learning is evident when we situate it in context. Students who are older (Leki, 1991) or those learning for academic/instrumental reasons (Chen, Warden, Chang, 2005) may thrive from a product-oriented approach. Even in the case of the much disparaged memorization techniques of Chinese students, one has to consider the fresh uses to which others’ words are put (Pennycook, 1996).
2. Product-oriented learning may have oppositional significance. Students sometimes resist the cultural and ideological baggage that accompanies communicative English by resisting active use of the language or just acquiring enough to pass their examinations (Canagarajah, 1993b; Muchiri et al., 1995; Resnick, 1993). Teachers are now more sensitive to the ways in which students might negotiate

the dominant materials and methods to suit their values and interests.

3. The search for the best method is actually a myth (Prabhu, 1990). The periodic popularization of new methods is driven by marketing and power considerations of research centers, publishing houses, and scholarly communities (Canagarajah, 2002; Pennycook, 1989). What is now called the postmethod realization insists that practitioners in the professional periphery should develop teaching strategies that are more relevant to their pedagogical contexts, rather than depending on the center for methods that are considered authoritative. Such an approach is pedagogically empowering.

### *Literacy Practices*

CP has also politicized literacy in English. Literacy was traditionally perceived as the impersonal decoding or encoding of detached texts (in the product-oriented tradition) or the dynamic cognitive strategies that construct personal meaning in the text (in the process-oriented tradition). The pedagogy failed to interrogate the content and genre conventions that shape textual meaning. CP helped inquire how literacy can serve to empower the student and the community. Presently, there are more critical studies relating to macro-textual domains than those on the use of grammar or vocabulary (but see Morgan, 1998). Though we have a well-established critical tradition on orientating to sentence-level rules from the time of critical linguistics (Fowler and Kress, 1979) and stretching to more recent forms of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1995), there are few teachers who use these approaches in the classroom. At the discourse level, CP has corrected the English as an Academic Purposes (EAP) orientation that while academic conventions may be value-ridden and favor dominant ideologies, these are the conventions that students of all languages have to master in order to succeed in the educational setting. Benesch (1993) has taken this pragmatism to task. She has shown that leaving the underlying values and interests of a genre unquestioned is itself an ideological position and is by no means neutral. CP has argued for the need to teach students the ways in which these conventions serve to exclude membership in the academic community. It has shown the ways in which the typical academic posture of detachment and objectivity exclude other ways of knowing that are more empathic and personal, including writings that are more involved and narrative, from women and other minority communities (see Canagarajah, 2002). Benefiting from perspectives of feminism, poststructuralism, and post-colonialism on voice and hybridity, many practitioners have worked

toward enabling ESL writers to negotiate the established conventions in their favor to develop multivocal texts (Belcher and Connor, 2001; Casanave and Vandrick, 2003). CP has also exposed how cultural descriptions of L2 writing suppress the complexity, historical dynamism, and even conflicts *within* cultures and subcultures (Kubota, 1999). In fact, with English enjoying hegemonic status globally, it is naive to treat students from other cultures as employing an uncontaminated “native” discourse. CP has argued for the need to make students critique their own discourses as well as that of English in order to practice a critical writing that negotiates cultures (see Canagarajah, 2002; Ramanathan, 2004).

### *Orientations to Second Language Acquisition*

Traditionally, we have worked with constructs like *integrative* and *instrumental* motivation (see Gardner and Lambert, 1972) or (more recently, as a corrective to them) *intrinsic* and *extrinsic* motivation (Brown, 1991) to understand effective language learning. The first construct in each pair has emerged as accounting for success. That is, learning a language to join the target speech community (integrative motivation) rather than obtaining practical rewards (instrumental motivation), or learning a language for self-accomplishment and personal interests (intrinsic motivation) rather than under institutional compulsion (extrinsic motivation) are the valued forms of motivation. However, both sets fail to take account of issues of power in attaining one’s objectives (see also Janks, *Teaching Language and Power*, Volume 1). These constructs give the impression that just having the right motivation will help succeed in language learning. There are serious socioeconomic constraints that shape one’s motivations and the ability to attain one’s objectives. Furthermore, motivations can be contradictory, multiple, and changing. The strategies one adopts to negotiate the available resources in relation to one’s motivation will shape the mastery of the language.

Taking such realities of power and material conditions into account, Bonny Norton Peirce (1995) has come up with the construct *investment*—which is influenced by Bourdieu’s economic metaphors for language learning and usage. Norton Peirce demonstrates how the investment of some of her adult immigrant students in learning English to achieve important symbolic and economic capital for their own and their family’s survival helps them develop counter-discourses and oppositional identities to transcend silence and marginalization in the new language. One’s social positioning and the alternate identities desired in the new community considerably influence the approaches and consequences in language learning. Influenced by these perspectives, we

now have a burgeoning tradition of research on the ways identity is negotiated by students for acquiring English in relation to their social interests and positioning (see Blackledge and Pavlenko, 2004; Hawkins, 2005; Lin et al., 2002).

Another socially grounded orientation to the process of language acquisition is that of joining a community. The model of *legitimate peripheral participation* has opened some interesting avenues in this regard. According to Lave and Wenger (1991), any learning involves practice in the discourses/activities of the dominant community, to the point where the novice develops the proficiency to be accepted as a full member. For this to occur, novices should enjoy access to the discourses of the community and the possibility of protected and nurturing modes of participation. Many scholars have used this perspective to understand how students develop communities in the classroom to scaffold their language learning (Hawkins, 2005; Toohey, 1998). However, agency is sometimes exaggerated and the power of the community is simplified to the point where ESL students are vested with the ability to join any community they want at their own sweet will (see Zamel, 1997). But Paul Prior (1998) reminds us that ESL students cannot leave their history and values at the door step as they enter into a new community. In what he terms a *sociohistoric approach*, he notes that it is the way students employ their cultural and linguistic resources to inform the new discourse that empowers them. It is in this way that they make a contribution to the activity of the new community, enabling it to revise its discourses and democratize its assumptions. Therefore ESL students have to assume that joining a community involves conflict and struggle. Recent studies explore the critical negotiation involved in becoming members of new language or discourse communities (see Canagarajah, 2003; Kramsch and Lam, 1999; Toohey, 1998).

With studies of this nature, we have come a long way from the dominant psycholinguistic models treating learners as a bundle of nervous reflexes. A political orientation treats learners as complex social beings who must negotiate competing subject positions in conflicting discourse communities to shape their practices of language learning. Also critical researchers/teachers orientate to identities as multiple, conflictual, negotiated, and evolving, shifting from the traditional assumption of learner identities as static, unitary, discrete, and given (see Canagarajah, 2004).

### *Classroom Discourse*

Classroom discourse has implications for ELT as it serves as an input and reinforcement for language acquisition. In any pedagogy, it is important to consider how classroom interactions and discourse are

structured. The two dominant traditions of this orientation—i.e. interactional analysis which quantifies turns, length, and direction of utterances in teacher/student interaction in an ethnomethodological fashion and the Labovian and Hymnsian discourse analytical traditions which describe speech events in relation to broader social and cultural contexts—fall short of addressing issues of power. Critical practitioners have developed interpretive frameworks to consider how the typical speech events and interactions in the classroom enforce unequal relations between the teacher and the student, limit the production of new and critical knowledge, and might work against the social interests relevant to the students (Kumaravadivelu, 1999). Others have identified spaces in the classroom that students and sometimes teachers might use to practice discourses oppositional to the policies in the classroom and the school. Especially in the context of English Only in both US and postcolonial classrooms, multilingual teachers and students might use instructional off-sites to introduce other languages. Labeled variously as classroom underlife (Canagarajah, 2004), safe houses (Pratt, 1991), or institutional interstices (Heller and Martin-Jones, 1996), these sites may find manifestation in deviations from the lesson, passing of notes between students, and unauthorized conversations and topics behind the back of the teacher. In most cases, these sites are constructed in locations outside the surveillance of authority figures. These sites are testament to the agency of the disempowered. However controlled or homogeneous the learning environment, students form spaces where they can develop values and interests that matter to them.

### *Target Language*

The research on classroom underlife shows the desire for students to bring other codes into learning. However, ELT has traditionally insisted not only on an English-only classroom but also treated standard British English or General American English as the target to be achieved universally. In the context of legitimized varieties of World Englishes in postcolonial communities (see Kachru, 1986), there are now new questions to be asked: i.e. Whose norms? How proficient? Despite Kachru's arguments in favor of institutionalized varieties of local Englishes in second language contexts, instruction is still based on the traditional Anglo-American standards. However, globalization and the Internet have served to convince people of the need to be multi-dialectal, if not multilingual. We are now beginning to see research on the ways in which students are developing competence in other varieties of English outside the classroom by their own devices (see Harris et al., 2002; Ibrahim, 1999). We are also beginning to see how students bring in other varieties of English into the classroom to negotiate

dominant varieties or appropriate English in their favor (Canagarajah, 1993b; Gebhard, 2005; Martin, 2005).

Discussions of target language should go further to include the place of the first languages ESL students speak. Gone are the days when we treated the L1 as interfering with and even hindering L2 acquisition. We know from recent research that skills and language awareness developed in L1 can transfer positively to L2 (Cummins, 1991), that a validation of the student's L1 can reduce the inhibitions against English and develop positive affect to enhance acquisition (Auerbach, 1993), and that a multilingual self can be formed of diverse languages without being dysfunctional for the students (Kramsch and Lam, 1999). (See also Skutnabb-Kangas, *Human Rights and Language Policy in Education*, Volume 1.) Skutnabb-Kangas considers it a violation of "linguistic human rights" to teach English in isolation from the first languages of the students. She argues that an ELT pedagogy based on English-only can lead to the gradual devaluation of L1 and subtractive bilingualism among students (cf. May, *Bilingual/Immersion Education: What the Research Tells Us*, Volume 5). This unequal relationship of languages can lead to the vernacular declining in currency and English continuing its global hegemony.

In this context, it is important to consider how ELT can foster skills of linguistic negotiation that enable students to move across languages. Teaching English without reference to their first language may handicap students for life in the postmodern multilingual world. Multilingual speakers may use their proficiency in languages for critical English expression. Even teachers who may not have a proficiency in the languages spoken by the students can adopt certain pedagogical strategies to help negotiate codes. These pedagogies have been developed by classroom ethnographers from the surreptitious uses of L1 they detect in the language classroom (see Canagarajah, 2004; Lucas and Katz, 1994). Pairing an English-proficient student with someone less proficient for interaction in their own language, grouping students speaking the same language for collaborative tasks, writing journals in the L1, and translating material in both languages are ways in which L1 can be accommodated in the ESL classroom to assist in critical English expression.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Although the work discussed earlier treats identity largely in terms of unitary constructs, such as nationality, race, or ethnicity, recent studies have started exploring how diverse subject positions interact in the learning experience. Gender is an important area of emerging research and pedagogy—as one can note from recent special topic issues in the *TESOL Quarterly* (in Autumn 2004) and the *Journal of Language*,

*Identity, and Education* (in December 2004). Though late to arrive in the field of ELT, research on gender has fashioned a complex framework integrating scholarship in other fields (see also Pavlenko and Piller, *Language Education and Gender*, Volume 1). Researchers attempt to move gender beyond deficit, difference, dominance, and dual-culture perspectives (see Langman, 2004) to treat gender as negotiated and constructed. In doing so, they move away from treating gender as an essentialized or overdetermined construct. Crucial to this shift is the way gender interacts with aspects like immigrant or “non-native” status in ELT (see JLIE articles). In some cases, while women’s chances of learning a second language are curtailed by their lack of opportunities outside the home, in other cases their immigrant status enables them to suspend home cultural expectations and negotiate new competencies and identities effectively. There is, however, a felt need to analyze the constructivist orientation in the light of structural constraints. Lin et al. (2004) examine how gender interacts with diverse institutional hierarchies in ELT (e.g., teacher-trainers vs. teachers). Yet, Langman (2004) is correct to say that current research is tilted toward adult learners and immigrant women in United States, ignoring other identities, and limiting the ability to form generalizations about gender politics in ELT.

Race too is gaining importance in ELT. Researchers are adopting a constructivist orientation and exploring the way race interacts with other constructs like non-nativeness or gender (see the special topic issue of *TESOL Quarterly* in September 2006). The way race complicates native speaker status has been well studied so far. Ironically, speakers of English as a dominant language with non-white traits are stereotyped as non-natives by teachers and students, though they might have been born in the West. Within non-native speakers, on the other hand, those with ‘white’ traits have better prospects of “passing” as native speakers and developing confidence in their use of English, compared to those from non-white backgrounds (see also Pavlenko and Piller, *Language Education and Gender*, Volume 1). Black scholars have also articulated how their status is marginalized, though they are “native” to English (Romney, 2004). The recent publication of an ESL textbook that features Black English, and narratives and images from the Black community, attempts to pluralize ELT (see Romney, 2004).

Research is also underway outside the classroom, in sites such as the Internet and popular culture, to consider the prospects for language learning. Though the Internet has been presented as helping diversify English and providing authority to non-native speakers as it features the global English speech community (Murray 2000; Warschauer, 2000), others see discourses, conventions, and images that are biased

(Selfe and Selfe, 1994). We need more studies that consider how technology is used by learners to negotiate the power inequalities and achieve communicative proficiency (see also Kalantzis and Cope, *Language Education and Multiliteracies*, Volume 1). Similarly, music and popular culture that form the postmodern “transcultural flows” (Appadurai, 1996) are being studied for how they help learners gain new identities and resources for English acquisition. Consider the multidialectal facility students display and the more desirable identities they take up in the hip-hop culture (Ibrahim, 1999; Pennycook, 2003).

As we turn to constructivist research on the ways English provides new, often empowering, identities to English language learners, there is a need to align this with structural and material considerations. It is true that ELT shifted from the earlier political perspective that focused on structural and geopolitical factors to consider the fluid construction of identities at microlevel sites. There was a concomitant ideological shift from overdetermined analyses to volitionist perspectives on empowerment. Scholars now see the need to conduct a more nuanced reading of the interface between the macro and micro, mind and matter, classroom and society as they interact in language learning (see Gebhard, 2005; Hawkins, 2005).

#### PROBLEMS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The politics of ELT must be always sensitive to the changes in social conditions. Power is not a zero-sum game. Power is negotiated, shifting, and constantly reconstituted. As students and teachers address power in ELT contexts, power finds newer and subtler manifestations in the field. There might arise a need to abandon earlier analytical frameworks and construct more relevant ones (see also Janks, *Teaching Language and Power*, Volume 1).

The tension between two broad historical movements is upon us, raising new questions about the place of ELT in all communities. Although non-Western communities were busy working on the decolonization project, the carpet has been pulled from under their feet by another movement, globalization (see Block, *Language Education and Globalization*, Volume 1). It is as if one historical process subsumed another before the first project was complete. There are significant differences in the project of both movements: decolonization entails resisting English in favor of building an autonomous nation-state; globalization has made the borders of the nation-state porous and reinserted the importance of English language for all communities (see Canagarajah, 2006). Apart from the pressures the nation-state is facing from outside, it is also facing pressures from within (as the claims of diverse social groups and ethnic communities within the nation have become more assertive).

Postmodern conditions have also created certain significant changes in discourse, calling for a different orientation to ELT planning. People are not prepared to think of their identities in essentialist terms (as belonging exclusively to one language or culture), their cultures as monolithic (closed against contact with other communities), and their knowledge forms as pure (uniformly local or centralized). It is fair to ask whether these fuzzy constructs, defined in more fluid and hybrid terms, can be used anymore as reliable frameworks for policy statements. On the other hand, increasing multilingualism, cultural pluralism, and the vernacularization of English bring into question the dichotomous ways in which language policies have been formulated: i.e. English or mother tongue? Individual rights or group rights? Mobility or preservation? (For recent debates, see Modiano, 2004). While we respond to these changes with suitable modification in the ways we articulate language rights, we mustn't simplify the significance of power differences between languages and communities, the continued importance of identities and groups in policy making, and the need for protecting minority interests.

In the midst of all this, scholars of the emerging school of *Lingua Franca English* find that there are new communicative norms developing as English is used for international communication by multilingual speakers (see, e.g., Seidlhofer, 2004). Studying how non-native speakers in the expanding and outer circle interact in English, researchers find that they do not defer to native speaker norms, as used in the inner circle. The scholars have started identifying a *lingua franca* core that seems to facilitate communication among speakers of different varieties. Would English as an international language benefit from the teaching of this *lingua franca* core, rather than the grammar of a specific dominant variety? Furthermore, as there is a need to shuttle between communities in the postmodern world, we have to teach students to negotiate diverse varieties of English in their everyday life. Since teaching one variety at a time is impractical, we have to consider a paradigm shift (for work along these lines, see Holliday, 2005). We have to move away from the traditionally valued "target language" to developing proficiency in a repertoire of Englishes needed in the postmodern world; from our traditional focus on joining a community to shuttling between communities; from the focus on rules of the grammatical system to strategies of negotiation; from an obsession with correctness to negotiating appropriate usage for diverse contexts. Proposals have ranged from teaching language awareness to developing sociolinguistic sensitivity or developing pragmatic strategies for negotiating codes (see McKay, 2005; Seidlhofer, 2004). Still, we have to be careful not to nurture the view that *Lingua Franca English* is a neutral language that all communities can use without inhibitions. Modiano

summarizes the pedagogical dilemma raised by the new status of English in the following way: “Retaining our indigenous cultures and language (s) while reaping the benefits of large-scale integration via a language of wider communication is the challenge many of us will no doubt have to come to terms with in the years to come” (Modiano, 2004, p. 225; see also Phillipson, *Language Policy and Education in the European Union Volume 1*).

## CONCLUSION

The political orientation has left an indelible mark in the field of ELT. It has challenged the dominant discourses of objectivity, pragmatism, and efficiency that characterized the field for a long time. Now we are sensitive to the fact that ELT is an interested activity. We have adopted an ecological orientation that situates language learning clearly in the social context (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996). Knowledge in the field is now more multilateral, and open to experiences and views from the instructional and geopolitical peripheries. Even research and reporting are influenced by a political perspective (see Canagarajah, 1996). Researchers are now open to questions of ethics, subjectivity, and power as they break away from the positivistic tradition and bring in more diverse methodologies. Similarly, ELT journals are breaking away from the traditional IMRD (i.e., Introduction, Method, Results, Discussion) structure to represent knowledge through narratives, reflection, dialogue, drama, and other genres. Such developments assure us that teachers and researchers will continue to ask questions that relate to issues of power and difference, shaping a more democratic disciplinary discourse.

**See Also:** *Alastair Pennycook: Critical Applied Linguistics and Language Education (Volume 1); Hilary Janks: Teaching Language and Power (Volume 1); Aneta Pavlenko and Ingrid Piller: Language Education and Gender (Volume 1); David Block: Language Education and Globalization (Volume 1); Stephen May: Bilingual/Immersion Education: What the Research Tells Us (Volume 5); Mary Kalantzis and Bill Cope: Language Education and Multiliteracies (Volume 1); Tove Skutnabb-Kangas: Human Rights and Language Policy in Education (Volume 1); Robert Phillipson: Language Policy and Education in the European Union (Volume 1)*

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## LANGUAGE POLICY AND TEACHER EDUCATION

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Language policy in education as an instrument for the promotion of hegemony has been utilized by nation-states over the course of the past five centuries. The scholar Antonio de Nebrija, through the promotion of his Castilian Grammar, was among the first to advocate for overt instruction in a standardized language as a means of advancing the interests of the state (Illich, 1979; Mignolo, 2003). François I of France, shortly thereafter likewise saw the importance of language policy in the interest of national hegemony (Christ, 1997). With the rise of common public schooling during the nineteenth century in a number of Western European countries, as well as in the USA, language policy has been at the core of teacher education, even though teachers have rarely received explicit subject matter preparation in language policy as a subject area. Similarly, with the onset of the 1868 Meiji period, language policy became a major focus of mass education in Japan (Carroll, 2001; Weinberg, 1997). Teachers had to keep pace with reforms in the writing system and the unification of spoken and written language, as well as the incorporation of new concepts into the Japanese language from abroad (Coulmas, 1990; cf. Fujita-Round and Maher, *Language Education Policy in Japan*, Volume 1). The use of vernacular and script reforms became a focus of Chinese educators throughout much of the twentieth century, as the spread of standard Mandarin continues to be a focus of educational policy currently into the twenty-first century (Peterson, 1997; see also Lam, *Language Education Policy in Greater China*, Volume 1). Long in the domain of missionary educators and colonial powers in Africa, educational language policies and the need for professional preparation of teachers of Africa's multilingual populations are ongoing needs in its postcolonial states (see also Heugh, *Language Policy and Education in Southern Africa*, Volume 1). Similarly, teacher education for indigenous language minorities in rural Central and South America represents a major need if educational opportunities are to expand to indigenous populations (see also Godenzzi, *Language Policy and Education in the Andes*, Volume 1; Hamel, *Bilingual Education for Indigenous Communities in Mexico*, Volume 5).

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Although language policy may be a topic in teacher preparation courses, like other areas of applied linguistics, it is rarely a required area for in-depth study. Teacher preparation curricula place strong emphases on language and literacy education in which policies are prescribed or mandated. With specific reference to language minority student populations, teachers are asked to implement policies that either promote, accommodate, or restrict languages. In dealing with language policy in teacher education, it is necessary to distinguish among language policies that are intended to (1) promote literacy and education in national and/or official languages, (2) accommodate or promote mother tongues and community languages, and/or (3) promote foreign languages and/or languages of wider communication.

The United Nations holds that education is a basic human right without which the rights of citizenship and civic participation cannot be fully enjoyed (Daudet and Sigh, 2001). The promotion of national and common languages is often the primary focus of public or state-supported schooling, given that it allows access to social, economic, and political participation necessary to benefit from the rights of citizenship. The right to an education in one's mother tongue, heritage, or community language(s), was endorsed by the United Nations in a 1953 UNESCO resolution, which called for children to have the right to attain literacy in their mother tongue. The reality is that many nation-states have not seriously engaged this matter (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, 2002, *Human Rights and Language Policy in Education*, Volume 1; Wiley, 2002).

The language of the school may be mutually intelligible with the language of the home and community, but often it is not. Thus, a major consideration in teacher education is the extent to which language differences between the child's and the school's language is acknowledged and reflected in instructional and educational policies and instruction. Unfortunately, in many states, educational policy approaches are based on deficit views of language minority status (Churchill, 1986; May, 2001, Chapter 5).

Given that there are around 6,000 languages in the world as well as many social and regional varieties of languages, many children enter schools in which there are differences between their language variety and that used by the school. When instruction is provided in the language of home and community, there typically are fewer "language problems." Children acquire spoken languages naturally based on their interaction with their parents and local speech communities. However, because there are far fewer standardized languages of literacy than spoken ones, and given that few languages have achieved the status of

school languages, promoting literacy may be a problem, particularly if teachers have not been prepared to recognize and accommodate differences between the language of the home and school. Many educators tend to be influenced more by the political climate and common discourse related to citizenship and language diversity than they are informed by theory and research (McGoarty, 2002; see also May, *Bilingual/Immersion Education: What the Research Tells Us*, Volume 5). Moreover, because many teacher educators view language varieties of the community or home as deficient, they do not believe that children should even have a right to instruction in their own language (Smitherman, 2005).

Although, the 1953 UNESCO resolution is supported by constructivist theory and research on the need for students to identify positively with their home and community languages, support for linguistic human rights in education has been mixed. In some countries, there has been gradual recognition of the rights of national minorities to promote their languages based on historical claims (May, 2001). In many countries, however, policy makers have rejected the use of minority languages for other groups, or have lacked the resources or will to promote instruction through them. Similarly, minority languages and “nonstandard” varieties of language have often been rejected, even when they are only to be used to accommodate schooling for language minorities (Ramírez, Wiley, de Klerk, Lee, and Wright, 2005).

Teacher education in many countries involves setting professional standards which may include accreditation of professional programs, licensing via examinations, or certification based on set coursework. Teachers may receive initial or preservice instruction, apprentice preparation, such as student teaching, and ongoing or in-service professional development. Countries such as France, Japan, and Mexico have centralized departments of education whereas the USA uses a federal model, in which states have responsibility for teacher licensing. US states began assuming this responsibility during the late nineteenth century (Darling-Hammond, 2001). Across the various states, however, programs are not uniform.

In some countries, teacher preparation may consist of only the most rudimentary levels of higher education, if even that. Teachers of rural language minority populations in Guatemala, for example, may receive only 1 year of teacher preparation. In 2000, in China, gaps in public education were filled by over 50,000 nonstate educational institutions, with much variation in quality of instruction and teacher preparation (Zhou and Ross, 2004). Despite officially stated requirements for teacher preparation, in some developing nations rural teachers may be only several years ahead of their students, and may be struggling along with their students to attain proficiency in the dominant and/or national language (cf. Heugh, *Language Policy and Education in Southern*

Africa, Volume 1). In certain countries, teachers may be required to receive four or five years of preparation, whereas in other countries they may receive graduate degrees either before or after their certification. Despite these differences internationally, there have been many similarities regarding teacher preparation and expectations for teacher performance with respect to language instruction.

How professional knowledge is conceptualized and presented in practitioner journals is a major concern in teacher education (Darling-Hammond, 2006). Despite their struggles for professional status, in many countries teachers have been viewed as instruments of the state, whose role is to implement national/state policies, rather than to critique or question such policies. In countries where market forces have strong influence, teachers have been viewed more as technicians of instruction, wherein preparation is viewed as a form of apprenticeship. They often lack control over the selection and adoption of materials and may not be able to control or influence instructional policies that would be more equitable for linguistically diverse populations. As Darling-Hammond argues, "Whereas professions typically assume responsibility for defining, transmitting, and enforcing standards of practice, teachers have historically had little or no control over most of the mechanisms that determine professional standards" (2001, p. 260).

Where professional goals and standards were addressed in second and/or foreign language teacher preparation, traditionally they focused on the relationship between language and a "target" culture. Mainstream and second language teachers were taught to teach to an idealized "native-like" competence, foster the ability to speak, and write like a "native speaker," develop insider cultural knowledge of rules of appropriateness so that students could pass, or nearly pass, as a native speaker in accent and articulation; and help students try to blend or assimilate into the target language community. In such preparation programs, there has been little consideration for the maintenance or loss of the learner's first language(s).

Beginning in the late 1990s, US teachers in the English-only states of California, Arizona, and Massachusetts were restricted in the range of program and instructional options they could employ for language minority students (see also Ricento and Wright, *Language Policy and Education in the United States*, Volume 1). The content of teacher preparation programs was constrained and specified approaches to basic literacy education, such as phonics, were prescribed. In cases such as these, political prescription has overridden professional judgment in teacher preparation. Thus, from the perspective of promoting equitable educational language policies, despite these obstacles, teacher preparation programs need to inform teachers about ways in which they may become conflicted by, and complicit in, promoting policies that

disadvantage or discriminate against language minority children (see also Janks, *Teaching Language and Power*, Volume 1).

Some detrimental educational language policies are officially prescribed, but many more are likely to be implicit. Rather than being derived from formal policies of the school, they result more from institutional practices and teachers' folk theories about the importance of language learning and language in learning. Haas (1992) has examined how institutional practices involving language can contribute to institutional racism, which involves systematic practices that have the effect of advantaging some and disadvantaging others, even if such practices were not intended to do so. In his analysis of the state of Hawaii, Haas found a number of language-related school practices that adversely affected language minorities. Historically, oral language tests during the first half of the twentieth century in Hawaii were used to track or segregate "nonstandard" language speakers into separate schools from those with "standard" accents. Language performance also correlated with the ethnic and racial backgrounds of the children. Haas noted that this practice was abolished only after many children of color acquired "mainland sounding accents" (p. 191).

Other examples of biased schooling practices noted by Haas included insufficient use of language minority languages to communicate with parents; unequal grade distributions by race/ethnicity/language background; under-identification of students in need of language assistance; under-serving students needing language assistance; inappropriate staff composition to provide language assistance to language minority students; and discriminatory requirements for language certification among teachers (see pp. 191–214 for elaboration). To this list, other practices can be added: disallowing language minorities equal access to core academic curricula because of their proficiency in the dominant language, holding unequal expectations for the success of language minority children based on their language backgrounds, and failing to provide language minority communities with choice of the language of instruction (Wiley, 1996).

Language assessment policy is another area that needs attention in teacher preparation. Among the more enduring educational practices which needs scrutiny, is the use of language tests as one of the primary means of sorting children into special instructional tracks based on their proficiency, as measured by language tests, in the language of instruction (Hakuta, 1986). Valadez, MacSwan, and Martínez (2002) found misassessment and misclassification to be a major problem among some 6,800 students who allegedly lacked proficiency in both their purported first language and the language of instruction. On a linguistic assessment of 23 grammatical variables, drawn from natural speech samples rather than school-based assessment measures, the students

who were held to be “low achievers,” because of their alleged low levels of language proficiency, were found not to “differ linguistically in any interesting way from other children” (p. 246).

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS: THEORETICAL AND PROFESSIONAL PERSPECTIVES

Concurrent with the rise of state licensing in the USA, curriculum reformers began placing emphasis on formal language education. Prescriptive notions of standard language were emphasized for college admission. Teachers increasingly were seen as the guardians of “proper” language (Wright, 1980). In classrooms they were admonished to use a formal register for questioning, and their students were expected to answer in a formal recitation register. Children and speakers of nonstandard varieties of language quickly learned that “their oral performance was inadequate even if they did not understand why” (Wiley, 2005, p. 151). The expectation for standard language became a school-based language policy in which use of a standard register, modeled after formal writing, was expected for both oral and written communication.

As Christ (1997) has correctly noted: “Hardly any research has been conducted thus far on language policy in teacher education” (p. 224). Some of the reasons for this relate to the relatively negligible impact that applied linguistics has had on mainstream teacher education and to the perception of teaching as a profession and teacher knowledge more broadly. The applied linguistic knowledge base for second language, foreign language, and bilingual instruction is more developed, teachers may be required to do some foundational work in theory and methodology and some relevant materials are noteworthy (e.g., August and Hakuta, 1998; Baker, 2001; Baetens-Beardsmore, 1993). Moreover, Corson’s (1999) discussion of language policies in schools provides an excellent foundation for considering the range of policies that might be more explicitly addressed in teacher education.

In recent decades in Europe, advances in foreign language theory and instructional methodology drew from work done on the teaching of English as a foreign/second language. During the 1990s, teacher preparation efforts such as the LINGUA project, sought to move beyond that dependency by using learner-centered approaches in in-service training for secondary teachers of German, Spanish, Modern Greek, as well as English (Gewerh, 1998). Other recent work (e.g., Hawkins, 2004) has focused on teaching language as socially situated and variable rather than as merely “the sum of all its grammatical parts” (p. 4). A greater emphasis is placed on the need for teachers to understand the politics of discourses.

Professional organizations have been able to exert some influence on the direction of teacher preparation and ongoing professional development. Associations such as the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) in the USA, and the International Reading Association (IRA), exercise considerable influence on setting standards for teacher preparation. In recent years, these organizations have become more attuned to issues of cultural and linguistic diversity, at least within the context of the ideology of accountability, which has manifested itself in the educational standards movement (Wiley, 2005).

Given the push for higher educational standards for all students, this question may be asked: To what extent do educational standards adequately take into consideration and reflect the language needs of all students? Advocates of educational standards contend that standards provide an explicit foundation for measuring student progress against national expectations as well as for cross-national educational comparisons. Student demographics, resources, and materials, however, vary greatly between countries and within them. Language minority students can be disadvantaged by educational standards, particularly when their home and community languages are ignored or held in low regard by teachers. Therefore, in order for educational standards to be equitable, teachers must have an understanding of the specific linguistic and cultural resources all students bring with them to school (Wiley, 2005).

In the USA, the IRA and the National Council on the Teaching of English (NCTE) have created standards for the English language arts, which have become influential guides for teachers, most of whom will teach some language minority students, even if they are not ESL specialists. In a positive sense, these help to underscore the need for equitable treatment for language minority students who are increasingly a major portion of the student population. In theory, the standards can be adapted creatively to special populations. From the perspective of equity, IRA/NCTE notes that to ensure "equal educational opportunities and meet high expectations for performance" (IRA/NCTE, p. 9), students must have access to school resources, adequately trained and knowledgeable teachers, and safe, well-equipped schools (IRA/NCTE, p. 9).

For teachers of language minority students, IRA/NCTE standards underscore the importance of helping students develop "an understanding of and respect for diversity in language use, patterns, and dialects across cultures, ethnic groups, geographic regions, and social roles" (p. 9). The importance of home language is noted: "Students whose first language is not English make use of their first language to develop competency in the English language arts and to develop understanding of content across curriculum" (p. 9). These are important acknowledgments; however, there is a risk that a standard such as these may

become empty slogans unless teachers are provided with appropriate training to work with linguistically diverse students. This is necessary because language use at home can be very different from expectations for language use in the school (cf. Heath, 1983). In a related effort, the international association of Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) has likewise taken steps to promote its own ESL Standards for Pre-K-12 Students (1997).

According to TESOL, its standards were drawn from research on first and second language acquisition. Its principles for language teaching are based on the assumptions that (1) language is functional; (2) language is not monolithic but varies in many ways by skill area and social and regional variety; (3) learning language involves cultural learning; (4) language acquisition is a long-term process; (5) language acquisition occurs through meaningful use and interaction; (6) language processes develop independently; (7) native language proficiency contributes to second language acquisition; and (8) bilingualism is an individual and social asset (TESOL, 1997, see pp. 6–8).

TESOL put forth broad goals for instruction whereby students would learn to use language for social and academic purposes in culturally appropriate ways. In particular, TESOL's standards call for teachers to emphasize appropriate use of language variety, register, and genre according to audience, purpose, and setting; use nonverbal communication appropriately according to audience, purpose, and setting; and use appropriate learning strategies to extend students' social and socio-cultural competence. This emphasis implies a target cultural and linguistic standard against which language performance could be assessed. Given that English is an international language of wider communication with competing standards and multiple cultural contexts for "appropriate" language use, contextualizing standards would appear to be problematic (cf. McKay, 2002). Which standards, or more directly, "whose" standards based on notions of cultural, class, or national norms for behavior should prevail? This is not a trivial question when considering how language policies should relate to teacher preparation. Are teachers to be the gatekeepers of rules of appropriateness, be referees, or consultants? Thus, considering the role of standards as a guide to language policy in teacher education, there is room for caution.

The history of curriculum accountability movements suggests that the push for standards often results in overly prescribed curricula, which can result in implicit biases for language minority students (Wiley and Wright, 2004). Thus, care is needed to clarify why standards are being selected and 'whose standards' they reflect. As Tumposky (1984) has noted, the "equation of the knowledge of a language with the mastery of isolated, discrete items would seem to have been disproven by the acknowledged failure of certain methods . . . which

focused almost exclusively on the minutiae of language's building blocks" (p. 303). Thus, to a degree, this perspective suggests limits to overly prespecified language planning in teacher education. John Dewey (1963) noted long ago that the challenge for the teacher is to achieve through conscious planning what nature does naturally. No matter how much the language curriculum is overtly planned by teachers, curriculum designers, and textbook writers, it is still experienced differently by the learners. Students interpret, reconstruct, and even resist those plans (cf. Canagarajah, 1999). To facilitate student learning, instructional standards, or plans must be sensitive to how those plans are understood and reconstructed by the students (for a more elaborated discussion of the standards for language minority instruction, see Wiley, 2005, Chapter 9).

Unfortunately, analyses of the content of mainstream language arts texts books indicate that many teacher preparation materials treat these topics generically and without enough depth to adequately prepare teachers (Berdan and Wiley, 1992). By acknowledging language diversity, the IRA/NCTE and TESOL standards represent an advance over previous organizational guidelines, but more is needed to provide in-depth guidance for teachers about policies and practices that would enhance the education of language minority learners. Some recent efforts, however, are more clearly directed at helping novice and in-service teachers develop language awareness in instruction (see Trappes-Lomax and Gerguson, 2002).

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Around the world, the demand for English, and increasingly Spanish, Mandarin, Arabic, and other global/regional languages of wider communication presents challenges. First, these and other major languages are needed for access to the kinds of knowledge mediated through schools, which is necessary for social, economic, and political participation. Unless specific educational policies are put in place to promote and maintain minority languages, they may not have the resources or vitality to thrive or even survive. Second, as the demand for global and regional languages increases, so does the need for adequately prepared teachers of these languages, as well as teachers who must use these languages to teach.

As English and other major languages spread, they are used for many purposes by many types of learners, and these languages are changed by them. The globalization of English, in particular, is forcing changes in conceptions of the role of teachers and of language goals and policies in teacher preparation. Corson (2001) has suggested three things that could be done at the school and local levels: (1) creating

better patterns of communication regarding language goals; (2) negotiating policies between the school and local communities; and (3) promoting “critical language awareness” within the school “through a language curriculum that promotes social awareness of discourse . . . variety, and consciousness of practice for change” (p. 34; cf. May, 1994).

Increasingly, we can expect that languages will be learned for specific purposes including trade, business, and international communication, as well as to enhance personal knowledge and educational opportunities. The need to communicate with others in global contexts will require that language teachers better understand the need for languages to function as bridges in multilingual contexts, that some learners may resist implicit cultural discourses, and that languages will be indigenized and code-mixed for local or regional communicative purposes without following the conventions of the so-called target cultures (see Canagarajah, 1999; McKay, 2002; Sridhar, 1996). Thus, successful program models for promoting foreign language fall into three broad categories: (1) those that are designed to meet specific learner needs, (2) those that promote general communication strategies, and (3) those that are needed for educational enhancement.

Given the negative legacy of discriminatory language policies in education for language minorities, some focus on the history of educational language policies to the detriment of language minority students should be a part of teacher preparation. Beyond that, there is a need for teachers to become familiar with positive examples of culturally and linguistically responsive schooling (see for example, May, 1994).

Some teacher training in the ethnography of communication and on expectations for language usage is needed when languages are being taught for purposes of wider communication. With the expansion of economic interdependence and globalization, it is reasonable to assume that language teachers, within local contexts, will increasingly need a variety of methods and approaches to meet learner needs (cf. Block, *Language Education and Globalization*, Volume 1). There will be increasing demand for instruction in foreign or additional languages of wider communication, both for academic and specific purposes, as well as for wider communication. As this occurs, teachers of English and other global/regional languages should not be surprised by the appropriation of these languages by learners who are not native speakers. Moreover, in the expanding circles of global and regional languages of wider communication, there will likely be an increased need to prepare bilingual teachers. Already, the majority of the world’s teachers of English, for example, are “nonnative” speakers. Given the variety of learner needs and local contexts for learning and using English and wider and regional languages of communication, there is a variety of appropriate methods that range from Communicative

Language Teaching, focused on target inner circle discourse practices, to more locally congruent cultural expectations.

Increasingly, however, in the global age, English is being used as a medium of instruction in schools, as well as for the purpose of acquiring and conveying information in local contexts. Thus, the relationship between language and culture may increasingly be one where there will be a need for scrutiny and negotiation of instructional language policies, especially when the goal of instruction is communication rather than assimilation.

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## SCHOOL LANGUAGE POLICIES

### INTRODUCTION

This chapter considers developments in school language policies in the last decade. Such policies are often developed at a national level using mechanisms such as those discussed by Sue Wright (2004). However, these same policies may not always find their way to implementation at the school level. Stephen May (1997) defined a school language policy as “a policy document aimed at addressing the particular language needs of a school” (p. 229). Such a document should therefore centralize language in learning and address the relevant diverse language needs of its student population, especially if, as May argues, it is developed in consultation with the wider school community. How that consultation should or might take place, or what constitutes the wider school community, is not explained. Once complete however, the policy should identify “areas within school organisation, curriculum, pedagogy and assessment where specific language needs exist” and indicate directions and methods for dealing with specific issues, “within a discretionary and flexible framework” that also includes mechanisms for review and monitoring (May, 1997, p. 299).

Corson (1999), who was influential in initiating this school-based language policy research, endorsed this view of the role and purpose of a language policy. He argued that a language policy provides schools with a specific direction in dealing with the issues, challenges, and possibilities that diversity and disparate learning needs pose. His work (see also Corson, 1990, 1993) explored the role of language policies in schools, and how they might serve the needs of diverse students. Such policies, he noted, were often accompanied by professional development to influence teachers’ practices and beliefs.

School language policies can also be centrally and politically driven. Coady and O’Laoire (2002) document this as they explain the mechanisms of the resurgence of Gaelic in the Republic of Ireland, where it became “a subject taught to bolster the government’s aim of fostering an Irish-speaking identity on behalf of the nation” (p. 143).

*Language Policies and Literacy*

The aspirations described earlier for school language policies can now be viewed in relation to the extent of their success in being a mechanism for dealing with disparity, diversity, literacy, and learning, particularly in Western contexts, the main focus of this chapter. Midway through the United Nations Decade of Literacy (2003–2012), it is pertinent to briefly examine links between language policies in specific countries and literacy actions at the school level. As May noted a decade ago, the prevalence of language policies at the school level in addressing these was not particularly widespread.

As Ager (2001) has observed, the world has, in the last decade, experienced some major upheavals: Yugoslavia is now a number of separate nations, the two Germanys have reunited and the European Union legislates for member countries on a number of practices normally the preserve of individual nations, such as currency and food standards. This is reflected in other international federations and treaties, which increasingly standardize economic and social practices stemming from corporate and political influences, highlighting the role of language and languages in standardization processes. Phillipson's chapter (*Language Policy and Education in the European Union*) in this volume is indicative of the issues involved (see also Block, *Language Education and Globalization*, Volume 1).

And while some countries persist in creating or adapting political language policies that privilege some languages or language practices over others, other practices aim to support diverse languages, such as the European Union's Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, one ramification of which, is the mandating in Britain at least, of a literacy hour in primary schools.

Concurrently, in countries like New Zealand, which has witnessed sustained revival in an indigenous language, there has been a review of literacy and languages provision in schools. In New Zealand's case, precipitating factors include the growth of Maori medium schools and the graduation of fluent Maori speakers from total immersion primary (elementary) schools to secondary schools, coupled with a rise in the number of foreign-fee-paying students and new migrants in schools. New Zealand's experience supports Hornberger's (2002) assertion that until the 1980s, language planning tended to be governed by the belief that linguistic diversity was a problem. Now, however, a conceptual shift in the country appears to recognize that it is an asset. Other factors relate to Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS) and Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) research findings (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2001, 2003), which continue to be used to illustrate and inform government policy direction.

This chapter considers the last decade and reviews the extent to which the ideals of national language policies have been implemented in schools in ways in which Corson (1999) advocated, or moved on from May's (1997) description of the mismatch between national level and school level policies.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

May's (1997) review of the genesis and international spread of school language policies does not need reinventing, but it is useful to restate some of its key ideas, and subsequent additions. As described, the major tenets of language across the curriculum (LAC) were that:

1. Language plays a central role in all learning.
2. Students must be actively engaged in meaning-making processes. Concomitantly, teachers must facilitate active student-centered learning rather than adopting didactic and transmissionist approaches to teaching.
3. Active student learning involves the four principal modes of language: listening, talking, reading, and writing.
4. Students should be encouraged to use their own language in these various modes as the principal tool for interpreting and mastering curriculum content (May, 1997, p. 230).

Wright (2004) noted that language policy and planning operated on three key levels of planning: status (as in political and governmental levels, identified by Ager (1996, p. 54) as "constituent policies"); corpus (as in the institutional level, such as schools or universities, and as outlined by Fishman, 2000, implicated in corpus agendas); and acquisition (i.e., both learning a language and the processes and management of programs that facilitate this). This builds on Cooper's (1989) three levels explored in relation to language policy and social change. Wright suggested that a focus on the role of language is "an integral part of nation building" (p. 9), and that language planning is an "organizing principle and mobilizing force" (p. 13). This implies that the development of language policy and planning at the status level at least, has had a long political history, longer than the history of school language policies as intimated by May (1997), whose focus necessarily centered on the corpus level, where national expectations for implementation concentrated on schools. A recent addition is the international focus on literacy, and the way in which countries interpret and politicize this aspect of learning in schools.

In New Zealand for instance, the four principal modes of language (reading, writing, speaking, and listening) were transformed into eight in the late 1970s—listening, speaking, reading, writing, moving, shaping, watching, and viewing—partly as a result of the international

influence of the 1966 Dartmouth conference, and to accommodate the development and influence of visual media. Later, these were adapted for the national curriculum document, *English in the New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 1994). This change recognized the existence of more visual texts, such as film and the Internet (see also Kalantzis and Cope, *Language Education and Multiliteracies*, Volume 1). This curriculum, now a decade old, has undergone further review, simplification, and paring—indicating something of the rapidity of change in coping with political, social, economic, and technological imperatives.

Alongside this, the 1994 curriculum reoriented primary school teachers' views of what had traditionally been labeled "reading" and "language" as "English." With a current national (and, it would seem, international) focus on literacy, there is a tendency for primary (elementary) teachers to call these same lessons "literacy," thus again affecting perceptions about what constitutes this kind of learning. However, "literacy" as a concept and focus has not been widely debated in New Zealand (as is also often the case elsewhere), nor has its meaning been explored; instead, its meaning seems to be taken for granted—that it is a synonym for both reading/language and English in primary schools. In New Zealand secondary schools, which have been exploring literacy as a focus for learning across the curriculum, subject specialists have been encouraged to reexamine their pedagogical practices and engage in more cross-curricular conversations about literacy and learning: a relatively new situation for such teachers, but one which Corson (1999) considered was imperative for more cohesive thinking about language.

Interestingly, very few of the schools heavily involved in this literacy professional development have developed language and literacy policies to support this endeavor. Instead, schools generally create systemic mechanisms to embed it, such as individual staff appraisal goals, or as mandated elements in departmental plans and programs. An overarching attempt to examine literacy and its implications in the wider school has not generally taken place, particularly in relation to language's role in learning and thinking. Long term, the effects of this omission are unknown, and may affect aspects of accommodating diversity, since it is literacy *in English* that is emphasized: the default position. New Zealand's case demonstrates ways in which political changes and policy developments can become reflected in the practices of schools, without recourse to the language policy debates advocated by Corson and May.

Another example is Spain, which has been examining the implications of multiple language learning in education as a response to some European Union membership ramifications. It has wrestled with ways

of acknowledging and fostering multilingualism through policy directions (Madrid-Fernandez, 2005). This examination includes: how to improve language learning from primary to tertiary levels; what that means for staff expertise and resources; and the role of technology in implementing this language policy at the school level. Spain's attempts to develop processes for implementation suggest some of the complex struggles between "a spreading lingua franca and global networks" and a likely "growing desire to conserve community and traditional ways of meaning through attention on what happens at the school level" (Wright, 2004, p. 246).

Conversely, in countries where nationalism or "national state ideology" (Wright, 2004, p. 247) has become more prominent, language policy and planning can impose exclusionary practices on schools, effectively suppressing language diversity (see also May, *Language Education, Pluralism and Citizenship*, Volume 1). Some educational policy decisions in the USA suggest this possibility, especially in relation to both schools' abilities to provide first language support and maintenance (Meyer, 2004; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2002; see also Ricento and Wright, *Language Policy and Education in the United States*, Volume 1), and what counts in literacy and language (Gerstl-Pepin and Woodside-Jiron, 2005). Freeman (2004) engages with some of these issues in accounting for efforts to establish school language policies in some of Philadelphia's bilingual schools.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

A major contributor to the whole area of school language policies and language planning has been David Corson (1990, 1993, 1999). As May indicated, Corson extended "the conception of language to include not only the four conventional language modes, but also the additional activities of moving, watching, shaping, and viewing" (1997, p. 232), which can be directly related to educational developments in places like New Zealand from the 1970s to 1990s.

May also contended that Corson extended the original LAC focus to "include second language, bilingual, foreign language and wider social justice issues" (1997, p. 232). This extension, May argued, is "crucial" for it begins to acknowledge the greater multiethnic nature of many schools worldwide. In countries where addressing cultural differences in educational settings is important, this broader application of language planning and policies is significant, providing school-based educators with researched evidence to draw on.

Recent works on exploring multiculturalism and ethnic diversity (May, Modood, and Squires, 2004) in relation to wider political,

social, and educational imperatives complement both Corson's (1999) work and Ager's (2001) examination of motivation in language planning and policy in international contexts. These broader understandings of the potential of language diversity to affect positions and hierarchies of identity and power highlight possible roles for language policy and planning in any country. The encompassing of linguistic difference in the design of language policies at national as well as local school levels can have wide ramifications on both students' achievement and the fabric of the society they live in. Ignoring these may indeed encourage continued subjection of language to the international power of others (see Skutnabb-Kangas's views on these issues in *Human Rights and Language Policy in Education*, Volume 1). Goldstein's (2003) work identified complexities inherent in teachers' work as they attempt to enact the intentions of diverse school language policies in North American contexts. This work may be even more difficult in the current educational climate of *No Child Left Behind* (Abedi, 2004). Wright (2004), in examining similar ideas at the political nation-state level, drew similar conclusions to Goldstein, whereas Marley's (2004) review of the political and national changes in language policy in Morocco, where they moved from a monolingual approach to a bilingual one, demonstrate some possible positive effects on attitudes at the local school level.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

At the school level, the desired outcomes for language policy development tend to remain somewhat idealistic. Sergiovanni, Burlingame, Coombs, and Thurston (1999) suggest that political demands, constraints, and choices can impinge on desirable educational goals and policy provisions, recognizing the influence of status planning requirements as Fishman (2000) intimates. Escamilla (1994) cited some of the difficulties with school language policies having the desired effect. Her study investigated the relationship between policy and practice in a Californian elementary school that promoted bilingualism. She found that the perception and reality were somewhat different. English was, in practice, the privileged language, even though the school's policy espoused an equal footing with Spanish. Perhaps this exemplifies Suarez's (2002) assertion that, "linguistic hegemony exerts and legitimates power by presenting the dominant language as an instrument, or tool to be used by those who acquire it in whatever way they choose" (p. 514). This highlights May's (1997; see also 1994) cautions regarding the efficacy and prevalence of school language policies, and is illustrative of New Zealand's focus on literacy in English as the default.

Perhaps these cautions illustrate the distance between the desire and detail; that schools seem unable to “walk the talk” for a range of reasons, not the least of which include some constraints imposed by external policy makers, coupled with the complex nature of teachers’ work. Other constraints include: staff changes—including leadership, competing priorities, difficulties in coordinating, and sustaining consistent language-oriented professional development (PD) for staff, and restricted opportunities for cross-curricular internal debate about the key elements of school language policy issues. Although language-oriented PD may be relatively easy to initiate in elementary (primary) schools, the same cannot be said for secondary schools, where subject silos still exist, alongside a heavy emphasis on content at the expense of language processes that support and sustain access to learning. National secondary literacy projects (such as in New Zealand), which explore the relationship between language and learning in secondary schools, highlight these problems (see Wright, Smyth, May, Whitehead, and Smyth, 2005). May (1997) alluded to these issues when he noted that, “the *process* of implementing LAC within the school is crucial to gaining and maintaining teacher support. A school language policy needs to be both carefully thought through and carefully managed if *all* staff are to be convinced of its merits” (p. 234).

May’s (1997) further observations about the necessity for school leaders to be involved along with sufficient time and other resourcing (such as designated personnel) to effect change, coupled with staff development, is borne out in the New Zealand experience, a researched 3-year-pilot study implementing literacy across the curriculum in secondary schools. The pilot clearly illustrated the importance of those factors. The researchers noted two additions—the value of a theorized approach and the value of a school developing and sustaining a literacy community of practice involving teachers in ongoing high-quality professional talk about language, literacy, and thinking. Both are likely to produce successful and positive changes in attitudes and teachers’ practices in this regard (Wright et al., 2005). Another factor not addressed in May’s (1997) synthesis was the importance of external agents to both precipitate awareness about and provide support and guidance in addressing literacy and language pedagogy and policy issues. Developing school language policies destined to have a robust shelf life, is thus a complex and long-term undertaking.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The model developing in New Zealand to support a concerted focus in secondary schools on literacy, language, and learning is useful to compare with May’s (1997, p. 235) list of requirements for schools

wanting to implement language policies successfully. Schools, he asserted, need to be “more democratic.” In other words, aspects of teacher buy-in, decision-making processes, and collaborative pedagogy are implicated in any efforts to design and implement a language policy. Second, he indicated that “critically reflective” practices are vital so that teachers’ attitudes, values, and beliefs about language and learning are challenged. Third, a “whole-school” orientation is required, although this may take some time to effect.

The New Zealand research (Wright et al., 2005) suggests that focusing pedagogical change on language and literacy has a better chance of long-term success if it is begun with a group of volunteers willing to alter their beliefs, attitudes, and practices regarding language and learning across the curriculum. This initial awareness-raising and trial period may take as long as 3 years to achieve. From there, wider buy-in and engagement is possible, especially if a nurtured literacy and language community of practice is fostered. A community of practice is, therefore, an umbrella under which these elements can combine to develop capacity and critical mass. This research, conducted nationally, may provide some insights for other jurisdictions to consider.

Mitchell and Sackney (2001) identified key capacities that should be nurtured if successful learning communities are a desirable cultural element in a school. They noted that if the personal, interpersonal, and organizational are acknowledged and developed, then there is a good chance that a language policy can be positively implemented. The personal aspect relates to a teacher’s sense of agency and self-critique. Should teachers not engage in this, then any concerted professional development is likely to be ineffective. As Corson (1999) observed, “. . . changing teacher attitudes seems best achieved by changing teacher behavior first” (p. 91). The interpersonal factor is also important. Relationships with professional peers can have profound effects on the quality and rate of pedagogical and attitudinal change, as Reeves, Turner, Morris, and Forde (2005, p. 253) have indicated. They noted that for school leaders to change, “there was a complex dynamic involved . . . where the conceptual development of individuals was closely related to their experience of enacting new behaviours in the social setting of the workplace. . . . Change and development on their part was closely bound to the capacity and willingness to change on the part of others.” And significantly, they observed that, “for established practitioners, changing practice transformatively involves both desisting from some of their habitual behaviours and enacting new ones, thus, to some extent, reinventing themselves within the same work setting” (2005, p. 255).

Finally, if May’s (1997, p. 238) hope that developments in critical pedagogy and the centralizing of language will support the

“successful incorporation of school language policies” is ever to come to fruition, a clear understanding of school change processes, plus the roles leaders and teachers play in this, is imperative.

*See Also:* David Block: *Language Education and Globalization (Volume 1)*; Robert Phillipson: *Language Policy and Education in the European Union (Volume 1)*; Mary Kalantzis and Bill Cope: *Language Education and Multiliteracies (Volume 1)*; Stephen May: *Language Education, Pluralism and Citizenship (Volume 1)*; Terrence Wiley: *Language Policy and Teacher Education (Volume 1)*

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# **Section 4**

**Focus on Selected Regions of the World**

## LANGUAGE POLICY AND EDUCATION IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

### INTRODUCTION

Language policy is acquiring increasing importance in an age of intensive political and cultural change in Europe. Among the key educational language policy issues in contemporary Europe are ensuring the continued vitality of national languages, rights for minority languages, diversification in foreign language learning, and the formation of a European Higher Education Area (the Bologna process). English, due to its role in globalisation and European integration processes, impacts on each of these four issues in each European state. The role of the European Union (EU) is a second cross-cutting factor, because of its declared commitment to maintaining linguistic diversity and to promoting multilingualism in education. On the other hand, it is arguable that the dominance of English in many forms of international activity, the erosion of national borders by changes in communication technology, and the hierarchy of languages that exists *de facto* in EU institutions and EU-funded activities (such as student mobility) may be serving to strengthen English at the expense of other languages.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The EU began life as an economic community in 1958 with six member states: Belgium, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Luxemburg, and the Netherlands. Small enlargements occurred over the following four decades, bringing the total in the mid-1990s to 15 member states. Eleven languages had equal rights as the official and working languages of EU institutions. A major enlargement in 2004 brought in ten additional states (post-communist eastern European states, Cyprus and Malta). Nine languages were added to the world's largest translation and interpretation services. The EU is an immensely complex business: interpretation is provided for an average of 50 meetings each working day, and over 70% of national legislation entails enacting measures that have already been agreed on at the supranational level. European integration significantly affects economic, political, social and cultural life. Whether the present EU is a United States of Europe in the making is unclear. The rejection of the draft EU

Constitution in 2005 confirmed the gap between citizens with a strong national identity and the European project of political leaders and a remote unaccountable bureaucracy. The EU has been decisively influenced by a trans-Atlantic corporate neoliberal agenda (Monbiot, 2000), which the constitution would have consolidated. It also covered 'fundamental rights' as a potential counter-balance to the workings of the market, but the provisions on cultural and linguistic rights are weak.

'Europe' is a fuzzy concept. Depending on context, Europe may be a toponym (territory, geography), an econonym (a common market with a common currency, one that some member states have not yet adhered to), a politonym (an amalgam of independent states in a complex new unit with some traits of a federation), or an ethnonym (cultures with shared cultural traits that stress a common Christian past, which some see as excluding Islamic Turkey as a member). Linguistically, Europe is diverse: many languages in the Romance and Germanic families of language derive from Indo-European sources, others are Finno-Ugric, Basque is neither, and many languages currently in use in Europe, often in substantial numbers, are of more recent diverse immigrant or refugee origins.

Europe is emphatically not synonymous with the EU, though this distinction is frequently blurred. The Council of Europe has twice as many member states as the EU, among them Norway, Russia, Switzerland, and Turkey, which are not members of the EU. It has played a key role in promoting human rights, and political and cultural collaboration. It has also coordinated a significant number of measures to strengthen foreign language learning, including, notably, the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Council of Europe, 2001; Trim, 2002). It is taking on a more proactive role in language policy formation ([www.coe.int](http://www.coe.int)).

Many European languages have been consolidated as a dominant state language over the past two centuries. Domestic functions have been carried out in the key 'national' language, Danish, Estonian, French, Greek, etc. Promotion of a single national language occurred both in states with an ideology of ethnolinguistically uniform origins (with Germany as the archetype) and those with a republican statist model (typically France). Local minority languages were suppressed, but have gained increasing support in recent decades in several countries (Catalan, Welsh, Sámi, etc). Foreign languages were learned for external communication purposes and familiarity with the cultural heritage associated with 'great' powers. Since 1945, and more intensively in recent years, there has been a gradual shift towards English becoming by far the most widely learned foreign language on the continent of Europe, taking over space, both in western and eastern Europe, occupied earlier by other foreign languages, French, German and Russian in particular.

While it used to be primarily elites and those professionally concerned with trade or travel who learned foreign languages, these are now part of the curriculum for all. The advance of English in a range of key societal domains, commerce, finance, research and higher education, the media, and popular culture means that English in the modern world no longer fits into the traditional mould of a foreign language (which are referred to as ‘modern’ or ‘living’ languages in some countries). There are obvious instrumental reasons for learning the language. European citizens are massively exposed to Hollywood products (whereas in the USA the market share of films of foreign origin is 1%): ‘70–80% of all TV fiction shown on European TV is American . . . American movies, American TV and the American life-style for the populations of the world and Europe at large have become the lingua franca of globalization, the closest we get to a visual world culture’ (Bondebjerg, 2003, pp. 79, 81). These US products are transmitted with the original soundtrack in the Nordic countries and the Netherlands, which strengthens the learning of English, and are generally dubbed elsewhere.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Foreign language education is embedded in national education systems and their distinct traditions (making generalisation perilous). There has been a progressive shift to more communicatively oriented foreign language learning, and starting ever younger, though the traditional focus on literature often remains at the upper secondary and university levels. Many European university language departments are less concerned with teacher education than with general academic development, literature being supplemented by an increasing focus on the cultures of English-speaking countries, particularly the USA and the UK. The diversity of approaches to foreign language teacher training is captured and summarised in a survey commissioned by the EU (Grenfell, Kelly and Jones, 2003). It sums up relevant theory and key variables, and highlights foreign language teacher competences and the reflective practitioner, bringing in examples from different countries ad hoc. It also presents 15 case studies that demonstrate innovative good practice, exemplified by various types of bilingual education, including the limited type, Content and Language Integrated Learning (see [www.eurocllc.net](http://www.eurocllc.net)), which is currently regarded as more likely to achieve success than traditional methods. This study of language teacher training is not an isolated project, but rather a symptom of the way the EU is coordinating interaction between representatives of member states with an agenda of reform. Thus the ‘Education and training 2010’ programme (<http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/education/policies/2010>) is

elaborating ‘Common European principles for teacher competences and qualifications’, with language learning as 1 of 12 ‘key objectives and areas of cooperation’.

Even in this professional field, where the goal is multilingual competence, English is much the most widely used language at European conferences and publications from them, although English and French are the working languages of the Council of Europe. In some regional European forums, multilingual competence is assumed (e.g. Danish, Norwegian and Swedish, with or without English), in others, receptive competence in a second language, such as German. German is the EU language with by far the largest number of native speakers, and has functioned as a lingua franca in many central and eastern European countries, a role which English is progressively taking over. The French government invests heavily in the promotion of French throughout Europe, and has been instrumental in persuading its EU partners to articulate discourses and policies that proclaim the value of linguistic diversity and language learning. However its efforts tend to be more aimed at preventing further erosion of the status of French as an international language than at ensuring linguistic human rights and equality for speakers of all languages (Phillipson, 2003, pp. 45–46 and pp. 133–134).

Teacher qualifications are of decisive importance, and there is evidence from most parts of Europe that many teachers of foreign languages are under-qualified. This in part explains differing degrees of success in foreign language learning, and why figures on the number of learners (data are collected by the EU educational information service [www.eurydice.org](http://www.eurydice.org)) are not revealing on outcomes. Even if most European schoolchildren are now exposed to English in school, most of their elders have not been (for analysis of EU Eurobarometer self-report data on capacity to communicate in a foreign language, see Phillipson, 2003, pp. 8–9). It is therefore wishful thinking to suggest that English is a universal lingua franca in continental Europe.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Schoolchildren in the demographically small European countries have often been taught two foreign languages in school. This policy has been recommended since the 1980s by the Council of Europe, and became EU policy in the 1990s. One factor influencing this policy has been the fear that English represents a threat to the languages and cultures of EU member states, hence the goal of learners developing competence and familiarity with two foreign languages and their cultures. The EU Commission document *Promoting language learning and linguistic diversity: An Action Plan 2004–2006*, of July 2003 is designed

to curb an excessive focus on English in continental education systems and the wider society. It states: 'learning one lingua franca alone is not enough . . . English alone is not enough . . . In non-anglophone countries recent trends to provide teaching in English may have unforeseen consequences on the vitality of the national language' (pp. 4 and 8). The policy statement advocates life-long foreign language learning, including two foreign languages in the primary school. It strives to bring language policy higher up on national agendas, and to raise awareness of linguistic diversity. It endorses the notion of an inclusive 'language-friendly environment', and states that this openness should include minority languages, those of both local regions and recent immigrants.

These laudable goals are a far cry from the reality, but representatives of member states are requested to attend meetings in Brussels and to describe implementation of the Action Plan and obstacles to it. Such activity is reported on the EU website (<http://europa.eu.int/comm/education>), invariably in English, less often in French, and virtually never in any of the other 18 EU official languages. Two major proposals by the Commission in 2005, a New Framework Strategy for Multilingualism, and a 'common European language indicator'—that is Europe-wide language testing—are aimed at inducing member states to adjust their language policies along the lines of the Action Plan. The policy statements, and comparable ones from the Council of Europe, may or may not influence national policy formation, but the very existence of international pressure of this kind can serve to force states to address language policy issues that they would prefer to ignore.

Both the EU and the Council of Europe are involved in policies to accord rights to regional minority languages (Council of Europe, 2004). Minority language policies differ widely in each EU member state, and are well documented (Williams, 2005). There are three EU-funded centres with a specialist role: Mercator Media at the University of Wales Aberystwyth (UK) researches the media, defined broadly to include the press, book-publishing, archives and libraries as well as broadcast media and the new media; Mercator Legislation at the CIEMEN foundation, Barcelona (Spain) is concerned with language legislation and language in public administration, whereas Mercator Education at the Fryske Akademy, Ljouwert (Netherlands) studies education at all levels.

One pressure that cannot be ignored is the expanding role of English in higher education, especially in northern Europe (Ammon, 2001; Phillipson, 2002, 2006; Wilson, 2002; Wilkinson, 2004). This is one dimension of the 'Bologna process', the formation of a European Higher Education Area, which has been underway since 1999, and to which the governments of 45 European states are committed. There

are bi-annual meetings at which national and university policies are coordinated. The EU has largely set the agenda for the Bologna process, which entails implementing a uniform undergraduate and graduate degree structure, internal and external quality control, student exchanges, double degrees, joint study programmes, etc. While the initial Bologna text stressed university autonomy, and respect for the languages and cultures of Europe, the most recent policy statement, from Bergen in 2005 ([www.bologna-bergen2005.no](http://www.bologna-bergen2005.no)), appears to conflate internationalisation and ‘English-medium higher education’, and does not refer to multilingualism or language policy.

It is no surprise that the only countries which are ‘observers’ in the Bologna process, and take part in the conferences, are the USA and Australia, since higher education for them is big business. According to a British Council study in 2004, the UK economy benefits by £11 billion per annum directly, and a further £12 billion indirectly, from ‘international’ education. The British goal is 8% annual growth across the sector, and to double the present number of 35,000 research graduates contributing to the UK’s knowledge economy by 2020 ([www.britishcouncil.org/mediacentre/apr04/vision\\_2020\\_press\\_notice.doc](http://www.britishcouncil.org/mediacentre/apr04/vision_2020_press_notice.doc)). In addition, over 500,000 attend language learning courses each year. A primary goal of the Bologna process is to make higher education in Europe as attractive to students worldwide as in the USA and Commonwealth countries. There is thus a commercial rationale behind English-medium higher education, as well as cultural and political dimensions. (Related but rather different issues are whether the expansion of the intake of foreign students, mostly from Asia, and primarily China, in ‘English-speaking’ countries has created institutional dependence on them for financial reasons, and whether the testing and teaching of such students has been appropriate.)

The quality of education is a key parameter if, say, Finnish or German institutions teach through the medium of English to attract foreign students. Research in Norway indicates that the reading skills in English of Norwegians entering higher education, when measured by the British-Australian IELTS tests, are not adequate for academic course books in English (Hellekjaer, 2004). The picture is probably similar in the other Nordic countries, where virtually all higher education degrees require reading proficiency in English. The Norwegian government is acting to strengthen both English teaching and the learning of a second foreign language through a comprehensive Strategy Plan for 2005–2009.

A related issue is whether continental European academics are qualified to teach as well through the medium of English as through the mother tongue. A few definitely are, but the trend since the early 1990s to expect many academics to do so, without professional

support, has not been studied. Academics and researchers in virtually all fields are also expected to publish in English, either exclusively or in the local language, depending on disciplinary pressures and the discourse communities that scholars contribute to. University administrators in the Scandinavian countries are being encouraged to address the language policy implications of English being used more, and to formulate explicit policies for multilingual universities. The Swedish and Danish governments have set a target of 'parallel competence' in English and Swedish/Danish. Finland has invested considerable resources in research and higher education, and seems to have established an impressive infrastructure for strengthening multilingualism, see, for instance, the language policy of the University of Jyväskylä ([www.jyu.fi/strategia/JU\\_language\\_policy.pdf](http://www.jyu.fi/strategia/JU_language_policy.pdf)). This document is in English. It stresses the need for all educators to be aware of their responsibilities for the way language is used, the duty of a Finnish university to strengthen Finnish, as well as English and other languages. Mention is also made of Swedish, the mother tongue of 5.8% of the population, a language that most higher education subjects can be studied in at other Finnish universities. The University of Jyväskylä also offers a 5-year teacher training MA through the medium of Finnish Sign language. Doctoral theses are written in a variety of languages (for figures for the country as a whole, see the article on Finland in Ammon, 2001).

In southern and eastern Europe, English is much less firmly entrenched. In some countries the decision was made to teach a foreign language, mostly English, in the primary school, but with inadequate attention to teacher qualifications. In France, the Ministry of Education has implemented measures to ensure the learning of two foreign languages, and to monitor a diversification of the languages learned, so as to promote plurilingualism (a term the Council of Europe uses for personal competence in more than language, by comparison with societal multilingualism). There is also lively public debate about whether there is an excessive focus on English.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Developments in language education at national and subnational levels are influenced by wider processes of globalisation and Europeanisation, such as the adoption of English as a corporate language in many of the larger businesses based in continental Europe and the way hierarchies of language are perceived as operating in international collaboration. This holds both for official contacts in EU institutions and for the informal channels of the internet, leisure interests, and travel. What is unclear in continental Europe is whether the learning and use

of English remains an additive process, one that increases the repertoire of language competence of individuals and the society, or whether English threatens the viability of other languages through processes of domain loss and linguistic hierarchisation. In theory there ought to be no problem, because of the strong position of national languages such as German, Italian and Polish, and because of the declared policies of the EU. Article 22 of The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU, which represents principles that all member states are committed to, states: 'The Union shall respect cultural, religious and linguistic diversity' (also in the rejected draft Constitution, Articles I-3 and II-82). In reality there are fundamental paradoxes.

The first is that although the EU is essentially a Franco-German project, since France and Germany were founding member states and have continued to occupy the political high ground in shaping the integration of Europe, the use of English is expanding, and the French and German languages are on the defensive both at home and abroad. English is increasingly the dominant language both in EU affairs and in some societal domains in continental European countries.

The second paradox is that EU rhetoric proclaims support for multilingualism and cultural and linguistic diversity in official texts, and the equality of all official and working languages in the EU, but in practice there is *laissez faire* in the linguistic marketplace (Phillipson, 2003). At the policy-making supranational level of EU institutions (the European Parliament, Commission and Council), there is paralysis on broader language policy issues, apart from some support for regional minority languages, channelled through the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages. The proportion of the European budget (representing only 1% of national budgets) allocated to cultural concerns is modest, as compared with agriculture, infrastructure and regional development. The rhetoric of diversity and linguistic equality is pitted against the unfree market and the forces that strengthen English. Young people are hugely exposed to US cultural products, but have little familiarity with the cultures of their partner states.

In the management of the internal affairs of EU institutions (European Parliament, Commission, Council of Ministers), there is equality between the 20 EU languages in some respects: all legislation is promulgated in parallel in all languages, and at the most important meetings, interpretation is provided between all languages. On the other hand, in day-to-day affairs, French and English dominate, and English is increasingly the language in which documents are drafted and discussed. Some governments are keen to save money by not insisting on the use of their languages, which has led interpreters for Danish and Swedish to fear that these languages will disappear as languages

spoken in EU institutions within a decade. Many users of the EU language services see languages as serving purely instrumental purposes, whereas there is no doubt that the French (earlier) and British (now) regard use of their language as the default language as giving them a political competitive advantage. The language services are subjected to internal reviews of quality and efficiency, but there has never been an in-depth survey of how equality between speakers of different languages might be ensured in a variety of types of communication. This is a crucial issue of access and legitimacy in dealings between a European institution and citizens in each member state. It becomes more important as more languages are added (with Irish an official language and Spanish regional languages accorded restricted rights in 2005), and when pragmatic, economic considerations weigh more heavily than ensuring transparency and living up to a democratic ideal of equality irrespective of mother tongue. Within the EU, the language issue has been described as ‘explosive’ (French Members of the European Parliament) and as ‘the most emotional topic in the EU’ (German head of mission in Brussels), but work has begun to promote coordination between the European Federation of National Institutions for Language, [www.eurfedling.org](http://www.eurfedling.org). When there is this much uncertainty at the level of decision-makers, it is not surprising that *laissez-faire* policies serve to strengthen the position of English.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

A third paradox is that foreign languages have traditionally been learned in conjunction with cultural familiarisation, and although English is in countless ways a feature of British and US culture and globalisation processes, it is increasingly used by non-natives for purposes that have nothing to do with Anglophonic cultural norms. This has led to research into ‘English as a Lingua Franca’ in order to chart how this type of communication departs from native speaker norms (Seidlhofer, 2004). This might at some point have pedagogical implications, but analysis of ‘lingua franca’ English is still exploratory. The term ‘lingua franca’ is also deceptive if it refers to asymmetrical interaction between first and second language users of English. To a large extent foreign language learning is being expected, like much of education, to produce a European ‘Knowledge society’ serving economic needs, but there is some critical foreign language pedagogy (Guilherme, 2002). Dendrinos and Mitsikopoulou (2004) argue persuasively for a paradigm shift in foreign language education, with a different target than native speaker competence: contemporary realities necessitate a ‘multilingual ethos of communication’, reflecting and

constituting a world that gives voice to different discourses, one that acknowledges that discourses, not least on language policy and foreign language education, are neither ideologically nor politically neutral.

*See Also:* Suresh Canagarajah: *The Politics of English Language Teaching (Volume 1)*; Noeline Wright: *School Language Policies (Volume 1)*; David Block: *Language Education and Globalization (Volume 1)*; Hilary Janks: *Teaching Language and Power (Volume 1)*; François Grin: *The Economics of Language Education (Volume 1)*; Do Coyle: *CLIL—A Pedagogical Approach from the European Perspective (Volume 4)*; Peter Broeder and Waldemar Martyniuk: *Language Education in Europe: The Common European Framework of Reference (Volume 4)*

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## LANGUAGE POLICY AND EDUCATION IN BRITAIN

## INTRODUCTION

The importance of being able to communicate effectively has been seen traditionally as a necessary outcome of the educational process. Much of this relates to the fact that literacy, language and communication represent a potent form of cultural capital, which can be exchanged within the labour market. Language in education plays a significant role in individual development whilst, at the same time, also providing a vehicle for *economic and social development* (cf. Grin, *The Economics of Language Education*, Volume 1). As the medium through which teaching and learning takes place, language plays an important role also in the transmission of culture through the literary canons and knowledge base sanctioned by educational policy. As such, it has potent *hegemonic cultural value*. In having the potential to provide the linguistic skills and knowledge that underpin democratic society it also has significant *cultural power* (cf. Hall, *Language Education and Culture*, Volume 1).

Language-in-education policy is integral to social policy and thus it is constituted in power relations. Hierarchies of languages generally reflect sociocultural, economic and political stratification within society. Languages that are excluded from or feature in a limited way in formal education, lack social status and have limited exchange value within the labour market (cf. Rampton, Harris, Collins and Blommaert, *Language, Class and Education*, Volume 1). Taking account of these complexities this chapter provides an historical overview of key issues related to language and education in Britain. The main argument presented is that cultural and linguistic landscapes are not static; they evolve as societies undergo political, economic and demographic changes. Therefore, whilst the chapter seeks to highlight the inherently multilingual basis of British society involving *autochthonous* language groups, it also documents language in education struggles and debates centred on *immigrant groups* as these have evolved over the past five decades. In addition, it also highlights the influence that changes taking place within the global cultural economy have had on language-in-education policy within the UK.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Britain has been a multicultural and multilingual society throughout its history with various social groups including the Irish, Picts, Welsh and English farmers living here since before the Norman Conquest (Lewis, 1980). Although bilingualism has been an everyday experience for different social groups living in Britain throughout the centuries, bilingual education followed a long process of struggle against English language domination, and assimilation into English culture. Historically, education has provided a primary arena in which the dominance of English has been hegemonized. Equally, language historically has represented a primary arena of struggle for control over meaning as well as cultural resources.

*Wales*

In the struggle for an English-dominated British nationhood, Celtic culture became commonly represented as inferior, and the speakers of the Celtic languages as 'wild' and 'savage'. Despite this, the Welsh language has remained a living language and has featured as an important identity variable in the history of nationalist struggle in Wales. Bilingual education was introduced into Welsh schools through the Church during the 1700s when a clergyman, Griffith Jones, set up circulating schools in which parents and children in the community were taught to read and write in Welsh. This was aimed at enabling more people to read the Bible. The British state's initial response to bilingual education in Wales was negative; it was regarded as being detrimental to the moral progress of the people. As late as 1847, the Report of the Church Commissioners on Schools in Wales 'viciously attacked the Welsh language on the grounds that it isolated 'the masses' from the 'upper portions of society', denied its speakers access to the top of the social scale and kept them 'under the hatches' (Alladina and Edwards, 1993, p. 3). Children caught speaking Welsh in school were forced to wear the notorious wooden halter called a 'Welsh not' as punishment (ibid.).

The first positive state support came from Sir James Shuttleworth who, as Secretary of State for Education in 1849 indicated that the government would enable several members of the community who were fluent speakers, and could read and write in Welsh, to become inspectors in schools. The implicit understanding was that Welsh represented the medium of education. A major development came with the appointment in 1907 of Owen Morgan Edwards, as the first Chief Inspector of Schools for Wales within the newly established Welsh Education Department. Edwards played a key role in securing Welsh

language education in schools throughout Wales. His struggles were continued later by his son Ifan ab Owen Edwards, who founded the Aberystwyth Welsh School (*Ysgol Gymraeg Aberystwyth*) in 1939. This was the first Welsh primary school; the first Welsh language secondary school (*Ysgol Glan Clwyd*) was established in Rhyl in 1955.

### *Irish*

Irish Gaelic represented the most widely spoken language throughout the entire island (including what is now Northern Ireland), at least until the mid-nineteenth century when the state-funded primary education system was introduced. At this time, the use of the Irish language in schools was prohibited and English was taught by the Order of the British Government. As was the case with Welsh, Irish was associated with 'backwardness' as against English which was seen as representing the language of progress and modernization. The association of English with better life chances contributed to the fact that parents also discouraged their children from using Irish. Incorporated through this into the hegemony of English, they were complicit in committing what Bourdieu (1999) refers to as 'symbolic violence'. That is to say, in choosing English over their own languages in education they colluded in their own cultural subordination (cf. May, 2001, Chapter 4). Large-scale emigration, as a result of the potato famine during the 1845–1850 period, contributed further to the long-term decline of the Irish language.

The late-nineteenth century saw the beginnings of a language revival mainly amongst the Irish Unionists, reinforced later by the linguist and clergyman William Neilson. The Gaelic League (*Conradh na Gaeilge*) was founded in 1893 by Douglas Hyde and Eionn MacNeill. Irish language as a key cultural identity variable was central to the growing radicalism of Irish politics at the time (O'Reilly, 1997). Although there are arguments that this largely represented the cultural project of the elite, this particular nationalist revival with its emphasis on de-anglicization had a major impact on Irish social life. It played a significant role in placing Irish in a central position within the national school system.

The newly independent Irish national state adopted Irish as the *national language* in the Constitution in 1937 with English as the *language of administration*. Thus the high status of English within society, as well as its exchange value within the labour market, was retained. The compulsory introduction of Irish in schools, and the fact that it was often badly taught, was ultimately counter-productive since it alienated many school children. Irish again went into long-term decline, and it has remained a minority language.

In Northern Ireland the Irish language has always had political connotations and has been associated mostly with Irish Republicanism, although, as is discussed later, current debates prevail within Unionist circles about the need to reclaim Irish as a national language (Pritchard, 2004). Although the Parliament of Northern Ireland prohibited the use of Irish in public life, including schools until the early 1990s, Irish medium schools (*gaelscoileanna*) have existed in Belfast and Derry since at least the 1970s (see also later).

Another important minority language central to contemporary debates about education and nationhood includes Ulster-Scots (*Ullans*), which is associated mainly with the Protestant community of Northern Ireland. Most Ulster-Scots speakers reside ‘along the Antrim coast line and in areas congruent with what the Ulster Defence Association call the “retainable homeland”, the territory that they define as theirs’ (Nic Craith, 2000, p. 399). Much controversy surrounds the status of Ulster-Scots as a distinct language; whether it is a separate language from Scots, or a dialect of Scots (Mac Poilin, 1999); moreover, whether it can be distinguished from Ulster-English dialect, or whether it is essentially a rural Ballymena accent (Coulter, 2004; see further discussion later).

### *Scotland*

Gaelic first arrived in what is now known as Scotland at the end of the Roman Empire, with the Irish colonists who established their Kingdom of *Dàl Riada* in south-west Scotland—‘the coastland of Gael’ (O Maolalaigh and MacAonghuis, 1996) by merging with the Pictish Kingdom of *Fortui*. Scots-Gaelic, traditionally, has been associated with the people of the Highlands and Hebrides, the *Gaidhealtachd*, or Gaelic-speaking community. Many Scots-Gaelic speakers were displaced during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, some moving to places such as Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island. There are small bilingual communities using Gaelic and local dialects as everyday languages, particularly in the Western Isles (*Na h-Eileanan an Iar*), parts of the Highlands (*a’ Ghaidhealtachd*), cities such as Glasgow (*Glaschu*), Edinburgh (*Dùn Eideann*) and Inverness (*Inbhir Nis*) (Robertson and Taylor, 1993). Since at least the nineteenth century, there have been organizations involved in promoting Gaelic, notably, the educational pressure group *An Comunn Gaidhealach*, established in 1891, which became the first language-loyalty movement.

The place of Gaelic in Scotland has been ambiguous. That is to say, although it is widely represented as a key identity variable in the ideological construction of the Scottish nation, it, nevertheless, has had to struggle to obtain official status (Oliver, 2005). For example, the

Statutes of Iona in 1609 placed emphasis on the diffusion of English (Campbell, 1950). The status of Gaelic is closely linked with the development of education in Scotland; schooling provided by the *Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge*, started in 1709, played a major role in the diffusion of English through education. In 1710 the school master on St Kilda was instructed to 'be diligent not only to teach them to read English but also to write and lay it on such as profite by you to do all they can for the edification of others and teach them their duty to their superiors' (cited in Withers, 2000). Although the Education Act of 1872 made education compulsory for all Scottish children, it also marked the period when the use of Gaelic in education was, unofficially, but actively discouraged in schools (Shevlinn, [<http://simplyscottish.com>]). This was achieved in part by the appointment of English-speaking, and English teachers as well as the punishment of children caught speaking Gaelic by having to wear the 'stick on a cord' device, the *maide-crochaide*. This practice prevailed until the 1930s (Shevlinn, [<http://www.simplyscottish.com>]).

More recent transmigration has also impacted on the linguistic landscape of the UK, with its implications for educational policy and provision.

### *Language Diversity: Social Class and Immigrant Groups*

**Deficit Theory.** Major debates about language in education in the UK occurred during the 1960s and 1970s when the notion of 'communicative competence' (Hymes, 1972) in education first came to prominence in academic debate. Much of this debate centred initially on the educational underachievement of working class children, and later, children from immigrant groups living, largely, in inner-city areas (cf. Rampton, Harris, Collins and Blommaert, *Language, Class and Education*, Volume 1). The debate revolved around the argument that social stratification between different socioeconomic groups was reflected in the hierarchies attached to different patterns of language use, and that this had an impact on the relative ability of children to succeed in school (Carby, 1982). Much of this debate was influenced by a strong form of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, supporting the theory that language use determines the ways in which people perceive, interpret and experience the world. In other words, thinking is determined by language, and that people speaking different languages perceive and interpret the world differently. Basil Bernstein (1971), a key contributor to the educational debate on language and social class in the UK, advanced the theory that different class groups had access to different language interaction patterns, or codes. Though not intended as such,

his unfortunate use of the terms 'elaborated' and 'restricted' codes to describe middle class and working class language interactions respectively led to a deficit construction of the latter. On this view, middle class people spoke an 'elaborated code', which comprised a wide vocabulary, had the ability to use complex sentences, was not context-bound, was analytical and could express logical and abstract thought. Middle-class language was associated with the formal written word and therefore was imbued with power. Working class people, on the other hand, used a 'restricted code' that was context-tied, relied on descriptive concepts, and because it represented the language of close-knit groups was not deemed capable of expressing logical and abstract thought. Social and educational barriers between different classes in society were ascribed to language barriers; working class children, because of their language 'deficit', were disadvantaged in education. Consequently, this deficit construction, (mis)using Bernstein's notion of codes, had a major impact on language education and research at the time.

The general argument in education revolved around the idea that the ability to switch linguistic codes controlled speakers' ability to switch roles; therefore, if working class speech could be 'remedied', learners would be able to have equal access to the curriculum and subsequently have better life chances. This gave rise to welfare intervention programmes in schools centred on remediating cultural and linguistic 'deprivation' to alleviate working class underachievement. Working class children were to be socialized through language into the values and belief system of the dominant culture to enable them to have equal life chances with their middle class peers. The deficit theory applied to education was critiqued as adopting a sociopathological approach of 'blaming-the-victim', without addressing the structural determinants of inequality in a class-stratified society, how these affect power and knowledge in society, and influence working class expectations and aspirations.

The debate stimulated major research projects such as the Schools Council Communication Project, which centred on the relationship between talk and learning in the classroom, and the different experiences of talk between home and school (Tough, 1976). Ethnographic research during this period focused on the ways in which family discourse and literacy practices in the homes of different ethnic groups and social classes influenced children's progress in school (Cummins, 1979, Edwards, 1976, Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukoma, 1976). These studies showed that early socialization into the literacy and discourse practices that prevailed in classrooms increased children's potential to achieve in school. Middle-class children therefore have an advantage within the formal contexts of the school and classroom.

**Difference Theory.** By the mid-1970s the *different-but-equal debate* informed by earlier anthropological and linguistic research (Labov, 1973), expounded the view that all languages, although different, are equal with regard to their ability to communicate and convey meaning. In other words, all languages are structured, rule-governed and have the capacity for abstract thought. Educational research conducted at this time rejected notions of cultural deprivation or deficit and placed emphasis on the validity and expressiveness of working class and 'black' languages and cultures. The argument was presented that schools needed to respect different cultures as being equal, and value their contributions to classroom learning culture. Being able to use non-standard English in classrooms would allow working class children to regain their self-confidence and sense of worth in their background. Thus their relative failure would be overcome, whilst also contributing to the cultural enrichment of classrooms; together this would facilitate equality of opportunity. Applied to immigrant language groups this framework supported multicultural education centred on the celebration of ethnic and religious differences.

The problem with this perspective was that it did not take account of the fact that whilst all languages may be equal in terms of the ability to communicate, they do not all have the same social, economic, cultural, symbolic and political power. Thus, it failed to take account also of the speakers of the languages and their relative power and status within society. It also did not acknowledge the predominance of Standard English (SE) as the language of teaching and learning which would impact on equality of access to knowledge in the curriculum. Moreover, it did not offer an analysis of power and class conflict reflected in language conflicts, for example, the use of slang and Black English Vernacular (BEV) (currently this would also include Rapping) as forms of cultural resistance.

### *Multicultural Language Debate*

Social discourse centred on language in education as this relates to immigrant children first gained prominence within the aftermath of mass immigration policies in the 1950s when, during a period of economic boom, workers were recruited from former colonies, and particularly, the Caribbean to work in the service industries (see Modood and May, 2001). Other significant migrations included those from Southern Europe, Cyprus, the Indian sub-continent as well as the Hong Kong Chinese working predominantly in the catering industry (Linguistic Minorities Project, 1985). This was followed during the late 1960s by the arrival of large groups of second and even third generation 'Asians' from East Africa. Among these were refugees who had

been expelled by the Ugandan regime at the time, as well as Vietnamese Chinese refugees (Plowden Report, 1967; Linguistic Minorities Project, 1985). The languages of immigrant children, notably the dialects spoken by Afro-Caribbean pupils (then generally referred to as 'West Indians') and the lack of fluency in English amongst those from the Indian subcontinent became widely regarded as a major challenge presented to teachers. Concerns about underachievement amongst children of Afro-Caribbean origin were based largely on notions of 'communication failure' in classrooms (NFER, 1966). 'West Indian' Creole was regarded as the cause of problems of listening, interpreting, reading and writing. As was the case with working class native British children during the 1960s, language deficits, associated with cognitive, cultural and social deficits became key signifiers of immigrant children's imputed ability, or inability, to succeed in school and later in society (Carby, 1982). Such representations of the intrinsic inferiority of minority languages provided a pedagogical rationale for the imperative to learn Standard English with an emphasis on oral language (Ministry of Education, 1963). As a result of the assimilationist ideology that prevailed at the time, new arrivals were accommodated in language reception centres where pupils would be 'inducted' into the language and culture of the host society for a period of at least a term. Second language teaching within this context largely followed the pedagogic principles of English as a Foreign Language (EFL).

In many local education authorities (LEAs), cultural and linguistic differences were catered for within the framework of multicultural education. Language provision for children from ethnic minority groups took place mainly in withdrawal classes, which denied pupils access to the mainstream curriculum for a significant part of the school day. Immigrant languages became rooted in the celebration of language diversity and the need to value minority cultures without recourse to the social experience of the speakers of these languages.

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

### *Welsh*

Until very recently, provision for Welsh education depended on the linguistic character of the region, since there are areas in Wales that are predominantly English speaking. Parents had the right to choose the language in which their children would be educated. A transitional model of bilingualism prevailed in Welsh-speaking areas, with English introduced later. Five types of bilingual education schools were introduced, including the designated bilingual school, the 'natural' bilingual school, the bilingual school with linguistic streaming, bilingually

mixed schools and Welsh schools. The number of teaching hours per week for Welsh varied amongst different boroughs (Lewis, 1980). Welsh was not a prerequisite for university or college entrance, although bilingual programmes and teaching in Welsh did exist at this level. Until the 1980s, the main concerns revolved around teaching approaches and textbook availability.

The introduction of the National Curriculum in England and Wales in 1988 represented a landmark development in the teaching of Welsh in schools (see May, 2000). Since then, all students between the ages of 5–16 are required to learn Welsh either as a first or second language and also expand their knowledge of Welsh culture. The latter is referred to as the *Cwricwlwm Cymreig* (UK Report to the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, 2004). The Welsh Language Act (1993) established the Welsh Language Board, which has responsibility for promoting the Welsh language in culture and society including business and the administration of justice in Wales. Public organizations are required to develop a Welsh language scheme to facilitate the adoption of Welsh within public institutions. Section 32 of the Government of Wales Act (1998) stipulates that the National Assembly has the freedom to take the necessary steps to support the Welsh language.

### *Irish and Ulster-Scots*

In Northern Ireland, the Education Order (1989) provides for the teaching of Irish as a modern language in the curriculum. The North/South Language Body (*An Foras Teanga*) came into being the following year (1999) and comprises two separate agencies, namely, the Irish Language Agency (*Foras na Gaelge*) and the Ulster-Scots Agency (*The Boord o Ulstèr Scotch*). The Good Friday Agreement signed on 10 April 1998 resulted in a move towards a unified approach with Ireland in supporting linguistic diversity (UK Report to the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, 2004).

### *Scots-Gaelic*

As a result of pressure from groups such as *An Comunn Gaidhealach*, politicians, churchmen and Highland societies, Gaelic received statutory support in the Scotland Education Bill of 1918, supporting its teaching at all levels of education. This was reinforced by the Education Act of 1945 supporting bilingual education. Nevertheless, Scots-Gaelic has been in decline for a number of years. According to the 2001 Census there are 58,552 Scottish Gaelic speakers (about 1% of the population of Scotland)—a decline from 65,978 Scottish Gaelic speakers in the 1991 census and 79,000 in the 1981 census.

Two Gaelic-medium primary schools were established in 1985 in Inverness and Glasgow; this has now increased to 60 schools with approximately 2000 students. However, at secondary school there are fewer numbers of both Gaelic-medium schools and students. A Further and Higher Education College was established in 1972 and degree-level courses have been available at the university of the Highlands since 1998 (MacKinnon, 1993). Whilst students can be educated across the different phases through the medium of Gaelic, this seldom happens.

Support for regional languages in the UK has been given new impetus by the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (1992). Whilst this is undoubtedly a very positive development as this relates to *autochthonous* languages, the situation regarding educational support for languages of *immigrant groups* in the UK remains unresolved.

### *Immigrant Language Communities*

Concerns about the issue of ‘mother tongue’ education regarding migrant workers in Northern Europe had been raised formally first within the context of UNESCO and the Council of Europe during the 1970s. These concerns related mainly to the need to facilitate the re-integration of the children of migrant workers into their culture of origin once their work permits have expired. This culminated in the introduction of the EC Council Directive on the education of children of migrant workers (77/486/EEC) which required member states to teach the languages of migrant groups living within their boundaries, for part of the school day. The Directive met with considerable ambivalence within the UK where concerns were expressed initially about costs, the difficulty in providing adequate numbers of ‘mother tongue’ teachers, as well as the fact that the situation regarding Britain’s immigrant groups was different to those of other member countries such as Germany and Sweden who had, predominantly, migrant workers. In schools, provision for the teaching of English as a Second Language (ESL) pupils was allowed under Section 11 of the 1986 Local Government Act.

Projects funded by the Department of Education and Science (DES) included: (a) the Rosen and Burgess study (1979–1980) *Languages and Dialects of London School Children*. The study identified 55 languages and 24 overseas-based dialects spoken in London, drew on earlier integrationist definitions, and stressed the ‘vitality’ and ‘strength’ of the languages and dialects of London’s immigrant population groups. The report highlighted the significance of dialect culture and advocated bilingualism to be advanced within the framework of multicultural

education; (b) *Linguistic Minorities Project (LMP)* 1979–1980: The LMP Project aimed to assess the range of diversity of the languages spoken in Britain, patterns of bilingualism, as well as the educational implications of societal bilingualism. It was hoped that the data collected would inform educational assessment and policy formulation in different parts of the country. The LMP conducted several surveys: The Adult Learning Survey (ALUS); Schools Language Survey (SLS); Mother Tongue Teaching Directory (MTTD) in collaboration with the National Council for Mother Tongue Teaching and the Secondary Pupils Survey (SPS). (c) The Bradford *Mother Tongue and Teaching Project (MOTET)* (1978–1981): The sample study focused on the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of a bilingual teaching programme in the children's first year at school (d) The *EEC/Bedfordshire Pilot Project* (1976–1980) focused similarly on a bilingual teaching programme but was abandoned by Bedfordshire LEA when the EC funding grant ran out (Tosi, 1983).

The Swann Committee's report *Education for All* (1985) was published in the aftermath of racialized urban unrest throughout Britain. The Swann Report located its views on the education of black immigrant pupils within the ideological framework of cultural pluralism, which underlines the importance of the need to socialize ethnic minority groups into the belief system of mainstream culture, whilst simultaneously maintaining links with their culture of origin. However, although the Swann Report provided a useful overview of the language debate during the previous two decades, it was unclear on the issues of language diversity and bilingual education and opposed separate educational provision for 'mother tongue' teaching (Modood and May, 2001).

By the late 1980s, in a discourse structured mainly within the framework of neo-conservative 'think tanks' such as the Centre for Policy Studies, the Hillgate Group and the Salisbury Review, the New Right attack on education centred on the issues of multicultural/antiracist education and bilingual education. These, it was argued, challenged the national cultural and linguistic heritage and also contributed to 'falling standards' in schools (see Honeyford, 1984; Scruton, 1985). In spite of the marginalizing discourse taking place within the New Right ideological framework, in-class support as opposed to withdrawal classes for second language learners was incorporated into Section 11 funding within the framework of Home Office Circular 78/90. Under the new Educational Support Grant (ESG) system, projects requiring schools to engage in teacher partnership were now funded for a period of 3/5 years. Bids for ESGs also had to be detailed in terms of specific needs addressed, objectives, quantified targets, time scale, monitoring

of results and consultation with community groups (Circular 78/90). This resulted in good examples of practice with a more coherent and coordinated approach within LEAs—and which was centrally monitored through funding requirements.

By November 1993, an overall restructuring of Section 11 funding arrangements took place. The Home Office transferred 55% of Section 11 funds to a new funding scheme, the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) to be co-ordinated by the Department of the Environment and administered within nine local regions. The SRB involved the amalgamation of 20 separate budgets, from five different departments. LEAs falling within the ambit of identified Urban Priority Areas (UPAs) now had to apply for the funding of ethnic minority projects to the SRB.

### WORK IN PROGRESS

#### *Linguistic Diversity and Regional Languages*

The European Union has provided an important context within which debates about linguistic diversity can take place (see Phillipson, *Language Policy and Education in the European Union*, Volume 1). One of the most significant developments in this regard has been the EU Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (1992) introduced under the auspices of the Council of Europe (see de Varennes, *International Law and Education in a Minority Language*, Volume 1). The Charter requires systems to be put into place within member countries to support minority languages (see later). Moreover, the importance of English as a global language in international business and public administration has meant that issues related to linguistic pluralism have become signally important within countries in Europe. It is argued that the EU Charter for Regional or Minority Languages represent a response to pressures from member states to support the development of their languages (O'Reilly, 2001). The Charter requires member states to make educational and institutional provision for regional or minority languages 'traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State's population; and different from the official language(s) of that State' (Council of Europe, 1992). Thus, focusing on languages having both a territorial and historical base within these societies, it excludes the languages of recent immigrants. Underlying this is the aim to support the principles of democracy and cultural diversity 'within the framework of national sovereignty and territorial integrity' (Council of Europe, 1992, p. 1). As is discussed earlier, this has had a major impact on support and provision for Irish, Ulster-Scots, Scots-Gaelic and Welsh at all levels of the education system through

the establishment of Language Boards. With regard to Northern Ireland, the latter was established following the Belfast Agreement of 1998 (Good Friday Agreement). This Agreement stated that:

All participants recognize the importance of respect, understanding and tolerance in relation to linguistic diversity, including in Northern Ireland, the Irish language, Ulster-Scots and the languages of the various ethnic communities, all of which are part of the cultural wealth of the island of Ireland.  
[<http://www.ullans.com>]

The drive for children to be educated in Irish has gained momentum and is reflected in the growth of Irish language immersion schools and the establishment of All-Irish Medium Primary Schools (*Gaelscoileanna*). Most children attending these schools are from the middle classes. Irish language education is a developing issue; at the moment Irish is still a minority language with low levels of fluency.

In Northern Ireland, the Irish language speaking community is relatively small. The 1991 Census data indicate 'functional Irish-speakers of the order of 40,000 to 45,000, with some 13,000 to 15,000 possessing fluency in the full range of language skills' (Mac Giolla Christ, 2000, p. 3). Moreover, this group is dispersed in different locations throughout the region. Irish gained support and acknowledgement in the Belfast Agreement of 1998, and involved a 'statutory obligation on the Department of Education to encourage and facilitate Irish medium education in line with current provision for integrated education' (Crowley, 2005, p. 201).

There is an emergent debate about the significance of Ulster-Scots in developing a cohesive nationhood in Ireland, including Northern Ireland (McCoy, 1997). The Belfast Peace Agreement (1998) supported the development of Ulster-Scots and in 2000 the British Government signed the European Charter for Lesser Used Languages, and in doing so formally recognized Ulster-Scots as a variety of Scots (Crowley, 2005).

The Welsh Language Act of 1993 for the first time placed English and Welsh on an equal basis in public life in Wales. Section 5 of this Act requires every organization that receives public funding to provide a language scheme, including a system put in place to support its implementation.

In Scotland, the *Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005* recognized Gaelic Scots formally as an official language of Scotland having equal status to English. The Act established the Scottish Language Board (*Bòrd na Gàidhlig*) which is responsible for the creation of a national plan for the development of Gaelic. The Act provides guidance on Gaelic education. By 2004, there were 1,972 pupils in Gaelic medium primary schools, 284 in Gaelic medium secondary and 2,513 secondary

learners; in the pre-school phase there were 1,236 pupils in Gaelic medium pre-school education (Kidner, 2004).

### *Immigrant Languages*

In 1998, the Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant (EMAG) replaced Section 11 funding. EMAG is allocated to LEAs on a formula basis as part of the wider Standards Fund. The grant is aimed at raising the standards of school-based achievement of ethnic minority pupils, especially those whose first language is not English. The emphasis is on providing support for teaching English as an Additional Language (EAL; see Canagarajah, *The Politics of English Language Teaching*, Volume 1). Accordingly, many LEAs are allocating a major percentage of this money to supporting the cost of employing teachers and bilingual classroom attendants to teach EAL in schools. Despite good practice, including bilingual support in some LEAs (see Tikly et al. in DfES, 2002), the general emphasis on raising standards in education effectively means that an ESL approach to facilitate access to the National Curriculum would be a priority for schools under pressure to achieve their set educational attainment targets. Thus, the grant ultimately sustains a monolingual educational policy. The work by Bourne (2001) highlights pedagogical issues related to the use of bilingual assistants in the support of curriculum learning.

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Except for Wales where bilingual education throughout education is well-established, language diversity in education in the UK represents an evolving situation. In the case of Irish and Ulster-Scots, language in education remains a highly political issue in relation to contesting power interests amongst different political fractions, on the one hand, and the move towards political devolution within the national terrain, on the other. Further tensions prevail with regard to the potential use of these regional languages within the formal institutions of the European Union, as well as the ascendancy of English as an international lingua franca. The major problem in Scotland is a shortage of Gaelic medium and Gaelic subject teachers; this has implications for teacher education course provision.

Issues related to educational provision for the languages of immigrant groups, particularly those from ex-colonial countries, remain unresolved. Much of this relates to the implicit threat that these languages pose to the hegemony of British 'nationhood'. British citizenship now requires fluency in English language. Whilst for some immigrant groups the struggle for language maintenance programmes

has continued, for others, language shift has taken place with support from parents keen for their children to integrate into British society. Recent research has shown that second generation ‘immigrant’ pupils have developed complex language repertoires and have the ability to switch amongst different languages and dialects depending on the context of interaction (Rassool, 2004). It signifies a need to have a more nuanced approach to issues related to minority language rights—a need to move away from a rigid rights-based framework to one that takes account of the role of agency in shaping identities, multiple identities, as well as the discursive nature of power within the global cultural economy and its organic relationship with language. For further discussion on the development of critical debate and discourse on multicultural/multilingual education in relation to the role of agency in the shaping of identities, as well as issues related to power and contestation see the work of May (2000, 2001), Modood and May (2001) and Rassool (2000).

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Language plays a major role in the interactive, technologically driven global cultural economy (see also Block, *Language Education and Globalization*; Kalantzis and Cope, *Language Education and Multiliteracies*, Volume 1). Within this context, language barriers represent barriers to progress. The complex linguistic demands of the global cultural economy stimulate the need for educational support for the development of flexible language users as an important aspect of human resource development. With regard to language choice, the emphasis now shifts to communicative and linguistic competence. That is to say, there is an acknowledgement that different languages, registers and discourse strategies are choices that language users will need to be able to make—and in which they would need to have a considerable degree of competence. Within this interactive terrain effective communicative competence does not only involve choice of language suited to the context of use, it also includes knowledge of different discourse styles and cultural conventions.

Differential linguistic markets at local, regional, national and international levels suggest a balanced approach towards maintaining local and regional languages as media of instruction alongside the creation of opportunities to develop international lingua franca within both formal educational and community contexts. This includes not only informal arenas of instruction but also the identification of the normal contexts in which people use different languages for different purposes. In the UK, this has implications for bilingualism in relation to Welsh, Gaelic-Scots, Irish and Ulster-Scots—and English, and within the

broader framework of the European Union, also the acquisition of Modern European Languages. Moreover, within the context of the interactive global cultural economy it would also suggest that learning languages of major trade and business partners would represent an important strategic policy choice. Whilst bilingual education programmes do not exist in mainstream schools for immigrant groups, some of the major languages such as Bengali, Urdu, Cantonese and Punjabi have been integrated into the Modern Languages Curriculum within some inner-city schools. In the UK, as is the case elsewhere in the contemporary world, there is growing awareness that linguistic and communicative competence represent an important economic, cultural and political resource to enable the country to participate effectively within the global cultural economy. Nevertheless, these meanings do not yet feature in language in education policy (see also the Nuffield Languages Inquiry, 2000).

*See Also:* David Block: *Language Education and Globalization (Volume 1)*; Suresh Canagarajah: *The Politics of English Language Teaching (Volume 1)*; Fernand de Varennes: *International Law and Education in a Minority Language (Volume 1)*; François Grin: *The Economics of Language Education (Volume 1)*; Joan Kelly Hall: *Language Education and Culture (Volume 1)*; Ben Rampton, et al.: *Language, Class and Education (Volume 1)*; Robert Phillipson: *Language Policy and Education in the European Union (Volume 1)*; Mary Kalantzis and Bill Cope: *Language Education and Multiliteracies (Volume 1)*

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## LANGUAGE POLICY AND EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

### INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this review is to provide a balanced description of the important aspects of language policy in the USA as they relate, either directly or indirectly, to educational practices in the USA. Language policies derive from official enactments of governing bodies or authorities, such as legislation, executive directives, judicial orders or decrees, or policy statements; voter-approved initiatives; and nonofficial institutional or individual practices or customs. Policies may also evolve as a consequence of actions governments do *not* take, for example, by not providing support for the teaching or learning of a particular language, or language variety, or by designating and promoting an official language and ignoring other languages, or by failing to provide adequate resources to ensure that all groups have equal opportunities to acquire the official language in educational settings. Policies may also evolve from grassroots movements and become formalized through laws, practices, or some combination of both. In this review, theoretical perspectives on language policy and education will be addressed only briefly (for background information, see Wiley, 2005).

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The focus of much of the earliest work in language policy in the USA was on the status of English versus non-English languages from the colonial period through the mid-nineteenth century (Kloss, 1977/1998). Conklin and Lourie (1983) described the history of languages in North America, beginning with the arrival of the first Europeans in the sixteenth century; Heath and Mandabach (1983) describe the British legacy of tolerance toward the use of non-English languages, coupled with an aversion to rigid standardization of English prevalent in the USA until the mid-nineteenth century. However, tolerance was limited to speakers of European languages. Native American languages and cultures were stigmatized, and government policy, beginning in 1802, was to separate Indians from their cultures (Leibowitz, 1971; see also McCarty, *Language Education Planning and Policies by and for Indigenous Peoples*, Volume 1). Colonies, such as Virginia and

South Carolina (and later, many states) passed “compulsory ignorance laws” which made it a crime to teach slaves, and sometimes free-blacks, to read or write (Crawford, 1992). Beginning in the 1850s, the development of a common public school system, coupled with a nativist movement beginning in the 1880s, led to the imposition of English as the sole language of instruction in public and most parochial schools by the 1920s (Heath, 1981). Before 1889, only three states had laws prescribing English as the language of instruction in private schools, whereas by 1923, 34 states required English (Leibowitz, 1971, p. 7). In Hawaii (1920) and California (1921), a series of laws were passed aimed at abolishing Japanese language at schools; by 1923, 22 states had laws prohibiting the teaching of foreign languages in primary schools. In *Meyer v. Nebraska* (1923), the US Supreme Court found a 1919 Nebraska statute that forbade teaching in any language other than English to be unconstitutional, and in 1927, the Court upheld a ruling by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals (1926), which had found laws prohibiting the teaching of non-English languages in 22 states to be unconstitutional (Tamura, 1993). Moreover in 1927, the US Supreme Court ruled in *Farrington v. Tokushige* that Hawaii’s efforts to abolish private Japanese (Korean and Chinese) language schools were unconstitutional, and thus upheld the right of language minority communities to organize after-school and weekend heritage language programs.

The period 1930–1965 was relatively uneventful with regard to federal intervention in language policy issues, with several notable exceptions, such as the continued intrusion of US influence in language-in-education policy in Puerto Rico (Resnick, 1993), and restrictive policies toward the use of Japanese and German in public domains from the 1930s through World War II. In a more positive vein, oppressive boarding school policies for Native Americans were relaxed and the linkage of language minority status with segregation in political access was significant, anticipating major policy shifts culminating in federal legislation in the 1960s supporting bilingual education and voting ballots, which was expanded in the 1970s. However, despite these important policy initiatives that supported the learning and use of languages other than English in education and civic life, federal and state governments have been generally reluctant to address the educational needs of language minority students and other historically marginalized groups unless compelled to do so in reaction to political pressure brought by such groups.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Beginning in the 1960s, the federal US government took an active role in accommodating and, in some cases, promoting non-English

languages in education. The federal role increased in two ways—increased expenditures for students identified as lacking proficiency in English under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), and an increased role in the enforcement of civil rights laws in education (Macias, 1982). The first major federal involvement in the area of status planning was the Bilingual Education Act (BEA) of 1968 (Title VII of the ESEA) which authorized the use of non-English languages in the education of low-income language minority students who had been segregated in inferior schools, or had been placed in English-only (submersion) classes (Lyons, 1992, p. 365). However, the BEA came to an end following the passage of the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB), which reauthorized the ESEA in 2002. All references to “bilingual education” were stripped from the law. Nevertheless, under Title III “language instruction for limited English proficient and immigrant Students,” federal funds for “language instruction education programs” which “may make instructional use of both English and a child’s native language” are available, and state education agencies may use these funds to support bilingual education programs if they choose (Wright, 2005a, b). In addition, Title I of NCLB calls for accommodations for “limited English proficient” (LEP)<sup>1</sup> students on state academic tests, including, “to the extent practicable,” testing students in their native language for up to the first 5 years of enrollment. Other federally supported programs which deal with language and education include the Native American Language Act of 1990, which endorses the preservation of indigenous languages, and requires government agencies to ensure that their activities promote this, and the National Literacy Act of 1991, which authorized literacy programs and established the National Institute for Literacy.

Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the Equal Educational Opportunities Act of 1974 have provided the statutory bases, whereas the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the US Constitution has provided the constitutional rationale for expanding educational opportunities for language minority students in a number of important court cases (see Fernandez, 1987). Among the most significant of these was the *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) decision, in which the US Supreme Court, relying on sections 601 and 602 of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, found that the San Francisco School District had failed to provide a meaningful educational opportunity to Chinese ancestry students due to their lack of basic English skills. The Court did not specify an appropriate remedy; however, soon after the ruling the Office for Civil Rights of the Department of Education wrote

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<sup>1</sup> The term preferred by scholars and researchers is ELL (English Language Learner); we use LEP only because it is the acronym used in NCLB.

guidelines (the Lau Remedies), which instructed school districts how to identify and evaluate limited and non-English-speaking children, identified instructional “treatments” to use (including bilingual education), and established exit criteria and professional teacher standards. At the time the Lau Remedies were in force, strong political opposition to one remedy, so-called maintenance bilingual education programs, led to increased federal support for transitional bilingual education programs, in which students are exited to English-only classrooms after 3 years in bilingual classrooms, as well as for alternative English-only instructional models. Currently, federal education policy under NCLB does not specify any instructional approach; it simply requires that states offer “language instruction education programs,” which ensure that “LEP” students attain and develop English language proficiency, and meet challenging state academic content and achievement standards (Wright, 2005a).

Before 1978, children of Native American backgrounds were not eligible for admission to federally funded bilingual programs because English was reported as their dominant language. However, linguists and educators concluded that the variety of English used (“Indian English” code) creates difficulties in the English-only classroom (see also McCarty, *Language Education Planning and Policies by and for Indigenous Peoples*, Volume 1). By 1986–1987, only about 11% of BEA grants were designated for Indian children (about \$10 million). In 1992, the Indian Nations at Risk Task Force reported to the Secretary of Education on its goals for the year 2000 for American Indian and Alaska Native students. They recommended that: (1) all schools serving Native students provide opportunities for students to maintain and develop their tribal languages; (2) all Native children have early childhood education, providing the needed “language, social, physical, spiritual, and cultural foundations” for school and later success; (3) state governments develop curricula that are “culturally and linguistically appropriate,” and implement the provisions of the Native American Language Act of 1990 in the public schools (Waggoner, 1992a, p. 3). Title VII of NCLB (2002) focuses on support for “local educational agencies in their efforts to reform elementary school and secondary school programs that serve Indian students to ensure that such programs (1) are based on challenging State academic content and student academic achievement standards that are used for all students; and (2) are designed to assist Indian students in meeting those standards.” There is no language in Title VII about opportunities for students to develop and maintain their tribal languages. Despite the relatively modest federal support for Native American languages over the past 15 years, a number of tribes adopted official language policies in the 1980s, including the Navajo, Red Lake Band of Chippewa, Northern Ute, Arapahoe, Pasqua Yaqui, and Tohono O’odlam (Papago) (Crawford,

1989, p. 246; see also McCarty, 2002; McCarty, *Language Education Planning and Policies by and for Indigenous Peoples*, Volume 1). However, tribal leaders and Native American educators have expressed grave concerns over NCLB, claiming its mandates are making it extremely difficult for reservation schools to focus on Native American language and cultural revitalization programs (Senate Democratic Native American Leadership Forum, 2005).

Policy for English as a second language education has been subsumed under a variety of federal and state programs, including: NCLB, the Head Start Program, the National Literacy Act of 1991, the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986, the Adult Education Act (AEA) and the Carl D. Perkins Vocational and Applied Technology Education Act (Perkins Act). According to the 2000 Census, nearly 47 million people (5+ years of age) speak a language other than English at home, and of these 7.2% reported that they had no proficiency in English; of the total US population, 4.9% report speaking English “not well” or “not at all” (Wiley, 2005, p. 16). Data from other surveys, such as the National Adult Literacy Survey, confirm that the number of adults requiring ESL services is somewhere between 12 and 14 million (Chisman, Wrigley, and Ewen, 1993). Despite the demonstrated need for English language programs for adults, there has been little coordination among the various federal, state, or private funding sources, and no overarching policy approach to meet this population’s educational needs (Wrigley and Ewen, 1995). Prior to NCLB, limited federal funds to support specialized bilingual and ESL programs were available to schools through competitive grants. In the 1990–1991 school year, only about 15% of roughly 3 million eligible children were enrolled in BEA programs. Under NCLB, funding for LEP students has increased and funds are technically available to all schools with LEP students. Nevertheless, these funds are now more thinly spread (Crawford, 2002), meaning less money per eligible student.

According to the results of a survey of public schools in the USA conducted by the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, nearly 7 million students were enrolled in foreign language courses in grades 7–12 in Fall (Autumn) 2000—an increase of about 1 million students since 1994. Among high school students (grades 9–12), slightly more than 6 million students (43.8% of all public high school enrollees) were studying a foreign language in 2000, the highest enrollment rate since 1928, and an increase of ~2% over 1994 (Draper and Hicks, 2002, p. 1). Among elementary schools (based on data from 19 states), 5% of students in grades K–6 were enrolled in nonexploratory foreign language courses in 2000; this represents a decrease from 6.4% (24 states reporting) in 1994 (Draper and Hicks, 2002, p. 1). Spanish continues to attract the greatest number of students, accounting

for 68.8% of all language enrollments, 7th–12th grade; French accounts for 18.3% (a decrease of 1.3%) and German for 4.8% (a decrease of less than 1%) of foreign language enrollments. Japanese and Italian are increasing in popularity, representing 8% and 1.2% of total foreign language enrollments in 2002, respectively. Data on foreign language enrollments in postsecondary institutions for Fall 2002 have been compiled by the Modern Language Association (Welles, 2003). The data are based on the results of a questionnaire sent to the registrars of 2,781 institutions, with 99.6% of the institutions responding. The 12 most studied languages, followed by total number of enrollments and percentage of total foreign language enrollments, are: Spanish (746,267) (53.4%); French (201,979) (14.5%); German (91,100) (6.5%); Italian (63,899) (4.6%); Japanese (52,238) (3.7%); Chinese (34,153) (2.4%); Latin (29,841) (2.1%); Russian (23,921) (1.7%); Ancient Greek (20,367) (1.5%); Hebrew (Biblical and Modern) (22,802) (1.6%); Portuguese (8,385) (0.6%); and Arabic (10,584) (0.8%). Enrollments in each of these languages have increased since 1998, with the largest increases observed for Arabic (92.3%), Biblical Hebrew (55.9%), Italian (29.6%), and Modern Hebrew (28%). Although study of a number of languages has grown in the past decade, increases in the number of students attending college (university), along with fluctuations in enrollments among various languages, have resulted in fairly steady registrations in modern foreign languages per 100 college students since 1977, ranging from 7.3–8.6.

According to Census 2000 data, among the nearly 47 million people in the USA aged 5+ years who speak a language other than English at home—an increase from 32 million in 1980—over 28 million (60%) speak Spanish (Wiley, 2005, pp. 10–11). Chinese is now the third most commonly spoken language in the USA, after English and Spanish, with slightly over 2 million speakers (replacing French in 1980). Languages with over 1 million speakers include French, German, Tagalog, Vietnamese, and Italian, whereas Korean, Russian, Polish, Arabic, Portuguese, and “Asian Indian Languages” (Gujarati, Hindi, and Urdu) were reported as having over half a million speakers (Wiley, 2005, pp. 11–12).

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Issues which have received attention in the literature in recent years include the education of speakers of minority (non-English) languages and nonstandard varieties of English, education for the deaf, literacy, preparation of teachers for an increasingly diverse range of students, problems with NCLB’s mandates for testing LEP students, and anti-bilingual education state ballot initiatives.

Despite significant within-group gains in educational achievement, many language minority (LM) students perform less well academically than their majority peers (see Genesee, 1994). Although the population of LM students is greatest in selected states (California, Texas, New York, Florida, Illinois, New Jersey, Arizona, and Pennsylvania), LM students reside in all 50 US states, and many states are experiencing unprecedented growth among their LM student populations (e.g., Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Idaho, and many others). Current federal law (NCLB) requires that LM students be identified and appropriate instructional programs be implemented to ensure LEP students learn English and meet state academic standards. Furthermore, the law mandates the full inclusion of LEP students in state high-stakes testing programs, and individual schools are held accountable for ensuring that LEP students meet the same “adequate yearly progress” goals as all other students (Abedi, 2003). Despite NCLB’s call for accommodations, the vast majority of LEP students are tested in English with little to no accommodations. Amidst rising concerns about the validity of scores for students not yet proficient in the language of the test, schools nonetheless face threats of sanctions and eventual state or private takeover if too many LEP (or other) students fail the test each year (Abedi, 2004). In addition, each state is required to have a statewide English language proficiency test, and school districts are held accountable for ensuring that a growing percentage of students make progress in learning English each year. Given the pressure to raise test scores, the lack of tests in students’ native languages, the lack of encouragement and financial support for bilingual programs, and the heavy emphasis on English, many view NCLB as an implicit (or covert) language policy encouraging English-only instruction (Crawford, 2004; Wiley and Wright, 2004; Wright, 2005b).

Given that the education system in the USA has generally been decentralized, NCLB’s mandates are unprecedented. Nonetheless, with the absence of clearly defined instructional approaches in the federal law, US states are given flexibility to define what constitutes effective instruction for LEP students (Freeman, 2004), and thus can withhold federal funds from schools which do not meet state criteria (Wright, 2005a). This has been particularly problematic in three states that have passed anti-bilingual education voter initiatives: California (Proposition 227), Arizona (Proposition 203), and Massachusetts (Question 2). Together, these states are home to 36% of the nation’s LEP student population. Despite federal allowances for native language instruction, the law in these states mandates that LEP students be placed in structured English immersion (SEI) classrooms, and makes it very difficult for schools to provide bilingual education as an option (de Jong, Gort, and Cobb, 2005; Wiley, Castro, and de Klerk, 2005; Wright, 2005c).

The lack of a coherent (explicit) national language policy reflects, in part, broader social divisions about the role of education, and especially language(s), in society (see Arias and Casanova, 1993). For example, pluralists favor maintaining immigrant and indigenous non-English languages and argue that all students—majority and minority—benefit cognitively, as well as socially, by educational programs that develop two languages; assimilationists, on the other hand, believe maintenance of non-English languages is a private matter, and that the most important measure of success for bilingual programs is how fast children acquire English, not the long-term academic achievement of students. Ramirez et al. (1991) and Thomas and Collier (2002) provide the best evidence to date that late-exit (maintenance or developmental) bilingual education programs are superior to most early-exit or so-called English immersion (submersion) programs in terms of students' long-term academic achievement in English-mediated instruction (see also May, *Bilingual/Immersion Education: What the Research Tells Us*, Volume 5). However, explaining underlying causes of student success (and failure) is extremely complex, and cannot be undertaken without reference to issues of language and identity, and socioeconomic status, among many other variables. For example, members of some LM groups are able to acculturate to the mainstream (English-speaking) society very rapidly, regardless of whether their non-English native language is included in the curriculum, and without losing their cultural (even linguistic) identity; on the other hand, members of other groups, with different histories in the USA, often including segregated and inferior public schooling, have come to believe that full socioeconomic access to the dominant (English-speaking) culture is not a viable option, and as a result are more at risk of school failure, regardless of the curriculum they are exposed to in school. Groups also vary in group adhesion, often displaying wide intragroup variation in members' attitudes toward language maintenance and cultural assimilation (Paulston, 1994, p. 16).

The publication of *A Nation at Risk* in 1984 rekindled a national debate on the "literacy crisis." The 1992 National Adult Literacy Survey (NALS), a comprehensive survey of English literacy in the USA, found, among other things, that 40–44 million adults (21–23% of the adult population) performed at the lowest levels in tasks involving prose literacy. The fact that 21% of the respondents were immigrants still acquiring English who were unfamiliar with US culture complicates the findings. Moreover, the findings do not indicate how well respondents, both native English and nonnative English speakers, are able to cope with literacy challenges on a daily basis. Recent reports have attempted to correct some of the errors in the original findings. Matthews (2001) claims that only 5% of those surveyed should be considered illiterate because they failed to answer any questions (cited

in Wiley, 2005, p. 85). In addition, based on the analysis of test items, concerns about the validity of the survey have been raised (Berliner, 1996; Matthews, 2001). Nonetheless, these reports and concerns about American competitiveness in the global economy have led, in recent years, to the creation of programs for workplace and family literacy. In school settings, policy and curricula have tended to focus on the acquisition of literacy in Standard English, with little attention paid, until recently, to the acquisition and maintenance of non-English literacies, or to the effects of Standard English policies on speakers of so-called nonstandard varieties of English, such as African American Language (AAL) (Ramirez, Wiley, de Klerk, Lee, and Wright, 2005).

In recent years, a movement has emerged within the Deaf community in the USA to promote the teaching of American Sign Language, rather than English, as the first language of deaf persons, preferably in bilingual (ASL/English)–bicultural programs. This recommendation is based on research which shows that the acquisition of English literacy by deaf students instructed in sign systems, such as Manually Coded English (MCE), is less successful than it is for students who have had access to ASL during their formative language acquiring years (see also Branson and Miller, *National Sign Languages and Language Policies*, Volume 1). Critics, who oppose removing deaf children from their hearing parents to learn ASL and become acculturated into the deaf community, argue that this will result in permanent separation and rejection of English. Proponents of ASL as a first language view this as a language rights issue, since policies promoting oralism and restricting the use of sign language, usually developed by hearing persons, have historically oppressed the deaf community and limited their social and economic advancement (see Reagan, 2006).

An important policy issue, given the increasing diversity of the school age and adult population in the USA, concerns the preparation of teachers. State credentialing authorities have, in recent years, modified requirements for teacher certification to include courses in second language acquisition, culture, and methods and materials appropriate for linguistically and culturally diverse populations (see also Wiley, *Language Policy and Teacher Education*, Volume 1). Professional teacher organizations have lobbied state and federal agencies for greater funding and recognition of the specialized training required for teaching in multilingual and multicultural classrooms and schools. Many states now offer a certificate or endorsement in Bilingual Education (in various non-English languages), ESL and/or SEI. Publications integrating theory and practice in the education of LM students include Echevarria, Vogt, and Short (2003); Freeman (2004); Garcia and Baker (1995); Genesee (1994); Milk, Mercado, and Sapiens (1992); and Peregoy and Boyle (2004).

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

The role of the US federal government in expanding educational opportunities for minorities, including language minorities, has been challenged in recent years on a number of fronts. Since the inception of the BEA to its demise in 2002, opposition to Bilingual Education led to changes each time the bill was reauthorized, typically resulting in greater focus on transitioning students to English as quickly as possible, and designating greater percentages of funds for English-only approaches (Ricento, 1996; Wright, 2005b). Nonetheless, in the final reauthorization of the BEA (1994), the benefits of bilingualism were recognized, and funds were allowed for maintenance of bilingual and dual-language programs. In contrast, under NCLB, the term “bilingual education” no longer appears in the federal law, and funds no longer target specific bilingual or other program models.

The biggest attacks on bilingual education, however, have occurred at the state level. A wealthy software engineer from California seeking political name recognition sponsored and funded anti-bilingual education ballot initiatives in four states: California (Proposition 227), Arizona (Proposition 203), Massachusetts (Question 2), and Colorado (Amendment 31) (Crawford, 2004). Although the initiative was soundly defeated in Colorado, the measure was approved by wide margins in the other three states. Under the deceptively simple and misleading title of “English for the Children,” the initiative’s sponsor placed educational language policy-making in the hands of uninformed voters, many of whom likely based their votes on their discomfort with growing immigrant populations (primarily Hispanic) in their states (Wiley and Wright, 2004). These state initiatives have made it difficult to secure new or continued support for bilingual education from legislators at the federal level (Wiley and Wright, 2004).

Groups that oppose bilingual education, such as US English, also tend to oppose other types of federal accommodations to non-English speakers, such as bilingual ballots and the publication of government documents, forms and brochures in non-English languages (although a study by the US General Accounting Office found that 99.4% of the documents produced by the federal government are in English, excluding documents from the State and Defense departments). Such provisions and programs are often cited by opponents as examples of “ethnic-based” entitlements (see, e.g. Imhoff, 1990). These groups also strongly advocate the establishment of English as the official language of the USA, or of governmental entities at all levels. This movement began in the early 1980s under the leadership of the late US Senator S.I. Hayakawa, who introduced a constitutional amendment (S.J. Res. 72) in 1981 declaring English the official language of the USA.

Although the bill was never reported out of committee, by 2000, 27 states had adopted laws or amended their constitutions declaring English the official state language (US English, 2005). On August 1, 1996, the US House of Representatives, under Republican leadership, passed for the first time in US history a bill declaring English the official language of the US government (H.R. 123, The English Language Empowerment Act). Provisions of the bill include repeal of federal bilingual ballots and a prohibition against federal employees communicating in writing in non-English languages, although they may communicate orally in languages other than English. The Senate failed to act on a similar bill in the 104th Congress, thereby preventing the 104th Congress from enacting an official English law. The issue has frequently returned in subsequent sessions of Congress, including a proposal in 2006 amidst major debates over immigration, to declare English as the “national and unifying language,” but to date none of the proposed bills has passed.

Although, research in second language acquisition has provided clear evidence of the benefits of late-exit bilingual education programs (Ramirez et al., 1991; Thomas and Collier, 2002), of the effectiveness of second language immersion programs for monolingual English speakers (Lambert and Tucker, 1972), of the transferability of conceptual knowledge learned in one language to another language (Cummins, 1979), and of the social and affective benefits of programs and curricula which value the culture and language of the so-called nonmainstream students (Baker, 1993), these findings have been distorted and politicized by opponents (cf. May, *Bilingual/Immersion Education: What the Research Tells Us*, Volume 5). Professional education organizations, such as Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL), the National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE), the Modern Language Association (MLA), and the National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE), among many others, have offered their expertise on language education matters to policy makers at the state and federal level in the USA. However, the issues surrounding language in education policy—the use of non-English languages as the medium of instruction, the teaching of foreign languages from kindergarten through college, the maintenance of non-English languages through education, the valuing of non-English—as well as English—literacy among immigrant populations, the development of bilingual-bicultural language programs for the Deaf—have histories which extend back to the mid-nineteenth century. For example, the effects of the Americanization campaign (roughly 1914–1924) (McClymer, 1982), which saw severe restriction of non-English languages in public and private domains at the same time the teaching of English to adults through civics classes was promoted by the states and the federal

government, continue to influence and shape attitudes, and hence policy, with regard to the learning and teaching of languages (Ricento, 2003, 2005).

#### LIKELY FUTURE DIRECTIONS IN RESEARCH AND PRACTICE

Research in language policy and planning is subsumed under three general headings: processes, agents, and goals. Under processes, researchers investigate the mechanisms by which and through which language policies are developed, implemented, and evaluated. Examples of possible research topics in the coming decade include the implementation of federal language policies at the state and local level; the role played by grassroots organizations in articulating policy and influencing legislative processes; the evaluation of policies by different constituencies; the implementation and evaluation of specific program types in specific educational settings; the interplay of the various components which collectively, and individually, determine language policies. Agents refer to the public and private individuals and collectivities which promote various policies. Examples of areas likely to be researched include: who controls language policy agendas, and by what means; what are the sources of authority for those agents who argue for particular policies; what are the characteristics of various interest groups that promote particular policies; what role do the media play in promoting particular policy views? Goals refer to sociopolitical and/or economic objectives sought by particular language policies. Examples of research topics in this area include: assessing the differences between stated and unstated goals; investigation of language in education policies from sociohistorical perspectives; articulation of alternative societal goals and the development of specific policies to achieve those goals; comparative analysis of language policy goals among polities. A good sampling of new directions in language policy research is found in Hornberger and Ricento (1996) (see also Ricento, 2006).

Regarding changes in practice, as federal involvement in the policy arena has decreased in recent years (at least in certain areas), the states are likely to play a greater role in policy development and implementation. Second, despite significant opposition to specialized language programs for LM and mainstream students, a number of states and localities have created innovative programs involving two-way bilingual programs in languages as diverse as Mandarin and Portuguese (even in states with anti-bilingual education initiatives). A growing number of states have increased foreign language requirements in elementary and secondary schools. Professional language and education organizations have, in many cases, been successful in influencing the legislative

process at the state and federal levels. As more research in language policy becomes available to US decision-makers, and as more trained scholars enter the field, the impact on language policy development, implementation and evaluation could be significant.

*See Also:* Joan Kelly Hall: *Language Education and Culture (Volume 1)*; Ben Rampton, et al.: *Language, Class and Education (Volume 1)*; James W. Tollefson: *Language Planning in Education (Volume 1)*; Stephen May: *Language Education, Pluralism and Citizenship (Volume 1)*; Teresa L. McCarty: *Language Education Planning and Policies by and for Indigenous Peoples (Volume 1)*; David Bloome: *Literacies in the Classroom (Volume 2)*; Olga Kagan and Kathleen Dillon: *Issues in Heritage Language Learning in the United States (Volume 4)*; Joseph Lo Bianco: *Bilingual Education and Socio-political Issues (Volume 5)*; Stephen May: *Bilingual/Immersion Education: What the Research Tells Us (Volume 5)*; Teresa L. McCarty: *Bilingual Education by and for American Indians, Alaska Natives and Native Hawaiians (Volume 5)*; Tove Skutnabb-Kangas: *Language Rights and Bilingual Education (Volume 5)*; Jan Branson and Don Miller: *National Sign Languages and Language Policies (Volume 1)*; Terrence Wiley: *Language Policy and Teacher Education (Volume 1)*

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INDIGENOUS LANGUAGE POLICY AND  
EDUCATION IN MEXICO

INTRODUCTION

The policies which nation-states, and their societal majorities, apply to their ethnic and linguistic minorities have become a touchstone to evaluate the quality of democracy, pluricultural commitment and the construction of modern states in almost any part of the world. Therefore, educational and language policies for the minorities can no longer be dismissed as marginal components of state policy that may be dealt with outside the domains of mainstream power relations and the state. Mexico is a paradigmatic case in point. At least in America it represents the probably most-centralized, all-embracing and vertical case of nation-state building. It did not, however, achieve its historical goals of creating a homogeneous nation (cf. May, *Language Education, Pluralism and Citizenship*, Volume 1) and fully assimilating the indigenous peoples in the 500 years since the beginning of Spanish colonization. On the contrary, the Mexican indigenous population is the largest in the continent, although language shift advances in many language groups. During the twentieth century the indigenous population, measured as speakers of the 62 surviving languages by the Mexican national census, has grown steadily in absolute numbers, but declined as a percentage of the total population from 2.2 million in 1930 (=16%) to 7.2 million (=7.2%) in 2000 (INEGI, 2000).

To understand the apparent paradox in Mexico between present overt policies that support diversity and indigenous language maintenance on the one hand, and covert pressure for assimilation on the other, we have to revise historical and present-day ideological orientations in language policy. In the following section, I briefly outline the history of language policy for indigenous peoples from colonial times to the present day in Mexico. Next, I consider the central problems of general language and culture orientations and the use of the languages in indigenous education. I then refer to recent changes in legislation and discuss to what extent a linguistic rights perspective developed over time. In this chapter, the focus is on general language policy and linguistic rights issues, which relate to indigenous education in Mexico. I deal

with concrete programmes of bilingual education and their outcomes in the corresponding chapter on 'Bilingual Education for Indigenous Communities in Mexico' in Volume 5.

#### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS: LANGUAGE POLICY FROM COLONIZATION TO THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Education and language as instruments of state building and control have played a major role ever since complex states emerged on Mexican territory. The Aztecs developed their own educational system, an Academy of Science and a selective language policy to govern their vast empire (Heath, 1972). Throughout nearly three centuries of Colonial Empire (1519–1810) the Spanish Vice Kingdom attempted to build a hierarchical society modelled on Spain with the King, the Church and the Spanish language at the top. After independence in 1810, the new Mexican-born bourgeoisie pursued the construction of a unified, homogeneous nation-state as the main overall objective of state policy (cf. May, *Language Education, Pluralism and Citizenship*, Volume 1) up until the present (Cifuentes, 1999, 2002; del Valle and Gabriel-Stheeman, 2002; Hidalgo, 1994).

In which language(s) should public administration, exploitation and the saving of souls be accomplished? Two basic strategies of language policy for indigenous peoples established continuity between the two regimes (Hamel, 1994; the classical work is Heath, 1972; see also Nahmad Sitton, 1982). The first and generally dominant strategy considered the assimilation, that is dissolution, of indigenous peoples in Mexico and the suppression of their languages to be a prerequisite for building the new polity (see also McCarty, *Language Education Planning and Policies by and for Indigenous Peoples*, Volume 1). A second position favoured the preservation of indigenous languages and cultures in this process, without giving up the ultimate aim of uniting nation and state. The first strategy imposed direct Hispanicization (castellanización) through submersion programmes: the national language was considered to be the only target and medium of instruction. Transitional programmes reflecting the second strategy applied diverse bilingual methods where the indigenous languages played a subordinate, instrumental role as the languages of instruction and initial alphabetization. The complex process of implementing political, spiritual and cultural domination developed full of contradictions and advanced at different speeds in different phases of history (Hamel, 2006).

The century from independence in 1810 to the Mexican Revolution (1910–1920) meant a time of devastating destruction of indigenous organization and communities, a severe reduction of its population and the period when Spanish became the majority language in the

country (83% by 1895, Cifuentes, 2002). Different from most other Latin American countries, however, the turn into the twentieth century saw a national bourgeoisie that explicitly constructed a new national identity based on the Mestizo as the new prototypical citizen, the symbiosis of the two high cultures, the European and the Aztec-Mayan that Mexico inherited. The new national ideology was significantly reinforced after the Mexican Revolution. It allowed Mexico to create distance and at the same time weave multiple alliances along a triple cultural and linguistic borderline to foster its own nationalism:

1. Mexico encompassed the mystical indigenous identity founded in the high pre-Colombian indigenous civilizations, which distinguished the new nation from Spain, the USA and most other Latin American countries;
2. As part of the New World, Mexico forged a unity of American countries and contrasted them to Europe, especially to Spain;
3. At the same time, as inheritor of the Spanish colonial tradition, Mexico established bonds of solidarity with the other Spanish speaking countries and built a barrier against US cultural and linguistic hegemony.

Throughout the twentieth century, a paradoxical process developed: on the one hand, indigenous language loss accelerated dramatically, as in many other parts of the world; on the other, a contradictory state discourse emerged to preserve the indigenous languages. At first, homogenizing policies prevailed. The Mexican Revolution consolidated the Mestizo ideology as the racial, ideological and linguistic basis of the post-revolutionary society. Assimilationist education using direct methods of Spanish teaching dominated in indigenous areas (Garza Cuarón, 1997). The establishment of the new Federal Ministry of Education in 1921, an institution that by 1990 would employ some 1.5 million teachers and bureaucrats, propelled an education that aimed to ‘overcome the evolutionary distance which separates the Indians from the present era, transforming their mentality, orientations and customs, to incorporate them into civilized modern life ...’. (SEP, 1927, p. 35; all translations are mine)

By the mid-1930s, Franz Boas’ cultural relativism hypothesis gained ground through his teaching and research on Indian languages and cultures in Mexico. It helped to counterbalance evolutionary theories of the previous period with their linguistic and cultural hierarchies. The concept of *Indigenismo* emerged, which, similar to *Orientalism* in the British and French tradition, could be sketched as ‘the whole set of ideas about Indians in the heads of non-Indians’ (Villoro, 1950). Given the failure of assimilationist policies and Spanish-only programmes of education, a new recognition of the role of vernacular languages emerged. New pilot projects of mother tongue education were

launched, among which was the well-known *Proyecto Tarasco* in central Mexico (Aguirre Beltrán, 1983; Barrera-Vázquez, 1953; see Hamel, *Bilingual Education for Indigenous Communities in Mexico*, Volume 5).

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS: LANGUAGE POLICY AND INDIGENOUS EDUCATION

In 1978, the Federal Ministry of Education in Mexico concentrated previously scattered programmes for K to grade 6 indigenous primary education in a new subsystem, the General Department of Indigenous Education (DGEI). The indigenous schools had to follow the same federal syllabus and to use the compulsory textbooks as the Spanish primary schools in the country. The main difference between the latter and the indigenous schools consisted in the important fact that all teachers in the bilingual programmes were indigenous and spoke a native language as their mother tongue. Since many, if not most, pupils entered primary school with little or no knowledge of Spanish, the teachers used the vernacular language as a means of communication and instruction as long as necessary, together with the primers in Spanish. Teachers improvised their work and used both languages in a non-systematic way. Literacy and most relevant content matters were in fact developed in Spanish. This *de facto* curriculum could be framed as a mixture of a submersion and a non-systematic transitional bilingual syllabus (Hamel, 1994).

In the 1980s, the official programme was labelled 'bilingual and bicultural'. Given very poor achievement and ongoing language shift among indigenous students, the department designed a new approach based on L1 medium instruction and the teaching of Spanish as L2 (see May, *Bilingual/Immersion Education: What the Research Tells Us*, Volume 5). However, these programmes were never put to work beyond pilot projects, given political opposition in many communities, within the bureaucracy and the teachers' trade union. The most significant activity of the department consisted in the development of primers in the 40 most widely spoken indigenous languages of the country. Again, implementation lagged behind, and these teaching materials were rarely used in the classrooms.

A decade later, the label 'bicultural' was substituted by a new one, 'intercultural'. The argument, which was imported from South America without any debate or development of its own in Mexico, maintained that the term 'bicultural' implied a dichotomous worldview that separated cultures inappropriately. The new intercultural bilingual perspective in turn would propel the recognition, knowledge and integration of both cultures in a pluralistic enrichment perspective (for a critique, see

Muñoz Cruz, 2002). Both languages should now be the medium and object of instruction (DGEI, 1999). In 2001, a newly elected conservative government created a new Coordination in Intercultural Bilingual Education (CGEIB) within the Federal Ministry of Education, which developed a great number of projects, studies and proposals. The main thrust was put on the development of an intercultural orientation of knowledge and respect of indigenous cultures in mainstream education. Implementation, again, did not occur with the same intensity and speed. By the end of the administration in 2006, practically none of the proposals or even the new debates had reached the classrooms.

Contrary to what many authors (e.g. Modiano, 1988) had argued about indigenous education in Mexico in the past, systematic alphabetization in vernacular languages is not a real, general practice in public Indian education, although official policy established since the 1980s asserts that indigenous education should be carried out through the medium of L1. At present, a range of pedagogical practices are in use in the indigenous educational system in Mexico. The most widespread practical model propels transition to Spanish:

1. Indigenous schools have to apply the general primary school curriculum designed for monolingual Spanish speaking pupils; indigenous teachers and schools are expected to make minor adjustments to fit the needs and conditions of their pupils.
2. The national compulsory primers and textbooks are used as the main pedagogical tool; they are designed to teach the subject matter and literacy in Spanish as L1; in no way are they appropriate to learn Spanish as L2. The existing official materials in indigenous languages are rarely used alongside the Spanish textbooks.
3. Although most pupils have little knowledge of Spanish at entrance level, there is no specific place in the curriculum for Indian language and culture. Moreover, no systematic teaching of Spanish as L2 is provided.
4. The indigenous language serves a subordinate function as a language of instruction, and only as long as necessary. Depending on the general language distribution patterns and levels of proficiency in Spanish, instruction in L1 may cease by grade 4 or 5.
5. No culture and language domain separation is practiced or envisaged. Thus, the dominant culture in its material, social, linguistic and cognitive dimensions invades the domains of the indigenous culture and contributes to general culture and language shift among indigenous students.

Generally speaking, low levels of proficiency and achievement obtain for indigenous students in Mexico, as elsewhere (Bertely Busquets, 1998; Citarella, 1990; see also McCarty, *Language Education Planning and Policies by and for Indigenous Peoples*, Volume 1). A systematic

mismatch can also be observed between the sociocultural, linguistic and educational needs of the indigenous student population on the one hand, and the curriculum, materials and language use at school on the other. From the point of view of both the individual and the community, these modalities of schooling tend to reproduce subordination, very often accompanied by traumatic effects for the psychological and cultural development of the pupils. As a matter of fact, the inappropriateness of the school system as such severely violates the indigenous students' educational and linguistic rights (Hamel, 1997).

Three important innovations characterize present-day linguistic dynamics in Mexico that have important consequences for indigenous education: First, the process of democratization over the past 20 years and the expansion of indigenous movements and demands, particularly since the Zapatista upsurge in 1994, have broken down the previous hegemony of multicultural and assimilationist positions within an authoritarian state. Second, Mexico's indigenous peoples are leaving behind their status as a relatively passive population, as targets of governmental programmes to combat poverty and educational backwardness. They have increasingly placed themselves as actors on the political and educational scenes. Third, the 'Indian question' could no longer be considered a marginal problem for the state that could be kept confined to indigenous rural areas. On the contrary, the most prominent claims put forward by the indigenous movement concern fundamental questions of constitutional law, of collective rights and the very essence of a pluralistic nation-state (see also May, Language Education, Pluralism and Citizenship, Volume 1).

#### WORK IN PROGRESS: LANGUAGE POLICY AND LINGUISTIC RIGHTS

In contrast to indigenist and language *policies*, legislation on languages has been much less explicit in Mexican history. Linguistic rights, usually conceptualized as linguistic human rights, have only become a concern since the late 1980s. They have to be considered in the intersection of language policies and general indigenous policies. In Mexico, linguistic human rights (LHR) have always been discussed in the larger context of indigenous rights (see also McCarty, Language Education Planning and Policies by and for Indigenous Peoples, Volume 1; Skutnabb-Kangas, Human Rights and Language Policy in Education, Volume 1).

Let us consider the development of the corresponding Mexican legislation for indigenous education and languages over the period since the early 1990s, until the general Amendment on Indigenous Rights in 2001 and the 2003 General Law on the Linguistic Rights of

Indigenous Peoples. As we shall see, legislation moved from a fairly weak tolerance orientation to a more specific and overt promotion orientation regarding the role of indigenous language (Hidalgo, 2006; Nahmad Sitton, 2001; Pellicer, 1998; cf. May, *Language Education, Pluralism and Citizenship*, Volume 1). Experiences in many parts of the world show that laws and other legal dispositions need to contain very clear and specific definitions to protect minority rights effectively. Otherwise they can be easily perverted or simply not be applied, given the prevailing asymmetric power relations (see Skutnabb-Kangas, *Human Rights and Language Policy in Education*, Volume 1).

Nowhere in the colonial, republican, or post-revolutionary constitutions did the Mexican constitution recognize the existence of Indian peoples until 1991, when an amendment to Article 4 of the Constitution was passed in Congress:

The Mexican nation has a pluricultural composition which is based originally on its Indian peoples. The law will protect and promote the development of their languages, cultures, usages, customs, resources, and specific forms of social organization. . . .

This amendment was severely criticized as too limited to indigenous *cultural* rights in isolation, without granting at the same time their economic, social, political and territorial rights. After the outbreak of the indigenous Zapatista Army's (EZLN) rebellion in southeast Mexico in 1994, followed by extended peace negotiations with the government (Díaz-Polanco, 1997), a proposal for the constitutional recognition of indigenous cultural rights was finally sent to Congress in 2001. However, the amendment of Article 2 that was passed contained considerable changes in relation to the peace agreements; it left unsatisfied the Mexican indigenous movement far beyond the Zapatista Army and most partisan sectors of civil society. The legal text centres on the autonomic competence to regulate their internal social, political, economic and cultural life. Language and education are dealt with in passing. The indigenous peoples are granted the right to:

A. IV Preserve and enrich their languages, knowledge and all the elements that constitute their culture and identity.

The state in turn will

B. II Grant and increment the levels of education, favouring bilingual and intercultural education, literacy, completion of basic education, vocational training, secondary and tertiary education. Establish a system of grants for indigenous students at all levels. . . . Stimulate the respect and knowledge of the diverse cultures that exist in the nation.

On the whole, indigenous peoples in Mexico are granted the right to preserve and enrich their ancestral knowledge, languages and cultures.

Within the state programmes, bilingual intercultural education is mentioned but not made obligatory; it ranges among a series of other non-indigenous types of education with an assimilationist perspective.

In 2003, the Mexican Congress approved a new General Law of the Linguistic Rights for the Indigenous Peoples. It contains four chapters, including general provisions, the rights of the speakers of indigenous languages, the obligations and competencies of public institutions in this matter, and the foundation of a National Institute of Indigenous Languages, which started activities in 2005. The most significant dispositions and definitions are the following:

The object of the law is

... to regulate the recognition and protection of the indigenous peoples' and communities' individual and collective linguistic rights, as well as the promotion of the use and development of the indigenous languages. (Article 1)

The indigenous languages (IL), along with Spanish, are defined as ... national languages due to their historical origin, and have the same validity en their territories, locations and the contexts where they are spoken. (Article 4)

The IL are declared valid to carry out any public business and to access public services in them (Article 7), and the speakers are granted the right to communicate in them in private and public spheres (Article 9). Furthermore, the state grants the indigenous peoples and communities the right to access the state jurisdiction in their languages, that their customs and culture be taken into account (Article 10), and that, if necessary, they will be provided with a translator.

In Article 11, access to bilingual and intercultural education is granted, and in secondary and tertiary (university) education, interculturalism, multilingualism and the respect for diversity and linguistic rights will be promoted.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

In their political fight, the Zapatistas developed strategies that integrated specific claims (territory, resources, justice, education and language) into the overarching target of local and regional autonomy as the specific modality to exercise the right of self-determination as indigenous peoples and nations. From this perspective, language related policies and legal regulations are most likely to succeed if they are incorporated into an attempt to create the necessary conditions, including resources for language maintenance and bilingual education.

Three issues that integrate language policy, linguistic rights and curriculum should be discussed. They relate to the legal basis of the indigenous languages, to the intercultural and bilingual (IB) curriculum, and the control over indigenous education. All these topics will have to be confronted with current implementation and its future perspectives.

As we can see, legislation of linguistic rights and indigenous education in Mexico went through significant changes in the time span of little more than a decade, from a first reference to the existence of indigenous people in the 1991 revision of the constitution to a specific body of linguistic rights and the creation of a National Institute of Indigenous Languages in 2005. The status of indigenous languages has no doubt improved. Although their definition as ‘national languages’ assigns no specific legal status to them, as would have been the status as ‘official languages’, the law established the speakers’ right to use indigenous languages in public institutions and the obligation of the state to create the conditions for their successful use. In spite of significant improvement, the legal foundations of indigenous language status and, above all, of bilingual education still lack more specific definitions to protect and promote indigenous languages and enrichment bilingual education efficiently. Since intercultural bilingual education is nowhere defined in the law, the indigenous children’s right to receive education, including the acquisition of literacy and other content matters in their mother tongue, remains unprotected (cf. Skutnabb-Kangas, *Human Rights and Language Policy in Education*, Volume 1). Such L1 instruction is considered a fundamental component of any enrichment bilingual curriculum for subordinated minority children.

The next question refers to the nature of the curriculum and control over indigenous education in Mexico. During recent years, a number of local innovations and creative initiatives have emerged to find new ways to develop alternative models of indigenous education, although their margins are narrow (Bertely Busquets, 1998; Bertely Busquets and González Apodaca, 2003). The most radical alternative experiments occur in the areas under Zapatista control.

In general terms, however, submersion and transitional programmes based on multicultural, assimilationist perspectives still prevail in Mexico. From the perspective of recent debates about autonomy and intercultural education, the question arises as to what extent the government is prepared to grant relative autonomy to the system of indigenous education in terms of alternative curricula and indigenous control over administration. Since the end of the 1980s, we observe an increasing disposition to grant the teaching of literacy and other content matters in the native languages where appropriate and wanted; but *content*

as such has to be kept more or less homogeneous and must follow the national compulsory curriculum for Spanish-speaking children. In other words, different from previous periods, bilingualism is now accepted and even encouraged to a certain extent; yet pluriculturalism, i.e. real diversity based on an enrichment perspective, is not. Nowhere within the public school system are the school communities entitled to propose and put into practice a syllabus that diverges significantly from the official curriculum.

In spite of its vagueness in key issues (i.e. mother tongue education) and a narrow margin for structural change, the new legal framework in Mexico has moved from prohibition to tolerance and to an albeit weak promotion of indigenous languages and cultures. It opens up new spaces and opportunities for new experiences and innovations. Unfortunately, resistance against changes remains strong within mainstream society and the indigenous communities themselves. Five hundred years of domination has left profound traces in the subordinated peoples' culture, organization and worldview. Most indigenous schoolteachers have settled for some kind of transitional bilingual programme. They themselves have interiorized a diglossic ideology, which leaves no room for their languages as the vehicle for the development of academic skills such as literacy or, in a broader context, for the development of their communities. As in many other contexts of ethnolinguistic minorities in the world, resistance to mother tongue education stems not so much from legal or curriculum constraints, but is due to interiorized barriers and social pressure from inside and outside the indigenous communities themselves. In principle, the legal framework would allow for much greater indigenous language use and related enrichment bilingual education programmes than that currently practiced by the system and its indigenous actors. Given this contradictory situation, the growing numbers of successful initiatives that show alternative ways of education (Podestá Siri and Martínez Buenabad, 2003; see examples in Hamel, *Bilingual Education for Indigenous Communities in Mexico*, Volume 5) can play a significant role in the attempt to bring about more fundamental changes on a broader basis.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The future perspectives of indigenous bilingual and intercultural education in Mexico are difficult to foresee. Neo-liberal economics and North American integration through the NAFTA Trade Agreement have to a large extent eroded the agricultural subsistence in Mexico as the territorial base for indigenous survival. 3.4 million of peasants, many of them indigenous, were forced to migrate to other areas of

Mexico or to the USA during the past administration. Although many migrants maintain close connections with their home communities, the territorial base, the density of the ancestral habitat and other fundamental components for cultural and linguistic reproduction are at risk. Given ongoing asymmetric conflict relations between Spanish (and English in the USA) and the indigenous languages (IL), the rapid reduction of monolingual IL speakers, and the severe weakening of intergenerational mother tongue transmission may all serve as indicators that rising bilingualism may only be transitional in the ongoing process of language shift.

Maintenance perspectives will rely on the growing number of indigenous organizations and grassroots initiatives, on a more profound acceptance of pluriculturalism by the dominant society, and significant changes in the economic model to re-establish social and economic sustainability in the indigenous territories.

In terms of research and academically guided development and implementation, individual ethnographic case studies abound (see an overview in Bertely Busquets, 2003). More research based on scientific approaches that permit national and international comparison is needed, however (cf. May, *Bilingual/Immersion Education: What the Research Tells Us*, Volume 5). In the last resort, changes will depend on the political forces and movements within both subordinated and mainstream society that are able and willing to incorporate major innovations in the construction of a new pluricultural and plurilingual Mexican nation-state.

**See Also:** *Teresa L. McCarty: Language Education Planning and Policies by and for Indigenous Peoples (Volume 1); Tove Skutnabb-Kangas: Human Rights and Language Policy in Education (Volume 1); Juan Carlos Godenzzi: Language Policy and Education in the Andes (Volume 1); Inge Sichra: Language Diversity and Indigenous Literacy in the Andes (Volume 2); Judy Kalman: Literacies in Latin America (Volume 2); Stephen May: Bilingual/Immersion Education: What the Research Tells Us (Volume 5); Rainer Enrique Hamel: Bilingual Education for Indigenous Communities in Mexico (Volume 5); Anne-Marie de Mejía: Enrichment Bilingual Education in South America (Volume 5); Luis Enrique López and Inge Sichra: Intercultural Bilingual Education Among Indigenous Peoples in Latin America (Volume 5); Stephen May: Language Policy and Political Issues in Education (Volume 1)*

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## LANGUAGE POLICY AND EDUCATION IN THE ANDES

### INTRODUCTION

Language policy in the Andes appears as a set of dissimilar and rivalling constituents. There are some explicit constitutional provisions and legal dispositions declaring the protection of national language diversity and linguistic rights. However, in reality, there is a strong implicit imposition of Spanish as the sole national language of administration, subordinating and weakening indigenous languages (cf. Hamel, *Indigenous Language Policy and Education in Mexico*, Volume 1). Facing this contradictory situation is an emerging critical awareness as well as remonstrative efforts that demand the empowerment of indigenous languages and the effective exercise of linguistic rights.

Taking into consideration the interactions of those competing elements, this chapter examines recent developments in language policy, language planning, and education in Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia, since these countries host the largest percentage of indigenous language speakers in the Andean region. It is believed that 34% of Ecuadorians, 37% of Peruvians, and 62% of Bolivians belong to indigenous communities speaking different languages. Besides Spanish, the languages most spoken are Quechua (more than 10 million speakers) and Aymara (2.5 million speakers). There are other vulnerable languages spoken by minorities, particularly in the Amazon area: 15 languages in the jungle region of Ecuador, 40 in Peru, and 34 in Bolivia.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The Andean region, marked by colonialism and asymmetrical relations of power, is a site where European and Indigenous cultures meet and struggle, influencing each other in different ways. In this context, language policy and the entire political spectrum in the Andes have been suffused with social domination and assimilationism (Mannheim, 1991, p. 78).

Under Spanish colonial rule, language policies could not count on immediate or even short-term hispanization—except in a few areas along the coast. Therefore, they were oriented toward Quechua, raising its potential as a vehicle of communication. A process thus started in

the Andes, characterized by the following trends: (i) hegemony of Spanish, associated with groups in power; (ii) spread of Quechua, and on a smaller scale Aymara, through widespread, impoverished areas along the Andes Mountains; and (iii) weakening or extinction of numerous languages that formerly showed signs of vitality (Torero, 2002). Although during this period Quechua enjoyed a relative prestige and was used as a literary language, during the post-independence republican period a hard-line linguistic assimilation took place. Gradually, Spanish expanded at the expense of the indigenous languages, becoming the language of the majority in Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia. However, owing primarily to heavy migration from rural areas to cities, this Spanish is strongly marked by Quechua and Aymara linguistic features. Even if Spanish has subjugated the Andean indigenous languages, these languages are transforming Spanish. Consequently, linguistic conflict is being unleashed not only between languages, but also between the Andean and non-Andean varieties of Spanish.

Throughout the twentieth century, diverse efforts to standardize indigenous languages were made. The first officialization of a Quechua alphabet in Peru dates to 1946. In 1954, the Third Inter-American Indigenist Congress, held in La Paz, proposed an alphabet based on the International Phonetic Alphabet. During General Velasco's Peruvian government (1968–1975), Quechua was recognized as an official language, and an alphabet was produced for Quechua and Aymara. This alphabet, based on phonologic criteria and typographic simplicity, served to write dictionaries and grammars in six major varieties of Quechua. Later, in 1983, this alphabet was revised with the intention of negotiating a greater pan-Andean orthographic unity. The principal change consisted in ceasing to use the five vowels borrowed from Spanish. Instead, three vowels (a,i,u,) corresponding to the three vocalic and structurally functional phonemes in Quechua and Aymara were adopted. This change unleashed the “war of the vowels.” The Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua, headquartered in Cuzco, along with other allied institutions, such as the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), did not accept the measure in spite of it being the result of a joint negotiation (Itier, 1992). Since then, and for nearly 20 years, this impassioned quarrelling between linguists and members of the Quechua academy in Cuzco has diverted attention and energy that should have been directed toward an effective revitalization of indigenous languages. Amid these conflicts, in 1985, the revised alphabet of 1983—including punctuation and orthographic rules—acquired official status and, ever since, has been used in Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE), both in Peru and Bolivia. Furthermore, its use goes beyond the academic sphere, having become present in the fields of communication media and literary production. Regarding

the Amazonian indigenous languages with larger number of speakers, general agreements on alphabet and writing norms have been achieved and have included the active participation of indigenous leaders.

In the education domain, one must signal that the introduction of schooling in Andean communities in Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia has been a slow and painful process (Fell, 1996, p. 191). Indigenous movements, while struggling to defend their lands, demanded their right to education. Andean communities succeeded in their fight to obtain schools, but more often than not, these schools were not what they expected, since they turned out to be spaces where the devaluation of indigenous languages and local knowledge took place. The first initiative of an education that took into consideration the students' language appeared as individual and isolated projects, at the beginning of the twentieth century. That is the case of Manuel Z. Camacho, founder in 1902 of the Private School for Indigenous People; of Daniel Espezúa Velasco, Alfonso Torres Luna, and María Asunción Galindo, in the Aymara area of the Peruvian South Andes; of Elizardo Pérez, founder in 1931 of the Warisata School in Bolivia; of Dolores Cacuango, in the Cayambe region in Ecuador, who promoted schools in which indigenous teachers would teach their courses in Quechua (Albó and Anaya, 2004; Fell, 1996).

The first official indigenous educational activities in Peru took place in 1945, when the Peasant School Nuclei program was started, developed in association with Bolivia. One of the program's characteristics was the recognition of Quechua and Aymara as languages of alphabetization. Even though the nuclei were widely known and accepted, indigenous language alphabetization did not receive enough support, and was soon abandoned. In 1987, the Bureau of Bilingual Education was created. Unfortunately, this Bureau was dismantled a few years later. Several experimental projects emerged, primarily with funding from international cooperation agencies. Some of the most interesting and successful were the Quinua, Ayacucho, Spanish-Quechua Bilingual Project; the Peruvian Amazonia Bilingual Teachers Training Program in Iquitos (Trapnell, 1996); and the Puno Experimental Bilingual Education Project (PEEB). This last program, started in 1977, was focused on implementing bilingual education with Quechua and Aymara children, and then evaluating the experience to validate the program for its general use by the Ministry of Education. In 1996, the National Office for Bilingual Intercultural Education (UNEBI in its Spanish acronym) was created, and in 2001, it was transformed into the National Bureau of Bilingual Intercultural Education (DINEBI).

In Bolivia, the 1952 National Revolution brought the first official intent of educational democratization. In 1983, the "Elizardo Pérez" National Alphabetization and Popular Education Service (SENALEP

in its Spanish acronym) was initiated. The aim of this program was to support adult bilingual education and coordinate efforts with those of the Workers' Confederation and with the Rural Teachers' Confederation. After reaching a basic consensus on normalization and officialization of the Quechua and Aymara alphabets in 1985, the state program "Rural Bilingual Intercultural Education: Plan and Politics" was launched. In the period between the end of the 1980s and 1994, the Ministry of Education (in collaboration with UNICEF) and indigenous organizations developed the Bilingual Intercultural Education Project (PEIB) as a pilot program. This project, designed to cover the first 5 years of basic education, was successful. It had important repercussions, its curricular proposals serving as precursors to a state policy of IBE as part of the Educational Reform initiated in 1996 (Albó and Anaya, 2004, pp. 41–55; Luykx, 1999; Muñoz, 1997; also Hornberger and López, 1998, for a comparative treatment of Peru and Bolivia).

In Ecuador, there were several individually run projects, such as Shuar Centers' Federation, Runacunapac Foundation, and Zumbahua Bilingual Schools. Political and ideological awareness on the part of indigenous peoples allowed them to bring pressure for an education articulated with their cultures (King and Haboud, 2002). In 1984, the PEIB started, oriented toward basic schooling within the framework of an agreement between the Ministry of Education and Culture and the German Technical Cooperation Agency (GTZ). The Education Law was enacted in 1985, recommending the generalization of IBE projects in the country. That same year, and due to the requests of the Ecuadorian Indigenous Nationalities Confederation (CONAIE in its Spanish acronym), the National Bureau of Intercultural Bilingual Education (DINEIB) was created. By 1990, 1,200 schools had joined the DINEIB and were managed by both the Ministry and the CONAIE (Fell, 1996).

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

### *Indigenous Organizations as Protagonists*

Indigenous organizations have actively participated in gaining cultural and linguistic recognition and in consolidating alternative ways of teaching and agency (see also McCarty, *Language Education Planning and Policies by and for Indigenous Peoples*, Volume 1). In some cases, they demanded with increasing impetus the right to their territories, to their own development, and to a self-managed bilingual and intercultural education. A particularly notable role was played by the Shuar Federation and CONAIE in Ecuador, the Guarani People's Assembly in Bolivia, and the Association for the Development of the Peruvian Jungle (*Asociacion Interétnica de la Selva Peruana*, AIDSESP) in

Peru. This enhanced indigenous peoples' protagonism takes place in the context of major international concern about indigenous issues, represented by the ILO 169 Agreement, among other international statements (López and Küper, 2002). The role of the media should not be overlooked, especially that of the Internet, in the sharing of experiences and in the articulation of programs that defend indigenous peoples' interests.

### *New National Legal Provisions*

Legal provisions have been modified, opening up positive trends toward linguistic diversity and its educational impact (Moya, 1999). In Bolivia, the 1994 constitutional reform recognized the multiethnic and pluricultural character of the nation. The 1994 *Educational Reform Law* institutionalized intercultural education for the entire education system and IBE for all students who speak an indigenous language. The *Popular Participation Law* and the *Decentralization Law* complement the educational reform law and strive for administrative decentralization. In Ecuador, the 1992 Constitution established Spanish as the official language, and adds "Quechua and other aboriginal languages are an integral part of national culture" (art. 1). Regarding education, it declares "... in areas where indigenous populations are predominant, the main language to be used in education will be Quechua or the language of the respective culture; Spanish will be used as intercultural relations language" (art. 27). Also, in 1992, Ecuador's *Education Law* was reformed, granting DINEIB technical, administrative, and financial autonomy to develop IBE.

In Peru, the 1993 Constitution establishes that every person has the right to an ethnic and cultural identity. It also asserts that the state recognizes and protects the nation's ethnic and cultural plurality, as well as "promotes Bilingual Intercultural Education in accordance with the characteristics of each area, preserving the diverse cultural and linguistic expressions in the country" (art. 17). The 1993 Constitution also declares Spanish as an official language, along with Quechua, Aymara, and other aboriginal languages in the areas in which they are predominant (art. 48). To a similar end, the 2003 Aboriginal Languages Protection and Dissemination Law (*Ley de Preservación y Difusión de las Lenguas Aborígenes*) declares as official languages, in the areas in which they are predominant, Quechua, Aymara, and the aboriginal languages accounted for in the map of "Linguistic and Cultural Patrimony of Peru, Linguistic Families and Peruvian Languages." The law places the Ministry of Education in charge of updating the said map. Likewise, it affirms that the denominations and the toponymy of indigenous languages will be promoted and preserved. The 2002

Bilingual Intercultural Education Law (*Ley para la Educación Bilingüe Intercultural*) entrusts the Ministry of Education with incorporating, by appointment or contract, indigenous teaching staff into educational institutions (art. 4). The law also obliges the ministry to promote the elaboration and employment of course outlines and curricular content that reflect the nation's ethnic and cultural diversity (art. 5). Likewise, it asserts that the state will make a priority of promoting indigenous peoples' access to state and privately owned social communication media, to ensure the development and the preservation of the nation's cultural diversity (art. 7). The 2003 General Law of Education (*Ley General de Educación*) establishes that Bilingual Intercultural Education should be offered in the entire education system. This would guarantee the pupils the use of their mother tongue for learning, the teaching of Spanish as a second language, as well as the subsequent learning of foreign languages (art. 20).

#### *Advances in Language Planning Research*

Statistical and cartographic work in the Andes has proven to be of crucial importance to political decision-making and linguistic planning. Two contributions stand out in this field: *The Linguistic Atlas of Peru* (Chirinos, 2001) and the guide and maps of plurilingual Bolivia (Albó, 1995). In addition to the wealth of data presented, these two studies offer interpretations of Andean sociolinguistic situations and yield orientations for planners and educators. Regarding research in Andean sociolinguistics, Cerrón-Palomino (2003) examines Spanish in contact with Quechua and Aymara, analyzing borrowing and transference phenomena. Sichra (2003) analyzes Cochabamba Quechua variants, and cases of code-switching between Quechua and Spanish. A series of papers on Quechua sociolinguistics was published in a special issue of the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* (King and Hornberger, 2004). Howard's (2007) research offers empirical data proving that linguistic contact effects (code-mixing, code-switching) have a permanent presence in everyday interactions. In general, new data from recent research indicate that the multilingual subject makes diversified and flexible use of his/her linguistic repertoire to represent, identify, and relate himself/herself with those in his/her surroundings.

Concerning the research on *bilingual language acquisition*, Sanchez's work (2003) focuses on the issue of interference and convergence in the functional features associated with the direct object system among Quechua-Spanish bilingual children. It provides a formal account of the linguistic mechanisms that operate in cases of syntactic cross-linguistic influence. It further postulates that this interference plays a role in

the creation of syntactic changes, and suggests that convergence “delineates the conditions under which a fusion of functional features takes place in the bilingual mind” (p. 1). Attention is drawn to the following phenomena found among the results: (i) in bilingual Quechua: SVO word order (instead of the canonical SOV word order), dropping of the accusative marker *-ta*, emergence of an indefinite determiner; (ii) in bilingual Spanish: gender-neutral specification of clitics and the emergence of null objects as continuing topics; (iii) in Quechua–Spanish bilinguals: clitics and determiners that are affected by functional convergence. The originality of this study rests on its contribution to the debate on bilingual language acquisition and on syntactic acquisition in children. It is also distinctive for the data it acquired in the Andean region where Spanish is in contact with Amerindian languages.

Other studies deal with IBE programs: Muñoz (1997) and Albó and Anaya (2004) show the evolution of a Bolivian project that developed into state policy; King (2004) on Ecuador, focused on the IBE Saraguro local development; López (2002) confirms, on observing the Peruvian context, initial IBE changes in rural bilingual schools. From a broader perspective, in López’s (1998) review, indigenous children participating in those programs exhibit better linguistic competencies in their first language (Hornberger, 2003). They also show better performance in other subjects, better affective balance, and a more active participation in the learning process. In the *ethnographic research* field, there are important conclusions in Aikman’s (2003) research on the San José Arakmbut community in south-eastern Peru. Aikman shows the contrast between an intercultural education, which takes place within the school under authoritarian pedagogy and an intercultural education as conceived and demanded by the Arakmbut. The epistemological conceptions of the school and of the community are differentiated: the first (official) model fragments knowledge and strives for progress, whereas the second (Arakmbut) integrates knowledge and strives for balance between the visible and the spiritual worlds. This study illuminates local knowledge, practices, and processes that challenge theoretical developments and question policies for educational change.

### *IBE Programs of National Scope*

The introduction of indigenous languages in schools, as well as the developments of bilingual education projects, have ceased to be isolated initiatives or pilot projects supported, in general, through foreign funding. They have turned into programs that, in varying degrees, are now part of national education systems. The most daring program in the region is that of Bolivia. The chosen perspective is that of maintenance bilingual education (Albó and Anaya, 2004, p. 76). Some of the

Bolivian achievements were realized in a little more than 8 years. Following these reforms, the First Peoples' Educational Boards (CEPO in its Spanish acronym) were formed, which created the conditions for IBE expansion and massive IBE coverage: between 1996 and 2001, IBE reached 2,375 schools and 115,000 indigenous children (Albó and Anaya, 2004, p. 87).

In Ecuador, the IBE program is administratively and financially autonomous. It is carried out from within and with the participation of indigenous peoples through the Bilingual Intercultural Education System Model—MOSEIB. This model, developed by 1993 by the National Bureau for Bilingual Intercultural Education (DINEIB), in coordination with their indigenous organizations, is oriented toward the satisfaction of indigenous peoples' educational needs. Its purpose is to foster the use of indigenous languages as a means of oral and written communication in all areas of knowledge, as well as teaching Spanish as a second language. It should be mentioned that this program is highly significant in the region since it treats IBE as a right of indigenous peoples to organize and manage their children's education (King and Haboud, 2002).

In Peru, the program is run by DINEBI. Two official documents orient their actions. The first, *Bilingual Intercultural Education Policy Outline* (Ministerio de Educación, 2004a), states that its aim is to attain additive bilingualism (for further discussion of additive bilingualism, see May, *Bilingual/Immersion Education: What the Research Tells Us*, Volume 5), taking into consideration differentiated sociolinguistic contexts. The second document, *National Bilingual Intercultural Education Plan* (Ministerio de Educación, 2004b), indicates that the general objective of IBE is: "to contribute to the achievement of educational quality and equity while offering an education which considers diversity as a resource capable of generating educational proposals and experiences, at all levels and modalities of the system." Some of the program's achievements as of 2004 include: reaching around 127,000 indigenous children; training over 6,300 bilingual teachers; preparing and publishing textbooks in indigenous languages in communications and mathematics; and preparing materials and a handbook in support of teaching Spanish as a second language.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

The political empowerment of indigenous languages is a work in progress. Let us consider some recent symbolic shifts. Quechua is the first language of Hilaria Supa and Maria Sumire, who are from rural Cuzco. Recently they were elected to Peru's Congress. These women have engaged in speaking to the legislature in Quechua, a move that is meant

to bring visibility to Andean culture and to gain public space for a secularly discriminated language. This symbolic gesture, which irritated most members of the Congress and forced them to hire translators, is symptomatic of changes in the political and cultural arena (*El Comercio*, Peru, August 9, 2006; *The Economist*, August 17, 2006). Also, Google recently launched a Quechua version of its search engine, and Microsoft, in agreement with the Peruvian Ministry of Education, translated its Windows and Office software into Quechua. The formal introduction of this material took place in a high school in Pisac, a village near Cuzco and the former Inca capital, where the students already had begun to use these programs in their mother tongue (*El Comercio*, Peru, June 17, 2006; *The Economist*, August 17, 2006). Bolivia has followed this example and further included the Aymara language. In the same vein, some canonical works, such as *Le petit prince* or *Don Quijote*, have been translated into Quechua. The Quechua edition of *Don Quijote*, translated by Demetrio Tupac Yupanqui, is the first translation of this work into an Amerindian language. During the book's presentation at the *Casa de América de Madrid*, it was emphasized that the first chair of Quechua was created in Peru in 1570, 2 years before a chair of Dutch and 4 years before a chair of English. All these political gestures are contributing slowly to changing the prejudices, opinions, and racist opinions about indigenous languages.

A law that modifies the penal code on discrimination was recently passed in Peru (August 9, 2006). The purpose of this law is to counteract racism and exclusion for linguistic reasons. The modification explicitly includes a penalty of up to 3 years in prison for those who discriminate "for reasons of race, religion, sex, genetic factors, age, disability, language, ethnic, cultural and indumentary identity, political opinion, or of any character or economic condition, with the purpose of depriving or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise of the rights of the person" (art. 1). In Bolivia, the recently elected president, Evo Morales, has announced that all Bolivian civil servants will have 2 years to learn an indigenous language to keep their jobs. In this way the state will become an inclusive entity and also a representative of those who have been secularly excluded. Likewise, the Bolivian state has decided to give indigenous people access to careers in the military, access that previously had been prohibited.

Another work in progress is the formulation of a new constitution in Bolivia, in view of a possible state restructuring and national refoundation, based on the principles of equality and nondiscrimination. This has stimulated the elaboration of a *Linguistic Rights and Politics Law* project, currently in review. This legal project aims to declare all existing languages in Bolivia as the "Intangible Historic and Cultural Oral Patrimony" of the Bolivian state. Its objective is to recognize, protect,

promote, and regulate the individual and collective linguistic rights of all Bolivians. Similarly, in Ecuador, initiatives have emerged to incorporate the linguistic rights of indigenous peoples and nationalities into the legal order of the Ecuadorian state. A proposal has been elaborated, with the participation of UNESCO, called the "Operative plan of the rights of the nationalities and indigenous peoples of Ecuador." This plan aims to create the Institute of Ancestral Languages, which will promote scientific research on languages as well as the design of policies directed toward promoting the use of indigenous languages in radio-diffusion, the press, publications, cinema, theatre and performances, and sound and image production (<http://www.ildis.org.ec/old/planddh/plan02te.htm>).

Another issue being discussed is the relationship between *gender*, *ethnicity*, and *education*. Research papers edited by Sichra (2004) serve as an introduction to this debate, and to the study of the symbolic construction of gender in historic and social contexts (see also Pavlenko and Piller, *Language Education and Gender*, Volume 1). This type of research contributes to the understanding of the double marginalization suffered by many people in the region who are both women and indigenous. The subjects of *orality and writing* have also been under discussion recently. The book edited by López and Jung (1998) includes sociolinguistic studies on reading and writing within Amerindian cultures. Zavala's (2002) research focuses on the presence and effects of writing in an Andean community. Some of the contributions gathered in Zavala, Niño-Murcia, and Ames (2004) deal with literacy in Quechua-speaking Andean areas, and of their connections to education. The multiple use of literacy in a communal and familiar setting is seldom accounted for by the school, which usually focuses on the decontextualized development of literate abilities.

One of the instruments devised to facilitate debate on language policy and education issues is the organization of Latin American IBE congresses. Six of these meetings have already taken place: Ciudad de Guatemala, 1995; Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Bolivia, 1996; Quito, Ecuador, 1998; Asunción, Paraguay, 2000; Lima, Peru, 2002, Santiago de Chile, 2004; and finally, Cochabamba, Bolivia, 2006 (<http://viiieib.proiebandes.org/conclusiones.html>). A recently published document offers a review and summary of these events (Programa de Educación Bilingüe Intercultural, 2004). The Lima conference proceedings are already available (Zariquiey, 2003). The importance of these congresses lies in the participation of officers from the Ministry of Education, along with indigenous leaders, academics, experts, and others responsible for IBE policy design. They met with the purpose of producing and exchanging knowledge that will transform teaching practices while also having a wider impact on the construction of multilingual and intercultural societies.

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Ethnic, cultural, and linguistic differences often naturalize profound social inequalities. There is still strong resistance to and prejudice against the public use of indigenous languages (see also May, *Language Education, Pluralism and Citizenship*, Volume 1, and McCarty, *Language Education Planning and Policies by and for Indigenous Peoples*, Volume 1). Usually efforts to revitalize languages are neither accompanied by an effective recognition of the human and collective rights of indigenous peoples, nor do they tend to bring about concrete reforms that make way for social equality. Indigenous communities of the Amazon basin, for instance, are denouncing oil companies for the pollution of river water, which is causing serious physical and mental health problems, including cancer and genetic deformities. There is much work to be done to create the economic and political conditions that favor the development of a social bilingualism in the Andes.

Some legal provisions for native languages exist, but they are usually not implemented (cf., Skutnabb-Kangas, *Human Rights and Language Policy in Education*, Volume 1). According to an established custom that dates back to the colonial era, laws are accepted, but not adhered to. To break with this tradition is an Andean political challenge.

In addition, existing research on language variation, language contact, and sociolinguistic processes is insufficient. Further research is needed as a condition for coherent and adequate language planning.

Regarding the use of languages in education, an indigenous first language tends to be used as an instrument of learning, but its development is seldom reinforced and almost no discussion about the language itself takes place (López, 2002, pp. 159–164). It is not used to cultivate other dimensions of the culture it belongs to (Albó and Anaya, 2004, pp. 161–168). Another problem relates to materials written in some indigenous languages that have not developed alphabetic writing or whose alphabet has not been consolidated in a common written norm. Linguistically based selections turn out to be arbitrary or strange for prospective readers.

Even though it is true that IBE in the Andean region has been achieving official recognition within educational systems, its social legitimation is still an ongoing task. Another unresolved problem, affecting all programs, is the teaching of Spanish as a second language. As reports of López (2003) and Albó and Anaya (2004, pp. 171–181) indicate, official Latin American schools cannot speak of any major success in this task. Other problems are posed by budget cuts, by conflicts between pedagogical advisors and teachers, and by filling teaching positions with personnel untrained in IBE strategies.

## FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The implicit imposition of Spanish as the state's only language in the Andes has been questioned and challenged during the past decades. The recent top-down constitutional provisions and laws have opened new spaces of negotiation between the indigenous organizations and different state sectors. These advances could be directed toward a more pluralistic, interactive, and creative language policy, which would help build responses in accordance with global and local contexts. A key issue in this process is the provision for popular participation, such as the Bolivian First Peoples' Educational Councils. From the time of their inception, these councils have been able to defend IBE's perspective when the Government had doubts about its importance (Albó and Anaya, 2004, p. 259). A process of decentralization, delegation, and devolution of power to all agents of cultural policy and educational activity is of utmost importance. Only then can a linguistic plan be generated.

It is crucial to acknowledge socio-educative and linguistic circumstances before making decisions on language policy and education. It is still necessary to promote new studies about the linguistic reality in the Andes, about the situation of rural and urban bilingualism and language contact, and about the effectiveness of indigenous language-in-education implementation.

From a Latin American perspective, intercultural proposals aim at changing the conditions and modalities in which exchanges take place. That is, they are directed toward a profound social and state transformation. As an ethical-political category, emerging from indigenous peoples' demands and projects, *interculturality* can be defined as an interlocutive modality of interactions and exchanges—between individuals and/or collective instances—consisting in negotiating, arriving at agreements, and making decisions to create basic material and symbolic conditions for the existence of pluralist societies and inclusive states. Real dialogue could take place horizontally; and, mutually enriching experiences could take the place of exclusion and violence. Interculturality is the proposed axis of educational systems in the Andean region, and in many Latin American countries (Godenzzi, 1996; Hornberger, 2000). The challenge is to make this concept operative in a creative way so that it will not remain as an empty rhetorical declaration (García, 2004, 2005). Rather it should transform social interactions and pedagogical practices. A theoretical-methodological instrument was elaborated by Walsh (2001), but needs to be adapted to the particular situation of each specific context. To accomplish this project, specialists need to continue doing research on indigenous categorizations (Valenzuela, 2000), on ways of transmitting knowledge and on

the learning processes of indigenous peoples (Stobart and Howard, 2002; see also McCarty, *Language Education Planning and Policies by and for Indigenous Peoples, Volume 1*). The aim is to make intercultural inclusion not only social but also epistemic.

In the IBE domain, some actions have to be reinforced: to generate a bottom up form of IBE (López, 2002, p. 169); to consolidate the passage of IBE from project to state policy; to develop interculturality for all; and to decentralize educational systems (Albó and Anaya, 2004, p. 264; López and Küper, 2002, pp. 63–68).

In sum, a future language policy agenda in the Andes will include the effective officialization and revitalization of indigenous languages (Hornberger and King, 2002), the development of a new public idea about language and its diversity, the task of sensitizing public opinion to overcome racial and linguistic discrimination, and political and economic measures aiming toward social, ethnic, and cultural equity. The fulfillment of these points in the agenda will enhance participation in a plural society in which everyone recognizes the right to cultural creation and democratic coexistence. Therefore, a very well understood and implemented language policy could become an important tool for building the foundation upon which to rethink and renew Andean public life.

**See Also:** *Tove Skutnabb-Kangas: Human Rights and Language Policy in Education (Volume 1); Teresa L. McCarty: Language Education Planning and Policies by and for Indigenous Peoples (Volume 1); Stephen May: Language Education, Pluralism and Citizenship (Volume 1); Inge Sichra: Language Diversity and Indigenous Literacy in the Andes (Volume 2); Virginia Zavala: Teacher Training in Bilingual Education in Peru (Volume 4); Luis Enrique López and Inge Sichra: Intercultural Bilingual Education Among Indigenous Peoples in Latin America (Volume 5); Tove Skutnabb-Kangas: Language Rights and Bilingual Education (Volume 5); Nancy H. Hornberger: Continua of Bilingual Education (Volume 9); Rainer Enrique Hamel: Indigenous Language Policy and Education in Mexico (Volume 1); Rainer Enrique Hamel: Bilingual Education for Indigenous Communities in Mexico (Volume 5)*

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## LANGUAGE POLICY AND EDUCATION IN CANADA

### INTRODUCTION

This sketch of Canadian language legislation and policies touches on background information, French and English as official languages, official and minority language policies for immigrants, and policies on Aboriginal languages.

Canada, a large country with a relatively small population (30 million), has a parliamentary democracy. Created legally in 1867, it now has ten provinces and three territories. Inter alia, the federal government has jurisdiction over Aboriginal matters and the territories, the provinces over education; responsibility for immigration is shared.

In about 1500 A.D., Aboriginal people lived across what is now Canada, speaking about 450 languages and dialects from 11 language families. Immigration, starting with colonization by Britain and France, has since increased the population and changed its ethnic or racial mixture. Although immigration from northern and western Europe predominated earlier, the proportion of immigrants from other continents has increased, particularly since the 1960s. In 2001, 59% of the population reported English as mother tongue, 23% French, less than 1% Aboriginal languages, and 17% other languages (Statistics Canada, 97F0007XCB2001001).

#### *French and English as Official Languages*

Struggles first between France and Britain, then Francophones and Anglophones dominate Canada's recorded history. In the 19th century, Canadian legal rights for the 'English' and 'French' populations focussed on religion rather than language (Neatby in Commissioner of Official Languages, 1992, pp. v–ix). Legislation specifically on language was rare. However, in the early 20th century, increased secularism, industrialization, national attention on Canada's role in the British Empire, and massive immigration encouraged a movement to 'Angloconformity', especially through legislated use of English as the language in schools in most provinces. Francophones in Québec were isolated in a French-language, church-run school system and in the social and political use of French in some areas of Québec. Only superficially did the Canadian federal government recognize the constitutionally equal status

of French with English in parliament, in federal courts and in the legislature and courts of Québec.

After 1945, industrialization, immigration, and a low birth rate among Francophones threatened the critical mass of French, even in Québec (Neatby in Commissioner of Official Languages, 1992, p. vii). Most non-French immigrants to Québec chose English as their second language, English being the dominant language of large business in Québec, centred in Montreal. Being ethnically Québécois and unilingually Francophone was a severe economic disadvantage up to the early 1960s (Wardhaugh, 1983, pp. 74–80). In the 1960s, Francophones in Québec, through the ‘Quiet Revolution’ movement, acted to gain more control. In 1963, the Québec government created a ministry of education, replacing the parochial education system.

Such pressures moved the federal government to take the constitutionally equal status of the French language seriously. It established the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1963–1971), which made an elaborate study of political, cultural and economic use of all languages in Canada except the Aboriginal languages. The impact of its research began in 1964 with language training for public servants, leading, in 1973, to measures to make English and French equitably the languages of work in the federal civil service (Beaty, 1989, p. 186; Commissioner of Official Languages, 1992, pp. 14–17).

From 1967, some provinces, anticipating the commission’s impact, changed their education acts towards more use of French as language of instruction (Commissioner of Official Languages, 1992, pp. 14–15). In a Montreal suburb, a group of Anglophone parents in 1965 persuaded a school board to teach their children through the medium of French so that the children would learn it as a second language faster and more effectively (Lambert and Tucker, 1972). This launched the now popular ‘French immersion’ programmes across the country. In virtually every part of the country, various versions of these programmes are now a significant part of Canadian public education (see Lapkin, 1998; May, *Bilingual/Immersion Education: What the Research Tells Us*, Volume 5).

The main outcome of the Royal Commission’s Report was the *Official Languages Act* of 1969, making English and French Canada’s official languages. In addition to declaring that English and French are to have ‘equality of status and equal rights and privileges’ for all the purposes of the Parliament and Government of Canada, the Act specifically imposes duties on all federal institutions to provide their services in either English or French: in the National Capital Region and in such ‘bilingual districts’ as might be subsequently designated, at their head offices, and in any other locations where there was ‘significant demand’ for such services. The Act also created the position of

Commissioner of Official Languages to oversee its implementation and generally act as official languages ombudsman (Beaty, 1989, pp. 185–186).

Beaty summarizes the main programmes supporting the *Official Languages Act* as encouraging ‘a more general climate of respect and support for Canada’s official languages in other jurisdictions and in Canadian society as a whole’ by:

1. supporting minority groups [English in Québec and French elsewhere] in their attempts to achieve provincial recognition of their legal rights and their special linguistic needs
2. fostering and helping to finance minority language education. . .
3. giving similar financial encouragement to the effective learning of English and French as a second language country-wide and
4. supporting the efforts of national, private and voluntary organizations to develop their own capacity to do business in both official languages (Beaty, 1989, pp. 190–191).

However, implementation of various provisions early on involved controversy, for example, the choice of language to be used in air traffic control.

In 1970–1971, the federal government began its Official Languages in Education (OLE) Program. Education being a provincial responsibility, the federal government could not legislate on it directly but could encourage compliance by offering funding. Following the Royal Commission’s recommendation that the federal government support the provinces in providing English education for Anglophones in Québec and French education for Francophones in the other provinces, and in improving second official language instruction, the OLE has made transfer payments to provinces, monitored by the Commissioner of Official Languages. Although the enrolment in English schooling in Québec and French schooling elsewhere has not changed substantially since 1971, numbers of children in second official language programmes have, especially French immersion programmes (Canadian Education Association, 1992, p. 3; Canadian Parents for French, 2004).

The province of New Brunswick declared itself bilingual in 1969, and most provinces legislated more status for French in the next few years. A series of actions in Québec, especially relating to parents’ rights to have their children educated in languages other than French, provoked controversy. Separatism became a driving force in the province, but the Québec government in 1980 (and in 1995) lost a referendum for a mandate to negotiate ‘sovereignty association’ (Québec nationalism within the Canadian state) with the federal government (Commissioner of Official Languages, 1992, pp. 9–22; Labrie, 1992, pp. 30–32). In this climate, the nation made a number of efforts in the 1970s to prevent a total rift with Québec.

In 1980, the federal government ‘patriated’ the constitution, providing a major opportunity for constitutional changes. Canada’s constitution was an act of the British Parliament; patriation meant enacting some form of it through the Canadian Parliament. The 1982 *Constitution Act* left the major structure, such as the responsibilities of the federal and provincial governments, the same. It added an amending formula, as well as the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, which included central developments on language since the early 1960s, such as the official language status of English and French for the governments of Canada and New Brunswick. Citizens can now challenge all legislation and policies in court against the *Charter* provisions.

Crucially, Québec did not agree to the *Constitution Act* because of concerns about its amending formula. Despite attempts at resolution, federal relationships remain uneasy, with the inclusion of Québec in the constitution unresolved. As for language in education, the *Act* precipitated many legal actions to align mother-tongue education provisions for Francophone children in English Canada and Anglophone children in Québec with the *Charter* (Foucher, 1985; Martel, 1991). The Commissioner of Official Languages noted recently that only half the students from Francophone minority communities, who are entitled to attend Francophone schools do so (Commissioner of Official Languages, 2003, p. 10). Official second language programmes for Anglophones and Francophones have been relatively uncontroversial. Nevertheless, for example, an ongoing source of tension in Québec has been rulings about the role of English and French on commercial signage.

The evolution of English and French as official languages and languages of education, work, commerce and so forth during the past 40 years provides no perfect model for language relations, especially since it has not yet satisfied either party. However, it has set a certain standard for some other language minorities in the country. The intense negotiations between Québec and the rest of Canada still dominate discussion at the national and provincial levels.

### *Language Issues for Speakers of Non-Official Languages*

Reading official statements, one would scarcely believe that Canadians speak languages other than English and French. Federal statements carefully refer to speakers of non-official languages as other *cultural* groups. However, given the important role of immigration in Canada, to say nothing of the special position of the Aboriginal peoples, non-official languages are very much in evidence. This section discusses language issues for speakers of non-official languages other than

Aboriginal ones. It refers to 'immigrants' even though non-official language issues often continue well into the second and third generations after immigration.

*Official Language Training for those Who Speak Neither Official Language*

Canadian federal legislation covers official languages for those who speak an official language already; no federal legislation even suggests that speakers of neither English nor French have the *right* to support in learning one of those languages. However, some programmes address language for residents of Canada who do not speak either official language. Federal policy on OLE for Anglophones or Francophones refers almost entirely to children's education, but official language training for non-official language groups mainly targets adults, largely because the federal government strongly links immigration to the labour force.

The *Official Languages Act* (1969) makes no provisions for the learning of official languages by residents of Canada who do not speak either language (well). However, in 1971, the federal government declared itself by policy multicultural. Clearly aimed at calming backlash among non-English and French groups over the declaration of official languages, the multiculturalism policy pledged to promote respect and support for all of Canada's languages and cultures. The original policy stated that 'the government will continue to assist immigrants to acquire at least one of Canada's official languages in order to become full participants in Canadian society' (Saouab, 1993, p. 4). The policy passed through various stages, none including direct support for official language training for immigrants, and evolved into the present *Multiculturalism Act* (1988), which mainly fosters non-English and French cultures, antiracism and affirmative action in support of visible minorities.

Since about 1970, the *Immigration Act* has increasingly made knowing one official language an advantage in admissibility for certain classes of immigrants, but only some applicants are assessed this way. To become a Canadian citizen applicants must demonstrate a 'reasonable' knowledge (undefined) of either official language. From the early 1970s to the late 1980s, the federal department responsible for the *Citizenship Act* made agreements with most provinces for partial funding of provincial language and citizenship training for adults.

However, the federal government emphasized more the economic impact of immigration. The federal agency responsible for employment included language training for immigrants 'bound for the labour force' under its large programme of employment (re)training from the late 1960s to about 1990. The provinces' community colleges did

the training (to accommodate education as a provincial responsibility) but federal officials chose the students. This programme provided about 24 weeks of full-time training with a training allowance. Controversy surrounded this programme, especially concerning decisions on who was destined for the labour force. Meanwhile, since the 1960s, provinces, local authorities, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have provided a wide variety of language training to immigrants.

Since 1991, the employment-related federal programme has been replaced by one serving immigrants who do not yet have Canadian citizenship, regardless of their labour market intentions. This includes individual assessment against nation-wide language standards, counselling and recommendations on local programmes. Canadian Language Benchmarks and Standards linguistiques canadiens, assessments of English and French language ability, including task-based level descriptors, provide the standards for assessment and curriculum (Centre for Canadian Language Benchmarks, 2005). Private and public institutions bid annually for contracts to provide training, either generic or targeted (e.g. for immigrants with low levels of education). Childminding and transportation may be provided, but no training allowances. Criticisms of this programme include that: newcomers who have obtained Canadian citizenship are not eligible; federal authorities have left provinces and NGOs with the main language training burden; and the 1-year contract bids stress the bidding agencies (Burnaby, 1992, 1996).

ESL for schoolchildren is simpler than adult programmes only in being delivered almost exclusively by school boards. In areas where there is little immigration (e.g. the Atlantic provinces), immigrant children may be unevenly served, if at all; however, in high-immigration regions, they usually get at least minimal attention, such as special classes, withdrawal from regular classes for part of the day or sensitization of regular teachers to their needs (Ashworth, 1992, pp. 36–40). There are no bilingual programmes to help orient children to Canadian schooling. Some part-time classes for immigrant women have been funded as ‘parents and preschoolers’ programmes so that the children get some language training too. A series of articles in *The Globe and Mail* (September, 2004) by Andrew Duffy indicated increasing stress points for non-English speaking students in English Canadian schools as well as some extraordinary programmes to address their needs (Duffy, 2004).

### *Teaching of Non-Official Languages as Ancestral Languages*

Clearly Canada greatly values its official languages. But what of the value of other languages that immigrants bring to Canada? In the era of greatest Anglophone power, the system viewed languages other than

English with suspicion, and encouraged immigrants, especially children, to forget their mother tongues. From the nineteenth century, some immigrant communities organized and funded non-official language classes for their children. Until the early twentieth century, when provincial education acts were changed to prevent them, there were some publicly supported bilingual schools. Some religious groups struggled long into this century against compulsory English schooling (Ashworth, 1992, p. 40). Some immigrant groups have continued to fund private multilingual schools or classes in non-official languages.

The *Official Languages Act* of 1969 provoked a climate of linguistic uncertainty for non-official languages; the 1971 policy of multiculturalism hinted at some recognition of them. In 1977, under that policy, the federal government created the Cultural Enrichment Program. It included support for the teaching of non-official languages, primarily to children of communities where the target language was a 'heritage language' (the mother tongue or ancestral language of the children). Extensive and vitriolic resistance to the establishment of heritage language classes at public expense developed (Cummins and Danesi, 1990, Chapter 3; d'Anglejan and De Koninck, 1992, pp. 100–101; Fleras and Elliott, 1992, pp. 155–159). Since 1977, some programmes have been associated with the schools and at least partially publicly funded, and new ones have been created in the schools, but most remain non-academically recognized add-ons (Ashworth, 1992; Canadian Education Association, 1991; d'Anglejan and De Koninck, 1992; Toohey, 1992). Although the multiculturalism policy and *Act* encouraged learning of official languages, heritage language programmes were never associated with *fiscal* support for official language training programmes (i.e. linked to issues of children at risk concerning the learning of English or French).

### *Language Policies for Aboriginal Peoples*

Official policy has largely considered Aboriginal peoples and their languages as outside the debates outlined earlier. Since Confederation in 1867, Aboriginal people—'Indians' in the *British North America Act* of 1867 and 'Eskimos' by a court ruling in 1939—were constitutionally the federal government's responsibility for all services. The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism excluded them on the grounds that their issues were more properly dealt with elsewhere. They have not been included, largely by their own choice, in subsequent definitions of cultural minorities. Administrations kept them isolated from the rest of the population. Such separate treatment left open opportunities for special policies suited to their unique needs; unfortunately, most of these opportunities have been wasted in racist and

assimilative ways (National Indian Brotherhood, 1972; Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996).

Comparison of the proportions of mother-tongue speakers of Aboriginal languages among the Aboriginal population from the censuses of 1951 to 2001 dramatically illustrates a decline of Aboriginal languages. In 1951, 87.4% of the Aboriginal population had an Aboriginal language as a mother tongue whereas in 1981 it was 29.3% (Burnaby and Beaujot, 1986, p. 36) and in 2001, it was 21% (Statistics Canada, 97F0011XCB2001048). Clearly, Aboriginal languages in Canada are at great risk (some much more than others).

Although Aboriginal languages were sometimes used in Aboriginal education in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, more often draconian Aboriginal education policies forced Aboriginal children to speak English or French in school, even to the extent of severe physical punishment for speaking an Aboriginal language (cf. McCarty, Language Education Planning and Policies by and for Indigenous Peoples, Volume 1). Until about the 1950s, schooling for Aboriginal children was mostly contracted to Christian groups; a later policy moved to integrate all Aboriginal children into provincial schools or, in remote areas, to establish federally run schools. Today, those federal schools are nominally run by local Aboriginal authorities. Since the 1960s, Aboriginal languages have increasingly been taught in Aboriginal and provincial schools as subjects of instruction (Assembly of First Nations, 1990; Kirkness and Bowman, 1992). In addition, Aboriginal languages have been introduced recently as medium of instruction up to the third grade in some schools in the territories and Québec, where the children begin school speaking only or mainly their Aboriginal language. Aboriginal language immersion programmes have begun in several southern communities, where the children start school speaking only or mainly an official language. Nine Aboriginal languages have been made official languages in the Northwest Territories, together with English and French, and the new (1999) territory of Nunavut, having declared Inuktitut, Inuinaqtun, French and English as its official languages, is actively developing policies for extensive use of these languages in many domains (Government of Nunavut, 2005). A recent Task Force on Aboriginal Languages and Cultures (2005) has surveyed a variety of aspects of language use among Aboriginal peoples and strongly recommended measures to support Aboriginal language development, including the use of Aboriginal language immersion programmes.

Despite improvements in Aboriginal language programming in schools, Churchill's (1986) findings that policies for indigenous groups cluster at the lower levels of his scale of policy development—in that most programmes are for the youngest children, only for a few years, inadequately funded, and seen to be transitional to fluency in an official

language—still stands. Language issues contribute to a continuing gap between Aboriginal children and all other Canadian children in terms of school success. The Office of the Auditor General of Canada (2004) stated: ‘We remain concerned that a significant education gap exists between First Nations people living on reserves and the Canadian population as a whole and that the time estimated to close this gap has increased slightly, from about 27 to 28 years’ (Section 5.2). Although there are many more Aboriginal languages and culture programmes in the early twenty-first century, current survey data (Burnaby, 2002) give the same impression that Clarke and MacKenzie (1980) found in their study of Aboriginal language programmes—namely, that Aboriginal language programmes give only lip service to pluralism and are actually assimilationist in intent. A significant recent development is the creation of an extensive Aboriginal language and culture curriculum, adopted by Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia and the three territories (Western Canadian Protocol, 2000).

### CONCLUSIONS

Canada’s largest minority, Francophones, have challenged Canadian Anglo-dominance to the point of constitutional crisis. Smaller linguistic groups unfavourably compare the resources supporting official language services for English and French speakers with those available to them even to learn a first official language, much less enhance their own languages. Aboriginal groups, many of whose languages face extinction, struggle particularly about priorities between language efforts and political and economic recognition. A needs assessment of language resources in the new global order might recommend a reorganization of Canada’s language emphases. Much sophisticated thinking in Canada about language policy (e.g. Fettes, 2003; Kymlicka and Patten, 2003) does not seem to be taken very seriously in Canadian language policy development overall, except in the territories.

*See Also:* Teresa L. McCarty: *Language Education Planning and Policies by and for Indigenous Peoples (Volume 1)*; Stephen May: *Bilingual/Immersion Education: What the Research Tells Us (Volume 5)*

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## LANGUAGE POLICY AND EDUCATION IN AUSTRALIA

### INTRODUCTION

As an immigrant, post-colonial and trading nation, Australia has inherited a complex linguistic demography with multiple language policy needs and interests and diverse language education challenges.

As a result, administrators, politicians and educators have needed to address a diverse range of language categories across several policy settings and in response to often conflicting language ideologies.

First, English, the national and de-facto official language that arises in Australian policy history under several guises. Originally conceptualised in its British norms and character as symbol and link to British Empire loyalty and civilisation, English was later challenged by evolving Australian variations and local ideologies of communication (Leitner, 2004, Volume I; Ramson, 2002; Turner, 1997). Today, English is increasingly discussed either as a key tool for integrating minorities or commercially as a commodity traded in the delivery and accreditation of internationally oriented higher education. In wider political discussions, English also arises sometimes as a feature of modern science, technology and commerce; i.e. a component and feature of economic globalisation.

Second, Australian indigenous communication, comprising essentially three groups: (i) the original 270 Australian languages (Dixon, 1980; Walsh, 1991), (ii) the remaining languages of today (Lo Bianco and Rhydwen, 2001) and (iii) the various creoles and varieties that have emerged through the dislocation and oppression of indigenous language speakers and the mixing of their language forms with English (Mühlhäusler, 1991). Indigenous speech forms, and how Australian communication has been influenced by them, feature in education and integration discussions of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (Nakata, 2000; Nicholls, 2001), but also, though less commonly, in consideration of national cultural directions.

Third, immigrant languages other than English that comprise a substantial demographic presence in both urban and rural settings (Clyne and Kipp, 2002). Known as “community languages,” these are often intergenerationally vibrant though evolving local speech forms.

The local settings and contexts of their use support networks of social, religious, educational, recreational and economic institutions. The visible presence that community languages forge within the wider society gives rise to complex relations between the linguistic norms that have evolved in Australia, the 'source' country authoritative norms and shifting language policies (Clyne 2005; Leitner, 2004, Volume II).

Fourth, foreign languages with dramatic shifts in language choices over time, originally reflecting British geography and a selection of the intellectual heritage of Western civilisation, more recently stressing Australia's proximity to Asian countries, economic regionalism and geopolitical interests (ASAA, 2002; COAG, 1994; Fitzgerald, 1997; Lo Bianco, 1987; Milner, 2002; Scarino and Papademetre, 2001).

Restricting the present discussion to education we can say that, broadly speaking, the aspirations of language policy can be divided into two.

First has been the goal of ensuring all Australian permanent residents gain access to the dominant language of the society, English in both its literate and spoken dimensions. Literacy extends to all children and among adults to disadvantaged sections of mainstream society, as well as to many immigrants, and as the critical medium for accessing employment, progressing through education and participating in the entitlements and duties of citizenship. Universal literacy (Lo Bianco and Freebody, 2001) is possibly the widest reaching language policy aim.

The second aspiration of language education policy refers not to state or public official action, but to the vigorous community-based efforts invested in the maintenance of minority languages, seeking essentially to secure their intergenerational transmission. Since this goal depends on establishing community-controlled institutions, and since these are by definition beyond the control of the dominant social structures, they have from time to time encountered opposition and hostility as well as encouragement and toleration.

Although it has only been in recent decades that these twin ambitions have been brought together in coherent policy statements emphasising complementarity, the divergent tendencies they represent have always been implicit policy. This is a consequence of Australia occupying a vast territory by a small population; of having European origins and but being located within an Asian geography, and of having a historically disputed process of settlement and national formation, particularly of relations between all newcomers with the indigenous inhabitants, the oldest continually surviving cultures in the world, which are strongly language based (Frawley, 2001; Leitner, 2004, Volume I).

For the bulk of the colonial (1788–1900) and national (post-1901) phases of Australian history, the language consequences of colonialism,

settlement, development and modernisation, immigration, nation building, diplomacy, geography, education, trade, war and culture have been dealt with not as language planning but as matters resolved in the interplay of power, representative democracy, Federation and federalism, and mostly within the overarching control of social attitudes, themselves reflective of the relationships among the component parts of the population (indigenous, settler, immigrant). Language attitudes are most evident as ideologies of esteem or stigma attached to various kinds of speech or writing (see also Tollefson, *Language Planning in Education*, Volume 1).

Where formal policies have been promulgated, for the most part, these are found in rules and procedures that have regulated immigrant recruitment (such as the notorious 'dictation' test and country of origin biasing via subsidised transportation), the mostly assimilative biases of compulsory education and their literacy pedagogies (House of Representatives, 1992; Schmidt, 1993), foreign relations (such as diplomatic and strategic officer training) and the shifting curriculum status of foreign language teaching.

From 1987, however, Australia embarked on a process of explicit language planning, formulating sociolinguistically informed language decisions, making explicit declarations of aims and objectives, setting in place evaluation and research programmes. Often this has aimed to bring about deep change in the national language 'habitus', especially by fostering community-accepted multilingualism, unique among English-speaking nations (Romaine, 1991, p. 8). Initially very successful, then strongly contested, pluralistic language policy remains part of the policy framework of Australian language planning but with its immediate fortunes dictated by wider sociopolitical arrangements (Moore, 1996). The new national imaginary invoked by pluralism in language planning was wide-reaching and deep, shaping the notion of nation underlying wider policies (Macquarie Encyclopedia, 1997, p. 634), premised on intergenerationally stable multilingualism, in which divergent language interests would be accommodated in complementary relationship with an uncontested, society-unifying status for English.

Unlike the USA, where there has been a long and often bitter struggle over the official designation of English (Crawford, 2000; see also Ricento and Wright, *Language Policy and Education in the United States*, Volume 1), Australian multilingual and multicultural advocacy has always been premised on the secure status and shared use of English. The so-called mainstream has long had relatively permeable boundaries. Though social and ethnic barriers to inclusion are ever-present, over time an inbuilt dynamic of social mobility in a relatively new society often leads to boundary expansion (O'Farrell, 1986).

In such ways, English has undergone transformation responding to local communicative practices (Horvath, 1991), in turn changing language and national identification. This change within English has had an ambivalent relation with the social presence of a range of languages from diverse origins which have also claimed public recognition (Lo Bianco, 1997).

#### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Clyne (1997), citing his long-standing documentation of language policy, has argued that from earliest times Australian sociolinguistic history is marked by tension. The three nodes of tension are: 'English monolingualism as a symbol of the British tradition, English monolingualism as a marker of Australia's independent national identity, and multilingualism as both social reality and part of the ideology of a multicultural and outreaching Australian society' (p. 127).

This long-term tension of sociolinguistic relations has been punctuated by phases whose ideological underpinnings can be described (Lo Bianco, 2004) as follows:

1. *Britishism*: This is marked by preference for Australian national language norms to reflect prestige English models (with stigma attached to Australian forms of speech), mainly as a marker of identification with England (the local playing out of language-carried social distinctions), but also aspiring to broader Australian national monolingualism, permitting only a limited and elite enterprise of foreign language teaching, and bolstered by legal restrictions on community language institutions.
2. *Australianism*: This is marked by literary and even sociopolitical assertion for evolving Australian norms of English, as a marker of independent national identity; this Australianist language ideology had ambivalent relations with domestic multilingualism, sometimes interpreting language diversity as part of producing a distinctive Australian communicative culture, at other times seeing multilingualism as dangerous and divisive.
3. *Multiculturalism*: This contains two streams, indigenous and immigrant, marked by a common discourse of asserting language rights for community language speakers; invariably multiculturalism's effect on Australian language policy has involved advocacy for English as a second language (ESL) teaching, for multicultural policy and for public language services, and therefore for wide-ranging cultivation of language 'resources'.
4. *Asianism*: This is marked by an assertion of priority for the teaching of the key languages of select Asian countries, tied specifically to the North and South East regions of Asia, and accompanied by

economic, diplomatic and strategic justifications; sometimes Asianism invokes wider social and cultural changes for Australia itself, at other times it is a more restricted discourse embedded within short-term thinking about strategic and economic calculations of national interest; Asianism has had ambivalent relations with domestic multilingualism.

5. *Economism*: This is marked by an emphasis on English literacy tied to arguments about links between education, the labour market, a discourse of human capital, sometimes including arguments about English in globalisation, especially the competition for international full-fee paying students in higher education (Marginson, 1997).

Societies have distinctive national policy styles (Howlett, 1991) and in some ways Australian language education policy has evolved a distinctive 'language problem-solving' approach, characterised by low-ideology pragmatism (Ozolins, 1993).

Perhaps, the clearest example is the Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP; Martin, 1999) established in 1947, initially as ship-board English tuition for post-war displaced and refugee populations, and continually funded for almost 60 years. AMEP represents a pragmatic acceptance that intolerable communication and citizenship problems would result if immigrants were not assisted to acquire English, an apparently straightforward claim, widely held, but that in societies opposed to state intervention in social planning becomes untenable.

Of course, at one level, this is also an ideology, an ideology of social pragmatism and interventionism, one responding to community expectations that state measures are warranted so that minorities do not form ongoing, economically marginalised, linguistic enclaves. Policy making of this kind has received support from all political streams in Australia, and is therefore not sharply aligned politically, and represents low-ideology pragmatism, a shared project of 'problem amelioration'. AMEP has come to represent a major public investment, possibly the measure most responsible for facilitating the relatively high rate of economic, residential and social mobility characterising Australian immigration.

Other examples of language education pragmatism are 1970s schemes for interpreting and translating in community languages, alongside accreditation and certification procedures to encourage professionalism (Ozolins, 2001).

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

At the Federal level, there have been five decisive policies for language education in Australia. These formally adopted policies, in chronological order, are:

1. Report on Post-Arrival Programs and Services for Migrants (Galbally, 1978)
2. National Policy on Languages (Lo Bianco, 1987)
3. Australian Language and Literacy Policy (Dawkins, 1992)
4. National Asian Languages Strategy (COAG, 1994)
5. Commonwealth Literacy Policy (embodied in various reports, media statements and funding programmes since 1997).

Although not identical in remit, scope or style, these five policies are the key formally adopted and implemented language education programmes of the past 25 years: receiving government endorsement, disbursing public finances, leading to implementation and monitoring processes. Each is a complex of discursive, textual and rhetorical components, an amalgam distinctive of the national policy style in societies lacking legalistic policy-making traditions (Howlett, 1991; Kagan, 1991; Lo Bianco, 2001).

It is important to recognise that many other reports and investigations have informed, guided or influenced policy; and to acknowledge the policy-influencing impact of lobbying and pressure from key interest groups; and occasionally from academic research (Lo Bianco, 2001); but these are materially different from actual policy. The five listed policies represent therefore the explicit and implemented language policy frameworks in the 25-year period between 1980 and 2005 in the near quarter century from 1980 (Lo Bianco, 2004).

The Galbally report was a government-commissioned review of services, not addressing indigenous, mainstream English, literacy or foreign relations issues. Nevertheless it represents a major language education policy, signalling the acceptance of multiculturalism by Australian conservative political forces. As a result, for the entire 1980s a broadly shared political programme among policy elites prevailed. Galbally led to public funding for part-time ethnic schools; and by extension to part-time indigenous language programmes; and large increases in funding for all multi-lingual services. Via the Galbally report, the previous association of multicultural policy with reformist social democratic Labour Party factions was extended to conservatives, who devised a distinctive political interpretation of pluralism.

Over time, the shared programme of support for a pluralist interpretation of Australian society was seen to comprise three principles: *social cohesion*, *economic benefits* and *cultural diversity*. Language education policy epitomised these principles.

The *National Policy on Languages* was the first comprehensive national language policy; also bi-partisan receiving public endorsement from all political parties. NPL operated four key strategies: '(i) the *conservation* of Australia's linguistic resources; (ii) the *development and expansion* of these resources; (iii) the *integration* of Australian language teaching and language use efforts with national economic, social

and cultural policies; and (iv) the *provision* of information and services understood by clients' (Lo Bianco, 1987, p. 70, emphasis in original). The NPL was fully funded, and produced the first programmes in many areas: e.g. deafness and sign language, indigenous, community and Asian languages, cross-cultural and intercultural training in professions, extensions to translating and interpreting, funding for multilingual resources in public libraries, media, support for adult literacy, ESL, and co-ordinated research activity, e.g. the National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia (NLLIA).

Although the 1992 ALLP positioned itself as a policy re-authorisation (claiming to 'build on' and 'maintain and develop' NPL), it was widely interpreted (Herriman, 1996; House of Representatives, 1992; Moore, 1996; Nicholls, 2001; Scarino and Papademetre, 2001; Singh, 2001) as restricting its scope and ambition, of directing policy emphasis away from pluralism and towards a more 'foreign' and less 'community' orientation and inaugurating a return to divisive prioritising of language needs. Still, the ALLP drew heavily on its predecessor, continued funding many of its programmes (often changing only titles and procedures), and was far more comprehensive than policies which followed it. Despite its shortcomings, ALLP was supportive of extensive language learning efforts and boosted adult literacy tied to workplace education.

The National Asian Languages scheme made available extensive funding; Federal outlays on its targeted languages, Chinese, Indonesian, Japanese and Korean, were over \$220 million by the programme's termination in 2002. This vast investment in Asian language teaching was based on shared funding commitments with state, territory and independent education jurisdictions. The programme accelerated growth of a small number of Asian languages, surpassing school and university enrolments in European languages, but also distanced the focus of domestic community language contexts in language education.

From 1997 (see Lo Bianco, 1998a, b, 2001), however, a strong turn towards making English literacy a priority focus for educational intervention occurred. There is no single policy document in which this 'policy' was announced as a 'turn', its antecedents in the electoral platforms of the political parties lack specificity, essentially what took place was a dramatic elevation in political discourse of concern about English literacy standards, rhetorically a 'national crisis' (Freebody, 1998). Arising out of interpretation disputes of research data on children's assessed English literacy performance in 1996, all Ministers of education since have made solving the problem of literacy underperformance a prominent goal. The flow-on effects of elevating spelling and paragraph cohesion measures in primary school English literacy has been manifold: continuing media debates about categorical superiority

of 'phonics' or 'whole language' literacy teaching, disputes about what counts as literacy, about the place of critical and technological literacy, with effects for adult sectors, non-English languages, indigenous education, teacher education, ESL, literacy pedagogy and teacher professionalism.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Policies and practices have often had to compromise among competing demands, sometimes opting for wide coverage of languages producing difficulties of continuation between sectors and levels of schooling, issues of comparability, syllabus and programme design, evaluation and assessment. One consequence of this is the proliferation of ab initio language courses at higher education level.

The Australian Federal system can also be cumbersome and difficult for language planning, although there are only 6 states and 2 territories, these comprise 27 separate education jurisdictions.

A recurring difficulty is the 'third language' issue. Large numbers of immigrant children who are learning English as a second language are expected to study an additional language, the school's 'foreign' language offering, which in effect becomes a third language for them. Debate about the efficacy, and fairness, of this arises often as some teachers and parents request exemption from language study for these students.

A further difficulty has been the closing down of the NLLIA. Perhaps the boldest experiment of language education policy in Australia, in its heyday the Institute co-ordinated research in all areas of language and literacy, English and languages other than English, all linked to education, across 32 separate sites and other implementation domains. A change of political direction in 1996 led to a reduction and then complete removal of public funding for the NLLIA (later Language Australia), and ultimately its closure. Although formally independent of government NLLIA operated from 1990 to 2003 with both state and self-generated revenue, establishing an internationally recognised research, publications and consultancy profile. The loss of NLLA removes the key national and independent professional voice on language education policy.

The final difficulty, perhaps an amalgam of the others, relates to the loss of direction in language and literacy policy, the loss of the formerly collaborative nature of language policy. The sequence of policy changes discussed earlier highlights two key problems of language education policy 'Australian style'.

The first is the rapidity of change, the chopping and changing, of policy frameworks and ideologies. Although the effects of policies can be felt long after their termination, a consequence of distributed

implementation arrangements, and of the power of positive discourses, the relatively short duration of formal policies produces problems of coherence, continuation and articulation across education sectors, and rapid changes are ultimately damaging to effective implementation.

The second problem is how policies undertaken in one area impact, whether by accident or design, on contiguous areas. Policy changes in English literacy, for example, impact on the teaching of indigenous languages, even if unintended; and policy measures for Asian languages impact on community language teaching, whether Asian or not, and other programmes, even if these are unintended.

The inability to quarantine the effects of policy suggests an inter-linked language education ecology, and highlight the benefits of comprehensive and co-ordinated policy, but governments in Australia appear to have lost interest in this kind of policy making at present.

#### FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS

It has been widely recognised that Australia is unique among English dominant nations for its efforts to develop a comprehensive approach to language and literacy policy (e.g. Romaine, 1991). Despite the difficulties noted earlier, comprehensive policy making has proved very productive with many positive and lasting outcomes.

One result has been that, unlike many other societies, Australia, which used to be steadfastly monolingual in its educational orientation has near-universal coverage of schools teaching languages other than English, in some states, and possibly the largest number of languages other than English supported in formal and compulsory education than comparable countries.

Language education generally enjoys public esteem, even when related issues of immigration and multiculturalism are embroiled in often-bitter debate and contest.

*See Also:* James W. Tollefson: *Language Planning in Education (Volume 1)*; Thomas Ricento and Wayne Wright: *Language Policy and Education in the United States (Volume 1)*

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LANGUAGE POLICY AND EDUCATION IN  
SOUTHERN AFRICA

INTRODUCTION

Language policy and education in Southern Africa has evolved, as it has elsewhere in Africa, through several stages: pre-colonial, colonial, early independence and developments since UNESCO's 1990 Education for All Conference in Jomtien (see Alidou, 2004). The partition of Africa, accelerated after the Berlin Conference of 1884–1885, resulted in a division of linguistic communities, often exacerbated by a renaming of 'cross-border' languages in order to make further distinctions. While communities in Africa readily add to their informal multilingual repertoires, postcolonial language policies often reflect a tension between the use of indigenous languages and the language/s of colonial rule. The majority of countries in this region experienced British colonial rule for much of the first half of the twentieth century, if not longer, and hence English has come to occupy a significant position in: Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho, South Africa, Mauritius, the Seychelles and even in Namibia which was never under British rule. Several countries experienced a succession of different (partial) occupations from the fifteenth century onwards and the region also includes more recent colonies of: Portugal (Angola and Mozambique), Belgium (Democratic Republic of Congo), France (Madagascar) and Germany (South West Africa/Namibia and Tanzania). Thus the influence of French, Portuguese and German is evident in education and language policy within the region.

The use of mother tongue (L1) education for primary education to the mid twentieth century in most countries was replaced by English only (Zambia) or early-transition to English after independence in several countries. Tanzania, South Africa and Namibia for different political reasons, retained and extended the use of the African languages, to the end of primary school. Malawi retained one local language as medium for 4 years. Political changes since the early 1990s, however, have resulted in a similarly diminished use of African languages, coupled with an accelerated transition to English medium in Namibia and South Africa. A convergence towards an early transition to a second language (L2) education system is not compatible with contemporary education research, which illustrates the interdependence of second

language acquisition (SLA), cognitive development and academic achievement. Early transition does not, in African settings, facilitate the requisite competence in the L2 which is necessary for meaningful access to the curriculum. L2 education, therefore, does not offer equity with L1 education and it cannot deliver quality education. The focus of this chapter is on language education policy developments in the 'anglophone' countries of the region, paying particular attention to South Africa.

#### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS: (PRE-)COLONIAL PRACTICES

Discussions of language practices in Africa often neglect the historical use of local languages in education. The rediscovery of the Malian Timbuktu manuscripts has drawn recent attention to extensive and sophisticated pre-colonial literary use of African languages for mathematics, science, economics and religion at university mosques from the twelfth century onwards (e.g. Timbuktu Education Foundation, 2002). Various nineteenth century missionary groups which traveled through Southern Africa believed that their evangelical work would be advanced through the transcription of local languages, translation of the bible, the introduction of mother tongue literacy and primary education. Schools, established by missionaries for a small percentage of children in British colonies, used L1 medium for 4–6 years (e.g. Gorman, 1974). This practice suited the British colonial administration's general policy favouring segregation, thus education was left largely to the missionaries. Education in the French and Portuguese colonies, however, did not include the use of African languages. From the early twentieth century, various education commissions recommended the maintenance and use of indigenous languages alongside the addition of an international language (e.g. Gorman, 1974). Missionary education in 'anglophone' countries was compatible with these recommendations, particularly those of the influential Report on the Use of Vernacular Languages in Education (UNESCO, 1953).

The linguistic credentials of the missionaries and the consequences of their activities have, however, been criticized. Missionary groups favoured different orthographic conventions and their expertise in linguistics was uneven. They often mistakenly identified close varieties of one language as separate languages and this, coupled with different orthographic systems, contributed to what Msimang (cited in Cluver, 1996) has termed a 'linguistic balkanization' of Africa; or a 'misinvention' of African languages (Makoni, 2003). The net result has been to inflate, artificially, the number of languages, and establish different orthographies for the same or related language/s (e.g. for Sesotho as

written in Lesotho vs. Sesotho as written in South Africa). Several arguments—including the apparent costs of such ‘multiplicity’, and, more recently, the ‘artificiality’ of languages—are advanced by post-colonial governments as reasons why African languages cannot be used in education. Schmied (1991), Obanya (1999), Bamgbose (2000) and Ouane (2003), nevertheless, offer detailed rebuttals to these arguments.

There are also positive aspects of early missionary transcriptions and production of texts in African languages. Together, with the rediscovery of the Timbuktu manuscripts, they demonstrate the feasibility of materials’ production in, and education through, African languages. Language committees established in the late 1920s in South Africa built on earlier missionary linguistic work. The limitations of earlier divergent processes were recognized, and linguists sought even then to resolve orthographic differences and re-route developments along a convergent path (Cluver, 1996).

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS: POSTCOLONIAL PREOCCUPATION WITH INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGES

Postcolonial developments in the second half of the twentieth century in most African countries were accompanied by the identification of official languages for use in the political, economic and educational domains. Invariably, English came to be selected for high status functions in the former British colonies.

The end of the colonial period came rapidly. Tanzania, Malawi and Zambia gained independence in 1964, Botswana and Lesotho in 1966 and Swaziland in 1968. Under Julius Nyerere, Tanzania opted for a single African language, Kiswahili, as the official language and medium of instruction throughout primary school. Although Kiswahili was not a dominant L1 of any particular group it had been advanced under both German and British rule as a language of trade and lingua franca. In Malawi, President Banda’s home language was declared an official language alongside English, and renamed Chichewa (although it continues to be known as Nyanja in Zambia and Mozambique), after independence in 1964. Chichewa was used until recently as the medium of instruction for the first 4 years of school with a switch to English medium thereafter. Zambia opted for English-only education after independence, ostensibly to avoid inter-ethnic rivalry (Tripathi, 1990). The educational development and use of Kiswahili in particular (see Blommaert, 1997; Brock-Utne, 2005; Rubagumya, 1994), and to a lesser extent Chichewa (Williams, 2001), illustrates that African languages can and do offer viable educational opportunities. Unfortunately, however, the advancement of only one African language in Tanzania, Malawi,

and Botswana may result in the marginalization of linguistic minorities (e.g. Nyati-Ramahobo, 2000). This is particularly the case for the fragile San communities of Botswana which have effectively been 'invisibilized' (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000) by the political dominance of Setswana. Zambia's English-only policy, adopted to avoid such ethnolinguistic inequities, has had other consequences. It has arrested further development and production of texts in African languages. It has resulted in neither high levels of English language proficiency nor educational success. It has also not arrested sociopolitical discontent, since those who are proficient in English and access higher education are resented as part of a political elite, impervious to the needs of those on the fringes of society (Tripathi, 1990).

In each case, the 'multiplicity' of African languages was seen as a threat to national unity in the postcolonial years (Bamgbose, 2000; Obanya, 1999; cf. May, *Language Education Pluralism and Citizenship*, Volume 1), and language policy reflected a tendency to marginalize most indigenous language communities. Missionary development of languages other than Kiswahili, Chichewa/Nyanja and Setswana, lost momentum or ceased altogether. Inevitably, this meant declining literacy activities and a gradual loss of literary resources in many languages.

Similar postcolonial developments were delayed by political events and sizable European settler communities in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia and Mozambique (Schmied, 1991). South Africa occupied 'German' South West Africa (now Namibia) during World War 1 and retained control until independence in 1990. Language policy and practices changed, in both countries, with a new government in 1948. Policy was marked by a two-pronged approach: official Afrikaans-English bilingualism (with special consideration for German in Namibia) and development and use of African languages to reinforce separatism. An earlier British colonial ideology of separate development, infused with the European fascism of the 1930s, was refined into 'grand apartheid'. Convergent approaches to linguistic development amongst African languages were replaced by deliberate divergence. Apartheid logic included separate ethnolinguistic education systems. This meant 8 years of mother tongue/L1 education for African children, followed by a transition to an equal number of subjects in Afrikaans and English in secondary school. The use of mother tongue/L1 education under such circumstances tainted its educational legitimacy amongst African communities.

With the exception of apartheid's expanded use of African languages, and the development of Kiswahili and Chichewa, the range of mother tongue options in education shrank across most of the region during the first decade of independence. Initial mother-tongue/L1 education was replaced either by a single African language followed

by transition to English, or English-only. Political events were soon to alter the trajectory in South Africa and Namibia as well. Resistance to the compulsory use of Afrikaans medium for half of the subjects in secondary school for African students culminated in a student revolt in Soweto in 1976. Government was forced to make Afrikaans-medium optional and mother-tongue education was reduced from 8 to 4 years of primary. All the while, L1 speakers of Afrikaans and English continued to enjoy mother-tongue education, plus the other of these languages as a subject, to the end of secondary school. At no point were Afrikaans or English speakers compelled to learn an African language.

At the time, heated political debates deflected attention from the de facto achievements of mother-tongue education in South Africa. The secondary school leaving pass rate for African students rose to 83.7% by 1976. The English language pass rate improved to over 78%. Within a few years of the reduction of L1 education to 4 years, and earlier transition to English, the school leaving pass rates declined to 44% by 1992, with a parallel decline in English language proficiency (Heugh, 2002). Macdonald (1990) was to show that students could not become sufficiently proficient in English by the end of the fourth year to facilitate a successful transition to English medium in grade 5. Although African parents imagined that extended and earlier access to English in school would deliver higher level proficiency in English and education success, the educational gap between speakers of African languages and speakers of Afrikaans and English, who have L1 education throughout, has widened. The knock-on effect of this is that those leaving school and going into the teaching profession are now less well-equipped for teaching and there is a downward spiral of teaching competence across the entire system. The gap in educational achievement of African children vis à vis children of European descent is more noticeable in South Africa than in other countries because of the size of the 'settler' community and the analytical scrutiny which followed apartheid.

The implications of a significant longitudinal study, the Six Year Primary Project, in Nigeria in the 1970s, in a politically more neutral environment, were debated at length across the continent. This project demonstrated the educational and linguistic efficacy of extended use (6 years) of mother tongue medium in conjunction with expert teaching of English as a subject (e.g. Bamgbose, 2000). Other investigations into the use of African languages in education continued and were reported on through various education channels. In 1986 the OAU committed itself to the language plan of action for Africa (Mateene, 1999), which included the extended and expanded use of African languages in education. Subsequent and similar declarations regularly support this line of argument. Even though these debates were not

tainted by the association of apartheid ideology with mother-tongue education, none of the declarations or statements of intent has materialized in practice. Postcolonial debates in Africa (e.g. Alexander, 1999; Bamgbose, 2000) and beyond (e.g. May 2001; Phillipson, 1992) demonstrate the resilience of ideological conditioning which reproduces earlier, inequitable government practices. International aid agencies have also been reluctant to support the development and use of African languages in education (e.g. Schmied, 1991). Alidou (2004) points out that since 1990 most African states have committed themselves to greater use of African languages, yet most continue to implement early transition models. In essence, the continued privileging of the international language, and sometimes one of many African languages, reproduces inequality and educational failure for those who receive education in an unfamiliar language (cf. May, *Bilingual/Immersion Education: What the Research Tells Us*, Volume 5).

Ironically, by accident rather than design, apartheid education offered optimal opportunity for first and second language development alongside cognitive and academic development from 1955–1976. Despite the intention of separate and unequal education, an unintended consequence was greater educational success than other education policy in the region. The feasibility of using several African languages to the end of primary school was demonstrated. Seven South African and several Namibian languages were elaborated for educational use and textbooks were translated from Afrikaans and English into these languages for the duration of primary school. Most significantly, this was accomplished with minimal costs: the expenditure per capita on African education was a fraction of that for other population groups at the time (cf. Grin, *The Economics of Language Education*, Volume 1; Heugh, 2002).

A common thread across Southern Africa, however, is that education is expected to deliver access to high-level competence in an international language, which is English in eleven of the fifteen countries of the region. Frequently this is presented as feasible in a predominantly second language education system. It is seldom advanced through a complementary process of extending the use of local languages with the systematic addition of (rather than replacement by) English (i.e. additive bilingual models of education; see May, *Bilingual/Immersion Education: What the Research Tells Us*, Volume 5).

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

During the 1990s, political changes across the region, especially in South Africa, brought renewed attention towards education and language policy. Apartheid rule gave way to a democratically inspired

dispensation in 1994. The finalization of a new Constitution (RSA, 1996) introduced the principles which would guide new language policy developments. Two official languages, Afrikaans and English, were complemented by the bold addition of a further nine African languages. A new language education policy re-introduced the principle and right of L1 education within the context of 'additive bilingual and multilingual' models of education (DoE, 1997). Discriminatory linguistic practices of the past were to be jettisoned. The language education policy went further, to declare South African Sign Language a twelfth official language for educational purposes (cf. Branson and Miller, *National Sign Languages and Language Policies Volume 1*) and it made strong recommendations regarding the promotion of languages for trade and diplomacy in the school system. This promised to position South African language education policy as one of the most progressive in international contexts. The profiling of multilingualism in this framework was specifically supported during Nelson Mandela's presidency. After new elections in 1999, implementation of the new language policy was arrested. A default to apartheid-like ethnolinguistic parallel and separate development (e.g. Heugh, 2003), under the guise of 'language rights', scuppered an integrative approach to multilingualism. Parallel and equal development of eleven languages, including Afrikaans and English, separately, was not only a fruitless exercise; it facilitated a default to English, whenever in doubt, option.

Language education policy was kept separate from, rather than integrated into curriculum transformation. By 2002, it became clear that the language education policy had been subsumed by curriculum revision, and of the six aims of the original policy, only two had been partly included in the curriculum, viz. a tacit reference to the use of 'additive bilingualism' and a minimalist compulsory learning of an African language for 3 years. South African Sign Language and languages for trade and international communication were simply not mentioned in the curriculum. Language policy is either explicit and implemented through transparent means; or it is implicit, and implemented through default processes. In the case of the Revised National Curriculum Statements (e.g. DoE, 2002), opaque reference is made to the 1997 language policy, and additive bilingual education is misrepresented as premature transition to the 'first additional language' (i.e. to English for 75% of students). Preparation of education officials, in 2004, who were to train teachers for new curriculum implementation, included only one language education model for grades 4–6, viz. transition to English. A device, the repetition of a key clause referring to students 'who will learn in their first additional language', normalizes transition in the documentation. The curriculum reveals no understanding of the interdependence of (second) language acquisition, academic and cognitive development.

This example of a promising language education policy which undergoes systematic editing or revision to an unrecognizable form has also had its parallels in Mozambique, Zambia and Malawi since the mid-1990s. In each of these countries, concern regarding underachievement in literacy and general education led to proposals for new language education policy supportive of extended use of African languages and additive bilingual principles. In each case, however, through a process of redrafting and revision of policy, there have been compromises in regard to the period of time afforded L1 education. Zambian language policy revision has finally accommodated literacy in the mother tongue for grade 1 (extended to grade 2) but the medium of instruction remains English from grade 1 (Muyeeba, 2004). In Malawi, the proposed expanded use of African language medium, in languages other than Chichewa, for 4 years has been whittled down to 2 years. Mozambique has begun implementation of 3 years of L1 education. Namibia has similarly opted for 3 years of L1 medium. Each example demonstrates early transition to English or Portuguese; not one is attempting an additive bilingual option.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Attempts to transform education and achieve equitable provision and outcomes for students in South Africa are disappointing. Systemic assessments of literacy and numeracy in grades 3, 4 and 6 since 1998 are alarming. Since 1995, South Africa has been placed last in the Third (now Trends in) International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) (Reddy, 2006; UNESCO, 2000). A common thread across these and other studies shows a correlation between students who are studying in their L2, English, and the lowest levels of achievement. Students studying through their L1, Afrikaans and English, have the highest levels of achievement. These findings are predictable when viewed through the prism of psycholinguistics and SLA theory, especially the interdependence of language, cognition and academic achievement (e.g. Doughty and Long, 2003; Macdonald, 1990; Thomas and Collier, 2002; see also May, *Bilingual/Immersion Education: What the Research Tells Us*, Volume 5).

The language model used in South Africa, early-exit from the L1 and transition to English for African children, is one which is used across most other countries in sub-Saharan Africa, and it is designed for educational failure. The question is: why since 1990 has there been an accelerated convergence towards this model when there is no evidence that it can offer success? Spolsky (2004) argues that blame cannot be directed at governments only, and that there needs to be an introspective examination of the role of advisors and experts. Postcolonial

literature and debates referred to earlier may explain macro-level constraints which impel developments away from democratic principles. Less frequently documented are meso-level issues involving experts and advisors. Some of these are presented below.

Terminological slippage, as shown in the South African example, where an 'early-exit transitional bilingual' model is passed off as 'additive bilingual' education; or where the concept of cognitive 'transfer' as used by Cummins (e.g. since 1984) and others, is confused with 'transition to L2', has become commonplace. Documents and second language programmes currently circulated in African countries increasingly contain terminological slippages and rhetorical devices similar to those in the South African curriculum. The influence of early-exit literacy/L2 programmes, designed in Europe and South Africa, and accompanied by such textual inaccuracies are currently advanced in Malawi, Zambia, Uganda and Ghana, for example. Independently, similarly erroneous terminology has been found in recent advisory documents supplied to the governments of Sierra Leone and Ethiopia. The extent to which the slippage is intentional obfuscation or genuine error is not always clear. An unfortunate consequence of information technology is that theoretically flawed documentation is circulated along with more academically rigorous material.

As Schmied (1991) and others point out, there are several donor organizations concerned with L2 programme delivery in African countries. Evaluations for the donors of initial L1 literacy and early-exit transitional (L2) programmes, however, are often flawed. Firstly, control groups are selected from a usually dysfunctional mainstream system, thus any intervention will look promising in comparison. Secondly, as the research of Thomas and Collier (2002) shows, evaluations of most types of bilingual programmes show similarly positive results during grades 1–3. The differences start emerging during grade 4 and are increasingly obvious from grades 5 onwards, where it is clear that students from early-exit programmes do not develop strong foundations in literacy and numeracy and their academic progress is on the decline. Evaluations of programmes seldom reflect longitudinal effects of the transition to L2, so claims of success prior to an analysis of grade 5 data are premature (Alidou et al., 2006).

In the meantime, participation in several cross-national studies: the Southern Africa Consortium for Measuring Educational Quality (SAC-MEQ), Monitoring Learning Achievement (MLA), and TIMSS show disturbing signs of poor achievement in literacy, mathematics and science, in the L2, across the region (UNESCO, 2000).

An adequate explanation for the reproduction of a flawed language model, one based on a language unfamiliar to teacher and student alike, includes both macro- and meso-level reasons. The long-term effect of

the wrong language model has been opaque or difficult to recognize in most countries where universal primary education has not yet been achieved and through rate to secondary education has been low. In South Africa, however, the evidence has been readily available, but obscured by the political-ideological aversion to apartheid and its education system.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Political developments since the early 1990s, coupled with new international frameworks, especially UNESCO's Education for All and the Millennium Development Goals, have brought about a reassessment and realignment of education priorities in the region. There is a greater awareness of the need for and possibilities of regional cooperation, and sharing of expertise. The Southern Africa Development Community specifically encourages regional educational cooperation. The Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA) and the UNESCO Institute for Education recently commissioned a study of mother-tongue and bilingual education in sub-Saharan Africa (Alidou et al., 2006). Recommendations from studies like these are presented to the Education Ministers in Africa every 2 years, and are weightier than individual country studies. Cooperative agencies, such as the Association for the Development of African Languages in Education, Science and Technology (ADALEST), and ADEA emphasize that language education experts should not await new government decisions.

The need for strengthening research capacity has been identified in two areas: the economics of language education; and the relationship between language and cognition. Early-exit transitional models exacerbate repeater and drop-out rates and these are costly and wasteful. If the apartheid government could fund African language development and education on a minimal inequitable budget, then there is little reason why a post-apartheid government, intent on equal distribution of resources cannot afford this now. Contemporary advances in information technology and human language technology promise to render multilingual education far less costly than was the case during the apartheid period. They expedite cooperative (cross-border) language development activities (e.g. of the University of Malawi's Centre for Language Studies, or Department of Arts and Culture, South Africa).

There is growing recognition amongst the organizations mentioned above, that teacher education programmes are anachronistic and require fundamental reconceptualisation. Second language programmes, based on flimsy SLA theory, or from European-North American contexts, have little validity in Africa. Teacher education in Southern Africa requires: a strengthening of the teachers' own academic language

development in relevant African languages; bilingual/multilingual methodology; SLA and enriched curriculum content training, for all teachers. Literacy theory and teaching methodology, responsive to the reality of 'print-poor' and large-class African settings is essential for early primary teachers. Those who continue to teach in the students' L2, cannot do this unless they have (near) native-like proficiency themselves.

The 2005 Education for All Global Monitoring Report identifies 'learners' cognitive development as the major explicit objective of all education systems' and the primary condition for quality education (UNESCO, 2004, p. 19). Education developments in Southern Africa which match language policy and implementation with this objective could turn around the socioeconomic development of the continent.

**See Also:** *James W. Tollefson: Language Planning in Education (Volume 1); François Grin: The Economics of Language Education (Volume 1); Suresh Canagarajah: The Politics of English Language Teaching (Volume 1); Constant Leung: Second Language Academic Literacies: Converging Understandings (Volume 2); Nkonko M. Kamwangamalu: Second and Foreign Language Learning in South Africa (Volume 4); Do Coyle: CLIL—A Pedagogical Approach from the European Perspective (Volume 4); Joseph Lo Bianco: Bilingual Education and Socio-political Issues (Volume 5); Stephen May: Bilingual/Immersion Education: What the Research Tells Us (Volume 5); Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Teresa L. McCarty: Key Concepts in Bilingual Education: Ideological, Historical, Epistemological, and Empirical Foundations (Volume 5); Jim Cummins: Teaching for Transfer: Challenging the Two Solitudes Assumption in Bilingual Education (Volume 5); Marjolijn H. Verspoor: Cognitive Linguistics and its Applications to Second Language Teaching (Volume 6); Josep M. Cots: Knowledge about Language in the Mother Tongue and Foreign Language Curricula (Volume 6); Colin Baker: Knowledge about Bilingualism and Multilingualism (Volume 6); Ofelia Garcia: Multilingual Language Awareness and Teacher Education (Volume 6)*

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## LANGUAGE POLICY AND EDUCATION IN THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT

### INTRODUCTION

The ideology of language in school is interwoven with the ideology of education in society. Education planners in the contemporary South Asian context have, by and large, committed themselves to *education for all*, but they have not yet been able to totally discard the elitist framework of *selective* education inherited from the colonial setup (prevailing till 1947).

In India, with a multilingual population and a federal polity, one finds a wide variation in different states as far as the medium, content, duration and nomenclature of educational stages are concerned. The decadal census enumerates 200 odd languages, spoken by the population exceeding 1 billion, spread in 30 states and 5 Union territories (Nanda, 1993). Over 80 languages are used as medium of instruction at different stages. About 18 of them are counted as principal medium languages, comprising 2 pan-Indian languages—Hindi and English; 2 languages without a specific region—Urdu and Sindhi; and 14 languages concentrated in different regions—Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Kannada, Kashmiri, Konkani, Malayalam, Manipuri, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Tamil and Telugu. Distinct scripts, based on Brahmi, Perso-Arabic and Roman systems of writing, are in vogue for these languages (for details, cf. Khubchandani, 2001).

The Constitution of India, passed in 1950, vests authority in its constituent states to choose a language or languages in a region as official language(s) (Article 345). It also allows linguistic minority groups to receive education in their mother tongue and to set up institutions of their choice for this purpose (Article 30). In the Indian federal setup, the Constitution originally listed the domain of education as a ‘State’ subject. However, since 1980, it has been shifted to the ‘Concurrent List’, allowing both the Union and state governments to initiate legislation on education policies.

Other countries in the South Asian region, known as SAARC—Bangladesh, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan and Maldives Islands—are also characterized by varied milieu where, apart from locally dominant languages, pan-regional languages such as Hindustani and English play a significant role in overall education structure. Bangladesh consists of a relatively homogeneous Bengali population. Pakistan is

composed of nearly half of its population speaking Punjabi (48%): other prominent languages are Pashto (13%), Sindhi and Siraiki (12% each), Urdu (8%) and Baluchi (3%) (Rahman 1996, see also, Rahman, Language Policy and Education in Pakistan, Volume 1). Sri Lanka is going through the trauma of adjustments between two Sinhalese and Tamil-speaking populations.

#### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Before the consolidation of British rule on the Indian subcontinent at the turn of the nineteenth century, there were two competing systems of education: the *pathashala* (school) and *gurukul* (residential school) system of Brahmins; and the *maktab* (school) and *madrashah* (college) system of Muslims (see also, Rahman, Language Policy and Education in Pakistan, Volume 1). Two patterns, shaped by vocational relevance, were prominently recognized: *ordinary* tradition for providing practical education to administrators and merchants to cope with the day-to-day needs of society through locally dominant languages; and *advanced* tradition for providing education to the elites (sons of priests, the ruling class and high officials) by reading of scriptures and historical texts, through the classical languages—Sanskrit or Arabic-Persian.

The ‘Great Debate’ between Orientalists and Anglicists over the treatment of classical languages, contemporary indigenous languages (termed ‘vernaculars’) and the advent of ‘imperial’ English during 150 years of British rule has left a deep imprint on the role of language for plural societies in the region. The rival British education system known as *schools* soon eclipsed the traditional *pathashala* and *maktab* education systems in most parts of British India. The British administration could not resolve the three basic issues of education: the content, the spread and the medium (Dakin, 1968). Macaulay’s hard line, recommending a policy of ‘imparting Western knowledge through a Western tongue (English) and then only to a minority’ (cf. the famous Minute of 1835, cited in Sharp, 1920), echoed in education programmes of the British throughout their stay in the subcontinent. During a later phase, the 1854 Wood Despatch suggested the use of vernacular medium ‘to teach the far larger class who are ignorant of, or imperfectly acquainted with, English’ (Naik, 1963; Richey, 1922). However, the introduction of vernacular education was extremely slow, and Macaulay’s commandment ‘of *first* developing Indian vernaculars to qualify them for use in education and administration’ prevailed. This predicament has constrained the extension of Indian languages as medium of instruction beyond the secondary level to a great extent; thus, effectively postponing their introduction in formal domains (Khubchandani, 1981). This assumption is uncritically accepted as a cornerstone of language

planning in India in post-colonial times as well (for further discussion, see Khubchandani, 1997, 2001; Pennycook, 1998).

During the long struggle for Indian Independence, the selective education structure was vehemently criticized by national leaders—Gohkale, Gandhi, Tagore and other intellectuals—who saw the need for universal elementary education and also put forward pleas for the use of mother tongue in administration (Saiyidain, Naik and Hussain, 1962). Mahatma Gandhi in 1938 proposed a scheme for *Basic Education*, which was practically the antithesis of the rulers' elitist moorings concerning the question of content, spread and medium (Zakir Hussain, 1950). It attempted to resolve the conflict between quality and quantity in education by laying stress on integrating education with *work experience* through 'down-to-earth' vernaculars (mother tongues/local lingua francas), and language acquisition with *communicability*.

In actual terms, three patterns of education emerged during the British rule:

1. the vernacular medium, in rural areas for primary education
2. the English medium, in urban centres for education of the elite, right from the primary stage
3. the two-tier medium, vernacular medium for primary education and English medium for the advanced stages, in towns.

The politicization of the language issue in India during the struggle for independence focussed on the *medium* controversy, pushing into the background the ideological issues concerning the *content* of education. The demand for vernacularization by the native elite was associated with the cultural and national resurgence, and eventually with the growth of democracy promoting equality of opportunity through education (Gandhi, 1916; Tagore, 1906). In post-independent India, regional languages have been getting a wider acceptance as far as the primary education is concerned (INDIA, 1993; Khubchandani, 2001, 2003a; Koul, 2001).

Today, educational infrastructure in South Asia, by and large, still shows the signs of bearing the distortions of colonial legacies, characterizing the struggles where the control is shifted from outside colonizers to the *creamy layer* of the society. In recent years Indian rulers, with opposing ideological orientations, have been taking proactive interest in modifying *content* of school curriculum and textbooks, contradicting one another. In public debates, such attempts of presenting Indian culture in school curriculum are labelled as:

1. Universalization, emphasizing global issues and modern patterns of life
2. Secularization, without partiality or prejudice against any one faith

3. Saffronization, idealizing the glory of ancient Indian heritage
4. Detoxification, removing distortions of colonization and other biases that have crept into Indian history.

#### MOTHER TONGUE EDUCATION

Many modern education experts during the twentieth century advanced several educational, psychological, sociopolitical and historical arguments in support of the axiom that the *best* medium for teaching a child is their mother tongue (UNESCO Report, 1953, p. 11). These pedagogical claims did not take into account the *plural* character of Indian society at large, which reveals apparent ambiguities in defining the concept of mother tongue itself. In linguistic and educational accounts, the terms “mother tongue” and “native speech” are often used indistinguishably. The term *native speech* can be distinguished as ‘the first speech acquired in infancy, through which the child gets socialized: it claims some bearing on “intuitive” competence, and potentially it can be *individually* identifiable.’ The term *mother tongue* is mainly ‘categorized by one’s allegiance to a particular *tradition*, and it is *societally* identifiable’ (Khubchandani, 1983, p. 45).

During the initial years after gaining independence, different expert bodies on education such as the 1948 Central Advisory Board of Education, 1949 University Education Commission, and 1956 Official Language Commission put a greater weight on the *broad* interpretation of mother tongue—i.e. regarding all minority languages not having a written tradition as “dialects” of the dominant language in the region. This interpretation amounted to an implicit denial of equal rights to linguistic minorities on the ground of practicability, similar to the French view of treating minority languages (such as Provençal, Breton and Basque) as dialects of the dominant French. But ultimately the linguistic minorities succeeded in getting the authorities to accept the *narrow* interpretation of mother tongue, which is closer to the definition of native speech: ‘the home language of child, the language spoken from the cradle’ (1951 Census of India, 1954).

A recent UNESCO Report (2003) supports mother tongue medium as an ‘essential component of inter-cultural education and linguistic diversity so as to ensure respect for fundamental rights’, asserting self-esteem, identity, dignity and power by smaller groups through language (cf. Godenzzi, *Language Policy and Education in the Andes*, Volume 1). One sees an inevitable measure of fluidity in mother tongue claims in many plurilingual regions in India and Pakistan (see also, Rahman, *Language Policy and Education in Pakistan*, Volume 1). In such situations, one’s total repertoire is influenced by more than one normative system. Many speech groups command native-like control

over more than one language, with traits of diglossic complementation between languages for intra-group communication in the same space. Mother tongue *identity* and its *image* in this context do not necessarily claim congruity with *actual usage*, and these are again not rigidly identified with specific language *territories*, as is the experience of most European countries either in the past or in the present.

One notices a super-layered homogeneity in communication patterns on the “cline of urbanization” in the entire Hindi–Urdu–Punjabi region divided between north-central India and Pakistan. The highbrow registers of Hindi and Urdu are sharply marked by the polarization in the patterns of borrowing (Sanskritic or Perso-Arabic), whereas at the low-brow level, distinction between the two is not regarded as so significant. In a communication paradigm, the split between Hindi, Urdu and Punjabi traditions is more ideological than linguistic (Khubchandani, 1983, 1997). In this context, the issues concerning the facility of expression in mother tongue get highlighted in somewhat simplistic terms—i.e. juxtaposing mother tongue against the colonial language English.

A child’s earliest first-hand experiences in native speech do not necessarily show semblance with the formal “school version” of his/her mother tongue. The elitist system of education does not account for the complexity of speech variation across dialects in flux (and in plurilingual societies, often across languages), at the grassroots level. The heterogeneity of communication patterns in many regions of the Subcontinent, the unequal cultivation of different languages for use as medium of instruction, the demands of elegant versions of mother tongue for formal purposes, the non-availability of personnel with adequate command over the *textbook* language, and the switching over to another medium in the multi-tier medium system without adequate preparation are some of the difficulties faced by the learners who are initiated into education through the mother tongue medium. These ground realities have led to the re-examination of the supremacy of the mother tongue medium stretched over the *entire* education career.

#### EDUCATION NETWORK

Education being a “concurrent” subject in federal multilingual India, there is inevitable flexibility in the weight assigned to different languages in educational programmes, in the framing of language curricula, in selecting textbooks, and so on. The National Council for Education Research and Training (NCERT) conducts a periodic survey to gather information about the spread of educational facilities, and various issues of content and medium of instruction at different levels. In addition, state councils of education, and many NGOs are also engaged in attending to the problems of designing and evaluating the position

and functions of mother tongue and non-native language mediums as learning strategies.

The Sixth Survey (INDIA, 1993) records a total of 765,000 schools in the country at the Primary level (Classes I–V). On average, there is one primary school available for every 1,096 of the population. In the midst of a wide variation in different states, elementary education has acquired a distinct pattern in choosing the following as medium of instruction:

1. dominant regional languages
2. pan-Indian English/Hindi
3. neighbouring regional languages
4. newly cultivated languages (mostly tribal and other minority languages), as *preparatory* medium.

Dominant regional language schools account for 88% (672,000 in 1991) at the Primary level in the country. There are 17 such languages spread in respective states and Union territories, listed in order of the numerical strength of their speakers: Hindi, Telugu, Bengali, Marathi, Tamil, Urdu, Gujarati, Kannada, Malayalam, Oriya, Punjabi, Assamese, Kashmiri, Sindhi, Konkani, Nepali, and Manipuri. In addition, three tribal languages—Khasi and Garo in Meghalaya, Mizo in Mizoram—are also introduced as principal medium at Primary level. English is claimed as a dominant medium in northeastern states—Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh and Nagaland (Khubchandani, 2003b).

Though many states prefer to promote the *exclusive* use of respective regional languages as the medium of instruction, in practice many students experience a *shift* in language medium at one or another stage, depending on context, domain and channel such as: students listen to one language and write answers in another; formal teaching in the classroom is conducted in one language but informal explanations are provided in another. This milieu promotes a good deal of code-switching and hybridization of two or more contact languages.

In a multi-tier medium system, a student initiates education through the mother tongue. But as they move upward on the education ladder, they shift to a more “cultivated” medium. The 1974 NCERT Survey enumerates 80 languages being used as medium of instruction at different stages of education (Chaturvedi, 1976). The emergence of cultural regionalism in recent years has led to more and more minority languages being utilized for literacy programmes in the rural hinterland. It has stimulated considerable creative literature in different tribal languages, and has helped in creating a vast body of textbooks and original writings in these languages. English, however, continues to dominate the scene as a *developed* medium, and Hindi and regional languages as *emerging* medium at the tertiary stage (Khubchandani, 1978; Sridhar, 1988).

## BILINGUAL MEDIUM

Although many political and academic agencies lend their support to the claims of imparting education through a single *dominant* language in the region, in recent years there has been a growing demand for selective *bilingual* medium so as to keep pace with the socioeconomic demands of rapid modernization. As per the revised education policy, formulated in 1996, a flexible approach has been adopted for making differential provision when choosing medium of instruction in different types of schools such as: *state government* schools, *central* and *sainik* (military) schools, *navodaya* schools (as model schools for rural rich), *public* schools (managed by public registered bodies, usually catering to the needs of rich and urban areas—called “convent schools”), and *private* schools (run by NGOs—non-government organizations—with or without a grant from the State).

Apart from 17 prominent regional languages, listed earlier, and English, the Survey records 14 additional languages utilized as *partial* medium of instruction in bilingual schools: Maithili, Santali, Kurukh, Nicobarese, Tibetan, Limboo, Bhutia, Bodo, Kakborok, and five Naga languages (Ao, Sema, Angami, Lotha, Zeliang). A large number of schools in Bihar (approximately 21,000—i.e. 31%) have been experimenting with Sanskrit, a classical language, as *partial* medium. With the thrust for modernization, schools with major languages as medium of instruction have been increasing, and the number of ethnic schools has been decreasing.

There are three major contact languages—Hindi, Urdu, and English—spread with varied intensity, utilized as medium of instruction throughout the country (for a detailed review, see Khubchandani, 1978). The 1993 Survey records nearly 7% bilingual schools at Primary level (approximately 51,000 schools, out of the total 765,000). The proportion of bilingual schools is higher in urban cosmopolitan areas with their more heterogeneous populations.

The pan-Indian distribution of Hindi and Urdu schools, spread across 24 states out of 32, with a formidable total of nearly 324,000 schools (Ratio 424 schools out of 1,000), plays a prominent role in the Primary education network of the country. Hindi-medium facilities are provided in nearly 2,900 schools spread outside the north-central Hindi-Urdu belt. Urdu has a significant presence as a minority language medium in Hindi-dominant states, with nearly 7,200 schools; it is also spread in 10 states of the southern and western regions (over 8,000 schools).

A few multilingual states, mostly in eastern India, have introduced bilingual education as a state policy, in which a developing language is used as a *complementary* medium, together with English, Hindi, or

the regional language as the principal medium. In this context, “composite” courses are developed by combining a tribal language and elementary Hindi as a single course (for details, see Khubchandani, 1983, pp. 127–128).

English-medium public schools, a dominant colonial legacy, also form a vital part of the Indian education system, starting from the Primary education itself. After Independence in 1947, English medium schools, numbering over 35,000 (Ratio 46/1000), continue to be identified with urbanity, status, power and career specialization. There are more English schools, more English teachers and learners, along with a flourishing English press, than when the British left the country. The base for English education has been expanding. English schools have become a regular feature of the education system available in almost all states (Koul, 2001). Until recently, the preference for English-medium education was confined to urban populations. Now this trend is extending to the countryside as well. Different types of schools, mentioned earlier, have been supportive of extending English as medium of instruction in rural areas.

It is essential that bilingual and bicultural education is introduced with a degree of planning, encouraging a proficiency in the language of the classroom and in the languages (vernaculars) of learners, and a high level of skill in teaching, apart from developing positive attitudes to speech variation in multilingual repertoires.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

At this juncture, the aspirations of the wider public and of educators are at a crossroads, and many diverse claims are being made for bringing radical transformation in the education structure. One of the serious handicaps in implementing language education policies by different education agencies at the central and state levels in India is the continuance of the inherited dichotomies of *Ordinary* and *Advanced* tradition, discussed earlier, and the urban-biased system of education as shaped during the colonial rule. Requirements of elegance in education (such as obsession with ‘highbrow’ standardized speech) have created a wide gap between the language(s) of home and that of school, leading to a large number of school dropouts in the country.

In multilingual societies, the *ideal* claim and the *real* function of a language might be at variance. One notices a wide gap between the language policies professed and actual practice in a classroom. It is not unusual to find in many institutions anomalous patterns of communication where the teacher and the taught interact in one language, classes are conducted in another, textbooks are written in a third and answers are given in a fourth language/style. In this process, one is not surprised

to find that the public agenda of preserving language diversity and favouring mother tongue education serves the purpose of *justification*, but the hidden agenda of pressure groups pushing dominant languages motivates *implementation* when carrying out medium policies in schools (Tollefson and Tsui, 2004; see also Tollefson, *Language Planning in Education*, Volume 1). In the absence of political will, many proponents of the status quo try to walk on a tight rope. They adopt a *minimalist* approach to providing opportunities for mother tongue education with vague commitments and qualifying clauses which are, in turn, a result of negotiating with contradictory agendas of market forces, serving the interests of the elite, and succumbing to the demands of ethnic pressures.

Multilingual repertoires play a significant role in cultivating many Indian languages for their increasing use in higher education. Different educational subjects require a different type of preparation for a shift in the medium. Demonstration-oriented subjects of hard sciences and technology stress the autonomous, well-formulated and unambiguous use of language, utilizing language structures at the rudimentary level, accompanied by non-linguistic systems (such as mathematical formulae). In abstract subjects dealing with human phenomena (most of the arts, creative writing, religion and social sciences), language needs mature expression but the content tends to be less vigorously formulated, the likelihood of ambiguity is greater, and interpretations are relatively less precise than in hard science subjects. There is another category identified as meta-subjects, where the object of interpretation is language itself, such as law, logic, philosophy, semiotics, and linguistics. These subjects develop a kind of meta-language by exploiting subtleties of the language structure for sophisticated and well-formulated communication.

### THREE LANGUAGE FORMULA

Amid sharp controversies concerning the role of different languages in Indian education, a broad consensus was arrived in the Three Language Formula around the 1960s, which provided a basis of policy for a minimum requirement of languages in school education. In 1966, the Education Commission recommended a liberalized version of the Formula; it expected a student to acquire sufficient control over *three* languages by the time he/she completes the Lower Secondary stage (Class X): mother tongue and two non-native modern languages, broadly, Hindi as an *official* medium and a link language for the majority of people for inter-state communication, and English as an *associate official* medium and an interface language for higher education and for “sophistic” and international communication.

In the course of time, the Formula has been differently interpreted by different states. The choice of determining the second or third place for Hindi or English was left to individual states. Hindi states, by and large, provide classical Sanskrit as the third language in place of a modern Indian language, whereas a few non-Hindi states (West Bengal and Orissa) favour Sanskrit at the cost of Hindi as the third language. For several linguistic minorities, it has become virtually a four-language formula, as many states insist on the compulsory teaching of the respective regional language.

#### ORALITY AND LITERACY

In the contemporary world, the uncritical pursuits of modernization promulgate our current perceptions of literacy as a universal truth. The government-sponsored Literacy Mission targeted universal literacy by the Millennium-end. The 2001 Census records nearly 74% literacy in India (compared with the 1991 literacy rate 52% and 1981 literacy rate 44%).

In the Oriental tradition, both oral and literate traditions have played a vital role. Indian heritage rejects the supremacy of one culture over the other. There is now a growing understanding of the assets of oral tradition among illiterate communities transmitted from generation to generation through varied forms of folklore, festivals, rituals and artefacts. In an oral milieu, both thought and expression tend to be aggregative and concrete—i.e. context-determined, whereas in a written tradition they aim at precision and abstraction—i.e. context-independent. As a backdrop to this, it is necessary to focus on the *continuum* between oral tradition and written culture, and to consider strategies of incorporating the characteristics of *mass* culture into the literate culture (Bright, 1988). Under the spell of contemporary radical thinking in education, there is a greater awareness of the need to make education *relevant* to the environment and learners' aspirations and needs, and to diversify it in regard to the medium, curriculum, teaching and learning methods and materials.

Formal education is initiated by literacy and streamlined through certain time-bound stages in a credential-based system; whereas non-formal education is enmeshed in the cultural milieu of the society, as a part of life-long education through literacy or *without it*. Traditional societies such as India, while relying heavily on the implicit mechanisms of oral tradition for the transmission of knowledge, assign literate groups (or individuals) certain essential liaison/intermediary functions; literacy in these societies, no doubt, forms an important asset and accomplishment for an individual, but *not a necessary condition* of his/her survival and dignity.

In this endeavour, diverse approaches of transmitting literacy skills on a universal basis have emerged on the Indian scene: (i) Conventional educators profess strict adherence to the *standard* language prevailing in the region; (ii) Liberal educators recommend a *bi-dialectal* approach of gradual phasing in time from home dialect to the standard speech; (iii) Some educators plead for a *dichotomous* approach by accommodating diversity of dialects/speech varieties at the spoken level, but at the same time insisting on the uniformity of standard language at the written level; (iv) Those supporting a grassroots approach endorse a *pluralistic* model of literacy, by which variation in speech is regarded as an asset to communication; thus cultivating *positive* values for the diversity in response to the demands of situation, identity and communication task. In this scheme, literacy in the standard variety is, no doubt, promoted for economic-oriented situations and communicative tasks; at the same time, learners are educated to question the pejorative attributes to other than standard varieties that still prevail in the society.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The grassroots approach emphasizes making education more meaningful, useful and productive to work-experience. Sensitivity to speech variation and a grasp over the communication ethos prevailing in Indian society is, no doubt, enhanced by 'doing' verbal events in natural settings. An elaboration of Gandhi's thinking concerning Basic Education could provide a sound basis for launching the schemes concerning education for all, as discussed earlier.

Various constraints in the spread of education are attributed to the multiplicity of languages, whereas the real issues to cope with are the confrontation between *tradition* and *modernity* concerning the role of language in education, and the dogmatic rigidity in claiming privileges and parity of different languages in the thrust for autonomy. It is necessary to adopt a pragmatic approach to linguistic usage in education and to take into account the mechanism of standardization of languages in plural societies. When dealing with plural societies, we would do well to realize the risks involved in *uniform* solutions.

**See Also:** *Tariq Rahman: Language Policy and Education in Pakistan (Volume 1); James W. Tollefson: Language Planning in Education (Volume 1)*

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## LANGUAGE POLICY AND EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN

### INTRODUCTION

Pakistan is a multilingual state with six major languages—Punjabi (spoken by 44.15% out of a population of 153 million in 2003); Pashto (15.42); Sindhi (14.10); Siraiki (10.53); Urdu (7.57); Balochi (3.57)—and about 57 minor ones. Urdu is the national language and English the official one (Census, 2001). The 1973 constitution of the country, which was suspended in part both during the military rule of Generals Zia ul Haq (1977–1988) and Pervez Musharraf (1999–), is again in force. It provides the following guidelines on language policy:

1. The National language of Pakistan is Urdu, and arrangements shall be made for its being used for official and other purposes within 15 years from commencing day.
2. Subject to clause (1) the English language may be used for official purposes until arrangements for its replacement by Urdu.
3. Without prejudice to the state of the National language, a provincial Assembly may by law prescribe measures for the teaching, promotion and use of a provincial language in addition to the national language (Article 251).

This further relates to education policy and practice, as well as employment prospects of educated people, because the medium of instruction and the language of the domains of power—government, bureaucracy, military, judiciary, education, media, research, the corporate sector, commerce, etc.—are the languages desired by individuals to empower themselves and their children.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Pakistan inherited certain policies relating to language and education from British India of which it was a part from 1846 till 1947. The language of the domains of power in this part of South Asia was Persian ever since the eleventh century (Alam, 2004, pp. 116–117). The Islamic seminaries (*madrassas*) taught in Persian though most of the texts were in Arabic. Very rarely, some texts were taught in the indigenous languages of the people. Some of these texts in Sindhi, Punjabi, and Pashto are referred to in Rahman (2004, p. 326, 384, 355). When the British conquered Sindh (in 1846) and the Punjab (in 1849), they allowed the

*madrassas* to remain in the hands of the Muslim *ulema* (the equivalent of clergymen though Islam formally has no clergy). They were financed by local feudal lords or merchants. Public funds were used to create a chain of schools in which Urdu was the medium of instruction in the Punjab, the North West Frontier Province (NWFP), parts of British Baluchistan and some of the princely states now in the boundaries of Pakistan. In Sindh, however, they used Sindhi in schools as well as the lower domains of power, and this tradition continues to date.

In short, the British left behind a legacy of three streams of education roughly divided along socioeconomic class lines: the *madrassas* catered for rural and very poor children; the vernacular-medium schooling was for working and lower-middle class children; and the English-medium schools were for the middle and the upper classes. Those who overcame the obstacle of English joined their privileged counterparts in the college because that is where the vernacular-medium and the English-medium streams met. This system continues to date and the few changes in it are described in detail later.

#### MAJOR POLICIES

The Pakistani state has embarked upon a number of policies ever since the birth of the country. These were expansion of education and literacy (modernization); dissemination of Urdu (vernacularization); ideological socialization; and privatization. Let us take each of them in turn.

##### *Modernization*

All education policy documents of the state emphasize the link between modernization and an educated work force (Bengali, 1999). Thus, achieving 100% literacy was an avowed aim of all governments. This aim has not been achieved even now, though literacy increased from 16% in 1951 to 54% of the population in 2004 (GOP, 2004). School enrollment at the primary (classes 1 to 5) is 40%; secondary (6 to 12) is 19%; and tertiary (13 to 16—i.e. BA and MA which are both of 2 years duration each) is 5% of the population (Lahmeyer, 2004). In short, despite increases in all types of schools, the population growth of 2.5% per year, combined with an expenditure of about 2.7% of the GDP in 2004 (GOP, 2004) and an average of about 2% for many years, has prevented the achievement of the aim of full literacy.

##### *Vernacularization*

The Pakistani state embarked on a policy of disseminating Urdu as it was considered an identity symbol, next only in significance to Islam itself,

of the Muslims of India during the movement for the creation of Pakistan. Official thinking was that Urdu would be an antidote for language-based ethnic movements, which could break up the new state. However, Urdu was opposed in this antiethnic role by ethnonationalists, seeking identity through their indigenous languages (Rahman, 1996). However, despite this opposition, people have learned Urdu for pragmatic reasons all over Pakistan, as it is the language of wider communication within the country. As all literate and many illiterate people (over 50% of the population) understand and speak it, it is much more widely known than the percentage of its native speakers (7.57) would suggest. It is disseminated through the government schools, the government colleges, and universities, which teach all except technical and scientific subjects in Urdu, the print media, radio, and the television. Even illiterates, who come in contact with urban people for providing services, as well as all city dwellers, know Urdu. As Indian films and songs are very popular and they are in a language which is very close to Urdu in its spoken form, Urdu is also spreading through the entertainment industry. The National Language Authority (*Muqtadra Qaumi Zaban*), the Urdu Science Board, and a number of institutions have created both bureaucratic and technical lexicons in Urdu and it is being used by certain provincial governments as well as the lower courts for all purposes. It is also available for use via the computer. Moreover, it is associated with Islam, being the language of examination for all the registered *madrassas* as well as the medium of instruction and of sermons for most of them. In short, Urdu is officially associated with the nationalist Pakistani identity and unofficially with urbanization and the Islamic identity in Pakistan (for both associations see Abdullah, 1976; Kamran, 1992).

“Urduization” is not only opposed by the language-based ethnonationalists. It is also resisted, though covertly and not through declared policy statements, by the Westernized English-using elite. Vernacularization has affected higher education more than school education, which was already in the vernaculars by the time Pakistan was established. Colleges taught the higher secondary classes (11 and 12) as well as the bachelor’s level (13 and 14) in English, as did the universities at the master’s level (15 and 16). This started changing as more and more of the nonscientific subjects came to be taught in the vernaculars (Urdu, except in parts of Sindh where Sindhi was used). Nowadays, all subjects except the sciences, engineering, and medicine are taught in the vernaculars.

### *Privatization*

Though it is only recently that the Ministry of Education has officially recognized the trend toward the privatization of education at all levels,

there have been private, expensive, elitist schools in the country ever since its inception. When controlled by the Christian missionaries they were said to be necessary in the name of religious tolerance (though they catered more for the Pakistani Muslim elite's children than for Christians), whereas those administered or controlled by the armed forces (public schools and cadet colleges) were said to be necessary for a modernizing country since they prepared leaders. The armed forces now control or influence—through senior military officers who are on their boards of governors or principals—most of the cadet colleges and elitist public schools in the country. Although the education policy documents declare that these institutions are financed by the fees paid by their pupils, the state subsidizes the elitist cadet colleges (public schools) (Rahman, 2004, pp. 147–148). The armed forces also control federal government educational institutions in cantonments and garrisons (GHQ, 2003), run their own schools and colleges (MOD, 2003) as well as a huge educational network through their philanthropic services, run mostly by retired military officers (Rahman, 2004, pp. 53–54).

Besides the armed forces, elite schools are run as business empires with campuses in most big cities of Pakistan. These schools charge exorbitant tuition fees and prepare their students for the British O' and A' level examinations. There are also a large number of nonelitist English-medium schools in all cities and even small towns of the country. They cater to those who cannot afford the elitist schools, but want to give their children better chances in life by teaching them English. Their fees, though far less than those of their elite counterparts, are still forbidding for their impecunious clientele. Ironically, they do not teach good English, as efficiency in that language is a product of exposure to it at home and in the peer group, which are available only to the Westernized, urban elite.

Privatization is now taking place in the field of higher education. There were 55 public and 51 recognized private sector universities in 2005 whereas there were only 7 public and no private ones in 1971 when Bangladesh became a separate country and the area now called Pakistan carried the name of the country (HEC, 2005). The first private university, the Aga Khan University in Karachi, was established in 1983. It taught only medicine and created two trends: first, that private entrepreneurs could establish a university; and second, that an institution of that name could teach only one subject. Soon universities teaching lucrative, market-oriented subjects like business studies, computers, and engineering proliferated. They charge very high fees, thus making them unaffordable for even the middle classes, which undergo much self-sacrifice to have their children in these institutions.

The armed forces, despite being organizations of the state, entered the business of higher education as entrepreneurs. There are at present five universities controlled directly or indirectly by the armed forces. While some cater primarily for the needs of the armed forces themselves, allowing civilian students to study only if there are places after their own students are accommodated, most function like private institutions catering primarily for civilian students who can afford their high fees.

All private sector universities attract students because they use English as a medium of instruction for all subjects and provide the kind of elitist infrastructure and facilities, which distinguish the elite from the masses (such as air conditioning).

### *Ideological Orientation*

The state uses education to create a cohesive national identity, transcending ethnic identities in which Urdu and Islam are used as unifying symbols. Textbooks of social studies, history, and languages are informed by this theme. The other major theme informing them is that of creating support for the garrison state, which involves glorification of war and the military. Islam, the history of Muslim conquests and rulers, as well as the Pakistan movement, are pressed into legitimating these concerns. Although General Zia ul Haq's 11-year rule strengthened Islamization of the curricula, these trends were manifested in the early 1950s when the first educational policies were created. The text books of government schools, and especially the subject of Pakistan Studies, carry the major part of the ideological burden.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS AND WORK IN PROGRESS

There is not much scholarly work on language and education in Pakistan. Histories of education do, however, refer to language without problematizing the issue in terms of class, ideological polarization, ethnicity, and the divisive potential of these variables (Quddus, 1979; Zaman, 1981). For a Sindhi nationalist point of view see Kazi (1994). The only scholars who have dealt in detail with the relationship between language and education are Sabiha Mansoor and Tariq Rahman. Mansoor points out in her survey of students from Lahore how they rank English highest for efficiency, modernization, and prestige, with Urdu following and Punjabi at the bottom (Mansoor, 1993). In her doctoral thesis, she reviews the place of English in Pakistan, concluding that it is desired by students, parents, and teachers and has a significant role to play (Mansoor, 2002). Rahman (1996) examines the relationship between ethnicity and language and argues that

language texts are used to support the hegemony of powerful elites, and change when the system of the distribution of power changes (Rahman, 2002, pp. 488–528). He specifically links the role of language as medium of instruction with socioeconomic class and the polarization in world view leading to different levels of religious tolerance and militancy in different educational institutions such as English-medium schools, Urdu-medium schools, colleges, and *madrassas* (Rahman, 2004, pp. 163–188; cf. Rampton et al., *Language, Class and Education*, Volume 1).

In the last few years, a number of liberal social activists and scholars have pointed out the anti-India bias and militancy inculcated in the textbooks of the social sciences and history and have recommended changes (Aziz, 1993; Nayyar and Salim, 2003; Saigol, 1995). Urdu, which is taught to all students, is the main ideology-carrying language (Rahman, 2002, pp. 520–522). An important contribution, which provides the model on which a number of studies are based, is that of the historian Aziz who pointed out that history books taught in schools were inaccurate, wrong, and biased (Aziz, 1993). Rubina Saigol (1995, 2000) a sociologist, pointed out the gender bias in favor of males and how the female identity was marginalized and suppressed, as were values of peace and tolerance, which inform feminist writings on education. In March 2004, the debate came to a crisis with the liberals arguing for a change in the textbooks in keeping with General Musharraf's recent policy of peace with India and controlling religious militancy whereas the conservatives, along with the militant nationalists, insisted on retaining nationalistic, pro-war, and pro-military lessons in the name of Islam and national identity or fear of India.

A trenchant critique of liberal, secular education comes from the revivalist Islamist leader Sayyid Abul Ala Maududi in his book *Taleemat* (1974). His work is carried on by the Institute of Policy Studies in Islamabad, as well as intellectuals of the Jamat-I-Islami such as S.A. Khalid, who has recently written a book defending the Islamic educational system, arguing that it is the only one resisting the intellectual hegemony of the West (Khalid, 2002).

Government reports are generally silent about both the *madrassas* and the English-medium schools. However, there are some reports on the *madrassas* (GOP, 1988) and at least one survey of private schools (GOP, 2001). The Higher Education Commission (HEC) also publishes figures about private and public sector universities, but none of these publications links language and educational policies to socioeconomic class, ideological polarization, intolerance of the religious "Other" and militancy in foreign policy. Similarly, there is no analysis of the effects of the policies on the weaker languages of the country, nor on language rights and social justice through education, or the maintenance of

ethnic identity, or the rights and perceived injustice connected with such issues.

Recently some Non-Governmental Institutions (NGOs) have started taking an interest in educational matters and especially in creating gender-sensitive textbooks, but these efforts are concentrated in major cities and, being in English for the most part, do not affect the majority of students in the country.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

While discussing developments in the fields of education and language policy, the problems and difficulties have been touched upon already. It may, however, be useful to repeat that the policy of promoting Urdu at the cost of the indigenous languages of the people has increased the ethnic opposition to Urdu on the one hand whereas creating contempt for the indigenous identity on the other. This is most pronounced in the Punjab where Punjabi is regarded as a sign of rusticity, lack of sophistication, and lack of good breeding. The ethnic activists of the other languages—Sindhi, Pashto, Balochi and to some extent Siraiki—have managed to create a sense of pride in their identity and language, but they too acknowledge the pragmatic value of Urdu and remain impressed with English. This increases the pressure of English, which being the language of globalization, already threatens most of the world's languages (cf. Phillipson, *Language Policy and Education in the European Union*, Volume 1; Skutnabb-Kangas, *Human Rights and Language Policy in Education*, Volume 1). As the concept of language rights has not emerged in Pakistan and the demand for indigenous languages is seen only as part of ethnic resistance to the Center, the languages of the country do not have the chance of being written down, taught even at the elementary school level, or promoted in the media. This may make some of the minor languages obsolete and, though the major languages will probably survive as spoken mother-tongues because of their size, even the larger languages may become so intermingled with Urdu and English as to lose their present identity.

Another consequence of privatization and the elite's support of and investment in English is to increase the ideological polarization between the different socioeconomic classes. In two surveys of school students from the *madrassas*, the vernacular-medium schools and the elitist English-medium schools, one taken in 1999 and the other in 2003, it was found that the *madrassa* products were most intolerant of religious minorities in Pakistan and most supportive of a militant policy toward India in relation to Kashmir. The first survey is more detailed (Rahman, 2002, Annexure 14) but does not cover the views

of teachers, whereas the second one is confined only to the urban parts of the Punjab and the NWFP but does reflect the opinions of the faculty which are close to, and sometimes less liberal than their students (Rahman, 2004, Annexures 1 and 2).

Other problems are linked with increasing computerization and globalization. As the language of both is predominantly English, with Urdu being in the experimental stages, most Pakistani students have yet to learn anything from computers, which, indeed, are not widely available to them either at home or in their schools, colleges, and even universities. Urban males do, however, encounter computers in internet cafes where they are seen as devices for playing games or gaining access to pornography. Students from English-medium institutions do, however, have access to computers both at home and in their educational institutions. They use them for gaining knowledge but even more so for integrating with the globalized (mostly American) culture, which distances them even more from their vernacular-educated and *madrassa*-educated counterparts than ever before. In short, the English-vernacular divide, which is also the class divide, is now also expressed as the digital divide (see Rampton et al., *Language, Class and Education*, Volume 1; Kalantzis and Cope, *Language Education and Multiliteracies*, Volume 1).

The pedagogic side of education is also divided according to socio-economic class and medium of instruction. The *madrassas* follow a modified form of the traditional, eighteenth century curriculum called the *Dars-I Nizami* (Robinson, 2002, p. 53.) in which the canonical Arabic texts, which are memorized, are symbolic of valorized cultural memory and continuity. They also have polemical texts in Urdu to refute what they see as heresy and Western ideas. The emphasis on *bellum justum* (*Jihad*), which is blamed for terrorism in the press, does not come from the traditional texts but from extra-curricular pamphlets in Urdu and, even more importantly, from warriors back from Afghanistan, Kashmir, or other battlefields in the Islamic world.

Both vernacular and English-medium schools emphasize rote learning because of the formal examinations after each course, but nowadays practical work and projects are given, especially in private institutions of higher learning, so that some move toward analysis and practical work is evident.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Language policy and education, as we have seen, are subordinated to the class interests of the urban, professional, English-using elite in Pakistan. For its political interests this elite has been using the name of Islam, and has strengthened the religious lobby, in the last few years.

This policy is said to have been reversed, but it may be revived by a future government. The rank and file needed to carry it on, especially if it takes the form of a low-intensity conflict with India over Kashmir, will come from the *madrassas* which will probably increasingly cater for more young males as the state shifts spending from the education sector to others. Given the state's encouragement of privatization in the recent past, this seems to be a future trend which can have negative consequences for peace in South Asia and the world.

Privatization, with its concomitant strengthening of English as an elitist preserve, may lead to "ghettoization" in Pakistan—i.e. the weak and the marginalized sections of society will remain underprivileged because the education system creates obstacles for them, which they may find difficult to transcend. This may have several consequences. First, the most educated people may lose faith in the country and give up on it. Second, the ideological polarization between the different socioeconomic classes might increase even further. And, above all, the incentive for reforming Pakistan's educational system and making it more conducive to creating a tolerant and peaceful society might also decrease.

Another trend may be to strengthen the power of the military in Pakistan. As more and more elitist schools and universities pass into the hands of the military, the number of teachers, administrators, and business concerns under the patronage of the military will increase. More students will also be influenced by them. This will probably privilege the military's views about national interest, the future of the country and economic priorities. This, in turn, may further dilute ideas of civilian supremacy, which underpin democracies, and jeopardize the chances of lasting peace in South Asia.

Most of these possibilities do not bode well for the future of the country, but it is only by recognizing them that potentially negative language and educational policies may be reversed.

*See Also:* Lachman Khubchandani: *Language Policy and Education in the Indian Subcontinent (Volume 1)*; Ben Rampton, et al.: *Language, Class and Education (Volume 1)*; Mary Kalantzis and Bill Cope: *Language Education and Multiliteracies (Volume 1)*

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## LANGUAGE EDUCATION POLICY IN JAPAN

### INTRODUCTION

The formulation of language education policy is normally guided by a combination of needs and needs-discourse: a new 'vision' of the state, economic shift, talk of 'crisis in education', residual loyalties to the past or, conversely, to what Raymond Williams (1977) termed 'emergent ideological assemblage'. Japan's educational governance is no less a tangled composite of needs than other nations. New social factors are emerging. A demographic 'big bang' (a declining population and the prospect of large-scale immigration) now hangs skyward over Japan. It threatens to shake old educational certainties, former ways of doing and talking. We always knew what to do about this and what to do with that but now we have 'the Other'.

In the imagined community in which language policy emerges in Japan, two geographical beacons are visible: Japanese (*Nihongo*) is the (sole) national language (*kokugo*) and English is pre-eminently the vehicle of internationalization. A straightforward ideological system underpins this stance which, *mutatis mutandis*, informs large tracts of policy-making at various educational levels. Its underpinning is the familiar modernist trope that Japan is remarkable as a 'monolingual' and 'monocultural' nation. The truth, of course, lies elsewhere. Japan has been, for many centuries, multilingual and multicultural (Maher and Yashiro, 1995, Maher and Macdonald, 1995, Yamamoto, 2000, Sugimoto, 2003) due to migration to and from Japan, cultural flows, geographical realignment (Okinawa, Hokkaido), the (Asian) colonial experience and so on. Likewise, the growth of non-Japanese nationalities is a real and emerging demographic tsunami given the decrease of the Japanese population and the need for a new (imported) labour force to maintain the present social and economical system.

The diversity of multilingualism in Japan entails geographical location. The northern border of the Japanese archipelago faces Sakhalin and the Russian Far East whilst the southern islands border the Korean peninsula, China and further Taiwan. Japan has roughly 3,000 islands and a population of 127 million in 2006. The largest number of native speakers are Japanese. There are 961,307 residents overseas with Japanese nationality (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2004) and thousands of older speakers of Japanese in the former imperial colonies of

Taiwan and Korea. Apart from Japanese, there are minority languages: Japanese indigenous languages, such as Ainu (or Ainu Itak) and Ryukyuan (or Okinawan), old immigrant languages such as Korean and Chinese and newer immigrant languages such as Portuguese, Spanish and Filipino languages brought by foreign workers. All these speakers constitute the multilingual hybridity of twenty-first century Japan.

## COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN JAPAN

In Japan, compulsory education (*gimu kyoiku*) is organized along public and private lines for children from elementary school to junior high school (aged 6 and 15); 6 years in elementary school (*shogakko*) and 3 years in junior high school (*chutogakko*) in which English is formally introduced as a school subject. Three-year senior high schools are classified as regular (*kotogakko*) or vocational (*koto senmon gakko*). In higher education, vocational schools (*senmon gakko*) provide a vocational or technical education, and junior colleges (*tanki daigaku*) are 2-year courses. Universities (*daigaku*) comprise an undergraduate level (4-year course) and postgraduate schools (*daigakuin*), 2 years for an MA degree and 3 years for a Doctoral degree. All schools follow a three-semester system starting in April.

Foreign nationals can send their children to public elementary school and junior high school during Japanese compulsory education, regardless of the child's level of Japanese proficiency. We repeat 'can send'. Under Japanese law, there is no obligation for such children to attend school. This has created serious 'leakage' in many *gastarbeiter* families who may or may not understand the educational system and whose children thereby fail to attend school or drop out. Language support for foreign children in Japanese varies considerably by locality. Alternatively, foreign nationals can choose international schools. The majority are English medium and/or ethnic schools: American, Brazilian, British, Canadian, Chinese, French, German, Indonesian, Korean, Peruvian schools. However, most of these schools are private and fees are very expensive. English-medium international schools are often assumed to be prestigious as they provide elite bilingual education.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

### *Early History*

Drastic social change followed the Meiji Restoration (1868) and its nation-state enterprise. In national language policy a new Japanese government adopted a *hyojungo* (standard language) policy for the

nation (Carroll, 2001, p. 52). For the implementation of this policy, a centralist approach to the issue of standardization was applied (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 8). The policy-makers and intelligentsia of Japan adopted the formula of language and nationalism employed by the empires of Europe and pressed this into service in the colonies of Taiwan and Korea (Lee, 1996, p. 117)

The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) was founded in 1871 and the Japanese school system started thereafter. In 1886, the first school education policy (*gakko-rei*) was published, setting the curricula for universities (education-for-the-elite) and for teacher education colleges, elementary and secondary schools. In this period, educational diglossia prevailed, whereby schoolchildren bound for the social elite were drilled in *kanji* (Chinese characters) and *kango* (Chinese literature). Meanwhile, the masses possessed only elementary school diplomas.

The backbone of the postwar education system was formulated in 1947, with an increasing number of students at senior high school; 59% in 1960, 82% in 1970, 90% in 1975 and 96.3% in 2004. This increase illuminates two basal changes in Japanese society: (i) the economic success of the 1970s and 1980s enabled families to spend more on education, (ii) the Japanese economy needed quality workers to lead its competitive economy in a globalizing world. These factors led to a call to 'internationalize the Japanese people'.

#### MAJOR ISSUES FOR LANGUAGE EDUCATION POLICY

'Internationalization' remains a pre-eminent, long-term goal of the Japanese Ministry of Education. This goal comprises the following policy strategies:

1. To improve teaching methods in foreign language classes, the goal of which is to provide children with a better understanding of the distinctive history and culture of other nations in the world;
2. To promote international exchange in the field of education, culture and sports;
3. To promote student exchange, with the aim of accepting 100,000+ students in Japan at any one time;
4. To improve programmes for the teaching of Japanese as a foreign language, thus responding to the growing enthusiasm for learning Japanese;
5. To improve educational programmes both for Japanese children living overseas and for 'returnees' (children who re-entered the educational system after prolonged stay overseas) to maintain the language and knowledge which they acquired abroad.

Returnees, with their various bilingualisms, were initially regarded as 'a problem' since they could not adjust themselves to the monolingual ethic of Japanese schools in the 1960s and 1970s. Social change in the 1980s, however, saw returnees re-classified under 'internationalization' (Goodman, 2003, p. 184); a convenient policy shift based not upon an awareness of emergent multiculturalism but rather political ideology and the need to avoid chaos in school.

On the surface, 'internationalization' seemed to stimulate foreign language education (cf. Wiley, *Language Policy and Teacher Education*, Volume 1). Regarding the fifth revised 'Foreign Language Policy' in 1989 (junior and senior high school), Otani et al. (2004, p. 163) noted the extension of communication-based activities to promote English oral expression in reading and writing. At the same time, the Ministry of Education promoted 'petit nationalism' by centralizing school management and enforcing the new patriotism of compulsory singing of the national anthem and 'honouring the flag'. The logic of internationalization in the Japanese context might mean educating Japanese people to 'be Japanese' and merely equipping them with the linguistic armour to compete outside Japan. At this point (2006), the current alarm in the language education community is that foreign language education is becoming subsumed under a quasi-nationalistic and ideologically encumbered policy of the central government called, ironically, 'internationalization'.

### *Diversity of Language and Education in Japan*

The problematic of twenty-first century national language policy in Japan emerges subtly in the designation of actual language subjects in education. In the domain of compulsory education Japanese is termed '*Kokugo*' ('nation-language'), and the *Kokugo* class is for Japanese native speakers whereas '*Nihongo*', ('language of Japan'), is taught to non-Japanese native speakers.

Since the postwar period, foreign language policy for secondary education level has been revised six times and until the latest revision, foreign language education at secondary schools was elective and included French and German in addition to English. In 2002 for junior high school, and in 2003 for senior high school, foreign language education became compulsory. This altered the choice of foreign language subjects; at junior high schools, it was effectively limited to English. Some private schools and state schools specializing in foreign languages offer, electively, Chinese, French, German, Korean, Spanish, Russian, Italian, Portuguese (Otani, 2001, p. 166).

**English.** In the landmark 'Commission on Japan's Goals in the twenty-first Century' (2000), the Prime Minister's committee recommended

the goal of ‘global literacy:’ to enable Japanese citizens to freely and efficiently exchange information with the world. The basic elements were: (i) mastery of information-technology tools (computer, internet) and (ii) mastery of English—the international lingua franca. The Commission also flew the kite that English might be designated an official second language of Japan. This latter proposal caused shockwaves and outrage, accusations that national identity was under attack and the Japanese language at risk.

From the standpoint of Japanese business, the notion of English as an official language makes sense since language policy as formulated in Japanese industry has made English the *de facto* language of business. In the mid-1980s many Japanese firms accelerated the transfer of production lines to other countries in Asia and elsewhere. Consider the following example. Matsushita Electrical Industrial Co., headquartered in Osaka, has about 230 overseas affiliates and routinely uses English test scores (TOEIC—Test of English for International Communication) for promotion in Japan. It employed 245,922 people in fiscal 2004–2005, only 28% of whom were Japanese, while 2,300 Japanese employees were working on assignments overseas lasting an average of 5 years (Matsushita Human Resources Development, 2005). As globalization and competition among multinationals intensifies, the operating system of Japanese commerce is English and English-speaking employees find themselves in demand.

There are two recent trends in bilingual education: English in the state elementary school curriculum from 2002, and partial-immersion schooling (i.e. schools in which 50% or more is conducted in Japanese and the rest in English). In principle, the latter partial-immersion education (English-Japanese) is circuited into the official education system by means of the so-called *tokku* programme, established by the Japanese government in 2003. These are special structural reform zones that are eligible for preferential deregulation. In such a programme, integrated bilingual education is offered in elementary, junior and senior high school: a full 12 years of education. In addition to regular subjects taught in Japanese, pupils receive several classes per week in English. Although the numbers of such schools are still limited, the first private bilingual school that applied for this *tokku* programme started in April 2005 (MEXT website). Prior to this government programme, one private immersion school had started a Japanese/English programme in 1992 (Bostwick, 2001).

The government’s push to increase fluency in English for schools is spearheaded by such measures as the designation of Super English High Schools (SELHi) where English appears prominently in the curriculum and in the massive JET (The Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme) programme which annually provides native English teachers for state schools nationwide.

**Korean.** The immediate postwar period saw an explosion of Korean-medium schools. By 1946, there were 525 Korean schools in Japan (serving a population of 647,006 Koreans). However, Koreans were obliged to register as aliens and in 1948, the Ministry of Education ordered all Korean children to receive Japanese public education. The route to bicultural/bilingual education was thus effectively closed. Their children—*nisei*, *sansei* and *yonsei* (second, third and fourth generation) comprise a substantial minority in Japan, approximately 1 million (including those that have naturalized as Japanese). The large majority are now (monolingual) native Japanese speakers (Maher and Kawanishi, 1995).

The majority of ethnic Korean children attend local state Japanese schools, there these Korean children are ‘invisible’, ethnically unmarked, compared to the ‘visible’ Brazilian or Peruvian students. Okano (2006, p. 351) argues that Japan-born ethnic Koreans need no JSL (Japanese as second language), but that their ethnic language and culture does need support, as much as that of ‘visible’ newcomers.

In contrast, Korean as a foreign language is the fastest growing foreign language of study in Japan. Several factors contribute to this: the 1988 Seoul Olympics, 2002 World Cup in Korea and Japan, more print media in Korean, stabilization of trade-economic relations between Japan and Korea, leading to increased confidence among Korean-Japanese, and municipal interest in supporting Korean resident communities.

In an attempt to maintain the Korean language and culture and avoid the historical bias against minorities found in the school curriculum in Japanese schools, the General Association of (North) Korean Residents in Japan (*Sooren*), and to a lesser extent the Korean Residents Union (*Mindan*), run their own system with the provision of textbooks on Korean language or history. A mixed bilingual curriculum in Japanese and Korean is employed in 120 *Sooren* elementary and secondary schools throughout Japan, whereas the Union (*Mindan*) has far fewer (4) schools (Shin 2005).

**Chinese.** Chinese is found in the various Chinese communities with a total population of approximately 50,000 found in the urban centres of Tokyo-Yokohama, the Kansai region, and parts of southern Kyushu. There are five Chinese ethnic bilingual (Japanese-Chinese) schools in Tokyo, Yokohama, Osaka and Kobe. Kanno (2003) reported that at the ethnic Chinese school she observed there are fourth and fifth generations of ‘old timer’ students; the demographic of the school consists of 60% ‘old timer’, 30% ‘new comer’, and 10% ‘mainstream’ Japanese.

In Maher and Kawanishi’s (1995) study of Korean students, discussed earlier, they noted the strong link between Korean ethnicity and language,

as well as with the traditional refusal of (North) Korean residents to take Japanese nationality. In contrast, Chen (2005, p. 179) in a recent study of the Chinese community in Tokyo-Yokohama notes the more ‘fluid and loose connection between language and Chinese identity’. The ‘fluidity’ in the language awareness of the overseas Chinese community seems to derive from some basic principles: (i) language learning (Japanese) is essential (ii) some language affiliation with Chinese is desirable, (iii) code-mixing is normal, (iv) learning English as an international language is essential for the community (see also Lam, *Language Education Policy in Greater China*, Volume 1).

**Ainu.** The United Nations’ declaration on language rights in the Year of the Indigenous Peoples, 1993, was a landmark in the history of language maintenance among the peripheral language communities in Japan, particularly the indigenous Ainu. Supported by overseas language minorities, the Ainu have achieved significant progress in their struggle for language protection. In Hokkaido, where 23,767 identified themselves as Ainu in a Hokkaido Government Survey in 1999, there are now universities in the northern prefectures that offer Ainu language instruction. Local community groups also now operate *Ainugo Kyoshitsu* (Ainu language classes) in community centres in Hokkaido (DeChicchis, 1995; Komatsu, 2000).

Placing Ainu within Fishman’s theory of ‘reversing language shift’ Maher (2001, p. 323) has pointed out that ‘Ainu has a powerful symbolic resonance since it recalls the sociopolitical landscape of the past, the good old days and bad old days, colonialism, forced-removal from land, schooling in Japanese and prohibition of the Ainu language’. Language education for the historic community of the Ainu turned a further corner with the Ainu Culture Promotion Act of 1997. This removed older laws such as the 1901 Education Code, which aimed at the complete linguistic conformity of the Ainu and de facto elimination of the Ainu language. Whilst the provisions of the new law have not met all the demands of the Ainu people, the renewed language becomes a defining characteristic of Ainu culture (cf. Siddle, 1996 for a critique of the new legislation.)

**Ryukyuan.** The Ryukyuan group of languages—part of the typological system of Japanese—are spoken as a vernacular in the Okinawa prefecture. While these languages are also called ‘Okinawan’, Matsumori (1995, p. 20) argues that Ryukyuan is more appropriate as the group of dialects that also includes some islands which are part of Kagoshima-ken.

The return of the islands to Japan from United States’ control in 1972 accelerated the decline of Ryukyuan. Standard Japanese is the medium

of instruction throughout the Ryukyuan school system while Standard Japanese is employed in all media, magazines, books, official documents, public signs, etc. Ryukyuan plays no official role in public education in the Okinawan education system and its use has traditionally been discouraged in schools. Attitudes are changing though, owing to increased awareness of language endangerment and regional pride. There is increasing local interest in the language and its ethnolinguistic maintenance (reported by Ryukyuan speakers in Kotoba to Shakai Henshuuin, 2004) although no policy proposal exists to reintegrate Ryukyuan into the school system.

**The Deaf People and Japanese Sign Language.** In no other language community are the prospects for policy change more real than in Japan's Deaf Community (cf. Branson and Miller, *National Sign Languages and Language Policies*, Volume 1). Japanese sign language (JSL) is a generic term for a cluster of deaf language varieties is used by a cross-section of an estimated 400,000 hearing-impaired people and is subject to dialectal and sociolectal variation. Major strides in sign language activity have been made in recent years. These include the guarantee of sign language interpreting in court, local-government initiated sign language services and television broadcasting in sign. The sticking point is school education. With the inauguration of the Kyoto Prefectural School for the Blind and Deaf in 1873, Japanese Sign Language was adopted as a means of instruction. However, when oralism was introduced in 1925, this resulted in the dissolution/prohibition of JSL in Japan's schools, where hearing teachers were required to teach 'signed Japanese' based upon Spoken Japanese word order and expression (Honma and Kato, 1995; see Branson and Miller, *National Sign Languages and Language Policies*, Volume 1). This has been the policy up to the recent past. In 1993, a memorandum on special education policy was issued by the Japanese Ministry of Education, acknowledging the use of sign language in deaf schools. Hailed in the popular press as the first statement in the history of educational policy to recognize language diversity in schools, the document was frankly invidious and immediately attacked by many language rights activists in the deaf community. The reason was obvious. The definition of sign language adopted by the government was Signed Japanese (based on the structure and lexis of standard Japanese) and not Japanese Sign Language, the indigenous language of the deaf community (Honma and Kato, 1995; Ichida, 2004).

**Portuguese and Spanish.** The economic upturn associated with the 1980s, the period of the so-called 'bubble economy', created a labour shortage, particularly in the construction and manufacturing industries. This drew in *gastarbeiter* to work in what was termed, ironically, the

*san-K* (3-K) type of jobs: work that was considered *kitsui* (hard), *kitanai* (dirty) and *kiken* (dangerous). From the 1980s, the influx of Vietnamese-Chinese and Cambodian refugees, followed by foreign workers from Asia and South America (speakers of Portuguese and Spanish) in the 1990s, settled in Japan. Several commentators have pointed out the urgent need to deal with the problem of the children of recent immigrants who do not have Japanese language ability and who find it difficult to function in public schools (Ota, 2000). According to a survey by the Ministry of Education, the numbers of foreign national children with Japanese language support in Japanese state schools were 20,692 in 2005. Speakers of Portuguese (7,562), Chinese (4,460), and Spanish (3,156) as their mother tongue comprised more than 70% of the total (MEXT website).

In addition, 33 Brazilian language maintenance schools are approved by the Brazilian government, mostly in the industrial cities of central Japan between Tokyo and Nagoya. The rapid expansion in the number of immigrant language speakers both in urban and rural areas has focused serious attention on the dynamics of family bilingualism and language maintenance in the next generation of Japanese citizens.

**Japanese as a Second Language.** The steady increase in the number of foreign students enrolled in educational institutions impacts on the growing field of the teaching of Japanese as a foreign language. In 2004, the number of foreign students stood at 117,302. This compares with 45,000 in 1995 (Ministry of Education and Culture 2005). That two-thirds of the foreign student population come from mainland China, and the bulk of the rest from South Korea and Taiwan, points to the ‘Asianization’ of the foreign student body. The majority of students are enrolled in the social sciences, humanities or engineering. This population shift as well as its subject-specific orientation contrasts with the immediate post-war period, when a very small number of foreign students, mostly from North America and Europe, came to Japan for Japanese language-culture training.

Popular culture is crucial to the validity and pedagogical success of Japanese language teaching. This has long been recognized (Kishimoto, 1992) and will continue as twenty-first century students in Japan learn about Japanese society and practice TV drama, film, popular songs, *manga* (a generic term for comics and animation) and *anime* (animation) manga. However, recent social pressure, particularly ‘frenzied’ reports of criminal activity by foreigners (murder cases, various forms of crimes), have led to the Japanese government tightening the immigration laws. As a result, the number of foreign (especially Chinese) students is likely to decrease from 2007.

PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES; FUTURE  
DIRECTIONS

The ethnic hybridity of Japan's towns and cities, the new 'imagining' of minority communities, cultural crossover in lifestyle, the arts and education, and the furious globalization of the Japanese economy and business, are among the many factors that impact upon language policy in twenty-first century Japan. However, these dynamic interfaces are an old story. We may recall that writing systems employed in Japan are mixed and diverse: two phonemic syllabaries arranged in Sanskrit phonetic order and adapted from *kanji*, Sino-Japanese *kanji* (Chinese characters), romaji (Romanized letters), European alphabet borrowing and Japanese Braille. A large percentage of spoken and written Japanese across most genres includes foreign words, loan words, now mostly English (Honna, 1995, p. 45). The fact that the Japanese language developed by internalizing such non-Japanese elements has caused tension between two contrastive viewpoints; progress towards the desired reforms and subsequent regression (Gottlieb, 1995, p. vii). Over the past century, language and language education policies have struggled at this interface, now hyper-accelerated by globalizing society.

The central government's push for 'internationalization' lacks an adequate framework based upon multilingualism and multiculturalism. However, at the local level, Japanese cities are increasingly multicultural and bring forth new expectations for educational change to meet the present increasing number of foreign national residents. At the national level, language education policy is predicated upon the concept 'internationalization', but nowhere does internationalization include support for regional and community or indigenous languages. The reality, the critically declining population of Japanese society, led the government to sign an agreement in 2004 to import Filipino nurses and care workers to look after the Japanese elderly. Such social changes will also change the demographics of foreign nationals and language policy (including the nature of Japanese as a foreign language education).

Whither Japan's minorities and language communities? Tracing the 'ethnic boom' of the 1980s–1990s, Maher (2006) has theorized that Korean and Ryukyuan, in particular, are now subject to 'metroethnicization:' a hybridized 'street' ethnicity deployed by a cross-section of people with ethnic or mainstream backgrounds who are oriented towards cultural hybridity, cultural/ethnic tolerance and multicultural lifestyle in friendships, music, the arts, eating and dress . . . Metroethnicity is bored with sentimentalism about ethnic language.. involved cultural crossings, self-definition made up of borrowing and bricolage. Its desktop cultural expression is 'Cool'. The historic struggle of Japan's

language minorities may be giving way to a new metroethnic generation. Its performative style is based upon and derives simultaneously from the symbols of both disaffiliation and association. (Maher, 2006, p. 24)

Language education in Japan is in flux. It is neither revolutionary change nor planned incremental policy shift. Rather, flux occurs here and there: in schools, in companies and as the result of the government's now aging mantra of 'internationalization'. The prospect for a nation's language education policy is most influenced by the needs of its citizen-public: the younger generation will live with the emerging social realities. The absence of creative government responses to these realities is marked and the powerful question remains, turning itself over, repeatedly, in the public mind: in what manner will the next generation come to terms with Japan's new identity as a multilingual and multicultural society?

**See Also:** *Agnes S. L. Lam: Language Education Policy in Greater China (Volume 1); David Block: Language Education and Globalization (Volume 1); Jan Branson and Don Miller: National Sign Languages and Language Policies (Volume 1)*

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## LANGUAGE EDUCATION POLICY IN GREATER CHINA

### INTRODUCTION

The invasion of China by various nations in the nineteenth century exposed the ineptitude of the Qing Dynasty and precipitated the 1911 revolution to establish the Republic of China (ROC) in 1912. This was followed by rule by military factions and civil strife between the Guomindang (GMD, or the Kuomintang, KMT, or the Nationalist Party), created in 1911 and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), founded in 1921. The two parties cooperated to withstand Japanese aggression (1937–1945) but resumed their conflict when the Japanese surrendered at the end of World War II in 1945. In 1949, the CCP established the People's Republic of China (PRC) in Beijing whereas the GMD retreated to Taiwan to establish its government there. Before this separation, in 1842, Hong Kong was ceded to Britain after China lost the Opium War, sparked off by China's attempt to halt opium trade under a British monopoly. In 1997, Hong Kong was returned to China. In 1557, the Portuguese were first permitted to settle in Macao, which reverted to Chinese rule in 1999 (see Dillon, 1998, p. 48, 130, 206, pp. 237–238, 305–307). The PRC currently consists of the China mainland, Hong Kong and Macao and wishes to achieve peaceful reunification with Taiwan. All four territories are included in the term 'Greater China'. This chapter introduces the language policies in each of these territories, relating their developments to their histories and identifying their major achievements, current circumstances and future directions.

### THE CHINA MAINLAND

On the China mainland (area: 10 million square kilometres; population: 1,265,830,000; see Hook and Twitchett, 1991, p. 17; National Bureau of Statistics, PRC, 2001), many languages and dialects are spoken. The Han Chinese people, the majority population, speak several Chinese dialects falling into two main groups, the northern dialects and the southern dialects, but share the same writing script of about 3,500 years old. The national language, Chinese, is also known as Hanyu (Han language). The standard dialect for oral interaction is Putonghua (common language), a northern dialect mapping well onto Baihua, the written

variety of Standard Chinese close to everyday spoken Chinese and promoted from around 1920. In addition, among the 55 officially recognized non-Han ethnic minorities making up 8.4% of the mainland population, over 80 to 120 languages are used; they belong to language families such as Sino-Tibetan, Altaic, Austronesian, Austroasiatic and Indo-European (Zhou, 2003, pp. 23–26). Two minority groups, the Huis and the Mans (Manchus), have largely acculturated to Chinese. Another 29 groups now have officially recognized writing scripts; some groups, such as the Chosen (Korean) group, use minority languages which have speakers beyond China's borders; other groups such as the Kazaks (using the Arabic alphabet) use a writing script also used by speakers of other languages outside China; still others, such as the Dongs, use a Roman alphabet newly designed or revised for them after 1949.

Since the establishment of the PRC in 1949, to unify and strengthen the country, China has implemented three language policies: the standardization of Chinese, the development of minority languages and the propagation of foreign languages. The standardization of Chinese was aimed at enhancing literacy and took a two-pronged approach from the 1950s: the simplification of the writing script and the development of a phonetic alphabet, Hanyu Pinyin, to aid pronunciation. From 1956, all primary and secondary schools in Han Chinese regions were required to begin to include the teaching of Putonghua in Chinese classes. Putonghua was also propagated among the Han Chinese living in minority regions. At the same time, from around 1951, linguistic analysis of the minority languages was initiated with the aim of enhancing literacy among the minorities. To this end, some minority language writing scripts were affirmed, revised or created. In terms of foreign language learning, in line with the PRC's early political affinity, Russian was initially promoted as the most important foreign language. When relations with the Soviet Union did not develop as expected in the late 1950s, English regained importance.

By the early 1960s, China was ready to further ties with the West. Unfortunately, events within China developed into the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), cultural in the sense of enforcing a political culture to continue the revolution. During that era, schooling was extremely irregular and the promotion of Putonghua suffered a severe setback. The local offices for promoting Putonghua were largely disbanded but propagation work was not entirely halted. By comparison, the work on minority languages suffered much more. In fact, even before the Cultural Revolution, from around 1957 to 1965, the attitude towards minority languages was vacillating between egalitarian respect and Han chauvinistic disdain. During the Cultural Revolution, minority languages were suppressed and some minority parents enrolled their

children in Han Chinese schools, resulting ironically in more bilingualism among minority learners. Likewise, foreign language learning was considered unpatriotic during the Cultural Revolution, particularly before the 1970s. In 1971, the PRC replaced Taiwan as a member of the United Nations and Richard Nixon's visit to China as President of the USA in 1972 paved the way for further exchange between China and the West.

After the Cultural Revolution, China began to implement the Policy of Four Modernizations (to modernize agriculture, industry, science and technology as well as defence) from 1978. In parallel, the work on all three language policies resumed. The 1982 revised Constitution of China reaffirmed that Putonghua should be promoted and 1986 saw the confirmation of the Character Simplification List originally publicized in 1964. Likewise, particularly important for the minorities, the 1982 Constitution reaffirmed that 'every ethnic group has the freedom to use and develop its own language and script' (National People's Congress, 1999, p. 6). Codification work on some minority languages was revived and some new scripts were officially recognized from 1977 to 1990. In the same period, policy directions concerning curriculum development in English Language Teaching (ELT), particularly at university level, attracted much support from ELT professionals in China and from overseas.

In 1991, the disintegration of the Soviet Union provided the political space for China to adopt an increasingly international stance. China joined the World Trade Organization in 2001 and will host the Olympics in 2008. The language education effects of this international orientation are twofold: more foreigners are interested to learn Chinese; the Chinese also need to develop greater competence in English. With more foreigners wishing to learn Chinese and the spread of Putonghua throughout the mainland, especially the urban areas, China's current concern is to aim for quality assurance in Chinese language competence. Proficiency tests like the Putonghua Shuiping Ceshi (PSC or Putonghua Proficiency Test) for Han Chinese learners and the Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi (HSK or Chinese Proficiency Test) for non-native learners of Chinese are accorded much importance. Currently, over 2,100 universities in 85 countries offer courses in Chinese as a Foreign Language (CFL) and the HSK is considered the standard test for CFL. Where ELT is concerned, in the new school syllabus publicized from 2001, the learning of English is conceived of as a continuous process from primary school to university. The current requirement is to start teaching English from Primary 3 but some schools in coastal areas may even do so from Primary 1. Han Chinese learners are increasingly encouraged to be bilingual in Chinese and English. International trends in content-based instruction (or learning a target language while

acquiring new knowledge in other subjects through that language) have also been incorporated into bilingual education models or curricular goals such as the cultivation of foreign language majors who excel both in foreign language competence as well as knowledge of a profession such as foreign relations, trade, law, management, journalism, education, technology, culture or military affairs.

The Soviet Union's disintegration might also have prompted China to subtly adjust its policy towards its ethnic minorities, perhaps to prevent separatist tendencies. In the decades before 1991, the policy vacillated between non-assimilation and total suppression. From around 1991 onwards, the state has tried to promote a bilingual solution more overtly instead. Minorities are encouraged to learn Chinese and also to retain their own languages, which seems to be the linguistic ideal in line with the Constitution reaffirmed in 1982. At the local level of implementation, however, it has been observed that this central policy translates into several scenarios from promotion of minority languages to permission to learn minority languages or mere tolerance of minority languages (Zhou, 2005).

To summarize, for the Han Chinese, the majority population, the policy directions are now clear: competence in Putonghua and English are both educational goals while the use of their own Chinese dialects at home or in other informal situations is not forbidden and hence is often retained. Foreign language majors also learn a second foreign language such as Japanese, German, Russian or French. At the implementation level, ELT on the mainland has already attracted much scholarly attention and will continue to do so. It is CFL and the teaching and learning of other foreign languages by Chinese learners that will need to be further researched. Where minority learners are concerned, the policy is more ambivalent. The state encourages them to be bilingual in Chinese and their own minority language; however, 24 of the minority groups are still without an officially recognized writing script. Some of these groups (the Blangs, the Dairs, the Dongxiangs, the Nus and the Pumis) have had writing scripts designed (Zhou, 2003, pp. 126–127) or in use even before 1949 (the Uzbeks) (Zhou, 2003, p. 104), but the official status of their scripts is uncertain. In the absence of writing scripts and hence formal education in and through their own languages, the tendency for these minority groups to shift to Chinese is almost uncontested. Meanwhile, competence in English is also vital for all minority learners' educational and occupational advancement. Surmounting these circumstances is clearly a challenge for both the Chinese government and the minority learners. Research into the relative efficacy of different models of bilingual education for these learners as well as the intercultural effects that may result should prove particularly pertinent (this section is based on Lam, 2005. See also

Bolton, 2003; Bolton and Lam, 2006; Chen, 1999; Dai, Teng, Guan and Dong 1997; He, 1998; Wang, Chen, Cao and Chen, 1995; Zhou, 2003, 2005).

## TAIWAN

The official language in Taiwan (area: 36,000 square kilometres; population: 22,610,000) is Mandarin, also known as Guoyu (national language) or Huayu (Chinese language). There are four main groups in Taiwan: the Fujianese (or Minnanren-speaking Minnanese, a Chinese dialect also known as Taiwanese), the Hakkas (speaking the Hakka dialect, another Chinese dialect), other Han Chinese from the mainland (or mainlanders, many of whom arrived with the GMD around 1949) and other Austronesian minorities falling into 12 major groups. The Fujianese and Hakkas together make up 85% of the population (with about three Fujianese to one Hakka person); the mainlanders make up another 13% and the minorities, less than 2% (Taiwan Government Information Office, 2004, p. 9, 21, 23; see also Kaplan and Baldauf, 2003, p. 51; Tsao, 2000, p. 61).

Taiwan's early inhabitants were Austronesian peoples. It first came under Chinese rule in 1662 when the Dutch who had occupied Taiwan from 1624 were defeated by Zheng Chenggong, a Ming loyalist escaping from the Manchus, who had overthrown the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644) to establish the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911). Zheng's family ruled Taiwan till they surrendered to the Manchus in 1683. Under Manchu rule, though Chinese emigration to Taiwan was forbidden till 1875, many mainland Chinese moved to Taiwan. The Manchus ruled Taiwan till 1895 when they ceded Taiwan to Japan after the Sino-Japanese War. Feeling betrayed by the Manchus, the Taiwanese established the Taiwan Republic on 16 May 1895 but were defeated by the Japanese after 148 days (Tsao, 2000, p. 96). During their 50-year rule, the Japanese made a sustained effort to develop Taiwan as their colony by building infrastructure, introducing modern financial institutions and forcing all schools to use Japanese. By the time they returned Taiwan to China, most Taiwanese elites spoke Japanese and Taiwanese fluently (see Taiwan Government Information Office, 2004, pp. 33–43; Zhang, 2003, pp. 20–38).

It was to GMD troops that the Japanese surrendered in 1945. So when the GMD lost its war with the CCP, it established its government in Taiwan. The GMD traced the legitimacy of its rule to the 1911 revolution and adopted the name: ROC (Taiwan). In language education as well, the GMD tracked the continuity of its policy to early developments on the mainland soon after the 1911 revolution when the need for a standard dialect to unify and strengthen the country came to the

forefront. The main language policy of the 1912 ROC and of Taiwan from 1949 had been the propagation of the standard dialect, Mandarin (Guanhua or Court Officials' Language). In 1913, a Commission on the Unification of Pronunciation was established. By 1918, the Mandarin Phonetic System (MPS), consisting of symbols resembling parts of Chinese characters, was promulgated. In 1919, the Preparatory Committee for the Unification of the National Language (PCUNL) was established and Mandarin was made the medium of instruction in primary and secondary schools. The MPS was revised in 1932. Another system, Gwoyeu Romatzyh (or the National Phonetic Symbols II), a romanization system, was propagated in 1928 and its modified form was adopted in 1984. The latest system, Tongyong Pinyin, was recommended by the Educational Reform Council in 1996 and adopted in 2002 (Taiwan Government Information Office, 2004, pp. 27–28).

The use of Mandarin in Taiwan and Putonghua on the mainland could both be connected to the early codification work on Chinese on the mainland soon after the 1911 revolution; both dialects were codified using the Beijing dialect. Their current phonetic representation systems, Tongyong Pinyin in Taiwan and Hanyu Pinyin on the mainland, are both romanization systems, though some sounds are represented by different letters (Luo, 2003). For the writing script, while the PRC developed simplified Chinese characters, Taiwan has continued to use traditional complex characters (also retained by Hong Kong and Macao). Another measure facilitating the learning of Chinese in Taiwan and the PRC (including Hong Kong and Macao) also originated from language reform soon after 1911; it was the PCUNL's recommendation in 1920 that the subject, Chinese Literature, should be changed to Chinese language in primary school. This represented a radical departure from traditional Chinese studies, which compelled learners to memorize Classical Chinese texts, making it difficult for them to master Chinese. With the PCUNL's recommendation, the learning of Chinese in primary school would focus instead on Chinese texts written in Baihua, closer to everyday spoken Chinese (Tsao, 2000, p. 69). It should be mentioned though that literature written in this style in the 1930s and 1940s was banned from the school curriculum in Taiwan because of its empathy with Communist ideology; hence the Chinese curricula in secondary schools and universities in Taiwan were heavily based on Classical Chinese rather than Baihua. This imbalance was somewhat redressed in 1997 (Tsao, 2000, pp. 89–90).

The adoption of Mandarin in Taiwan was politically contentious. Unlike on the mainland, where there are several dialect groups and a genuine need for an interdialectal means of communication, in Taiwan, Minnanese is spoken by about 70% of the population (Taiwan Government Information Office, 2004, p. 28). It was the GMD immigrants to

Taiwan in 1949 who needed Mandarin as a lingua franca because they consisted of speakers from various dialect groups. The GMD made Mandarin the language of government and education and also banned the use of Japanese, by then the working language of many educated Taiwanese, thus depriving them of access to power. The first GMD troops sent to Taiwan were also undisciplined and their seizure of personal property and profiteering angered the original residents in Taiwan. In 1947, the tension between the original residents and the mainland newcomers erupted into the February 28 Incident with much loss of life (Tsao, 2000, p. 72). Martial law was imposed soon after and not lifted till 1987; under the rhetoric to withstand a Communist take-over, dissent was not tolerated and the use of native dialects or minority languages was considered unpatriotic.

After the end of martial law in 1987, the government has adopted a more pluralistic approach towards the learning of native languages and dialects (Taiwan Government Information Office, 2004, p. 27). A study conducted in the wake of this policy change reports that although shift to Mandarin has occurred to some extent, particularly among the Hakkas, some knowledge of the native dialects has been maintained and attitudes to native dialects are generally positive (Chang, 1996). Native languages and dialects are now more used in public domains (Mo, 2000). In 1997, they were first introduced in primary school as electives. From 2001, primary school students must be taught one of the three major native dialects or languages (Minnanese, the Hakka dialect and Yuanzhuminyu or original residents' language). Mandarin continues to be the medium of instruction at all educational levels (Kaplan and Baldauf, 2003, pp. 57–59) and remains the lingua franca of interethnic or interdialectal communication (Li and Lee, 2004, p. 759).

For several decades, English had been taught as a foreign language in Taiwan only from Secondary 1 but, from 2001, it has been a required subject from Primary 5. Japanese, banned earlier, was revived in the late 1970s for trade purposes. Recently, the Ministry of Education has also implemented a 5-year programme (1999–2004) to promote the learning of a second foreign language such as Japanese, French, German and Spanish in senior secondary school (Taiwan Government Information Office, 2004, p. 31).

In summary, Mandarin has been predominant in Taiwan for too long for it to lose its preeminence as a result of the current revitalization of the native languages and dialects. As on the mainland, English is also needed as a global language. It is the learning of the native languages and dialects that might prove unpredictable and needs to be more immediately researched. A study of the differential effects of the revival of the Chinese dialects and the Austronesian minority languages in Taiwan should prove particularly illuminating.

## HONG KONG

The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) (area: 1,100 square kilometres; population: 6,708,389; see Hong Kong Census and Statistics Department, 2003, 2005) consists of Hong Kong Island (ceded to Britain in 1842), the Kowloon Peninsula (ceded to Britain in 1860) and the New Territories and some outlying islands (leased to Britain in 1898 for 99 years). With the return of Hong Kong to China, the Basic Law of the HKSAR allows it autonomy in internal affairs such as education for 50 years from 1997. The population consists of: Chinese (95%), Filipinos (2%) and other ethnic groups (3%) (Hong Kong Census and Statistics Department, 2003). Cantonese is the native dialect spoken by the majority of the population. The official policy is to encourage competence in Cantonese, English and Putonghua.

From 1842 to 1974, although the British did not repress the use of Chinese overtly, English, as the language of government and the law courts, was the language of power. The Official Languages Ordinance passed in 1974 ushered in a period of equal legal status for both languages. From 1997, the Basic Law upholds Chinese as the official language in Hong Kong but also permits the use of English as an official language by the executive authorities, legislature and judiciary (People's Republic of China, 1992, p. 7). The Basic Law does not specify whether Chinese means Putonghua or Cantonese. In practice, Cantonese is usually used in spoken interaction whereas Baihua is the target variety in written expression. The official use of English is permitted even after 1997 because Hong Kong is an international city and many among the local elite, educated under the colonial regime, are professionally more competent in English than in Chinese (compare this to the banning of Japanese in the early decades of GMD rule in Taiwan).

Regardless of what the law specifies, a controversial issue in language education in Hong Kong has been what language to adopt as the medium of instruction, what effects this will have on the learning of Chinese and English, and whether teachers are competent enough to support educational plans. Though English is taught as a subject from Primary 1, most primary schools use Cantonese as a medium of instruction across the curriculum. The contention about the language of instruction is mainly in the secondary school sector. Of the two streams of education, English-medium and Chinese-medium, which have been carried over from colonial times, English-medium education is more favoured by parents, not only because English is an international language but also because it is often the language of higher

education in Hong Kong, particularly in the more competitive programmes. Generally speaking, the British government took a rather *laissez faire* attitude to this issue and many schools were claiming they were English-medium to attract more students, though instruction might actually be conducted in a mixture of Chinese and English. In 1997, the HKSAR government took a firmer line and required public secondary schools to show evidence that they were capable of teaching in English before they were allowed to do so from 1998 (Sweeting, 2004, pp. 524–525). About a quarter of the schools met the requirements. Later, other schools were allowed to switch to using English as a medium of instruction from Secondary 4 onwards if they could recruit competent teachers. To ensure that teachers of both English and Chinese (including Putonghua) have the competence needed, from 2004, new English and Putonghua teachers are required to pass language assessment before joining the profession while serving teachers should do so by 2006 (Bray and Koo, 2004, pp. 146–147).

The teaching of and in Putonghua is a relatively recent phenomenon in Hong Kong. In the years leading up to 1997, Putonghua was already available as an additional lesson within the Chinese curriculum. In 1997, it was announced that Putonghua would become a core subject from Primary 1 from 1998. Given the goal of acquiring competence in Cantonese and Putonghua, an emerging issue is whether it is educationally more expedient to teach Chinese in Putonghua rather than Cantonese since exposure to Cantonese is already readily available in the community. Some schools have adopted this pedagogical approach recently, even without being required to do so. A few schools have gone even further by using Putonghua as a medium of instruction for subjects other than Chinese (Bray, 2004, pp. 147–148). Pragmatic principals and parents may well decide on this matter in a market-driven place like Hong Kong, even before a policy is formulated.

To summarize, the statuses and functions of Cantonese, Putonghua and English in Hong Kong education are now fairly stable, at least for the foreseeable future. But the Hong Kong post-primary educational system is undergoing a major change from a 5+2+3 system (5 years of secondary school, 2 years of pre-university and 3 years of university) to a 3+3+4 system (3 years of junior secondary school, 3 years of senior secondary school and 4 years of university), akin to that on the mainland. The first cohort under the new system was accepted in September 2006. These students are expected to compete for university admission in September 2012. English curricula both at the senior secondary level and the university level are undergoing revision to accommodate this change. Related research is likely to be a major focus in language education work in Hong Kong in the next decade.

## MACAO

The Macao Special Administrative Region (area: 27.5 square kilometres; population: 465,300; see Macao Census and Statistics Department, 2005), formerly spelt as Macau, was a trading post of the Portuguese from 1557. In 1582, the Portuguese began to pay an annual rent to China for the lease of the Macao peninsula. In 1887, Portugal assumed sovereignty over Macao (Cheng, 1999, p. 3). The Basic Law of Macao allows it autonomy in internal matters such as education for 50 years from 1999. Around 96% of the population is Chinese (Berlie, 1999, p. 76). Cantonese is widely spoken but immigration from the mainland to Macao has resulted in a sizable population of Putonghua speakers. Both Chinese and Portuguese have been official languages since 1987. As in Hong Kong, even after Macao reverted to Chinese rule, Portuguese, the colonial language, can still be used as an official language. Competence in English is also an educational goal.

For centuries, the Portuguese government left education in Macao in the hands of the Catholic Church, apparently in line with their practice in Portugal. The Diocese of Macao was founded in 1576 (Cheng, 1999, p. 5) and led the development of education in Macao. The Chinese community also established some private Chinese schools. English-medium education developed from the second-half of the nineteenth century. By 1988/1989, Macao primary school students were studying in Chinese (84%), English (9%), Portuguese (5%) and both Chinese and Portuguese (2%). The educational gap was in the university sector. Only from the late 1980s did the government promote higher education in Macao. In 1988, it bought the University of East Asia, a private English-medium university founded in 1981 teaching some courses in Chinese, redeveloped it to offer programmes in all three languages: English, Chinese and Portuguese, and renamed it the University of Macau in 1991. Four other institutions using Portuguese as one of the teaching languages were also established in the 1990s (Bray and Koo, 2004, p. 151).

Although some form of higher education is now locally available in all three languages, the school sector has seen an increase of students in Chinese-medium education to about 93%, partly because of the immigration from the mainland in the last 20 years. New tertiary institutions, such as the Macao University of Science and Technology, established in 2000, are more likely to use Putonghua as the main medium of instruction (Bray and Koo, 2004, p. 153). While Putonghua and English (now usually taught from Primary 4 or 5 in non-English-medium schools) will continue to grow in educational prominence in Macao, competence in Portuguese, even if acquired only by a very small minority, is still

considered valuable for Macao's positioning within the PRC and China's relations with the Latin world.

Compared to the other three territories, Macao has a very small population, which makes its language education problems relatively easier to manage. The fact that much of its educational development was historically led by the church has also given rise to a certain peaceable ethos in attempts to negotiate educational solutions. In terms of research, an interesting issue is whether the development of Portuguese competence, particularly within a trilingual educational model, can continue to be maintained.

### CONCLUSION

In bilingual or multilingual settings, the choice of what language to teach or to use as a medium of instruction is always difficult (see also Tollefson, *Language Planning in Education*, Volume 1). On the China mainland, the propagation of Putonghua for Han Chinese is now widely accepted and requires only further quality assurance and materials development. However, the bilingual policy for minority learners needs to be carefully monitored and perhaps developed into a range of bilingual or multilingual education models to match a possible continuum of minority learner choices. It is fortunate that the language rights of minorities have been protected by the PRC constitution, even if insufficient educational opportunities or pragmatic choices by some minority learners may still result in greater competence in Putonghua and lesser competence in their own languages.

In Taiwan, the supremacy of Mandarin is now less controversial; as a medium of instruction for over half a century, it will probably remain the language of government and mainstream education while Minnanese, the Hakka dialect and the aboriginal languages continue to enjoy some revitalization as heritage languages and as alternative media of instruction perhaps in basic education. Bidialectalism and bilingualism (Mandarin and a native dialect or language) is a possible outcome. Total reverse language shift in Taiwan is unlikely as economic and educational benefits are now already attached to competence in Mandarin.

In Hong Kong and Macao, bidialectalism between Cantonese and Putonghua may be achieved by more and more learners. But it is unlikely that Putonghua will become the first dialect of the majority of the population in these two regions, unless there is massive immigration from the mainland, which the PRC will discourage, given the high population densities of the two territories. CFL around the world will grow in scope and this may, in turn, make competence in Putonghua

even more valuable in Hong Kong and Macao. In market-driven Hong Kong, in particular, as Putonghua competence becomes desirable even to foreigners, more schools may convert to teaching Chinese in Putonghua, even in the absence of any specific government directive.

In all four territories, English will retain its pre-eminence as the language of international trade and educational advancement; hence, issues concerning enhancing competence in English will continue to be prominent in educational considerations, particularly in the transition to higher education, academic research and international interaction. Other foreign languages such as Japanese (especially in Taiwan), Russian (especially on the mainland), French, German, Spanish or Portuguese (in Macao) may also enjoy a revival as China opens up even more to the world. Given the complexities of the circumstances in each of the territories, Greater China offers tremendous opportunities for developing and testing new models of bilingual or multilingual education involving both domestic and international languages in a comparative context.

**See Also:** *James W. Tollefson: Language Planning in Education (Volume 1); Teresa L. McCarty: Language Education Planning and Policies by and for Indigenous Peoples (Volume 1); Suresh Canagarajah: The Politics of English Language Teaching (Volume 1); Stephen May: Language Education, Pluralism and Citizenship (Volume 1)*

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THE MORAL DIMENSIONS OF  
LANGUAGE EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

Like other kinds of teaching, language education is fundamentally and, some would argue, primarily moral in nature. By “moral,” we mean that it involves crucial yet difficult and ambiguous beliefs and decisions about what is right and good for learners and others. The moral dimensions of teaching inhere in certain key facts. First, all teaching aims to change people; there is an implicit assumption that this change is for the better. Second, there are limitations on the degree to which science, research, and objective facts about teaching and learning can guide teachers in the decisions they make; the great majority of teachers’ work in actual classrooms has to be based on teachers’ beliefs about what is right and good for their learners—that is to say, it is rooted in moral values. Third, like any relations between human beings, relations between a teacher and her students are moral in nature, revolving around key issues such as trust and respect. The innate power differential between teacher and students merely reinforces this basic fact. The moral landscape of the language classroom is rendered even more complex than in other contexts by the fact that the teaching of languages by definition takes place at the intersection between different national, cultural, and political boundaries, representing often radically different sets of values. Furthermore, the different cultures and value systems represented in classrooms, like the individuals taking part in language education, are not equally positioned in terms of cultural capital (see also Kelly Hall, *Language Education and Culture*, Volume 1) but, quite the opposite, are usually in unequal relations in ways frequently involving race, gender, sexual orientation, and other crucial differences.

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS: FINDINGS FROM  
GENERAL EDUCATION

As the preceding paragraph suggests, work on the moral dimensions of language teaching has largely been grounded in work on morality in general education. In this section, we review the principal contributions to this line of research.

John Dewey, in his seminal book, *Moral Principles in Education* (1909), drew an important distinction between the *teaching of morality*—the explicit teaching of specific moral values, and the *morality of teaching*—the ways teaching is imbued with moral significance. Despite the importance of Dewey's early writings in this area, little attention was paid to the morality of teaching until the early 1980s.

The publication of Tom (1984) marked the beginning of a renewed interest in the moral aspects of teaching. Tom critiqued the long-held view of teaching as an applied science, according to which research in the social and behavioral sciences will yield principles and strategies teachers “apply” to the problems they encounter in their classrooms. Tom proposed the metaphor of teaching as a moral craft. For Tom, two aspects of teaching imbue it with moral meaning: the relationship between teacher and student is a moral relationship, and the curriculum, as selectively planned and taught, reflects a desired goal. Craft can be described as an activity involving the application of analytical knowledge, synthetic thinking, and technical skill to a specific situation. By combining the moral aspects of teaching with the notion of craft, teaching as a moral craft is the “reflective, diligent, and skillful approach toward the pursuit of desirable ends” (p. 128).

Noddings' (1984) ethic of caring has been very influential over the past 20 years. Central to Noddings' work is her fundamental premise about teaching: that the relationship between teacher and student is at the core of teaching; concern for students comes before concern for content, assessment, and other aspects of schooling. These aspects are not ignored, nor considered of minor importance; but they are understood first and foremost through their connection to students and their learning.

Palmer (1998) offers another view of teaching and teachers' lives, one that draws primarily on personal reflection with a strong spiritual dimension. His deep explorations of his own work as a teacher and that of other teachers are inspirational rather than academic in tone and intent. While not based upon empirical investigations, his writings have nevertheless greatly influenced a number of researchers.

The ways teachers engage students in activities, indeed, the ways teachers act in all ways in the classroom, was the focus of the Moral Life of Schools Project undertaken by Jackson, Boostrom, and Hansen (1993). Through their extensive observations of K-12 classrooms in the USA, the authors sought to uncover and understand how the moral is present in schools. From their observations, two sets of categories emerged. The first set included five types of activities through which teachers and schools overtly teach moral content or nurture moral behaviors: moral instruction as a formal part of the curriculum, moral instruction as woven into the set curriculum, the use of ritual and

ceremonies, visual displays of moral messages, and spontaneously introduced moral commentary in the flow of classroom activities.

The second set of categories involves practices of teachers and schools that intentionally or unintentionally are of moral significance. This set of three categories include: the moral content of classroom practices and rules; the curricular substructure, a set of assumptions which allow teachers to teach and students to learn; and expressive morality—the moral significance of the many ways teachers act and speak in classrooms.

Hansen (2001) has continued to explore many of these themes. His central premise throughout is that teaching draws its moral significance from the very nature of its practice. Thus, rather than seeking moral meaning from sources outside of teaching, for example from philosophical discussions of virtue, teaching as a practice is itself imbued with moral significance.

For Fenstermacher (1992), the moral in teaching is present in the manner of the teacher. This position is based upon an Aristotelian view of how virtue is acquired by the young: teachers act as models and moral agents in the lives of their students. Teachers who act justly, honestly, and with compassion and tolerance, express these virtues through their teaching, thus instilling these traits and virtues in their students. Manner, then, is seen as separate from a teacher's method of teaching, the behaviors teachers use that promote children's learning.

Sockett (1993) offers a moral basis for teacher professionalism by describing its four dimensions: the professional community, professional expertise, professional accountability, and the professional ideal of service. Yet, Sockett acknowledges that discussions of teaching and teacher professionalism sorely lack any type of moral vocabulary and moral language. Thus, Sockett frames each of the dimensions of teacher professionalism in moral terms through which the descriptions and criteria for the quality of practice are guided by moral rather than technical language.

Another major study conducted by Noblit and Dempsey (1996) examined the ways schools and communities construct values and virtues that often guide their teaching practices and curricula. Through interviews with teachers, students, families, and community members, Noblit and Dempsey uncovered how the virtues and values deemed important by each group were a major moral influence on teachers and children.

More recently, Buzzelli and Johnston (2002) have examined the moral nature of classroom interaction through the lenses of language, power, and culture. The examination of teaching practices through these lenses uncovers the moral significance of various types of classroom discourse, of classroom rules, and of the ways that majority

culture teachers can limit the participation of minority students in classroom learning activities. These findings have implications for how teachers' practices directly and indirectly influence the ways students are represented through curricular materials and subsequently how educational practices contribute to the identities that students construct of themselves and that are attributed to them by peers.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Two articles in the mid-1990s can be said to have opened up inquiry into the moral dimensions of language education. Edge (1996), in a paper examining what he called the "cross-cultural paradoxes" of the profession of English teaching, identified three such paradoxes of values. These were first, the mismatch that is frequently found between the values of what Edge calls "TESOL culture" (p. 9) and the national educational cultures in which English teaching is conducted. Second, the fact that in any context, English teaching is unavoidably wrapped up with political issues of both "liberation and domination" (p. 17). Third, the paradox between "respect for the right to be different" (p. 21), a value Edge claims that the field of English teaching embraces, and the intolerance sometimes expressed by the students whose views teachers are supposed to respect.

Johnston, Juhász, Marken, and Ruiz (1998) in turn, took a much more "local" and small-scale approach, examining discourse from the classrooms of three ESL teachers at a university-based intensive English program (IEP) to reveal aspects of what they called the "moral agency" of the teacher: that is, the ways in which the teacher's actions and words convey usually implicit moral messages to her learners. Johnston et al. borrowed part of the theoretical framework of "categories of moral influence" proposed by Jackson et al. (1993) (see earlier), and looked at the three categories said to capture the "morality of teaching" in introducing implicit moral messages into teaching: classroom rules and regulations; the curricular substructure; and expressive morality. Johnston et al. (1998) identified examples of all three categories in the classroom data they studied. They argued further that in relatively culturally homogeneous classrooms, such as those studied by Jackson et al. (1993), there is likely to be a large degree of shared understanding between teacher and students about elements such as the curricular substructure. However, in multilingual and multicultural classrooms there may be profound disjunctures between the moral messages sent, usually unconsciously, by teachers and the way those messages are interpreted, also usually unconsciously, by different learners.

Subsequent research in the moral dimensions of language education has partially followed the lead of these two pieces and has concentrated

around certain key topics. These include: the moral dimensions of classroom interaction; values and politics; professional ethics; and the role of religious beliefs in language teaching.

Various aspects of the moral dimensions of classroom interaction have been examined. Ewald (in press) looked at student perceptions of critical moral incidents in a US university Spanish classroom; she found the students highly sensitive to moral messages in the words and actions of their teachers. Johnson (2003) described clashes of values between a white American female mentor teacher and an African Muslim man in a practicum (teaching practice) placement in a US IEP. Buzzelli and Johnston (2002) looked at a range of classroom issues including, in particular, cultural aspects of minority children in mainstream classes.

As Edge's (1996) work indicates, moral values have always been at least implicitly present in the expanding literature on the politics of language teaching (Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 1992; see also Canagarajah, *The Politics of English Language Teaching*, Volume 1). Above all, as Edge pointed out, the central moral question that this literature raises for teachers is how to position themselves morally in relation to national and international political realities in which they are implicated, yet with which they may vehemently disagree.

Along with inquiry into morality, narrowly conceived, there have also been several investigations into ethical issues in language teaching, many of which cover similar ground to that found in research on morality. (It is worth pointing out that in philosophy no distinction is usually drawn between morals and ethics, though some authors, e.g., Buzzelli and Johnston (2002), suggest that it can be helpful to use *ethics* to refer to codes of conduct and to behavior, and *morality* to refer to personal beliefs.) Research has looked, amongst other things, at the ethics of testing (Hamp-Lyons, 1998; Shohamy, 2001), and at the centrality of ethical issues in the work of teachers (Hafernik, Messerschmitt, and Vandrick, 2002).

Finally, there have been the beginnings of attention to the vast area formed by the intersection between language teaching and religious beliefs, a domain in which moral values are particularly prominent and often highly contentious. This is an area of central concern in language education, in particular because of the strong connection between English teaching and mission work worldwide, an issue on which moral views are strongly divided in the field. The Christian viewpoint has been put forward by Smith and Carvill (2000) and Snow (2001). On the other hand, there have recently been severe critiques of evangelical involvement in English teaching around the world, amongst others by Pennycook and Coutand-Marin (2003) and Edge (2003). There are also the beginnings of empirical research on evangelical teachers by nonevangelicals (Varghese and Johnston, 2004).

The most extensive examination of the moral dimensions of language teaching to date is probably Johnston (2003). In his book, which focuses specifically on English language teaching while considering examples from different national settings, Johnston looks in particular at five major areas, some of which overlap with the areas outlined earlier: the moral dimensions of classroom discourse and classroom interaction; moral aspects of critical pedagogy and the political dimensions of language teaching; the morality of forms of assessment and evaluation; the moral underpinnings of language teacher identity, including religious identity; and the role of values in various aspects of teacher professional development.

Johnston's work is built around the notion of *moral dilemmas*: that is to say, points at which teachers are obliged to choose between two or more courses of action knowing that any possible choice will have both good and bad consequences, many of which are largely unpredictable. Johnston identifies a number of key moral dilemmas frequently encountered in the field of English language teaching, categorizing them into dilemmas of pedagogy, of teacher–student relations, and of beliefs and values (pp. 145–146). Johnston claims that moral ambiguity and polyvalence are permanent features of all teaching, including language teaching; but he argues that an awareness of the moral dimensions of teaching and of the moral consequences of alternative courses of action is crucial for effective decision-making in classrooms and schools.

In summary, it is clear that inquiry into the moral dimensions of language teaching has extended to numerous aspects of classroom teaching, schools, and educational systems, and has frequently overlapped with areas such as ethics, the politics of language teaching, social responsibility, teacher education and development, and religion. Many of these lines of inquiry continue to be expanded as the following section indicates.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

A number of projects currently in progress expand on or otherwise develop many of the ideas and topics outlined earlier, and also introduce new fields of interest and new theoretical possibilities.

Research has continued to look at the ways in which moral issues are enacted in classrooms. Johnston, Ruiz, and Juhász (2002) conducted a follow-up study to Johnston, Juhász, Marken, and Ruiz (1998) in which they examined student perspectives on moral critical incidents in an adult ESL classroom. Student perspectives often differed from teacher and researcher perspectives and from each other; but all students perceived the classroom as a place of moral interaction. Zahler

(2003) looked at one nonnative English-speaking ESL teacher in a North American IEP, analyzing his relations with his students in terms of the solidarity-authority distinction.

A number of scholars have followed Johnston's (2003) lead in extending research on the moral dimensions of teaching into language teacher education. For example, Johnston and Buzzelli (in progress) describe a study of two teacher education programs, one of which is an MA program in TESOL and applied linguistics. The authors' goal is to explore real-life moral dilemmas of teaching and teacher education while seeking new theoretical and conceptual lenses with which to understand classroom and program events; they are particularly interested in the moral dimensions of community, ideology, and identity as these play out in the context of teacher education classrooms.

Wong and Canagarajah (in progress), both evangelical Christians, have undertaken to attempt a professional dialog concerning the significant presence of evangelicals in the field of English teaching. Their book contains chapters and responses by both evangelical and nonevangelical (often non-Christian) scholars, in an attempt to find common ground.

Lastly, research on the political dimensions of language teaching has moved beyond the relatively narrow confines of critical pedagogy to take in more varied perspectives. An example of this development is Edge's (2006) edited volume, which offers multiple perspectives on responses in the field of English teaching to US neo-imperialism, especially in the post-9/11 world.

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

The problems and difficulties of research on the moral dimensions of language teaching are both evident and numerous.

First, there is the most obvious matter of how "morality" is understood and defined for research purposes. Conceptual work is still needed to clarify what is meant by basic terms such as "moral," "right," and "good." There is an ever-present temptation to drift toward everyday understandings of these terms, which can be dangerous and misleading.

Second, the location of morality and values at the intersection between the social and the individual makes it hard to attempt valid generalizations about moral dilemmas. Societal values (for example, individualism, collectivism, privacy, solidarity) can be identified, but it is hard to say to what extent particular individuals share them. Working at the intersection of cultures and languages compounds the difficulties of research.

Third, the aspects of morality that are of most interest are also those that are buried deepest and are least available for inspection. For this

reason, speculation is often the only recourse for the researcher. For example, in the study by Johnston, Ruiz, and Juhász (2002) mentioned earlier, looking at student perspectives on critical moral incidents in an ESL classroom, the researchers interviewed the students extensively, yet even so, the interviews themselves still had to be analyzed and interpreted. As with much cultural and psychological behavior, motivations and perceptions are in most cases simply not available for easy introspective access for research purposes.

Fourth, there are considerable barriers to conducting effective research across cultural and linguistic borders. Linguistic and discourse limitations make it very difficult to find stable points of vantage from which to work conceptually and to analyze and evaluate data and evidence. Notions such as “morality” or “right,” for instance, do not translate easily across languages.

Lastly, it is worth noting that in some areas of research, objectivity is hard to come by. A case in point is the topic of religious beliefs in language teaching, in particular that looking at the presence of evangelical Christians in English teaching. The professional discourse on this topic has been marked by extreme polarization, and it remains unclear whether it is even possible to find a common language in which to conduct a debate (Varghese and Johnston, 2004). This seems a reflection of the broader fact that questions of morality and values tend to “push people’s buttons,” and that this can happen even in academic circles and can seriously compromise possibilities for inquiry.

The net result of the problems and difficulties reviewed here is that all work on the moral dimensions of teaching must acknowledge its own limitations, and the field as a whole must move forward cautiously and tentatively. Findings must always be regarded as provisional and subject to change.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Research on the moral dimensions of language teaching is in its infancy, and numerous important future directions suggest themselves. First of all, a deeper understanding of the moral dimensions of language classroom discourse necessitates discourse-analytic research in a range of contexts and settings. Understandings of moral meanings differ widely across cultural and national boundaries, and it would be a grave mistake to imagine that the moral landscape, say, of North American classrooms can be used to understand that of classrooms in other countries—quite aside from the radical differences from setting to setting within each country.

Second, as pointed out earlier, values differ significantly from one culture to the next, and these differences have a profound impact on

local educational cultures; inquiry into the moral landscapes of language classrooms in different national settings would do much to give this work a fuller international and comparative dimension.

Third, a crucial arena in which moral values and issues are played out is that of curriculum and coursebooks; the moral dimensions of published materials, and the moral consequences of choices about which vocabulary, what form of pronunciation, what grammar, and what pragmatics competencies to teach is an area that is ripe for inquiry (see e.g., Smith and Carvill, 2000, pp. 55–56). This matter also extends to the question of the representation of cultures, individuals, and their values in curricular materials (see Buzzelli and Johnston, 2002, pp. 97–105).

Fourth, the specifically moral aspects of the intersection between language teaching and power also require closer examination (see Janks, *Teaching Language and Power*, Volume 1); whether considering the work of expatriate teachers of English around the world, or the presentation of unfamiliar cultures and peoples in the foreign language classroom, the juncture of individual or communally held moral beliefs and political hegemonies represents a major yet under-investigated aspect of language teaching.

Fifth, and finally, there is still much more work to be done in the area of religious beliefs and their place in language teaching. The work on evangelical Christianity mentioned in the previous sections needs to be expanded to include other forms of Christianity and other religions; there is an ever more pressing need to look closely at the complex moral dilemmas that arise when teachers' personal religious beliefs directly affect classroom instruction and relations with students.

***See Also:*** Joan Kelly Hall: *Language Education and Culture (Volume 1)*; Suresh Canagarajah: *The Politics of English Language Teaching (Volume 1)*; Hilary Janks: *Teaching Language and Power (Volume 1)*

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# **Section 1**

## **Literacies and Social Theory**

## NEW LITERACIES, NEW TIMES: DEVELOPMENTS IN LITERACY STUDIES

### INTRODUCTION

This chapter attempts to survey briefly some of the new directions evident in literacy studies. I begin with an outline of the current theoretical frameworks in particular work in New Literacy Studies, in multimodality, and in theories of technology and artefact before considering some of the educational responses evident in different countries as they come to terms with the challenges posed by new literacies. I also make some suggestions as to why it is that policy in some countries—notably the USA and UK—seems to be facing in the opposite direction to that which this research base tells us is needed.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS: LITERACIES ACROSS CULTURAL CONTEXTS

#### *New Literacy Studies (NLS)*

What has come to be termed New Literacy Studies (NLS) refers to a body of work that for the last 20 years has approached the study of literacy not as an issue of measurement or of skills but as social practices that vary from one context to another. In policy circles, on the other hand, dominant voices still tend to characterize local people as illiterate (currently media in the UK are full of such accounts, cf. Street, 1997), while on the ground ethnographic and literacy-sensitive observation indicates a rich variety of practices (Barton and Hamilton, 1998; Heath, 1983). When literacy campaigns are set up to bring literacy to the illiterate—light into darkness, as it is frequently characterized—those adopting the more ethnographic and culturally sensitive perspective of NLS first ask what local literacy practices are there and how do they relate to the literacy practices of the campaigners (see chapters in Volume 2 of this encyclopedia). In many cases, the latter fails to take; few people attend classes and those who do drop out (cf., Abadzi, 2003) precisely because they are being required to learn the literacy practices of an outside and often alien group. Even though in the long-run many local people do want to change their literacy practices and take on some of those associated with western or urban society, a crude imposition of the latter that

marginalizes and denies local experience is, from an NLS perspective, likely to alienate even those who were initially motivated.

Research, then, has a task to do in making visible the complexity of local, everyday, community literacy practices and challenging dominant stereotypes and myopia. Much of the work in this ethnographic tradition (Barton and Hamilton, 1999; Collins, 1995; Gee, 1999; Heath, 1993; Street, 1993) has focused on the everyday meanings and uses of literacy in specific cultural contexts and linked directly to how we understand the work of literacy programs, which themselves then become subject to ethnographic enquiry (Robinson-Pant, 2005; Rogers, 2005).

In trying to characterize these new approaches to understanding and defining literacy, I have referred to a distinction between an autonomous model and an ideological model of literacy (Street, 1984). The autonomous model of literacy works from the assumption that literacy in itself, autonomously, will have effects on other social and cognitive practices. The autonomous model, I argue, disguises the cultural and ideological assumptions that underpin it and that can then be presented as though they are neutral and universal. Research in the social practice approach challenges this view and suggests that, in practice dominant approaches based on the autonomous model are simply imposing western (or urban) conceptions of literacy onto other cultures (Street, 2001). The alternative, ideological model of literacy offers a more culturally sensitive view of literacy practices as they vary from one context to another. This model starts from different premises than the autonomous model. It posits instead that literacy is a social practice, not simply a technical and neutral skill, and that it is always embedded in socially constructed epistemological principles. The ways in which people address reading and writing are themselves rooted in conceptions of knowledge, identity, and being. Literacy, in this sense, is always contested, both its meanings and its practices, hence particular versions of it are always ideological; they are always rooted in a particular world-view often accompanied by a desire, conscious or unconscious, for that view of literacy to dominate and to marginalize others (Gee, 1990). The argument about social literacies (Street, 1995) suggests that engaging with literacy is always a social act, even from the outset. The ways in which teachers or facilitators and their students interact is already a social practice that affects the nature of the literacy learned and the ideas about literacy held by the participants, especially new learners and their positions in relations of power. It is not valid to suggest that literacy can be given neutrally and then its social effects only experienced or added on afterwards.

For these reasons, as well as the failure of many traditional literacy programs (Abadzi, 1996; Street, 1999), academics, researchers, and

practitioners working in literacy in different parts of the world have come to the conclusion that the autonomous model of literacy, on which much of the practice and programs have been based, was not an appropriate intellectual tool, either for understanding the diversity of reading and writing around the world or for designing the practical programs this diversity required, which may fit better within an ideological model (Aikman, 1999; Doronilla, 1996; Heath, 1983; Hornberger, 1997, 2002; Kalman, 1999; King, 1994; Robinson-Pant, 1997; Wagner, 1993). The question this approach raises for policy makers and program designers is, then, not simply that of the impact of literacy, to be measured in terms of a neutral developmental index, but rather of how local people take hold of the new communicative practices being introduced to them, as Kulick and Stroud's (1993) ethnographic description of missionaries bringing literacy to New Guinea villagers makes clear. Literacy, in this sense, is then already part of a power relationship and how people take hold of it is contingent on social and cultural practices and not just on pedagogic and cognitive factors. These relationships and contingencies raise questions that need to be addressed in any literacy program: What is the power relation between the participants? What are the resources? Where are people going if they take on one form of literacy rather than another literacy? How do recipients challenge the dominant conceptions of literacy?

Before addressing educational responses to these new perspectives I would like to signal two other theoretical frameworks that are helpful in considering the issues associated with literacy practices in the new conditions in which they operate in the contemporary. One perspective known as Multimodality is particularly associated with the work of Günter Kress in the UK and concerns technology and cultural artefacts.

## WORK IN PROGRESS

### *Multimodality*

Kress (2003) argues that educational systems in particular and western societies more broadly have overemphasized the significance of writing and speech as the central, salient modes of representation. It has been assumed that language is the primary site for meaning making and that therefore educational systems should concentrate on speech and writing in training new generations. The work of Kress and his colleagues (cf., Jewitt, 2006; Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996; Kress, Jewitt, Bourne, Franks, Hardcastle, Jones, and Reid, 2005) has attempted to redress this emphasis in favor of a recognition of how other modes—visual, gestural, kinaesthetic, three-dimensional—play their role in

key communicative practices. As he and I say in the Foreword to a book significantly entitled, *Travel Notes from the New Literacy Studies: Case Studies of Practice* (Pahl and Rowsell, 2006):

So one major emphasis in work on Multimodality is to develop a “language of description” for these modes that enables us to see their characteristic forms, their affordances and the distinctive ways in which they interact with each other. [Just as] those in the field of New Literacy Studies (NLS) have attempted to provide a language of description for viewing literacy as a social practice in its social environments [so, in Multimodality] there is an intent to change many emphases of the past – especially in educational contexts of the most varied kinds—from literacy as a static skill and to describe instead the multiple literacy practices as they vary across cultures and contexts. (Kress and Street, 2006, p. viii)

Kress explicitly links his theoretical and research interest in the nature of signs and the shift towards more multimodal understandings, with concern for the kinds of social changes signalled by Luke in the opening quotation. He argues that there is now a burning need to link ‘issues in representation and communication with the profound changes in the social, cultural, economic and technological world, issues for which there are as yet no answers’. (Kress and Street, 2006, p. ix)

The kinds of questions this approach opens up for those interested in education and its role in these new times include: What *is* a mode, how do modes interact, how can we best describe the relationship between events and practices, and how do we avoid becoming the agents producing the new constraints of newly described and imposed grammars? These questions are different from those often being asked in schools, as we shall see later, but they may be more relevant to the age we live in than the kinds of questions that arise from the autonomous model of literacy. On analogy with Literacy Studies, then, those working with different modes may need likewise to develop an ideological model of multimodality. It is in this sense that I am suggesting the present Chapter is concerned with the kinds of questions we ask and the way we frame them rather than, at this stage, to posit definitive answers. If we can begin to find answers that will serve us for educational purposes then, I argue, they will arise from having posed the questions in this way.

There is one further set of questions and of new concepts that I would like to address before looking at the ways in which educationists are responding to the demands of new times. These I characterize as artefacts in our cultural activity.

*Globalization, Technology, and Literacy*

One response to the growing role of technologies of communication in our lives is to overstate their ability to determine our social and cultural activity. This tradition has been evident in earlier approaches to literacy, where overemphasis on the technology of literacy (cf., Goody, 1977) has led to assumption about the ability of literacy in itself, as an autonomous force, to have effects, such as the raising of cognitive abilities, the generation of social and economic development, and the shift to modernity. All of these features of the autonomous model were rooted in assumptions about technological determinism that the ideological model and new social practice approaches to literacy have challenged and discredited. And yet, we now find the same array of distorting lenses being put on as we ask, what are the consequences of the present generation of new technologies, those associated in particular with the internet and with digital forms of communication? While these forms evidently do have affordances in Kress's (2003) sense, it would be misleading and unhelpful to read from the technology into the effects without first positing the social mediating factors that give meaning to such technologies. How, then, can we take sufficient account of the technological dimension of new literacies without sliding in to such determinism? A range of literature from different intellectual traditions has begun to provide answers which, I suggest, if linked with the frameworks provided by New Literacy Studies and by Multimodality, may begin to help us see the new literacies in a fuller and more rounded way (see Schultz and Hull, *Literacies In and Out of School in the United States*, Volume 2; Leander and Lewis, *Literacy and Internet Technologies*, Volume 2; and Mahiri, *Literacies in the Lives of Urban Youth*, Volume 2, for rich attempts to address exactly these issues).

*Artefacts and "Figured Worlds"*

One such way of seeing is put forward by Bartlett and Holland (2002) who, like Kress, link their account to the social dimension of literacy practices already being developed in New Literacy Studies. They "propose to strengthen a practice theoretical approach to literacy studies by specifying the space of literacy practice, examining in particular the locally operant figured world of literacy identities in practice, and artefacts" (p. 12). Drawing upon Holland's earlier work on figured worlds, they ask us to think about technology and artefacts as resources for seeing and representing the world, for figuring our identities in cultural worlds that, as Brandt and Clinton (2002) reminded us, may exist before we enter them:

Figured worlds are invoked, animated, contested, and enacted through artefacts, activities, and identities in practice. Cultural worlds are continuously figured in practice through the use of cultural artefacts, or objects inscribed by the collective attribution of meaning. An artefact can assume a material aspect (which may be as transient as a spoken word or as durable as a book) and/or an ideal or conceptual aspect. These objects are constructed as a part of and in relation to recognized activities. Artefacts meaningful to the figured world of literacy might include blackboards or textbooks (in the classroom), reading assessment scales, road-signs or signing ceremonies (in public space). Such artefacts “open up” figured worlds; they are the means by which figured worlds are evoked, grown into individually and collectively developed. . . . Cultural artefacts are essential to the making and remaking of human actors. (Bartlett and Holland, 2002, pp. 12–13)

If, then, we think of artefacts as tools of self-management and as ways of figuring who we are and what is going on, then when we enter, say, a classroom we will see the artefacts available there—blackboards or textbooks—as not only functional but also symbolic in their ability to evoke the habitus of that social environment. The work of the classroom, its establishment of particular kinds of social relationships amongst participants—the role of teacher, the assumptions about being a learner, the rights to speaking and writing inscribed in situ—is partly done through artefacts. Not only do we enact all of these social practices through personal, human interaction but we also call upon objects that we, or others, have placed there to help stabilize and assure us of what kind of social practice is required. Brandt and Clinton (2002) make this point very clearly with respect to another such social space of literacy practice, a bank:

. . . if you enter a bank to arrange for a loan, your interaction with the loan officer is framed by a number of objects, beginning with the building itself; the furniture, and so on, proceeding to forms, files, documents, contract, calculator, computer, data bases, the presence of which enables you to interact as loan applicant to loan officer in a focused way. The objects help to stabilize a piece of reality so that even if the two of you engage in friendly banter about some other subject there is still no confusion about what the two of you are doing. Things hold you in place. (Brandt and Clinton, 2002, pp. 344–345)

One might apply similar analysis to the classroom and consider how the objects there help stabilize pedagogic interaction so that, for

instance, even if teacher and pupils talk socially about last night's game or about some local gossip as part of their binding and stabilizing social relations, they all know the frame within which this social discourse takes place. The objects help assure them, as in the bank, that the underlying framing discourse is that of teaching and learning within specific institutional settings. Brandt and Clinton (2002) link this local use of objects to their interest in the broader, global features of literacy, using the bank example in ways that again we might extend to schooling:

Moreover, these same objects—forms, files, contract, calculator, computer, data base—aggregate your loan transaction for use in other settings; you become part of somebody else's calculations—at the local bank, in a regional clearinghouse, maybe eventually (we hope not) in bankruptcy court, etc. Eventually, perhaps, your transaction, aggregated, enters into decisions by a distant stockholder or makes its way into a debate on the floor of the U.S. Senate. . . . the interest rates, the disclosure language, the reporting mechanisms, the counting machines all will transform this local literacy event into somebody else's meaning and send it into somebody else's setting where the meanings of the original context will not matter. Objects especially provide for and speak to connections beyond the here and now. . . . Our objects are us but more than us, bigger than we are; as they accumulate human investments in them over time, they can and do push back at us as "social facts" independent and to be reckoned with. We find this an accurate description of literacy in its historical, material, and especially technological manifestations. (pp. 337–356)

Similarly in the classroom the artefacts, including those of literacy, signify not only immediate and local purposes but also bring in messages from outside. The equivalent to the clearinghouse and the floor of the Senate may be the local educational authorities and the national ministries as well as broader, even more global notions of the role of education in new times, exactly the theme with which we are here concerned. These accounts of literacy as artefacts, and the references to habitus, practice and discourse can, then, provide us with a language of description, as Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) call for, in articulating and clarifying what is going on in new literacy practices and how they are linked to new social practices on the global stage. The language of phonics and of decoding may be helpful in helping children learn immediate aspects of the letter code (cf., Adams, 1993; Snow, 1998) but cannot provide much help in locating such activity in the broader frames that are continually impinging on our local practices.

PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES; IMPLICATIONS  
FOR EDUCATION

One of the most recent summaries of the literature in the field of New Literacy Studies and the responses to it that we have been discussing here provides a helpful link between these academic studies and their application, or take up, in educational circles. Reder and Davila (2005) comment

As . . . theories of context and literacy continue to develop, it is important that they connect with issues of educational policy and practice. Ethnographically-based literacy studies have inspired many teachers and literacy practitioners with their accounts of the diversity of learners, literacy practices, and contexts and with their insights about the ideological content of school-based literacy. But such literacy studies are open to criticism that they have not developed a practical alternative pedagogy for literacy . . . Teachers may be convinced by the insights of NLS, but they must work within the increasingly narrow constraints of the school system . . . while sociolinguists argue that varieties of literacy are structurally equal and practice theorists decry the arbitrary dominance of one form of literacy over another, practitioners must decide whether and how to teach dominant literacies without becoming complicit in the reproduction of power (Kim, 2003, pp. 182–183).

This is a major challenge for literacy educators, whether teaching in K-12 schools or adult education programs, as contributors to this volume make evident. Better theories about how contexts shape literacy practices should help teachers to see the literacy events in their classrooms and programs in relation to the multiple contexts in which they are situated, including the local classroom context and the broader and more distant contexts of home, community, and beyond. Insights derived from such research and the theory-building it would drive can help educators to develop new models of language and literacy education with applications to improved curricula and programs.

*Educational Responses*

How, then, have schools responded to both these insights and the social changes that accompany them? Amongst the many studies of the links between ICT and literacy, Abbott's (2002) study for the UK: National Centre for Language and Literacy; in the UK, and Jim Gee's (2004) work on video games and what they teach provide models for future research and practice. One rather negative example of how schools

are responding is provided by Leander (2005), another of the leading researchers in this field. He describes a US high school that appeared to adapt to the new technologies by making available wireless access to the Internet and giving laptops to all of its pupils. The difficulties such a strategy can cause, as traditional pedagogies clash with new frames of reference and new literacy practices, provides a case study for many such encounters:

Ever since it had implemented its laptop program, Ridgeview struggled with a number of contradictions between traditional schooling and ubiquitous Internet access. As one teacher put it, "We have opened Pandora's box." Even as Ridgeview had heavily invested in providing Internet access to its students, it has also structured, over three years' time, an array of implicit and explicit means of closing this access. In short, Ridgeview was a contradiction of social spaces: on the one hand it presented itself and technically structured itself to be an "open" wired social space for 21st Century girls, while on the other hand, official school practices and discourses domesticated, or pedagogized (Street and Street, 1991), potential openings of space-time provided by the wireless network. In official school practice, the wireless network was "rewired" or closed off and anchored in ways that reproduce traditional school space-time (Leander, 2005, p. 1)

He wants to make it clear that it is not his intent to simply offer a researcher critique of teachers. It is not that researchers understand what is needed and schools are behind the times. The Ridgeview example precisely shows that schools are indeed aware of the needs of new technology for their pupils. What the example brings out is the complexity of working with the contradictions such approaches entail. Drawing upon the kinds of theorizing developed in the earlier part of his paper, Leander tries to understand and explain those contradictions. He notes how artefacts located in specific time-space contexts may bring with them associations and identities that figure other worlds than those with which many participants are familiar. And then, as the many writers who refer to the notion of habitus make clear, those participants draw upon cultural and epistemological values with which they are familiar to handle these new worlds. It is these conflicting worlds and their associated habitus that create the contradictions we see in this example and the many others like it with which readers will be familiar. This chapter, like Leander's (see also Leander and Lewis, *Literacy and Internet Technologies*, Volume 2, and Schultz and Hull, *Literacies In and Out of School in the United States*, Volume 2), is about trying to understand and describe these issues rather than claiming already to have answers. In this case, the questions circle around the meanings

of new technologies in time-space contexts accustomed to other values and practices. How will change come about?

These approaches to literacy and learning present a dilemma for those in policy circles, such as the “No Child Left Behind” framework in the USA (see critiques in Larson, 2003) or aspects of the National Literacy Strategy in the UK. Marsh (2004), a researcher at Sheffield University in the UK has done considerable research on issues of gender, social use, and Multimodality in UK schools. In the passage quoted here, she exposes the limitations of the official strategy on learning literacy in that country in contrast with what such rich and detailed accounts of social literacies might tell us:

... the National Literacy Strategy Framework privileges particular types of texts and producers of texts. All references to producers of texts use the words “writer”, “author” or “poet”, and there is no mention of producers, directors or creators. It could be argued that the term “author” is used in a generic sense to include authorship of televisual and media texts, but the word is most frequently used in conjunction with terms that relate to the written word. This privileging of the written word is clearly stated in supporting documentation. The *Teachers’ Notes on Shared and Guided Reading and Writing at KS2* (Department For Education And Employment [DfEE], 1998b) suggest that, “Although the emphasis in the Literacy Hour is upon books, children should have plenty of opportunity to read a range of media texts” (DfEE, 1998b, p. 7). This marginalisation of media texts can also be identified in the current National Curriculum (DfEE/QCA, 1999). Media texts are not mentioned at all in the key stage 1 orders [ages 5–7] [and only marginally] at key stage 2 [ages 8–10]. . . . [There] is a clear prioritisation of print-based texts, with media texts used merely to support children’s understanding of the former. (pp. 249–262)

Marsh calls upon much of the literature cited here, such as Kress, NLS etc to propose an alternative approach to the literacy curriculum. She asks; “How might we identify the kind of popular, “socio-cultural literacy practices” evident in children’s everyday lives and build upon themes in developing educational curriculum and pedagogy?”

### *New Directions*

In this chapter I have suggested that the ethnographic approach adopted by many researchers and practitioners in the New Literacy Studies could fruitfully link with work in the field of Multimodality and of

new technologies to inform policy and practice in education that could help us see and then build upon such practices. The development of an ideological model of multimodality may enable those working in these fields, with different modes and new technologies, to build on the insights developed in the literacy field, starting with the rejection of an autonomous model that might otherwise lead to mode or technical determinism. Drawing upon the rich insights by researchers and practitioners signalled earlier and evident in the chapters in this volume, we might begin to see how we could learn and teach the new (and the old) literacies we will need for the developing century.

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## CRITICAL RACE THEORY

### INTRODUCTION

Critical race theory (CRT) is the latest iteration of the struggle by people of color in the USA for freedom. It builds upon earlier efforts of political and social activism by César Chavez, Anna Julia (Haywood) Copper, Frederick Douglass, Martin Luther King, Rosa Parks, W. E. B. Du Bois, Sojourner Truth, David Walker, Carter G. Woodson, Malcolm X., and many unsung heroes of all races, but especially those from the US Black Power and Chicano Movements. CRT can be characterized as a modern day response to Walker's (1830) charge that African Americans develop "a spirit of inquiry and investigation respecting our miseries and wretchedness" in this *Republic Land of Liberty* (p. 5, emphasis in the original). Long before CRT emerged, African American scholars and educators (Cooper, 1892; Douglass, 1845; DuBois, 1899, 1903; and Woodson, 1933) critically examined relationships among race, law, and education to reveal the oppression under which African Americans suffered in US society. These scholars offered alternative perspectives of their humanity that challenged the legal system and dominant and racist ideas promoted in science and education. CRT is not limited to individual acts of prejudice; activists and scholars have long believed that it is equally important to address epistemological and ideological racism along with psychological and emotional effects of racism situated in US social and political systems and institutions. A review of the extant literacy research reveals that scholars are using CRT to form a body of literature that, collectively, is in opposition to the traditional, sanctioned, and celebrated research that so often forms the core body of knowledge in the field. To understand the nexus of CRT and literacy, it is imperative to review the genesis, definitions, basic concepts, and tenets of CRT from legal studies, followed by its evolution in educational and literacy research.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

CRT scholars acknowledge that there is no definitive starting point of CRT. They note that it began in the late 1960s and 1970s, in part as a response to the slow and deliberate enforcement of civil rights legislation; as a response to the fledging critical legal scholarship (CLS) movement that sought to redress civil rights legislation, and, in part the failure of the CLS to address issues of race from the perspective of people of color. Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, and Thomas (1995a) describe its evolution in a chain of events, beginning with protests of Harvard Law students over the University's response to Bell's teaching of his Alternative Course in 1981, a course designed to interrogate race and the law. Next, they point to Delgado's article in which he reviewed and critiqued civil rights and antidiscrimination law. Then, after scholars of color began to participate in the Critical Legal Studies (CLS) conferences—established by white male left-leaning legal scholars—they found CLS members did not explicitly address issues of race and discrimination or their intersection with the law. Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, and Thomas (1995b) argue that both movements “reject the prevailing orthodoxy that scholarship should be or could be neutral and objective” (p. xiii). The CLS conferences of 1986 and 1987 were turning point years for the genesis of CRT as more scholars of color voiced their concerns over the lack of racial consciousness in the proceedings. Finally, in 1987 at a CLS conference, Crenshaw organized the Critical Race Theory Workshop marking a pivotal point of departure from CLS. It was during this workshop that the name critical race theory emerged as a moniker for the theoretical orientation and movement among the scholars who sought to “reexamine the terms by which race and racism have been negotiated in American consciousness, and to recover and revitalize the radical tradition of race-consciousness among African-Americans and other peoples of color” (Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, and Thomas, 1995b, p. xiv). Another meeting outcome was a themed issue of *Harvard Civil Rights—Civil Liberties Law Review* entitled *Minority Critiques of the Critical Legal Studies Movement* (Delgado and Stefanic, 2000, p. xviii). Thus, the genesis of CRT began in contemporary CLS, and, perhaps unwittingly, takes up the charge of Walker as it demystifies the intersection and complicity of law and racism that are so deeply ingrained in all aspects of US society.

Derrick Bell is recognized as the intellectual founder of CRT. Tate (1997) traces Bell's development from Charles Hamilton Houston's rebuilding of Howard University's Law school, to the hiring of Thurgood Marshall (director-counsel of the NAACP legal defense fund), who subsequently hired Derrick Bell (director of a branch of the NAACP in Pittsburgh). Bell's journey as an opponent of racism

helped to inform his thinking about CRT. Other early adherents include John O. Calmore, Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, Richard Delgado, Alan D. Freeman, Neil Gotanda, Angela Harris, Cheryl I. Harris, Charles R. Lawrence, III, Mari Matsuda, and Patricia J. Williams.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, and Thomas (1995a) in their text, *Critical Race Theory: The key writings that formed the movement*, declare that CRT does not draw from a singular doctrine or methodology; instead it adopts an interdisciplinary approach that is informed by Black feminist theory, critical theory, CLS, feminism, liberalism, Marxism/neo-Marxism, poststructuralism, postmodernism, and neopragmatism. According to these editors, CRT scholarship is premised on two foundational ideas:

The first is to understand how a regime of white supremacy and its subordination of people of color have been created and maintained in America, and in particular, to examine the relationship between that social structure and professed ideals such as the “rule of law” and “equal protection.” The second is a desire not merely to understand the vexed bond between law and racial power but to change it (p. xiv).

They posit that race is “‘real’ in the sense that there is a material dimension and weight to the experience of being ‘raced’ in American society” (p. xxvi). However, CRT does not rest in a black/white binary; it includes Latino/a, Asian, and Native American groups (Parker and Lynn, 2002). Solórzano and Yosso (2001) suggest that CRT is informed by CSL, Cultural Nationalism, Ethnic and Women’s Studies, Internal Colonialism, and Marxist/Neo-Marxism and has inspired Latino/a Critical Studies (LatCrit), Asian American critical studies (AsianCrit), and Native American critical studies. It has spawned other critical studies: feminist race critical studies (FemCrit), queer critical studies, and whiteness studies (WhiteCrit). Latino/as and Asian Americans as cocreators address language rights, ethnicity, national origin discrimination, and immigration. Native American scholars also interrogate the law over land sovereignty (Lawrence, Matsuda, Delgado, and Crenshaw, 1993, p. 6). CRT centers on race, yet acknowledges intersectionality or multiple forms of oppression—class, gender, sexual orientation, nationality, ethnicity, language, and immigration rights—exist and are experienced among people of color.

Descriptions and definitions help illustrate the evolving nature of CRT. Bell (1995) observes that CRT takes a “hard-eyed view of racism as it is and our subordinate role in it . . . the struggle for freedom is, . . . a manifestation of our humanity which survives and grows stronger through

resistance to oppression, even if that oppression is never overcome” (p. 308). Lawrence, Matsuda, Delgado, and Crenshaw (1993) write that CRT emerged as part of an effort to “confront and oppose the dominant societal and institutional forces that maintained the structures of racism while professing the goal of dismantling racial discrimination” (p. 3). Calmore (1995) situates CRT within oppositional scholarship while emphasizing that CRT is unique as it “challenges the universality of white experience and judgment as the authoritative standard that binds people of color, and normatively measures, directs, controls, and regulates the terms of proper thought, expression, presentment, and behavior” (p. 318). Additionally, Delgado and Stefanic (2000) posit that the CRT movement

considers many of the same issues that conventional civil rights and ethnic studies discourses take up, but places them in a broader perspective that includes economics, history, context, group- and self-interest, and even feelings and the unconscious (p. 3).

Each of the earlier definitions pertains to the use of CRT in legal studies; however, these definitions, or revised versions, have been extended to the social sciences, including education. For example, Solórzano (1997) defines CRT as “a framework or set of basic perspectives, methods, and pedagogy that seeks to identify, analyze, and transform those structural and cultural aspects of society that maintain the subordination and marginalization of People of Color” (p. 6).

Lawrence, Matsuda, Delgado, and Crenshaw (1993) identify six defining elements that capture basic themes in CRT legal scholarship: (1) CRT recognizes that racism is endemic to American life, (2) CRT expresses skepticism toward dominant legal claims of neutrality, objectivity, color blindness, and meritocracy, (3) CRT challenges ahistoricism and insists on a contextual/historical analysis of the law, (4) CRT insists on recognition of the experiential knowledge of people of color and our communities of origin in analyzing law and society, (5) CRT is interdisciplinary and eclectic, and (6) CRT works toward the end of eliminating racial oppression as part of the broader goal of ending all forms of oppression (p. 6). Their work extends beyond theorizing to working to change society through political activism.

CRT is built on a number of foundational concepts that are important to understand. Drawing on the legal scholarship of three of the key leaders in the field, Bell, Delgado, and Crenshaw, select concepts are described

next. Bell's theories include (a) *constitutional contradiction*—an analysis of property rights and human rights as viewed through federal laws and where whiteness is valued as a property, both in terms of identity and privileges; (b) *interest convergence or material determinism*—racial equality is achieved as long as it does not threaten the status of whites; and (c) *price of racial remedies*—the cost, in terms of what whites must give up for racial redress of historic oppression.

Delgado's (1995) review of civil rights scholarship reveals that white scholars (1) exclude the scholarship of minority scholars and focused on one another's work; (2) share a limited ideological and perceptual understanding of the lives of people of color; (3) depend on their limited understandings of the lives of people of color, historically and contemporaneously to situate racial problems and solutions; (4) suggest solutions that failed to account for the past oppressions and did little to ameliorate the present for people of color; and (5) support and sustain notions of white racial superiority (pp. 47–51).

Crenshaw (1995) observes two conflicts in the idea of equality under antidiscrimination law: the expansive view and the restrictive view. The expansive view seeks outcomes from the courts that truly affect the lives of African Americans. By contrast, yet complementarily, the restrictive view is process oriented, it does not recall past injustices or seek immediate outcomes for all forms of subordination, but places its hope in the future on selective forms that do not impinge on the interests of whites (p. 105). Crenshaw acknowledges that some people may experience oppression from more than one source, race and gender, for example. She labels the site of multiple oppressions, intersectionality: structural, political, and representational. Each form is distinctive: *structural intersectionality* refers to structures within society that help maintain domination; *political intersectionality* focuses on politics that surround domination; and *representational intersectionality* addresses how the dominated are represented (Tate, 1997, p. 231). In the latter form, Crenshaw (1995) addresses the racist discourse that supports notions of color blindness and "Othering" that instills, instantiates, and nourishes the use of stereotypes and myths to describe the alleged inferiority of nonwhites (pp. 112–116).

CRT legal scholars acknowledge that the concept of race is socially constructed and is not a biological or scientific fact while simultaneously understanding that this construct operates as "fact" within the USA. Their goal, in part, is to critique race, racism, and power especially as it is used to support and maintain an ideology of racism within the rule of law. They maintain that racial categories are built on the acceptance of two fundamental untruths: people can be distinguished based on phenotype (as well as physical markers) and Whites are the superior racial group and Whiteness is the norm.

Delgado and Stefanić (2001) explain many of the earlier concepts under slightly different labels: interest convergence (material determinism and racial realism), revisionist history, critique of liberalism, and structural determinism (tools of thought and the dilemma of law reform and the empathic fallacy). In addition, they acknowledge two camps among CRT theorists, the idealists and the realists. Idealists acknowledge that race is a social construct and focus on matters of ideology and discourse (words, mental images, thinking, perceptions) held by individuals as well as sustained by institutions. Realists also acknowledge race as a social construction and the power of words to perpetuate the idea of race and racism; however, they hold that racism is a dominating influence that is sustained through societal, political, and legal structures.

More recent scholarship by Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) and Tate (1995) has explored these ideas as well as Latina/o scholars, Fernandez (2002), Solórzano and Yosso (2001), and Villenas (1996), to name a few. Likewise, Smith (1999) in her groundbreaking work, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, presents a guide for thinking about and pursuing research among Indigenous peoples. She observes, however, that the very word “research” is problematic among Indigenous folk in part because their life ways have been so misunderstood and misinterpreted by outsiders. Grande (2000) also adopts an Indigenous perspective that dictates research among indigenous peoples must acknowledge “a cultural orientation, a set of values, a different conceptualization of such things as time, space and subjectivity, different and competing theories of knowledge, highly specialized forms of language, and structures of power” (p. 42). Collectively, these scholars argue that critical theorizing must be disemboweled from Eurocentric perspectives if it is to be useful in education and literacy research. CRT’s more explicit interdisciplinary nature continues to evolve and its influence offers scholars alternative epistemological concepts and methods to address the history and contemporary use of privileged paradigms and institutional structures and practices. For example, Pendergast (2002) adopts CRT in her review of the intersection of literacy, race, and federal law. She offers a legal time line to consider these issues using primary source documents to illustrate sociohistorical contexts, legal arguments, and biographies of the major stakeholders. Much like Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, and Thomas (1995a), she claims “civil rights . . . has been sacrificed for property rights . . . and that White identity has been legally recognized as having property value” (p. 208). Further, Pendergast demonstrates how the U.S. Supreme Court adopted a framework that equated Whiteness and literacy as property of Whites. She opines, “the ideologies of literacy supporting the *Brown* decision may have propelled the Court to condemn segregation, but the goal of ensuring equality of education

remained elusive and the true character of racial discrimination remained unrecognized” (p. 216). Pendergast concludes that situating the (reoccurring) idea of a national “literacy crisis” is a blind that has help stall the Civil Rights Movement.

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

From the onset CRT has been beset with critics that have attacked theorizing about the intersection of the law and race. General themes emerged that include (1) challenges to the use of narratives or storytelling as nonobjective and nongeneralizable, (2) questions about whether “playing the race card” is being too negative, and (3) objections to alleged essentialism and exceptionalism. Similarly, CRT’s legitimacy is questioned in education and literacy research because it challenges the basic assumptions that have been used to define and normalize language and literacy as reflective of Eurocentric beliefs and values. CRT threatens to disrupt power and unshackle voices that espouse alternative ideas. To underscore this idea, Brookfield (2003) acknowledges theorizing in education suggests an “unproblematic Eurocentrism . . . [that] reflects the racial membership of ‘official’ knowledge producers in the field” (p. 497). By contrast, CRT exposes how race (as a social construct and lived experience) is central to understanding the deep relationship within privileged paradigms. Darder and Torres (2005) appreciate the role of race, but opine that as race punctuates the CRT literature there is resistance to engage in discourse around race, a resistance that has effectively hampered CRT’s use. They suggest that classism is a more powerful determiner of status and by explicitly addressing classism discussions of social justice and equity issues in the USA can be occur. It is important, however, to avoid constructing a hierarchy of oppression and focus, instead, on challenging the basic assumptions that have been deliberately used in education research to shield their role and power to shape how language and literacy are used, understood, and assessed.

There are countless literacy studies that focus on participants of color, from beginning reading to achievement gap differences to transactions with text; however, few scholars have applied CRT theorizing, methods, or analysis. Specific reoccurring themes occur as problematic when race is used as a descriptor and when its social construction and lived realities are not acknowledged or addressed, or deconstructed. First, the language used to describe race centers on color imagery (associated with skin color) and code words that consistently, and unfavorably, identify students of color. Code words typically associated with students of color are: at-risk, lazy, low expectations, ignorant, urban, unmotivated, underachievers, struggling, and low income. By contrast,

code words typically associated with white students are: high achievers, high expectations, knowledgeable, suburban, exceptional, industrious, motivated, hardworking, and middle income. Many white literacy researchers claim the words are race-neutral or color blind and merely used to identify students and student performance. CRT deconstructs the discourse of color imagery, code words, and euphemisms, as it situate and clarify the unstated presumptions about people of color that underpin their use.

Second, although literacy scholars have used critical lenses to explore issues of equity and social injustice, few have explicitly adopted a race consciousness. Many literacy researchers have characterized race as a variable, identity, pathology, and cause célèbre, but seldom as a framework for research. Morrison (1992) observes that in this sense, race is a metaphor, “a way of referring to and disguising forces, events, classes, and expressions of social decay and economic division far more threatening to the body politic than biological ‘race’ ever was” (p. 63). Likewise, Grande (2000) notes that race/ethnicity as one form of difference and more fluid, postmodern descriptions of hybridity. She criticizes theorists who “aim to explode the concretized categories of race, class, gender, and sexuality and to claim the intersections the borderlands—as the space to create a new culture—una cultures mestiza—in which the only normative standard is hybridity and all subjects are constructed as inherently transgressive” (p. 47). Such positioning creates a veneer of difference as it resists identification while simultaneously seeking to expose the lives of oppressed or marginalized people whose use of popular culture reflect their race/ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation, religion, and geography.

Third, some literacy researchers seek to normalize narratives or storytelling of people of color by foregrounding and retelling the stories of oppression and racism within a Eurocentric frame. Brookfield (2003) characterizes this stance as a “heroic narrative of White alliance-building” (p. 519) that seeks to neutralize the oppression of nonwhites by pointing to similar circumstances undergone by whites. Some literacy researchers, for instance, use an immigrant analogy to suggest that standards, merit, and benchmarks are colorblind, thus the lack of academic accomplishment among students of color is their own failing (while dismissing a history of educational inequality and racist theories and practices).

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

For decades, educational researchers have embraced critical theory to address inequalities and social justice. Their work is grounded in variations of Marxist theory and cultural studies, inspired by generations of

Frankfurt School scholars, Paulo Freire, Stuart Hall, and others. They seek to expose the ideological and cultural hegemony used by dominant groups to maintain power over others. They believe that explicating the assumptions that have been used to uphold positivism are important before reform and change in education can occur. They do not believe that positivism or empirical science holds the only key to change in education; in fact, they envision change as an outgrowth of more critical conscious awareness and the valuing of all cultures and languages. Further, they reason that social and institutional structures must be dismantled and rebuilt in a more humane manner and where critical theory is translated into praxis. Educational researchers who have adopted CRT have done so because they believe that critical theory has failed to adequately address the historical and present-day contexts of race, racism, and power, in much the same way that CRT legal scholars questioned the intersection of race, racism, and the law. Education scholars that embrace CRT call for race, racism, and power to be squarely addressed, beyond the emphatic fallacy that abounds in education. Their work uses theory(ies), methods, and analyses to comprehend and explain the realities of the lives and experiences of people of color living in racialized societies.

In educational research, CRT is located in theoretical essays, reviews of research, and identity and pedagogical studies. For over a decade, several scholars have adapted CRT as a lens in their work: Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995), Tate (1996, 1997), Solórzano (1997), Solórzano, Ceja, and Yosso (2000), Solórzano and Yosso (2001, 2002), and Parker and Lynn (2002). Tate's (1997) comprehensive review, for example, describes the history and major themes of CRT, draws implications from legal scholarship, and extends the goal of CRT to eliminate all forms of oppression to education (p. 234). He also envisions applications of CRT's themes and methods in his recommendations for education research.

Solórzano, Ceja, and Yosso (2000) stress that CRT in education "simultaneously attempts to foreground race and racism in the research as well as challenge the traditional paradigms, methods, texts, and separate discourse on race, gender, and class by showing how these social constructs intersect to impact on communities of color" (p. 63). Drawing on these concepts, Solórzano and Yosso (2001, 2002) adapted the tenets of CRT for education as follows: "(a) the centrality of race and racism and their intersectionality with other forms of subordination, (b) the challenge to the dominant ideology, (c) the commitment to social justice, (d) the centrality of experiential knowledge, and (e) the transdisciplinary perspective" (p. 63).

Ladson-Billings and Donnor (2005) extend current understandings of CRT to include, more explicitly, the moral and ethical epistemologies

espoused and used by scholars of color. They call for researchers to adopt an antiessentialist stance toward a unified or common experience among people of color and within any one racial group and move toward human liberation and activism. Further, they describe the work of a growing number of scholars of color from multiple racial/ethnic groups in the USA whose work centers on race, racism, and power as they resist racial and social injustice. Importantly, they point to how CRT's use of multiple consciousnesses is being embraced globally through the use of post/de/colonial theories that resituate the fight against oppression and the struggle for freedom beyond US borders, by acknowledging that imperialism exists in developing nations and unstable 'hot spots,' where the struggle for freedom continues.

Moreover, Landson-Billings and Donner reveal how CRT clarifies that all researchers speak from their own perspectives (gender, race/ethnicity, class, sexual orientation, religious, and geographical), however scholars of color also "must know the intellectual antecedents of their cultural, ethnic, or racial group. . . . for combating the persistent ideology of white supremacy that denigrates the intellectual contributions of others" (p. 292). They also call for the replacement of ideas, i.e., universality, objectivity, generalizability, and empirical, with an engagement in "moral and ethic research and scholarship" (p. 298). They believe that research should address the lived reality of people in a racialized society and seek to eliminate the reproduction of myths, assumptions, and stock stories. They promote CRT as a theoretical position that "ultimately will serve people and lead to human liberation" (p. 291). Finally, they call for educational research that is more openly political and activist.

Solórzano and Yosso (2002) argue CRT methodology is theoretically grounded research that:

- a. foregrounds race and racism in all aspects of the research process;
- b. challenges the traditional research paradigm, texts, and theories used to explain the experiences of people of color;
- c. offers a liberatory or transformative solution to racial, gender, and class subordination;
- d. focuses on the racialized, gendered, and classed experiences of students of color;
- e. uses the interdisciplinary knowledge base of ethnic studies, women's studies, sociology, history, humanities, and the law to better understand the experiences of students of color. (p. 24)

Literacy scholars have used critical lenses to explore issues of equity and social injustice, but few have explicitly adopted a race consciousness. There are a number of literacy studies that focus on participants of color, from beginning reading to achievement gap differences to transactions with text; however, few scholars have applied CRT theorizing, methods, or analysis. The application of CRT in literacy research encourages a

more proactive advocacy role for researchers as they develop understandings about race, racism, and power that move beyond stereotypical assumptions to understand how race and privilege pervade literacy research from conceptualization to implementation.

A review of the extant literacy research reveals that scholars are using CRT to form a body of literature that, collectively, is in opposition to traditional or mainstream literacy, research. CRT scholars draw from multiple racial/ethnic epistemologies to situate their work (Delgado Bernal, 1998; Duncan, 2002, 2005; Fernandez, 2002; Gonzalez, 2001; Villenas, 1996). Significantly, they ask questions that challenge preconceived notions about the beliefs, values, knowledge, and ways of making meaning held by people of color. A CRT framework reveals the importance of literacy in the lives of people of color and how literacy use is multidimensional, multitextual, and multifaceted. This body of research explicates the multiple consciousnesses and multiple literacies that people of color use in their lives, and, most importantly validates that people of color are “holders and creators of knowledge” (Delgado Bernal, 2002, p. 108).

Equally important is acknowledging intersectionality in the lives of people of color, which helps to clarify how multidimensional identities are formed and needful for survival within and outside of our communities. For example, Gonzalez (2001) argues in support of a critical raced-gendered epistemology because it permits researchers to “bring together understandings of epistemologies and pedagogies to imagine how race, ethnicity, gender, class, and sexuality are braided with cultural knowledge, practices, spirituality, formal education, and the law” (p. 643). CRT offers original and authentic lenses, detailing lives in which literacy is essential.

A Literacy scholar who has adopted a CRT framework in his research is Duncan, 2002. CRT is not racially limiting as some white scholars also have used CRT in their research (Blackburn, 2003; Pendergast, 2002). Together these scholars also challenge traditional theories of literacy as neutral, objective, and color blind and expose assumptions of white superiority in theories, methods, and analysis. Duncan addresses theoretical, methodological, pedagogical and gender issues; Fisher reveals the literacy connections within the African Diaspora; Blackburn focuses on intersectionality of race, class, and sexual orientation, and Pendergast tackles the intersection among law, whiteness, and literacy. Duncan (2000) makes a case for the use of transdisciplinary theories as in his work as he posits that literacy research should include intersectional analyses where racial/ethnic epistemologies are central to understanding and appreciating the culture, language, and meaning making of their participants.

## FUTURE DIRECTIONS

To use CRT in literacy research means that we must “re-imagine the role that race—as a structural not just individual problem—has played in our thinking about success and failure. We need to begin to see the relationship between success and community; between failure and the absence of community” (Guinier, 2004). To do less is to continue to privilege an ideology of whiteness in literacy research.

Literacy scholars can envisage CRT’s emancipatory and transformative positioning with an emphasis on racial/cultural and experiential knowledge through narratives and voice, a more adequate approach to examine race, racism, and power in literacy research. CRT scholars produce their own narratives that are counterstories to the way culture, lives, and experiences of people of color are depicted. They use autobiography, biography, parables, stories, *testimonio*, and voice and allegory (infusing humour) to expose hidden truths and to explicate and situate race, racism, and power within the experiences of people of color without the need for interlopers, interlocutors, or interpreters of the “Other.” Their narratives are exceptionally detailed to help capture the richness of contexts and include revisionist historical information, experiences, and explanations. Scholars also use storytelling to analyze and dispel myths, assumptions, and unfounded beliefs about people of color (Delgado and Stefanic, 2000, p. xvii). They produce stories told from the position of people of color living under racial oppression that contradict or oppose the assumptions and beliefs held by many whites about people of color. Inherent in the narrative forms are voice; that is, the ability of a group to articulate their experience in ways unique to them (Delgado and Stefanic, 2001).

The idea of voice carries with it the notion that individual and group voices of people of color are especially qualified to tell their own stories, without essentializing experiences to all group members. Testifying to the quality of experience does not mean that whites are excluded from research. CRT scholars maintain that some subjects “are often better addressed by minorities” (Delgado and Stefanic, 2001, p. 92). For example, literacy research is dominated by studies that identify participants by race/ethnicity, gender, class, language, and immigrant status. In some cases, white researchers also self-identify by race, gender, or class, although they seldom deconstruct what these markers mean to them and how identities shape their research, their view of the participants, and their findings and recommendations. These white researchers position themselves and their roles as transparent “the ability of whiteness to disguise itself and become invisible” (Delgado and Stefanic, 2001, p. 156), whereas CRT scholars believe that race is

visible, tangible, and omnipresent although racism can be overt, dysconscious, or unconscious.

Finally, literacy researchers seek to understand the power of CRT in a more global sense. Some are exploring critical consciousness in African and Asian cosmology and how people draw on these ideas in their language and literature. Others are drawing on the work of Frantz Fanon, replacing the primacy of Freire and Hall, to expose how dominant groups use language and literacy to defend alienation, colonialism, imperialism, isolation, and the oppression of people of color in democratic countries and developing nations.

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LANGUAGE, LITERACY AND KNOWLEDGE  
PRODUCTION IN AFRICA

INTRODUCTION

This contribution assesses the state of language and literacy studies in Africa. It traces the extent and record of African scripts and debates issues of literacy development in African societies. It poses questions regarding the challenges ahead in literacy enhancement on the continent, and initiates the discussion with an examination of the question of numbers of African languages.

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The issue of how many languages exist in Africa, is a complex consideration. Estimates vary very widely. They range from Lord Hailey's figure of 700 to Grimes's figure quoted by UNESCO of "about 2000" (Grimes, 2000; Hailey, 1938, p. 68). Gregersen wrote that, "the nearly 300 million people in Africa speak something over 1000 languages—with only about 40 spoken by more than a million people. Language communities with 1000 or fewer speakers are not rare, and at least 20 languages are reported with fewer than 100 speakers" (Gregersen, 1977, p. 200). Heine notes "the bewildering multiplicity of roughly one thousand languages and several thousands of dialects" (Heine, 1993, p. 1). In *The Languages of Africa* (1970 edition), Greenberg lists 730 languages in his index. The author admitted that, "in the present state of our knowledge, any listing of languages is necessarily unsatisfactory in many respects." Greenberg's listing is inaccurate and displays some of the problems the Center for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS) research project is clearing up. For example, dialects of Luo like Shilluk, Anyuak, Acholi, and Lango are listed as separate languages. Bari, Mondari, Fajelu, Kakwa are listed as separate languages when they are in fact simply dialects of the same language. Under Akan, it is suggested that "see individual languages." In the guide to his entry of languages on sectoral maps he explains that,

“languages spoken in a number of areas are only entered once on the map.” Thus Fulani is only indicated in one of the main West Atlantic areas and not elsewhere. When reference is made to some other language, the number of the language itself is not to be found on any of the maps. The reason for this may be that it is merely a variant name, that the group is too small to be indicated on a map or that they live within the speech area of another people. Whatever the case may be, this way of representation is misleading. Fulani-speakers are to be found in at least 11 countries in the area Dalby calls “fragmentation belt” (an area of extreme linguistic fragmentation), which covers the latitudinal space of the area as far north as the Senegambia basin, to Ethiopia, and down to Northern Tanzania. Fulani is easily one of the largest languages in Africa, spoken by about 50 million people as either first, second or third language; and it named variously as Pulaar, Fulful, Fulfulde, Peul, Tuclour, Fula and Fulani. Greenberg’s manner of presentation obscures such important facts about the language and its demographics. These weaknesses have been largely carried into the work of Fivaz and Scott (Fivaz and Scott, 1977).

Mann and Dalby’s, *The Thesaurus of African Languages* poses other problems. The authors indicate in their introduction that, “the approach we have adopted is to treat as a ‘language’ each speech-form whose speakers claim a separate linguistic identity, reserving the term dialect for cases where speakers explicitly acknowledge both a wider and narrower linguistic identity. Linguistic identity is generally manifested in a common name, so that crudely it may be said we have distinguished as many languages as there are names used by communities to refer to their language.” (Mann and Dalby, 1987, p. 1) This is unfortunate. A great deal of self-identification in Africa as in many parts of the world is more political than linguistic/cultural in any serious sense. In Africa, many of these identities have been created by a convergence of colonial administrative and missionary activity (particularly with reference in the latter instance to bible translations) (Mann and Dalby, 1987, p. 1).

This confusion of numbers plays into the hands of those who then argue that because there is such a profusion of languages in Africa; since Africa is a Tower of Babel, it is not realistic to envisage the use of African languages as languages of education and development.

What is not easily recognized by many observers is that most of what in the literature, and classificatory schemes, on African languages pass as separate languages in an overwhelming number of cases are actually dialectal variants of “core languages.” In other words, most African languages can be regarded as mutually intelligible variants within large clusters (core languages). Indeed, almost all African languages are trans-border languages, and the majority of them cross more than one state border.

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

What the Centre for Advanced Studies on African Society's (CASAS) research has revealed is that over 80–85% of Africans, as first, second and third language-speakers, speak no more than 15 to 17 core languages, based on our clustering on the basis of mutual intelligibility. Africa, for its size is hardly a *Tower of Babel*. If the total population of Black Africa is between 600 and 700 million, (as first, second and third language speakers) the Fula, Pulaar, Peul, Tuculor, Fulful, Fulbe, Fulani cluster alone would account for about 50 million, Hausa and its varieties bring up another 40 to 50 million, Oromo, Igbo, Bambara, Amharic, KiSwahili, Yoruba, the Gbe, would produce another 35–40 million in each instance, the Nguni dialects, the Sotho Tswana, the Akan, the Eastern and the Western inter-lacustrine Bantu (Kitara) languages, Luganda/Lusoga and Luo, Gur, Lingala, Kikongo are between 20 and 30 million per set. Other languages, of much smaller size, but which enjoy preponderance within existing states include, Fang, Nyanja-Cewa, Wolof, Ovambo-Herero, Sango and Somali-Samburu.

Babatunde Fafunwa, basing his viewpoint on David Dalby and UNESCO sources suggests that 120 language clusters have been identified. 85% of the languages are concentrated in the “fragmentation belt.” (Fafunwa, 1989, p. 99 & 102) Arguably, the figure for language clusters is actually very much lower. It has been estimated that 75% of the languages in the “fragmentation belt” belong to the two groups of Hamito/Semitic/Afro-Asiatic and the Niger Congo.

Actually, Afro-Asiatic is generic to Hamito/Semitic. In any case the Meinhofian Hamitic theory which suggests that Hamites entered Africa through the Horn area is discredited and enjoys little standing today. Furthermore, whether the Niger-Congo phylum is an offshoot of Proto-Afro-Asiatic or more immediately related to Chadic is evidentially contestable. Fafunwa has reproduced a UNESCO table on, *Languages Used Across National Boundaries* which is rather poor. For example, if Setswana is understood in its narrow sense (that is that it is not a dialectal variant within the Sotho/Tswana cluster but a totally unique language), it features in Namibia, Botswana and South Africa, not two countries as the UNESCO table suggested. In a wider and more significant sense Setswana is part of the wider Sotho-Tswana cluster which includes Lozi in Barotseland. Somali is spoken in five countries but does not appear on the table. Evidence indeed suggests that well over 95% of African languages are spoken across borders.

Another example would be that if Luo is used as a restricted descriptive category it covers parts of three countries (Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania). In generic usage, in the sense in which it has been used by Crazzolara or Okot Bitek, its coverage will include in geographical

scope an area as wide as parts of the Sudan, Ethiopia, Uganda, Kenya, and Tanzania (Crazzolaro, 1938). Proximate and mutually intelligible dialects of the Luo language in Eastern Africa for example are sometimes referred to under various designations as Jur (Sudan), Anyuak (Sudan and Ethiopia), Shilluk (Sudan and Ethiopia), Acholi (Sudan and Uganda), Langi (Uganda), Alur (Uganda), Chopadholla (Uganda) and Luo (Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania). Kikuyu, Embu, Meru, Akamba in Kenya are closely related dialects. The Bari-speaking people in the Sudan have been “analytically chopped up” into Mondari, Bari, Nyangbara, Fajelu, Kakwa (Uganda, Sudan, Zaire), and Kuku (Uganda and Sudan). Kipsigi, Nandi, Pokot, Elgeyo Marakwet are not separate languages, but rather dialects of Kalengin. Muerle, Boya, Lopit, Tenet in the Sudan are mutually intelligible. In Ghana, the Akan have been in the anthropological literature referred to as Ashanti, Fanti, Agona, Kwahu, Akim, Akuapim, Nzema, and even sub-units of these like Ahanta, Gomua, Edina etc. The Gbe/Ewe-speaking people can be found in communities all along the West African Coast from Ghana through Togo, Benin and to the Nigerian border area. This cluster which has been orthographically harmonized by the Labo-Gbe Center in Benin and CASAS includes Aja in Badagry/Nigeria, Aja in Benin, Gun in Benin, Mina in Benin, Fon in Benin, Mina and Ewe in Togo, and Ewe in Ghana. In East Africa, the Teso, Kumam, Karamojong, Nyangatom, Dodos, Jie, Turkana, Toposa, Donyiro collectively cover areas in Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda and the Sudan. The Nguni are found in Tanzania where they closely relate ethno-linguistically to the Nyamwezi, Ngoni, and Konde. They are also located in Malawi. Nyanja in Zambia and Cewa in Malawi are practically the same. In Mozambique, Shangaan/Tsonga/Ronga, are mutually intelligible Nguni variants. But they have phonologically and morphologically grown away from the other languages in the cluster. Nguni in Swaziland is called Swati, Kangwane in northern Natal/Zululand, Zulu in South Africa, Xhosa in South Africa, Ndebele in South Africa and Matabeleland in Zimbabwe. Some classifications even would count as separate languages narrow dialectal sub-forms of Xhosa like Bomvana, Cele Baca, Gcaleka/Ngqika, Hlubi, Mpondo, Mpondomise, Ntlangwini, Tembu and Xesibe. The Sotho-Tswana cluster is to be found as Tswana in Namibia, Tswana in Botswana, Lozi in Barotseland/Zambia, Sotho in Lesotho, and Pedi in South Africa. Again in East Africa, the Interlacustrine Bantu have a high degree of mutual intelligibility. They include the Nyoro, Toro, Haya, Ganda, Ankole, Rwanda. Rendille-Somali and Oromo and Borana are literally closely related pairs. Maasai and Samburu are equally close.

Heine has identified four key objectives, which motivate the classification of African languages. These are, firstly, the need to bring some

order to the multiplicity of African languages (*referential classification*); secondly, a search for origins of these languages (*genetic classification*); thirdly, the inter-linguistic influences between these languages (*areal classification*); and fourthly, the establishment of the structural convergencies and divergencies between African languages (*typological classification*). Heine argues that these different types of classification serve different goals and functions, and that indeed, “non-awareness of the different functions of these classifications may lead to scientifically untenable results.” A good example of the pitfalls of this methodological mess is provided by Malcolm Guthrie who “confused two different types of classification by grafting and superimposing a genetic classification on a referential one—with the effect that his reconstruction of Bantu pre-history turned out to be at variance with the historical facts he had intended to describe” (Heine, 1993, p. 1).

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

The role of language and literacy in contemporary African social life depicts peculiarities which are increasingly unique in the post-colonial world. There is a fairly decisive difference between the languages of the elites and the languages of the broad societal majorities. The elites continue to be social constituencies which utilize erstwhile colonial languages; French, English and Portuguese. The technical instrument required for social performance in the culture of African elites is literacy in the language of the former colonial power. The masses of African countries have little or no facility in these languages. In African societies, the colonial languages are social symbols of power (Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir, 2003, p. 80). All public business and governmental matters are transacted in these languages, and therefore those that have skills in these languages control all public and government business. These realities are considerably different from the experience of post-colonial Asia.

#### *Indigenous and Colonial Languages and Literacies*

About 35 years ago, Gerald Moore made a number of perceptive observations which bear on the considerations here. He wrote that; “In the British West Indies, as successive waves of African, Indian and Chinese immigration spent themselves upon the shore, forgetting in a generation or two the very provinces whence they had come, English in a variety of dialect forms gradually established itself as the unique language of the region. In Asia and Africa it became, at least temporarily, the language of government, of higher education and, more important still, of higher status. In Asia, however, the withdrawal

of imperial control revealed how precarious the situation of the language really was. Their volume of literary activity in languages such as Bengali, Tamil, Gujarati, Malay and Urdu, together with the gradual decline of English usage in public life, suggests that ultimately the imperial language may prove as marginal as the English presence itself; whilst in tropical Africa only the recent spread of mass education has offered it the possibility of escape from an equally marginal role.” (Moore, 1969, p. xi) In the third of a century, which has passed since these points were made, the role of English in Africa has not gone beyond the narrow elite which is able to use the language with any degree of accomplishment.

By and large, mass literacy education campaigns in Africa have had little impact in effectively spreading the English language. What can however be said is that its role as the linguistic basis for the exercise and the administration of power in former British colonial Africa remains entrenched. Moore added that; “. . . historical experience confirms that a language which remains the property of a small elite cannot provide the basis for a national culture. A recent parallel would be the use of French by polite society in nineteenth century Russia.” (Moore, 1969, p. xi) Similarly, Latin could not provide a basis for national cultures in Roman Europe. In contemporary Africa the development of even outlines of national cultures after almost a half-century of post-colonialism continue to be elusive.

Two decades ago, Jack Goody made insightful remarks on this issue. He wrote that; “indeed part of the phenomenon called neo-colonialism has to be seen in terms of this very openness which is associated with the absence of a strong, written tradition that can stand up against the written cultures of the world system.” (Goody, 1989, p. 86) Goody’s judgement here is persuasive but the additional point has been made that while a written culture has made the resistance against cultural neocolonialism of parts of Asia more successful, what has perhaps been most central in this cultural resilience has been the standing of the world religions of the Near East and Asia proper. Western cultural penetration of the non-western world never successfully undermined the status of the major religions of Asia the way they successfully did in Africa (Prah, 2001, p. 125).

The process of knowledge production in Africa is represented in two histories. There is the indigenous knowledge which precedes the colonial encounter and which has been the result of the age-long transmission of knowledge from generation to generation. The language base of this knowledge in Africa has largely been orally constructed. For this reason as a knowledge depository it irredeemably leaks. Collective memory cannot be held and transferred as integer knowledge with any reliability. With the establishment of western presence and institutions,

the processes of knowledge production in Africa were superseded by western modes of knowledge production built into the introduction and use of western languages. This latter form of knowledge production ignored the preceding processes of knowledge production founded on African languages. In effect, two parallel processes for the construction of knowledge were established.

### *Record of African Scripts*

For the most part, until a century ago African societies were preliterate. Literacy based on the Roman alphabet is no more than a century and a half old for the majority of African societies. There are, however, some languages with a long tradition of writing and which employ scripts other than the Roman. The Arabic script has been used to write a number of African languages. Such usage is described as *ajami* in Arabic. They include languages like Swahili, Hausa, Wolof, Fulfulde, Kanuri, and Bambara and others. In all these cases, in more recent times, Roman letters have replaced the Arabic script. The earliest Afrikaans scripts (South Africa) were written as *ajami*. This goes back to the historical record of the early Malay Moslem slaves who were brought into the Western Cape of South Africa from Java by the Dutch colonists. Ethiopic, the old Semitic script from antiquity, is still used to write Geez, Amharic, and Tigrinya, and the Greek alphabet in a revised and adapted form was used for writing Coptic and Nobiin (Old Nubian). Hunwick informs us that; Mansa Musa historically was the best known ruler of the Mali empire. After his return from pilgrimage to Mecca in 1325 he ordered the construction of the Great Mosque of Timbuktu. The construction of the great mosque established Timbuktu's status as an Islamic city, and over the next 200 years Muslim scholars were drawn to it, so that by the mid-fifteenth century Timbuktu had become a major center of Islamic learning under African cultural conditions.

Timbuktu's most celebrated scholar Ahmad Baba (1564–1627) claimed that his library contained 1600 volumes, and that it was the smallest library of any of his family (Hunwick, 2003, p. 2). Libraries supporting the Timbuktu manuscript tradition have for centuries been numerous. There are in Timbuktu alone today some 20 private manuscript libraries and about 100 in the sixth region of Mali (Hunwick, 2003, p. 2). In effect “Arabic was to Muslim Africa what Latin was to medieval Christian Europe (Hunwick, 2003, p. 2).

Over and above all these “imported” scripts, Africa has a few indigenous examples of written forms. Until 1972 when the latin script was adopted by the Siad Barre administration, Somali was unofficially, but popularly rendered in the Osmania script devised by Osman Yusuf

Keenadiid. While it was in form a good part Ethiopic, it had also Arabic and Italian influences.

The Vai script, strictly speaking a syllabary or a catalogue of characters, each of which denotes a syllable rather than a single sound, was created in the 1830s by Momadu Bukele. It remains popular in Liberia, particularly among the Vai, where it is mostly used in informal correspondence. More recently, in the sub-region, Mende (A purely phonetic Mende script from Sierra Leone was devised around 1920 by Kisimi Kamala), Loma, Kpelle and Bassa, have developed related script, which lean on the Vai example. All of these, like the Vai example are syllabaries. An alphabet, Nko was devised by Souleyman Kante in 1949. Till today, it is used very restrictedly and primarily by speakers within the Mandingo, Malinke, Bambara, Dioula, Kasonke cluster, especially in Guinea, Mali and Ivory Coast. A Bambara “Ma-sa-ba” syllabary was devised by Woyo Couloubali in the Kaarta region of Mali in 1930. Between the decade spanning 1920 and 1931, syllabaries had appeared for Mende, Bassa, Loma, Kpelle, Efik-Ibibio. An earlier esoteric alphabet has been in use for about a century among the Efik in southeastern Nigeria. Better known, perhaps, and historically better widely studied is the Bamum script (Shūmon) invented and developed under the direction of King Njoya of southern Cameroon. It was originally conceived as a logographic system, and was gradually changed by successive royal edicts first to a syllabary and subsequently to an alphabet (Berry et al. 1970, p. 88). After 1910, his scribes began compiling the chronicle of the Bamum Kingdom. This was finished during the 1920s in the closing years of Njoya’s reign (Dugast and Jeffreys, 1950). In sum, specifically in West Africa, over the past century a number of indigenously conceived writing systems have been produced. Most of them have from the start been largely esoteric and invariably religious in inclination. There is also the particularly interesting case of *Oberi Okaimé* a language which was created by members of a millenarian sect based in the village of Ikpa in the Itu Division of Calabar Province in 1931. The sect was founded in 1927, but the language emerged in 1931. There is no evidence that the language and script survived beyond the 1930s. None of these African scripts has been effective competition to the colonially introduced Roman alphabet. None seriously moved outside the narrow confines of small exclusivist groups, often semireligious. It is interesting to note that this religious dimension of literacy and scripts is shared by religious communities as historical entities in other parts of the world.

Apart from Ethiopian clericalism, Coptic priesthood and African muslim scholarship, literacy as a sociological phenomenon, in old Africa, never fully emerged. The developers and custodians of the African scripts referred to here like the Efik, Bassa, Vai, Loma and Bamum never

formed a composite and coherent priesthood to consolidate, protect and elevate the scripts. This fact may be important in our attempt to understand the absence of literacy in large parts of old Africa.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

When modern literacy came to Africa through the western encounter, the principal agents for its spread were missionaries. Literacy in Africa therefore first made an impact as a way in which the Christian traditions of the west could be transferred to the mind of the African. For this very reason, literacy in Africa introduced by the missionaries was undertaken in African languages, close to the hearts and minds of the people and the first book that was invariably translated was the Bible. Thus literacy for the missionaries was meant in the first instance to serve purely Christian ideals. But rivalries between various Christian church groups and sects were transferred into the forms of orthographies adopted by competing missionary groups. Very frequently rival missionary groups would for the same language, indeed the same dialect translate the Bible using totally different orthographic and spelling systems.

The colonial administrators, especially in the early stage of the establishment and consolidation of colonial rule largely left the tasks of education in the hands of missionaries. The first schools and some of the most prominent schools in Africa today remain missionary schools or schools with distinct Christian affiliation. Slowly as colonial administrations became entrenched, economic, social and political interests move more prominently to the fore in the organization of colonial societies. The administrations were anxious that the products of missionary education could serve the intentions of the colonial administrations. Like Macaulay's intended product which he described in his *Minute on Indian Education, (1835)* for the British Raj, colonialism created "a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect."

Frequently, in the early stages of the introduction of western literacy and education Africans would resist, but with time almost all acquiesced. In British colonial Africa schools like King's College (Budo, Uganda) King's College (Lagos, Nigeria), Achimota College (Achimota, Ghana) quickly acquired reputations for the English literacy proficiency of their pupils. These schools, organized along British public school lines, reproduced in colonial Africa literacy standards in English which permitted pupils to transit from these colonial schools to British universities with relative ease. For as long as colonialism lasted these standards held. Currently in the post-colonial situation from all parts of

Anglophone Africa reports suggest that the literacy skills of students in English are rapidly falling. This is a phenomenon, which is also noticeable in French-based universities in Francophone Africa.

In post-Apartheid South Africa, at university level, poor English communication skills are particularly noticeable amongst African language-speaking students. However, these constraints are by no means exclusive to them. Some lecturers have also pointed out that, the quality of written Afrikaans is also deteriorating. This is happening in a society in which the governmentally engineered supremacy of Afrikaans under Apartheid has over the past ten years been popularly reversed. It is observable that in post-apartheid South Africa, English is fast gaining ground over all the other languages. Although the government on paper has elevated the status to equality of all eleven official languages, in practice there appears to be little use of the African languages for official tasks. In a conversation held with the African National Congress (ANC) parliamentarian Duma Nkosi on the 11 October 2000, he suggested that even in Parliament there are members who battle to express themselves effectively in English. Sometimes the inadequacies of their linguistic expression distort the meaning they wish to convey.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Literacy estimates for Africa generally stand at around 50%. But literacy figures for Africa are notoriously unreliable. Apart from the problems of certifiable counting methods, there is the more serious problem of frequently not counting literacy in African languages. Strikingly, literacy in African languages, where it exists, in the absence of literature is tenuous. Literature in African languages continues to be predominantly religious. In many areas, the Bible is the most available text in African languages.

Tanzania is possibly the most successful country in sub-Saharan Africa with regard to literacy in African languages. It is the only country where more newspapers in African languages are sold than English, French or Portuguese newspapers. But even then it is a success story built on one language, Kiswahili. Indeed, on the whole continent newspapers in Kiswahili constitute the overwhelming majority of papers in African languages.

The challenges of democracy and underdevelopment can only be met when Africans begin to work as literate societies in African languages. To do this there is need for the harmonization of mutually intelligible languages so that on the economies of scale the production of literature becomes profitable and cost-wise within reach for the masses. African development must mean the development of literacy in African languages.

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## LITERACY MYTHS

### INTRODUCTION

Literacy Myth refers to the belief, articulated in educational, civic, religious, and other settings, contemporary and historical, that the acquisition of literacy is a necessary precursor to and invariably results in economic development, democratic practice, cognitive enhancement, and upward social mobility (Graff, 1979, 1987). Despite many unsuccessful attempts to measure it (Inkeles and Smith, 1974), literacy in this formulation has been invested with immeasurable and indeed almost ineffable qualities, purportedly conferring on practitioners a predilection toward social order, an elevated moral sense, and a metaphorical “state of grace” (Scribner, 1984). Such presumptions have a venerable historical lineage and have been expressed, in different forms, from antiquity through the Renaissance and the Reformation, and again throughout the era of the Enlightenment, during which literacy was linked to progress, order, transformation, and control. Associated with these beliefs is the conviction that the benefits ascribed to literacy cannot be attained in other ways, nor can they be attributed to other factors, whether economic, political, cultural, or individual. Rather, literacy stands alone as the independent and critical variable. Taken together, these attitudes constitute what Graff (1979, 1987) has called “the Literacy Myth.” Many researchers and commentators have adopted this usage.

Contemporary expressions of the Literacy Myth are evident in cities’ sponsorship of book reading, celebrity appeals on behalf of reading campaigns, and promotions by various organizations linking the acquisition of literacy to self-esteem, parenting skills, and social mobility, among others. Individuals are seen to be “at risk,” if they fail to master literacy skills presumed to be necessary, although functions and levels of requisite skills continue to shift (Resnick and Resnick, 1977; Brandt, 2001). In stark, indicting versions of the myth, failures to learn to read and write are individual failures. Those who learn to read and write well are considered successful, whereas those who do not develop these skills are seen as less intelligent, lazy, or in some other way deficient (St. Clair and Sadlin, 2004). These and other versions of the Literacy Myth shape public and expert opinions, including policy

makers in elementary and adult education, and those working in development work internationally.

Such attitudes about literacy represent a “myth” because they exist apart from and beyond empirical evidence that might clarify the actual functions, meanings, and effects of reading and writing. Like all myths, the Literacy Myth is not so much a falsehood but an expression of the ideology of those who sanction it and are invested in its outcomes (see, e.g., Goody, 1968, 1986, 1987; Goody and Watt, 1968; Havelock, 1963, 1976, 1986; Olson, 1977, 1994); for contrasting perspectives, see Akinasso, 1981; Collins and Blot, 1995; Graff, 1995a; Graff and Street, 1997). For this reason, the Literacy Myth is powerful and resistant to revision. This chapter examines the scope of the Literacy Myth, considering its varieties, its meanings, and its implications for policy makers in education and other fields who would use literacy in the service of large-scale social and economic transformations.

#### DEFINITION AND MEASUREMENT ISSUES

Problems inherent in the “literacy myth” begin with confusions over the meanings of the word “literacy” and efforts to measure it. Literacy has been defined in various ways, many offering imprecise and yet nonetheless progressively grander conceptions and expectations of what it means to read and write, and what might follow from that practice. For example, literacy has been defined as in terms of standardized test scores such as the Scholastic Aptitude Test or the Armed Forces Qualifying tests; the completion of a specified grade-levels in school; and a generalized form of knowledge (Pattison, 1984) such as “computer literacy,” “financial literacy,” “civic literacy,” neologisms as facile as they are inexact. In other contexts, literacy may be conflated with its desired ends, as when it is represented as “an agent of change,” a formulation that confuses relationships of cause and effect.

The vagueness of such definitions allows for conceptions of literacy that go beyond what has been examined empirically, thus investing literacy with the status of myth. Since mythos is grounded in narrative, and since narratives are fundamentally expressions of values, literacy has been contrasted in its mythic form with a series of opposing values that have resulted in reductive dichotomies such as “oral-literate,” “literate-pre-literate,” “literate-illiterate,” and other binaries that caricature major social changes. In such hierarchical structures, the “oral,” “preliterate,” and “illiterate” serve as the marked and subordinate terms, whereas “literate” and “literacy” assume the status of superior terms (Duffy, 2000). Such hierarchies reinforce the presumed benefits of literacy and so contribute to the power of the myth (for detailed

examples, see Finnegan, 1973, 1988; Goody, 1986, 1987; Havelock, 1963, 1976, 1986; Ong 1967, 1977, 1982).

We define literacy here not in terms of values, mentalities, generalized knowledge, or decontextualized quantitative measures. Rather, literacy is defined as basic or primary levels of reading and writing and their analogs across different media, activities made possible by a technology or set of techniques for decoding and reproducing printed materials, such as alphabets, syllabaries, pictographs, and other systems, which themselves are created and used in specific historical and material contexts (see Graff, 1987, pp. 3–4). Only by grounding definitions of literacy in specific, qualified, and historical particulars can we avoid conferring on it the status of myth.

#### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

In contrast with its presumed transformative “consequences,” literacy historically has been characterized by tensions, continuities, and contradictions. In classical Greece, where the addition of characters representing vowel sounds to Semitic syllabaries is seen by some as the origin of the first modern alphabet (Gelb, 1963), literacy contributed to the Greek development of philosophy, history, and democracy (Harris, 1989; Havelock, 1963, 1986). Yet literacy in classical Athens was a conservative technology, used to record the cultural memories of an oral civilization in a society based on slavery. Though achievements in the development of popular literacy in fifth-century Rome were substantial, they resulted neither in democratization nor the development of a popular intellectual tradition (Graff, 1987). Neither did the invention of the printing press in fifteenth-century Europe lead to swift or universal changes in prevailing social, political, and economic relationships. These came more slowly.

By the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Europe and North America, literacy was seen as a potentially destabilizing force, threatening the established social order. Conservative elites feared that the widespread acquisition of reading and writing skills by the masses—workers, servants, and slaves—would make them unfit for manual labor and unwilling to accept their subordinate status. Education for the popular classes was often discouraged, in fear it might lead to discontent, strife, and rebellion. In some settings, reading and writing instruction was legally withheld, as was the case with slaves in the south USA. Implicit in these views was the suspicion that literacy was a precondition of intellectual, cultural, and social transformation, by which individuals might redefine themselves and challenge existing social conditions.

The reactionary view of literacy was largely trumped in the last decades of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century by reformers. These reformers grasped the potential of schooling and literacy as a means for maintaining social control. In their view, education—whether in public or private institutions—was a means through which to instill discipline and prepare the working class for their places in an increasingly urban, industrial society. This meant that literacy lessons in the schools were offered not for their own sake, as a means for promoting intellectual and personal growth, but were instead taught as part of a larger project of instilling generally secular moral values and faith in commercial and industrial capitalism. The destabilizing potential of literacy remained, but it was moderated by education that emphasized discipline, good conduct, and deference to authority. In this way reformers seized on literacy as a central strategy for maintaining social control.

The roots of this perspective are found in religious groups and secular reformers who competed to uplift and save the souls of the poor, and who also competed to influence expanding school systems. Religion, especially but not only Protestantism after the Reformation, was the impetus for learning to read. The Bible served as both the repository of spiritual salvation and an important primer for new readers.

Building on the foundation of the Enlightenment, the second half of the nineteenth century witnessed the emergence of a synthesis of major influences on social thought—idealism, scientism, evolutionism, positivism, materialism, and progressivism—that encouraged belief in the eventual if not inevitable improvement of human beings and society. Literacy was seen to be intrinsic to these advances, a technology through which faith in the progress of civilization and human improvement might be validated. The preferred venue for managing literacy was mass popular education.

This association of literacy with ideology, values, and a stable social order provides a historical basis of the literacy myth.

## MAJOR ELEMENTS OF THE MYTH

### *The Myth of Decline*

In contemporary popular discourse, literacy is represented as an unqualified good, a marker of progress, and a metaphorical light making clear the pathway to progress and happiness. The opposing value of “illiteracy,” in contrast, is associated with ignorance, incompetence, and darkness. Advertisements run by the National Center for Family Literacy in USA, for example, show an adult and a smiling child accompanied by a text that reads in part: “Because I can read. . . I can understand. . . live

my life without fear, without shame.” Given such sentiments, it is hardly surprising that discussions of literacy would be characterized by persistent fears of its decline. Indeed, much of the contemporary discourse on literacy evokes what John Nerone (1988, Introduction, *Communication* 11,1 qtd. in Graff, 1995a, xvii), has called “a sense of the apocalypse.” In this discourse, the decline of literacy is taken as an omnipresent given and signifies generally the end of individual advancement, social progress, and the health of the democracy. Such associations represent a powerful variant of the Literacy Myth.

The narrative of decline extends beyond literacy to encompass the state of education generally, both higher and lower, as well as the state of society, morality, and economic productivity. In USA, the decline of tests scores in reading assessments is said to represent one “crisis”; the rise in reading “disabilities” another; the movement away from sound reading and writing pedagogy yet another (McQuillan, 1998; see also Graff, 1995a). Where the evidence does not support a decline in literacy rates among the general population, there is a perceived crisis over the kinds of literacy that are or are not practiced—for example, the crisis of declining numbers of people reading “good” literature, said to represent a threat to the ideals of participatory democracy (see, for example, NEA, 2004).

That the myth of decline is largely unsupported by empirical evidence has done little to reduce its potency in contemporary discourse. Rather, the myth is argued by anecdote, often rooted in nostalgia for the past. Moreover, protestations over the decline of literacy are often a prologue for a more sustained argument for a “back to basics” movement in schools. If literacy has declined, it is because schools have strayed from teaching the fundamentals of reading, arithmetic, and other subjects defined, indistinctly, as “the basics.” However, as Resnick and Resnick (1977) illustrate, expectations concerning literacy have changed sharply over time, as standards have been applied to large populations that were once applied only to a limited few. It may prove difficult to go back to basics, Resnick and Resnick have written, if “there is no simple path to which we can return” (p. 385).

The myth of decline also neglects the changing modes of communication, and in particular the increasing importance of media that are not wholly reliant on print. Developments in computer technology and the Internet have combined to change the experience of what it means to read, with print becoming but one element in a complex interplay of text, images, graphics, sound, and hyperlinks. The bias toward what Marcia Farr (1993) called “essayist literacy,” or formal discursive writing characterized by strict conventions of form, style, tone, both resists and fails to comprehend such changes. Such resistance and failures also have historical antecedents; changes in the technologies of

communication have always been accompanied by apprehensions of loss. Plato's notorious distrust of writing was itself a rejection of a technology that threatened the primacy of dialectic in favor of a graphical mode of communication (see, for example, Havelock, 1963).

The myth of decline, then, is an expression of an ideology in which a particular form of literacy is seen to represent a world that is at once stable, ordered, and free of dramatic social change. More than nostalgia for a nonexistent past, the myth of decline articulates a conception of the present and the future, one in which specific forms of literacy practice exemplify an ideological commitment to a status quo that may have already past.

### *The Myth of the Alphabet*

Perhaps the strongest claims concerning literacy have been those attributed to the alphabet, whose invention in classical Greece was said to herald a great leap forward in the progress of human evolution. The "alphabetized word" was said to release human beings from the trance of tribalism and bring about the development of logic, philosophy, history, and democracy. To its proponents, the development of alphabetic literacy brought about profound changes in the very structure of human cognition, as the written word, liberated by its material nature from the "tyranny of the present" (Goody and Watt, 1968), could be objectified, manipulated, preserved, and transmitted across time and distances, leading to the development of abstract thought. Pictographs, hieroglyphs, and other forms of representing speech were seen as prior and inferior to alphabetic literacy, which could more easily represent concepts—justice, law, individualism—and thus engendered the beginnings of philosophical thought.

The bias toward the alphabet resulted in what its proponents called a "great divide" (Goody and Watt, 1968; see also Havelock, 1963, 1976, 1986; Olson, 1994, 1977), with rational, historical, individualistic literate peoples on one side, and "nonlogical," mythical, communal oral peoples on the other. Among other things, such conceptions led to serious misunderstandings of non-Western writing systems, such as those of the Chinese and the Japanese, which were erroneously thought to be inferior to the Western alphabet (Finnegan 1973, 1988; Gough, 1968; Street, 1984, 1995). In the most extreme versions of the myth, the alphabet was seen to represent the beginnings of civilized society.

In the nineteenth century, the myth of the alphabet was an element of the broader narrative of Western history and worked to ratify the educational, moral, and political experiences of colonial Western powers with the cultures of the colonized, especially those that did not practice literacy. To the extent that the alphabet was identified with civilization,

its dissemination to nonliterate, nonindustrial, supposedly “primitive” cultures was intrinsic to the larger project and rhetoric of colonial expansion. These attitudes were not confined to colonial contexts but applied, as well, to minority populations in schools, workplaces, and communities, all of which might be “improved” by learning the literacy practices of the dominant group. In this way literacy, and alphabetic literacy in particular, has served as what Finnegan (1994) called the “mythical charter” of the dominant social and political order. The great debates of the past two centuries over reading pedagogy and instructional methods—for example, phonics, phonetics, “look-see” methods, and others—continue to reflect questions about the uses and powers of alphabets. In contemporary debates, they reflected divisions over order and morality as well as pedagogy (Graff, 1979).

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

##### *Literacy and Economic Development*

The assumed link between literacy and economic success is one of the cornerstones of Western modernization theories. Literacy or at least a minimal amount of education is presumed to be necessary and sufficient for overcoming poverty and surmounting limitations rooted in racial, ethnic, gender, and religious differences. Implicit in this formulation is the belief that individual achievement may reduce the effects of social and structural inequalities, and that economic success or failure corresponds at least in part to the quality of personal effort.

On a collective scale, literacy is thought to be a necessary precondition of modernization, a cause and correlate of economic growth, productivity, industrialization, per capita wealth, gross national product, and technological advances, among other advances (Graff, 1979, 1987; Levine 1986). Literacy in this view becomes a commodity to be exported by the developed areas to so-called “developing nations,” enabling individuals and nations to participate in the ongoing processes of globalization and partake of their presumed rewards.

Despite such expectations, there is little evidence that increasing or high levels of literacy result directly in major economic advances. Indeed, historical scholarship suggests that in the short run, at least, industrialization may be incidental to literacy development or vice versa, or even work to the detriment of opportunities for schooling. Literacy among the workforce was not a precondition to early industrialization in England and North America, for example. Schofield (1973) found that the literacy rates of textile, metal, and transport workers declined in the late eighteenth century, as these occupations did not require advanced reading and writing skills. Additionally, the demand for child labor

disrupted education, as children in the factories had fewer opportunities to attend school. Industrial development may have depended on the inventiveness or innovativeness of a relative few, and thus stimulated their literacy development. It may equally have been disruptive to the lives of many other individuals, their families, their customary work and relationships, and their environments including arrangements for schooling (Furet and Ozouf, 1983; Graff, 1979; Levine, 1980).

It is possible that in nineteenth-century England and elsewhere, to a significant extent, training in literacy was not so much for the purpose of developing skills to promote social, cultural, or economic advancement as it was “training in being trained” (Graff, 1979, p. 230, paraphrasing R. Dore, 1967, *Education in Tokugawa Japan*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, p. 292). Schooling and literacy education were the first steps in reordering the values and customs of rural populations entering the Industrial Age, instilling in them the industry, thrift, order, and punctuality required for the successful operation of the factory and a new social order beyond it. Literacy was not primarily or by itself a vehicle for economic advancement, but rather a means of inculcating values and behaviors in the general population that made large-scale economic development possible.

Recent scholarship does not support the assumption that literacy leads directly to economic advancement. Brandt (2001), for example, found that the value of literacy to individuals in the twentieth-century US was influenced by more general social, political, and technological transformations that sometimes elevated the importance of literacy skills but at times undercut or undervalued them. Farmers, teachers, and others in Brandt’s study, for example, found that literacy skills learned in the early part of the century were made less valuable or even obsolete by technological, institutional, and economic transformations of the latter part of the century. New forms of literacy training, specific to the needs to changing workplaces and communities, were required to advance or simply maintain one’s former status. Literacy, in sum, did not change society. Rather, literacy itself was changed—its forms, uses, and meanings—in response to its environment. Such observations make clear that literacy’s and schooling’s contribution to economic development merit further detailed study, and that the presumptions of the Literacy Myth demand even more careful qualification.

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

### *Democracy, Literacy, and the Social Order*

One of the central tenets of the democratic state is that an educated, informed, and participatory voting public is necessary for the

functioning of democracy. In this perspective, one must be able to read and write to understand the issues of the day and think critically about the choices required in a democracy. While that formulation is undoubtedly true, it is also incomplete. It requires the further recognition that literacy and education are necessary but not sufficient conditions of a functioning democracy, which also relies on participation, debate, and a diversity of viewpoints. Although literacy and education can and have been used to stimulate democratic discourse and practices, it is equally true that literacy has been used to foster political repression and maintain inequitable social conditions.

History helps us to understand such tensions. Nineteenth-century schoolbooks stressed the doctrines of order, harmony, and progress, while ignoring or justifying social conflicts and inequities (Graff, 1987, p. 326). Beyond the economic imperatives discussed previously, the purpose of literacy in these contexts was self-consciously conservative, a means for imposing morality, reducing criminality, lessening diversity, and encouraging deference to the established social order, especially in difficult times of change. Literacy was not a means for promoting democracy but rather an instrument for imposing social control. Yet literacy could be and was appropriated by groups and organizations promoting radical social change, for example, among Chartists in nineteenth-century Great Britain and skilled labor organizers more widely. In the shop, meeting hall, and street, oral and written media came together. National literacy campaigns such as those in Cuba and Nicaragua also reflect the dialectical tensions of the literacy myth. Such movements propel literacy workers to action, raise literacy rates significantly, and allow for individual and group development. But literacy remains under the direction of political ideology and doctrine (Arnové and Graff, 1987). Only in the literacy myth does literacy operate as an independent variable.

The functioning of a mature democracy depends on political structures and economic conditions that make participation possible for citizens. Literacy and education are important to the extent that they emphasize critical thinking, open debate, and tolerance for opposing views. Literacy by itself is not a cause for freedom and a guarantee of a working democracy. It is instead one of the many important variables that influences the lives of citizens and their relationship to their governments.

## FUTURE DIRECTIONS

### *Lessons of the Literacy Myth*

Myths can be expressions of collective desires, of the many and the few, of their differential agency and power. Perhaps the Literacy Myth

expresses a hope that literacy alone is enough to end poverty, elevate human dignity, and ensure a just and democratic world. A less benign reading is that the Literacy Myth is a means through which to obscure the causes of social and economic inequities in Western society at least by attributing them to the literacy or illiteracy of different peoples. In such a reading, literacy is a symptom and a symbol. Either way, the consequences of accepting uncritically the Literacy Myth are continuing to misunderstand the nature of literacy, its development, uses, and potentials to foster or inhibit social and economic development.

To argue that literacy has been accorded the status of myth is not to discount the importance of reading and writing, or to suggest that these are irrelevant in the contemporary world. That is clearly not the case. However, we may contrast the Literacy Myth, and its seamless connections of literacy and individual and collective advancement, with the more complex and often contradictory lessons that are consistent with historical and recent literacy development and practice.

One critical lesson is that literacy is not an independent variable, as in the Myth. It is instead historically founded and grounded, a product of the histories in which it is entangled and interwoven, and which give literacy its meanings. Ignorance of the historical record, in which crucial concepts, notions, arrangements, and expectations about literacy have been fashioned, severely limits understanding. Related to this, second, we must grasp the fundamental complexity of literacy, the extent to which it is a product of the intersection of multiple economic, political, cultural, and other factors. This realization mandates rejecting the simple binaries of “literate–illiterate,” “oral–written,” and others that have been used to postulate a “great divide.” These constructs have been used to sort individuals and cultures in ways that are as damaging as they are conceptually inadequate. The legacies of literacy point instead to connections, relationships, and interactions.

In the Literacy Myth, reading and writing are a universal good and ideologically neutral. However, in a third lesson, the history of literacy and schooling demonstrates that no mode or means of learning is neutral. Literacy is a product of the specific circumstances of its acquisition, practice, and uses, and so reflects the ideologies that guide these. School literacy, in particular, is neither unbiased nor the expression of universal norms of reading and writing; it reflects the structures of authority that govern schools and their societies.

Finally, despite the apparent simplicity of the literacy myth, the historical record points to a much richer and diverse record. It underscores the multiple paths to literacy learning, the extraordinary range of instructors, institutions, and other environments, of beginning “texts,” and of the diversity of motivations for learning to read and write. While mass public schooling today presents the most common route for

individuals learning to read and write, the diversity of learners, including adult learners, in Europe and North America demands flexible understandings and pedagogies for literacy development. There is no single road to developing literacy. Different societies and cultures have taken different paths toward rising levels of literacy. This suggests that the presumed “consequences” of literacy—individual, economic, and democratic—will always be conditioned by the particulars of time, situation, and the historical moment.

Such reflections offer a more complex narrative than that of the Literacy Myth. They may also point toward new and different ways of understanding, using, and benefiting from the broad and still developing potentials that literacy may offer individuals and societies (Graff, 1995a,b).

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## LITERACY AND INTERNET TECHNOLOGIES

### INTRODUCTION

A review of research in literacy and Internet technologies, broadly speaking, reveals as much about the current theoretical and ideological paradigms operating in any time period as it does about technology's relationship to literacy. Thus, prior to beginning our discussion, it seems important to bracket our own concerns and investments about literacy and Internet technologies. First, following distinctions regarding information and communication technologies made by Lankshear and Knobel (2003, pp. 72–73), our treatment of technology is particularly invested in interactive and networked computing media, in contrast to stand-alone and noninteractive media. Second, we are chiefly concerned with literacy learning as not merely involving encoding and decoding, but rather, participating in particular sociocultural practices and discourses leading to one's competent handling of texts as an insider. Third, our understanding of relations between literacy and Internet technologies destabilizes conventional understandings of literacy as fundamentally concerned with alphabetic print. While print remains important to practices involving literacy and Internet technologies, print functions increasingly along with other semiotic modalities in order to make meaning, including sound, icons, graphics, and video.

In addition to bracketing literacy–technology relations as networked, as sociocultural, and as multimodal, our discussion is focused on how networked technologies fundamentally change the relationships of literacy to social relations, including one's relations to one's own identity. For example, while purpose and audience have very long histories in rhetoric, assumptions and configurations of purpose and audience are transformed through dynamic use of Internet communication, and purpose and audience may be continuously remixed through chains of distribution and exchange (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2001). Moreover, social relations, through texts that may have worldwide distribution, are articulated through the local and global in new ways. We describe how such formations are beginning to be practiced and researched within literacy studies, in and out of school contexts, and future directions that such work might take.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The pre-history of the Internet is disputed and multifaceted, as is the relationship of the Internet's pre-history to literacy practices. For instance, if we decide to focus on the development of graphical World Wide Web browsers (e.g., NCSA Mosaic in 1993), which led to the rapid public explosion of Internet activity, then we would bracket out earlier literacy environments opened up by local area networks (LAN's), modems, and the like. Yet the picture is still more complicated than the technological story permits. For instance, an important date noted in on history of MUD's (multiuser dungeons) is the writing of Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings* (1937), a fantasy world that "formed the basis for most early gaming systems" (Burka, 1995). Over 40 years later (1978), the first MUD was developed at Essex University, where the acronym was associated with "Multiple Undergraduate Destroyer" due to its popularity among college students (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/MUD>.) Thus, a decade and a half before the early web browsers, gamers were engaging in a text-driven world that combined elements of role-playing games with social chat. An extended history of literacy and Internet technologies, as they are related to education, would certainly include early practices in these pre-Internet environments.

Additionally, Minitel was launched in France in 1982 and quickly became a highly successful online service on which customers could make purchases, chat, check stock prices, make train reservations, access databases, and participate in other information and communication practices. As early as 1986, widespread access to Minitel (or Teletel) terminals resulted in several forms of educational practice in homes, schools, and university settings, including homework help lines, databases with model answers to national examination questions, and online registration for university courses (Guihot, 1989).

In the USA, an early paper, "Microcomputer Communication Networks for Education," (Laboratory of Comparative Human Cognition, 1982) describes the use of "non-real time" messaging (p. 32), in which teachers and students could write messages on microcomputers during the day and then send them overnight by telephone lines, saving the high cost and scheduling problems associated with real-time messaging. This group of developers and researchers described a pilot network connecting a classroom in San Diego with a classroom in rural Alaska, using Apple II computers. Early research interests included studying the complexity of discourse structures of multiple threads in online communication, and the problem of the quantity of messages ("electronic junk mail") received in such media. The group expressed the anxiety that unless teachers and students were given means to address such issues that Internet technologies might be abandoned as

a learning environment. They also initiated what is likely to be one of the earliest teacher education courses on literacy and ICT (information and communication technology), "Interactive Media for Education," offered at the University of California, San Diego, in the summer of 1982.

A parallel project to the research at UCSD introduced in Alaska in 1983 involved the creation of a computer program called QUILL whose purpose was to help upper elementary students develop as writers (Bruce and Rubin, 1993). Rather than teaching writing skills directly, QUILL contained tools through which teachers and students could create literacy environments in their own classrooms, including an electronic mail program. Bruce and Rubin's (1993) research documents how writing, through an electronic network, created cooperative learning conditions for teachers as well as students as well as particular effects through new, networked constructions of audience and purpose.

Two other areas of early work most relevant to literacy and Internet technologies include studies of reading hypertext and multimedia. Much of this work reflects the cognitive traditions that informed it in the 1980's to early 1990's. In their meta-analysis of hypertext studies from 1988 to 1993, Chen and Rada (1996) considered measures of effectiveness and efficiency for several different cognitive styles, and found a generally small overall effect size. However, Leu (2000) noted that early hypertextual studies contained relatively few multimedia resources than are currently available, and also may not have carefully teased out the interaction of prior knowledge with specific searching and learning tasks (p. 755). From early work on multimedia, we have some evidence that learners with limited prior knowledge tend to learn better with multimedia than with print, as do learners deemed to be "visual" or "auditory" in their learning styles (Kamil et al., 2000, p. 775). Daiute and Morse (1994), reviewing much of the multimedia research, concluded that appropriately combined images and sound might enhance both the comprehension and the production of text. However, Reinking and Chanlin (1994) also review problems with multimedia research, and Lankshear and Knobel (2003, p. 77) note how most multimedia research privileges print rather than studying how learners interpret and create multimodal meanings.

Early research on literacy and technology has been critiqued on a number of levels, and much of this criticism remains of relevance today. A primary critique is of the lack of research, especially in the early years of development. Kamil and Lane (1998) examined 437 research articles appearing in four major journals of reading and writing research during the period of 1990 to 1995 and discovered that only 12 of them were focused on issues of literacy and technology. With a focus on early childhood education, Lankshear and Knobel (2003, p. 64) expanded this type of research review to include journals from

Britain, the USA, and Australia for the years 1996–2002, and note the “extreme marginalization” within specialist reading and writing journals of research articles on technology and literacy.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

We have organized our discussion to focus on major contributions in three categories that are foundational to understanding the changing nature of literacy in relation to Internet technologies: multimodality, sociality, and the intersection of the global and local.

#### *Multimodality*

Early work on the relationship between technology and literacy tended to focus on how technology transformed literacy. By way of example, leading literacy researchers in the influential volume, *The Handbook of Literacy and Technology: Transformations in a Post-Typographic World* (Reinking et al., 1998), considered the changing nature of literacy in a digital age. Interested in the shift from print to multimodal representation, the authors nonetheless were careful to underscore continuities as well. Lemke (1998), for instance, argued that

All literacy is multimedia literacy: You can never make meaning with language alone; there must always be a visual or vocal realization of linguistic signs that also carries non-linguistic meaning (e.g. tone of voice or style of orthography) (p. 284).

Although literacy has always been multimodal, contemporary literacy practices rely on an increasingly complex range of modalities. Conceptual work on technology has considered the relationship between the visual and linguistic modes, noting the shift to complex images and simpler texts that contain fewer embedded clauses (Kress, 2003). Communication technologies, which, as Leander (2004) argues, have received less attention in schools than information technologies, often blur distinctions between speech and writing, depending on aural modalities in unprecedented ways.

Many scholars have argued that reading and writing practices change with these changes in textual form and function (Leu, 2000; New London Group, 1996). They point out that Internet technologies require readers and writers to make meaning laterally across modes, sampling the multimodal resources available to them and interpreting an array of surface features and combinations of texts, genres, and modes. In this move from page to screen, reading practices associated with print, often described as linear or deep, can be viewed as *one* way of reading, rather

than *the only* way to be a competent reader (Kress, 2003). Kress and Jewett (2003, p. 16) claim that as the “logic of the image” replaces the “logic of writing,” there will be “far-reaching effects on the organization of communication, not just on the screen but also on the page, and on the mode of writing.” If this is true, then it follows that the reading and writing instruction common to most classrooms may be inadequate to prepare students for a wide range of reading and writing purposes and practices.

In contemporary youth culture, Mp3 players, such as the iPod, are having a significant impact in shaping multimodal literacy practices. As of 2006, the fifth generation of iPod, with its bundled software, iTunes, can store, transfer, and play most audio, photo, and video files of most popular formats. “Podcasting was coined in 2004 when people combined the words “iPod” with “broadcasting” to refer to the uploading and “posting of audio files online in a way that allows software in a person’s computer to detect and download new podcast automatically” (Lenhart, Madden, and Hitlin, 2005).” The rising popularity of podcasting lies in how it enables individuals to distribute their own “radio shows,” but it is also being used in various ways, including school’s distribution of course recordings as podcasts on iTunes. Flanagan and Calandram suggest that podcast’s multimodal affordances make it integrate naturally in auditory-dependent and humanities courses, supports field research, and enables multimodal presentation of student work. By complementing traditional media, podcasting may create different pathways for understanding and learning (Bull, 2005).

Since late 2004, new generation podcasts based on video, or “vodcasts” are joined by an array of online video activity (e.g., video blogs or “vlogs”) that signals something of the rapid increase in multimodal production and distribution by everyday users. Youtube.com, founded in 2005, is a “consumer media company” that offers free hosting for videos. With “Broadcast Yourself” as slogan, Youtube is designed to enable simple, fast, and free sharing and viewing of videos online. Among more than 12 million videos uploaded each day, many are personal, original productions, such as home movies, video blogs, and amateur film works. Others, in spite of site policy against copyright infringement, are often short clips from traditional media, including music videos, commercial, news broadcasts, and dubbed parodies of such.

### *Sociality*

New technologies shape and are shaped by social relations and practices. Since they are socially mediated, particular kinds of Internet technologies afford particular types of social relations. In a large-scale study

conducted by researchers in the United Kingdom, Livingstone and Bober (2004) investigated uses of the Internet among young people (9–19) in order to find out how the Internet is shaping family life, peer cultures, and learning. Related to Internet communication, these researchers found that a third of the young people found chatting with friends online, more often than not local friends, to be at least as satisfying as talking face-to-face. Distinctions between offline and online worlds fall away as people shift seamlessly from digital to face-to-face contexts (Leander and McKim, 2003). In fact, the maintenance of offline relationships is a documented feature of online communication (Holloway and Valentine, 2003; Lewis and Fabos, 2005; Valentine, Holloway, and Bingham, 2000; Wellman, 2004). Based on a large-scale study of children's access to and use of computers in the home and at school in the South-West of England, Facer (2004) found that the line between home and school uses of Internet is not sharply drawn. For instance, home Internet use involved 'formal' learning with the difference being that young people were often the teachers (instructing parents in computer use, for instance). School Internet use, on the other hand, was, at times, a place for informal learning with Internet technologies serving to fuel social relationships that then were enhanced through Instant Messaging and other Internet technologies taken up at home.

Once a technology becomes commonplace, people tend not to think of it as technological. As Herring (2004) points out, young people with Internet access have come to naturalize particular kinds of Internet technologies, such as text messaging, as an ordinary part of their lives. Bolter and Grusin (2000) use the term "remediate" to describe the process by which new technologies incorporate elements of established technologies. IM incorporates elements of phone exchanges and note passing, for instance, but its status as a "new technology" is already evolving. It is not the computer or the Internet itself that is central to literacy, but the way that these tools of technology shape social relations and practices.

Internet technologies have been found to hold potential for the development of new social linguistic identities and relationships (Alvermann, 2002; Chandler-Olcott and Maher, 2003; Thomas, 2005). In a study of adolescents' uses of Instant Messaging, Lewis and Fabos (2005) found that participants manipulated the tone, voice, word choice and subject matter of their messages to fit their social communication needs. They designed their practice to enhance social relationships and statuses across contexts, circulated texts across buddies, combated unwanted messages, assumed alternative identities, and overcame restrictions to their online communication. These functions revealed that the technological and social affordances of IM gave rise to a performative and

multivoiced social subject. Digital technologies, according to some researchers, foster affinity group connections related to common interests and shared norms over common class and race affiliations (Gee, 2002). Others, however, point to the potential for online communication to perpetuate, even exacerbate, inequitable social relations and limiting social roles (Warshauer 2002).

New problems and issues for research on sociality, literacy, and Internet technologies are emerging as new media and technologies rapidly develop, as becomes clear by considering the popularity and complexities of wikis and weblogs. Invented in 1995 by Wart Cunningham, Wikis are a type of digital writing space that allows collaborative revision and editing of texts by multiple users (Leuf and Cunningham, 2001). An exemplary example is Wikipedia, a free content, multilingual, web-based encyclopedia project created volunteers. Wikipedia has become the third most popular information source on the Web (Hafner, 2006). Some argue wikis solicit and store individual's knowledge as a means of "knowledge management" (KMwiki, 2006), others argue that wikis function as a purposeful means of collaboratively discussing or addressing an issue or problem (Ferris and Wilder, 2006). Wikis can be used in the classroom for collaborative writing projects, for example creating reference manuals or glossaries, a class statement or letter to the editor, a WikiBook textbook or handbook on the topic they are studying, or a service learning/inquiry-project report (Barton, 2004).

Weblogs or "blogs," are a type of websites created in web journal format and used by individuals to express opinions, describe experiences, build relationships, and exchange information within digital space. Importantly, the creation and maintenance of blogs demands little in terms of technical knowledge, unlike early web page construction. Blogs are interactive in that each entry links to possible comments from readers, and the page includes links to other online resources. Blogging is considered a powerful digital writing tool that can serve as a useful platform to collect, organize, and share personal writing. Blogs value personal and dialogic expressions that are "spontaneous, subjective, exploratory, and even contradictory" (Anson and Beach, 2005). Two websites that draw on features of blogs and extend them for purposes of social networking are MySpace and Facebook. MySpace is among the most popular English websites, with over 106 million accounts (as of September, 2006) and growing rapidly (wikipedia.org). First created as a campus face book within Harvard University in 2004, Facebook has become highly popular in college, university, and even high school communities. Both MySpace and Facebook afford participants the ability to post texts, photos, links and other media to perform and shape their identities, and also to

search for friends and classmates, form and join groups, develop common textual areas, and create social events through internal messaging.

*Local and Global Intersections and Tensions*

Karaidy's (1999) use of the term "glocal" aptly characterizes how the Internet is a social space where the global and local intersect. To capitalize on this feature of Internet space, projects such as Euro-kids, a partnership among schools across five European countries, uses Internet technologies to enable communication about local citizenship as well as participation in the wider European community (Euro-kids, 2006). Another ambitious project, European Schoolnet, connects learning communities of teachers across the European Union and uses Internet resources to build student awareness of diverse cultures and European citizenship.

As new technologies become integrated in young people's school days and daily lives, creating spaces for communication and identity construction, we need to consider what it means that they are owned and controlled by corporate interests, and have been since 1995 when the Internet became a fully privatized medium (Fabos, 2004). As such, commercial interests are fed by young people's seemingly agentic participation. For example, in a study of an online community for adolescent females, Duncan and Leander (2000) found that while the commercially owned website may have provided a space for girls to display some sense of power and self-definition, its primary purpose was to produce consumer identities and serve commercial interests.

Many chat rooms and bulletin boards, in the guise of enabling young people to create content and speak their minds, are commercially sponsored sites where marketers monitor teens' postings to gather information about popular trends and products. The separation of content from advertising erodes on the Web, targeting teens as a prime market, through chat spaces in which trendy brand-name companies create clubs with 'free membership' that include chat spaces, email newsletters, fashion tips, and so on. Thus, online users become not only *subjects in*, but also the *objects of*, the new global capitalism.

PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

The "glocalized" space of the Internet presents a particular set of research problems for researchers using ethnographic tools. For researchers who study cultural production in local contexts, the challenge is to figure out how to study online activity from both a local and global perspective, how to study the activity up close using the

usual ethnographic tools of participant-observation, interview, video, and local artifacts and also trace this activity as it distributed across sites (Leander and McKim, 2003) and global flows. The “hypersociality” (Ito, 2005, p. 3) and everyday online practices of local peer groups shape and are shaped by “pervasive mass-media ecologies” (2) that flow transnationally. The fact that AOL corners the market for Instant Messaging interfaces, and users must have AOL in order to chat with buddies whose families use AOL, is one example of how transnational flows of capital shape local activity.

Moreover, as Ito (2005) suggests, “the real is being colonized by the virtual” (3) in ways not directly connected to the political economy of the Net. Young people’s everyday offline interactions are shaped by their interactions online, and, in turn, reshape their online social worlds. This is true not only in terms of their online conversations, but also in terms of how they market their online personas across sites by carefully crafting profiles that become part of local and global flows. Ethnographers accustomed to site-specific participant-observation need to design new methods to meet the challenges of researching online communities. This is perhaps even more the case as new forms of communication become pervasive that merge the mobile telephone with Internet-related media. Text messaging, for instance, also known as short message service (SMS) and highly popular in Asia and Europe, permits the exchange of concise, text-based messages between mobile phones. Embedded into the pervasive technologies of everyday life and not separated out as a “computing event,” text messaging is indicative of the increasing methodological challenges presented for researching literacy as mobile social practice.

Tracing the relationship between the local and the global is an important skill to develop in users as well as researchers. Several British researchers have found that UK-based chat users generally assume that other users are American (see, for instance, Livingstone, 2002). The economic and linguistic dominance of the US presence on the Net makes such assumptions commonplace yet rarely interrogated by US users. Building users’ awareness of commercial interests and transnational flows is no easy matter. As a step in this direction, new-media scholars argue for careful, critical readings of Internet sites and texts to uncover the politics of representation and commercial sponsorship. Rather than viewing print as less important than graphical elements to this enterprise, analytic reading of print online will remain important in order for people to thoughtfully examine, critique, and filter extensive amounts of information. However, critical analysis on the screen is different than the page in that it requires skillful intertextual reading, not only across texts but also across genres and modes (Myers et al., 1998).

Teaching strategies for intertextual reading in online environments is important, yet teachers often feel that they lack the knowledge to do so. Literacy that incorporates Internet technologies is generally left up to teachers who themselves have not been trained to read across genres and modes. Moreover, Internet technologies present the additional challenge of interactivity as part of the reading process. Although all reading involves readers interacting with texts, interactive reading is intensified online as a material feature of the reading process. Readers make decisions about text construction and organization through selection of links and modes, among other elements of website design. In so doing, readers can be viewed as participants in the critical processes of production and analysis. On the other hand, website architecture can also seduce readers to take up particular positions and ideologies even as it appears to allow space for readers to ‘create’ the reading experience. Reconceptualizing reading instruction in ways that address these new forms of critique and participation is a challenge schools have yet to meet.

Writing instruction also needs to change in the wake of Internet technologies. The multimodality and sociality of the technology landscape has resulted in changes in writing processes and identity representations. The writing process for many digital writers does not occur as a set of stages—even recursive ones. Nonetheless, most schools and teacher education programs remain wedded to the stages of the writing process as they were established for pen and paper. Voice is another writing concept that is in flux as researchers and educators begin to understand how it functions in online writing environments. Often presented in schools as something unitary and authentic, voice in digital writing can be purposefully unstable, shifting moment-to-moment for many different audiences. Perhaps students would benefit from learning strategies to negotiate the performance of self in writing online for multiple audiences. Audiences in online writing are rarely the remote academic audiences of school assignments. Communicating more often across space in real-time means that ‘remote’ audiences become more immediate in online writing. Students need to be prepared to make effective rhetorical choices given such changes. Moreover, because online writing circulates widely, beyond the intended audience of the writer, writers need to consider the possible routes through which their writing may circulate. Finally, writing online is often most effective when it is most conversational. Thus, students may benefit from invitations to practice conversational writing for particular purposes rather than admonishments that conversational writing will cause academic writing skills to deteriorate.

In light of the persistence of the digital divide between low-income and middle-income families, it is important for schools to take up these

new challenges related to reading and writing. Neglecting to do so may further advantage the ‘haves’ at the expense of the ‘have nots’, who will have fewer opportunities outside of school to practice digital forms of reading and writing. The substantial growth in teen Internet use in recent years suggests a trend that should move those of us in the field of literacy to take seriously the changes that are afoot. It is inevitable that young people will continue to increase the amount and range of their online activities, thus changing their writing practices and processes in ways that schools will increasingly need to address. In the next section, we highlight new studies of young people’s digital practices that we believe will have implications for literacy as it relates to Internet technologies in and out of school.

### WORK IN PROGRESS

In the summer of 2005, a multidisciplinary conference on digital culture was held in Taiwan, sponsored by the Taipei Institute of Ethnology and Academia. The purpose of the conference was to “place emerging Asian digital cultures in the context of both local cultural traditions and globalization,” including how uses of digital technologies are transforming “local experiences, aesthetics, and social formations” (Asian Digital Cultures Conference, 2005). The purposes and discourse of this event, which would have surprised scholars just 5 years ago, is indicative of how quickly diverse fields are moving toward interpreting Internet technologies in relation to social formations and global/local dynamisms. Cultural theorist Arjun Appadurai (1996) uses the metaphor of “scapes” to describe contemporary global movements, including the flows of media (mediascapes), technology (technoscapes), people (ethnoscapes), ideology (ideoscapes) and money (financescapes). In the following consideration of works in progress we feature research that is addressed toward understanding literacy and Internet technologies as related to an increasingly mobile world.

#### *Flows of Learning in and out of School*

“Kids’ Informal Learning with Digital Media,” under the direction of Peter Lyman, Diane Harley (both of UC Berkeley), Mimi Ito (University of Southern California), and Michael Carter (Monterey Institute for Technology and Education) is a major, multisited ethnographic study that involves diverse youth between the ages of 10 and 18 in four physical sites and up to 20 virtual spaces, including online games, web logs, messaging, and online interest groups (<http://groups.sims.berkeley.edu/digitalyouth/>). While not directly addressed to literacy learning, such

work in media studies and education has significant implications for understanding how the social practices of literacy are pivotal to everyday cultural production by youth (Ito, in press). The research considers the gap in engagement between learning in school and online learning online out of school, moving toward the transformation of schooling and software. In related work, Rodney Jones, together with Co-PI David Li, completed in 2005 a 2-year funded study in Hong Kong on the communication and literacy practices of 40 youth, in and out of school. One of Jones' motivations for engaging in the study was to understand why Hong Kong schools seemed so out of step with the wired culture of Hong Kong outside of schools. Broadly, Jones also wanted to give youth an opportunity to reflect on what they were doing online and share their online knowledge and practices with teachers and parents. Currently, as Jones analyzes and reports from his data, he is becoming increasingly interested in broader issues, such as the relationships of online and offline practices to time and space (Jones, 2004; Jones, forthcoming).

### *Flows of Identity and Discourse*

The work of Sarah Holloway and Gil Valentine and collaborators in the UK provides an important argument for taking a socially dynamic and connective approach to practice rather than bracketing social spaces such as "home," "school," "online," and "offline," in advance. The researchers reconceive the problem of access to Internet technologies as a problem of identification. Across home and different school settings, Holloway and Valentine (2001) have documented practices of identification with technology by youth, including how they negotiate their technical competence to be more or less visible. Technology emerged as a signifier of social inadequacy for some boys in school, who risked being marked as "geeks" or "homos," while skills in particular computer games, which were acquired at home, carried cultural capital into the school setting. Moreover, while some girls received praise from parents for technical competency at home, they strategically used technical practices sparingly at school to "win social popularity as well as the grudging respect of their peers for their technical skill" (2001, p. 36). Rather than documenting a stable set of meanings and practices "within" contexts, this research traces a complex, dynamically shifting articulation of techno-literacy practices, social spaces, and identity. In another study (Valentine, Holloway, and Bingham, 2002) the researchers analyze how three different schools discursively constituted the Internet as a very different kind of object. These three discourses on Internet technologies included "ICT for all," which included access for the wider community, "ICT as a life skill," and

“ICT in terms of academic achievement” (p. 312). These discourses helped to structure different types of access and surveillance of Internet technologies practices not only within, but also outside of school.

*Flows of People and Culture: Immigration and Transnationalism*

Eva Lam is developing a program of research investigating how immigrant youth in the USA use digital literacy practices, and the relationships of these practices to their English learning, social networks, and identities (Lam, 2000, 2004). Lam’s work is pushing beyond a learning perspective informed by acculturation, prevalent in ESL literature, and moving rather toward a perspective informed by transculturation. She traces how immigrant youth engage in multiple forms of cultural belonging, including online communities that traverse national boundaries and hence cannot be described by a nation-centered discourse or methodology. In a series of case studies, Lam documents how immigrants, segregated within school settings, develop literacy practices online that contribute to their English learning and perspectives on their social futures. For example, code-mixing between English and Romanized Cantonese in a “Hong Kong Chat Room” was considered normative for some students online and was used to index social alignments and cultural assumptions, while such mixing or social alignments were absent in the school context. In the next phase of Lam’s work which began in the spring of 2005, she is planning to study language development and modes of literacy participation of 30 immigrant students over the course of a year.

Fanfiction communities are the focus of research conducted by Rebecca Black, another scholar who is interested in the online literacy practices of immigrant youth and English language learners (2005; in press). Black’s work examines adolescent English language learners’ uses of fanfiction to represent and enhance their cultural and linguistic identities as well as their social and intellectual capital as writers and knowledgeable participants in this form of popular culture. The fanfiction writing produced by these youth draws on school literacy practices as well as deep knowledge of the conventions of fanfiction as a popular genre. In a chapter on feedback in an online fanfiction community (in press), Black gives the example of an “author’s note” that prefaced the Internet technologies of a writer whose first language is Japanese., announcing her anxiety about not writing clear English prose. Demonstrating affinity with the writer, and perhaps an insider’s knowledge, the feedback of two readers included Japanese terms. Black is completing a book that examines the identity work accomplished for adolescents who are English language learners through their participation in online fanfiction communities.

*Creating Zones of Mobility for Underserved Youth*

While early research and program development with literacy and Internet technologies has been disproportionately oriented to privileged, white, and middle-class students, an increasing amount of work in progress is beginning to focus on children and youth who are underserved by schooling. Some of this work, under the direction of Theresa Rogers and Andrew Schofield at the University of British Columbia (<http://www.newtonliteracies.ca/>) is using new multi-media genres, such as digital storytelling, to engage working class and minority youth in meaningful literacy learning. Another recent large-scale project recently underway focuses on helping low-achieving readers develop higher-level comprehension skills demanded by the Internet. This project (<http://www.newliteracies.uconn.edu/iesproject/index.html>) directed by Don Leu (University of Connecticut) and David Reinking (Clemson University) is developing an adaptation of reciprocal teaching and a series of learning contexts in which students identify problems and then solve them only by locating, evaluating, synthesizing, and communicating information.

## FUTURE DIRECTIONS

As research on Internet technologies and literacy continues, and its production level increases, an important future direction for this area of work will be the development of interdisciplinary approaches that benefit from insights from not only literacy studies but also media studies, cultural studies, information science, feminist studies, human and cultural geography, sociology, anthropology, and a host of other areas. Literacy scholars have much to add to conversations in these other areas as well as glean from them. For instance, returning to Appadurai's (1996) "scapes" of modern life, as literacy studies are beginning to take up issues of migration and Internet technologies, the analysis of literacy practices could be enriched through an analysis of flows of economic capital.

Another enduring need for ongoing research involves the development of theoretical and methodological frames that will enable us to understand changing relations of power, changing constructions of identity, and changing uses of literacy. If the meaning of literacy is deictic, or regularly redefined with respect to new technologies (Leu, 2000), then part of what follows from this insight is that studies of individual tools (e.g., wikis, MySpace pages, weblogs), however helpful, must also avoid parochialism and provide theoretical conceptions that contribute to a broader picture of literacy/ICT coproductions. An example of a theoretical insight that might traverse specific tools is the manner in which new literacy practices mediated by Internet technologies

are reshaping the experience of time and space. While schooling may often construct literate activity as monochromic (temporally linear, tangible, and divisible), youth often use Internet technologies in ways that treat it as polychromic (fluid, layered, and simultaneous) (Jones, forthcoming). This difference has implications for research as well, challenging researchers' assumptions about a single dominant temporal frame or spatial situation of literate activity.

Further, while the social turn in literacy studies (e.g., Street, 1984) has done much to help us understand literacy as imminently social rather than purely individual, in the area of Internet technologies and literacy we have much to understand concerning how literacy is used to create social effects, or do work in social and cultural worlds. One promising area of study in this vein is work in Internet technologies and political activism, such as taken up by Brian Wilson in Ontario, Canada (Wilson, forthcoming). Little work has been done in media studies, and perhaps less in literacy studies, concerning how youth also organize forms of social critique and activism through online venues. Wilson critiques how youth have been infantilized and apoliticized by the popular media and previous research. In his current work, Wilson traverses online and offline contexts of social action, interpreting how online communications and texts become embedded, interpreted, and realized among youth activist networks.

Another high potential area of investigation concerning how literacy and Internet technologies is used to create social effects is the area of video game research. Video games are fast becoming a pastime of choice among many youth across the globe, involving multimediated experiences in which participants take on new identities, fight battles, go on collaborative virtual missions, take on new textual and visual identities, built art objects, and create new forms of sociality. Gee (2003) has authored a widely read and provocative early work on video games as venues of learning and literacy, drawing on a wide swath of current learning theories to develop 36 learning principles informing video game play as learning activity. Unlike much of contemporary schooling, with its division of knowledge into isolated bits, Gee argues that video games are semiotic domains that one slowly learns and can master. While online game research already has developed its own conferences and publication venues, game research in literacy studies is yet very early in development. Within this area, Constance Steinkueler's (2006) work is developing an analysis of online gaming, discourse, identity, and a host of literacy practices that gamers engage in during gaming and in support of their participation in the discourses and cultures of gaming. Leander and Lovvorn (2006) have developed a comparative analysis of literate practices in online gaming and schooling, drawing on Actor Network Theory in order to trace the circulations

in various forms of classroom and game-related literacy practices. What presents a particular challenge in research on gaming is not only that games are rich multimodal environments, but also that that game texts-in-use challenge our ontological separations of texts from objects, bodies, and identities.

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## BICS AND CALP: EMPIRICAL AND THEORETICAL STATUS OF THE DISTINCTION

### INTRODUCTION

The distinction between *basic interpersonal communicative skills* (BICS) and *cognitive academic language proficiency* (CALP) was introduced by Cummins (1979, 1981a) in order to draw educators' attention to the timelines and challenges that second language learners encounter as they attempt to catch up to their peers in academic aspects of the school language. BICS refers to conversational fluency in a language while CALP refers to students' ability to understand and express, in both oral and written modes, concepts and ideas that are relevant to success in school. The terms conversational fluency and academic language proficiency are used interchangeably with BICS and CALP in the remainder of this chapter.

Initially, I describe the origins, rationale, and evolution of the distinction together with its empirical foundations. I then discuss its relationship to similar theoretical constructs that have been proposed in different contexts and for different purposes. Finally, I analyze and respond to critiques of the distinction and discuss the relationship of the distinction to the emerging field of New Literacy studies (e.g. Barton, 1994; Street, 1995).

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1976) initially brought attention to the fact that Finnish immigrant children in Sweden often appeared to educators to be fluent in both Finnish and Swedish but still showed levels of verbal academic performance in both languages considerably below grade/age expectations. The BICS/CALP distinction highlighted a similar reality and formalized the difference between conversational fluency and academic language proficiency as conceptually distinct components of the construct of "language proficiency." Because this was a conceptual distinction rather than an overall theory of "language proficiency" there was never any suggestion that these were the only important or relevant components of that construct.

The initial theoretical intent of the BICS/CALP distinction was to qualify Oller's (1979) claim that all individual differences in language

proficiency could be accounted for by just one underlying factor, which he termed *global language proficiency*. Oller synthesized a considerable amount of data showing strong correlations between performance on cloze tests of reading, standardized reading tests, and measures of oral verbal ability (e.g. vocabulary measures). Cummins (1979), however, argued that it is problematic to incorporate all aspects of language use or performance into just one dimension of general or global language proficiency. For example, if we take two monolingual English-speaking siblings, a 12-year old child and a 6-year old, there are enormous differences in these children's ability to read and write English and in the depth and breadth of their vocabulary knowledge, but minimal differences in their phonology or basic fluency. The 6-year old can understand virtually everything that is likely to be said to her in everyday social contexts and she can use language very effectively in these contexts, just as the 12-year old can. In other words, some aspects of children's first language development (e.g. phonology) reach a plateau relatively early whereas other aspects (e.g. vocabulary knowledge) continue to develop throughout our lifetimes. Thus, these very different aspects of proficiency cannot be considered to reflect just one unitary proficiency dimension.

CALP or academic language proficiency develops through social interaction from birth but becomes differentiated from BICS after the early stages of schooling to reflect primarily the language that children acquire in school and which they need to use effectively if they are to progress successfully through the grades. The notion of CALP is specific to the social context of schooling, hence the term "academic." Academic language proficiency can thus be defined as "the extent to which an individual has access to and command of the oral and written academic registers of schooling" (Cummins, 2000, p. 67).

The relevance of the BICS/CALP distinction for bilingual students' academic development was reinforced by two research studies (Cummins, 1980, 1981b) showing that educators and policy-makers frequently conflated conversational and academic dimensions of English language proficiency and that this conflation contributed significantly to the creation of academic difficulties for students who were learning English as an additional language (EAL).

The first study (Cummins, 1980, 1984) involved an analysis of more than 400 teacher referral forms and psychological assessments carried out on EAL students in a large Canadian school system. The teacher referral forms and psychological assessment reports showed that teachers and psychologists often assumed that children had overcome all difficulties with English when they could converse easily in the language. Yet these children frequently performed poorly on English academic tasks within the classroom (hence the referral for assessment) as

well as on the verbal scales of the cognitive ability test administered as part of the psychological assessment. Many students were designated as having language or communication disabilities despite the fact that they had been in Canada for a relatively short amount of time (e.g. 1–3 years). Thus, the conflation of second language (L2) conversational fluency with L2 academic proficiency contributed directly to the inappropriate placement of bilingual students in special education programs.

The need to distinguish between conversational fluency and academic aspects of L2 performance was further highlighted by the reanalysis of language performance data from the Toronto Board of Education (Cummins, 1981b). These data showed that there was a gap of several years, on average, between the attainment of peer-appropriate fluency in English and the attainment of grade norms in academic aspects of English. Conversational aspects of proficiency reached peer-appropriate levels usually within about two years of exposure to English but a period of 5–7 years was required, on average, for immigrant students to approach grade norms in academic aspects of English (e.g. vocabulary knowledge).

The differential time periods required to attain peer-appropriate L2 conversational fluency as compared to meeting grade expectations in academic language proficiency have been corroborated in many research studies carried out during the past 30 years in Canada (Klesmer, 1994), Europe (Snow and Hoefnagel-Hohle, 1978), Israel (Shohamy, Levine, Spolsky, Kere-Levy, Inbar, Shemesh, 2002), and the United States (Hakuta, Butler and Witt, 2002; Thomas and Collier, 2002).

The following example from the psychological assessment study (Cummins, 1980, 1984) illustrates how these implicit assumptions about the nature of language proficiency can directly affect the academic trajectories and life chances of bilingual students:

*PR (289)*. PR was referred in first grade by the school principal who noted that “PR is experiencing considerable difficulty with grade one work. An intellectual assessment would help her teacher to set realistic learning expectations for her and might provide some clues as to remedial assistance that might be offered.”

No mention was made of the fact that the child was learning English as a second language; this only emerged when the child was referred by the second grade teacher in the following year. Thus, the psychologist does not consider this as a possible factor in accounting for the discrepancy between a verbal IQ of 64 and a performance (nonverbal) IQ of 108. The assessment report read as follows:

Although overall ability level appears to be within the low average range, note the significant difference between verbal and nonverbal scores . . . . It would appear that PR’s development has not progressed at a normal rate and

consequently she is, and will continue to experience much difficulty in school. Teacher's expectations at this time should be set accordingly.

What is interesting in this example is that the child's English communicative skills are presumably sufficiently well developed that the psychologist (and possibly the teacher) is not alerted to the child's EAL background. This leads the psychologist to infer from her low verbal IQ score that "her development has not progressed at a normal rate" and to advise the teacher to set low academic expectations for the child since she "will continue to experience much difficulty in school."

During the 1980s and 1990s in the United States exactly the same misconception about the nature of language proficiency underlay the frequent early exit of bilingual students from English-as-a-second language (ESL) or bilingual programs into mainstream English-only programs on the basis of the fact that they had "acquired English." Many of these students experienced academic difficulties within the mainstream class because no supports were in place to assist them to understand instruction and continue their development of English academic skills.

The relevance of the BICS/CALP distinction is illustrated in Vincent's (1996) ethnographic study of second generation Salvadorean students in Washington DC. Vincent points out that the children in her study began school in an English-speaking environment and "within their first two or three years attained conversational ability in English that teachers would regard as native-like" (p. 195). She suggests, however, that this fluency is largely deceptive:

The children seem to have much greater English proficiency than they actually do because their spoken English has no accent and they are able to converse on a few everyday, frequently discussed subjects. Academic language is frequently lacking. Teachers actually spend very little time talking with individual children and tend to interpret a small sample of speech as evidence of full English proficiency. (p. 195)

BICS/CALP made no claim to be anything more than a conceptual distinction. It provided a way of (i) naming and talking about the classroom realities that Vincent (1996) discusses and (ii) highlighting the discriminatory assessment and instructional practices experienced by many bilingual students.

#### EVOLUTION OF THE THEORETICAL CONSTRUCTS

The initial BICS/CALP distinction was elaborated into two intersecting continua (Cummins, 1981a) that highlighted the range of cognitive demands and contextual support involved in particular language tasks or activities (context-embedded/context-reduced, cognitively

undemanding/cognitively demanding). Internal and external dimensions of context were distinguished to reflect the fact that “context” is constituted both by what we bring to a task (e.g., our prior knowledge, interests, and motivation) and the range of supports that may be incorporated in the task itself (e.g., visual supports such as graphic organizers). This “quadrants” framework stimulated discussion of the instructional environment required to enable EAL students to catch up academically as quickly as possible. Specifically, it was argued that effective instruction for EAL students should focus primarily on context-embedded and cognitively demanding tasks. It was also recognized, however, that these dimensions cannot be specified in absolute terms because what is “context-embedded” or “cognitively demanding” for one learner may not be so for another as a result of differences in internal attributes such as prior knowledge or interest (Coelho, 2004; Cummins, 1981a).

The BICS/CALP distinction was maintained within this elaboration and related to the theoretical distinctions of several other theorists (e.g. Bruner’s [1975] communicative and analytic competence, Donaldson’s [1978] embedded and disembedded language, and Olson’s [1977] utterance and text). The terms used by different investigators have varied but the essential distinction refers to the extent to which the meaning being communicated is strongly supported by contextual or interpersonal cues (such as gestures, facial expressions, and intonation present in face-to-face interaction) or supported primarily by linguistic cues. The term “context-reduced” was used rather than “decontextualized” in recognition of the fact that all language and literacy practices are contextualized; however, the range of supports to meaning in many academic contexts (e.g., textbook reading) is reduced in comparison to the contextual support available in face-to-face contexts.

In later accounts of the framework (Cummins, 2000, 2001) the distinction between conversational fluency and academic language proficiency was related to the work of several other theorists. For example, Gibbons’ (1991) distinction between *playground language* and *classroom language* highlighted in a particularly clear manner the linguistic challenges of classroom language demands. She notes that playground language includes the language which “enables children to make friends, join in games and take part in a variety of day-to-day activities that develop and maintain social contacts” (p. 3). She points out that this language typically occurs in face-to-face situations and is highly dependent on the physical and visual context, and on gesture and body language. However, classroom language is very different from playground language:

The playground situation does not normally offer children the opportunity to use such language as: *if we increase the angle by 5 degrees, we could cut the circumference into equal parts.*

Nor does it normally require the language associated with the higher order thinking skills, such as hypothesizing, evaluating, inferring, generalizing, predicting or classifying. Yet these are the language functions which are related to learning and the development of cognition; they occur in all areas of the curriculum, and without them a child's potential in academic areas cannot be realized (1991, p. 3).

The research of Biber (1986) and Corson (1995) also provides evidence of the linguistic reality of the distinction. Corson highlighted the enormous lexical differences between typical conversational interactions in English as compared to academic or literacy-related uses of English. The high-frequency everyday lexicon of English conversation derives predominantly from Anglo-Saxon sources while the relatively lower frequency academic vocabulary is primarily Graeco-Latin in origin (see also Coxhead, 2000).

Similarly, Biber's (1986) factor analysis of more than one million words of English speech and written text from a wide variety of genres revealed underlying dimensions very consistent with the distinction between conversational and academic aspects of language proficiency. For example, when factor scores were calculated for the different text types on each factor, telephone and face-to-face conversation were at opposite extremes from official documents and academic prose on Textual Dimensions 1 and 2 (Interactive vs. Edited Text, and Abstract vs. Situated Content).

Conversational and academic language registers were also related to Gee's (1990) distinction between *primary* and *secondary* discourses (Cummins, 2001). Primary discourses are acquired through face-to-face interactions in the home and represent the language of initial socialization. Secondary discourses are acquired in social institutions beyond the family (e.g. school, business, religious, and cultural contexts) and involve acquisition of specialized vocabulary and functions of language appropriate to those settings. Secondary discourses can be oral or written and are equally central to the social life of nonliterate and literate cultures. Examples of secondary discourse common in many nonliterate cultures are the conventions of story-telling or the language of marriage or burial rituals which are passed down through oral tradition from one generation to the next. Within this conception, academic language proficiency represents an individual's access to and command of the specialized vocabulary and functions of language that are characteristic of the social institution of schooling. The secondary discourses of schooling are no different in principle than the secondary discourse of other spheres of human endeavor—for example, avid amateur gardeners and professional horticulturalists have acquired vocabulary related to plants and flowers far beyond the knowledge of

those not involved in this sphere of activity. What makes acquisition of the secondary discourses associated with schooling so crucial, however, is that the life chances of individuals are directly determined by the degree of expertise they acquire in understanding and using this language.

Other ways in which the original BICS/CALP distinction has evolved include:

- The addition of *discrete language skills* as a component of language proficiency that is distinct from both conversational fluency and academic language proficiency (Cummins, 2001). Discrete language skills involve the learning of rule-governed aspects of language (including phonology, grammar, and spelling) where acquisition of the general case permits generalization to other instances governed by that particular rule. Discrete language skills can sometimes be learned in virtual isolation from the development of academic language proficiency as illustrated in the fact that some students who can “read” English fluently may have only a very limited understanding of the words they can decode (see Cummins, Brown, and Sayers, 2007, for an analysis of discrete language skills in relation to current debates on the teaching of reading in the USA).
- The embedding of the BICS/CALP distinction within a broader framework of academic development in culturally and linguistically diverse contexts that specifies the role of societal power relations in framing teacher–student interactions and determining the social organization of schooling (Cummins, 1986, 2001). Teacher–student interactions are seen as a process of negotiating identities, reflecting to varying degrees coercive or collaborative relations of power in the wider society. This socialization process within the school determines the extent to which students will engage academically and gain access to the academic registers of schooling.

#### CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE BICS/CALP DISTINCTION TO POLICY AND PRACTICE

Since its initial articulation, the distinction between BICS and CALP has influenced both policy and practice related to the instruction and assessment of second language learners. It has been invoked, for example, in policy discussions related to:

- The amount and duration of funding necessary to support students who are learning English as an additional language;
- The kinds of instructional support that EAL students need at different stages of their acquisition of conversational and academic English;

- The inclusion of EAL students in nationally mandated high-stakes testing; for example, should EAL students be exempt from taking high-stakes tests and, if so, for how long—1, 2, 3, 4, or 5 years after arrival in the host country?
- The extent to which psychological testing of EAL students for diagnostic purposes through their L2 is valid and ethically defensible.

The distinction is discussed in numerous books that aim to equip educators with the understanding and skills required to teach and assess linguistically diverse students (e.g. Cline and Frederickson, 1996, in the United Kingdom; Coelho, 2004, in Canada; Diaz-Rico and Weed, 2002, in the USA) and has been invoked to interpret data from a range of sociolinguistic and educational contexts (e.g. Broome's [2004] research on reading English in multilingual South African schools).

### CRITIQUES OF THE BICS/CALP DISTINCTION

The BICS/CALP distinction has also been critiqued by numerous scholars who see it as oversimplified (e.g. Scarcella, 2003; Valdés, 2004), reflective of an “autonomous” rather than an “ideological” notion of literacy (Wiley, 1996), an artifact of “test-wiseness” (Edelsky et al., 1983; Martin-Jones and Romaine, 1986) and a “deficit theory” that attributes bilingual students’ academic difficulties to their “low CALP” (e.g. Edelsky, 1990; Edelsky et al., 1983; MacSwan, 2000).

In response to these critiques, Cummins and Swain (1983) and Cummins (2000) pointed out that the construct of academic language proficiency does not in any way depend on test scores to support either its construct validity or relevance to education. This is illustrated in Vincent’s (1996) ethnographic study and Biber’s (1986) research on the English lexicon discussed above. Furthermore, the BICS/CALP distinction has been integrated since 1986 with a detailed sociopolitical analysis of how schools construct academic failure among subordinated groups. The framework documents educational approaches that challenge this pattern of coercive power relations and promote the generation of power and the development of academic expertise in interactions between educators and students (Cummins, 2001; Cummins, Brown, and Sayers, 2007).

The broader issues in this debate go beyond the specific interpretations of the distinction between conversational fluency and academic language proficiency. They concern the nature of theoretical constructs and their intersection with research, policy and practice. Theories must be consistent with the empirical data to have any claim to validity. However, any set of theoretical constructs represents only one of potentially many ways of organizing or viewing the data. Theories frame phenomena and provide interpretations of empirical data within particular contexts and for particular purposes. However, no theory is

“valid” or “true” in any absolute sense. A theory represents a way of viewing phenomena that may be relevant and useful in varying degrees depending on its purpose, how well it communicates with its intended audience, and the consequences for practice of following through on its implications (its “consequential validity”). The generation of knowledge (theory) is always dialogical and just as oral and written language is meaningless outside of a human communicative and interpretive context, so too theoretical constructs assume meaning only within specific dialogical contexts. (Cummins, 2000).

Thus, the BICS/CALP distinction was initially formulated to address certain theoretical issues (e.g. whether “language proficiency” could legitimately be viewed as a unitary construct, as Oller [1979] proposed) and to interpret empirical data related to the time periods required for immigrant students to catch up academically. It spoke directly to prejudicial policies and practices that were denying students access to equitable and effective learning opportunities.

Much of the criticism of the distinction derives from taking the constructs out of their original dialogical or discursive context and arguing that they are not useful or appropriate in a very different dialogical context. This can be illustrated in Scarcella’s (2003) critique. She argues that the dichotomous conceptualization of language incorporated in the BICS/CALP distinction “is not useful for understanding the complexities of academic English or the multiple variables affecting its development” (p. 5). Both BICS and CALP are more complex than a binary distinction implies. She points out that some aspects of BICS are acquired late and some aspects of CALP are acquired early. Furthermore, some variables such as phonemic awareness (sensitivity to sounds in spoken words) are related to the development of both BICS and CALP (e.g. in helping readers to access difficult academic words). She concludes that the distinction is “of limited practical value, since it fails to operationalize tasks and therefore does not generate tasks that teachers can use to help develop their students’ academic English . . . . the BICS/CALP perspective does not provide teachers with sufficient information about academic English to help their students acquire it” (p. 6).

Scarcella goes on to elaborate a detailed framework for conceptualizing academic language and generating academic tasks that is certainly far more useful and appropriate for this purpose than the notion of CALP. What she fails to acknowledge, however, is that the BICS/CALP distinction was not formulated as a tool to generate academic tasks. It addresses a very different set of theoretical, policy, and classroom instructional issues. Scarcella’s critique is analogous to rejecting an apple because it is not an orange.

Related to Scarcella’s critique are concerns (Valdés, 2004; Wiley, 2006) that the conversational fluency/academic language proficiency

distinction reflects an “autonomous” view of language and literacy that is incompatible with the perspective of New Literacies theorists that language and literacy represent social and cultural practices that are embedded in a context of historical and current power relations (e.g. Barton, 1994; Street, 1995). As expressed by Valdés (2004, p. 115):

The view that there are multiple literacies rather than a single literacy, that these literacies depend on the context of the situation, the activity itself, the interactions between participants, and the knowledge and experiences that these various participants bring to these interactions is distant from the view held by most L2 educators who still embrace a technocratic notion of literacy and emphasise the development of decontextualised skills.

There is nothing in the BICS/CALP distinction that is inconsistent with this perspective on language and literacy practices. It makes no claim to focus on any context other than that of the school. Furthermore, the pedagogical practices that have been articulated to support the development of academic expertise (CALP) are far from the decontextualized drills appropriately castigated by numerous researchers and educators. They include a focus on critical literacy and critical language awareness together with enabling EAL and bilingual students to generate new knowledge, create literature and art, and act on social realities, all of which directly address issues of identity negotiation and societal power relations (Cummins, 2001; Cummins, Brown, and Sayers, 2007).

One can accept the perspective that literacies are multiple, contextually specific, and constantly evolving (as I do) while at the same time arguing that in certain discursive contexts it is useful to distinguish between conversational fluency and academic language proficiency. To illustrate, the fact that the concept of “European” can be broken down into an almost infinite array of national, regional, and social identities does not invalidate the more general descriptor of “European.” In some discursive contexts and for some purposes it is legitimate and useful to describe an individual or a group as “European” despite the fact that it greatly oversimplifies the complex reality of “Europeanness.” Similarly, in certain discursive contexts and for certain purposes it is legitimate and useful to talk about conversational fluency and academic language proficiency despite the fact that these constructs incorporate multiple levels of complexity.

Clearly, theorists operating from a New Literacies perspective have contributed important insights into the nature and functions of literacy. However, this does not mean that a New Literacies perspective is the best or only way to address all questions of literacy development. For example, highlighting the social and contextually specific dimensions of cognition does not invalidate a research focus on what may be

happening inside the heads of individuals as they perform cognitive or linguistic tasks. There are many important questions and research studies associated with first and second language literacy development that owe little to New Literacy Studies but have played a central role in policy discussions related to equity in education. Research studies on how long it typically takes EAL students to catch up to grade norms in English academic proficiency have, within the context of the research, focused on literacy as an autonomous skill measured by standardized tests but have nevertheless contributed in substantial ways to promoting equity in schooling for bilingual students.

### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The BICS/CALP distinction was not proposed as an overall theory of language proficiency but as a very specific conceptual distinction that has important implications for policy and practice. It has drawn attention to specific ways in which educators' assumptions about the nature of language proficiency and the development of L2 proficiency have prejudiced the academic development of bilingual students. However, the distinction is likely to remain controversial, reflecting the fact that there is no cross-disciplinary consensus regarding the nature of language proficiency and its relationship to academic development.

The most productive direction to orient further research on this topic, and one that can be supported by all scholars, is to focus on creating instructional and learning environments that maximize the language and literacy development of socially marginalized students. Because academic language is found primarily in written texts, extensive engaged reading is likely to be a crucial component of an effective learning environment (Guthrie, 2003). Opportunities for collaborative learning and talk about text are also extremely important in helping students internalize and more fully comprehend the academic language they find in their extensive reading of text.

Writing for authentic purposes is also crucial because when bilingual students write about issues that matter to them they not only consolidate aspects of the academic language they have been reading, they also express their identities through language and (hopefully) receive feedback from teachers and others that will affirm and further develop their expression of self (Cummins, Brown, and Sayers, 2007). Deeper understanding of the nature of academic language and its relationship both to conversational fluency and other forms of literacy will emerge from teachers, students, and researchers working together in instructional contexts collaboratively pushing (and documenting) the boundaries of language and literacy exploration.

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## READING: ATTITUDES, INTERESTS, PRACTICES

## INTRODUCTION

The social psychology, or sociology, of reading remains a relatively small part of a vast literature largely concerned with skills acquisition and development. This is curious for two reasons. First, it is obvious that both teachers and researchers do not want merely to facilitate reading ability—they hope to form and maintain reading habits. Second, there are regular laments—as perennial as grumblings over the inadequacies of the younger generation—about low levels of reading, poor attitudes, lack of enthusiasm and so on. Indeed, surveys often suggest a gulf between reading ability and reading practices; in many contemporary societies, the essential problem seems to be *aliteracy* rather than *illiteracy* (see later). On both counts, then, questions of what people read, how much they read, and the purposes and effects of their reading surely assume central importance.

Attention to the social psychology of reading is even more timely in a post-modern era that has reinterpreted the roles of author and reader. Nell (1988) touched upon the ‘new criticism’ underpinned by a relativism that suggests that the book is essentially created by the reader (Tinker, 1965), that a book is ‘a relationship, an axis of innumerable relationships’ (Borges, 1964, p. 13), that ‘the reader makes literature’ (Fish, 1980, p. 11). The degree to which this criticism has taken hold in academe is indicated by even more modern attempts to reclaim ground for the ‘common reader’, to re-establish the centrality of the aesthetic qualities of (fiction) reading, to cast aside those professional ‘isms’ that have turned reading into a job requiring doctoral qualifications (see Bloom, 2000; Edmundson, 2004).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Both the ‘professionalisation’ of literature, and arguments against it, have quite a long history. The teaching of English literature, for example, was generally resisted by the academy until the mid-nineteenth century (later still in Oxford and Cambridge)—on the grounds that it was of insufficient depth, but also because of apprehensions about the baleful influence of ‘experts’. On the other hand, as early as 1927, Forster heaved a regretful sigh that ‘the novel tells a story . . . I wish that it was not so’. The story ‘runs like a backbone—or may I say a tape-worm’ supporting other ‘finer growths’ (p. 45). Here we have the disdain for the obvious—and the obviously appealing—that has so distressed the ‘common reader’ ever since; see also the Leavis influence, later.

The book itself has also been defended in recent years, in the face of challenges from the electronic media, and arguments for a digitised and book-less chiasm (see Negroponete, 1995). Thus, for example, Birkerts (1994) defended the more traditional pleasures and values of the text. Of course, words on computer screens, like words in books, are *read*—but it is fair to say that the act of reading, constant for many centuries, is undergoing considerable change, and the essence of this change is social and psychological. (It is interesting to note here that the pervasiveness of the ‘e-book’ has turned out to be less than complete: see the commentaries by Max, 1994, 2000.)

Although the proportion of illiterate people has been in steady decline for some time, an increase in absolute numbers means that one-third of the world’s population can still neither read nor write. In ‘developed’ societies, however, the problem of illiteracy *tout court* is less significant than that of so-called ‘functional literacy’, some socially meaningful ability that goes beyond elementary skills (see Oxenham, 1980). Several surveys have suggested that, in Europe and North America, as much as a quarter of the population may have difficulty with mundane but important tasks like understanding road signs or product-warning labels (Creative Research Group, 1987; Edwards, 1991; Kozol, 1985; OECD, 2000).

In many modern societies, *aliteracy* (Maeroff, 1982; Neuman, 1986) is as much an issue as functional literacy. It is certainly more compelling in a social-psychological sense, because the question here is why some of those who *can* read *don’t* read. The term may be new but the phenomenon (as implied earlier) is old, and if television is the modern villain of the piece, other distractions once came readily to hand (Edwards, 1981). It is true, of course, that many of the commentators here have had particularly snobbish axes to grind—thus, when Queenie Leavis observed (in 1932) that ‘the reading capacity of the general public . . . has never been so low as at the present time’ (p. 231), she was reflecting the higher Leavisite criticism. The real problem for such self-appointed arbiters is not that people don’t read; it’s that they don’t read anything worthwhile. This attitude can still be detected, wherever debate rages over issues of reading ‘quality’, and there is a double psychological import here: on the one hand, such *de haut en bas* attitudes are, in themselves, worthy of analysis; on the other, questions of reading ‘quality’, of whether *all* reading should be encouraged, of whether early tastes for ‘popular’ literature can be expected to refine themselves over time, and so on—these are real enough matters.

#### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Some early work has been unjustifiably neglected—possibly because the area has yet to achieve much theoretical coherence. Waples and

Tyler (1931), for example, made a fairly comprehensive examination of topics of reading interest, and a subsequent publication (Waples, Berelson and Bradshaw, 1940) dealt with the complexity of adult reading responses. The authors also advocated the use of the case-study method to probe more deeply into reading practices, habits and attitudes, and this was taken up by Strang (1942). Leavis's very personal study (1932) has already been referred to; when it first appeared, it evoked a large critical response. Interested in developments in fiction and its readership since the eighteenth century, Leavis proceeded with what she termed an 'anthropological' method. Few would describe it that way today, but Leavis did conduct a survey of sorts, as well as examining library and bookshop choices (see also Rose, 2001). A more systematic, if drier, approach is that of Link and Hopf (1946), who considered who reads, what kinds of books are read, what competitors for readers' attention exist, and how (and why) people go about choosing their books. Beyond these—and beyond the highly personal commentaries of literary critics and authors—some of the most useful early insights are to be found in general treatments of the intellectual and leisure habits of the 'masses' [Hoggart's work (1957, 1995) immediately comes to mind, but the later overview by Rose (2001) is particularly recommended].

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS AND WORK IN PROGRESS

In the late 1970s, Greaney and his associates began to pay rather more systematic attention to the social aspects of reading. Greaney (1980), for example, found that the amount and type of leisure reading were related to such variables as basic ability, sex, socioeconomic status, family size and primary-school type (see also Greaney and Hegarty, 1987). Greaney and Neuman (1990) also investigated the functions of reading, in a study of children in more than a dozen countries: utility, enjoyment and escape were the three recurring motivations, and it was found that girls rated the second factor more positively than did boys (sex differences, particularly in the early years, are a consistent finding in the literature). The survey work of Anderson and his colleagues (Anderson, Hiebert, Scott and Wilkinson, 1985), particularly that dealing with children's reading habits vis-a-vis other leisure-time activities (see also Anderson, Wilson and Fielding, 1988), draws upon the investigations by Greaney and others, and suggests low levels of leisure reading. In terms of intervention, Neuman (1999) has adapted the 'book flood' idea (see Ingham, 1981) from primary schools in England to day-care centres in the USA. The concept is straightforward—make a large number of books available to economically disadvantaged children—and the results encouraging. (The advantages of what Neuman calls the 'physical proximity' of books, coupled with appropriate adult

support and guidance, are borne out in most reading surveys—and well-understood by all enlightened parents.)

Nell's (1988) interesting investigation of 'ludic' (i.e., pleasure) reading has been reasonably criticised for its psychoanalytic bent and its methodological difficulties while, at the same time, praised as establishing a base from which further study of ludic reading might proceed (see Venezky, 1990). Nell's most important contribution is his documentation of 'escapist' reading (reading 'fever', as one respondent put it): in one of the families he studied, the father claimed to read 30 books a month, the mother read 25 and the two daughters, 18 and 28.

Large-scale survey work has also continued. In 1993, the Roehampton Institute in London launched the pilot phase of a survey of 8,000 British children's reading habits: a report on the pilot project (involving 320 children) was published in 1994 (Children's Literature Research Centre), and the full report appeared in 1996. Among the important findings: boys read less than girls (particularly as they get older), patterns of reading interests (boys like adventure stories more than romances; girls prefer animal stories to science fiction) are remarkably resilient, and it is much too simplistic to blame television and computer games for depressed levels of reading (indeed, the study endorses earlier suggestions that 'voluntary readers tend to be active in other pursuits' [p. 116]—and these can include television viewing). Hall and Coles' (1999) survey of about 8,000 English 10- to 14-year-olds—in some ways an updating of earlier investigations by Whitehead, Capey, Maddren and Wellings (1974, 1977)—also illustrated the relationships between family socioeconomic status and reading, between pleasure reading and television viewing (while those who read most watch least, some of the 'heaviest' readers are also avid viewers), and between gender and reading (girls read more than boys, have more positive feelings about reading and enjoy their reading more). Broadly similar results were reported by McKenna, Kear and Ellsworth (1995) in their study of more than 18,000 American primary-school children. Worrying age and gender gaps in reading were also revealed in a province-wide survey in Ontario: at the third-grade level, 69% of boys and 83% of girls said they enjoyed reading; by the sixth grade, these proportions had decreased to 55% and 71%, respectively (EQAO, 1999).

Some of the most recent findings illustrate the continuing difficulties in assessing reading habits. In its dourly-titled *Reading at Risk* (2004), the (American) National Endowment for the Arts reported that book reading had declined over the previous twenty years, and that this decline was sharpest for 'literary reading'—the report speaks of 'imminent cultural crisis' and a 'rising tide of mediocrity', arguing that 'at the current rate of loss, literary reading as a leisure activity will virtually disappear in half a century' (p. xiii). The word 'literary' is key here,

since the NEA survey only concerned itself with fiction, plays and poetry (not counting, that is to say, the apparently growing taste for non-fiction); as well, no weighting was made for 'quality' (see also Bauerlein, 2005). A Canadian government-commissioned report found that the amount spent on books (in 2001) was exceeded only by that on newspapers and cinemas; however, the average annual outlay was less than \$200—not very much for, say, a family of four and when a new book can easily cost \$40—and fewer than half of all Canadian households bought any books at all (Hill Strategies, 2005). Another Canadian survey (Créatec, 2005) has recently found that—although the ratio of reading to television viewing is about 1:5—almost 90% of adults reported themselves as regular readers. A perceptive commentator (Taylor, 2005) asked how one could reconcile this percentage with the fact (noted earlier) that one in four people lack full functional literacy—and two main points suggest themselves, one substantive, the other methodological. First, there is again the matter of 'quality'. This is not simply a question of trying to argue that Charles Dickens should count while Danielle Steel should not; Taylor notes, for instance, that comics and joke books can qualify as reading material. Second, most surveys depend upon self-reported data and, in many instances, the 'interview' is a matter of a brief telephone call. These two issues are, in fact, common across survey findings.

There are relatively few investigations that have combined large respondent numbers with detailed assessment instruments. Some recent work in Nova Scotia, however, falls into this category. (Simple statistics on gross levels of magazine, newspaper and book reading have shown that Nova Scotia is a good reflection of the larger Canadian picture—which, in turn, is broadly similar to that in other 'developed' countries: see e.g. Ekos, 1991.) In a pilot survey of university students and teachers, Walker (1990) found that, overall, reading for pleasure was not a generally favoured leisure activity, and that material read was largely of a 'light' or ephemeral nature. There was a small group of very active, or 'core', readers, and significant sex differences emerged with regard to both the quantity and the type of reading done. Walker also reported that the presence of books at home, being read to as a child, and parental value placed upon reading *per se* were important determinants of reading habits.

The more comprehensive follow-up study (Edwards, 1999) involved some 875 students (from the upper grades in both primary and secondary schools), 1,700 parents and 625 teachers. The questionnaires administered to these three groups, while not exactly the same, were designed to produce complementary and interlocking information; the questions asked reflected a close reading of the existing literature. Teachers and parents were asked for information about their own reading

habits and attitudes and, as well, to give us their perceptions of children's reading practices. The information elicited on the questionnaires dealt with demographic factors (age, sex, family size, income level and occupation), with overall school achievement patterns and subject preferences, and with focussed probing of reading ability, attitudes and practices (involving such variables as time spent reading, quantity and type of material read, factors influencing reading choices, home and school encouragement of reading, home reading practices, reading related to other leisure-time pursuits and so on). Beyond categorical and scaled responses, qualitative data were also elicited (e.g. lists of favourite books, magazines and authors). Allowing for multiple-section questions, each respondent answered well over 100 queries.

I will touch here upon some of the findings from the children's survey. It is of course impossible to delve at all deeply into them, but they do broadly confirm trends noted earlier. Thus, for instance, girls report greater ability and more favourable attitudes towards reading than do boys—and they do more of it. Primary-school children apparently enjoy reading more than do those in secondary school, and the amount of reading decreases with age. As to type of leisure reading: girls prefer biographical and 'romance' fiction, as well as books about travel and animals; boys say they like to read adventure, sports and science-fiction books. Across the board, there is more television viewing than reading (as much as three hours daily at the lower grade level), but girls say that they watch less than the boys, and they are as twice as likely to prefer reading to television. When we asked children to rank-order their preferences for ten common leisure habits, their answers suggested four categories: the most favoured activity was simply being with friends, then came music, movies and television, sports and hobbies comprised a third grouping—and reading appeared in fourth and final position. Books and television were more popular among the younger children; and, again, girls were more likely than boys to prefer reading.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Despite a reasonable amount of data, and despite some very robust findings—having to do with age, gender, attitudes, and amount and type of reading—we are still largely at descriptive levels. There is much of interest that we have learned about reading in the electronic age, and there have also been occasional attempts at stimulating the reading habit. We still require, however, theoretical perspectives to unite and augment existing data, to treat such matters as the underlying factors influencing reading motivation and development, the rewards and consequences of reading, and the establishment and

maintenance of leisure-time activities.<sup>2</sup> It is readily apparent that a coherent and comprehensive social psychology of reading is a very large undertaking—necessitating, for example, hitherto untried marriages of the ‘technical’ and the sociological literature.

Along the way, as it were, useful work can be done under a large number of headings. One example is the longstanding concern about reading ‘quality’, a current manifestation of which involves teenagers’ preferences for horror stories—the ‘most popular genre for adolescents’ according to the Roehampton survey (Children’s Literature Research Centre, 1996, p. 210; see also Hall and Coles, 1999). The consumption of such material predictably attracts a variety of opinion. In some schools, teachers use these juvenile shockers on the grounds that, after all, they are of obvious interest and (it is hoped) will lead to ‘better’ things. The general assumption seems to be that almost any reading is better than nothing. Others, however, strongly disagree, arguing that reading books produced to a formula—endlessly recycled plots peopled by wooden stereotypes [‘flat’ characters, as Forster (1927) styled them]—only induces the sort of non-progressive escapism that Nell (1988) has discussed at length. Another aspect of current debates about ‘quality’ that cries out for further analysis is the resurgent interest in banning some books altogether; a group in Virginia (Parents Against Bad Books in Schools) would have removed from study such authors as Atwood, Doctorow, Eco and Morrison (see the pabbis.com website). A third contemporary avenue into the sociology of reading is provided by another resurgent phenomenon: the book club. Freeman (2005) provides a brief overview—from the mid-nineteenth century to Oprah—and Hartley (2001) raises some interesting questions: why, for example, are women more attracted to such groups than are men? And finally here, I suggest that larger issues of print versus screen, of shelf versus computer, constitute an increasingly important part of the contextualisation of reading (see Schonfeld, 2003, for an illuminating account of the rapid growth of electronic information storage; see also Arms, 2000—and, for the most sustained and highly charged defence of the paper media, Baker, 2001).

However, we approach the matter, any meaningful social psychology of reading should concern itself primarily with aliteracy: why don’t some readers read? Valpy (2001) has recently reported what we already

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<sup>2</sup> We might consider following the lead of Hall and Coles (1999) a little more closely. They asked children how *they* accounted for gender differences in reading. Girls, it was reported, are more mature and sensitive than boys, they are not as physically active, they have more patience; boys see reading as ‘sissy’ or ‘square’, they can’t sit still long enough to read, reading is neither ‘cool’ nor ‘tough’, and so on. In effect, these children were constructing a theory that related socialisation in general to reading in particular.

knew: questions of reading motivation, attitudes and practices have been relatively ignored, largely because of current emphases upon achievement, testing and assessment. Thus, 'there is much more interest in whether children can read than in whether they do'. It is apparent that an area that pays vastly more attention to the development of skills than to their application is neglecting ends for means.

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## GENDER AND LITERACY

### INTRODUCTION

This article reviews the ways in which gender and literacy have been linked in educational contexts, and the different patterns of intervention this has led to. In particular it will highlight the switch in the literature from a focus on the formation of (girls') gendered identities to a focus on (boys') gendered patterns of attainment within the literacy curriculum. The emergence of boys' underachievement in literacy as a policy problem will be linked to the current dominance of performance-management cultures within governments, and the accompanying processes of large-scale education reform which they have led to around the globe. Often such interventions are designed with the aim of securing maximum homogeneity in outcomes from education. This provides a new context in which to consider the range of social explanations for inequalities in educational performance, their currency, and the challenges this new more managerial landscape in education poses for a feminist politics.

### FEMINISM, GENDER AND LITERACY

Historically feminist work on gender and literacy can be grouped under two main headings. On the one hand there is a well established tradition of feminist textual analysis that focuses on text content, and examines the meanings texts hold for their readers or writers (Ang, 1985; Moss, 1989; Radway, 1984). This work has largely arisen out of a broader feminist concern for the social construction of gendered identities and has followed a similar trajectory from a primary interest in the ideological constraints which produce femininity to an understanding of girls' appropriation and reworking of a range of cultural resources for a wider and often more oppositional set of purposes (Hey, 1997; Williamson, 1981/1982). The judgements made are about the value of the text and the contribution the text makes to the formation of gendered identities (Cherland, 1994; Christian-Smith, 1993; Gilbert and Taylor, 1991).

This kind of attention to the relationship between gender and literacy attracted most interest through the seventies and eighties. One of the most hotly contested issues within the literature during that time was whether genres which were strongly associated with female readers,

such as the romance and soap operas, should be condemned as part of the ideological apparatus which constrained women's sphere of action. Or whether they pointed to contradictions in the ideological construction of femininity which their readers could potentially exploit (Moss, 1989). Radway's study of women romance readers provides a good example of the tensions within this literature as these issues increasingly sought resolution through direct study of the texts' readers as well as of the text itself (Radway, 1984).

By contrast the second and, until recently, much smaller strand of work has focused more closely on literacy learning. Using ethnographic perspectives this work has tracked how literacy has come to stand for a social good which enables full and meaningful participation in the broader society as well as access to the world of work. This literature has considered both the acquisition and distribution of the competencies associated with the literacy curriculum in this light and has used this emphasis to draw attention to gender inequalities in patterns of illiteracy. Early work in this area explored women's unequal access to education and the promise of literacy it brought with it (Horsman, 1991; Rockhill, 1993). The work centred on marginalised social groups such as adult women who were the target of basic skills courses or women or girls in the developing world who had been denied equal opportunities to learn to read or write. Much of the literature drew attention to the social constraints which shaped women's lives and in the process restricted their participation in education (Mace, 1998). This became part of the backdrop to the study of illiteracy more generally (see Robinson-Pant, *Women, Literacy and Development: Overview*, Volume 2).

Although these two strands of work were in many ways quite distinct, nevertheless they shared a common concern for social justice, and were grounded in a feminist analysis of the difficulties both women and girls face in a world shaped often in disregard of, if not positively against, their own interests. From this point of view they are complementary approaches in a longer campaign designed to bring about greater gender equality. There were some notable successes. The persistent attack on sexism in children's books did lead publishers to review and modify their output. Whilst literacy campaigns in the developing world increasingly recognised the importance of reaching women and girls as well as boys and men and resources were retargeted accordingly. Despite this, many of the structural inequalities which relegated women to second place economically and socially remain in place. Although the precise focus of debate in these two areas has shifted over time, neither literature considered that gender equality had been achieved by the point in the mid-nineties when the discourse over gender and literacy suddenly began to change.

GENDER AND LITERACY AS A POLICY PROBLEM:  
SHOULD BOYS DO BETTER?

By the mid-nineties, gender differences in performance in the school literacy curriculum had begun to attract a new kind of attention. Whether in official reports based on outcomes from the education system, in media coverage of the same data, or in the academic literature, boys' underachievement in literacy began to surface as a strong topic in its own right (Barrs and Pidgeon, 1993; Gilbert and Gilbert, 1998; Millard, 1997; Ofsted, 1993; QCA, 1998; Rowan et al., 2002). In the UK, the government's school inspection agency, Ofsted, summed up the available evidence in the following trenchant terms:

Boys do not do as well as girls in English in schools. There are contrasts in performance and attitudes towards the subject. The majority of pupils who experience difficulty in learning to read and write are boys. Boys' results in public examinations at 16 are not as good as girls', and many more girls than boys continue to study English beyond 16. (Ofsted, 1993 p. 2 quoted in Millard, 1997, p. 15)

Yet the curious thing about this summary is that it actually reports a state of affairs that had been known for a long while. The picture is entirely consistent with the evidence for literacy attainment available for at least the previous fifty years within the UK school system. On this basis, boys' test scores were adjusted up in the 11+ exam that was used to determine entry to grammar schools in order to even out the gender balance of those going forward from the higher end of the ability spectrum (Millard, 1997). Elsewhere, the advantage girls have over boys in standardised reading tests had been sufficiently well established for long enough for many such tests to adjust girls' scores downwards as a matter of routine (Barrs, 1993). The difference in the nineteen nineties is therefore not the evidence itself but rather its salience at this time and the changed conditions which make it capable of being read in new ways.

Feminist commentators account for why boys' performance has emerged as such a high profile problem within education discourse in different ways (Epstein et al., 1998; Foster, Kimmel and Skelton, 2001; Rowan et al., 2002). Certainly boys' underachievement in literacy acquired a new resonance from the broader educational picture which had begun to show substantial improvements in girls' attainment in a range of subjects, such as Maths and Science, where traditionally they had lagged far behind boys (Arnot et al., 1999). For some feminists this sudden focus on boys' comparative failure in the education system looked like evidence of an anti-feminist backlash which would be used to rebuild boys' competitive advantage (Epstein et al., 1998;

Foster, Kimmel and Skelton, 2001; Hallman, 2000). The media discourse which accompanied the initial reporting of the data certainly justified this response, as commentators were able to demonstrate using headlines or articles which had appeared in the US, in Australia and in the UK at that time, all of which presented boys' failures as a direct corollary of girls' success (Cohen, 1998, p. 19; Gilbert and Gilbert, 1998, p. 4–5; Mahoney, 1998, p. 46; Rowan et al., 2002, p. 15). By contrast, many feminists treated the data with caution, and argued instead for the need to pay much closer attention to how gendered attainment was intersected by both ethnicity and social class. Not all boys were doing badly, just as not all girls were doing well (Epstein et al., 1998).

But feminists also began to generate an alternative explanation for this sudden turn of affairs. The increased prominence given to boys' educational underachievement can be construed less as evidence of a straightforward strengthening of patriarchal values than as a new twist in a more complex relationship between education and the economy (Arnot et al., 1999; Mahoney, 1998). From this perspective, what marks out the nineteen nineties are changes in the economy, the rise of new managerialism and the increasing economisation of social life that happens as a response to the pressures of a globalisation (Kenway and Kelly, 1994). Governments increasingly expect education to demonstrate its value in economic terms. They export to education the kinds of systems for tracking production used in the commercial sector, and the tools of quality control associated with this (Morley and Rassool, 1999). In this context, children's performance in examinations increasingly counts as output data.

As new technologies make tracking and managing such data on a large scale easier so governments increasingly put in place more extensive testing regimes which can generate more detailed information about pupil progress. This has happened worldwide. As one example, in the UK, the introduction of a National Curriculum in 1988 was accompanied by the introduction of mandatory testing at 7, 11 and 14. These assessment points have now been supplemented by further optional tests in English and Maths for the intervening year groups which are administered annually. The wide-scale use of performance data in the education system produces the conditions in which boys' relative underachievement in literacy becomes much more publicly visible.

It has been in the interests of many governments to both collect and then make such data public as part of a broader discussion over the value of public services. They want to know and to demonstrate how well the education system is doing, as part of their contract with the voters. Being able to demonstrate that the system is working well operates as a means of winning consent for continuing support for a

publicly funded system of education. Equally, publicising apparent failures applies more pressure to that system to improve and deliver better value for the money spent. A new dynamic is put in place. Boys' underachievement in literacy gains its charge from this context.

Of course, any anomalies that surface in the performance data can be used to steer education policy, not just differences in girls' and boys' attainment. In the UK performance differences between schools and between LEAs (school districts) have exerted most influence on the direction of policy as a whole. In this sense social class trumps gender. Nevertheless, as successive governments have taken increasing control over the content of the literacy curriculum in England, a series of official publications have continued to flag up the discrepancies in boys' and girls' attainment in both reading and writing and to suggest ways in which schools might address this issue (Ofsted, 2003; DfES, 2003; QCA, 1998). Yet gender and literacy in this context is contained by a broader discourse of improving educational performance in which the school and its effective delivery of the curriculum take centre stage, rather than the feminist goal of achieving greater gender equity. As an indication of this, the most recent materials designed to support boys' writing and issued to English schools by the Primary National Strategy, the body charged with improving performance in primary schools, took as their main topics talk for writing; visual texts; purpose and audience; and feedback on learning. The advice they offer underwrites a particular view of what constitutes good literacy pedagogy, and is premised on the value of carefully structured and explicit support for writing. In important respects it is gender neutral. Indeed, this is in line with government policy-making in education which eschews advocating strategies that might benefit boys at the expense of girls for the simple reason that this would not help put results up across the board (Ofsted, 2003). That would not fit with a managerialist impulse which insists on greater homogeneity of outcomes. In this new policy context, the kind of affirmative action that was put in place in response to the same kind of data fifty years before seems unimaginable.

#### SUCCESS AND FAILURE IN THE LITERACY CURRICULUM: REWORKING FEMINIST IDEAS IN A NEW CONTEXT

As unskilled manufacturing jobs have moved abroad, many governments have committed to building a high-skill, knowledge-based economy at home. This aspiration has brought with it changed assumptions about the levels and spread of achievement in reading and writing required in the workforce. Demands for an improvement in boys' performance in the literacy curriculum happen within this context (Mahoney, 1998).

The aim of fixing performance outcomes increasingly acts as the backdrop to the discussion of gender and literacy. Yet it is not yet clear what the best solutions to the problems demonstrated in the data might be. Review of the available data show that when girls are not prevented from enrolling or regularly attending school, then as a group they achieve higher scores in reading and writing than boys. The pattern is consistent across many countries (OECD, 2003). Yet by no means all girls do better than all boys. Rather the distribution patterns for attainment vary between the genders, with boys' demonstrating a far longer tail of underachievement.

In exploring the data, feminists have looked for possible explanations which make sense in a context where girls' competitive edge in the literacy curriculum does not always lead on to better educational achievement overall or better employment prospects in the wider society. This kind of disconnection has to be taken into account. As a first step, this has often meant returning to earlier understandings about the causes of girls' educational disadvantage and assessing whether and how they might apply to boys. This is not a simple matter of translation (Gilbert and Gilbert, 1998, p. 21). By and large the most common assumption is that boys' underachievement in literacy is created by a dissonance between aspects of masculinity and aspects of schooling. There is less consensus over precisely which aspects of masculinity or schooling matter most in this respect. This leads to different proposed solutions to fixing literacy attainment. In each case the potential impact on girls is weighed as carefully as the consequences for boys. The following examples from the literature represent three different ways of addressing these issues.

### *Fixing the Content of the Literacy Curriculum*

Elaine Millard's *Differently Literate* examines the differences between boys' and girls' interests in reading and writing and their respective fit with the content of the literacy curriculum in the secondary school (1997). Her work draws on studies of genre preferences. She proposes that the prominence given to specific kinds of narrative fiction and the emphasis on character and personal response in the study of literature in the secondary school present difficulties for boys because they do not match with their interests. She comments:

(boys') favoured genres are less in harmony with the English curriculum and the choices made for them in class by their teachers. The largest contrast is between boys' interest in action and adventure and girls' preference for emotion and relationships. (Millard, 1997, p. 75)

In her view, the fact that the curriculum lines up with girls' not boys' existing interests matters because it reduces boys' full participation

within the literacy curriculum. Many of them switch off reading. Outside school, boys unlike girls commit their time to other pursuits. They associate reading at home with female members of the household. If they have interests in reading then they rarely share them with their peers. Overall this means that they gain less familiarity with the structures of written language. They are less adept at dealing with the kinds of tasks the literacy curriculum sets them. The picture Millard paints is of girls and boys acting as relatively self-contained communities of practice each constructed on gendered terrain. Rather than continue to allow one group's interests to dominate over the other's, her solution is to try to rebalance the English curriculum so that it embraces a wider range of reading material, non-fiction as well as fiction, and a greater range of media texts. She argues that such an expansion in the range of texts taught would extend girls' repertoire with beneficial outcomes for them too whilst 'draw(ing) boys in to the classroom community of story book readers and writers' (ibid, p. 180).

### *Fixing Boys (and Girls Too)*

Rowan et al's *Boys, Literacies and Schooling* occupies rather different territory (2002). It draws more closely on feminist post-structuralist work on the formation of gendered identities. The authors are more circumspect about polarising gendered interests, pointing out that there are different ways of doing masculinity and femininity, and that consequently there may be as many differences within as well as between these two categories. One of their case studies sets out to challenge the easy supposition that boys will show a keen interest in new technologies, and will be relatively skilful in this domain whilst girls will not (ibid, p. 137). They argue that this supposition does not provide a sufficient basis for re-engaging boys with the literacy curriculum. Instead of seeking to identify and then incorporate boys' existing interests into the curriculum as a way of improving literacy attainment, they set their sights on the transformation of gendered assumptions about what and who both boys and girls can be. This means working with and against the grain of teachers' and pupil's expectations about their own and others' place within the curriculum. They describe this as a 'transformative project' which seeks to re-make gender identities.

If we keep looking inwards to this same set of characteristics in order to come up with a solution to the "problems" produced by traditional discourses around masculinity, we run the risk of reproducing rather than critiquing those discourses that produce the problem. From a transformative perspective we need . . . to be able to imagine the new: new possibilities, new masculinities, new ways of being and performing as a 'boy' (ibid, p. 71).

They consider that the English curriculum is a good place for this kind of political project to unfurl because of the relative fluidity of the subject domain and its ability to incorporate new kinds of texts and practices that can help develop new kinds of stories. The English curriculum is already under pressure in this way precisely because of the emergence of new technologies. They consider that the practical interventions that they document act as templates for explorations of the dominant mindsets on gender and on literacy pedagogy rather than as specific recipes for reform. There are no hard and fast answers here, rather attempts to get things right. By placing the transformation of gender identities at the heart of their work they hope that they can begin to re-gear the curriculum towards a more equitable and expansive future.

### *Fixing Literacy Pedagogy*

By contrast, Judith Solsken's *Literacy, Gender and Work* focuses on the social interactions that surround learning how to read and write (1993), rather than with the construction of gender identities per se. She draws primarily on literacy as social practice perspectives to demonstrate that in both home and school literacy learning can be variously construed as self-directed play or adult-sponsored work, a distinction which she maps onto Bernstein's categories of visible and invisible pedagogies (ibid, p. 60, see also Bourne, *Official Pedagogic Discourses and the Construction of Learners' Identities*, Volume 3). She argues that these contradictory orientations to the process of becoming a reader or writer present children with a series of dilemmas which they then have to resolve. The way they respond influences their development as readers and writers in school and at home:

Both Luke and Jack seemed to define literacy as a particular kind of work in the sense that it was an activity required and overseen by adults, rather than one engaged in for their own purposes or pleasure. . . . While Luke played a mischievous 'bad boy' role in resisting most literacy activities (except those he defined as play), Jack played a 'good boy' role by treating literacy activities as chores to be completed (ibid, p. 36).

For Solsken, the positions children adopt in relation to literacy interact with their understanding of gender relations in the home. Solsken argues that this in part happens because more women than men shoulder the burden of preparing children for the work of learning literacy at school and find themselves responsible for ensuring a successful outcome to that process. The high stakes involved in making a smooth and successful entry into the literacy curriculum provide part of the backdrop against which children negotiate over what literacy means for them and the position they will adopt as literacy learners. Solsken concludes

that gender does not of itself determine whether children will align themselves with play-based or work-based pedagogies. Rather gender identities interact with and coalesce around children's experience of literacy learning. The consequences of the positions they adopt develop over time and in relation to the pedagogic culture of the classroom. Gender matters in this context.

Gemma Moss has followed up this focus on literacy and gender in a study of the literacy events which make up the school curriculum for pupils aged 7–10 (Moss, 1999). She has highlighted the particular salience that teachers' judgements of their pupils' proficiency at reading has in classrooms. The ways in which children are seated in class, the kinds of books they are expected to read, and the choices they are allowed to exercise over their reading both construct and make visible the categories of 'able' and 'poor' readers. More than any other group, boys labelled 'poor readers' show the most consistent preference for non-fiction texts. The precise texts they choose are visually rich but with a print size normally associated with adult not children's texts. Moss argues that these design characteristics enable this group to act as experts whether they have read the text or not, thus allowing them to escape others judgements about their proficiency as readers (Moss, 1999). She suggests that boys' genre preferences are created in response to not ahead of the literacy curriculum and the hierarchy of readers it constructs. Girls and boys labelled 'poor readers' react differently to this designation. Girls are more willing to accept that label and work within it, but may underestimate what they can do. Boys are more inclined to resist. This leads to different profiles of underachievement, which require different remedies.

#### CURRENT PROBLEMS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Can the approaches outlined in brief above address the distribution problem within the performance data, namely why different proportions of boys and girls struggle to do well within the literacy curriculum whilst others sail through? Are they specific enough about which boys (and girls) struggle most? Does it make sense to try and search for these latter categories, so that their problems can be fixed? Solsken's work certainly suggests that outside of the context of the curriculum this may be an elusive quest. That the problem does not lie so much with a certain kind of boy (or girl) who stands apart from the content of the literacy curriculum, as with the demands that the literacy curriculum places on all children. Her work re-orientates debate away from consideration of the literacy curriculum as the place where gendered tastes are arbitrated and gender identities made to an examination of the conflicting modes of social control such a curriculum instantiates.

This turn in analysis from what the curriculum says directly about gender to how the curriculum orders its knowledge base and regulates knowers is in line with Bernstein's theory of pedagogic discourse (Bernstein, 1996). It may well be that this is the best direction in which to turn at a time when education itself is being re-shaped and made accountable for what it does in new ways, and when gender politics struggles to find a place in a managerialist culture.

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CRITICAL LITERACY EDUCATION: ON LIVING WITH  
“INNOCENT LANGUAGE”

INTRODUCTION

*Attacks on the basic rights of the people are invariably  
couched in innocent language.*

Nelson Mandela, to the Constitutional Court of  
South Africa, 1995.

The starting point for critical literacy education is this: Societies strive toward convergence in the interpretive practices of their members—toward the production of a culture. Socialization entails, among other things, using language as if its relation to material and social realities were innocent and natural—transparently determinable, fixed, singular, and portable (Siegel and Fernandez, 2000). Controlling interpretation, securing both the fact of its determinacy and its particular contents, is thus an ongoing political project, profoundly connecting the individual to public interests. A core concern of critical literacy education is interrupting and naming that project, finding principled, teachable ways of affording a productive ideological appreciation of social organization, human conduct, and language. Appreciating the potentially multiple ways in which language can be used to understand, act in and on, and appraise the world calls for explicit educational effort, and affording these ways constitutes a core component of any mature form of acculturation into literate society. Such an education effort, however, is always contentious in contemporary, schooled societies, because the organizational features that perform the regulatory functions of schooling militate against the “ability to think ‘critically’ in the sense of understanding how systems and institutions inter-relate to help and harm people” (Gee, 2001, p. 2).

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Janks (2000) has identified four interrelated lines of work in critical literacy education, focusing on (i) the role of literacy education in analyses of cultural and political domination, (ii) access to powerful ways

of knowing and communicating, (iii) understanding the significance of linguistic, dialectical and cultural diversity, and (iv) learning the role of literate communication in the design of personal and social futures. These preoccupations have evolved in distinctive ways in various disciplinary and professional sites. Advocates and practitioners have included writers, teachers, and policy makers in universities, colleges, and schools, grouped generally under the banners of social, linguistic, humanities, and cultural studies. Active as well have been policy makers, curriculum developers, and evaluators in education-oriented civil-service units.

The key realization at the core of the distinctive problem of literacy is not new:

*You might suppose that [written words] understand what they are saying, but if you want to know something and you ask them a question, they simply give you the same answer over and over again . . . nobler by far is the serious pursuit of the dialectician.* (Socrates in Phaedrus, Sections 275e–277a, Plato, 360 BCE)

Several millennia later, Smith (1999) made the problem of the implacability of written language, in contrast to the coordinated agency afforded by interaction, a centerpiece of a feminist analysis of contemporary conditions:

*For the reader . . . the text pursues its remorseless way, unresponsive to the impassioned marginal notes, the exclamation points, the question marks . . . It scripts her part in the conversation, . . . she has no choice* (1999, pp. 146–147) . . . *The practice of ruling involves the ongoing representation of the local actualities of our worlds in the standardized general forms of knowledge that enter them into the relations of ruling. It involves the construction of the world as texts, whether on paper or in computer, and the creation of a world in texts as a site of action. Forms of consciousness are created that are properties of organization or discourse rather than of individual subjects.* (Smith, 1987, pp. 2–3)

Although the term *critical literacy education* mobilizes different forms of advocacy and practice around these ideas on different sites, it has a specific provenance dating from the 1960s. The originator of the term, and of an orientation to its role in understanding and practicing teaching, was Paulo Freire. Freire was a politically active adult educator who worked with Brazilian peasant farmers whom he characterized as living in structures, including interpretive structures, that made them not marginal to society but rather embedded in it as beings for others (1970, p. 55). His aims (see Freire and Macedo, 1987) were to have his students/coworkers:

1. able to make critical readings of the social practices and relations, and the institutional and governmental procedures that are made possible and sustained by certain literacy practices;
2. see how texts are socially situated, intelligible only via an understanding of their sources, purposes, and interests, the conditions that make them possible and materially available; and
3. have a critical perspective on literacy as an educational phenomenon, a market commodity, a talisman of modernity, and a source of both liberation and oppression.

Connecting with the lines of work related to of Freire were developing ideas about critical pedagogy (e.g., Bernstein, 1971; Bourdieu, 1974; Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Giroux, 1981). These theoreticians were examining the socio-economic and cultural reproductionist functions of schooling, and pointing to the particular role of literacy materials and interpretive practices in the prosecution of those functions.

Much of this early work has been criticized for, essentially, being itself too determinate in its interpretation of the reading and writing conditions of people and the role of literacy in clarifying and challenging those conditions, specifically, for ignoring (i) socio-political dimensions other than class, (ii) the new industrial and pop-cultural conditions in the midst of which young people live, and (iii) the post-modern, postcolonial features of contemporary experience. These themes inform discussion in the following sections.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS AND WORK IN PROGRESS

The expression *critical literacy education* points to a loose affiliation among theories, research methods, practices, and dispositions. It is convenient for the purpose at hand, if not entirely inclusive, to cluster contributions under the headings of anthropological, sociological, linguistic, and pedagogical traditions. These distinctions are, of course, blurred and constantly traversed partly because any given educational practitioner may draw on ideas and methods from among these and other traditions. Each orientation has a distinct view of what constitutes the critical aspects of critical literacy education, and each deploys different forms of data, analysis, and argument to support that view.

Anthropological contributions have used observational, cross-cultural, and documentary methods to expand on two key ideas about literacy: first is a theoretical focus on understanding literacy as coordinated and shared sets of practices and events (Street, 1984). That is, literacy activities, as they are conducted and learned formally and informally, are taken to be primordially social activities, best understood in terms of the qualities of various literacy events and practices, and the relationships among them. A *literacy event* is taken to be “any occasion

in which a piece of writing is integral to the nature of the participants' interactions and their interpretive processes" (Heath, 1982, p. 23). These events provide the social experiential bases for the development of *literacy practices*—ways of using written language that people display routinely, including commonly shared ideas, literacy's part in relationships and identities, and the ideological assumptions that underlie those ideas (Street, 2001). This emphasis on interactional qualities stands in direct opposition to cognitivists' focus on individuals' strategies for reading and writing, psychometricians' focus on measurable abilities of reading and writing, and those linguistic accounts that attend largely to the clause- and text-level grammatical demands of text management and production.

A second key motivation of anthropological approaches is to document literacy activities in homes, schools, and workplaces. One aim is to highlight the diversity of literacy activities among subcultural groups. The documentations generally show school-based literacy events and practices to be restricted in contrast with those found in homes and workplaces (e.g., the collection edited by Anderson, Kendrick, Rogers, and Smythe, 2005, esp. chapters by Gregory, and Prinsloo and Stein). But they also show that certain patterns of literacy events and practices are consequential in that they can act systematically to exclude people of certain cultural and economic backgrounds from access to the practices that make up literacy work in schools and elsewhere (Freebody, Forrest, and Gunn, 2001; Purcell-Gates, 1995). The argument is that it is a failure to realize or act on this diversity that makes for the durability of uneven access to and facility with important literacy practices.

Anthropological orientations point to the need to reconstitute schooling in general and literacy education in particular in light of postmono-conditions: the diversity and hybridity of cultures and languages in most school settings and workplaces in the world, of the socio-economic and socio-political formations and life trajectories facing young people, and of the ways of knowing that have conventionally been over-written by colonized forms of education (e.g., Cope and Kalantzis, 2000). Such reconstitutions range from pedagogies that restore marginalized language and experience to a legitimate place in school literacy learning, to those approaches that are more specifically directed at the use of literacy education for explorations of gender, race, or other socio-political dimensions through reading and writing practices (e.g., Lewis, 2001).

While anthropologists of literacy generally favor neither explicit ideological critiques of social structures that privilege certain interest groups, nor the explicit recommendation of normative pedagogical

strategies, they offer nonetheless bases in theory and research for the mounting of a diversity-based critique of the unproductively narrow ideologies and repertoires of practice through which much contemporary schooling does ideologically reproductionist work (e.g., Gregory and Williams, 1998). Barton (1994, p. 218), for instance, in concluding a major study of community literacy, made a case for the centrality of socio-economic, gender, and racial inequality in an understanding of these patterns of connection:

*Ultimately Literacy reflects inequalities in society: inequalities of power, inequalities in the distribution of wealth, and inequalities in access to education. . . . Literacy can only be fully understood in the context of these social relations.*

But the distinctive contribution of anthropologists of literacy resides in their attention to documenting the details of how these patterns arise and are conveyed, valued, and devalued. They begin with the everyday empirics of how people do things with texts, day in, day out, and with how much of this remains unrecognized or misrecognized in the settings of modern public institutions (as many of the chapters in this volume illustrate, see especially Robinson-Pant, *Women, Literacy and Development: Overview, Volume 2*; Kalman, *Literacies in Latin America, Volume 2*; Richardson, *African American Literacies, Volume 2*).

While anthropologists may arrive at such understandings about the macro-structures that build and are built by social order, it is the phenomenon of social order itself that constitutes the starting puzzle for sociologists. For our purposes, that means developing critical understandings of the social orders that sustain certain types of literacy education, and, simultaneously, of the ways in which certain types of literacy education sustain social orders.

Sociological approaches to critical literacy education have their roots in critical theories, mostly Marxian or poststructuralist, and have developed to address questions from within sociology and political economy concerning schooling as a social, cultural, economic, and political formation. These have included the critique that the features of schooling correspond at a number of levels (system, individual institution, individual classroom) to the occupational systems in a society, and that, conversely, school systems actively reproduce the material distribution evident in that occupational system. Literacy education is also taken to play a key role in schools' ability to shape social structures via the targeted distribution of the varying life chances and trajectories of groups and individuals by selectively providing the skills and cultural capital that legitimate the material orders of society (Bourdieu, 1991), culturally and economically reproductive processes by which material

and cultural gifts are systematically mistaken for academic or intellectual gifts.

Sociological accounts that inform critical literacy education also point specifically to all the machineries of remediation, policy, and curriculum development that support them, and inquire into the ways in which this ensemble of ideas and practices actively sustain the interests of ruling groups in a society. The argument is that these ideas and practices do not just passively maintain a *status quo*, but actively and persistently divert, disrupt, and militate against the distributive and meritocratic rhetorics of contemporary educational policy. Conventional forms of literacy education do this partly by attaching young members of a society to textual forms of social organization: That is, it is argued that literate societies, radically unlike others, recruit textual print and digital materials, relying upon specific forms of reading and writing among their members, to continually reestablish relations of ruling (Smith, 1987). So passive, compliant, or dehistoricized forms of the human disciplines and paradigms that inform education (psychology, developmentalism, constructivism) actively conjure particular ontologies that appear to crystallize ruling interests, through discourses about: children as literate citizen-learners (see A. Luke, 1988), and competent, functioning citizen-workers (see, e.g., Gee, Hull, and Lankshear, 1996; Lankshear, 1987).

With respect to educational practice, these accounts have provided pedagogies that build on the critical pedagogy movement more generally and upon understandings about the particular role of literacy education in transmitting and legitimating the cultures and interests of dominant groups. Specifically, these accounts include critiques of:

- the masculinism of contemporary pedagogical practices, including some forms of critical pedagogy as conventionally understood (e.g., Luke and Gore, 1992);
- the failure of most pedagogical treatments of race-based issues to make visible the enduring white privilege that under-writes much multicultural and pluralism-based approaches to teaching, curriculum, and assessment (e.g., Allen, 2004, for an account of critical race theory); and
- the systematic production of strong correlations between family affluence and literacy learning, and the significance of powerful pedagogies in reshaping that relationship (e.g., Comber and Simpson, 2001).

Applied linguists with an interest in the critical literacy education program, most prominently those drawing on Halliday (1985) and his colleagues, have contributed a variety of analytic means, generally

collected under the title critical discourse analysis, to form the bases of pedagogic approaches to texts. A central contributor has been Fairclough (1989, 2003), who has argued that semiotic resources such as language are caught up in the production of social life because they provide us with ways of (i) representing reality, (ii) providing modalities for acting and relating socially, and (iii) building social, communal, and individual identities (see Wallace, 2003, for classroom applications). Cultures build and transmit flexible, recognizable, and durable ways of representing (which Fairclough termed discourses), (inter)acting (genres), and being (styles). With respect to education, Fairclough has described the how elements of one socially situated practice (e.g., the conduct of professional history) are selectively recruited into another (e.g., doing History in and for school). This process of recruitment, or appropriation, involves the reshaping of how reality is represented, dealt with, and embedded in and as part of institutionalized teacher–student relations; the argument is that an understanding of literacy in school must begin with an analysis of these appropriation processes.

Applied linguists have contributed to the critical analysis of texts made without verbal content or with ensembles of different semiotic contents (e.g., Lemke, 1998). The argument has been that it is increasingly the case that language is no longer central or even significant to many print- and digital-based meaning events in educational settings. Important here is the distinction Lemke drew between typological (meaning by kind) and topological (meaning by degree). Different semiotic resources are differentially good at, or organized around, one or the other of these types of meaning:

*Language, as a typologically oriented semiotic resource, is unsurpassed as a tool for the formulation of difference and relationship, for the making of categorical distinctions. It is much poorer . . . [in its] resources for formulating degree, quantity, gradation, continuous change, continuous co-variation, non-integer ratios, varying proportionality, complex topological relations of relative nearness or connectedness, or nonlinear relationships and dynamical emergence. (Lemke, 1998, pp. 87, 92, insert added)*

Thus, the distinction is made between writing, which materializes activity, causation, and agency in the world, and other semiotic activities such as drawing or graphing, which materialize the states stasis, correlation, and co-incidence (Kress, 2001). The critique of contemporary schooling that motivates these analyses is clear: the epistemologies and logics of these semiotic systems are different (the materiality of images is space; the materiality of language is time and causality)

and thus they lead to different ways of knowing about and interacting with knowledge. The danger is that schools remain artificially isolated from the cultural and communicational transitions currently underway from fixed book-words to digitally manipulable screen-images as dominant meaning-making systems.

In contrast to the emphasis, found especially in most sociological approaches on the effects of the consumption of official school texts, applied linguists have emphasized the transformative effects of the production of texts by students (Martin, 1999). This focus offers one possible productive positive thesis—"how the different strands of work in language and social justice can be brought together to emphasise power as productive" (Janks, 2000, p. 184)—for critical literacy education: the remaking of knowledge. This brings with it an appreciation of the restrictiveness of conventional assessments in educational settings. Learning, the argument goes (e.g., Kress, 2001, 2003), is not primarily an acquisitional activity or the traces of developmental tracks. It entails students' developing ways of demonstrating sequences of principled changes in their material capacities and, significantly, showing how those capacities have changed their understanding of the world and how to act in and upon it.

Arising from their critical perspectives on literacy education, anthropologists, sociologists, and applied linguists have provided, or at least implied, a range of distinctive transformations for educational policy, pedagogy, assessment, and curriculum, all aimed generally at productive and responsible appreciations of the noninnocent relation between language and reality. One major set of implications concerns the assessment of literacy capabilities in schools: one outcome of the effortful preoccupation displayed by some institutions with measuring *how much* basic technical proficiency in script recognition and production that individuals or groups possess has been to draw attention away from the considering the particularities of *how* people are acculturated and apprenticed into literacy, and the moral, civic, and ideological implications of those particularities. The kinds of transformed practices recommended by critical literacy educators involve not just ways of challenging the assumptions and effects of school texts by teaching the technical procedures for making these visible; they involve as well ways of understanding more broadly the consequences of different forms of literacy education for the naturalizing, interrupting, or challenging of system in social organization and human conduct; they offer researchers, teachers, and learners ways of reflecting on their own understandings of equity, social justice, and critical transformation as potentially the products of power and ruling interests, and on practical regimens for re-writing and re-directing those understandings.

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Problems encountered in the affiliations that constitute the domain of critical literacy education are of two kinds: problems facing critical theories generally and their particular expressions in different disciplines, and tussles between these disciplines for the ownership of the essence of the critical literacy education project.

In the first case, three central challenges face the critical project. The first concerns the unclear relationships among socio-political formations (such as class, gender, and race), strategies of governance (such as educational policies and practices), and the prosecution of particular social and economic interests via these strategies. Accounts of critical literacy education often offer tenuous connections between these constructs, and one practical consequence of this is that researchers, teachers, and policy makers interested in advocating or practicing critical literacy pedagogies are vulnerable to challenges of subjectivity or bias. Such practices need to be based in a firm theorization that locates critical literacy in a collection of skills, understandings, and dispositions urgently needed by students to face the contemporary and future vocational, civic, and domestic experiences lying in wait for them.

Second is the question of which approach to language and semiotic analysis best inform a critical literacy education program. This discussion notwithstanding, the disciplines of anthropology, sociology and applied linguistics are, of course, no less driven by conceptual and methodological divisions than any other site of academic or professional practice.

Practitioners of the various disciples that inform critical literacy education disagree primordially on what the critically literate teacher and learner look like. Anthropologists object to the preemptively normative practices that emanate from sociological and most linguistic accounts; sociologists object to the absence of a theorization of power in anthropological and most linguistic accounts; applied linguists object to the lack of ideological agency attributed to learners in sociological versions of critical literacy education, and to the lack of appreciation or use of durable ideological formations as explanatory devices in anthropology.

These difficulties are not trivial or, worse still, merely academic: They present significant problems to teachers, educational policy makers, and curriculum developers. They make available too many options, the most comfortable of which amount to versions of reader response theory with its teeth showing, a conservative resort to critical or higher-order thinking that personalizes and authenticates the very interpretive determinacy against which the project originally set itself. In this way, the life

cycle of an educationally transformational project can be seen to repeat itself: emergence, enthusiasm, orthodoxy, institutional recruitment, and residualization as yesterday's product.

### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Texts are integral to the operation of many everyday settings, such as people's contractual, civic commitments and their dealings with government and other public institutions; because of that, along with everyday practical work, texts are used simultaneously to organize social relations, and, thereby, are put to ideological, moral, and political work. Further, texts do not just accompany or comment on social organization: They materially constitute relations of power, embody those relations, and can naturalize or legitimate them, just as surely as they can adapt, challenge, or refashion them. They can, therefore, be systematically analyzed to show the structure and consequences of the work they are put to in embodying, reproducing, inflecting, adapting, or challenging prevalent and dominant practices and assumptions about social life. To conduct this work in schools is to foreground contestation, and the discomfort, disruption and criticism that this can attract call for principles that are both intellectually and pedagogically defensible. If critical literacy education is to have a reputable and enduring future, then more work will center on the need to develop and empirically examine the consequences of such principles.

The tensions and polarities traversing the study and application of critical literacy education include:

- text-in-and-of-context (how should students be shown that texts are both the products and elements of their context of interpretation?);
- language-in-and-for-society (a form of the "access paradox: how can the powerful interpretive and productive textual resources be made available to students without over-writing the students" own local forms of representation, interaction and knowledge?);
- the possibility of a dissenting mainstream in school and as a resource for understanding literacy for school (can dissenting literate practices emanate only from demographically, socio-economically marginal groups, from linguistic and cultural hybridities/minorities—beings for others—and what is the *educational* place of, for example, white, middle-class males in mobilizing the critical literacy project?);
- critical literacy curriculums (pedagogies, assessments, materials; what can be sustained in the face of schooling that is increasingly accountable via test scores?);
- how can studies of literacy in *educational* settings go beyond both humanist progressivism and a liberal acknowledgement of diversity? and

- how can theoretical and empirical work offer a justification for critical literacy education that goes beyond the marketplace's needs for proactive workers and the enhanced literacy performance of critical thinkers, readers, and writers?

There is a positive thesis at the heart of critical literacy pedagogies, methodologies, and practices: interpreting and producing texts is a way of rendering experience more understandable, of transforming experience through the productive application of epistemological, ideological, and textual resources, thereby revisiting and reunderstanding experience through active work on articulating the stuff of experience and on rearticulating the experience of others. This project includes articulating how to build alternative paths for self- and social development, an attitude toward one's self as in and of history, and usable, against-the-grain ways of knowing, feeling, and interacting, actively informed by, rather than silently determined by, the socio-economic histories of victories and defeats that have produced that self.

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## BILITERACY AND GLOBALIZATION

## INTRODUCTION

The confluence of biliteracy and globalization is somewhat uncharted water. What text types and practices does one find at the lifeworlds of this confluence and what implications do they have for the bilingual classroom? Who are the main players at this meeting place of texts (as in biliteracy) and processes (as in globalization): markets, policy-makers, teacher practitioners or finally the consumers and producers of languages? What does a biliterate text in our globalizing world look like both inside and outside the classroom? This chapter explores some of the answers to these questions.

The fields of biliteracy and globalization are highly specialized within their broader disciplines. Hornberger (*Continua of Biliteracy*, Volume 9) has provided an updated review on the field of biliteracy, which goes back to the 1970s. Thus, this chapter will not repeat what Hornberger has already provided for us, instead it will concentrate more on the nexus of biliteracy and globalization. The data herein come from the two countries where I conduct research—India and Singapore. Research in the former, which is ongoing since 1999, is an ethnographic analysis of a Hindi–English dual medium government school (Rajkiya Sarvodaya Kanya Vidyalaya), which follows the three language formula (TLF), India’s language in education policy. In the case of Singapore, data come from the Sociolinguistic Survey of Singapore (SSS, 2006), a project undertaken by the Centre for Research in Pedagogy and Practice.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

*Globalization*

The literature on globalization can be considered to be somewhat bounded by two massive trilogies: Wallerstein’s (1974, 1980, 1989) *World Systems Analysis* and Castells’ (1996/2000, 1997/2004, 1998/2000) *The Information Age*. Both sets of work are brilliant in their analyses of the ways the globe is networked into congeries of empires, corporations, communities and pan national organizations. However, Wallerstein’s Marxist perspective is now dated due to the demise of

communism as an enduring political alternative. Though Castells' early writings are Marxist, his later work is more applicable to the world in which we live today. The shortcoming of his trilogy is that the work does not make India a major focus as it does China, thus excluding not only a globalizing country of 1 billion people but also one of the dominant cultures of our world.

Globalization has been defined somewhat differently by economists (Bhagwati, 2004), sociologists (Castells, 1996/2000, 1997/2004, 1998/2000) and anthropologists (Appadurai, 1996) but they all agree on the high level of connectivity in this phenomenon between nations, corporations and individuals. Pieterse, the cultural anthropologist, gives a definition that encompasses many of these views. He writes that globalization 'is an objective, empirical process of increasing economic and political connectivity, a subjective process unfolding in consciousness as the collective awareness of growing global interconnectedness, and a host of specific globalizing projects that seek to shape global conditions' (Pieterse, 2004, pp. 16–17). As a phenomenon, Friedman (2005) points out that globalization is not new; in fact it is a process that started around 1492 and has manifested itself in three phases so far. In the first phase, 1492–1800, globalization was about imperial forces acquiring colonies by brute force; the second phase, 1800–2000, saw the rise of multinationals and the early version of the World Wide Web; and finally, since 2000, globalization is about individuals participating in the global economy leading to what Friedman calls a 'flat world' or level playing field.

### *Biliteracy and Related Terminology*

Hornberger (Continua of Biliteracy, Volume 9) points out that in the 1970s the word 'biliteracy' carried connotations of fluency or mastery in the reading and writing of two or more languages. Her own definition of biliteracy, on which this chapter is based, is 'any and all instances in which communication occurs in two (or more) languages in or around writing' (Hornberger, 2003, p. 35). This definition includes varying levels of competencies, text types (traditional and multimodal) and verbal and symbolic communication. It thus encompasses biliteracy as exhibited in the lifeworld of the bilingual, and not as confined only to the classroom through school-related texts. Hornberger's model is a way of analyzing what is taught (content of biliteracy), in which languages it is taught (media of biliteracy), where it is taught (contexts of biliteracy) and what is the outcome of the teaching (development of biliteracy). The nestedness of these four sets of continua emphasize that for optimal biliterate development the learner should be allowed to access as many points on the continua as possible.

Related terms that have currency today are multimodal literacy (Kress, 2003), which is literacy based on the affordances of a web page, gesture, sound and other semiotic symbols including script, new literacies that one finds in cyberspace or workplace (Lankshear and Knobel, 2003) and finally multiliteracies (Cope and Kalantzis, 2000). None of these terms is about multiple languages and scripts as directly as is the term 'biliteracy', though all these terms are based on linguistic and cultural diversity. The term that comes closest in meaning to biliteracy is 'multilingual literacies' used by Martin-Jones and Jones (2000). Recently Pahl (2006) has edited a book that ethnographically links New Literacy Studies to multimodality in an age of globalization. However, the multimodality inherent in the diverse scripts and languages in which a bilingual has competence is not the major focus of this otherwise excellent volume.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The themes that emerge from the field of biliteracy and globalization are changing media of instruction in national school systems, new literacies required in the workplace, the threatened linguistic ecology of the globe and finally biliterate textual practices influenced by the Internet. Each of these will be briefly described in this section. Let me begin with changing media of instruction and new literacies. Block and Cameron (2002, p. 5) point out that 'globalization changes the conditions under which language learning takes place' by commodifying languages and creating new literacies required by the workplace that schools are expected to teach. This is definitely true of India. TLF, which offered English as a second language only in secondary schools, is being transformed by globalization because the urban disadvantaged are demanding earlier access to the linguistic capital of English. This demand is linked to new sectors of the economy which are opening up since India started globalizing in 1991, like the mushrooming of call centres all over New Delhi. Consequently, government schools have initiated dual-medium programmes, which offer English as one of the media of instruction along with Hindi from nursery itself.

The spread of global English is perceived as threatening the linguistic diversity of the globe. Using the metaphor of biodiversity Skutnabb-Kangas (2003, p. 34) argues that not only can the world's linguistic diversity be documented in the same way as biodiversity there is also a correlation and even causal connection between the two. She writes that 'Maintenance of diversities . . . is one end of the continuum where ecocide and linguistic genocide are at the other end'. Skutnabb-Kangas' main point through these arguments is to raise awareness about language endangerment of small languages from the threat of big killer languages, like English. In a similar vein, Phillipson (1992, 2006) sees

globalization, Americanization and Englishization as part of one process. He finds that English has retained its hold in former colonies and that it remains a divisive tool with which socio-economic strata are separated into the haves and have-nots. This view has been critiqued by Canagarajah (1999) who shows how English has been appropriated in Sri Lanka and Vaish (2005) who finds an agentive demand for and use of English in India.

Contesting the well-known view that globalization homogenizes languages is the not so well-known literature documenting the rise of non-English languages due to globalization. Dor's (2004, p. 98) thesis is that 'the forces of globalization do not have a vested interest in the global spread of English. They have a short-term interest in penetrating local markets through local languages and a long-term interest in turning these languages into commodified tools of communication'. He predicts that the Internet 'is going to be a predominantly non-English-language medium'. In 2004, there were 280 million English users and no less than 657 million non-English users and this gap is widening in favour of the latter. A similar view is expressed by Indrajit Banerjee, Secretary-General of the Asian Media Information and Communication Centre (AMIC), who comments:

One would think that globalization in Asia would mean going English but that's not the case . . . The diasporic market means you can have international newspapers, international TV and radio channels which are completely based on local languages. This is what I call the globalization of the local (p. 29).

In keeping with Dor's view, Warschauer (2002) and Warschauer, El, Ghada and Zohry (2002) point out that though in the Internet's history and design English and Romanized languages are privileged, this is changing due to the increasing online usage of languages like Arabic. For instance, the website of CNNArabic.com is a biliterate text that uses both Roman and Arabic scripts. Interestingly it is also a multi-modal text because it has photos, videos and sound. Also in informal e-mails, colloquial Arabic is extensively used in the Roman script—a type of biliterate text that is becoming very common on the Internet.

This is also found in data from India where Hindi–English bilinguals use similar biliteracy practices to communicate. The following e-mail, which was sent to me by one of the young students in my study in India, is a case in point. Here the sender uses Romanized Hindi (bolded) and English to communicate:

Hi Mam

**Main Bahut Khus Hua Apki E-Mail Pakar**

*(I was very happy to receive your e-mail)*

& Thanks for my reply.

Finally, English is not the only language to claim a global status. Goh (2000) stakes a similar claim for Mandarin saying that like English it is used in inner, outer and expanding circles. Goh's claim is based on the increasing economic power of the inner circle (China) and the increasing number of Mandarin learners in the outer circle.

Goh also points to the rising use of Mandarin on the Internet through sites like the Chinese Google and Chinese Wikipedia. Thus, the emergence of languages like Arabic and Mandarin in cyberspace and the mingling of scripts with diverse languages in informal communication point to new biliterate practices that are yet to be explored in depth.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Broadly speaking, work in biliteracy tends to fall into two discrete domains—either the research is in the classroom or on the linguistic landscape of a site. A project of the former type is 'Signs of Difference: How Children Learn to Write in Different Script Systems' undertaken by the Institute of Education in the UK (Kenner, 2004; Kenner and Kress, 2003). This was a year-long study of 6-year-olds in London learning Chinese, Arabic and Spanish along with English. The methodology involved asking the case study children to teach their peers how to write Chinese, Arabic and Spanish using their own work. They found that in this biscriptal experience each script is a different 'mode' and the child organizes the Chinese and the Arabic scripts in terms of spatiality and directionality.

A recent issue of the *International Journal of Multilingualism* has focused on the concept of 'linguistic landscape'. An illustration of such research is Cenoz and Gorter (2006) who compare 975 signs on two streets in the Netherlands and Spain, respectively, on the basis of type of sign, number and names of languages on the sign, order of languages, type of font and whether the sign represents top-down language policy or bottom-up language use. Such literature perceives biliteracy as semiotic texts, which are not just found in the classroom, but also in the lifeworld of advertising, newspapers, comics, television, movies and other textual practices that influence school-going children.

In similar studies both Bhatia and Ritchie (2004) and Ladousa (2002) write about Hindi–English advertising in India. Bhatia and Ritchie (2004, p. 513) hypothesize: 'The economic forces of globalization together with the rise of global media have set the stage for a dramatic, exponential rise in global bilingualism,' thus challenging Phillipson's idea of English language hegemony. Ladousa's data come from the city of Banaras where she finds that the English-only advertisements in the Roman script signal a global language of the centre, whereas the Hindi ones in the Devanagari script index either a powerless periphery or an emerging Hindu–Hindi power that resists the linguistic colonization of English.

The literature on linguistic landscape does not use the term ‘biliteracy’ preferring ‘bilingualism’ as a catch all that accommodates speech and text. However, changes in the linguistic ecology of the globalizing world and medium of instruction demand a closer look at biliteracy so as to define it in terms of specific texts and practices as well as enrich existing theory. Vaish (forthcoming) suggests that biliterate texts can be categorized as traditionally biliterate or hybrid. A biliterate text is an artefact, for instance a road sign, piece of writing in the classroom, an advertisement on the street or graffiti and finally an English textbook that has been glossed and annotated in Hindi, in which there is written or symbolic (as in an image) evidence of two or more languages or cultures. A hybrid text is a subset of biliterate texts in that it has an aesthetic, creative nature, is usually not grammatically acceptable and is popular in sites like advertising and public culture. Specifically a hybrid text represents symbolically or through a comingling of scripts, what a bilingual does through code switching. While the former may be accommodated inside the bilingual classroom the latter is proscribed.

Figure 1 may be considered a biliterate text. It is a page from the English textbook of a girl in grade 10 of the dual-medium Rajkiya Sarvodaya Kanya Vidyalaya in New Delhi.

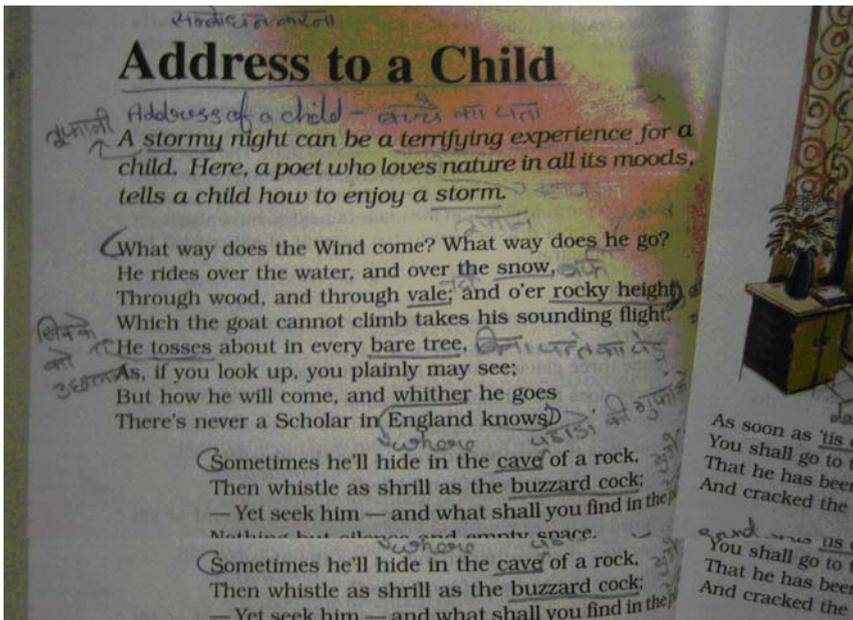


Figure 1 A biliterate text.

This poem by William Wordsworth appears in the English textbook for class 10, which is used in the government school system in India. The student to whom this textbook belongs has underlined all the words she has found difficult and written their meanings in Hindi. For instance:

Bare tree: बरिना पत्ते का पेड़

Cave: पहाडों की गुफा

In some cases, the student has made annotations in English; for instance she has written ‘address of a child’ and glossed this phrase in Hindi as बच्चे का पता so as to make a distinction between the two meanings of the noun ‘address’.

The teachers in the Rajkiya Sarvodaya Kanya Vidyalaya actively encourage the creation of biliterate annotations in the texts because they use L1 as a resource in the classroom. One of them, Mrs Shobhana Gulati, explained to me (Field notes, October 16, 2005) that the Devanagari script is a great way to teach pronunciation in English. This is because Devanagari is a phonetic script and the words are pronounced exactly the way they are written. There are no silent letters or two pronunciations of a single letter like /s/ and /k/ for the letter ‘c’. Thus if there are difficult pronunciations in the English lesson she makes the children write the exact pronunciation of the English word in Devanagari.

On the other hand the advertisement under Hindu–Muslim is a hybrid text (see [Figure 2](#)).

The first word under Hindu–Muslim is in Sanskrit: शुभमंगलम्, which means ‘blessed marriage’. The main text under ‘Sorry Sir, We don’t have non-quality proposals’ reads:

जो लाखों प्रपोजल्स की बात करते हैं वे आपको obsolete व settled या e-mail वाले पते व फोन रहित proposals की भीड़ में ढकेल देते हैं.. We show you the ‘Quality Proposals’ then constantly work for you. हम उनकी तरह ‘member ID’

देकर अलग नहीं हट जाते हैं | निर्णय आपको करना ह | Prof. and Personalised.

*(Those who talk of lakhs (this is 1,000,000 in India) of proposals give you obsolete or settled or e-mail addresses and push you in the crowd of non-phone number proposals. We show you the ‘Quality Proposals’ then constantly work for you. Like them we don’t just give a ‘member ID’ and move away. The decision is yours. Professional and personalized)*

This advertisement mixes languages and scripts with dazzling flexibility. The pragmatic force of this advertisement is that it is written very much like a Hindi–English bilingual would speak. Such biliterate and hybrid texts are becoming increasingly common in the lifeworld of a bilingual as the world globalizes.

FOR ... MBA, Gursikh ... placed prof ... Merchant Navy, Airlines, In ... quatorialist from status only ... PH. 0812853196, 040-37972473. E-mail: gaj33@lycos.com

**MATCHJ** for Ramgarhia ... tall slim b'hol girl 30/5' ... B.Com working slightly ... diffusive by right leg Cont. ... Mr. H.Singh Ph: 9888521054.

**GURSIKH** Ramgarhia match for b'hol 26/155 M.Sc B.Ed Govt. Teacher. Send B.P. Write Box No DEL 286810C Times of India New Delhi -110002

**MATCH** for Sikh MBA girl 23/5'8" working in MNC, convent educated, respectable family. Mob: 9883512527

Alliance invited for **SMART MUMBAI BORN (1982)** Interior Designer **SIKH GIRL** from a status & well established family. Seek professionally qualified & well settled match in **MUMBAI** bjsingh82@yahoo.co.in

**BRIDES & GROOMS**

G.M. Nalco, native of Orissa seeks suitable match for his daughter. 31/5'2" Ph.D in HRD, Lecturer & son 30/5'8" doing Ph.D in Engg. In California Univ, USA. Early marriage in Dec. Caste no bar. Ph.no. 9437025430, 9437025339

**HINDU / MUSLIM शुभलग्नम्**  
(011) 22046615, 9350026576  
(0522) 2321180, 9335924009  
(0731) 5060877, 9826298512  
Director R.K.Kapoor 9415580893  
E-mail: shubhlagnam@yahoo.com

**Sorry Sir**  
**WE DON'T HAVE NON-QUALITY PROPOSALS**  
जो तारों प्रपोजल्स की बात करते है, वे आपको Obsolete व settled या E-mail वाले पते व फोन रहित proposals की भीड़ में डकैल देते है  
We first show you the 'Quality Proposals', then constantly work for you.  
हम ऊपरनी तरह Member ID देकर कउन नली टूट जाते है।  
बिप्राय आपको करना है  
**Prof. & Personalised**

**CITI Marriage Bureau** (Regd.) Free Registration. Best match making, privacy assured. Contact: 9213321820

**Astral Matrimonials**  
A-1/24, Safdarjung Enclave New Delhi-110029  
9811351110, 9811722230  
9899888323, 9811444950  
E-mail: astralmatri@rediffmail.com

**Marriage Bureaus!** Place your profiles online. Inexpensive web hosting. Contact for details: sales@MatrimonyCorner.Com

**SUNDAY TIMES matrimonials**  
for the better half of your life

Figure 2 A hybrid text.

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

One of the main problems in this field is what implications these new texts and practices have for the bilingual classroom. In countries like Singapore, the mother tongue classroom, where children are taught Tamil, Malay and Mandarin according to their ethnic group, is an enunciative space where the use of English is proscribed. There are even mother tongue classes where children are fined if they use English. In such a classroom, where even code switching is not encouraged, the nested nature of the variables on the *Continua of Biliteracy* are not acknowledged leading to biliterate development which is not optimal.

However, data from SSS (2006) show that the children are creating such texts on their own. This project is a large-scale survey of 1,000 10-year-olds linked to 24 follow-up studies. One of the girls in the follow-up studies who is biliterate in Cantonese, Mandarin and English enjoys the Dreamworks movie *Chicken Little* with Mandarin subtitles. The screen of this movie, not possible to replicate on paper, is a fine illustration of a multimodal biliterate text situated in a culturally globalizing world. Figure 3 is a biliterate page from the language log of this Chinese girl in which she has used both Mandarin and English to show her TV-watching practices.

Globalization has created hybrid textual forms that are proscribed in the bilingual classroom. However, these are the texts that children encounter in their multilingual lifeworlds. The challenge is for teacher education in the field of bilingualism to include an understanding of

| Day | Title             | Language | Time                          | Comments  |
|-----|-------------------|----------|-------------------------------|-----------|
| 星期三 | Chicken Little    |          |                               |           |
| 星期四 |                   |          |                               |           |
| 星期五 | Kids Central ch.8 | English  | 下午 6:30 pm                    | very nice |
|     |                   | 中文       | 6:30 <sup>pm</sup> - 10:00 pm | 很女子香      |
| 星期六 |                   |          |                               |           |

Figure 3 Biliterate text from child’s language log.

these changing textual practices and use them as a resource in the classroom. Hornberger and Vaish (2006) show, through a comparison of bilingual classrooms in India, Singapore and South Africa, how teachers use linguistic resources that the children bring to the classroom to teach the language of power. For instance, in the classroom in India the teacher uses Hindi to explain to the student that 7 times 2 is not 13, though the medium and textbook of instruction for Mathematics is English.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Globalization has created new workplaces, like the call centre, where biliterate skills, especially 'English-knowing bilingualism', a term originally used by Kachru (1982), are critical. In call centres in New Delhi though the computer screen is in English, the agent working on it might seek clarification of something on the screen in Hindi and English. There is an emergent literature on bilingualism (Roy, 2003) and identity (Shome, 2006) in the worksite of call centres. Roy discusses issues of linguistic racism where employees are punished for incorrect accents as what they are selling is a service packaged in a particular kind of language. Shome's article on identity is linked to Castells' idea about globalization, though she herself does not make this link, creating an opposition between the Net and the Self. By the Net, Castells means a networked society that has replaced traditional social structures of family and human behaviour. On the other hand, the Self refers to reaffirming identity in a landscape of change. There is a need to explore issues of identity and biliteracy practices.

The field of biliteracy would also benefit from research projects, which backward map from the workplace what biliterate skills are valuable in a globalizing economy. Are schools in multilingual countries able to provide these skills? For instance, in Singapore's bilingual education policy Mandarin has both an instrumental value, in that it can promote business with China and a symbolic value in maintaining Chineseness. How do young Singaporeans make use of biliteracy in the workplace? Do they value what the nation's bilingual policy has given them? A host of such questions about biliteracy and globalization are waiting to be researched in our changing communicational landscape.

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## **Section 2**

### **Literacies and Social Institutions**

## INFORMAL LEARNING AND LITERACY

## INTRODUCTION

Interest in informal learning has been strong for many years, but it has rarely been applied to the learning of literacy by adults which is usually seen as a formal learning process. This paper first reviews some of the developments in our understanding of informal learning, discusses some new findings from research into adult literacy learning in developing societies and suggests some applications of this to literacy learning programmes in the future.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS AND MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS IN INFORMAL LEARNING

Although there has been discussion of informal learning for many years (e.g. Archambault, 1974; Dewey, 1933; see also Lucas, 1983), it has played a minor role compared with studies of formal learning (see e.g. Davies, 1971). However, there has been a significant rise in interest in informal learning in the last few years (Bjornavold, 2000; Carter, 1997; Colardyn and Bjornavold, 2004; Livingstone, 2001; Marsick and Watkins, 1990; Richardson and Wolfe, 2001). The recent discourse of lifelong learning/education has encouraged wider recognition that learning goes on ‘outside formal educational establishments’ (Straka, 2004, p. 3)—that it is lifewide as well as lifelong. Many writers, especially those concerned with workplace learning and self-directed learning through new technologies (Rose, 2004), are exploring ‘notions of learning in everyday life and how everyday strategies of learning can be taken into educational settings’ (see Papen, 2005, p. 140; Hager, 2001; Imel, 2003; Visser, 2001).

It is however an area with many different definitions, often contested, and there is no space here to explore the many dimensions of this debate (Coffield, 2000; Colley, Hodgkinson and Malcolm, 2003; Eraut, 2000; McGivney, 1999).

Most however would agree that learning is a natural activity which continues at all times. Learning is the way in which the experience of the external is internalised and utilised for growth, a way of drawing from the natural and human environment the sustenance for living. Much of it is making sense (meaning) of experience and using that

for dealing with new experiences. Part of it is the building up of funds of cultural knowledge (Moll, Amanti, Neff and Gonzalez, 1992). A good deal of learning is intentional, planned and directed, but most learning from infancy until the end of life is unplanned, unintended and often unconscious, learning through tasks or play/imagination or social engagement; and this kind of learning results in tacit or implicit (unrecognised and unacknowledged) knowledge, understandings, skills and attitudes (Polyani, 1966; see Reber, 1993). As with literacy, there are learning events and learning practices; and there are throughout life 'learning episodes' (Rogers, 2002, pp. 120–125)—incidents when individuals decide and engage in more systematic learning for specific purposes, using all the perceived resources which their nature and the society within which they are situated provide. There is thus a continuum ranging from what I have called elsewhere (Rogers, 2003) 'task-conscious learning' (where learning is not conscious but takes place while engaged in some activity and where achievements are measured not in terms of learning but of task fulfilment) and 'learning-conscious learning' (where learning is intended and conscious and achievements are measured in terms of learning).

The use of the word 'informal' to describe these natural learning processes has created the demand to search for 'formal' learning, and the creation in the 1960s of the term 'non-formal' to represent hybrid forms of learning (Rogers, 2004) has reinforced this search. A further distinction is sometimes made between 'informal learning' and 'incidental learning' (Enslin, Pendlebury and Tjattas, 2001; see Rogers, 2003, pp. 14–15). One way of representing these distinctions is through the analysis of the exercise of power and control: thus 'incidental learning' is sometimes seen as that learning which takes place without anyone being in control, 'informal learning' as that learning which the learner controls, 'non-formal learning' as that learning where control is shared between learner and a 'teacher' (learning support agent), and 'formal learning' as that learning which is controlled by the learning opportunity provider.

Rather than see incidental, informal, non-formal and formal learning as categories, it would seem more satisfactory to view these as positions on a continuum; there are many shades of learning between these positions. Such distinctions are tied up with contemporary value systems. Despite the fact that 'the majority of human learning does not occur in formal contexts' (Eraut, 2000, p. 12), modern Western societies tend to value formal learning above informal. The emphasis on formal learning (education) however can lead to the ignoring, demeaning or even denial of the existence of informal learning. Recent surveys (e.g. NIACE, 1996) have shown that many people, when asked, would assert that they have done no learning since leaving school—identifying

'learning' with formal learning in educational establishments and ignoring all the learning they have done through their work, their families, their social interactions, their build up of capital, property and skills, etc. And this has implications for identities—both those ascribed by others and self-ascribed: 'If we simply picture learning as something that happens in the classroom, then we can see many . . . literacy learners as poor learners. If we see it [learning] as bound up in social activity we see something different' (Fowler and Mace, 2005, p. 31; see Lave and Holland, 2001).

Nevertheless, some distinction may be drawn between the various positions on the continuum. A useful example of this distinction can be seen in language learning (Krashen, 1982). The first language is learned through what Krashen calls 'acquisition learning', through the *use* of language without any structure, learning through tasks of communication and through play with sounds, experimentation, learning through errors with social scaffolding for reinforcement and correction until the cultural means of communication are more or less mastered. It is a process that has no 'formal' end. On the other hand, a later language is usually learned through more carefully structured, time-bound and controlled processes, through sequenced teaching-learning materials and designed practice, with pre-determined goals and measures of achievement. These two approaches can be taken to represent the distinction between informal learning and formal learning. Formal learning is seen as governed by rules outside of the learner. Informal learning is unplanned, non-linear, applied, contextualised and therefore limited (it ceases when the learner perceives that the task is completed rather than when the teacher determines). Informal learning involves 'ways of social and psychological functioning which explicitly differ from practices to be seen in formal educational environments' (Llorente and Coben, 2003; see Rogers, 2003, pp. 14–43 for a discussion of the two kinds of learning).

'Informal learning' (the natural learning process) then takes place in the home, in the community, at work (Garrick, 1998; Marsick and Watkins, 1990) and leisure (Enslin, Pendlebury and Tjattas, 2001, p. 62), in engagement with social movements (Foley, 1999; Mayo, 2005; Welton, 1993), in all of life's experiences. It needs to be distinguished from informal education, which implies intention and planned and assisted learning. Informal education is usually seen as self-directed and self-controlled learning (Boekaerts, 1999; Imel, 2003; Smith, 2002). (Apprenticeships which some writers identify with informal learning is often put by others among the 'non-formal' learning strategies; indeed, there is much confusion between informal and non-formal learning programmes which may be seen as programmes which combine elements of both contextualisation and learner control on the

one hand and standardisation and teaching agency control on the other; see Jeffs and Smith, 1990; Rogers, 2004).

One of the important elements of informal learning is analogous learning. Much meaning-making and problem solving relies on the identification of analogies, the application of what has already been learned elsewhere (formally and informally) to new situations. As we engage in new learning, so the fund of prior experiential learning, including tacit knowledge (Polyani 1966; Reber 1993) which may be called upon or reconstructed to enable analogous learning, increases.

Thus the natural learning which we all do, far from being unimportant, is in fact the foundation of all new learning and all education (planned and assisted learning). It is like breathing which is also a natural process relating the individual to the environment which she/he inhabits, and which is also usually unconscious but at times a conscious process, capable of improvement (e.g. for singing, swimming, sports etc). Despite this continual learning process, because much of it is unconscious, the learner may feel ignorant, incompetent and lacking in confidence; and the recognition of this learning is often the first stage of assisting someone with their intended and planned learning.

It would however be a mistake to assume that informal learning is the same across all sectors of life; and what is needed is an investigation into the ethnography of learning in relation to different areas. This paper seeks to examine one such area, informal learning and literacy<sup>1</sup>.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS IN INFORMAL LEARNING AND LITERACY

The current application of the concepts of informal (natural) learning to literacy seems to lie in three main fields: the perceptions of literacy, the acquisition of literacy skills, and the practice of literacy. Such understandings will affect the ways in which formal literacy learning can be assisted.

##### *Perceptions of Literacy*

It can be argued that in today's world, there is no person (except perhaps some very young children) who has never directly or indirectly come across written forms of communication in some context or other. Even in so-called less developed society contexts, literacy practices lie embedded within many daily life activities—shopping and the market,

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<sup>1</sup> Recent studies of the ethnography of numeracy suggest that this important area is a field which needs specialist treatment (see Street, Rogers and Dave, 2006) and it has been omitted from this article.

farming or other livelihoods, community relationships, the family (e.g. a calendar) etc. Both formal and informal literacy practices are an essential part of the social practices of health care, policing, religion, politics as well as schooling. There are displayed texts in most environments—in shops on packets, in street signs, advertisements, notices and graffiti on walls etc, although the frequency of such texts within the overall literacy environment (GMR, 2005, pp. 207–213; see Doronila, 1996) will vary. Such literacy material is often concentrated at certain points in most living contexts (post offices, clinics, police stations, churches, schools, shops, etc.) and not in other places, and from this, literate and non-literate alike will learn (informally) where literacy is appropriate and where it is not, to whom literacy belongs and to whom it does not belong, who is excluded, which kinds of literacy practices belong to which contexts and kinds of people. Informal learning teaches each of us our place in the society we inhabit.

Thus, although some people encounter writing fairly frequently and others more rarely, for all, ‘literacy’ in some form or other has entered their experience. And this calls for meaning-making—the establishment of a relationship between the experience and the sense of self. That is, literacy in today’s world helps to create identities. So that everyone has built up some picture of literacy, what it means, and its practices in relation to themselves. For some, it may be a sense that such practices belong to other persons (communities of practice of the educated, the religious, the professionals, the rich etc.), that literacy is ‘not for me’, that it is out of their reach, beyond their capabilities or status. This informal learning is not confined to the so-called ‘illiterate’. It applies also to those educated and literate persons who nevertheless feel excluded from certain communities of practice—those for example who find it difficult to handle computer manuals, insurance documents and technical papers or other languages and scripts. Perceptions of literacy include or exclude people from certain literacy practices.

But in fact the so-called illiterate are not in practice excluded from engaging in literacy practices. They will engage in these literacy practices, sometimes unconsciously, sometimes more consciously. Some of this engagement will be through mediation, getting someone to help them (Kalman, 1999; Mace, 2002); or they will find their own way of coping with literacy communications, ‘develop their own strategies to make meaning from [and engage in] literacies that extend beyond their current abilities to process written language’ (Ewing, 2003: cited in Papen, 2005, p. 139).

This is important, for (as we shall see) some of these persons have developed some form of literacy which neither they nor the society they inhabit recognise as ‘literacy’. Thus, they will describe themselves as ‘illiterate’ even when engaged in some form of literacy practices. And in relation to the formal schooled literacies which form the content

of most literacy learning programmes for both children and adults, they will continue to feel ignorant, incompetent and unconfident.

### *The Acquisition of Literacy Skills*

Just as with language communication skills, so with literacy communication skills, there are two more or less distinct ways of learning—through informal acquisition learning (task-conscious learning) or through formal learning (learning-conscious learning).

Recent studies have shown that ‘adults who . . . are regarded as having serious literacy deficiencies are in fact not only involved in numerous literacy and numeracy events throughout their lives, but may possess a range of informally acquired literacy and numeracy skills’ (Papen, 2005, p. 131); they have acquired these without going through primary school or adult literacy class. Investigations of the ways in which such skills have been developed have revealed that they come through engagement in some activity or other. The Vai learned their script ‘outside of school’ (Scribner and Cole, 1981) as do other language groups where the local language is not used in school (Aikman, 1999 etc.). Similarly, a car mechanic develops knowledge of reading and writing texts related to that trade; a tailoress keeps a notebook of her clients’ measurements and requirements; a carpenter possesses a wall full of material cut out from catalogues and scribbles on them names and dates of work to be completed; a shopkeeper writes the names of customers, goods, prices and credit extended on his hand each day for someone else to write up more formally in the evening—all of them at the same time protesting that they are ‘uneducated, illiterate’ because they cannot read a newspaper (Rogers and Uddin, 2005; see Uddin, 2006). This is not confined to so-called ‘developing societies’: in more industrialised societies, hotel staff can cope with the informal texts of their particular hotel but not with discursive texts (Rogers, Hunter and Uddin, 2007; Rose, 2004); a restaurant waiter learns through ‘looking over people’s shoulders at the menu’ (Fowler and Mace, 2005, p. 101). Much of this informal learning has been unconscious but a good deal comes from the adult learner seeking out personal assistance, from relatives, friends and work colleagues, from community members and religious leaders, even informally from the formal teacher of literacy at meetings held outside of the class sessions (Uddin, 2006). And much of what has been learned is not perceived as ‘literacy’. What is and what is not literacy has thus been learned from the context: ‘He did not really view what he did in his daily life as using literacy; to his mind, literacy meant learning, and learning took place in a classroom’ (Fowler and Mace, 2005, p. 32).

Study of the processes involved in such informal learning of literacy shows that they are not linear, starting with simple words and moving to more complex words; rather they move from the known to the unknown. Informal literacy learning is always purposeful, associated with existing or changing identities, seeking identity confirmation, joining in a community of practice (Barton and Tusting 2005; Lave and Wenger 1991). Rather than learning literacy leading to change, it is change which leads to learning literacy. Such informal learning is always applied in a particular context, but it is almost always limited to that context and the activity in which it is embedded. In some cases, it may lead on to the development of further more discursive schooled literacies, but in other cases it does not (Uddin, 2006).

### *The Practice of Literacy*

It is often assumed that a person, once having acquired a pre-set 'level' of literacy skills through formal (schooled) means—completing the literacy textbook, for example,—can apply those skills to any text, that literacy learning has ceased. But every new text form which is encountered calls for new learning. Again much of this is unconscious informal learning—new ways of writing and new formats of reading. Some people are conscious of this fact—like the adult literacy class member in Nepal who said that she could now read the literacy primer (textbook) but not read anything else like a newspaper or health booklet (field notes of author 1993). Learning to read a newspaper in columns and following the text from page to page; learning to fill in a bank or driving licence form; learning the format of poetry, of hymns and religious texts, of letter writing, of bills and invoices and of price lists; learning to distinguish the meaning of advertisements, the writing of formal papers and academic literacies (Mahiri, 2004)—all this calls for further learning. And almost all of this learning is informal. Who taught young people how to write text messages on their mobile phones? How do most people learn to send e-mails? Some formal instruction in computers is available, but even here, most of the learning each day is informal learning. 'In everyday life we not only use literacy . . . but we also learn new literacies' (Papen, 2005, p. 140). Meeting and coping with new genres requires further learning: 'The processes of informal learning through which we learn to deal with unfamiliar types of texts, learn to adapt our style of writing to the requirements of new technologies, or learn to navigate the literacy environment of unfamiliar institutional settings' (Papen, 2005, p. 24) are often unconscious or semi-conscious. Making meaning and transmitting meaning are constantly being learned and relearned, most of

this informally although formal courses are sometimes available. The view that primer literacy learning will equip the learner for the universal use of literacy is simply false.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS: INFORMAL LEARNING AND THE FORMAL LEARNING OF LITERACY

The recognition of the informal learning of literacy (both perceptions and skills) and of the need for continued learning of literacy practices has important implications for the design and implementation of literacy learning programmes for both children and adults. Four main areas call for attention but more work needs to be done on this interaction between informal and formal learning (see Fowler and Mace, 2005; Larson and Marsh, 2005; Pahl and Rowsell, 2005; Papen, 2005).

First, the learned belief systems about literacy and the self will affect the motivation and confidence of the potential literacy learner. Simply casting him/herself as a learner of literacy is itself a major step calling for emotional investment and determination, and is not lightly to be brushed aside with an emphasis on deficits. The view that 'literacy is not for people like me' is often strong—in the case of children, because of an over-emphasis on age-related learning and stereotyping by adults, in the case of adults through years of experience. Non-literate adults are members of a number of over-lapping communities of practice in which literacy practices may be relatively weak or confined to a small number of members of those communities; and perceptions of 'literacy' developed through informal learning over many years often leads to a sense of exclusion from such practices (Barton and Tusting, 2005).

Thus with adults it is important to try to bring the unconscious informal learning of many years into consciousness. As with the Assessment of Prior Experiential Learning (APEL), one needs to recognise and give value to the informal learning acquired through adult life and build on it to make progress in further learning (Weil and McGill, 1989); so with literacy, it is important to give recognition and value to the informal learning about literacy, both the perceptions of literacy which help to create the learner's identity, and the strategies which have been built up. This is increasingly being recognised in formal education where home-school linkages are being closely studied. In some cases, this will involve the recognition of the informal literacy skills which have been acquired to enable non-literate persons to engage in their own literacy practices, which the potential literacy learners bring with them, not to ignore or 'correct' these, not to compartmentalise them but to help all (teacher and learners alike) to give them value and to build on them. Such background understandings need to be developed by the teacher through ethnographic-style research (Street, Rogers and Dave, 2006).

Secondly, there is much informal learning going on even *within* formal literacy learning groups or classes. The scaffolding of learning by teaching agents (Greenfield 1984) brings with it many implications which literacy learners are not slow to recognise and internalise—who is important and who is not; what kinds of literacy are acceptable and what are not, what one can and cannot write or read (the notes some children send round the class under the desks are often forbidden rather than built upon; see Camitta, 1993). Many textbooks contain hidden messages—that poverty, for example, is the fault of the poor who need to change to become prosperous; that sickness can be avoided by hygiene; that gender inequalities can be remedied without the change of male dominance; etc. A climate is built up in a classroom and the literacy learners are being asked to engage with that; and such participation ‘shapes not only what we do but also who we are and how we interpret what we do’ (Wenger, 1998, p. 4). But unfortunately the literacy classroom is often an inappropriate context for learning, hierarchical and dictatorial. ‘Learning to be literate is [or should be] like learning to be an artisan in a guild, to play an instrument in an ensemble, like acquiring a craft within a community whose art and forms of life are dynamic, rather than robotic acquisition and automatization of core skills’ (Luke, 2005, p. xi). Learning literacy through apprenticeship may be a more appropriate model for both child and adult than formal schooling (Overwien, 2005; Collins, Brown and Newman, 1989).

Thirdly, the fact that informal learning of literacy continues after the initial learning period indicates that a ‘single-injection’ model of adult literacy learning programmes will always be ineffective. Learning literacy skills is not a simple matter of a short course (3 years, 2 years, 9 months or even, as in Pakistan, 3 months) which will transmute the ‘illiterate’ into the ‘literate’. Learning to read a primer (textbook) may lay the foundation for learning to read a newspaper but it does not necessarily mean that everyone who completes an adult literacy learning programme will be confident enough to go on to read a newspaper or magazine or to write other forms of texts.

Fourthly, the methods by which the informal learning of literacy has been developing throughout the life of the adult and the methods by which the child is learning their first language and learning about texts could with profit be used in the literacy class: ‘the everyday strategies of learning can be taken into educational settings’ (Papen, 2005, p. 140). The need to bring the everyday literacy practices of the learners—whether children or adults—into every planned learning programme has been emphasised several times (Cole and Scribner, 1974; Lave, 1988; Rogoff and Lave, 1984). This is as true of literacy learning as of other learning activities. And this means that a one-size-fits-all literacy learning programme can never be successful: each literacy

learning group needs its own learning programme based on the informal literacy learning of the learners.

Task-related learning; cyclic rather than linear learning (the progression from simple to complex, while useful in some circumstances, can be ignored when engaged in task-related learning, for the task provides the parameters of the learning); collaborative learning rather than individual; real literacy activities and texts drawn from the literacy learners themselves rather than imposed from outside (Rogers, 1999); critical reflection on both the literacy learning tasks and the contents of the teaching-learning materials; changed relationships of the teacher and learners where the teacher becomes a literacy mediator and scaffold/mentor rather than instructor – these are some of the implications of informal literacy learning for formal literacy learning.

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SECOND LANGUAGE ACADEMIC LITERACIES:  
CONVERGING UNDERSTANDINGS

INTRODUCTION

Increasingly schools and universities in many parts of the world are expected to serve ethnically and linguistically diverse students. Scholarly discussions on language and literacy education have, however, tended to maintain either a first language or a second language stance in some mutually insulating way. This intellectual divide was perhaps fostered by the educational and intellectual climate that prevailed in an earlier historical period. In the past 30 years or so, however, public educational institutions have been made progressively more conscious of the need and the obligation to serve diverse student populations under the aegis of marketization of education provision for international students, and/or social integration for all students, irrespective of their language backgrounds. It is recognized that many linguistic minority students find the use of their second language for academic purposes problematic (Cummins, 2000; Leung and Safford, 2005; Mohan, Leung and Davison, 2001; Scarcella, 2003). The ability to communicate informally for social purposes in a second language, even at high levels of lexico-grammatical accuracy and pragmatic familiarity, does not automatically translate into effective academic use, particularly in relation to reading and writing. A good deal of discussion in second language curriculum and pedagogy is focussed on this ‘problem’. In this discussion, my main focus is on the use of second language in academic discourse (with particular reference to written discourse) because it highlights a profound conceptual issue in the prevailing notions of second language competence. I explore this not just as a teaching issue, but also as a conceptual and research issue.

In this chapter, I use the terms ‘second language pedagogy’ and ‘academic literacy’ in a broad sense and refer to relevant teaching and curriculum literature covering a range of educational settings (e.g. school, college and work-based programmes) and students (e.g. school-aged and adult).<sup>1</sup> Perhaps it would be useful to point out that there are

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<sup>1</sup> Traditionally in the English-speaking education systems, the term ‘English as a second language’ (ESL) is often used to refer to a context of use and/or learning where English is the medium of communication for at least some public or government

some discipline-specific ways in which the terms ‘language’ and ‘literacy/literacies’ are interpreted. In the second language literature the term ‘language’ has tended to be used as a general catch-all label to include the development and use of language for listening, speaking, reading and writing (the so-called four basic skills); the second language lexico-grammar system and (often generalized) pragmatic rules of use form the basis of most curricular specifications. Concerns for ‘literacy’ development tend to be subsumed under the banner of reading and writing; specialist branches of English as a second language teaching such as English for Academic Purposes (EAP) often prioritize reading and writing. In the field of academic literacies, language use is assumed to be part of students’ lived experience and the use of the lexico-grammar of ‘language’ itself is seen in relation to observed socio-cultural and pragmatic conventions in discourse. A basic familiarity with lexico-grammar is generally assumed to be in place, irrespective of students’ first or second language background. There is relative little explicit discussion on the different trajectories in first and second language developments and the impact these may have on literacy development (see Davison, 1996 for a further discussion). The plural form ‘literacies’ is preferred by some writers (Lea, 2004; Street, 2003, 2005) and it will be used in this discussion where appropriate to signal the existence of a literature which acknowledges the multiple ways language and other semiotic means are used for meaning-making in academic contexts. Although the second language in this discussion is English, the conceptual issues raised are not necessarily language specific.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS: SECOND LANGUAGE IN COMMUNICATION

A, if not *the*, major influence on English as second language teaching (ELT) in the past three decades has been the advent of the concept of communicative competence, which in turn has spawned a broad set of theoretically linked principles and classroom practices now commonly known as Communicative Language Teaching (CLT). The concept of

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functions (e.g. English in Singapore and India, and for some minority language communities in countries such as the USA and the UK); and the term ‘English as a foreign language’ (EFL) is used where English is not used/learned for public communication. English as an additional language (EAL) is sometimes used to refer to contexts in which English is used by ethnolinguistic minority students, e.g. Polish-mother tongue children in school in England. Recent developments in the use of English in different contexts have made these terms increasingly difficult to apply. For instance, the use of English as a preferred common language of communication in European political and business organizations have blurred the traditional distinctions. In this article, author uses ‘second language’ as a general label to signal a contra-distinction to first language.

communicative competence, built on Hymes' work on ethnography of communication (1972, 1977), was elaborated and recontextualized for second language pedagogy by Canale and Swain in a series of papers (Canale 1983, 1984; Canale and Swain, 1980a, b). An essential tenet of CLT is that second language learning and teaching should be concerned with both rules of grammar (all aspects of lexico-grammar for speech and writing) and social rules of use. Historically this represented an intellectual move away from an earlier tendency to treat grammar as the main focus in second language pedagogy. Teachers and curriculum designers are expected to take both formal linguistic properties and context of use into account. For instance, Yalden (1983, pp. 86–87) suggests that the designer of a communicative curriculum has to attend to the following:

1. ... the *purposes* for which the learners wish to acquire the target language
2. some idea of the *setting* in which they will want to use the target language ...
3. the socially defined *role* the learner will assume in the target language, as well as their interlocutors ...
4. the communicative *events* in which the learners will participate ... [emphasis in original]

This approach to building up a picture of communication needs quite clearly draws on Hymes' discussion on components of speech (1977, 1994). The purposes, settings, roles and events were, at least in principle, established by carrying out student needs surveys. This empirically oriented approach to the drawing up of learning content is generally accepted in all areas of CLT. The curriculum designer is meant to use this kind of contextual information to identify socio-culturally and pragmatically appropriate language for learning. So particular grammatical forms for requests such as 'would you ...', 'could you ...' and 'will you ...' will be selected according to students' projected purposes and contexts of use. Likewise, students are inducted into a range of different text types such as formal reports, informal accounts and study notes in accordance with the identified needs. This socio-culturally alert approach is applicable to every aspect of curriculum development. Furthermore, CLT eschews formal didactics and it is in favour of hands-on classroom activities. In other words, the CLT classroom is where students are encouraged to engage in the actual use of the language through purposeful participatory communication activities such as role play and simulated games. This combination of socio-culturally sensitive curriculum development and activity-oriented classroom pedagogy has held sway in popular course books and teacher training manuals (Brown, 2001; McDonough and Shaw, 2003; Morrow, 1981). For instance, Brown's (2001, p. 43) characterization of CLT includes the following:

- a focus on ‘the components (grammatical, discourse, functional, sociolinguistic and strategic) of communicative competence’;
- the use of language teaching techniques and student tasks ‘to engage learners in the pragmatic, authentic, functional use of language for meaningful purposes’;
- the positioning of the teacher as ‘a facilitator and guide . . . Students are therefore encouraged to construct meaning through genuine linguistic interaction with others’.

In an authoritative account of the nature of English for Academic Purposes (EAP), an expanding specialist branch of ELT traditionally associated with higher education, Hyland and Hamp Lyons (2002, p. 2) state that

English for Academic Purposes refers to language research and instruction that focuses on the specific communicative needs and practices of particular groups in academic contexts. It means grounding instruction in an understanding of the cognitive, social and linguistic demands of specific academic disciplines. This takes practitioners beyond preparing learners for study in English to developing new kinds of literacy: equipping students with communicative skills to participate in particular academic and cultural contexts.

In general, CLT attempts to approximate conditions of ‘real communication’ in the classroom. The extent to which this commitment to an empirically grounded approach can be seen in pedagogic practice will be discussed in the next section.

Perhaps it should be pointed out that CLT is not the only influential theoretical framework in second language education. In a psychocognitively oriented body of work directly concerned with the second language development of linguistic minority school students, Cummins (1984, 1992, 1996, 2000) also takes communication in context as a point of departure. He proposes that language proficiency in a curriculum context can be seen in terms of basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS) and cognitive/academic language proficiency (CALP). BICS is understood to mean ‘the manifestation of language proficiency in everyday communicative contexts’; CALP is conceptualized as ‘manipulation of language in decontextualized academic situations’ (Cummins, 1992, p. 17). BICS is generally held to occur in situations where the meanings communicated are broadly familiar to the participants and/or the immediate context or action provides supportive clues for understanding; social greetings and ordering food in a student canteen are examples of context-supported BICS. A science class teacher-led discussion on the production advantages and environmental pro-

blems of the use of pesticides in farming, without any supporting print, sound, visual or video materials, can be regarded as an example of context-impooverished and cognitively demanding CALP. These two conceptual categories do not yield precise linguistic descriptions, nor do they map on to any specific area of the curriculum directly. But they can be used to estimate the language complexity and cognitive demands of a variety of communicative situations in school. Teachers can, with this analytical insight, help students acquire proficiency in spoken and written academic language by judiciously increasing or reducing contextual support and cognitive demand as their needs change and develop in different areas of the curriculum. This framework has been particularly influential in education systems where second language students are mainstreamed without a dedicated second language curriculum (e.g. England). There are other second language pedagogic frameworks such as the Cognitive Academic Language Learning Approach (CALLA) (Chamot and O'Malley, 1992) and the Topic Approach (Evans, 1986). Focus and scope preclude a full account of all of them here. Suffice it to say that in one way or another, these frameworks tend to be built on the assumption that active communicative use is fundamental to the development of academic English. (For a further discussion, see Leung, 2005.)

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES: PEDAGOGIZING ACADEMIC COMMUNICATION IN SECOND LANGUAGE

It would seem that the literature on second language pedagogy in general has in place developed conceptual frameworks for assisting second language students in navigating and developing the complex ways in which language is used in academic settings, particularly in terms of writing. However, it is also the case that the use of language for academic purposes remains a major challenge for many second language students. The existence of a specialist literature and research tradition (e.g. EAP), and language centres or similar units designed to support second language academic language proficiency in English-speaking universities across the globe readily bears witness to this widespread 'problem' (see Gee, 2004; Scarcella, 2003; Schleppegrell and Colombi, 2002, for further discussion). Scarcella (2003, p. 1), for instance, illustrates the issues vividly by citing an email request for information written by a second language student to a professor in an American university:

How do you do? ... I am a student currently on the freshman level. I am going to be attend Biology 5C next

year . . . Although my major is in Social Science, I am consider to have Biology as my second major. I am currently attending Professor Campbell lecture. He suggested to me that maybe I should seek around to for research projects . . . He suggest that maybe I should contact you to see would it be possible for you to provide me with some information. As I have understand that you are currently conducting a research on the subject of plasma, and I would like to know more about it, that is, if I am not costing any convenience. Thank you very much, and have a good day.

This student did not succeed in getting the desired assistance from the biology professor who commented on this text to a colleague thus: ‘Syntax, spelling, whew!’ (loc.cit.). Over and above the grammatical infelicities, this message is uncomfortable as a piece of formal student–teacher communication in a number of ways—the informal opening and closing, the possibly unwarranted assumption that a first-year student might be granted access to work-in-progress research, the lack of specificity in terms of the type of information requested and so on. These are instances of agentive meaning-making that are at odds with conventionalized assumptions informing institutional student–teacher relations and the associated communication practices. So a legitimate question at this point is: would it be possible for the kinds of social rule flouting (as seen by the professor) displayed in the email text shown above to be addressed by CLT? The answer is potentially yes but a good deal of further conceptual and theoretical work would have to be done first.

Despite its ethnography-inspired conceptual origin, CLT practice has not generally privileged the type of information and data discussed by Hymes, i.e. how communication is performed and what patterns of meaning-making and meaning-taking occur in specific contexts (although see Belcher, 2006, for an exception). Curriculum developers tend to be concerned with determining students’ projected communication purposes and contexts, e.g. learning English as a school subject or learning to use English in an English-speaking work environment. The general idea here is that once the students’ purposes and contexts of use are established—by means of needs surveys, in-course discussions, analyses of model texts and student language performance (e.g. written texts) and scrutiny of academic programme requirements—curriculum designers can draw on their knowledge of language teaching/learning (i.e. theory and practical know-how) and ‘typical’ language use (i.e. the ‘what’ and the ‘how’) to specify the teaching content with respect to the various parts of the overall competence to be taught (Hutchinson and Waters, 1987; Nunan, 1988). The language learning content is thus built on idealized typifications of what abstracted ‘competent’ native

speakers may say and do in projected contexts.<sup>2</sup> In ELT textbooks it is not unusual to find advice such as this:

Today's way of conducting business is informal so that's what we should aim for in our business writing too – a friendly, conversational style. We should use short words and simple expression, short sentences and paragraphs ... (Cunningham, Moor and Carr, 2003, p. 34)

In a not too dissimilar way, Scarcella (2003, p. 9), drawing on her observations that school teachers tend to work with strong assumptions about the sort of language children should use on the one hand, and that they (school teachers) often do not actively help children develop this language repertoire on the other, argues that university students (particularly second language students) need to learn to use academic English:

Academic English is a variety or a register of English used in professional books and characterized by the specific linguistic features associated with academic disciplines. The term 'register' refers to a constellation of linguistic features that are used in a particular situational context ... Academic English tasks include reading abstracts, getting down the key ideas from lectures, and writing critiques, summaries ... It includes a wide range of genres ... I define genre as a discourse type having 'identifiable formal properties, identifiable purposes, and a complete structure ...

On the strength of this perception (and description), Scarcella goes on to provide an account of the components of academic English in terms of phonology, lexis, grammar, sociolinguistic and discourse conventions. At a general level, this kind of expert advice sounds very convincing and helpful. But the extent to which such advice is of any use to the hapless university student whose email was negatively judged is open to question.

This approach privileges the expert knowledge and intuition of the curriculum designer and the teacher. I have argued elsewhere that the pedagogizing of communicative competence in this way has put the original ethnographical interest in communication practices through an epistemic transformation, which reifies real-life language practices. The consequence is that the so-called student needs analysis and assessment now function as a clutch mechanism linking a more or less recognized range of student language needs (e.g. a student writer in Business Studies) to sets of typified options of how language is used in projected language use situations. (For further discussion, see

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<sup>2</sup> Perhaps it ought to be pointed out that in ELT curriculum discussions the 'competent' speaker is often tacitly assumed to be a native speaker (although see Jenkins, 2000, 2002, 2006; Prodromou, 2005).

Canagarajah, 2002; Dubin, 1989; Finney, 2002; Leung, 2005). This reification represents a somewhat ironic turn in the development of CLT whose pedagogic principles and practices are validated largely by a claim that they enjoy close correspondence to 'real' language use by 'competent' native speakers. As Wolfson (1990, p. 3) points out, native speakers are not good at describing their own rules of language use with any degree of accuracy:

... speakers do have strong and well-formed ideas about what they *should* say, but this is not at all the same as knowing what they *do* say. Speech norms, or community ideals concerning appropriate speech behaviour, is not at all the same as actual speech use which is the behaviour itself ... native speaker intuitions are very limited and do not provide a valid basis upon which to build a description of the actual patterns that exist in the day to day speech of community members.

One might add that English language teachers, including native speaking ones, often cannot claim direct knowledge of the community- and discipline-based language norms and practices of their students' subject disciplines. It is improbable that any language teacher can claim first-hand knowledge and expertise in the language practices of a full range of academic disciplines that stretches from Accounting to Zoology. Relying on generalized teacher professional knowledge and intuition to specify what second language students need to learn in terms of academic language (and literacies) in specific contexts is at best a hit-or-miss affair. One would need a more close-up view.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS: COMMUNICATION IN ACADEMIC LITERACIES

All this is not meant to suggest that CLT is inescapably locked into an exercise of unsafe expert description and prescription. The epistemological and theoretical foundations of CLT have provided intellectual spaces for a concern for the dynamics of lived experiences at a local level, even though this strand of enquiry has not always found its way into the popular textbooks. For instance, in a theoretical discussion on language-in-culture and culture-in-language in second language curriculum development Candlin (1989, p. 6) argues that there is a 'need for teaching and learning of language-in-culture to move beyond the descriptive ...' and '... to focus on ... [the] ways of organizing our world in language ... [and] to explore how speakers and hearers (and writers and readers) categorize and interpret their own experience, how they process information and structure their reference' (op.cit.: 8). This foregrounding of the dynamic meaning-making

process argues for a focus on the always emergent ways of using language; it acknowledges individual teacher and student volition and agency in language teaching and learning activities which existing target community-based speech norms and practices (however defined) can shape but cannot completely pre-determine. (See Berwick, 1989, and Brindley, 1989, for further discussion in the formative period of CLT in the 1980s.)

The conceptual argument for attending to actual participants' own perceived needs is not just a point of epistemological refinement. At a practice level, Uvin (1996, p. 43) shows the value of this conceptual approach when he, as a language course designer, shadowed a group of ethnic Chinese health workers in their work place in Boston in an attempt to verify their English language needs. He made these observations:

I had addressed only the work-related needs of learners [in the course design], and my perception of those needs had guided my initial decision making about what to include and leave out. I learned quickly, however, that learners wanted more than just the language to perform their jobs. As many of the learners in the programs were recent arrivals, they had language needs that went beyond the workplace and so demonstrated resistance, inconsistent attendance being the major one. I had also failed to accommodate the affective, social, cultural, cognitive, and metacognitive needs that learners expressed . . .

These observations signalled the need for an emic perspective on students' assessment of their communication needs and learning priorities.

For CLT in general not to be constitutionally closed off to an orientation anchored in 'live' real settings (as opposed to 'abstracted' real contexts), it would seem that ethnographic sensitivities and sensibilities need to be foregrounded and be made more prominent both in theory and in practice. This general requirement also holds in the particular case of second language academic English. Belcher's (2006) reflexive account of English for Specific Purposes (ESP), another branch of ELT generally associated with teaching adults or university students, notes that there have been attempts to encourage students to understand that academic language use is not just about following fixed rules, and that it is important to see how different texts work in different contexts. Indeed both ESP and EAP appear to be adopting a more ethnographic outlook (Belcher, 2006; Hyland and Hamp-Lyons, 2002). At this juncture it would be useful to look at some examples of research in another field of research, academic literacy, which have focused on aspects of participant practices.

One way of getting closer to what is said and how language is used in academic activities is to investigate how participants, teachers and students, engage with one another. Lillis (1999, 2001) looks into the ways in which the content selection of the academic essay, a predominant format for organizing and presenting knowledge, is played out in a British university setting. In one of the case studies presented by Lillis, a student, Nadia, wanted to make use of what she learned from a previous course in her essay on ‘Working class children are underachieving in schools. How much of this may be attributed to perceived language deficiencies?’ (Lillis, 1999, p. 134). This is the opening section of Nadia’s draft essay:

Throughout this essay I will be focusing on the types of underachievers. Firstly the working class bilinguals and the misleading intelligence tests, of which bilingual children are expected to do. Secondly the working class monolinguals which are underachieving. Thirdly I will seek information on how much of this may be attributed to perceived language deficiencies. (Loc.cit.)

And this is the tutor’s comment:

Your beginning section moves away from essay title. Need to organize your thoughts more carefully and adhere to the essay title more clearly. (Loc.cit.)

In a subsequent seminar discussion, it became clear to Nadia that her tutor did not consider the case of bilingual children an appropriate issue for the essay. Nadia reported the exchange in this way:

She didn’t like it *one bit* . . . She said not all bilingual kids are working class . . . (Loc.cit.; original emphasis)

The tutor’s view on what constituted legitimate content for discussion appeared to be firmly fixed in advance. But it was not communicated in the essay title. This particular instance is indicative of the difficulties students may have in understanding what is expected of them. The ‘essay’ is in fact a very complex package of established ways of argumentation, culturally sanctioned principles for content selection, subject or discipline-informed ways of using language, text format and prose. Given the generally limited amount of direct contact between students and staff, much of this staff-engendered complexity is not immediately obvious to students. Lea and Street (1998, p. 161) studied the experiences of 47 students and 23 staff members in 3 disciplinary areas (humanities, social sciences and natural sciences) in two universities in England and report that

As students switch between . . . disciplines [e.g. physics and anthropology], course units, modules and tutors different assumptions about the nature of academic knowledge and

learning, are being brought to bear, often implicitly on the specific writing requirements of their assignments . . . it is frequently very difficult for students to ‘read off’ from any such context what might be the specific academic writing requirement of that context.

Woodward-Kron (2005) finds that on a teacher education course, particularly in the advanced stages of the degree programme, the exposition genre (texts presenting a sequenced argument in favour of a judgement) appeared to be more valued than the discussion genre (texts examining different sides of an issue and making an informed recommendation) by faculty. Creme and Lea (1997, p. 15) describe academic knowledge and uses of language in higher education metaphorically as ‘. . . a foreign country, far away from you and your familiar setting . . .’ where there is a ‘gap between what you came with and a different way of thinking and speaking’. The volumes of published guidance books on how to write essays and dissertations would testify to the complexity involved. Worse, this complexity is not fixed and static. The conventions and practices are subject to interpretation by tutors. Lillis (1999, p. 143) observes that ‘[t]he socio-discursive space which is inhabited by student-writers and tutors . . . is predominantly monologic: it is the tutor’s voice which predominates . . .’; and there is evidence that tutor expectations and requirements vary within and across different disciplines (Lea and Street, 1998). Yet in a good deal of discussion on uses of language for academic purposes ‘there is denial of real participants, that is, actual tutors and student-writers with their particular understandings and interests . . .’ (Lillis, 1999, p. 143). In other words, there is an assumption that local and particular academic language practices are part of a universal order of things. All of this can be seen as a form of what Lillis calls the ‘practice of mystery’, particularly from a student’s point of view. This particular instance shows the importance of going beyond formal descriptions of what students are expected to do with language for academic purposes.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Our knowledge of academic conventions and practices in specific contexts cannot be complete without knowing something about how students understand and respond to the demands placed on them, how they make use of prevailing conventions and models, and how they insert their own selves in the use of English for academic purposes. Ivanič (1997) offers an analytical framework of indices of self and identity in student writing, which can be extended to examine spoken language discourse, that taps into the different aspects of what one

might call ‘authorial space’. Three inter-related authorial selves are of particular interest to this discussion<sup>3</sup>:

- Autobiographic self—‘[t]his is the identity which people bring with them to any act of writing’ (op. cit.: 24). This aspect of self is not fixed; it is continuously developing as part of a person’s life history and their perception of their life experience. This aspect of self surfaces when an aspect of a person’s past experience is used or invoked in an effort to respond to a task.
- Discourse self—This aspect of the self is ‘constructed through the discourse characteristics of a text, which relate to values, beliefs and power relations in the social context in which they were written’ (loc.cit.). Different text types carry different kinds of authorial presences. Laboratory notes may convey greater technical authorial presence than an informal account of an experiment.
- Self as author—this is concerned with the extent to which students see and explicitly insert something of themselves in their writing. In academic writing this aspect of self is particularly significant because ‘writers differ considerably in how they claim authority as the source of the content of the text, and how far they establish an authorial presence in their writing.’ (op.cit.: 26; also see Hyland, 2001).

The kind/s and the amount/s of authorial space that are allowed, or disallowed, in academic language use can be seen as detection indicators of Lillis’ ‘practice of mystery’. For instance, Nadia’s use of her previous learning (autobiographic self) was clearly not welcome; not much authorial space was afforded in this aspect of the written assignment. Using this analytic framework to investigate how student texts are evaluated can begin to help identify relevant directions for further enquiries. I will use a piece of writing by a student to illustrate the potentials.

In England university applicants are required to include a ‘personal statement’ in their applications. This statement plays an important role in an applicant’s claim to a university offer of a place, especially when there are many more or less equally qualified candidates. And yet there does not appear to be any system-wide shared evaluation criteria as to what constitutes a ‘good’ personal statement beyond generalities such as ‘showing the right qualities for being a university student’. Individual admission tutors in effect operate their own evaluation criteria, although there is an assumption that they share a broad set of common expectations. The mock ‘personal statement’ below was written by a 17-year-old second language student, Naseem, who attended an

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<sup>3</sup> There is a fourth aspect of self in Ivanić’s (1997) discussion. For reasons of focus and scope, this aspect—possibilities for self-hood—is not discussed here.

academic language development course to improve his use of English for academic purposes.<sup>4</sup>

*I want to study a degree in Computer Science because I am interested in the role that computers play in society now and in the future. Now-a-days each and every organisation uses IT. Currently I am studying ICT, Mathematics, Physics and Urdu which I hope will help me to be successful in Computer Science degree. Apart from studying I also have some experience of fixing computer hardware wiring problems. What I find most interesting about the computer is that it is helping humans in many aspects of life. Where will computers go in the next 15 or 20 years? What will be the reaction of humans to the increasing use of them? My ambition is to be a computer engineer either in relation to hardware problems, software problems or both. Perhaps I will be able to be involved in solving hardware design difficulties or in devising better software solutions in the areas of databases or spreadsheets ...*

When this statement, alongside other student statements, was presented to a university admission tutor it triggered, *inter alia*, the following comment:

*... I am ... a bit wary of kind of massive, banal, generalisations ... OK this person is saying 'where will computers go in the next 15–20 years?... What I find most interesting about the computer is that it is helping humans in many aspects of life' my reaction to both of those comments is ... big deal ... you know ... say something a bit more precise about you and why you want to do this course and what is it about computers which interests you in a more specific sense ...*

This admission tutor's comment is clearly related to the presentation of self and the kind/s of information associated it. More specifically, it suggests that in this case the tutor was looking for the author's unique reasons for wanting to study computing, i.e. a stronger presence of the autobiographic self, not a pre-fabricated student profile composed of 'banal' statements on the importance of computers culled from what might be regarded as platitudes. Naseem's chosen presentation of himself is also reflected by the kind of presence of the discourse self in the text. The 'public good' discourse (e.g. '*... helping humans ...*')

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<sup>4</sup> This academic language development course was part of a community outreach programme run by a university in London. It provided non-fee-paying specialist language literacy tuition for linguistic minority 16/17-year-olds from local schools to enhance their chances of achieving high grades in their matriculation examinations.

extolling the virtues of (depersonalized) contribution to society was, in this case, not highly rated by the tutor. The somewhat depersonalized 'public good' discourse self did not provide sufficient authorial personal presence (despite the presence of self as author expressions such as 'My ambition is ...' and '... I will be able to ...' which are propositionally oriented towards technical problems). The tutor's negative evaluation of these statements also indicates that certain kinds of information are preferred. It would also be reasonable to suggest that in this case more self-declarative (self as author) statements indicating personal goals and plans would be welcome (e.g. I would like to make use of my knowledge in mathematics ...).

This informal account of a tutor's response to a short piece of student writing shows that the three authorial selves in Ivanič's framework can be used not only to analyse student interpretation of and responses to academic tasks, but also to investigate tutors' expectations and requirements. Perhaps it ought to be said that this admission tutor's evaluation criteria, and that of Nadia's tutor seen earlier, are not just random instances of local decision-making; they also represent an interpreted version of institutional or discipline-based requirements. In this sense the focus on the local is connected to wider linguistic and social expectations at work (see Brandt and Clinton, 2002, for a wider discussion on this point). Earlier in this discussion, it was noted that conceptually CLT has a strong interest in empirically-based accounts of actual language use in context, but it has tended to rely on expert description and prescription for social and pragmatic rules of use. It is argued here that by using the three authorial selves as analytic devices, it is possible to regard actual instances of student language use, in speech and/or writing, as a site of investigation into what meaning students have taken from an academic task and how they have responded to it, and what tutors require by their tasks and what they expect from their students. Seen in this light, the three authorial selves are not just about aspects of a speaker/writer's past experience and current personal disposition that are allowed or disallowed in academic tasks. The particular kind and the amount of authorial presence sanctioned by the tutor are also simultaneously about the kind and the amount of substantive content (disciplined-related and/or discursive) that are required, as the tutors' response to Nadia's and Naseem's work clearly demonstrate. Conceptually the authorial selves are useful detection devices capable of revealing a whole host of tutor-, discipline- and context-specific requirements concerned with substantive subject content, in addition to genre and style selection.

This chapter has focused on a particular conceptual issue in second language academic language research and pedagogy: the need to pay attention to how language is actually used in academic settings. A good

deal of the recent discussion on second language curriculum has tended to specify teaching content in terms of inventories of needs built on surveys and expert knowledge. This approach has produced the basis of a socio-culturally sensitive approach to enumerating the linguistic elements for teaching. But the actual (language and other forms of semiotically mediated) meaning making and meaning taking in specific academic settings remain a 'mystery', as Lillis puts it. It is suggested here that some of the research approaches in the field of academic literacy studies which directly engage with academic practices can be helpful in reducing the ontological abstractness at the heart of the prevailing communicative approaches. For second language students, who are grappling with the 'mystery of practice' in academic settings, to understand how things are expected to be done through language discourse, they would need to have a sense of the expectations or criteria of judgment at work. The Hymesian origins of the communicative turn in second language pedagogy are theoretically compatible with, indeed built on, an ethnographically oriented needs assessment. Drawing on Ivanič's (1997) analytic framework, the three authorial selves can be developed as 'local' indices of (a) students' actual use of language discourse, and tutor (*qua* rater) criteria for discipline-based content selection, and genre and pragmatic preferences, and (b) the extent of fit between the two. The emphasis on 'local' signals an epistemic insistence on taking account of the actual ways in which students and tutors do things with language in context. The ethnographic lacuna in CLT can, in principle, be filled with empirical investigations of texts and practices.

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## FAMILY LITERACY

### INTRODUCTION

There is little doubt that family literacy has emerged as an increasingly dominant area of language and literacy research over the past 30 years. Any search for studies on family literacy would yield countless citations in which researchers and practitioners outline a range of activities—from parent-child book reading programs to family learning in home, school, and community settings. However, as a formal area of inquiry in language and literacy research, family literacy has a relatively recent history. A tension that has persisted in the field centers on disjunctures between research that emphasizes multiple literacies, sociocultural contexts, and social change in understanding families' learning and the policy push for instructional programming for parents and children that assumes universality of interests, needs, and backgrounds of learners. This tension is linked to family literacy's historical focus on low-income and minority families and to ideological and theoretical perspectives that have drawn heavily upon deficit models. Using selected works representing broad areas of inquiry in family literacy, this review focuses on the ways that the debates in the field have been shaped and on problems and possibilities for the field in (re)constructing its identity within current and emerging discourses of language and literacy theory, research, and practice.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The concept and accompanying research and practice in family literacy can be traced to three different, though overlapping, themes: parent-child literacy, in which the nature of parent-child interactions is examined and the implications for children's school achievement are studied; home literacy practices, in which families' ways of communicating with each other are investigated; and intergenerational literacy which initially focused on the transmission of literacy practices in two generations but has come to denote the pathways and patterns of literacy learning and practices in families over time and multiple generations.

Although family literacy's roots are in the USA, family literacy is cited often in international discussions. In these discussions, family literacy definitions vary, based on factors unique to a particular country: e.g., the country's history of commitment to literacy education for men

and women, the placement of literacy within political hierarchies, the availability of funding, the severity of poverty and social need within the population, access to schooling for boys versus girls, geographic constraints, and diversity among family structures and cultures. A common definition used in the USA and the UK describes family literacy as “encompassing a wide variety of programs that promote the involvement of both parents and their children in literacy enhancing practices and activities” (Ponzetti and Bodine, 1993, p. 106). Attached to this apparently innocuous definition is a more purposeful and arguably problematic intent: “to improve the literacy of educationally disadvantaged parents and children, based on the assumption that parents are their child’s first and most influential teachers” (p. 106).

It is the simplicity of this definition and the universalism implicit in its description of children and families that contribute to family literacy’s status as a contested area of study. On the one hand, the field has struggled to situate itself in broad conceptualizations and critical discourses of literacy. For example, a series of rich ethnographic studies from the 1980s to present, described later in this chapter, pointed to multifaceted and complex relationships within home, school, and community contexts. These contexts were thought to influence how children and adults engage in formal literacy instruction, draw upon diverse linguistic and cultural practices to communicate within and across different settings, and make meaning of literacy. On the other hand, some would argue that the field has not moved far enough outside of autonomous models (Street, 1984), in which literacy as a technique is applied across all social and cultural contexts with uniformity, to embrace more expansive models (e.g., critical literacy or new literacy studies) (Barton and Hamilton, 1998; Street, 1997, 2001).

Family literacy programs date from the mid-1980s, however, research on parent–child literacy as it relates to current-day discussions began in the 1960s and 1970s in the USA, during a time of social upheaval when the issues of educational access, equity, and quality were at the center of public discussions and when reading researchers were being asked to explain the poor school achievement of minority children from low-income homes. Many of the studies focused on the influence of verbal language—that is, nonstandard dialects such as black or African-American Vernacular English (AAVE)—on children’s reading development, specifically the reading of poor, urban minority children. In many of these studies, reading problems were attributed to “deficits” in the linguistic and literacy experiences of children resulting from their “disadvantaged” families and low-income communities (e.g., Deutsch, 1965) while other studies (e.g., Baratz, 1969; Labov, 1968, 1972) proposed a “difference” theory, in which AAVE was viewed simply as one dialect among many spoken dialects

and was examined to determine whether (or the degree to which) it interfered with reading development (see also the early work of Durkin, 1966). Still others (e.g., Goodman and Buck, 1973) argued that the reading failure of African-American children was largely due to their teachers' problematic attitudes about their dialect.

Two broad types of responses emerged from the field. One focused on the sociolinguistic, cultural, and contextual factors that influenced children's literacy. It challenged existing cognitive frameworks used to teach reading and to study children's oral and textual literacies and urged a more critical analysis of how language and literacy learning occurs within and across diverse settings. The second reversed a trend from the 1960s, during which time parents' and families' low literacy, among other characteristics, was described as the major problem facing children in low-income homes (Coleman, 1966; Moynihan, 1965). Policymakers were encouraged to invest directly in children's school experiences, particularly their early learning, as a way to change the attitudes, beliefs, and practices of these families in subsequent generations. One successful program that emerged was Head Start, which included a parent involvement component. In the new programs, teachers and schools, representing the public sphere, were taking on the full responsibility of shaping the next generation of learners, with relatively little attention to integrating home and family practices.

Hence, the second response shifted this role and responsibility, identified in the 1960s and 1970s as the purview of schools, back to parents and the preparation of parents to use school-like practices with their children. Children's literacy achievement in school was seen as inextricable from parents' capacity to engage in school-like interactions and communications with their children. Although there has been little research that shows a causal relationship between reading to young children and their textual language knowledge, book reading routines, in which middle-class families were found to engage, were highlighted as a significant divide between poor and middle-class children. This view—that poor and undereducated parents are restricted in their ability to promote their children's literacy—did not account for those children whose parents could not read but who, nonetheless, achieved in school (Schieffelin and Cochran-Smith, 1984).

From the mid-1970s to the 1980s, literacy itself took on a much broader definition, embracing more than reading and writing and extending to problem-solving and ways of engaging and functioning in the world through culturally grounded and context-specific practices and skills. However, at one and the same time, the fledgling field of family literacy was advancing competing purposes: i.e., opening up discussions about the ways in which learners representing diverse cultural, ethnic, and class backgrounds approached, used, and valued

literacy while creating an educational policy and practice context that shifted the responsibility of children's literacy performance in schools to parents—in other words, from the public to the private (Tett and Crowther, 1998).

As questions about the meanings of literacy were being raised and the privileging of linear and school-based literacies was being challenged, family literacy emerged as a research-based concept, with the publication of Denny Taylor's seminal work (1983), *Family Literacy: Young Children Learning to Read and Write* changing the text and context of discussions about children and parents learning. Her work provided insights into the processes of literacy learning within diverse homes and into ethnography as a viable approach to unearthing the range and diversity of patterns in households. Focused on six middle-class white families and their children, all of whom were successfully learning to read, the study's findings questioned accepted ways of thinking about who succeeds in formal literacy learning and the contexts for their success, the practices that contribute to learners' success, the ways that children and families construct acts and processes of literacy learning, and the inherent danger of limited perspectives on teaching and learning literacy.

A second critical work, Heath's (1983) *Ways with Words*, also raised questions about the (dis)continuity of literacy practices from home to school and the (bi)directionality of learning between these two contexts. Based in a Black working class community, a white working class community, and a white middle-class community in the Piedmont Carolinas, the study found that the practices of the middle-class families and the school matched, but that the practices of both the white working class and Black working class families did not match the schools' practices. Moreover, there were differences in the practices of the white and black working class communities, demonstrating the multidimensionality of class within and across different groups. Heath found that teachers expected all children to enter school with the same home experiences and predispositions to engage in school literacy activities as those of middle-class children; teachers were unable to use the knowledge, literacy practices, and the cultural experiences of the children sitting before them to create engaging and open spaces for dialogue and meaning-making for and with them.

In these works, both Taylor and Heath demonstrated the role of race, class, and family cultural practices in constructing classrooms as sites that engage all students for learning; they uncovered some of the dissonance created by cultural and home differences when students' experiences are not familiar to or valued in the school setting. Their studies and subsequent work by others in the 1980s, including Teale

and Sulzby's (1986) study on emergent literacy, began to revise some of the deficit perspective and to argue for a more in-depth analysis of the relationship between home interactions and children's academic achievement. Several other studies focused on specific issues that helped to frame the theoretical and research context for the field.

For example, Taylor and Dorsey-Gaines' (1988) study examined the literacy contexts of poor, inner-city African-American families, determining that these homes were steeped in rich practices and traditions with oral and written texts. In another study on children's narrative processes that demonstrates the disconnectedness of home, culture, and teacher pedagogies and classroom practice, Michaels (1981) posited that teachers understood the topic centeredness of white children's stories and responded positively but did not understand the underlying structure of black children's topic associative stories. A few years later, Gee (1989) argued that the topic associative stories were more linguistically complex in the literary structures. Delgado-Gaitan's (1987) work on the continuity between home and school for immigrant children and families pointed to the linguistic diversity and integration of oral and written texts in the daily lives of Mexican-American families. Auerbach (1989) in a review of ethnographic research on poor and language minority families concluded that rather than being literacy impoverished, the homes of linguistic minority students were typically literacy-rich, with parents and families who held high expectations for the possibilities that literacy would create for their children.

These widely acclaimed works attested to the richness of cultural and social contexts and urged a critical examination of children's and parents' experiences in them to build responsive pedagogy. However, policymakers often interpreted the findings of these and other studies to be evidence that poor and minority families were caught in a web of low aspirations, restricted to limited facility with oral and textual literacies, destined for school failure, and by extension were a drain of public resources. Without assuming responsibility for the inequity of access to quality schooling and limited economic resources available to these families, policy efforts were directed at building programs that would give parents the necessary knowledge, awareness, beliefs, and attitudes to support their children.

To make the point, these efforts drew from educational and psychological studies which have historically used mothers' education as the best predictor of children's school achievement. In other words, children's whose mothers had low formal literacies were seen as putting their children at risk for school failure. Adult literacy efforts were increasing as well, reinforcing this point by highlighting the persistence of low literacy within low-income and minority communities. Family

literacy was seen as one alternative to stem the tide of low literacy and came to be driven by policymakers' interpretations of the need, with relatively little literacy research to inform the interpretations.

By 1990, several programs were being established in response to the national call. The Kenan Model developed by the National Center for Family Literacy became the most widely known of the programs created. In addition, other curricular models were created: e.g., the Edwards' Parents as Partners program (1995) the Missouri Parents as Teachers program (Winter and Rouse, 1990), and the Home Instruction Program for Preschool Youngsters (HIPPY). In addition, parent-child reading curricula and on-site programs were being developed (e.g., Handel and Goldsmith, 1989; Nickse, Speicher, and Burchek, 1988). These and other programs drew selectively from research, with most reinforcing policy expectations informed by deficit models and others building upon some combination of approaches.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Well into the 1990s, family literacy was dominated by models that assumed deficits in the cognitive and social experiences of children and their families. Some researchers (e.g., Klassen-Endrizzi, 2000; Strickland, 1995; Taylor, 1997) argued that programs' emphasis on eradicating the problem of low literacy within poor families was too narrow and misdirected, not focusing enough on how different families use cultural knowledge to promote literacy. Thus, a mismatch often existed between family literacy research that focused on the processes of learning (Bloome and Willett, 1991; Gadsden, 1998; Moll and Greenberg, 1990; Moll, Andrade, and Gonzalez, 1997) and family literacy programs that emphasized the products of learning. Family literacy, unlike most other areas of research and practice, was building on selected evidence and had not begun to explore the options and possibilities for constructing an integrative framework that responded to the issues of culture, race, and difference among children and families as well as the (dis)continuities between home and school.

#### THE SEARCH FOR AN IDENTITY

From the 1990s to present, family literacy's focus on parent-child interactions, home practices, and intergenerational literacy has led to increased ethnographic and other empirical research on children and families shifts—varying in type, nature, and intensity—in programs and the degree to which programs build on research. However, as a field, family literacy still seeks an identity within discourses in the

larger field of literacy (Gadsden, 2004). Particularly interesting and controversial have been the increased governmental demands for rigorous randomized studies that stress learning outcomes without also addressing the pathways to those outcomes. For example, Lonigan (2004), decrying the absence of well-designed experimental research, suggests the need for higher-level assessment of children's early learning in family literacy programs. More recent emphasis on evidence-based approaches reinforces Lonigan's position. While such sentiments are valid, they do not completely or accurately capture the complexities of studying the problems of program aimed at reducing them. As evaluations of Even Start suggest (e.g., St. Pierre and Layzer, 1999), findings on the effectiveness of family literacy programs are mixed, at best, for children and/or parents (most programs do not focus on other family members). Arguments are being made for better measures and measurement, but comparatively less emphasis has been placed on practice constructing conceptual frameworks, epistemologies, and appropriate pedagogies developed around the interactions and intersections between home and school.

A related strand of research examines the intersection between family and culture and the ways in which culture is embedded in the practices of individual family members who are learning literacy in programs. Most of these studies use cultural frames of reference to examine family literacy and acknowledge their importance in accessing and engaging families, as well as determining what learners know, what they want to know, and what they are willing to invest. For example, in her 1995 volume, Purcell-Gates documents parent-child literacy within a low-income, White, Appalachian family. The protagonists in her account, Jenny and her son, Donny, manipulated literacy and personal events in relationship to the cultural markers that were influenced by their social class, geography, family folklore, and families' values around learning, schooling, and societal options. In one of the few studies that focuses specially on culture, Bhola (1996) proposes a model of family literacy in which the family is at the center of the model. The family is located in a network of mutual relationships with multiple institutions such as schools and workplaces.

Gadsden's (1998) concept, family cultures, draws upon life-course family development and intergenerationality in families and provides a framework for thinking about the ways culture is examined within family functioning and literacy learning and for charting the ways in which families develop their own cultures as a subset of larger and complex cultural traditions, beliefs, histories, and folklore. In addition, Rogers' (2003) examines the complexity of family literacy practices within a low-income African-American family, focusing on issues of power and identity, as the mother in the study seeks to negotiate the

school experiences of her daughter, and on the discursive practices and traditions in the family.

To organize assumptions, goals, and practices in the field, Auerbach (1995, 1997) identified three models—intervention/prevention, multiple literacies, and social change—that still hold currency. The intervention/prevention approach is consistent with historical efforts to eradicate low literacy among poor, undereducated parents, through a series of programs and approaches designed to replace home practices with school-like approaches. The approach speaks to the power of school literacies and the poverty of home and community literacies. As she suggests, and I agree, family literacy programs of all types claim to embrace sociocultural approaches to teaching. However, the evidence is limited in the actual practices.

Curricula that reflect familial and community interests and that integrate cultural artifacts would be a first step, and some programs have achieved this entry point. However, curricula that promote interchanges around the uses of knowledge, perceptions of the world, and engagements in critical dialogue around questions of opportunities to learn (real and perceived barriers), social inequities, discrimination, justice, and the role of schooling may be seen as inappropriate for basic instruction in programs, are often uncomfortable topics for practitioners who have not been prepared to examine these issues, or are seen as incompatible as policy and program mandates. In a chapter in Wasik's (2004) *Handbook of Family Literacy*, Gadsden suggests that the understanding of culture, family cultures, and the inextricability of culture and literacy are under-discussed and poorly interpreted in most programmatic efforts and daily instruction.

The multiple literacies approach takes up this sociocultural perspective in a particular way by examining the much-discussed mismatch between the expectations and practices of school-based literacy learning and the home practices of children who are not achieving in school. Supporters of a multiple literacies model “see the solution as investigating and validating students’ multiple literacies and cultural resources in order to inform schooling” (Auerbach, 1997, p. 157), using a range of approaches—from utilizing community resources and cultural artifacts in the classroom (Madigan, 1995; Paratore, Melzi, and Krol-Sinclair, 1999); to engaging parents as co-constructors of the research and inquiry process (Gadsden, 1998; Shockley, Michalove, and Allen, 1995; Voss, 1996); to learning about family histories and experiences as a precursor to teaching (Gadsden, 1998; Weinstein-Shr, 1995); to immersing teachers in the home contexts of parents (Gonzalez, Moll, and Amanti, 2005).

A third approach, social change, is focused on multiple literacies but also highlights the role of power hierarchies in sustaining political and

social structures that alienate rather than engage learners and their cultural histories. Failure to attend to these imbalances of power reinscribes inequity and inequality. For example, in a series of texts during the 1990s (*From the Child's Point of View*; *Learning Denied*; *Toxic Literacies*; and *Many Families, Many Literacies*), Taylor discusses the need for structural change in the social and political hierarchies that govern institutions and work against the inclusion of historically marginalized groups. The responsibility for change is placed back in the arms of the public, while recognizing the role that private spheres (such as families and communities) can play in effecting such change. Other perspectives suggest that parents and other family members should be involved in the planning and strategizing of programs, increasing opportunities for them to identify, grapple with, and respond to pressing social problems affecting them, the education of their children, and the goals of their families and communities.

Auerbach's categories while useful are not discrete, and studies that appear to fit under one model may well have components that fall under others, particularly multiple literacies and social change. Within the past few years, a few studies in progress attempt to build curricula that integrate knowledge from home to influence curricula. This work is emerging and is still inexact in its analyses of appropriate approaches or interpretations of results. Where and how this work will be situated over time is unclear, but it will require a new construction away from intervention to represent the collaborative and partnership focus of many existing and energy efforts work and the integration of a multiple literacies framework, leading to social change.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

There are several neglected issues in the study of family literacy programs. The subtle disconnects between socially and grounded theoretical frameworks for family literacy research and the practices of family literacy programs persist. Lee's (2005) analysis of students' use of AAVE provides a useful frame of reference to situate the inherent contradictions and difficulties in family literacy and to connect the problems of research, practice, and policy. She notes that the complex issues involved in understanding how students' discursive practices in their families and communities are taken up to support learning to read and write are still under-studied. Particularly poignant, she argues is that "the problem may not be so much the limitations of language use in the families of children from low-income backgrounds who speak vernacular dialects [but] . . . with the ability of the research community and teachers to recognize what in these language practices may be generative for literacy learning" (p. 251).

## FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The future of family literacy lies largely in its ability to reconceptualize its goals, given societal changes around who constitutes a family, who family members are, the divide of poor and wealthy in schools, and the nature of learning in out-of-school contexts—all necessary contributors to understanding the cultural and social dimensions of learning and the contexts in which it occurs. In addition to the current streams of work, several other areas of inquiry hold promise for the future.

- *A more in-depth focus on and analysis of culture.* Despite regular references to culture, the field still examines it in relatively narrow terms, often categorizing by ethnicity or race. With a grasp of theoretical context and possibilities, programs could engage participants in intellectually inviting discussions about traditions, beliefs, and practices; people who share a common culture; or the complexity of changes that occur among traditions, beliefs, and practices over time. Such classrooms would take an inquiry approach (Cochran-Smith and Lytle, 2001) and would consider culture as being more than national heritage (e.g., Korean or American) they would try to address the ways in culture forms as part of an individual's ethnic, racial, or national identity as well as their other identities (e.g., poor or gay) that are formed out of a shared perspective, life circumstances, or societal response and institutional barriers and that challenge reliance on “one size fits all” instructional packages (see Blackburn, 2005; Osterling, 2001; Quintero, 1999; Whitehouse and Colvin, 2001).
- *Focused attention on gender and the roles ascribed to a gendered identity for girls and boys as well as women and men.* The emergence of women's issues in adult and family literacy has provoked questions about gender more broadly. These questions are informed by other socially significant features of identity, including the large numbers of poor women in programs and the persistence of racial discrimination experienced by adult learners (men and women) who are ethnic minorities (Gowen and Bartlett, 1997; Horsman, 1990; Stromquist, 1999). A similarly growing body of work examines the issues of men, mostly as fathers (Gadsden, 2003; Ortiz, Stile, and Brown, 1999).
- *Examination of different types of learning environments with different forms of participation and linguistic and literacy repertoires* (Gutierrez, 2005). In such cases, the intersections of identity and learning are a part of the classroom discourse. In addition to the traditional home environments, the field might begin to explore uses of technology and digital modalities in building on the knowledge of families and to teach and study families.

- *Deepened efforts to examine immigrant and language minority families.* The recent US governmental responses to immigrants and the public attention to second language makes the present and immediate future important times to examine these critical issues. Work by Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Qin-Hilliard (2005) and others have initiated discussions that draw upon interdisciplinary knowledge to identify the border crossings of these families.
- *Research that addresses two fundamental questions.* Who are the families, and how do they describe literacy within their own family trajectories? Researchers might ask (or continue to ask in some cases) what learners negotiate in their learning across contexts, how the process of learning and negotiation by the learner can be understood better as an intergenerational activity, and how this process can be utilized effectively as a model or tool for studying intergenerational literacy.

Families in literacy programs differ in race, cultural traditions, ethnic heritage, religion, gender, class, and life experiences. However, they also differ in the literacies that they bring to the program, the ways in which they learn literacy, the purposes and everyday uses they have or will have for literacy, the value they assign to literacy as well as the reasons they assign it, and the family cultures that they bring to the literacy learning experience. Research and practice are still left with the challenge of building upon this knowledge while aiming to create new frameworks that capture the breadth of possibilities in family literacy and allows us to understand the particular ways that diverse families and the learners in them engage in literate acts and are engaged in different social contexts.

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## WOMEN, LITERACY AND DEVELOPMENT: OVERVIEW

### INTRODUCTION

The belief that women's literacy is the key to development has informed government and international aid agency policy and programmes around the world. In the poorest countries, the gap between male and female literacy rates has led policy makers to focus on increasing women's as opposed to men's access to literacy, through programmes designed particularly around women's reproductive role. Researchers have been concerned to find statistical evidence that there are the positive connections between female literacy rates and health indicators such as decreased child mortality and fertility rates.

The assumption that illiterate women cannot participate fully in development programmes has led to literacy classes being set up as the entry point to health, nutrition, income generation, community forestry and family planning interventions. This objective has often influenced the curriculum: many women's literacy programmes adopt a functional literacy approach, linking literacy learning with vocational skills training, health education and 'awareness raising' about social issues such as alcoholism. Partly because of the importance of these non-literacy programme elements, there is a tendency to use the term 'literacy' synonymously with 'adult women's basic education'. For instance, evaluation reports on the benefits of women's literacy frequently emphasise the social aspects of confidence building, group solidarity, improved health practices and community action, as compared with reading and writing outcomes.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The WID (Women In Development) approach of the early 1970s promoted the idea that women needed literacy skills to catch up with men and become equal partners in development. The research agenda was influenced by the 'efficiency' policy approach (Moser, 1993) to women's development at that time, which stressed the economic benefits of educating women and girls. Women's literacy rates were found to be inversely related to fertility rates (Cochrane, 1979) and child mortality rates (Caldwell, 1979). The book of King and Hill's (1993) book,

*Women's Education in Developing Countries: Barriers, Benefits and Policies*, was a major landmark in bringing together these statistical studies on these health linkages, as well as on the links between literacy and income and employment (see Schultz on 'Returns to Women's Education', *ibid.*).

This body of research shared the starting point that literate women had different characteristics and behaved in different ways from illiterate women (LeVine, LeVine, Richman, Uribe, Correa, and Miller, 1991), perpetuating a stereotype of the 'blind' illiterate woman to be found in many policy documents (see Robinson-Pant, 2004). The statistical evidence appeared to support Summer's (foreword in King and Hill, 1993) proposition that the 'vicious cycle' of poverty could be transformed into a 'virtuous' cycle through increasing women's access to education. Although these statistical correlations were often used to justify the need for adult women's education, many studies had failed to disaggregate between those adult women who had learnt to read and write in school, as compared with those who had learnt as adults. As Bown (1990) pointed out, the female adult literacy rates were actually a composite measure of the impact of girls' schooling as well as adult education programmes. Bown's (1990) report *Preparing the Future: Women, Literacy and Development* was one of the first attempts to distinguish between the impact on women of learning in an adult literacy class, as compared to school.

The policy objective of integrating women into development through literacy meant that planners were concerned with overcoming the barriers that prevented women from attending adult literacy programmes. Ballara (1991) and Lind (1990) identified the obstacles to women attending classes as structural (around location, timing and lack of childcare facilities) as well as social barriers, such as male teachers, limited mobility and lack of support from other family members. The factors preventing women's participation in literacy courses could also be seen in similar terms to the reasons for girls not enrolling in schools. These were related to women's low status in society and the lack of priority afforded by communities and families to educating women. Many of the early literacy programmes included an 'awareness' component on the importance of women's education. This was, however, expressed in terms of the value of literacy in making women better wives and mothers, reflecting the fact that the literacy curricula focused almost exclusively on women's reproductive role and that development policy took a 'welfare' approach towards women. Literacy primers often overlooked women's significant productive role outside the home, in agriculture for instance, depicting instead a stereotype of women as primarily active in the kitchen and looking after children (Bhasin, 1984, Dighe, 1995).

The early work in women's literacy was greatly influenced by research that attempted to measure the impact of women's literacy on development. The main aim was to enhance adult women's access to education through tackling the structural and the cultural barriers to participation, rather than to look at the quality and the relevance of literacy programmes to their lives more broadly.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The shift to the Gender and Development (GAD) approach in the 1980s meant that the impact of literacy programmes was no longer measured only in relation to women. Men were also brought into the picture. In research on the links between women's literacy and fertility rates, Basu (1999) looked at a third variable—marriage—and analysed how educated women's choice of partner influenced the couple's decisions about family planning. This was partly due to the growing understanding that the linkages between girls' schooling (as well as women's literacy) were in fact more complex than those previously believed. Bledsoe et al.'s (1999) *Critical Perspectives on Schooling and Fertility in the Third World* moved the debate on from identifying linkages, to look at the reasons why there might be statistical correlations between education and fertility. Similarly, studies of the impact of adult literacy programmes on health outcomes suggested the need for a more holistic approach to research and evaluation (Robinson-Pant, 2001b).

The feminist debate that informed the GAD approach brought a new critical perspective on literacy. Freire's 'conscientisation' approach to literacy was extended to include not just awareness of class oppression, but also to make women more aware of their subordinate position in relation to men. Stromquist (1997) suggested that Freirean literacy programmes can enable women to develop 'the ability to think critically' about their situations. Using a feminist framework of analysis, researchers began to identify patriarchal structures that prevented women from participating fully in literacy programmes. Rockhill's (1993) research on the gendering of literacy practices in immigrant communities in Los Angeles gave insight into the ways in which women's literacy classes could appear to threaten men's identities. In particular, through 'deconstructing the homogeneous woman' (Mohanty, 1991), feminist writers drew attention to women's multiple identities and the diversity of women attending literacy classes. A 'one size fits all' approach to literacy programming (such as had been promoted through functional literacy and literacy campaigns) failed to respond to the differing needs of young unmarried girls and older married women. Case studies have revealed how literacy programmes can be shaped

by and meet the needs of specific groups of women, such as low caste communities (Khandekar, 2004).

The policy objective for promoting women's literacy is now being discussed in terms of literacy as a human right, influencing the kind of research questions asked. From researching 'How can women's contribution to development be enhanced through literacy?' (the efficiency approach discussed earlier), studies have adopted an empowerment approach, asking 'What does empowerment mean to individual women in this literacy class?' (Robinson-Pant, 2004). The influence of the New Literacy Studies, with its more ethnographic approach to actual uses and meanings of literacy (cf. Papen, 2005; Street, 2001) has meant a move away from the notion of 'literacy' as a technical fix (for instance, as the variable that makes the difference between adopting family planning or not) to a concern with researching what literacy means in the lives of the women participants. The symbolic value of literacy for women has emerged—that a woman may want to learn to read and write to feel 'educated' like her brothers (Flores-Moreno, 2004). Ethnographic studies of literacy programmes have found contradictions between the instrumental objectives of the policy makers and the objectives of women who attend literacy classes (Betts, 2004; Robinson-Pant, 2001a). Case studies of individual women (Egbo, 2000; Kalman, 1999; Kell, 1996) have countered the notion of the 'illiterate woman' being ignorant and needing to be literate before having a voice in the community. This ethnographic body of research has given more insight into the gendered nature of literacy practices in everyday life (see Zubair's (2001) work in Pakistan on women's personal literacy practices such as diary writing) and how literacy programmes can build on these in the classroom.

While adult literacy teaching in many countries is still dominated by the functional literacy approach, many programmes have responded to the reasons why women want to learn to read and write. Legal literacy programmes have become increasingly popular—aiming to provide women with information about their legal rights in relation to issues such as marriage, dowry and land ownership (D'Souza, 2003). Similarly, literacy programmes have recognised that many women wish to learn to read religious texts, rather than development information. Mainstream literacy and development approaches, such as REFLECT, have attempted to address unequal gender relations by facilitating discussion, for instance, about different gender workloads through mixed groups of men and women constructing a PRA seasonal calendar (see Attwood, Castle and Smythe, 2004, p. 148).

On the other hand, many women welcome single-sex literacy classes as an unusual space where they can discuss issues of concern with other women. To overcome the difficulties of attending literacy classes on a

nightly basis, some programmes have established residential literacy camps for women (cf. Nirantar in India). Here the women are able to study more intensively and build up close relationships with the other participants and trainers, without the burden of domestic work that they would have at home. 'Each one teach one' approaches (where women are taught on an individual basis at home) have also proved useful for communities where women have limited mobility to go out and attend a class.

The feminist perspective on women's literacy has raised the question about how far literacy programmes challenge women's traditional roles. Stromquist (1990) suggested that women are encouraged to adapt within the patriarchal education system, rather than transforming those structures. On a micro level, there have been many examples of literacy programmes that aim to counter gender stereotypes. This has involved supporting non-conventional occupations for women—such as the Banda project in India (Nirantar, 1997) where women are trained as hand-pump mechanics and produced a newsletter to share ideas among other women mechanics.

In the context of women's literacy programmes, there is a growing recognition that promoting literacy instruction only in participants' mother tongue could be seen to promote gender inequality. For instance, literacy trainers in the HIL literacy programme in Nepal (Robinson-Pant, 2001a) responded to women's request to learn to read and write in English and Nepali rather than their mother tongue (Newari language). The women saw that their brothers and husbands had learnt to read in a second language at school and wanted to challenge the local assumption that women could only learn to read their mother tongue. Language choices about the medium of instruction within literacy programmes can be related to issues of power and status, rather than seen only in terms of educational effectiveness (see Volume 3). As the recent *EFA Global Monitoring Report* notes: 'the use of mother tongues is pedagogically sound but must offer a smooth transition to learning opportunities in regional and official languages' (UNESCO, 2005, p. 17).

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Feminist and 'ideological' approaches to literacy, informed by the New Literacy Studies, have continued to influence the kind of research undertaken in the field of women's literacy and development (cf. Kalman, 2005; Kell, 1996; Robinson-Pant, 2004). In particular, researchers have challenged the dominant policy discourse on literacy and development through exploring women's own discourses on literacy. Chopra's work in India (2004) shows how so-called 'illiterate'

women can 'speak back' to the dominant discourse through their narratives. Research like this has contributed a critical dimension to concepts that were treated as unproblematic in the early literature, such as 'motivation', 'drop out', 'empowerment' and even 'literacy'. For instance, women's motivation can be seen in terms of the tension between the dominant and local discourses around literacy and development.

Through her stance that 'literacy is a feminist issue', Horsman (1996, p. 65) expanded the earlier debates about the 'barriers' to women's participation and the reasons for 'drop-out'. Her research in Canada has revealed how women's experience of violence often contributes to early failure in learning and makes it difficult for them to remain in literacy programmes. Horsman (2006) suggests that educators need to 'break the silence' about violence as a barrier to learning.

The research focus on literacy practices in everyday life as well as within the classroom has enabled planners to develop literacy approaches that build on people's existing literacy practices (see *Real Literacies and Community Literacies Approaches*, e.g., Rogers, 2002). In the context of women's literacy, this has encouraged policy makers to make a distinction between education and literacy, rather than using the terms synonymously (see Oxenham, 2003 and World Bank, 2001 on *Adult Basic Education and Literacy*).

Though ethnographic research has revealed how literacy practices are gendered, there is surprisingly little evidence in the policy arena of large-scale literacy programmes adopting a gendered perspective. Many of the key policy documents are concerned with women's literacy, but there is noticeably little attention to the ways in which the literacy curriculum may support or challenge traditional gender relations and gender stereotyped roles. Rogers (2006) and Rao and Robinson-Pant (2006) note the lack of gender awareness and engagement with a gender equality discourse in the fields of lifelong learning and indigenous adult education, respectively. Though literacy programmes for indigenous adult communities have been successful in addressing the oppression of minority indigenous groups, there has been little recognition of the differing experiences and needs of indigenous women as compared with men (see case studies from south and south-east Asia in Rao and Robinson-Pant, 2006). Similarly, though concepts like 'empowerment' have been problematised in the academic research literature, much aid agency-sponsored research has continued to adopt quantitative approaches to measuring the impact of women's literacy programmes on empowerment and health practices (see Burchfield, Hua, Iturry and Rocha, 2002a,b).

The growing recognition of a 'rights perspective' on women's literacy has turned attention to how women's literacy is connected to

citizenship. Stromquist (2006) discusses a more holistic (and less instrumental) approach to citizenship within literacy programmes in which women can learn new forms of leadership to tackle gender discrimination in access to land, credit, capital and legal structures. For literacy to challenge gender relations, she argues that 'women's rights need to be embedded in a visible and conscious political project' (ibid.).

Seeing women's empowerment in terms of gender relations has meant that men too have been brought into the picture. Lind (2006) argues that more attention should be given to encouraging men as well as women to attend adult basic education classes. Taking a wider perspective on 'gender equality' than simply increasing women's access to education, Lind suggests that projects need to deal with issues around male roles and masculinities. This contrasts with the earlier approaches to women's literacy (and Lind's own early seminal work) that focused exclusively on the skills and attributes that women needed to gain through literacy to 'catch up' with men.

The recently published Education for All Global Monitoring Report, *Literacy for Life*, stresses that 'women's literacy is of crucial importance in addressing gender inequality' (UNESCO, 2005, p. 19). Although the report does not take a gendered perspective on literacy in terms of the analysis of policy objectives and programme approaches, it argues strongly that literacy has to be better resourced if the EFA goals are to be achieved. However, by continuing to emphasise the importance of child literacy alongside adult literacy, the report reinforces the tendency to conflate issues around girls' schooling with women's literacy.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

A major problem in the area of women, literacy and development is the continued focus on girls' education at the expense of adult women's—particularly in terms of the allocation of resources. In policy-focused research, this is reflected in the continued failure by many education ministries to disaggregate between girls' and women's literacy rates. Given the under-resourcing of adult education (only 1% of the education budget in many countries, UNESCO, 2005, p. 17) and the fact that classes consist overwhelmingly of women, literacy tends to be seen as a second-class educational option as compared with formal education. This reinforces women's subordinate role in society since the better-resourced schooling becomes associated with boys and men. Partly due to the lack of funding, most literacy programmes depend on volunteer part-time facilitators and community contributions for materials and class facilities. Many facilitators are women, and the lack of career

structure within literacy programmes—notably those with a campaign approach that move from district to district—make it difficult for facilitators to develop their teaching skills, particularly women who, compared with men, often lack mobility to teach in another area. Just as the classes are seen as a second-rate education, the career of literacy facilitator is often regarded as suitable for women because it is low-paid and part-time. In many cases, the poor quality of education offered in literacy classes and the lack of linkages with the formal sector contributes to high dropout rates, perpetuating the idea that women are unable to learn effectively.

As noted earlier women-only programmes have been demonstrated to have many advantages, such as providing a safe environment for women to speak freely and develop their confidence. However, the fact that a programme is staffed by women may impose its own constraints: women's limited mobility and lack of access to quality education means that few experienced and well-qualified female facilitators are available. In addition, the local women available to teach often promote gender-stereotyped activities such as sewing and kitchen gardening as part of functional literacy programmes, since they themselves lack experience of non-conventional occupational skills. The question of how to tackle gender bias in materials and primers is also problematic. As Stromquist (1997) observed in her research of women's literacy programmes in Brazil, the women wanted to learn to read women's magazines that promoted images of subordinate women in traditional domestic roles, a point also explored by Rockhill (1993). If programmes are to adopt a participatory approach to curriculum design, there is a tension around how to develop materials that promote an idealised image of gender relations, yet build on women's existing literacy practices.

The potential of women's literacy classes to strengthen group activities, such as social action and income generation activities, has long been recognised. However, research insights into the differences between women as a group (their differing experiences according to age, family situation, language, ethnic and caste group) has also pointed to the importance of recognising diversity within literacy classes. The problem is that 'we [researchers, educators] are concerned about *diversity* in literacies, in women's interests, in locales and methods of literacy learning, while policy makers with costs in mind, are concerned about *uniformity*' (Bown, 2004, p. 248). This issue is not of course unique to women, but has particular relevance, as literacy programmes are targeted mainly at women. There is still a tendency for policy makers and planners to generalise about the needs of the 'homogeneous woman' and to neglect to take their multiple roles into account in planning.

## FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS

The traditional paradigm of women's literacy still dominates policy and planning debates. However, the slow movement towards a rights perspective on literacy and growing popularity of qualitative research approaches within this area suggest that a gendered perspective on literacy and development may be more evident in the future. As Aikman and Unterhalter (2005, p. 5) discuss, the future challenge is how to 'switch the focus of the debate from parity of access to quality, equality and equity'. As literacy has been often been seen in terms of increasing adult women's access to education, there has been less attention to the questions about what kind of education is provided, whether these programmes are as well-resourced and have the same status in society as the educational programmes that men participate in. Advocacy work on girls' education and the stronger role of women's organisations in promoting gender equality within education should lead to a more radical approach to promoting adult women's rights through literacy in future. Similarly, the current focus on improving the quality of formal education may impact on the non-formal sector too, with particular relevance for women.

In future, the 'ideological' approach to researching literacy may raise new questions for policy makers about the assumed linkages between women, literacy and development. For instance, a gendered perspective on debates about language policy (cf. Volume 1, Language Policy and Political Issues in Education) raises the question—what are the implications for women of learning to read in their mother tongue as compared with an official language? In terms of class structures and approaches that promote literacy in the community, we can ask: What do women (as compared with men) lose and gain by no longer meeting as a group to learn literacy? How far does the structure of a literacy class provide a socially acceptable (in the eyes of their husbands) reason for women to meet and talk together? The challenge at the present is for researchers to translate ethnographic findings from in-depth local studies into questions that policy makers can begin to address.

The more holistic approach to adult education in general has drawn attention to the importance of supportive development and employment policies. In the field of women, literacy and development, there has been long recognition of the need for improved access to services such as credit, health-care facilities and agricultural extension, if women are to be able to use the knowledge and skills learnt in literacy courses. As well as the need to explore the links between women's literacy and the economy, there is an increasing interest in how societal discourses shape literacy and development programmes. As Aikman and Unterhalter (2005, p. 4) comment, 'gender equality in education cannot

be separated as a goal from gender equality in society as a whole'. This account of the early and main developments has shown how gender relations in society influence not only the curriculum and the structure of literacy classes, but also the resourcing and the status of women's literacy programmes.

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## A COMMUNITY LITERACY PROJECT: NEPAL

### INTRODUCTION

The concept of community literacy is based on the idea that local meanings and uses of literacy should inform the design and implementation of adult literacy programmes and that literacy programmes should respond and be flexible to people's expressed needs. The *Community Literacy Project* in Nepal was informed by the socio-cultural model of literacy developed within the 'New Literacy Studies' (Street, 1995) and was funded by the UK Department for International Development (DFID).<sup>1</sup> The New Literacy Studies is informed by socio-linguistic and ethnographic studies of literacy. Rather than viewing literacy as an autonomous 'skill' these approaches view literacy and literacies as a diverse social practice embedded in local contexts, institutions and practices (Collins and Blot, 2003; Street, 1993). This perspective assumes that literacy programmes can provide a public space for the articulation and debate over local 'situated' meanings of literacy and provide practical mechanisms to help people to learn and use literacy in real life situations. The paper discusses some of the tensions between the articulation of 'local' meanings of literacy within the wider national and international discourses of development and some of the creative responses that emerged.

### GOING LOCAL

*The Community Literacy Project responds to the expressed literacy and numeracy needs of local groups and communities. The approach is flexible, and allows people to learn literacy and numeracy that is directly linked to their daily life and livelihoods* 'Community Literacies' newsletter, Issue 7, July 2002.

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<sup>1</sup> The Community Literacy Project ran between February 1997 and September 2003. It was initially managed by the Centre for British Teachers (CfBT), and then by World Education Nepal (WEN). Project staff changed during the course of the project. The views expressed in this paper are those of the authors.

One of the strongest claims of the New Literacy Studies has been that there is both a democratic and pragmatic rationale for localising our understandings of how literacy is learned and used (Collins and Blot, 2003). In recognising the existence of ‘literacies’, and the multiple ways in which written media is used and made meaningful, we can avoid imposing dominant models of literacy that are unwanted, or that lack local relevance and utility. Localised perspectives offer the opportunity to engage with dominant literacy practices, or to develop vernacular skills and practices. In the Nepali context this is particularly challenging, not only because of extensive cultural and linguistic diversity, but also because of the ways in which discourses on literacy (and education in general) are framed by nationalist and development concerns (Ahearn, 2001; Robinson-Pant, 2001; Rogers, 1999). In such a context, it is not always clear that local aspirations can be articulated. The ‘gift’ of development aid normally comes wrapped in nationalist and donor-inspired conditionalities and is accessed and expressed through an unyielding and omnipresent developmentalist discourse (Pigg, 1992). In this case, such politics were also complicated by the intellectual agenda of the project, influenced as it was by a radically new perspective on literacy which was often perceived as being alien to Nepal. This presented some significant challenges to the project which had explicitly wanted to localise provision and to ‘empower’ local communities.

### CHANGING LITERACIES

The concept of localised provision was influenced by wider processes of change occurring within Nepal during that time and by broader changes in development discourse and priorities. The national context was in the process of rapid social change, as democratic parties, civil society organisations and left wing Maoist revolutionary forces attempted to replace the elitist, caste-based polity and ideology with a more inclusive and radical politics (Mainali, 2005). These processes involved a radical democratisation of communication media including literacy practices, as silent majorities claimed a voice in these processes of change (Holland, 1995; Maddox, 2001). These changes included more decentralised and democratic access to radio broadcasting and TV and the promotion of language policy and practice in education, media and governance that recognised linguistic diversity within the country (Maddox, 2003).<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Nepal is one of the most linguistically diverse countries in the world, with 127 spoken languages, and many major language groups.

### Local Literacies: Wall Newspapers

The Community Literacy Project supported local community organisations in Nepal to produce regular community newspapers. The 'wall newspapers' (literally, local newspapers stuck to a notice-board or wall) were hand written by community groups. They discussed a range of community issues, information on resources and politics as well as cultural activities. The wall-newspapers were written in multiple languages and scripts reflecting the high linguistic diversity in Nepal. The newspapers challenged the hierarchical modes of media being produced in and for the local communities. Non-literate community members were able to 'write' for the wall-newspapers with the support of scribes.



Figure 1 Women in an eastern hill village reading a community wall newspaper.

These new forms of communicative politics challenged the discriminatory forms of literacy practice and the lack of transparency often

practiced by government institutions in a country where according to 2001 census data 56% of adults cannot read and write (Ministry Education and Sports, 2002) and where case-based ideologies of social hierarchy remain pervasive.

In addition to these shifting cultural politics, the donor priorities and expectations also changed, from an initial concern with localised community development, to a rhetoric of 'livelihoods' and 'poverty reduction'. These changes in national and international politics and priorities provided an important backdrop for understanding the work of the project and influenced and gave it shape, as it tried to 'localise' and operationalise the concept of community literacy.

This paper describes some of the main activities of the project, the mechanisms and processes it developed for localising literacy activities and the way in which it developed from small-scale pilot activities in a few communities, to a large-scale programme covering ten districts of Nepal, with some 70,000 beneficiaries and 139 partner organisations.

#### LITERACY, COMMUNICATION AND ACCESS TO INFORMATION

The *Community Literacy Project* developed through three distinct stages, which we can retrospectively describe as those of exploration, consolidation and expansion. The first exploratory and experimental stage, involved in-depth participatory and ethnographic research in a few communities in the east of Nepal. Working with local partner organisations, lengthy 'baseline studies' and initial pilot programmes were conducted using a combination of ethnographic research and action-research methodology. Many of the initial activities of the project had a broader remit than many conventional literacy programmes, and many were not considered as 'literacy' at all. This entailed activities to support people in literacy use, communication and access to information in applied in-situ social activities such as in saving and credit groups, health promotion, community broadcasting, community forestry and community newspapers.

In these activities the focus was often on informal literacy support rather than formal literacy instruction. In fact formal instruction was often avoided, as it distracted attention from the applied nature of the activities and people's tasks and goals. As the project consolidated its approach it developed a distinctive ethos and approach. The project literature promoted an approach based on the idea that '*literacy is something that is used and learned in the community, rather than just being the activity of the literacy class, and communication and access to information can be enhanced through oral, visual and literacy based practices*' ('Community Literacies', 2001).



Figure 2 A woman being interviewed during a live broadcast on the community 'audio tower' (Audio broadcast via loud speaker), Dhankuta district.

This approach to literacy was, however, not widely accepted within Nepal, and the project faced significant criticism from a number of areas in early evaluation reports. The criticism centred on the failure of the project to promote and support formal literacy instruction and the limited geographical coverage of the project activities. The unconventional approach adopted by the project clashed with the conventional model of literacy instruction.

#### MANAGING DIVERSITY

Following this criticism the project consolidated its activities, and prepared to deliver them on a wider scale. The second stage of the project can be described as consolidation, and involved learning from the initial phase, and developing and testing the project's approach, methods and products. The project invested heavily in developing its human resources (and those of partner organisations) and the strong and very committed team became the mainstay of the work. The project prioritised three clear areas of activity:

- i. *literacy support (scribing, mentoring, mediation) to help people to access and engage with necessary literacy texts and practices;*
- ii. *tailor-made packages of literacy and numeracy instruction based on specific sets of literacy tasks; and*
- iii. *training packages of 'communication audit' to help institutions to review and modify their communication (and literacy) texts*

*and practices to make them more inclusive and suitable for non-literate groups and those who speak minority languages.*

(Source: 'Community Literacies' newsletter).

The process of project consolidation also involved a shift from lengthy processes of action-research, to more clearly structured and goal driven activities. These activities included training packages of literacy support—for example in legal literacy and scribing for literacy mediators and materials for 'tailor-made' literacy teaching and learning materials based on people's uses of literacy in particular social and economic activities (such as in vegetable production and marketing, saving and credit activities). These activities, which had been developed in the exploratory phase of the project, were developed for delivery on a large-scale, but with mechanisms for adapting them for local variations in content, language and script and for different geographical and cultural locations. Local language and multi-lingual formats were developed. In a radical move, partner organisations were trained in the principles of community literacy and encouraged to innovate and adapt materials kept on CD, to suit the expressed needs of local communities. In that way local variations in language, script and literacy use could be accommodated.

#### SCRIBES AND LEGAL LITERACY

One of the most popular activities of the project involved training local people in legal literacy and in scribing (or literacy mediation). This activity which was developed in a direct response to a community based request, was not focused on 'making people literate' but in helping people to access and manage the many necessary formal literacy tasks involved in encounters with government bureaucracy. These literacy tasks included applications for citizenship, registration of births, deaths and marriage, women's property and inheritance rights, police cases and so on. The governance-related literacy texts that were used for public communication or notification of important official announcement were too complex and virtually inaccessible even to literate people, let alone partially literate and non literate people. It was in such a context that the locals acknowledged the significance of the project trained literacy scribes, not only for literacy support but also to become familiar with the relevant official documents. Many of these local scribes were young women who spoke local languages, and this helped to address the gender and linguistic imbalances and inequalities in many of these official uses of literacy. The training of scribes was complimented by the production of easy-to-read booklets on legal rights describing the associated forms and literacy requirements of the activities. Scribes were also used to help people



Figure 3 Tailor made literacy materials based on literacy and numeracy tasks in vegetable production and marketing.



Figure 4 Learning and using literacy. Women using the 'tailor-made' literacy and numeracy materials on vegetable production and marketing.

to access written information and engage with literacy tasks in community forestry management and public health. Although these activities had a local focus, and were responsive to local languages, the texts and practices that they engaged with had a more national orientation and significance.

#### TAILOR-MADE MATERIALS

The *Community Literacy Project* was initially wary of promoting formal teaching and learning activities and materials, viewing them as insufficiently flexible and lacking a focus on in-situ application of literacy in daily life. It became clear though, that while literacy mediation activities were often sufficient for occasional interaction with formal institutions and access to complex legal or technical texts, other activities were better suited to more conventional literacy instruction. These activities were often the ‘vernacular’ practices that people required in their daily lives.

In response to requests for literacy training related to vegetable production and marketing and credit and saving activities, the project involved several communities in a process of action research where they identified literacy texts and practices and developed dedicated sets of teaching and learning materials. These materials were not generic in nature. Instead they focused specifically on the skills and tasks required for those activities. At the same time, the materials provided a foundation of literacy skills and practices that people could develop. For example, the vocabulary for vegetable production (names of vegetables, numeracy associated with calculation, record-keeping, weighing and measuring) provided applied instruction including familiar vocabulary, the alphabet and basic numeracy. This literacy instruction materials can be viewed as an outcome of the donor’s agenda of ‘literacy and livelihoods’ (Chitrakar, Maddox and Shrestha, 2002; DFID, 2000) and as such, are quite different to the literacy activities in scribing and governance (discussed above).

In the ‘tailor-made’ materials, the focus was on the direct application of literacy learning in daily activities. The materials were developed in local languages and multi-lingual formats in response to the requests of different communities (see [Figure 3](#)). The materials (and visual diagrams and pictures) were stored on personal computer and CD, and so they could easily be modified to suit variations in language and dialect, different types of literacy practice and cultural variation. Teaching and learning activities were conducted in special classes and mentoring and support was provided in the classes and during in-situ application of the learning. These materials provided the opportunity for non-literate people to quickly learn and apply literacy and numeracy in their

daily lives, and different sets of materials were developed to suit levels of ability. The course of instruction was only 3 or 4 months (much shorter than many conventional literacy programmes), as the literacy learning (initial literacy) and application of learning (post-literacy) aspects were fused. Within 3 or 4 months people were able to intensively practice and develop their skills on a daily basis. At the same time, what was very striking about the materials was that they tended to avoid the narrative literary form of conventional materials. The materials focused on the basic literacy and numeracy tasks and vocabulary (with the emphasis on peoples application and sustained use of literacy, e.g., as expressed by the learners themselves,<sup>3</sup> being able to read and/or write minutes of group meetings, constitutions of forest users' groups, legal documents, etc.), rather than jumping rapidly to the narrative text and development messages that are often contained in literacy primers.

### GOING NATIONAL

In the final phase of the project the activities were scaled up to ten districts of Nepal involving some 70,000 beneficiaries. This was achieved through some standardisation of the approach and by training of partner organisations in the principles and practice of community literacy. The project produced sets of training materials on each of its activities, focusing on training of scribes in legal literacy and in the use and production of 'tailor-made' literacy materials. This standardisation of the approach and rapid expansion of the programme came with some risks. To try to ensure continued responsiveness and flexibility the programme developed a participatory monitoring and evaluation system and trained local partners in participatory needs assessment and baseline studies and in how to adjust literacy materials to the expressed needs of different communities.

#### *Promoting Community Literacy Scribes*

The need to promote the development of community literacy scribes was first expressed by an elected Chairman of a rural VDC (Village Development Committee<sup>4</sup>) within a district from east Nepal. The

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<sup>3</sup> One of the striking examples had been the folksongs that a women's savings group composed in Bardiya district, which included verses of their joyous feeling of being able to fill-up bank vouchers, write and read group minutes and the very songs they composed.

<sup>4</sup> There are almost 4000 Village Development Committees in Nepal, each of which oversees the governance and development activities of the 9 wards. A ward is the smallest political unit comprising of about 300 households.

severity of illiteracy in local communities, even among the elected heads and members of the executive boards at the most local political entity known as ward, posed a serious challenge for the VDC to realise the spirit of local self governance act and decentralisation (Chhetri, 2003). The local administration could not handle the officially required means of communication i.e., in writing while providing services to its people and also to report to the higher authorities. Therefore, the VDC Chairman came up with the idea that the local people with basic ability to read and write could be mobilised as the literacy mediators if they were to be trained in procedures of the local governance and the use of the official documents. The VDC and CLP worked collaboratively to organise such training programme and promote the concept of community literacy scribes. Many local people, mostly women who had left school after completing primary grades, showed interest to be trained scribes. In a period of less than a year, each of the nine wards had four or five community literacy scribes already helping the neighbours not only with their official literacy needs but also to learn to read words from the available documents and forms.

As the project expanded its activities to ten mid and far western districts the local civil society organisations there showed great interest in Community Literacy Scribes. The good practice in this field, which was started at Dhankuta district, was later adapted by local women at Rupandehi district. Two grassroots level women (Amrita Thapa and Krishna Maya Karki), among others, continued with their pursuit to promote community literacy scribing through women who had dropped out of school and who they persistently trained and organised into a local network.

### *Local Literacy Materials*

The production and use of local literacy instruction materials became a favourite activity of the 139 partner organisations from the ten mid and far western districts as the project scaled up its activities. The community interest-groups involved in varieties of group initiatives such as micro finance, honey production, community forestry, health service, combating domestic violence, social discrimination and bonded labour analysed their own literacy contexts with the help of CLP trained resource persons from the local support organisations. Material contents and learning modality were then decided. Unlike in the Tailor-Made Materials (TMM) development process at Dhankuta district during the initial phase, the design and production time was less lengthy, with less fuss made about the quality of paper and printing. Most of the materials were printed or photocopied locally not putting too much of emphasis on

making the content grammatically or linguistically ‘correct’, which otherwise would have delayed the use of the materials. The fundamental consideration remained to link literacy learning and use with the daily lives of people and their group processes.

#### ISSUE OF INSTITUTIONALISATION AND MAINSTREAMING

Some hard lessons were learned with respect to the project institutionalisation process. The project’s effort to mainstream its innovative practices in the national system of literacy and non formal education programme were neither adequate nor entirely successful. There may be lessons here for other projects following the approach in other parts of the world.

Despite a heavy-weight project steering committee headed by senior education ministry personnel (with membership from the National Planning Commission, Ministry of Finance and the donor representative from the UK Department for International Development), the National Non-Formal Education Centre did not mainstream any of the



Figure 5 Women using the ‘tailor-made’ materials.

approaches or methods developed by the project, despite these promising achievements.<sup>5</sup>

At the end of the project, most of the materials, reports and web-site of the project were left with the local management NGO. Although some of the project staff and NGO partners have continued to work in the education field, much of the information and resources developed by the project (including the information and reports stored on the web-site and written in Nepali) are no longer available for public access. Some of the approaches were adopted within a new donor project, but this largely retains the approach within the sphere of ‘donor’ control. The process and the politics of this ‘closure’ raises significant questions about the effectiveness of the project and the role of the donor community in supporting local ownership and sustainability of the approach and its resources.

## CONCLUSIONS

The experience of the *Community Literacy Project* shows, nevertheless, that it is possible to respond to the expressed literacy tasks and needs of local communities while working with large populations. The use of ICT for flexible and responsive production of literacy learning materials enabled such responsiveness on a large scale. The willingness to listen and respond to the expressed literacy and communication needs of local groups and communities was the key principle that informed the approach. The focus on collective practice (of communities, institutions, self-help groups) enabled shared learning, support and mentoring that is noticeably lacking in conventional literacy programmes that focus on individuals. The focus on people’s real life literacy texts and practices helped to make the project responsive to expressed needs and to improve the sustainability and impact of people’s learning. Unlike many conventional literacy programmes, these activities had very low rates of ‘drop-out’ and a high level of application in people’s daily lives.

The process of developing the approach was extremely challenging for a number of reasons. There were few role models on which the project could base the approach, and much of the early activities were conducted on a trial and error basis. The demands of being a ‘development project’ brought with them tremendous pressures—both in terms of delivering ‘goods’ to local communities and in terms of the donor and government’s legitimate desire to have a wide-scale impact. It is

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<sup>5</sup> The project’s external evaluation report rated highly its performance and potential for scaling up the products it came up with.

questionable whether the government ever fully supported the ideas behind the project, and as a result, resistance from government and lack of buy-in and institutionalisation was an on-going factor that project staff had to deal with. The project staff often had to deal with the uncertainty and self-doubt associated with such a process of innovation, while attempting to protect themselves and the project from sometimes heavy criticism from outside. That was not always the ideal environment to ensure an open and deliberative process. As the project developed, a demarcation began to develop between the more radical politics and risk taking of popular education and attempts to control and manage the more 'risky' activities of the project (e.g., advocacy on language policy in governance, women's legal literacy activities, decentralised production of materials), which were often inherently political and did not conform to the conventional view of adult literacy.

On reflection, much of the resistance reflected the wider politics of education and communication within Nepal. Literacy and language are part of on-going aspects of inequality and social injustice, which the Nepali State and donor community have been either unable, or unwilling to effectively tackle. This became clear as the project became more integrated into civil society organisations and activities. What began as a community-based activity focused on local groups and organisations gained national resonance and as it did, it became clear that national and international politics are central in shaping communication practices and people's access to literacy.

In that sense, the term '*Community Literacy Project*' is both accurate and misleading. We can look at each of those terms, beginning with the concept of *community*. While the project always attempted to respond to the expressed needs of local communities, many of the 'dominant' literacy texts and practices people have to engage with are defined and given shape at the national or international level. As a space for social change the project was inevitably influenced by national and international concerns, development discourse, the concerns of government, overseas managers and donor organisations. As such, it could equally be described as the '*Global Literacy Project, in Nepal*'. At the same time, managing these multiple concerns, discourses and priorities was as much an issue of local organisations and communities as it was for the centrally funded project staff. Rather than a discrete entity, 'local' communities were always shot through with these national and international politics and institutional politics.

The term *literacy* is also only part of the picture. The activities of the project extended to other forms of communication media (numeracy, spoken and visual communication, radio, audio-tower). The literacy and numeracy activities were often embedded in wider social practices and were not always experienced as 'literacy' promotion. Examples

such as the wall newspapers illustrate this point nicely, since there was a heavy literacy and literacy learning content, but the participants did not view the activity as being primarily one of 'literacy' learning.

Finally, the logic of the development *project* presented many difficulties, not least because of the expectations that it created about delivering development goods and the impact of ever changing donor agendas. Despite the agendas of poverty reduction and good governance, the development agenda can become depoliticised, and this created certain tensions within the project as we moved towards closer links with civil society groups more committed to social activism. This was clear as the project attempted to link local and national spheres by contributing to social movements in literacy and language policy. As an innovative project, such tensions were perhaps inevitable, and this itself should perhaps be one of the key learnings. Adult literacy promotion, as Paulo Friere has reminded us, is essentially a political project as one that challenges us to change the social and cultural norms, patterns and relations.

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COMMUNITY LITERACY PRACTICES AND EDUCATION:  
AUSTRALIA

INTRODUCTION

Interest in community literacy practices is not new. Its consideration by administrators, schools and teachers has generally been driven by recognition that the literacy experiences of home and community have a significant impact on literacy success at school. But most interest has been in how families and their literacy practices serve school agendas with interest being driven by limited definitions of literacy and at times deficit views of learning (Cairney, 2003). This limited view of the relationship between literacy practices in and out of school has limited many attempts to build stronger relationships between schools and their communities. Prior to the 1980s most interest in non-school literacy was focussed on how parents support children's print literacy learning and to a limited extent how non-school literacy<sup>1</sup> has an impact on school literacy learning. This work paid little attention to variation in literacy practices within the community and appeared to assume that literacy was a unitary skill that needed to be supported in quite specific ways if children were to succeed at school.

However, research by Heath (1983) and others<sup>2</sup> helped researchers and educators to understand better the considerable variation that occurs in literacy across specific groups. Heath considered talk associated with literacy within the home and found that it is related to differences in culture and language. Motivated by this work, other researchers began to examine the literacy practices of home and school more closely and noted increasingly that the way teachers shape classroom discourse can be limited in scope and not reflective of the diversity of student language and culture (Breen, Loudon, Barrat-Pugh, Rivalland, Rohl, Rhydwen, Lloyd and Carr, 1994; Cairney and Ruge, 1998; Cairney,

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<sup>1</sup> This concern was primarily with how environmental print has an impact on early literacy development. See Cairney (2003) and Hall (1987) for a fuller discussion.

<sup>2</sup> There are numerous researchers whose work has contributed to the growing understanding of literacy diversity and its complex relationship to culture, ethnicity and class. See for example Bernstein (1964), Halliday (1975), Scribner and Cole (1981), Harste, Woodward & Burke (1984), Street (1984), Cook-Gumperz (1986), Cazden (1988) and Lareau (1989).

Lowe and Sproats, 1995; Cairney, Ruge, Buchanan, Lowe and Munsie, 1995; Freebody, Ludwig and Gunn, 1995; Gutierrez, 1993).

In parallel to the above work, two other key and related areas of inquiry began to inform home and community literacy research. One fruitful area has been concern with the variation in literacy practices that reflects the changing nature of communication and growth in multimedia and the need to reject limited definitions of literacy for the richer concept of multiliteracies (Cope and Kalantzis, 2000). This work has led researchers and practitioners to consider whether limited definitions of literacy effectively exclude a vast array of literacies that fall outside the boundaries of traditional school literacy practices.

A second area of related interest has been stimulated by the fields of critical theory, sociolinguistics and cultural studies and has stressed the need to recognise that power relationships are also part of literacy practices (see Freebody, *Critical Literacy Education: On Living with 'Innocent Language'*, Volume 2). This work demonstrates that literacy is not value neutral and disconnected from other human activity, particularly the complex tapestry of relationships that characterise human existence. This theoretical work has highlighted that some families and individuals are disadvantaged (and others advantaged) by power relationships that fail to value the funds of knowledge that they bring to school (see Moll, 1992; Moll, Amanti, Neff and Gonzalez, 1992). This collective work has helped us to identify "the social practices by which schools, families and individuals reproduce, resist and transform hierarchies of social relations and their positions within them" (Solsken, 1993, p. 7). Furthermore, it has enabled research and educational initiatives concerned with family literacy to be critiqued in new ways.

What both these related areas of study indicate is that children from cultural and linguistic minority groups may continue to have difficulty in achieving school success because the dominant pedagogical approaches are based on "narrow understanding of school knowledge and literacy, which are defined and defended as what one needs to know and how one needs to know it in order to be successful in school and society" (Willis, 1995, p. 34).

Collectively these related fields of study demonstrate that while there is a relationship between community literacy and education, that there are many gaps in our understanding and the nature of their relationship to education. This chapter is a review of what research has taught us about this relationship, with a particular interest in Australian research and its relationship to wider research in this area. It is assumed for the purposes of the review that 'community literacy' refers to those social practices outside schools that involve the use of multiple sign systems to create meaning and that involve, in some way, the reading and/or writing of text. While not denying the importance

and impact of informal education, education in this review is taken to mean 'formal' education administered by institutions<sup>3</sup>.

In the review that follows there will be three major considerations. First, early foundational research efforts that explored community literacy practices as well as the relationship of this work to major theoretical traditions. Second, significant recent and current explorations that have acknowledged more complex definitions of literacy and community, with special consideration of work in Australia. Third, the need to problematise the existing research literature in this area and map out possible future directions.

#### A BRIEF LOOK AT EARLY RESEARCH OF RELEVANCE

Early interest in community literacy practices was primarily motivated by a desire to enhance school success by ensuring that families supported school literacy. Some of the most significant early interest in the relationship between education and non-school literacy practices occurred in the United Kingdom. The Plowden report (Department of Education and Science, 1967) was one of a number of stimuli that encouraged schools to become more concerned with the relationship of home to school learning. Plowden argued strongly for partnership between home and school. Such notions of partnership were primarily concerned with what families could do to support schools and lacked the richness of more recent attempts to build partnerships between home, school and community (see Cairney and Munsie, 1992; Cairney and Ruge, 1998 for a fuller discussion of this issue).

The 1970s and 1980s saw a number of high profile program initiatives take place that were judged to be successful at supporting school literacy. Many of these were programs designed to help parents support children at home in relation to school learning, particularly those experiencing reading problems.<sup>4</sup> However, typically, these early projects assumed a deficit view of families and sought to rectify what were seen as barriers to children's educational success (Cairney, 2003). One well-known program, the Haringey Reading Project found that some of the children whose parents were involved in their program made significant gains in reading achievement irrespective of reading ability. This project

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<sup>3</sup> This review does not attempt to address the significant work done in relation to adult literacy and workplace literacy. While each body of work is significant in understanding broader community literacy practices, a full discussion of each is outside the scope of this chapter that focuses primarily on the literacy worlds of children. For an interesting discussion of 'specialized' literacy populations and institutions see Quigley (2005).

<sup>4</sup> See Cairney (2000) for a more detailed review of this early work.

was to be a stimulus for other initiatives focussing on story reading strategies for parents and the provision of books to families (Tizard, Schofield, and Hewison, 1982).

While not wanting to dismiss these early attempts to address the relationship between school and non-school literacy practices, what is obvious is how such work was limited by the definitions of literacy that framed the work. Developments in other countries tended to parallel the UK experience. In the United States interest in considering the impact of home and community literacy practices on schooling was a little slower to emerge, but by the 1990s it was estimated that there were more than 500 family literacy programs alone in the USA (Nickse, 1993).

In Australia, the early interest in the literacy practices of home and community was again primarily to obtain support for school learning. Curriculum documents during the 70s and 80s stressed the importance of parents and a supportive home environment in children's learning. Common to these early efforts was a desire to encourage parents to become more involved in school and support school agendas, rather than building on the rich literacy practices of home and community.

In a federally funded review of Australian initiatives Cairney, Ruge, Buchanan, Lowe and Munsie (1995) identified 261 major initiatives and over 100 small-scale projects that showed an interest in using the relationship between the literacy of school and community to strengthen the school success of students who were struggling. This study showed that 76.3% of these projects were initiated by schools and were largely designed to fulfil school purposes and transmit information about schooling. The report concluded that more effort needed to be given to understanding the richness of family and community literacy practices and how this could be seen as a rich resource informing and supporting school-based literacy education.

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, one of the first researchers to seriously explore the complex relationship between the literacy practices of community and school was Heath (1983). She found that there was variation in the acquisition of oral language, and the manner in which parents introduced children to literacy and its purposes, and was able to document significant differences in community styles of literacy socialisation and the impact that this had on school success.

The work of Heath and others resonated well with earlier theoretical work on early language and literacy development<sup>5</sup> that had already challenged views on the role adults and families play in early literacy learning. The 1960s and 1970s had seen the emergence of important

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<sup>5</sup> See for example Bernstein (1964), Clay (1966), Halliday (1975) and Vygotsky (1978).

changes in our understanding of oral language development that were eventually to lead to a number of significant literacy studies in the late 1970s and early 1980s. For example, Harste, Woodward and Burke (1984, p. 56) demonstrated that preschool children were actively attempting to understand the nature of the language spoken around them, making predictions and testing hypotheses about how language worked, and demonstrating rich literacy understandings embedded in everyday reading and writing experiences. This work was a serious challenge to maturational theories of child development that had previously confined literacy learning to the school years. Early literacy researchers embraced the term 'emergent' literacy to describe the significant literacy experiences that preschool children were encountering at home and in community settings.<sup>6</sup> These new insights helped researchers to begin to view non-school literacy experiences as relevant and significant to school success.

Almost in parallel to the development of emergent literacy was the emergence of constructivist theories based strongly on the work of Vygotsky (1978) and Bruner (1983). Rich literacy experiences, scaffolded support (Bruner, 1983, 1986; Rogoff, 1990) and encouragement of meaning making and risk taking were increasingly recognised as a vital part of child language learning. What this work again reinforced was the social foundations of literacy.

Sociolinguistic theories of language also contributed a great deal. Scholars like Bahktin (1935/1981), Gumperz (1986), Halliday (1975) and Hymes (1974), built upon the basic understanding that language is made as people act and react to one another. Cook-Gumperz (1986) argued that spoken language and literacy are cultural tools that shape individuals as they grow and transform behaviour as it is internalised. This work informed the view that people learn to be literate primarily in groups as they relate to others and seek to accomplish social and communicative functions. Literacy was seen as purpose driven and context bound, with people acting and reacting to the actions of others as well as to set patterns of group interaction.<sup>7</sup>

This work raised new questions about definitions of literacy and of how these definitions were being applied to community and family literacy. Street (1984) challenged what he called traditional 'autonomous' models that he saw as dominated by 'essay-text' forms of literacy, proposed

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<sup>6</sup> Hall (1987) provided one of the earliest syntheses of the emergent literacy research and did much to translate this work into a form that could inform early childhood practice. However, this new view of preschool literacy had its roots in the work of many researchers including Clay (1966), Holdaway (1979), Wells (1982; 1986), Harste, Woodward and Burke (1984), Mason and Allen (1986), Teale and Sulzby (1986).

<sup>7</sup> There are many key studies and publications including the critical work of Bloomer (1987); Cazden (1988); Cook-Gumperz (1986); Street (1984); and Wells (1986).

an alternative ‘ideological’ model. This model was concerned with the specific social practices of reading and writing, recognising the ideological and culturally embedded nature of literacy. He argued that the meaning of literacy depends upon the social institution within which it is embedded, and he called for the use of the term ‘literacies’ rather than literacy to recognise the social complexity of the practices. Street was one of a number of researchers seeking definitions that considered literacy as a set of social and cultural practices, not a unitary skill.

One final influence was the emergence of ‘critical literacy’ (Crawford, 1995). This perspective drew heavily on the work of critical theorists, sociolinguistics and cultural studies and attempted to critique and problematise the relationship between literacy and factors as diverse as school success, parental support, self-identity, gender and family life. The work argued that

- differences between the discourses of home and school can make a difference to the success of some children (Gee, 1990);
- an acceptance of cultural differences between home and school can lead to more responsive curricula that offer all children greater chances of success in learning;
- some people are disadvantaged by power relationships that fail to value the funds of knowledge that some children and their families bring to school, while others are advantaged (see Freire and Macedo, 1987; Gee, 1990; Luke, 1988; Moll, 1992; Moll, Amanti, Neff and Gonzalez, 1992; Street, 1995).

The combined and overlapping impact of the above quite disparate scholarly traditions was to bring about a significant shift in the way literacy was defined and studied and an increased understanding of the relationship between the literacy of home and school. In the following section major contributions to this emerging understanding are discussed.

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

### *Studies that Describe Literacy Practices in the Home*

While a great deal is known about early literacy development, there are few studies that have provided a detailed description of literacy practices within a wide range of families. Denny Taylor has conducted some of the most significant work in the last twenty years. Taylor’s (1983) detailed ethnographic research spawned the term “family literacy”, and provided some of the most detailed insights into the nature of literacy practices within homes. Her series of studies began in 1977 with a detailed description of a single family. By 1979 her ongoing observations had grown to include six white middle class families living in suburban New York City.

Taylor's close involvement in the families contributed a number of critical insights. She argued that literacy is implicated in the lives of family members and found that parents mediated literacy experiences in varied ways across and within families, and that older siblings helped to shape younger siblings' experiences of literacy (see Gregory, *City Literacies*, Volume 2). She also observed "shifts" in parents' approaches to the "transmission of literacy styles and values", coinciding with children beginning to learn to read and write in school (Taylor, 1983, p. 20). Literacy experiences within families she argued were rich and varied; surrounding family members as part of the fabric of life. Finally, she observed that children's growing awareness of literacy involved experiences that are woven into daily activities (Taylor, 1983, p. 56).

Taylor's early work informed a number of later studies, most notably her work with Dorsey-Gaines in conducting an ethnography of black families living in urban poverty (Taylor and Dorsey-Gaines, 1988). The combined work of Taylor and her colleagues challenged notions of what effective parent support of literacy involves, and attempted to move beyond white middle-class definitions of effective parenting. Their work showed that within the poor black families studied there was a richness of literacy experience that previous studies had not been able to recognise. This finding was later given support by the work of Auerbach (1989, 1995).

McNaughton's (1995) work in New Zealand is also relevant to this discussion. Based on case studies of 17 families in New Zealand he concluded that families are a critical determinant of children's early literacy development. His description of the literacy practices of Maori, Samoan and Pakeha families whose income earners were from non-professional occupations provided a picture of resourceful families able to support their children's early literacy learning. McNaughton was able to describe the complex ways in which families use time, space and varied resources to help preschool children to learn literacy. He noted that families used three different ways to support literacy learning: shared joint activities between the children and significant others; personal activities (e.g. scribbling or writing); and ambient activities where literacy was immersed in life.

Arguably the most extensive study conducted in Australia in the last decade was undertaken by Cairney and Ruge (1998) and sought to examine the relationship between home, school and community literacy. In a 2-year study, Cairney and Ruge (1998) conducted school and community-based case studies across four varied settings and subsequently conducted an ethnography of 37 children from 27 families, observing and describing their literacy practices at home and school. The focus children were of primary school age, but within the families there were approximately 20 additional preschool children. The participating

families were asked to collect a range of data including, audio tape literacy events, an audit of home literacy resources, a log of all reading and writing activities, and photographs of significant literacy events in the home (using disposable cameras supplied by the researchers). One member of each family was also asked to act as co-researcher and was trained to help record a range of home literacy events.

Cairney and Ruge (1998) identified four distinct purposes for literacy in the homes and classrooms in their study: literacy for establishing and maintaining relationships; literacy for accessing or displaying information; literacy for pleasure and/or self-expression; and literacy for skills development.

One critical finding from this study was that specific literacy practices may contribute to, and constitute part of, different literacy events in different contexts depending on the understandings and purposes of the participants. For example, the intended purpose of a newsletter from school may be to give parents access to information about school policies or activities. Alternatively, the intended purpose may be to maintain communication between home and school and thereby develop the relationship between families and the school. However, in reading the newsletter at home, families may have very different purposes and 'use' the newsletter in different ways (e.g. one family used it for oral reading practice). This is consistent with the work of Barton (1994) and Street (1993) and their contention that different domains can place quite different demands on participants for literacy.

Cairney and Ruge (1998) also found that the families in their study differed greatly in the extent to which literacy was visible in everyday life. Similarly, families varied greatly in the amount and types of literacy resources available to them.

One of the striking features of literacy practices in the homes of many of the families in the Cairney and Ruge study was the extent to which 'school literacy' appeared to dominate family life. That is, the particular types and uses of literacy usually associated with schooling were prominent in many families. This prominence was manifest primarily in the amount of time spent on homework activities (up to 3 hours per day in some families) and, to a lesser extent, siblings 'playing schools'. As well, there was evidence to suggest that the literacy practices privileged right from the birth of a first child are strongly shaped by the parents' experience of school literacy as well as the desire to prepare the preschool child for later schooling (Cairney and Ruge, 1998).

#### *Studies that Attempted to Bridge Home, School and Community Contexts*

While there have been a significant number of studies that have observed literacy practices within the home, there is less evidence of

research that has been able to tap into children's experiences of literacy outside the family and the school. Putting to one side a few seminal studies that have managed to tap the home, school and community contexts (e.g. Heath, 1983; Hull and Schultz, 2002; Schultz and Hull, *Literacies In and Out of School in the United States, Volume 2*) and studies of 'local' and 'heritage' literacies<sup>8</sup> that are concerned primarily with the maintenance of culturally unique adult literacy practices, what we do have falls into two main categories.

The first group contains cultural ethnographies that have provided insights into the role that written language and other sign systems play within community and family life. This body of work has also helped us to understand the cultural variation that occurs across communities and families. One of the most significant early studies to document cultural variations in literacy acquisition was the work of Scribner and Cole (1981), who found that the Vai people of Liberia used three different writing systems for different purposes. Arabic literacy was learned by rote as part of religious practices, English was learned as part of formal schooling, and finally, the Vai language was learned informally at home and in the community and for personal communication such as letters. Each of these 'literacies' was acquired and used for different social and cultural purposes.

Similarly, in an ethnography within the South Pacific, Duranti and Ochs (1986) found complexity, and that this had an impact on how children coped with literacy at school. They observed that the children of families in a Samoan village needed to cope with different forms of interaction across home and school settings.

However, while anthropology has been a major stimulus for new directions in literacy and culturally sensitive accounts of literacy within communities, Street (1995) argues that such work has often been framed by traditional limited definitions of literacy. He suggests, for example, that early ethnographies like that of Clammer (1976) in Fijian villages assumed 'autonomous' models of literacy in framing the study and failed to question the power relationships of the institution (in this the case the church) in introducing literacy, thus failing to problematise the role that literacy played in the colonisation of these people. However more recently ethnographies of literacy have adopted a broader social practice frame (as many contributions to this volume indicate).

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<sup>8</sup> The term 'local literacies' has been used by Barton and others (see for example, Barton and Hamilton, 1998) to describe the literacy of everyday life. They observed that in everyday lives, people inhabit a textually mediated social world, bringing reading and writing into most activities. For an interesting discussion of 'heritage' literacies of immigrant families living literate lives in multiple languages see Maguire, Beer, Attarian, Baygin, Curdt-Christiansen and Yoshida (1995).

In Australia, the Federal government has funded a number of significant national studies over a ten year period that have sought to understand the complexity of literacy practices in specific contexts, with a particular concern for the implications of this work for school literacy success. The work by Cairney et al. (1995) and Cairney and Ruge (1998) discussed earlier was part of this broad sweep of projects. However, other studies have explored the literacy practices of children undertaking schooling by distance education (Louden and Rivalland, 1995), the experiences of children and families in the year prior to school as well as the first year of school (Hill, Comber, Louden and Reid, 1998), the literacy practices of urban and remote rural communities, and variations in literacy practices across rural and urban communities (Breen, Louden, Barratt-Pugh, Rivalland, Rohl, Rhydwen, Lloyd and Carr, 1994).

Breen et al. (1994), for example, conducted community-based case studies of 12 urban and 12 rural families and observed that “all children, regardless of specific language background, are very likely to enter school with different repertoires of language knowledge and use which express their initial communicative competence” (Breen et al., 1994, p. 35). They concluded that even when literacy practices across families appeared similar that they could have different meanings and values.

Similarly, Hill and colleagues (1998) found that Australian children come to school with diverse prior-to-school experiences. The 100 children who were studied were growing up in very different communities, families and homes. The researchers suggested that their observations indicated inequalities in contemporary Australia that have an impact on children’s early lives. Schools they argued need to construct a more appropriate curriculum which explicitly builds on children’s existing cultural capital and preferred ways of learning.

### *Studies of Indigenous Literacy*

Australia’s indigenous population has experienced special issues with literacy, with seven out of every ten Indigenous students in Year three performing below the national literacy standard, compared to just three out of ten for other Australians (DEST, 2000). Some of the earliest and most influential attempts to understand issues associated with Indigenous literacy were conducted by Harris (1980, 1984) and described traditional indigenous learning styles amongst communities in the Northern Territory of Australia. He found that learning styles were often context-specific and person-orientated and were dependent on observation and imitation, as well as personal trial and error.

Subsequent studies in this tradition (e.g., Gray, 1985, 1990) have pointed to the failure of existing pedagogy to accommodate Aboriginal learning styles. Malin (1990) was able to demonstrate that conflicts between Aboriginal home socialisation practices and teacher expectations had a significant effect on Indigenous success at school (cf. Susan Phillips' 1983 seminal study of the Warm Springs Indian Reservation in the US).

Other researchers have also highlighted the significant linguistic diversity of Indigenous learners and observed that Indigenous students in both urban and rural areas speak Aboriginal English in informal community contexts and then have to switch to standard English (Mattingley, 1992). Such work has argued for the valuing of the community English that Indigenous learners bring to school and the impact that such actions has on the central relationships between teachers, their students and communities (see e.g. Munns, Simpson, Connelly and Townsend (1999).

### *Understanding the Impact of Culture on School Achievement*

Studies of Indigenous literacy in Australia reflect international research that acknowledges a new valuing of the richness of community and family literacy. Critical to this has been the growing understanding that literacies vary depending on purpose and life 'domains' (Barton, 1994). Researchers have begun to argue that there are many forms of literacy, each with specific purposes and contexts in which they are used. They conclude that to understand literacy fully, we need to understand the groups and institutions through which we are socialised into specific literacy practices (Bruner, 1986; Gee, 1990).

A key focus of research has been to identify why and how people learn through participation in the practices that make up specific groups and communities. How do communities organise their resources, and how does participation in the culture shapes identity? As Moll (1993) has suggested, this has represented a move away from viewing individual learners to viewing learning as participation in funds of knowledge as part of a community of practice. Consequently, a number of American researchers have explored differences in the suitability and impact of curricula and pedagogy on minority groups. For example, Foster (1992, p. 303) concluded that "... many of the difficulties African-American students encounter in becoming literate result in part from the misunderstandings that occur when the speaking and communication styles of their community vary from those expected and valued in the school setting" (p. 303).

Other researchers have investigated the impact of differences between the cultural beliefs and expectations of Native Americans,

and those of mainstream cultures (Deyhle and LeCompte, 1994; Locust, 1988; McCarty, 1987; Phillips, 2002). For example, Locust (1988) examined traditional Native American belief systems, including their holistic approach to life and death, their emphasis on non-verbal communication, and their valuing of visual, motor and memory skills over verbal skills. She investigated the ways in which these beliefs conflict with the education system, and argued that traditional psychological education tests reflect the dominant culture resulting in native American children achieving low scores and being treated as learning disabled.

However, Cummins (1986) has argued that the educational success or failure of minority students is related to more than just curricula mismatches, suggesting that it is “a function of the extent to which schools reflect or counteract the power relations that exist within the broader society” (p. 32). As a result he has argued for the incorporation of minority students’ culture and language in the education of their children (see Cummins, *BICS and CALP: Empirical and Theoretical Status of the Distinction*, Volume 2).

In a related Australian study Cairney and Ruge (1998) conducted case studies of four schools judged effective at acknowledging community language and cultural diversity. They found that within each of these schools five basic premises drove curriculum:

1. staff believed that all children could achieve school success irrespective of language or cultural background;
2. language was used in an integrated way across the curriculum;
3. curricula acknowledged that literacy development benefits from the maintenance of first language competence;
4. success was seen as critical to learning and students were given opportunities to succeed as they learnt new skills;
5. parents were seen as playing an important role in children’s educational success and were actively involved in the activities of the school.

What the above research demonstrates is that an understanding of language and cultural diversity of a school’s students and families is important. It also highlights the need to understand the complexity of community literacies in other than school terms and in ways that transcends ‘autonomous’ models.

In a related research study Street, Baker and Tomlin (2005) have considered how non-school factors affect school achievement. Adopting a sociocultural perspective on learning the Leverhulme Numeracy Research Program was a 5-year longitudinal project that sought to examine the meanings and uses of numeracy in school and community settings. Another focus was the language practices associated with numeracy, namely reading, writing, speaking and listening. A key concern was the influence of home contexts on school achievement. The

Leverhulme Programme attempted to develop ways of measuring pupil progression across a five-year period. The fieldwork involved observation of selected schools and classrooms and of informal situations in and out of school. It drew on interviews with teachers and pupils; analysis of texts from home and school, curriculum school policy documents, school programs and homework, and teacher feedback.

One of the most interesting insights from this research was that numeracy practices were often invisible to the researcher, with observations affected by how both the observers and the observed defined such practices. The question that this raised for the researchers was “what counts as numeracy”? The varied answers to this question impact not just on what is observed and recorded but what is valued and communicated between home and school. Street et al. (2005) found that when questions were asked of parents about numeracy that discussions often turned to school numeracy practices. The researchers were left with the key question “how are the borders between numeracy practices and other social practices constructed by researchers, schools and families?” This led the researchers to ask a related question, “How damaging are any omissions?” Such observations and questions have relevance to the observation already made in this chapter that researchers have noted that school literacy practices dominate home practices. One critical question that obviously needs to be explored is whether observations of school literacy or numeracy practices at home may involve (at least in part) a masking of other practices that researchers or participants simply don’t count or define as literacy or numeracy. This topic requires further research.

### *New Literacies*

One of the obvious gaps in community literacy research has been the failure to adequately tap and understand the richness of non-print literacy available to children outside school. Rarely have studies been able to identify, observe and document use of multiple sign systems, or even the relationship of multiple sign systems to print-based literacy. While early childhood studies have come closest to identifying the richness of children’s early experiences<sup>9</sup>, few studies have adequately tapped the diversity of literacy practices experienced day by day within communities.

The work of Kress and van Leeuwen (2001), Kress, Jewitt, Ogborn, and Tsatsarelis (2001) and Kress (2003) has done most to challenge views on the impact of visual literacy and its different demands for

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<sup>9</sup> See for example Harste, Woodward and Burke (1984), Clay (1966), Holdaway (1979), Mason and Allen (1986), Teale and Sulzby (1986), and Wells (1982; 1986).

the learner. The New London Group (NLG) (Cope and Kalantzis, 2000) has also sought to re-theorise literacy, and challenge ‘authoritarian’ conceptions of unitary literacy (see Leander and Lewis, *Literacy and Internet Technologies*, Volume 2).

The NLG has proposed a metalanguage of multiliteracies based on the concept of ‘Design’ (Cope and Kalantzis, 2000). Multiliteracies for the New London Group are based on the understanding that “language and other modes of meaning are dynamic representational resources, constantly being remade by their users as they work to achieve their various cultural purposes.” They suggest that meaning is made in ways that are increasingly multimodal, and our world is marked simultaneously by increasing local diversity and increasing global connectedness.

What we do know is that children are being exposed to richer opportunities to encounter written text in diverse digital as well as print forms, and that many of these have a relationship to visual, audio, spatial and behavioural experiences.

What this work promises to deliver is research that will demonstrate the increasingly demanding and diverse literacy practices that are encountered in community settings. The work of researchers like Lemke (2002) suggests that there is much that we need to explore and understand. Having investigated hypertexts, he has concluded that there is great complexity in the processes required to combine words and images giving attention to sounds, music, graphics, hyperlinks, menu bars, hot spots, etc. If children are experiencing the richness of textual and visual forms outside the classroom then one suspects, that previous conceptions of the relationship between the literacy of home, school and community will need to be revised. There may be ever increasing hybridity of literacy practices as popular culture and new media merge with more traditional literary forms.<sup>10</sup>

#### PROBLEMS AND GAPS IN OUR UNDERSTANDING

What the above discussion should have demonstrated is that there is much that we still do not know about community literacy practices. While the studies discussed shed light on the topic there are a number of difficulties in moving forward.

One problem is that in trying to understand community literacy practices, it is difficult to separate out the impact of school literacy practices that have such a strong impact on families and attitudes towards what counts as literacy within the wider community (see Cairney and Ruge, 1998; and Freebody, Ludwig and Gunn, 1995). Alongside this must be

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<sup>10</sup> The work of Dyson (1997) has much to say about these possibilities and how they are realised.

held the questions raised by Street et al. (2005) about the invisibility of some practices.

A second (and related) problem is the limitation of the methods that have been used to examine community literacy practices. Rarely, have studies of family and community literacy managed to achieve an 'insider' view of literacy practices. This should not surprise us as it is difficult to observe family and community literacy practices and the researcher's presence makes a difference to that which is observed. Rarely have in-depth observations been made of natural settings, and except for a small number of significant ethnographies and case studies, most research has involved limited time with small numbers of families. Getting at the 'invisible' literacy practices of home and community is one of the major challenges of researchers. The impact of multimedia and its prevalence poses special challenges for the researcher. What is counted? How is it observed? How are complex relationships between multiliteracies to be uncovered and understood?

As well as these generic issues, there are many specific issues to explore. We need, for example, more studies that consider how gender, social class and culture interact with issues of literacy practice. Are the experiences of some students at home and school influenced by secondary factors such as language background, social class<sup>11</sup>, gender<sup>12</sup> and so on. We also need considerable attention to be given to the impact of school literacy on home literacy as well as the reverse. Rather than simply examining family and community literacy to gain lessons for school literacy, we need to consider the synergistic relationship between the two contexts and the roles that students play as mediators between them. Some of the early intergenerational literacy work may be a useful starting point for this exploration (see Cairney and Ruge, 1998; Gregory, *City Literacies*, Volume 2).

Finally, we need to remember that literacy is not culturally and ideologically neutral (Street, 1995). Hence we need to examine what this means for literacy acquisition and the relationship of family literacy to life and, in particular, public institutions such as schools. It is important to understand how family literacy practices and their relationship to school literacy are implicated in power relationships that affect life chances.

The research reviewed in this chapter provides an incomplete picture of community literacy practices. While the literature is rich in its findings concerning the importance of the family as the first and perhaps

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<sup>11</sup> One of the seminal works on this topic is the work of Lareau (1989).

<sup>12</sup> The issue of boy's education and falling literacy standards is a significant issue in its own right. Goldman's (2005) key publication provides an overview of this important issue.

most critical site for literacy acquisition, less is known about the literacy practices that are part of children's lives outside school, and how this relates to learning within school. Children experience a richness of literacy practices at home that is not replicated in school (Cairney and Ruge, 1998). This richness may be even more significant when children's involvement in complex communities outside the home is considered. Finally, we need to know much more about the impact of increased opportunities for multi-modal literacy experiences as we enter an increasingly digital age. Understanding how literacy varies across home, school and community contexts, and how these relate to other factors such as social disadvantage, gender and language diversity, is a significant area of research with implications for schools and communities.

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## ACADEMIC LITERACIES IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

### INTRODUCTION

The term ‘academic literacies’ provides a way of understanding student writing, which highlights the relationship between language and learning in higher education. It draws upon applied linguistics and social anthropology for its theoretical framing and its orientation towards the social, cultural and contextualized nature of writing in the university. The work on academic literacies sits broadly within a body of research called New Literacy Studies (NLS), which takes a social and cultural approach to writing, in contrast to more cognitive perspectives. The use of the plural form, ‘literacies’, signals a concern with literacy as a range of social and cultural practices around reading and writing in particular contexts, rather than individual cognitive activity. Research findings suggest that in order to understand more about student writing it is necessary to start from the position that literacy is not a unitary skill that can be transferred with ease from context to context. The research points to the requirement for students to switch between many different types of written text, as they encounter new modules or courses and the writing demands of different disciplinary genres, departments and academic staff. It has unpacked this diversity primarily through ethnographic-type qualitative case study research, looking at students’ and faculty experiences of writing for assessment, and the gaps between their expectations of the requirements of writing. In foregrounding the relationship between writing and learning, writing is conceptualized in terms of epistemology—rather than cognitive skill—and what counts as knowledge in the different contexts of the academy.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

In universities across the world academics publish books, journal articles and conference papers, while their students spend much of their time completing written assignments for assessment purposes. It is within this context that increased attention has been paid to student writing, in terms of how best to teach it and how best to support it. The longest tradition of student writing support in tertiary education has been in USA with the provision of freshman composition courses. According to Davidson and Tomic (1999) the first of these “began in

1806, when Harvard established the first Boylston Professorship of Rhetoric and Oratory” (p. 163). Later, alongside the compulsory freshman writing course, the expansion of US higher education in the 1960s led to the setting up of remedial or basic writing courses, for those students who were not deemed ready for the freshman courses. In tandem with the compulsory requirement for all American university students to follow a freshman writing course came the development of the College Composition movement which was well established from the 1960s in the USA, as practitioners, who were responsible for teaching these courses, also theorized their work in publications concerned with teaching writing (cf. Bartholomae, 1986; Bizzell, 1982). However, in the United Kingdom and other countries with similar educational traditions, there was little systematic attention paid to student writing in higher education before the mid-1980s (Ivanič and Lea, 2006).

Present day orientations towards theorizing academic literacies have their roots, in part, in the work which was carried out by practitioners supporting student writers in USA in the early 1980s. At this time a new direction had begun to emerge in the US literature which raised questions about the nature of academic discourse. This was informed by work in linguistics and literary theory, and contrasted with the more cognitive and psychological models of the individual learner which had come to dominate writing research. Bizzell (1982), for example, critiqued what she termed the ‘inner-directed theorists’, who were primarily concerned with the context-free cognitive workings of the individual mind. She contrasted their approach to writing with the ‘outer-directed theorists’, who, she suggested, were concerned with the social context of writing, and in particular with the influence of discourse communities in the use of language. She argued that the focus for student writers should be on discourse communities and the requirement to address their conventions; the task of freshman composition and basic writing teachers was to introduce students to academic discourse conventions.

Bartholomae (1986) also called for a social view of writing. He, too, was situated in the freshman composition context and concerned with basic writers and the ways in which inexperienced, novice writers wrote themselves into academic discourse and the different disciplinary conventions of the university. Coming from an English and humanities tradition, Bartholomae (op.cit) saw writing as both a social and political act, whereby students had to appropriate a specialized discourse; in Bartholomae’s view this was often a matter of imitation. Both Bizzell (1982) and Bartholomae were concerned to find ways in which the student could be acculturated as smoothly as possible into both the broader discourse of the academy and the specific discourse conventions of particular disciplines.

At the same time that writers in the USA were focusing on the ways in which students could be helped to learn the conventions of academic discourse, similar approaches were also being taken by Ballard and Clanchy (1988), in Australia, and by Hounsell (1988) in the United Kingdom. These authors came from rather different disciplinary traditions and—in contrast to the US writers—they were not directly concerned with ‘basic writers’ or remedial writing classes. Their research was carried out with standard entrant 18-year-old students in traditional universities. Ballard and Clanchy adopted an anthropological approach in considering the issue of literacy in the university; their focus was upon the relationship between language and culture as a way of understanding more about literacy. Although situating their work within a rather different intellectual tradition from Bizzell (1982) or Bartholomae (1985), the arguments they rehearsed were remarkably similar to the US-based authors. That is, students lacked the experience and understanding of the linguistic traditions and conventions of higher education and they needed to be taught how to “read the culture” (Ballard and Clanchy, 1988, p.11). They argued that, if academics made the culture and its implicit ground rules of disciplinary writing explicit and accessible, students could grasp the way a discipline worked, and surface problems in their writing would disappear.

In the United Kingdom, Hounsell (1988) was one of the first to look in depth at the problems students encountered when confronted with the unfamiliar discourses of the university. He identified academic discourse rather than literacy as “a particular kind of written world, with a tacit set of conventions, or ‘code’, of its own.” In common with Ballard and Clanchy (1988) he also conceptualized this code as ‘crackable’. He illustrates how students need to be sensitive to different disciplinary ways of framing in their writing, and highlights the tacit nature of academic discourse calling for the features of academic discourse to be made more explicit to students. Although in many ways this work was the forerunner of ‘academic literacies’ research, it can be critiqued for its lack of attention both to the ways in which language is specifically implicated in the learning process and to deeper epistemological issues concerning the ways in which writing constructs disciplinary bodies of knowledge.

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

### *New Literacy Studies*

Against this backdrop a new body of work began to emerge. This offered a different explanation of students’ struggles with writing and meaning making, which went further than the problems of acculturation into

disciplinary discourse—as evidenced in the work described earlier—and explored the nature of power and authority in student writing (Ivanič, 1998; Lea, 1994; Lillis, 1997). This particular orientation laid the foundation for the contested approach which has become the hallmark of academic literacies research during the last decade. In 1996 Street published an innovative chapter on academic literacies which both challenged academic convention (by incorporating the original texts of others) and foregrounded questions of ‘academic literacy’. The perspective taken by Street (1996) in this publication sat within a body of work which had become known as the ‘New Literacy Studies’. Street’s seminal contribution to NLS had been made earlier when he distinguished between autonomous and ideological models of literacy (Street, 1984). He had argued that whereas an autonomous model of literacy suggests that literacy is a decontextualized skill, which once learnt can be transferred with ease from one context to another, the ideological model highlights the contextual and social nature of literacy practices, and the relationships of power and authority which are implicit in any literacy event. Literacy, then, is not something which once acquired can be effortlessly applied to any context requiring mastery of the written word. Writing and reading practices are deeply social activities; familiarity with and understanding these practices takes place in specific social contexts, which are overlaid with ideological complexities, for example, with regard to the different values placed on particular kinds of written texts. Following this perspective NLS, with its roots in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology, conceptualizes writing and reading as contextualized social practices.

### *Challenge to Deficit Models of Student Writing*

Until the mid-1990s this body of research had been concerned with school-based, community and work-place literacies but had not paid any attention to literacies in the university. Academic researchers had concentrated in exploring other contexts for research purposes, rather than the university context within which they themselves were situated. Although early work by both Lea (1994) and Lillis (1997) had conceptualized writing as contextualized social practice and had explicitly challenged deficit models of writing, neither situated their work explicitly in the NLS tradition nor made reference to ‘academic literacies’, as such. However, Lea (1994) did illustrate the multiplicity of discourses in the academy, an important distinction from the use of the term discourse in the singular. Ivanič also foregrounded the use of different and competing discourses in her study of mature students (Ivanič, 1998). Overall, what characterized this emerging body of work on student writing was its specific focus on writing as social practice

and recognition of the multiplicity of practices, whether these were conceptualized as discourses or literacies. The use of the term 'literacies', rather than 'discourses' (the framing provided by US writers), gradually became more prevalent in the literature. This was not merely because of its association with a theoretical framing provided by NLS, but because the focus of concern was student writing, rather than spoken language; the term discourse being associated more commonly with the use of spoken rather than written language.

Research by Lea and Street (1998) introduced new theoretical frames to a field which was, at the time in the United Kingdom, still predominantly influenced by psychological accounts of student learning. Rather than frame their work in terms of 'good' and 'poor' writing, they suggested that there was a need to focus on understandings of faculty and students without making any judgements about which practices were deemed most appropriate. They examined student writing against a background of institutional practices, power relations and identities, with meanings being contested between faculty and students, and an emphasis on the different understandings and interpretations of the writing task. Findings from their research suggest fundamental gaps between students' and faculty understandings of the requirements of student writing, providing evidence at the level of epistemology, authority and contestation over knowledge, rather than at the level of technical skill, surface linguistic competence and cultural assimilation. Based on their analysis of their research data, they explicate three models of student writing: study skills; socialization; academic literacies. A study skills model is primarily concerned with the surface features of text, and is based on the assumption that mastery of the correct rules of grammar and syntax, coupled with attention to punctuation and spelling, ensure student competence in academic writing. An academic socialization model assumes that, in order to become successful writers, students need to be acculturated into the discourses and genres of particular disciplines. The third model, which is academic literacies, to some extent subsumes features of the other two, and is concerned with issues of meaning making, identity, power and authority in student writing. These three models and, in particular, the privileging of the academic literacies model, have been drawn upon widely in the literature on teaching and learning in higher education, calling for a more in depth understanding of student writing and its relationship to learning across the academy.

### *Methodological Considerations*

Methodologically the research uses a mix of approaches for data collection and analysis although these tend to be dominated by ethnographic

type and qualitative methods. Research in the field generally draws upon data from a number of different textual sources, frequently using interview transcripts alongside samples of students' writing and faculty feedback on that writing. Researchers have been particularly influenced by critical linguistics, which is concerned not only with the more obvious surface features of language but with the ways in which texts embed subtle relationships of power and authority. Researchers have found this approach to analysis particularly pertinent when examining how students make meaning in their writing. As a consequence of a methodological approach which focuses in detail on the relationship between texts and practices, ongoing research in the field has been influential in challenging dominant deficit models of student writing in higher education practice (cf. Jones et al., 1999; Lea and Stierer, 2000).

To date, much of the research in the field has been carried out amongst marginal groups of students. In her early work Lillis (1997) paid particular attention to the implications of the increasing diversity of the student body, exploring the implications of opening up higher education to previously excluded groups, such as mature women and black students. She uses detailed interview and data from students' essays to explore the ways in which such students make meaning through their academic writing. Methodologically similar perspectives are adopted by Ivanič, in her analysis of mature student writers and the distinctions she elaborates between four aspects of writer identity (Ivanič, 1998). Lea (1998) takes a similar stance in exploring how students studying at a distance construct knowledge through the texts they read and write. Despite the wide variety of contexts being studied, the findings concerning students' struggles with writing and the gaps between tutor and students' expectations and understanding remain remarkably constant. What links research in the field is the attention to the nature of situated practices and their associated written texts.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Academic literacies research has gone hand in hand with ongoing changes in global higher education, including increased diversity in the student body, the introduction of modular degree programmes, moves from traditional academic disciplines to vocational and professional courses, e-learning and the globalization of the tertiary sector. These are having profound influences on the kinds of texts that students are being asked to produce for assessment, and more recent research reflects the application of the principles of academic literacies to these changing contexts.

Research in the field has both reflected, and illuminated further, the changing nature of the context for today's academic writing. In this respect, authors have begun to address the implications of this research on student writing for educational development in tertiary education more generally (Lea and Stierer, 2000). One particularly significant aspect of this approach is related to the ongoing attention being paid in tertiary education to the use of reflective writing, particularly in professional and vocational courses. A number of researchers are examining the nature of the writing that is required in these contexts, both foregrounding and problematizing the relationship between the supposedly self-evident relationship between reflective practice and reflective writing (Baynham, 2000; Creme, 2000; Rai, 2004; Stierer, 2000).

Academic literacies research is also taking place against a backdrop of attention to the changing nature of texts themselves, a change first highlighted by the New London Group and their attention to multi-literacies. Arguing that increasing linguistic and cultural diversity and the multiplicity of channels of communication required new ways of understanding the literacy landscape in education, they suggested that language-based approaches alone were inadequate for addressing the changing environment. Their work has been taken forward in debates concerned with the nature of multimodal texts (Kress and Leeuwen, 2001). Thesen (2001) relates these more general debates on multimodality to the changing nature of higher education. Drawing on data from her research in a South African university, she provides evidence for the shifts that are taking place in the new contexts of higher education, which privilege multimodal texts over the essay. She suggests that these are likely to lead to intense struggles over what counts as powerful knowledge. Although this is a persuasive argument in some contexts, a tension, between the privileging of print and the increased use of multimodal texts, continues to surface, with ongoing claims being made for technologies bringing forth new kinds of literacies in educational contexts, in the face of the ongoing dominance of the authority of the written text in tertiary education (cf. Lea, 2004b).

In related debates, Street has critiqued approaches which appeared to align mode with particular types of literacy, for example, the use of terms such as computer literacy, visual literacy, arguing that it is the context rather than the mode which needs to be foregrounded in a social view of literacy (Street, 1996). In addressing this relationship further he uses the term 'new communicative order' to describe the complexity of literacy practices which are associated with screen-based technologies, multimodality, the use of hypertext and the web (Street, 1998). Snyder (2002) adds to these debates, arguing that being literate involves using different modalities, and that the challenge is to consider what technologies mean for educational practices in terms of the

broader social, political, cultural and historical contexts. She suggests that texts are always informed by social and cultural practices and that new types of texts, new language practices and new social formations will develop as people find new ways of communicating with each other.

Despite these general developments, most of the work on literacies and technologies focuses upon school-based and informal contexts of learning (Lankshear et al., 2000; Snyder, 2002) and is not concerned with the contexts of higher education. One exception is a developing body of work which has been taking an academic literacies lens to the texts of online learning. Goodfellow et al. (2004) argue that the texts of computer conference discussion in online courses should be approached as academic writing, embedding relationships of power and authority in much the same way as any other writing in the academy. Despite being virtual environments, students still have to 'read off' the ground rules concerning what counts as knowledge, in a context given primarily by the university delivering the course. Goodfellow and Lea foreground the institutional context of virtual learning and the implications for student writing, whether on or off line. This builds upon their earlier research on a global online course, illustrating how students often struggle with, and have little opportunity to challenge, the dominant literacies and discourses embedded in the course design, thus foregrounding the nature of institutional practice (Goodfellow et al., 2001).

The focus on institutional context is particularly significant because the notion of academic literacies as institutional practice has been somewhat lost in the ways in which the literature of the field has been taken up recently, particularly in educational development circles. The importance of institutional context was first raised by Lea and Street (1998), and in separate publications both the authors have, more recently, returned to this as an essential element of an academic literacies framework (Lea, 2004a; Street, 2004). Street argues that we need to reconsider the whole notion of the university and the role of writing within that. He proposes a way of linking ideas from what he terms the new orders: that is the new work order, the new communicative order and the new epistemological order with academic literacies research.

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Academic literacies research has been highly successful in providing evidence for new approaches to student writing, which challenge more conventional deficit models and highlight the link between student writing and learning. Indeed, Haggis argues that this framing provides an alternative explanation to dominant approaches towards understanding student learning more generally in a mass higher education system (Haggis, 2003). However, the major challenge to the field, now, is to find

ways of making the research findings relevant and central in pedagogic contexts. In this respect, some authors have raised questions about the relevance of this research to pedagogic practice. Lillis (2003) for example, argues that while 'powerful as an oppositional frame, that is as a *critique* of current conceptualizations and practices of student writing, academic literacies has yet to be developed as a design frame' p. 192. She argues that Bakhtin's work on dialogism provides an added dimension, providing a focus on dialogue rather than monologue as central to supporting student writing. Lea (2004a) raises concerns about the whole focus of the field upon student writing. She suggests that the 'tendency of the research in the field to concentrate on the non-traditional entrant and her writing, whether in terms of age, gender, race or language, at best might mask the implications of the research more broadly and at worst recreate a deficit model or study skills model'. She proposes a model of course design which is based on the findings from academic literacies research and takes more account of literacies across the university.

At present, therefore, the central body of research continues to be around issues of student writing and the applications of academic literacies as a research model to practice-based settings. In this respect, Creme and Cowan (2005) report some interesting research findings in a peer assessment project with students. They argue that it is not only academic teaching staff who have implicit models of 'good writing'. By the second semester of their first year of study, students, too, seemed to have internalized a view of 'the essay', and, in the action research project in question, appeared to be using this tacit knowledge in their response to the work of their peers. Creme and Cowan suggest that their students had already become acculturated, or academically socialized, into institutional ways of talking about essays; that is they seemed to implicitly 'know the rules'. This is a particularly interesting finding because it provides an alternative perspective to the dominant finding of academic literacies research concerning students' struggles with writing. Creme and Cowan conclude that their students had fairly fixed notions of other students' writing and suggest that this could form the basis for further exploration about students as both readers and writers. Academic literacies research has focused almost exclusively on writing and has not foregrounded what is to some extent a self-evident relationship between writing and reading. It may be time to redress this balance.

It is noticeable that the majority of publications in the field draw on research carried out in the United Kingdom, or countries with similar tertiary education structures, for example, South Africa and Australia. This reflects a troubling reality of research into academic and student writing; its national rather than international orientation. This might well be because research reflects local concerns which are not always

understood across cultural divides, particularly when different educational priorities are at stake. We are beginning to see some exception in terms of a related area, the implementation of ‘writing in the disciplines’ programmes (Monroe, 2002). These foreground learning the discipline through writing and adopt principles which are closely related to the ‘academic socialization and ‘academic literacies’ models of student writing. The distinctions and similarities between these two bodies of work remain a fruitful area of collaboration and research, with academic literacies researchers able to offer empirical methods of data collection and analysis, which are not generally evident in the literature in writing in the disciplines.

Methodologically, it could also be argued that the field has somewhat neglected social and cultural approaches to learning, which have their roots in disciplinary traditions other than those of social linguistics and anthropology. Lea (2005) has argued that academic literacies researchers should take account of the framing offered by work on communities of practice (Lave and Wenger, 1991), activity theory (Engestrom, 1987), and actor-network theory (Law, 1992). All these approaches can provide academic literacies researchers with additional methodological tools when analysing their research data.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

This chapter has highlighted the varied and changing nature of the texts and practices found in academic contexts and the contribution made to our understanding of this from academic literacies research. However, to date, the focus has been primarily on writing. With the changing nature of textual practice in tertiary education, as explored in this chapter, it may now be an opportunity for researchers to pay more explicit attention to reading as part of writing, in both print based and virtual contexts. This development could be addressed in tandem with another limitation in the field, the lack of longitudinal ethnographic research in specific institutional settings. More research of this kind could provide evidence for comparison and contrast in different disciplinary contexts and take account of the changing status of knowledge, and its associated texts, in today’s global higher education. A substantive body of work of this nature would establish the dominance of the field and its contribution to understanding how the academy of the twenty-first century is constructed through both its texts and practices.

*See Also:* Kevin Leander and Cynthia Lewis: *Literacy and Internet Technologies (Volume 2)*; Kwesi Kwaa Prah: *Language, Literacy and Knowledge Production in Africa (Volume 2)*; Brian V. Street: *New Literacies, New Times: Developments in Literacy Studies (Volume 2)*

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LITERACIES IN AND OUT OF SCHOOL IN THE  
UNITED STATES

INTRODUCTION

Research on literacy practices separates into two strands. School-based research has focused on reading and writing in formal classrooms, often by examining teaching methods, curricula, learning, and assessment, its goal being to improve students' academic performance. Out-of-school research has documented the myriad literacy practices that occur in a range of institutions and social spaces with an interest in expanding conceptions of what counts as literacy. Important theoretical and conceptual advances in literacy studies have come from research within the second strand. Yet, a divide still exists between the engagement claimed for many youth in terms of their out-of-school literacy practices in contrast with their alienation from school-based reading and writing.

In this chapter, we sketch the major theoretical traditions that have shaped research on the relationships and borders of literacy in and out of school—the ethnography of communication, cultural historical activity theory, and the New Literacy Studies (Hull and Schultz, 2002)—and then introduce recent perspectives from cultural geography and semiotics. Research on literacy out of school continues to be an important and necessary corrective to unidimensional understandings of texts, processes, and contexts. However, the persisting challenge in an age of accountability and testing, narrowing conceptions of literacy, and growing socioeconomic disparities, is how to bridge out-of-school and in-school worlds in ways that make discernable, positive differences in youth's present circumstances and social futures.

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Arguably the most durable theoretical tradition to influence literacy studies has been the ethnography of communication, which traces its roots to the early work of Hymes (1964). Using this sociolinguistic approach, anthropologists and linguistics looked out of school at homes and communities to understand children's in-school difficulties, especially those from low-income families. Heath's (1983) decade-long study during the 1960s and 1970s of three contiguous communities in the Southern

USA is the best known and most influential of the bountiful empirical work in this tradition. Her research demonstrated how each community—a black working-class, white working-class, and a racially mixed middle class community—socialized its children into distinct language practices. It also explored, as did subsequent work, how teachers could rethink their pedagogies and curricula to use to advantage the fact that children are differentially socialized into patterns of language use.

A second theoretical tradition is built on the work of the Soviet psychologist Vygotsky and centered on investigating the mind in society or culture in the mind. Highlighting the notion of literacy as a socially organized practice, research in this tradition has emphasized the patterned interplay of skills, knowledge, and technologies within larger activity structures. Flagship literacy research from this perspective was carried out by Scribner and Cole (1981) in the early 1970s. They investigated the cognitive consequences of literacy for the Vai people in Liberia, where it was then possible to decouple the effects of literacy from the effects of schooling. Importantly, Scribner and Cole discovered that particular writing systems and literacy activities fostered specialized forms of thinking, which led them to conceptualize literacy as a multiple practice linked to specific contexts of use. This theoretical tradition, which later developed as “cultural historical activity theory,” focused researchers’ attention both inside and outside of schools.

Drawing on the ethnographic practice of documenting literacy in local communities and the characterization of literacy as multiple and situated, the third tradition, New Literacy Studies (NLS), emphasized the interplay between the meanings of local events and an analysis of broader cultural and political institutions and practices. A founder of the NLS, Gee (1996) popularized the construct of “Discourse,” and literacy as usefully analyzed as part of that larger construct. Further, he drew attention away from a solitary focus on learning and language use in school settings and toward identity construction in and out of schools and across the life span. Gee’s discussion of Discourses provided an important starting place for theorizing the connections between literacy, culture, identity, and power.

Brian Street, also a founder of NLS (1995), argued that schooling and pedagogy have narrowed ideas about literacy. Grounding his theoretical conceptions of literacy in his fieldwork in Iran in the early 1970s, Street (1984, 1995) defined literacy as a social practice rather than a set of neutral or technical skills, the customary definition in schools, adult literacy programs, and mass literacy campaigns. For Street literacy was embedded within ideologies and institutions—local belief systems, economic, political, and social and historical conditions—and he argued that research needed to make the varieties of everyday literacy practices visible. His work inspired a flowering

of such studies as subsequent researchers followed his model of detailing literacy practices in different cultures and institutions, especially out of school.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

With the intersecting theories and methods associated with the ethnography of communication, cultural historical activity theory, and the NLS as its base, research on the relationships and borders of literacy practices in and out of school has contributed to our understanding of literacy and learning writ large in several important ways. First, through careful documentation of the learning that takes place in community-sponsored programs, we have learned a great deal about the nature of youth participation and engagement. For instance, in her research on community arts-based organizations, Heath (1998) discovered the importance of the collaborative nature of learning and teaching that occurs as youth draw on their own knowledge and skills through participatory projects.

Creating sustainable after-school activity systems for children, Cole (1996) and his colleagues investigated how learning and play can be combined as youth are provided with diverse starting points for learning and multiple paths to progress. In one such program, Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, Alvarez, and Chiu (1999, p. 92) argued for the importance of creating contexts for learning where “hybridity” can flourish, “particularly in a time when English-only, anti-immigrant, and anti-affirmative action sentiments influence, if not dominate, educational policy and practice.” Such programs can serve a range of important functions including helping us to reimagine classrooms and students. As Gutiérrez and others have shown, children often interact and learn in very competent ways after school, despite poor records and reputations within traditional classrooms (Hull and Schultz, 2002). After-school programs can reorganize learning, shifting typical student–teacher relationships and participant structures. The voluntary nature of these programs, however, can be crucial, and as Cole (1996) points out, these are contexts within which choice is balanced by discipline and learning is infused with play and imagination.

The turn to homes and communities has allowed us to notice and account for the vast, diverse, and often invisible repertoire of resources that youth bring to school. Using the generative term “funds of knowledge,” Moll and Gonzalez (1994) illustrated how the expertise of parents and community members could be used to bridge home and school; they captured children’s interest and investment in the school’s curriculum by seeking out and drawing upon their own and their family’s distinctive bases of knowledge and social practices. With a

focus on language variation across community contexts, Lee (2000) identified community participation structures, for example, in African American hair salons, to draw on culturally relevant styles of speaking and arguing when she orchestrated classroom discussions about literature. Her research illustrates the potential for engaging students in high levels of reasoning about literary texts by putting to use their tacit knowledge about cultural forms found out of school.

Conducting her research within classrooms, but ever aware of the ways that children of necessity bring their home and peer culture to school, Dyson (1997) argued for the permeability of the classroom curriculum; it needed to include the linguistic and symbolic tools that children appropriate from popular culture and through social relations that extend beyond the school walls. More recently the term “third space” (Bhabha, 1994) has been used to demark the intersection of home, community, and school.

Learning in workplaces has been an important site for rethinking literacy and schooling. To be sure, there has long been interest in the USA in preparing particular students for particular kinds of jobs upon graduation from high school, but in economically tenuous times, that pressure redoubles, as has periodically been the case for the USA in recent years. But whereas the bulk of research and writing around these issues has typically focused on ascertaining exactly what skills workers need to keep the country competitive and themselves employed, research on literacy and work has also tended to complicate the picture. A case in point was Gee, Hull, and Lankshear’s (1996) account of the contradictions at the heart of calls for a “new work order” that would elevate both skill requirements and the privileges, responsibilities, and rights of frontline workers. Hull and colleagues’ studies of “high-performance” workplaces (Gee et al., 1996) linked literacy, identity, and power, revealing how opportunities to engage in particular literacy practices were distributed and constrained, as well as how new structures for participation created unexpected spaces for the exercise of new literacies, literate roles, and literate identities.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Current research on literacies in and out of school continues to draw generatively on anthropological and sociolinguistic theories and methods. For instance, researchers continue to describe literacy practices that occur in communities in rich ethnographic detail with attention to language use in social contexts. However, in recent years, the explosion of new technologies and the attendant new media have pushed literacy theory and conceptions of literacy practices in new directions with implications for reconceptualizing school practices. As new

technologies and new media proliferate, scholars have turned to fields such as social semiotics (cf. Kress, 2003) and cultural geography (cf. Leander and Sheehy, 2004; Soja, 1996) to theorize these phenomena. New technologies make it possible for literacies to travel across space and time, complicating further the boundaries between school and out-of-school contexts. For instance, youth continue conversations and work on reading and writing with peers outside of school through instant messaging, bringing knowledge learned at school into their after-school pursuits; they bring internet games and communications begun at home into classrooms, drawing on these conversations and figures from games as they write literacy analyses; and they cross local, national, and international borders, communicating digitally with interlocutors at great physical removes through blogs, online interest groups, and assorted web sites.

As a result, rather than viewing literacy practices as socially situated, researchers have documented how discursive practices shape relationships in both time and space (Leander and Sheehy, 2004). Thus, youth are never really either simply in school or out of school: their identities and practices travel across those spaces. Further, the interaction between literacies and the production of identities, especially as students traverse the borders of school and communities and nation-states, has proven to be a critical area of study.

Current researchers have focused on the documentation of literacy practices across the boundaries of school and out-of-school contexts, noting the affordances of these new literacy practices and the implications for teaching and learning (e.g., Gee, 2003; Soep and Chavez, 2005). In her study of the popular genre of anime, Mahar (2003) found that instead of separating in- and out-of-school literacy practices, teachers used in-school tools to read out-of-school texts. She suggests that by learning about adolescents' worlds and popular cultures, teachers can become guides to helping them develop critical strategies for reading and assessing the truth of what they read. Knobel and Lankshear (2006) argue further that the investigation of youth blogs and the practice of blogging provides a window into what we might term "powerful writing," giving teachers access to the words and worlds of youth, shifting what we consider to be "powerful writing" from an individual to collective accomplishment, and from a local to a global practice. Finally, educators have usefully brought youth music (e.g., hiphop, beats) and youth media into classroom, hoping to capture student attention and interest in learning school material by paying respectful attention to youth cultural practices (cf. Morrell, 2004).

Documenting a Chinese immigrant youth's participation in an internet site that included a transnational group of peers led Lam (2000) to raise questions about literacies, transnational identities and "cultural

belonging” (p. 457). Lam explains that the youth used the internet to develop a range of discourse practices and online identities with a “transborder” network of peers. While English spoken in his classroom seemed to contribute to his sense of marginalization, the English he acquired through the internet was the global English of adolescent pop culture and contributed to a sense of belonging. The textual and semiotic tools of the internet contributed simultaneously to the development of literacy practices that could be transferred to school tasks, while affording him new identities. Such work suggests a broader and critical conception of literacies in and out of school that reflect students’ relationships with multiple target languages and communities (Lam, 2000).

Situating their work in the study of youth and media, Soep and Chavez (in press) explain that although much of the research in the past documented the deleterious effects of media on youth, more recently scholars, educators, and activists have investigated how media is conceptualized, produced, and distributed by youth. They conceptualize what they call the “pedagogy of collegiality” (Soep and Chavez, in press) or the shared responsibility youth felt to build community and accomplish media-related projects. In this pedagogy, youth and adults jointly frame and carry out the tasks with both groups accountable to an outside audience.

Hull and James (2007) bring together current work that connects recent research on literacy with theoretical understandings from semiotics and cultural geography in their work in the university–community based organization called Digital Underground Storytelling for Youth (DUSTY). A centerpiece of this work is the creation of what they call “identity texts,” which are constructed through spoken word performances, written narratives, photo collections, storyboards, musical compositions, animations, or digital stories with a focus on fostering agency through a range of semiotic resources. Projects like DUSTY extend school-based definitions of literacy to include the visual and the performative. Drawing on notions of space and place (e.g., Soja, 1996) Hull and colleagues raise questions such as: “How is the construction of identities, both individual and collective, influenced by and enacted through spatiality?” In DUSTY, youth are provided with material tools and supportive social practices to construct new worlds and identities through multimedia and multimodalities. They conclude that learning to communicate with words, images, sound, and movement, and being able to produce artifacts that can traverse geographical, social, and semiotic boundaries brings us close to a new definition of literacy.

In her recent work, Heath (2000) has developed a new conception on schools based on her close study of learning outside of school contexts. Although this might not be an entirely realistic vision of schools given

current constraints on curriculum and pedagogy, it represents a possibility based on what we have learned about youth, literacy, and learning from studies of literacy and learning in out-of-school contexts. Heath's proposal is to envision schools as an integrated system of learning environments explaining that schools should be "central nodes" within a web of learning contexts for children which might include museums, playgrounds, libraries, and the like that are open all day and all year. She writes:

An ecology of learning environments would be the focus, rather than schools alone. In this way, societal members would reconceive young people as learners and resources for the learning of others rather than as passive students (p. 128).

This vision of what is possible suggests what we can—and indeed should-be learning from looking across schools and communities to understand the possibilities for literacy and learning that both suggest.

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

At the same time that there is an explosion of new literacy practices in out-of-school spaces, learning and literacy in school has narrowed. In response to pressures for Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) imposed by the federal No Child Left Behind (NCLB) legislation in the USA and comparable legislation and state-regulated curriculum in countries around the world, schools and districts have increasingly substituted test preparation for engaged learning, moving the curriculum further away from youth interests and knowledge so vividly displayed in out-of-school spaces. This creates a wide gulf between school pedagogies and what we know and have learned through the documentation of out-of-school literacy practices. As Carmen Luke (2003, p. 398) explains:

When learning is no longer geographically tied to a desk, the school library, the book, or the teacher who demands 'all eyes up front,' then old-style transmission and surveillance pedagogy becomes less stable and less defensible but complementary to the out-of-school pedagogies and practices in households, communities and workplaces.

As a result, although schools and educators might recognize new literacy practices and technologies, this new knowledge has not fundamentally changed the structures of schools. Curriculum and content continue to be delivered in predictable ways and school knowledge and literacy practices tend to be valued over those used in everyday life. Out-of-school practices are used in service of school knowledge, to engage students in learning rather than to transform teaching, learning, and schooling.

Regulatory agencies at the federal, state, and local levels are strengthening the boundaries between school and communities, tightening control over what is taught in school. The demand for academic achievement that is narrowly defined has resulted in the disappearance of spaces for experimentation inside of school, marginalizing the opportunities to build on students' interests and knowledge based on their out-of-school practices. At the same time that researchers have usefully documented out-of-school literacy practices, juxtaposing youth's engagement with them to their alienation from school-based reading and writing, there has been a tendency to valorize such practices uncritically and to attribute to them too much agency (Hull and Schultz, 2002). For instance, we may overestimate how much youth know and learn through their engagement out of school with digital literacies, especially since these technologies are unevenly distributed across communities and there may be a social hierarchy among children in terms of knowledge and use (Moss, 2006). An additional concern is that, on the basis of erroneous assumptions about students' interests and identities, we constrain their opportunities to make choices that differ from perceptions of the norm. Why is it, Noguera (2003) asks, that we automatically assume African American boys are able to rap but not to debate?

Despite the plethora of research and documentation of out-of-school literacies, it seems clear to us that this work has not yet had the necessary impact on the ways schools are structured and the content of the curriculum in most countries and local districts. Instead, the norms associated with schooling have seemed to increase their reach, extending to nonschool learning spaces. For example, after-school programs in the USA and elsewhere have increasingly turned to schools as models, continuing the teaching during the school day after the school bell rings. The pressure for mastering content for tests has led to after-school programs based on test preparation and homework help. In many parts of the world, high-stakes national examinations lead parents and children to after-school programs that drill students in facts to prepare them for tests, which often determine whether or not youth can attend universities. Rather than a useful dialogic exchange between the academic and social content of learning that takes place inside and outside of school spaces, after-school programs, particularly those located in school buildings, are becoming extensions of schools. Teaching and learning is determined by examinations written by adults who are often at a far remove from the literacies and technologies that guide youth's lives.

A further challenge for research on literacies in and out of school is the design of research projects that might capture the movement and flow of literacy practices across boundaries such as those between school and community, but also across digital and print media and

transnational boundaries. Multisited ethnography (Marcus, 1995) has guided researchers to document practices in multiple settings. Questions about methodology as well as ethics arise as researchers attempt to capture the wide range of literacy practices that youth engage in such as online conversations and text messaging. Although youth can inform their interlocutors that they are involved in a study, it becomes easy for outsiders to unknowingly become a part of a research project. At the same time, capturing the rich, complex nature of interactions and circulating literacy practices (Schultz, 2006) invites researchers to reimagine research methods and design.

### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Eyes focused on the computer screen and oblivious to the surrounding noise in her fifth grade classroom, Saima typed out the following poem that would become a centerpiece of her multimedia story:

I need an answer, for a question from deep inside.

Is life a hard journey, or just an easy ride?

I see this world as a big and open field,

Filled with opportunities and with problems to deal

A few days later Saima spoke these same words into a digital tape recorder to add to the soundtrack for her multimodal story. Once completed, the story was a bold statement about her life and her ambitions. It was an iMovie composed of family photographs, images from the internet, maps, and text. The final product included music from Saima's home country, Bangladesh, and her own soft voice reading two poems and a letter addressed to her teacher. The movie drew readers into the contours of Saima's life with wedding pictures and portraits of two sisters shyly posing for the camera. It also had a large embrace, addressing global issues such as conflict in the Middle East. Contributing more words to the classroom conversation than Saima had added all year, the movie had a loud presence. Its author, a small, shy girl who rarely spoke above a whisper and had only learned to speak English within the past year, seemed as awed by the process as her teachers (Schultz, 2006).

This vignette, drawn from research conducted over the past four years by Schultz and colleagues, illustrates the possibilities for introducing digital technologies into the school day to support a standardized core curriculum. As we look toward the future, we are well aware that it is impossible to imagine the new forms of literacy practices that will become available and the ways in which they will traverse home, community, and school spaces. The worry is that school curricula will continue to tighten, making it nearly impossible to incorporate new modes and media for expression, but the hope is that they will expand, providing the sorts of openings described here.

As these tensions play out, we expect and would encourage research on several fronts. Researchers can helpfully juxtapose the logocentric practices that dominate in schooling with opportunities to communicate in the multiplex combinations of modes and media that currently proliferate, sorting out the affordances and constraints of each. Attention can usefully be paid to ever-changing conceptions of space, place, and borders, rather than in-school and out-of-school dichotomies; after all, digital communication has the potential to bypass customary limitations of location, geography, and identity. In an age in which differences in an interconnected world grow more salient, even as we become increasingly aware of own identities as multiple, we hope for literacy research that enables students to imagine, access, and participate in the realities of others. And like the previous generation of researchers who pioneered the theoretical orientations that have proved so durable for studies of literacy across contexts, we urge the continuation of research that takes as its broadest goal the provision of opportunities to learn and thrive for all students.

We expect, however, that such studies will not proceed from the assumption that detailing differences in linguistic and social practices and celebrating diverse literacies, as helpful as this work has been, will necessarily or easily result in more equitable educational and social futures. Rather, the difficult lesson that researchers of in-school and out-of-school borders and relationships have learned, and their true challenge for the future, is the need now for new theoretical perspectives. These new theories will need to take into account the ways in which schooling and society are strongly bent toward social reproduction (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977); they will need to assume just as vigorously the existence of intercultural, cross-cultural, and cross-national spaces where agency, resistance, and new identities grow (Appadurai, 1996); and of course, they will need to look expectantly and critically at the role of literacy, and as well as other semiotic systems, in this process.

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## LITERACIES IN THE CLASSROOM

### INTRODUCTION

As teachers and children interact among themselves and with each other in classrooms, they use written language and related semiotic systems (such as text messaging and internet technologies) for a broad range of purposes. They acquire academic information and concepts, negotiate social relationships and social identities, engage in imaginary play, control others and themselves, and express their emotions and needs, among other functions. They also use written language to acquire competence in a select set of literacy practices (ways of using written language) labeled school literacy practices (more commonly described as learning to read and write) and academic literacies (ways of using written language in academic disciplines).

As a heuristic, literacy practices in classrooms can be categorized as official or unofficial literacy practices. Official literacy practices are promoted by the school and include learning to read and write literacy practices and academic literacies. Unofficial literacy practices are not sanctioned by the school (but may be tolerated) and occur in the classroom subrosa (e.g., Maybin, forthcoming). These include literacy practices such as passing notes, noninstructional game playing, and graffiti writing, among others. Here, we focus on official literacy practices.

Research on literacy practices in classrooms has been concerned with the nature of classroom literacy practices, the relationship of literacy practices outside of the classroom (in home and community) to literacy practices in classrooms, the use of classroom literacy practices for schooling, academic literacies, critique, and community action (cf. Schultz and Hull, *Literacies In and Out of School in the United States*, Volume 2).

### NATURE OF CLASSROOM LITERACY PRACTICES

The warrant for describing literacies in classrooms derives from a conception of literacy as social practices involving written language (cf. Bloome, Carter, Christian, Otto, and Shuart-Faris, 2005; Heath, 1983; Pahl and Rowsell, 2005; Street, 1995) as opposed to defining literacy as a set of decontextualized, autonomous cognitive and linguistic processes. Literacy is inherently multiple; there are a broad range of

differing literacy practices. Literacy practices are embedded in and influence social situations and social events (e.g., face-to-face interactions) which are themselves embedded in broader cultural and social contexts including institutional contexts such as schooling. Thus, description of literacy practices in classrooms requires description of how those literacy practices are contextualized.

As a context for literacy practices, classrooms can be heuristically described as “cultural” communities. Within each classroom, teachers and students continuously negotiate a set of shared expectations and standards for the organization of events, how people will relate to each other, how meaning and significance are assigned to actions and materials, and how spoken and written language is to be used within and across classroom events, etc. Variation within and across classroom contexts and in the schools and communities in which classrooms are located implicate variation in the literacy practices within those classrooms. As such, key questions in the description of literacy practices in classrooms include:

1. What is (are) the nature(s) of classroom literacy practices given pedagogical contexts?
2. What literacy practices are constructed, and how, within and across classrooms?
3. How do teachers and students take hold of these literacy practices and change, and adapt them to new situations and goals?

Street and Street (1991) label pedagogically contextualized literacy practices as *school literacy practices* and describe their attributes as involving the objectification of language and an emphasis on metalinguistic practices. Thus, a distinction can be made between school literacy practices as described by Street and Street (1991) and literacy practices located in classrooms, per se. That is to say, school literacy practices do not necessarily constitute the entire set of literacy practices within classrooms. Some classrooms may eschew school literacy practices and foreground those that emphasize reading and writing for enjoyment and the expression of emotions and views.

Within the category of school literacy practices, there is variation both within and across classrooms. Borko and Eisenhart (1987) describe differences in reading practices across hierarchically organized instructional reading groups within a classroom. They show how students become socialized to the ways of using language and doing reading specific to their reading group making it difficult for students to move to another reading group. Similarly, uses of language and reading practices vary across classrooms organized by hierarchical tracks. Students acquire the literacy practices of their reading group or track with the accompanying consequence of acquiring a social identity associated with their reading group or track. Their social identity is

both a result of their membership in the reading group or track and a result of using language and engaging in reading in ways consistent with that group's ways of using language and doing reading.

Some schools and classrooms may layer the pedagogical context with cultural ideologies that go beyond individual student achievement. For example, religious schools may emphasize learning to read as a nonhierarchical religious obligation; educational programs derived from political agendas may emphasize school literacy as part of a new nationalism or as revolutionary change, alternative schools may emphasize community pride, noncompetitive social relationships or other agendas as part of how they contextualize learning to read and write, etc. (cf. Cucchiara in Street, 2005). Such layering of cultural ideologies reframes how literacy practices in classrooms are understood and enacted by teachers, students, and others.

A distinction is needed between the surface level form of classroom literacy practices and deeper level functions and structuring of social relationships, knowledge, and ways of acting on the worlds in which teachers and students live. For example, Bloome, Carter, Christian, Otto, and Shuart-Faris (2005) showed how a teacher adapted what appeared on the surface to be traditional school literacy practices to help students engage in a "deeper" social agenda—to learn to use literary oriented literacy practices to question relationships between language and race relations.

#### THE RELATIONSHIP OF LITERACY PRACTICES OUTSIDE OF THE CLASSROOM (IN HOME AND COMMUNITY) TO LITERACY PRACTICES IN CLASSROOMS

The warrant for examining relationships among literacy practices outside of the classroom to those inside of the classroom derives from recognition that students have lives outside of the classroom that may affect how they engage in the literacy practices of the classroom. Students may bring their home and community based cultural models of how to use spoken and written language to classroom literacy practices. (cf. Maybin, forthcoming)

#### *Cross-Cultural Contexts of Literacy Practices in Classrooms*

A long-term ethnography of language and literacy practices by Heath (1983) in three culturally and economically different communities showed that the ways in which children use spoken and written language are derivative of both the communities' specific literacy practices and of broader cultural themes integral to each respective community.

As such, when children approach any social event, including social events in the classroom, the expectations and participatory frames they hold for what constitutes appropriate and effective use of spoken and written language derive from their experiences in analogous social events in their families and communities and in the broader family and community context. When the expectations and participatory frames for classroom events are foreign to the children—as may occur when their expectations and frames are derived from a different set of cultural experiences other than those on which classroom literacy practices are based, the children may not participate appropriately, effectively signal their competence with spoken and written language, or understand what is being expected of them, its import, or the basis for how their actions are being interpreted by the teacher. Such cross-cultural differences are especially likely for students from nondominant cultural and linguistic communities, potentially resulting in misevaluation and misinstruction (Cazden, John, and Hymes, 1972; Cook-Gumperz, 1986; Moss, 1994).

Taking a different view, Ogbu (1974; Ogbu and Simons, 1998) suggested that the historical and economic circumstances of minority groups' relationships with the dominant cultural and economic group fosters differential responses by students to engagement in classroom literacy practices. The existence of job ceilings on minorities influences how students view the efficacy of their participation in classroom instructional practices. In addition, Ogbu argued that there is a differential response to participation in school between those students who come from what Ogbu describes as voluntary minority communities versus those who come from an involuntary minority community. A voluntary minority community had voluntarily chosen to migrate to the target country and students from such communities adopt a stance of cooperation with the literacy practices of the classroom even if there are cross-cultural differences. An involuntary minority community has been forcibly brought to the target country through enslavement. Students from an involuntary minority community may adopt a stance of opposition to participation in the literacy practices of the classroom. The oppositional stance is viewed as fostering social solidarity and social identity of the students from that community and a distancing from the continued domination of the minority community.

### *Culturally Responsive Pedagogies as Context for Classroom Literacy Practices*

Recognition of cross-cultural differences as well as the low-academic achievement of students from many cultural and racial minority groups (when compared to their white, middle-class counterparts), has raised

questions about how classroom literacy practices as part of pedagogical practice might be organized. Shifts in the participatory organization of instructional practices so that they more closely resemble and take advantage of analogous practices with students' home communities have been shown to enhance participation and achievement (e.g., Au, 1980). Taking a broader perspective, Ladson-Billings (1994, 2005), Gay and Banks (2000) and others, have argued for culturally responsive pedagogies that include but go beyond the participatory organization of classroom literacy practices and incorporate broader cultural themes and interpersonal relationships consistent with students' home cultures. As such, classroom literacy practices are embedded in a broader cultural context focusing on interpersonal relationships among teachers, students, parents, and other community members; and this broader cultural context can be viewed as reframing the meaning and significance of participation in classroom literacy practices.

Part of the dynamic addressed by culturally responsive pedagogy involves eschewing *a priori* constructions of students as having a deficit cultural and linguistic backgrounds that make difficult students' effective participation in classroom literacy practices. The concept of funds of knowledge has been used to emphasize that the homes and communities of cultural and linguistic minority students are not deficit in social, linguistic and cultural capital, but rather that teachers need to design curriculum and instruction in ways that provide opportunities for students to bring to their participation in classroom literacy events the funds of knowledge available in their households and communities (Gonzales, Moll, and Amanti, 2005; Moll, Amanti, Neff, and Gonzalez, 1992). Similarly, Lee (1997) and Richardson (2003) argue for pedagogies for literacy learning that incorporate students' language and experiences in bridging to academic learning. Similarly, Willett, Solsken, and Wilson-Keenan (1999) describe how bringing parents into the classroom in ways that foreground the parents' cultural and vocational expertise, histories, and experiences, provides opportunities for students to engage in new forms of literacy practices by incorporating the cultural knowledge from across parents from diverse communities.

Bringing students' home cultures and languages to school literacy practices and academic learning provides opportunities for the students and the teacher to generate new understandings and heuristics. Gutierrez, Rymes, and Larson (1995) has labeled such a learning space, the third space, as it represents neither the dominant culture and language of the school nor those of the students, but one created by the dialectics involved in their juxtaposition. That is, activity in the third space is generative of new literacy practices and new understandings of academic knowledge for both the students and the teacher.

Central to the concepts of culturally responsive pedagogies, funds of knowledge, and teaching/learning in the third space is framing participation in classroom literacy practices and academic learning as not requiring cultural and linguistic minority students to make a choice between assimilation to the dominant culture and loss of cultural identity versus opposition to acquiring the literacy practices of the classroom. By building on the cultural and linguistic resources of students' home and community cultures and language, classroom literacy practices can strengthen students' connections and social identities with their cultural communities while they acquire school literacies and academic literacies.

USES OF CLASSROOM LITERACY PRACTICES  
FOR SCHOOLING, ACADEMIC LITERACIES,  
CRITIQUE, AND COMMUNITY ACTION

The range of opportunities for the writing of extended texts in classrooms are often limited (Applebee, 1984) and the instructional conversational contexts in which writing and reading occur often restrict extended response and opportunity to explore texts, topics and interpretations in depth (Nystrand, 2006). At issue is not merely expanding the range of opportunities for writing and reading nor simply restructuring instructional conversations to provide students with opportunities for topic initiation, extended response, and complex, higher level cognitive tasks. Rather, following Gee's (2004) critique of traditional schooling, shifting classroom literacy practices from an instructional context and from being about doing school (cf. Bloome, Puro, and Theodorou, 1989) to what Gee calls a cultural process. The example Gee (2004) uses below of learning physics applies equally well to learning to read and write.

Besides natural and instructed learning processes, there are also what we can call "cultural processes." There are some things that are so important to a cultural group that the group ensures that everyone who needs to learn them . . . What does it mean to learn physics as a cultural process? Masters (physicists) allow learners to collaborate with them on projects that the learners could not carry out on their own. . . . Learners see learning physics as not just "getting a grade" or "doing school" but as part and parcel of taking on the emerging identity of being a physicist. . . . Children who learn to read successfully do so because, for them learning to read is a cultural and not primarily an instructed process. . . . Children who must learn reading primarily as an instructed process in school are at an acute disadvantage (pp. 12–13).

Yeager, Floriani, and Green (1998) provide examples of teaching/learning the literacy practices of history and science as cultural processes in a middle school classroom by providing opportunities for students to engage in historical study as historians and scientific inquiry as scientists. But where Gee emphasizes work with “Masters,” Yeager, Floriani, and Green engaged students in ethnographic study of what it means to be a historian and scientist and that ethnographic study was used by students to construct literacy practices and learning practices that incorporated the ‘cultural processes’ of those academic disciplines.

### *Academic Literacies*

The literacy practices of academic disciplines and academic communities can be labeled academic literacies. Street (2005), drawing upon Lea and Street (1997) (cf. also Lea, *Academic Literacies in Theory and Practice*, Volume 2) identifies three heuristic models for acquiring the literacy practices of an academic discipline/academic community. The skills model focuses on instructing students in the skills needed to engage in the literacy practices of the academic discipline, often by isolating the skills and sequencing their mastery. The socialization model focuses on having students acquire literacy practices by engaging in those practices with more knowledgeable others (e.g., masters) within the context of the academic discipline/community. As the student becomes more adept at the set of literacy practices of the academic discipline and community, the student increasingly becomes a member of that academic discipline/community. The academic literacies model emphasizes acquisition of the literacy practices of an academic discipline/academic community in a manner similar to that of the socialization model, but also emphasizes critical reflection on those literacy practices and adaptation of those literacy practices based on what students bring to those literacy practices and the need to address new situations that are not necessarily bounded by that academic discipline/academic community. In the academic literacies model, neither the set of literacy practices nor the academic discipline/academic community are fixed and static, but both are continuously evolving and changing.

### *Critique and Social Action*

One direction in classroom literacy practices has involved critical analysis of the worlds in which students live. Often finding roots in the literacy education theories and practices of Friere (2000), critical literacy practices focus attention on the power relations promulgated in and

through texts (Baker and Luke, 1991; Comber and Simpson, 2001; Lankshear, 1997; Lankshear and Knobel, 2003; Morgan, 1997). An underlying assumption is that no text and no act of literacy is ever neutral with regard to cultural ideology and with regard to power relations. Critical literacy practices foreground interrogating texts in order to make visible those power relations. Similarly, attention is paid to the nature of literacy practices and literacy education practices themselves. Questions are asked about how a particular literacy practice or pedagogical practice structures relationships among people and how it privileges particular interpretations and understandings as opposed to others. Of special concern are those interpretations and understandings of texts and literacy practices that appear to naturalize inequitable distribution of privileges and advantage (Macedo, 1996).

Beyond critical analysis, in some classrooms literacy practices are organized to engage students in social and community action. In a series of studies reported in Egan-Robertson and Bloome (1998), students engaged in a series of ethnographic and linguistic studies of their own communities as a way to shift the context of classroom literacy practices from one which foregrounded instruction to one which foregrounded community action and purposeful inquiry. The literacy practices involved in those studies ranged from ethnographic note taking to letter writing to critical reading of community texts to report writing and presenting, among others. However, key to understanding the literacy practices was their orchestration within an ethnographic framework that enabled teachers and students to bring new epistemological understandings to constructing knowledge about their communities, identifying community issues, reporting on them to the community, and taking action. The actions taken often involved literacy practices that made visible people in the community who had made notable contributions to the community or that preserved a history and culture of a community (cf. also Larson, 2005).

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Classroom literacy practices both influence and are influenced by the contexts in which they exist. Thus, as social, cultural, and economic contexts change, both at local levels and at broader levels, classroom literacy practices will both reflect those changes and will contribute to defining those changes. Here, three changes are considered that are likely to influence and be influenced by classroom literacy practices: the increasing integration of digital literacies into daily lives (cf. Leander and Lewis, *Literacy and Internet Technologies*, Volume 2; cf. Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001), increasing racial, cultural, and linguistic heterogeneity, and cultural and economic globalization.

As Lankshear and Knobel (2003) argue, it is not the increasing presence of digital literacies (what they call New Literacies) that constitutes a change in the social context, but rather that large numbers of people outside of schools (including large numbers of young people) have taken up these new literacies, adapted them to their own uses, needs, and interests, and created a series of cultural dynamics that are likely to influence the context of classroom literacies. Lankshear and Knobel note four dimensions of the change provoked by how people have taken up the new literacies:

1. Changes in “the world (objects, phenomena) to be known,” resulting from the impact of digitization.
2. Changes in conceptions of knowledge and processes of “coming to know,” contingent upon deeper incursions of digitization into everyday practices.
3. Changes in the constitution of “knowers,” which reflect the impact of digitization.
4. Changes in the relative significance of, and balance among, different forms and modes of knowing, which are associated with the impact of digitization (p. 158).

How classroom literacy practices will respond to, contribute to, and refract those four dimensions is likely to be varied, depending as much on local contexts as on how the four dimensions above are mediated by various social institutions.

Increasing racial, cultural, and linguistic heterogeneity refers to demographic changes in geographies and social institutions, such as schools, in ways that make racial, cultural, and linguistic homogeneity less prevalent and more challenged (cf. Willis, *Critical Race Theory*, Volume 2). Again, it is not the heterogeneity itself that creates a changing social context of classroom literacy practices, but rather how that heterogeneity is taken up within local and broader contexts. Noting the changing demographics in the USA, Willis, Garcia, Barrera, and Harris (2003) argue for classrooms to adopt a multicultural literacy curriculum. Garcia (2003) explains that such a curriculum would foreground:

A complex understanding of culture and its relation to literacy, a strong commitment to social justice, a transformative mission, and implementation of the emancipatory paradigm (p. 2).

The taking up of a multicultural curriculum involves more than a surface level change in the nature of classroom literacy practices; it involves epistemological and ontological changes, social relationship and identity issues, changes in power relations, etc. (Enciso, 2003). Although, some classrooms have taken up a multicultural literacy curriculum as described by Willis, Garcia, Barrera, and Harris (2003), the degree to which a multicultural literacy curriculum will be taken up and

redefine classroom literacy practices more broadly may depend on how changing demographics are incorporated in schools and how such incorporation is mediated by other social institutions at the local and broader level.

Globalization can be defined as a historical process through which there is increasing interaction among people globally across economic, cultural, and linguistic domains (cf. Luke and Carrington, 2002). Whether globalization involves increasing standardizing of cultural and linguistic practices and increasing centralizing of economic decision making and control is debatable. Regardless, as globalization extends even to remote rural areas, classroom literacy practices are influenced by the economic, cultural, and linguistic dilemmas, opportunities, and problems globalization entails. Within local contexts, people will increasingly have to struggle with how to balance maintenance of their local culture, community and ways of life with preparing their children for a world in which access to economic, intellectual, academic, cultural, and material resources will depend on being able to interact on a global level and address what people are doing elsewhere in the world (cf. Brandt and Clinton, 2002). Communities will variously choose to resist, to adapt themselves, to balance between the local and the global, to incorporate globalization within their own economic, cultural, and linguistic frames, or some combination. Such choices will affect classroom literacy practices as such choices shift the epistemological context and the context of social relationships.

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## **Section 3**

### **Living Literacies – Social and Cultural Experience**

## LITERACIES AND ETHNOLINGUISTIC DIVERSITY: CHICAGO

### INTRODUCTION

Chicago, in many ways an archetypal U.S. city, has become a global city, closely linked to other places in the world economically, culturally, and linguistically. Chicago has always had links to other places in the world through its large immigrant populations, but the rapid pace of recent globalization processes has intensified these connections. Globalization, however, yields pressures that move in two directions that have implications for literacy. Increased transnational communication, especially via mass media like satellite television, facilitates the development of a global monoculture, e.g., among youth worldwide who emulate African American musical and verbal style, thus spreading English literacy in the form of song lyrics. Yet global movements toward sameness are complemented by the marked differentiation of ethnic, class and other identities at local levels. Research in a variety of Chicago communities (Farr, 2004, 2005c), for example, has shown the resilience of such multiple ethnolinguistic identities and their accompanying languages and scripts. Such ethnolinguistic identities encompass verbal styles, both oral and written, that are closely associated with ethnic/racial, gender, class, religious, and other identities.

Identities, in fact, are inseparable from the verbal styles that characterize them: as people speak or write, they construct themselves as particular kinds of people with particular ethnic, racial, class, gender, religious, or other identities. Verbal styles that construct identities are expressed both in speaking and in literacy practices in a wide range of contexts. Across Chicago's neighborhoods, for example, many different languages are spoken, written, and read in both public and private contexts: in stores, businesses, schools, homes, community centers, religious congregations, and workplaces. Signs in these neighborhoods are in English, Spanish, Polish, Arabic, Chinese, Italian, Greek, Hindi, Russian, Korean, Thai, etc., indicating either the residential or the commercial presence of people who speak, read, and write those languages. The notable multiplicity of ethnolinguistic styles reaffirms Chicago's reputation as a vibrant, multicultural and multilingual metropolitan area. Research on this ethnolinguistic diversity is relatively scant and recent, however.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Historical research has documented that, from its beginnings, Chicago has been multicultural and multilingual (Holli and Jones, 1995). Most historical or current studies of Chicago, however, focus on ethnic populations or neighborhoods, rather than on languages or literacies, although insights can be inferred from such work. Chicago's earliest inhabitants, for example, were primarily Miami and Illinois Native American tribes in villages located along various waterways. In their indigenous languages, they called the area *Checagou*. The coming of the European fur trade between 1760 and 1800 profoundly changed local Indian cultures, resulting in cultural and linguistic loss as tribes merged into a pan-Indian culture. French and English were introduced at this time by French and Anglo-Saxon fur traders, the former notably including Jean Baptiste Point du Sable, a French- and African-descent French speaker from Haiti considered the founder of Chicago who undoubtedly spoke Haitian Creole as well as French, and possibly Potawatomi, the Native American language of his wife, as well (Cameron, 2006). Many European fur traders, especially the French, intermarried with Indian women, resulting in cultural and linguistic mixtures both among Indians and among whites. According to Jacqueline Peterson (1995, p. 24) "Most white traders . . . blended into the pan-Indian culture developing in the Great Lakes region, learning Ojibway, the *lingua franca* of the trade, as their Indian counterparts learned a French *patois*." It is unclear how much of this trade was carried on only with oral language, or whether some literacy, perhaps with the French alphabet, was involved.

Another major change occurred when Yankee entrepreneurs from the east, notably John Jacob Astor and his American Fur Company, monopolized the region between 1811 and 1834. During this period Chicago was comprised entirely of "middlemen traders and their employees—clerks, *voyageurs*, and *engagés* of French, British, American, Indian, and mixed extraction" (Peterson, 1995, p. 25). Yankees, southerners from Virginia, French-Indian *métis* (of mixed race) and Indians shocked newly arrived easterners by socializing together in this frontier space, dancing and drinking to French fiddles. Clearly, if they socialized together, there must have been substantial bilingualism involving French, English, and Native American languages, most probably Ojibway. Moreover, the trading business clearly required not only the use of all these languages, but commercial literacy as well, at least in English, probably in French, and, using the French or English alphabet, possibly in Ojibway. After Chicago became an incorporated city in 1833, easterners continued to arrive, while most French, French-Indian *métis*, and Indians, faced with Anglo-Saxon control and attitudes of

superiority, moved westward, the Indians having been coerced into signing a treaty that gave up their lands in return for acreage beyond the Mississippi. The fact that Indians signed a treaty clearly indicates some literacy, although it is not clear what “signing” meant—a mark indicating agreement, or a full written name.

From the 1830s onward, eastern businessmen promoted the city as a site for self-making and ambition (Spears, 2005, p. 8), and rapid population growth ensued throughout the 19th and early 20th century. In addition to easterners, the city attracted many migrants from the rural and small town Midwest, immigrants from Europe, and southern African Americans. Although the effort to establish Chicago as a cosmopolitan center both of the Midwest and of the nation was led by “the city’s upper- and middle-class elites” (Spears, 2005, p. xv), this vision was crucially supported by the migrants who came to Chicago with hopes of social and economic mobility. Between 1860 and 1890, Chicago grew from 100,000 to 1 million residents, three quarters of whom were foreign-born. All these migrants provided labor for Chicago’s “rapidly expanding industrial sector” (Howenstine, 1996, p. 32). A rare publication about language in early 20th century Chicago describes the city as “an unparalleled Babel of foreign tongues” (Buck, 1903, as quoted in Cameron, 2006, p. 114). German, spoken by 500,000 people, was the most dominant language in the city, followed by Polish, Swedish, Bohemian, Norwegian and Yiddish, Dutch, Italian, Danish, French, Gaelic, Serbo-Croatian, Slovakian, and Lithuanian, all of which had at least 10,000 speakers (Cameron, 2006). Print forms of these languages were extant also, primarily as newspapers, for example in German (Holli, 1995; Kloss, 1998[1977]) and Lithuanian (Markelis, 2004).

Southern African Americans began to settle on Chicago’s near west side as early as the late 1860s, but large numbers, as part of the Great Migration to northern cities, only occurred around World War I, and even more rapidly after World War II, settling primarily on the south side of the city in an area called Bronzeville (Seligman, 2005), the end of the “blues trail” that began in New Orleans and Mississippi, and it fostered not only the Chicago Blues but many other musical innovations. Thus African American verbal, including musical, styles became an important part of Chicago, and much of the south side of the city, including both middle class (Braden, 1995) and working class neighborhoods, remains the cultural heart of this repertoire of ethnolinguistic styles and literacies.

African Americans, along with Mexicans and Appalachian whites, were recruited to work in Chicago’s industries after World War I restricted the supply of European immigrants to the city, the previous source of labor. Thus, in addition to African American English, Appalachian

English (Wolfram, 1980; Wolfram and Christian, 1976) was added to the city's ethnolinguistic profile. The Mexicans brought Spanish, which in recent decades has emerged as a strong second language to English in Chicago, both in speech and print, with multiple Spanish-language newspapers, radio stations, and television channels.

After being recruited as labor around World War I, Mexicans began to arrive in larger numbers during the 1920s, settling in three neighborhoods on the south and southwest side (Kerr, 1977), and in dramatically larger numbers after the immigration law of 1965 abandoned national origin quotas and provided for family reunification. Puerto Ricans became a noticeable presence during the 1950s and continued to build in numbers through the 1960s, settling on the near Northwest side of the city (Padilla, 1987; Pérez, 2004). Although American citizens, they are the poorest Latino group in the U.S. and in Chicago. Chicago's Cubans, in contrast, are largely middle class, having fled Cuba after Castro's victory in 1957, leaving behind property and businesses. In the decades after 1965 a wider variety of Latin American populations (notably Dominicans and Guatemalans) and many other Asian populations filled the city's (and Cook County's) neighborhoods. Among the Spanish-speaking, Mexicans are by far the most numerous (Casuso and Camacho, 1995, p. 369). Thus Mexican Spanish, though not the only Spanish variety in Chicago, is the dominant variety. Over one quarter of the population speaks one or another of these varieties, and the younger generations speak a Latino variety of English that is as yet unstudied.

Chinese immigrants first migrated to Chicago from California in the wake of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, but significant numbers of Chinese did not arrive until after the Communist victory in China in the late 1940s, leading to the development of Chicago's first "Chinatown" on the near south side of the city in the 1950s. These early immigrants were fairly homogeneous culturally and linguistically, having been primarily Cantonese-speaking peasants from southern China. After the end of the Vietnam war in 1975, however, another group of Chinese immigrants came to Chicago, this time largely entrepreneurial ethnic Chinese from Vietnam who spoke Cantonese and Mandarin, as well as Fukien, the Chinese province from which most of them originated. This group established a second "Chinatown" on the north side of the city.

Currently, the Chinese population in Chicago is quite heterogeneous, comprising Cantonese, Indo-Chinese, Taiwanese, mainland immigrants, American-born Chinese (referred to as ABCs), and racially-mixed Chinese (Moy, 1995, p. 408). The languages they speak are equally varied, and even the writing systems they use are differentiated. Earlier Chinese immigrants maintain the traditional Chinese writing system,

with its thousands of complex characters, whereas more recent immigrants from the mainland use the modern simplified system of Chinese characters developed by the Chinese Communist government. Each group is quite attached to its writing system for reasons of familiarity, but also, importantly, for reasons of identity and politics (Rohsenow, 2004).

Like the Chinese, Japanese immigrants were primarily peasant farmers who first migrated to California, but they arrived there later, during the 1880s, replacing the excluded Chinese. By the early 1900s, however, they too experienced discrimination of increasing intensity, peaking with their internment in camps during World War II. After leaving the camps, many relocated in cities to the east like Chicago, although many of them returned to the West Coast before 1960 (Osako, 1995, p. 423). In contrast to stark anti-Japanese sentiments in California, Chicago was more open to Asian immigrants. Ultimately, many of this population became middle class and moved to the suburbs. A high percentage of the second generation intermarried with European Americans, perhaps “the first nonwhites to merge biologically into the dominant American society” (Osako, 1995, p. 432). Such intermarriage initially must involve some bilingualism and complex biliteracy, since Japanese writing involves three different scripts. It is unclear, however, to what extent the Japanese language and writing system have been maintained by Chicago-born or mixed-heritage Japanese. The demographics would suggest a shift to English among Japanese Americans, but Japanese literacy is maintained in Chicago by overseas Japanese who intend to return to Japan (Miller, 2004).

#### CURRENT DEMOGRAPHICS: ETHNICITY, LANGUAGE, AND LITERACY

As with the historical research literature, more information is available on current ethnic and linguistic diversity in Chicago than on diversity in literacy practices, although many of the newer immigrant groups bring distinct writing systems with them.

The 2003 American Community Survey by the U.S. Census Bureau indicated the city to be about 42% white, 37% African American, 26% Hispanic, and 4% Asian. Although the percentage of Asians is low, as a group they increased from 1980 to 1990 in the city by 50% and in the suburbs by 104%. The largest group in these percentages is Indian (who also showed the largest increase), followed by Filipino, then Chinese and Korean, then Japanese, Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Thai (Ahne, 1995, p. 483). These groups bring many different languages to Chicago, including at least one distinct variety of global English, Indian English. Moreover, many of these languages come with writing

systems different from the alphabet used with English, Spanish, and many other European languages. For example, Chinese languages, grouped into seven major dialects, are written with Chinese characters that are part ideographic and part phonetic, being based on syllables and morphemes (Rogers, 2005). Two of these languages, Cantonese and Mandarin (the national standard taught in schools) are the primary Chinese languages in Chicago, and written Mandarin is used in newspapers, books (in bookstores and libraries), a Chinese Yellow Pages, and other media. Both languages are used on global television and radio and are taught in heritage language schools (Rohsenow, 2004). Korean and Japanese, genetically related to each other, but not to Chinese, adapted Chinese characters for their own writing systems. Today, written Japanese uses three sets of symbols and Korean uses an alphabet, Hankul, devised in the 15th century, although other forms of writing were already in use (Rogers, 2005). Both of these written languages, along with written Thai and other literacies, appear in signs and in printed material in several neighborhoods in Chicago and its suburbs.

The 2004 American Community Survey of the U.S. Census Bureau for the city of Chicago shows that slightly over a third of the population 5 years of age and older (34.3%) speak a language other than English. This number includes those who also speak English, but students entering Chicago Public Schools who do not speak English are entitled to 3 years of bilingual education at the level at which they enter school. Of non-English languages, which span all the continents of the world, the numerically important ones are Spanish (71%), Polish (6.3%), Chinese languages (3.8%), other Asian languages (3.1%), Tagalog (2.3%), languages of India—primarily Gujarati and Hindi—(2.1%), French (including creoles) (1.7%), and Arabic (1.5%). Although these figures show a wide range of languages and writing systems, clearly the predominant non-English language is Spanish, followed distantly, but significantly, by Polish, due to continuing immigration from Poland.

Spanish speakers, however, dominate these statistics, and roughly two-thirds of the Spanish speakers are of Mexican origin. Mexicans now move not only into traditional Mexican neighborhoods, but also into Puerto Rican and other Latino neighborhoods, and into “white ethnic” and some African American neighborhoods. The map, Latino Population by Community Area (see [Figure 1](#)), shows that Latinos can be found in almost all neighborhoods of the city, and they are a significant presence as well in the counties surrounding the city, north to the Wisconsin border, southeast to the Indiana border (and in northwest Indiana), and to the west of the city. Although numerically remarkable, the current preponderance of Spanish speakers is similar to that of German speakers over a century ago throughout

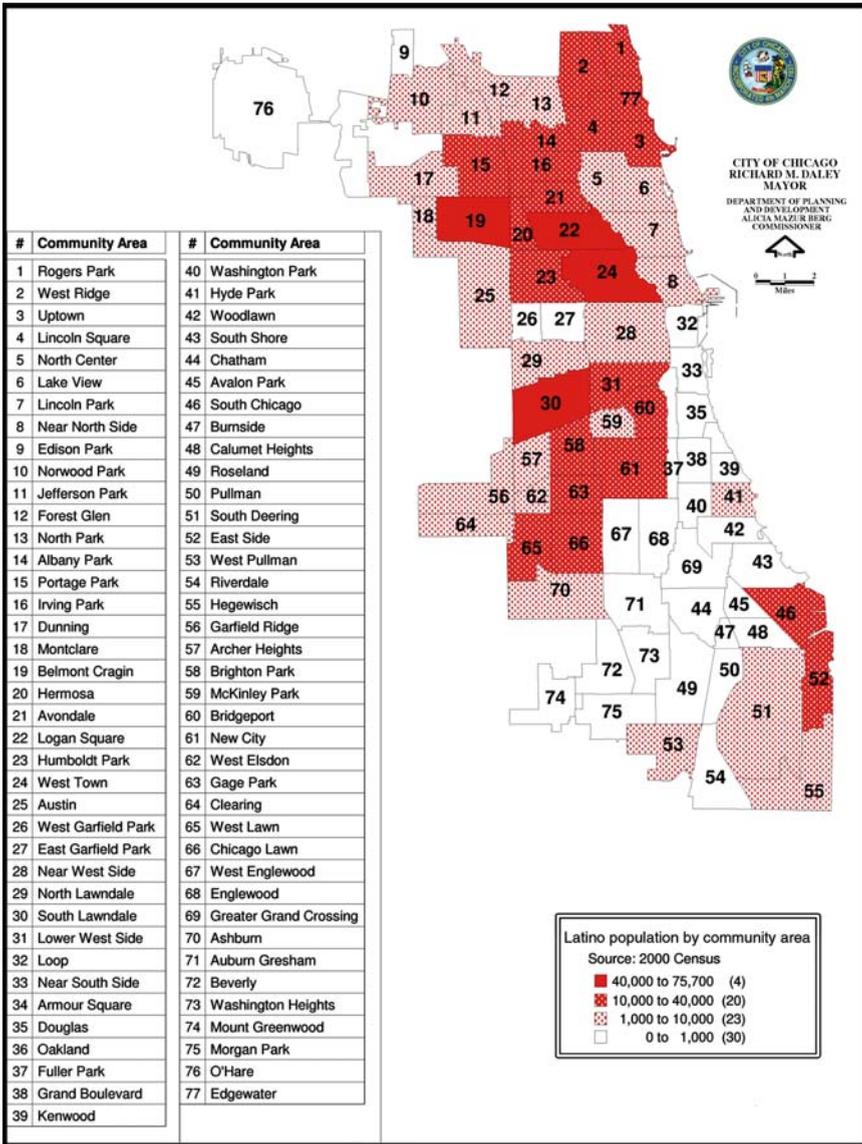


Figure 1 Latino population by community area. Source: 2000 census.

the Great Lakes states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin. Massive migrations of German speakers throughout the 19th century vastly outnumbered the speakers of other languages, including English in some places (Kamhoefer, Helbich, and Sommer, 1991; Trommler and McVeigh, 1985).

Currently, Spanish speakers in Chicago comprise (in order of population size) Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Guatemalans, Ecuadorians, Cubans, Colombians, Spaniards, Salvadorans, Hondurans, Peruvian, Dominicans, Argentineans, Nicaraguans, Chileans, Panamanians, Costa Ricans, Venezuelans, Bolivians, Uruguayans, and Paraguayans (Farr and Domínguez, 2005). These groups speak different varieties of Spanish, and some of them may speak indigenous languages such as Quechua or Zapotec as well. In many Caribbean varieties of Spanish, for example Cuban or Puerto Rican, speakers tend to aspirate *s*, as in *e'ta'* for *estas* (you are). No research has yet clarified if these varieties are blending in Chicago, or if speakers of other varieties adopt features of the dominant Mexican Spanish.

Even within national varieties of Spanish, vernacular and regional dialects differ from standard popular Spanish; for example, the group of rural Mexicans known as *rancheros* use archaic features in their speech and writing (Farr, 2005b, 2006), although this dialect is denigrated by educated Mexicans, and Spanish teachers in Chicago, as *español ranchereado* (ranch Spanish). For example, a woman who participates in a Catholic Charismatic prayer circle writes letters to God with some *ranchero* dialect features:

|                                       |                                  |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>Padre Yavé</i>                     | <i>Father Yahweh</i>             |
| <i>te pido que redames [derrames]</i> | <i>I ask that you pour</i>       |
| <i>tus gracias el día del</i>         | <i>your grace the day of the</i> |
| <i>vautismo en el Espíritu</i>        | <i>baptism in the Holy</i>       |
| <i>Santo en tus hijos</i>             | <i>Spirit over your children</i> |
| <i>que estamos en las</i>             | <i>who are in the</i>            |
| <i>clases de Evangelización</i>       | <i>classes of Evangelization</i> |

The above excerpt of a letter shows the use of the rural vernacular *redames* instead of the standard *derrames* (pour out), as well as non-standard spelling based on speech, as in *v* for *b* in *vautismo* (baptism) for *bautismo* (Guerra and Farr, 2002). Two years of primary school in rural Mexico did not “correct” these features of her oral language, but they did allow her to develop fluent religious literacy.

In fact, standard languages have rarely been used by immigrants to Chicago; Lithuanian (Markelis, 2004) and Swedish (Isaacson, 2004) immigrants, among others, spoke vernacular dialects of their respective languages, then learned standard varieties of these languages in Chicago in order to communicate with each other and to read ethnic newspapers. Moreover, as often happens with languages in contact (Winford, 2003), language mixing occurs naturally. English words appear in both oral and written Spanish; one sign above a *cantina* (bar) in a Mexican neighborhood boasts, *Tenemos Via Satellite* (We have satellite TV).

Code-switching between Spanish and English is common among Texas-origin Mexican Americans in Chicago (*tejanos*), and it is more frequent among Puerto Ricans than Mexicans. Although such “Spanglish” is often as denigrated as vernacular dialects are, in fact this is a common occurrence in all immigrant populations. In Chicago, for example, Greeks (Koliussi, 2004) and Swedes (Isaacson, 2004) used “Greeklish” and “Swinglish;” in a common pattern of code-mixing, Swedes borrowed English words into Swedish and used them with Swedish conjunctions, articles, and suffixes, as in *storet* (the store) rather than the standard Swedish *handel* or *affär* (Isaacson, 2004, p. 224). Such mixing of languages can be seen in both oral and written uses of language, as is evident in a Spanish conversation (for English translation, see [Table 1](#) for transcript) in which Mexican women insert Polish and English words and in a photo of signs (see [Figure 2](#)) in Spanish and English in a Mexican neighborhood.

Today there is a rich variety of dialects in all languages used in Chicago, including a regional English in which whites, but not African Americans, pronounce The White Sox as “the white sacks” (Cameron, 2006). Morgan (2004), moving beyond pronunciation to discourse, describes how African American vernacular is used aesthetically to construct gender identities in south side neighborhoods of Chicago. Lindquist (2004) and Cho and Miller (2004), illustrate dialect diversity in the differing rhetorical styles used by Chicago’s working and middle class white population. Thus language varieties differ both in terms of structural features such as pronunciation and syntax, and in their stylistic dimensions, what Hymes (1974) called “ways of speaking.” Like ways of speaking, literacy practices also construct important aspects of identity, whether linked to class, race/ethnicity, gender, or other identities (such as religious or political). The next section reviews studies of such identity construction in both speaking and literacy practices across a range of ethnic populations.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS AND WORK IN PROGRESS

Because most ethnolinguistic research in Chicago is so recent, and much of it is still ongoing, this section will combine these two sections, showing how people construct different aspects of their identities via a range of speech genres and literacy practices. Domínguez (2005, p. 77) shows how the use of proverbs constructs people in a Mexican transnational social network as having “sharp wit, facility of expression, and adherence to traditional values.” The use of traditional Mexican proverbs affirms the solidarity of the network and approved social values, but it also distinguishes the individuals who use them as wise and

Table 1 Transcript, Playing with Race

|    |  |  |
|----|--|--|
| 1  | D: <i>Yo no te veo delgada.</i>  | D: I don't see you as slender.   |
| 2  | B: <i>Pues no pero-</i>  | B: Well, no, but—  |
| 3  | L: <i>Pero ella quiere más-</i>  | L: But she wants more—   |
| 4  | B: <i>Estoy como la calidad del tordo al revés.</i>  | B: I am like a bird, but in reverse.   |
| 5  | D: {Laughs}  | D: {Laughs}  |
| 6  | L: <i>Ella quiere tener más. . .</i>   | L: She wants to have more. . .   |
| 7  | B: <i>Más piernas. Más/?/.</i>   | B: More legs. More/?/.   |
| 8  | W: <i>No, un poquito más pompis.</i>   | W: No, a little more rear end.   |
| 9  | L: <i>¿Tú sabes qué es dupa?</i>   | L: Do you know what <i>dupa</i> is?  |
| 10 | B: <i>¿Es qué?</i>   | B: It's what?  |
| 11 | L: <i>¿En qué idioma te estoy hablando?</i>  | L: In what language am I speaking to you?  |
| 12 | B: <i>No, no sé.</i>   | B: No, I don't know.   |
| 13 | L: <i>Polaco. {laughs}</i>   | L: Polish. {laughs}  |
| 14 | B: <i>Ay, en polaco es todo/?/.</i>  | B: Oh, in Polish it's all/?/.  |
| 15 | <b>L: <i>Fíjate nomás el progreso. [ironic tone]</i></b>   | <b>L: <i>Just look at the progress. [ironic tone]</i></b>  |
| 16 | <b>Women: {Much loud laughter}</b>   | <b>Women: {Much loud laughter}</b>   |
| 17 | B: <i>Ya de lo que—¿ya pasáste al qué?</i>   | B: Now from that – now you've passed on to what?   |
| 18 | L: <i>No, no todo.</i>   | L: No, not really.   |
| 19 | W: <i>¿A cómo/?/?</i>  | W: How/?/?   |
| 20 | B: <i>¿Cómo se dice en inglés pompi?</i>   | B: How do you say in English <i>pompi</i> ?  |
| 21 | D: Butt.   | D: Butt.   |
| 22 | B: <i>Ya de eso ya pasáste a polaco y todo. Para el próximo año ya vas a hablar chino y {laughter} chan chan chan.</i>   | B: Now from that you've passed on to Polish and everything. Next year you're going to speak Chinese and {laughter} chan chan chan.                               |
| 23 | D: <i>Como el novio de V dice “Yo sí se francés, yo sí sé frances” y le hace V bien callada, “Sí pero cuando se l—se le acaba el francés le entra el italiano.” {Laughter}</i> | D: Like V's boyfriend says, “I can speak French, I can speak French,” and V says real quiet, “Yes, but when the French finishes, the Italian begins.” {Laughter} |

Continued

Table 1 Continued

|    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| 24 | B: ¿Por qué? ¿De dónde es él?   | B: Why? Where is he from?   |
| 25 | Young Women: ¡ES MEXICANO!  | Young Women: HE'S MEXICAN!  |
| 26 | D: Pero es puras mentiras, no sabe.   | D: But it's just lies, he doesn't know.   |
| 27 | B: Mexicano, hasta las cachas.  | B: Mexican, to the hilt!  |
| 28 | L: No, el mexicano va saber pero tarasco.   | L: No, the Mexican is going to know Tarascan.   |
| 29 | D: Oh sí.   | D: Oh yes.  |
| 30 | B: Oh sí.   | B: Oh yes.  |
| 31 | D: Pinche indios. {Giggling}  | D: Damn Indians. {Giggling}   |
| 32 | B: Ehi, calmada con los indios, yo soy india.   | B: Hey, take it easy on the Indians, I am Indian.   |
| 33 | D: Todos nosotros, todos. {pause} No me ves el pinche nopal?/que me sale una tuna ahí. {laughs} | D: All of us, all. {pause} Don't you see the damned nopal?/that the fruit comes out here {laughs} |
| 34 | B: El nopal {laughing}.   | B: The nopal {laughing}.  |
| 35 | W: Ay ay ay.  | W: Ay ay ay.  |
| 36 | L: Ay, como son tremendas.  | B: Oh, how audacious you all are.   |

knowledgeable. Farr (2005a) shows how Mexicans from a *ranchero* background construct themselves as independent individuals with a frank speech style that is direct, candid, and down-to-earth. Inasmuch as this speech style constructs the *ranchero* ideology of liberal individualism, it contrasts sharply with the communal identities attributed to non-*ranchero* Indian Mexicans. Both studies of transnational families, then, show Mexicans constructing identities of personhood via sanctioned ways of speaking. Domínguez (2002) develops the implications for literacy by showing how the complex cognitive processes required to correctly interpret a proverb used in context can be utilized in the teaching of writing. The link between proverbs and literacy goes back centuries, since, as Pérez (1988) points out, proverbs are quite likely the oldest surviving texts of Western and other civilizations.

Lindquist (2001, 2004) also links oral rhetoric to literacy; she shows how class identities can conflict when working class students learn to write at the university, arguing that “the domain of argument itself is a site of class struggle” (Lindquist, 2001, p. 262). The verbal style of academic argument is culturally and historically specific (Farr, 1993),



Figure 2 Chicago bilingual and biliterate street scene.

and using it as “real work” strikes those from working class cultures as oddly privileged, especially since work for them is action-oriented and productive, and verbal argument a matter of play, not work. Cho and Miller (2004) similarly distinguish white working class and middle class verbal styles, showing how “working class families privilege personal storytelling in a way that middle class families do not” (Cho and Miller, 2004, p. 99). They also note that working class mothers co-narrating young children’s experiences are more direct and forthright than middle class mothers. This linking of a direct verbal style with working class speakers evokes the *franqueza* of the rural Mexicans in Farr’s study (Farr, 2005a, 2006). Herrick’s (2005) study of workplace communication at a factory in Chicago also shows how class differences can emerge in literacy practices. While translating a brochure into Spanish to initiate new workers, Mexican workers of different class backgrounds (rural *ranchero* vs. urban educated) argue vehemently about whether to use “correct” Spanish or the language of the “people on the [factory] floor” (Herrick, 2005, p. 372).

Moss (2003, 2004) shows how the verbal style of African American sermons (for example, using the pronoun *we* rather than *you* and personal testimonials) constructs the minister as a humble member of the community, rather than one who is superior to it. The genre of sermons is particularly interesting, in that it seems to be both a speech and a

literacy event: delivered orally, sermons are sometimes prepared in writing, and they are often based on religious text (cf. Besnier, 1995). Reynolds (2004) also focuses on a religious genre: prayers at Ibo association meetings that coalesce the physical distance between Chicago and Nigeria. Here prayers are used both to build transnational solidarity and to distinguish the individual creating the prayer as verbally astute, like the user of proverbs in Dominguez's (2005) Mexican families. Finally, as discussed above, literacy practices that construct a religious identity are found in Guerra and Farr (2002) and Farr (2005b), which discuss how a Mexican woman constructs herself as authoritative both in her oral religious discourse and in the letters she writes to God as part of her Charismatic prayer circle. As she builds an ideology of personhood with her frank *ranchero* dialect of Mexican Spanish, she simultaneously creates a gendered, religious, and political identity.

Nardini (1999, 2004) analyzes Italian women's use of *bella figura* (literally, beautiful figure, or good impression) in their discourse at a social club. Here women use verbal art to perform in ways that are consonant with the Italian cultural construction of verbal and visual beauty, but that also construct gender identities that are not submissive. Cohen (2005) also focuses on gender identities, but with literacy practices. She shows how second-generation Mexican high school girls experiment with both gender and ethnic identities on the internet by participating in chat rooms and developing relationships online. Computer and internet literacy allows these girls to try out possible selves from the safety of their homes: they "get out of the house" without disobeying parental restrictions that keep them, but not their brothers, at home.

Del Valle (2005) contrasts the verbal practices of two families, one of which experiences more social and economic success than the other. The family that uses literacy regularly for religious and political purposes (much of it in Spanish) and emphasizes Puerto Rican oral traditions, e.g., *rosarios cantados* (sung rosaries), also achieves some upward mobility that involves specific work literacies. The other family, using primarily English and leisure time literacy (e.g., reading magazines), seems unable to move out of their precarious economic position. Interestingly, although both families appear demographically similar, one of them illustrates "the behaviors, values, and literacy practices" of more mainstream populations (Heath, 1983). This cautions against making facile generalizations about entire demographic groups and indicates that literacy practices that construct religious, political, and cultural identities can have positive effects in life trajectories.

Many of these studies of ethnolinguistic diversity in Chicago bring transnational relations into sharp relief. Cohen (2003), for example, describes

how high school girls in Chicago who pretend to be *chilangos* (residents of Mexico City) in Internet chat rooms have their true identities discovered through the “lexical and morphologic variations” (Cohen, 2005, p. 196) in the Spanish that they write. Thus people online recreate national, gender, and other identities solely through the available clues in literacy. This is yet another example of how literacy practices construct identity, although on this occasion inadvertently. Similarly, Hurtig (2005) shows how adult women construct gendered Mexican identities and thus resist assimilation through the pieces they write and publish in a locally-produced magazine.

Both Rohsenow (2004) and Markelis (2004) discuss political identities as constructed by literacy practices. Rohsenow (2004) shows transnational influences on literacy practices among Chicago’s Chinese populations: earlier immigrants read and write the traditional Chinese writing system, refusing to use the simplified characters devised during the 1950s by the People’s Republic of China, arguing that this move on the part of the then-new Communist government was a “deliberate attempt to cut off China’s people from thousands of years of traditional Chinese culture and values” (Rohsenow, 2004, p. 338). Markelis (2004) describes the considerable efforts by Lithuanians in Chicago to maintain their language, both oral and written, through Lithuanian parochial schools, mass media, and ethnic churches. Migrating in large numbers from 1881 to 1920, the Lithuanian press only ceased operating in Chicago in the late 1970s. Markelis attributes this to the fact that “Concerns about the possibility of linguistic annihilation were widespread among Lithuanian immigrants, who had experienced suppression of their language during the 42 years of the czarist press ban” (Markelis, 2004, p. 282). Having been forced to use (and go to school in) Russian instead, and having secretly fought to use Lithuanian, Lithuanians in the diaspora refused to give it up when they had the freedom to speak and publish it freely. Lithuanian newspapers published both in Chicago and in Lithuania especially served to connect people in this transnational ethnic community by reporting on events and circulating in both places.

Thus both historically and currently, ethnolinguistic practices in Chicago are inextricably linked to events, people, and institutions in their places of origin. Politics, educational practices, local linguistic characteristics, religious traditions, class relations, gender orders, and cultural values in the “homeland” do not determine, though they do influence, what happens in Chicago, and these, as well as other dimensions of life “back home,” are necessary to understand transnational (and internal migrant) communities in Chicago. From its beginnings, ethnic diversity in Chicago implies linguistic diversity in both oral and written forms. The world’s languages and dialects, used alone and mixed with each other or English, create vibrant communities with a range of oral and written genres.

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

As is typical of new research directions, studies of ethnolinguistic diversity in Chicago explore the subject with a variety of approaches and findings. Unlike the early historical research on ethnic diversity in Chicago, which traced the historical trajectories of various populations in similar ways, language-focused research has yielded understandings as diverse as the populations and languages or dialects under study. Although united under the general framework of the ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1974; Saville-Troike, 2003), some studies focus on oral genres such as sermons, prayers, proverbs, arguments, and personal narratives; others focus on written genres such as letters, newspapers and magazines, books, workplace brochures and reports, and journal narratives; and yet others focus on how language, oral or written, constructs various aspects of identity. Eventually, a more theoretically-focused set of studies across populations would be useful.

## FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

In addition to developing a more shared theoretical and content focus, future research could expand the range of populations studied. Although research has begun to describe the myriad ways in which people in Chicago use various languages in speaking, reading, and writing, this research is quite recent and does not include, for example, Polish, Indian, Korean, and Native American language and literacy practices, even though these populations have a notable presence in Chicago. Such studies could explore not only Chicago-based varieties of languages and their accompanying literacies, but also the varieties of English that have evolved among various groups in Chicago (e.g., Latino English, Indian English, etc). Finally, studies of groups that are limited to Chicago could be extended globally to include comparative sites: Does the *bella figura* of Italians in Chicago differ from that expressed in Italy? Does the English used by Ibos in Chicago differ in significant ways from the African English used in Nigeria? This final example suggests yet another direction for future research: how much interaction is there among the various ethnolinguistic groups in Chicago, and does interaction lead to yet newer varieties of language and/or new, hybrid literacy practices?

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## LANGUAGE DIVERSITY AND INDIGENOUS LITERACY IN THE ANDES

### INTRODUCTION

The Andes mountains extend across the entire length of the South American continent. Traditionally in the social sciences and in pre-colonial studies in particular, the Andean space refers to the Inca Empire's sphere of influence (Cerrón-Palomino, 1985). Following that usage, this chapter focuses on the entire region spreading from the south of Colombia to the north of Argentina and Chile, encompassing coastal areas, mountain ranges and the high plateaus or *altiplano*.

This review of indigenous literacy in the Andes centres on Andean languages that have managed to survive Spanish language rule and maintain certain functional spaces in national societies. It is commonly accepted that indigenous languages had some sort of graphic or notational, non-alphabetical, system. From this, the tendency is to call the indigenous societies illiterate; yet this deficit terminology hinders acknowledgment of different literacies such as textile writing or 'other forms of textual expression and graphic representation' (López, 2001).

In recent decades, speakers of Andean languages increasingly raise them up as symbols of ethnic and political vindication in their efforts to secure prestigious and public spheres for these languages (King, 1997; López, 2001; Sichra, 2005). From this perspective, literacy acquires a driving role in the social participation of sectors traditionally marginalized by their societies, i.e. it could be an empowerment mechanism for the individual, the community and the group (Hornberger, 1997). This chapter focuses on the literacy of languages characterized by their orality and adheres to the ideological model in which literacy comprises concrete social practices whose purposes depend on underlying political and ideological factors (Street, 1984). Literacy events, that is, activities in which literacy plays a social role, can help us observe said practices (Barton and Hamilton, 1998).

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Early chroniclers, like the Jesuit Acosta in 1588, expressed their admiration for the 'veritable language jungle' found by Spanish invaders

upon their arrival in 1532 to the current Peruvian territory. Cieza de León in 1550 gave an account of a process of ‘Quechuification’ (*quechuización*) established by Inca Huaina Capac at the beginning of the fifteenth century as a unifying policy for the Inca Empire which nevertheless also upheld and fostered pluridialectism and plurilingualism. Chroniclers thus record Quechua as a general language superimposed on so-called ‘natural languages’ like Aymara, Puquina and ‘other languages they understand and speak, and call hahuasimi, which means language apart from the general one’ (Monzón, 1586/1965, p. 221). A century later, late chroniclers like Cobo would still register a profusion of languages within any particular town or valley (Cerrón-Palomino, 1988).

The linguistic diversity was partly a consequence of the archipelago system, in which each community established settlements on several ecological niches, thereby dispersing languages and dialects across non-contiguous territories (Mannheim, 1991). This linguistic diversity can likewise be attributed to the Inca policy of *mitmas*, whereby Quechua speakers were forced to migrate in order to secure newly conquered peoples and territories. There were, during the Inca Empire, six linguistic families in the current Peruvian territory (Cerrón, 1988); Moya (1997) reports various languages, without mentioning their specific linguistic affiliation, in what is today Ecuador.

Another surprising observation extensively commented on by Spanish chroniclers of the late sixteenth century, such as the Jesuit José de Acosta or the monk Fray Martín de Morúa, were the records, or *kipus*, that the vast empire’s administration kept. According to Blas de Valera in 1578, the system of knots in multi-coloured wool was read in the manner of a poetic text. Despite the abundance of studies on this topic, it has yet to be confirmed if *kipus* were in effect text documents, or rather accounting and mnemonic instruments (Ascher and Ascher, 1997). In any case, even though alphabetical decoding has not yet been proven, the readers of this register, the *kipukamayúq*, narrated historical facts and mythical stories that legitimized Inca power. New studies of this system of communication are incorporating the contexts in which *kipus* were used and the intervention of the *kipukamayúq* as producer and interpreter (Platt, 1992a). Salomon (2004a) also provides evidence for the use of *kipus* until the latter part of the twentieth century in the Province of Huarochirí, Department of Lima in Peru, and for the coexistence of *kipus* and writing as complementary records for at least four centuries.

On the other hand, it was initially written text in the form of a book that came to epitomize the historical confrontation between Spaniards and indigenous people. Several chronicles of the encounter between

Europeans and the last Inca, in Cajamarca in 1534, highlight the Inca Atahualpa's amazement at the object that bore God's word, the Bible. The Inca's anger and frustration with an object 'that said nothing to him' have defined a scene that would later be mythologized and incorporated into Andean imagery as a trauma borne from the conquest: a symbol of subordination to the invader, of the Inca's death and the empire's defeat (MacCormack, 1988). As instruments of death and punishment, writing and its bearers—paper, letters, memorials and edicts—fascinated and astounded for their unexplainable magic power and foretelling effects (Mignolo, 1995). Platt (1992b) asserts that indigenous people attested to the shamanic powers of European alphabetic writing, finding it analogous to their own experience of representing visual patterns, generated by hallucinogenic visions, in graphic designs for shamans to interpret.

At the outset of the conquest, with the First Council of Lima in 1552, Quechua saw a new period of expansion when it was declared, along with Aymara and to a lesser degree Puquina, the means for evangelization and colonial administration. The Third Council of Lima in 1583 established evangelization in these languages, and for that purpose undertook to print—inaugurating the use of the press in Peru and South America—the *Doctrina cristiana* and *Confessionario* in 1584 and the *Tercero Cathecismo* a year later in a Quechua variety constructed for a broad audience as a written lingua franca. The first pieces of descriptive and interpretative linguistic work followed soon thereafter; monumental lexical-grammatical studies of Quechua by Spanish missionaries like Domingo de Santo Tomás in 1560 and González Holguín in 1608; and of Aymara by Ludovico Bertonio in 1612. In this period of Quechua and Aymara studies, Quechua professorships were created at the Lima Cathedral in 1551 and at San Marcos University in 1579, where writing received particular attention.

Beginning in 1770 with the Bourbon reforms, specifically those of Charles III, a decisive policy of *castellanización* was established 'to achieve once and for all the extinction of the different languages used (. . .) so that only Spanish be spoken' (Rivarola, 1990, p. 108). Thirteen years later, the Quechua professorship at San Marcos University closed down. Constant indigenous uprisings between 1780 and 1782 were decisive in the rigorous enforcement of this change in language policy. In the nineteenth century, languages like Mochica, Culli and Cholón on the Peruvian coast also disappeared. This led to linguistic displacement in the Peruvian coastal area and northern sierra, and equally to an unstoppable process of social and political marginalization and progressive neglect of the major indigenous languages, Quechua and Aymara, in the newly formed Republics.

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, an indigenous assistant of the mestizo priest Francisco de Avila wrote the Huarochirí Quechua Manuscript, the first compilation of Andean literature transcribed into a vernacular language (Taylor, 1988). Forced evangelization and cult banning, the so-called extirpation of idolatries, as well as the rupture of the territorial organization that safeguarded indigenous cultural and religious practices, prompted the need to use writing in order to preserve memory (ibid). De Avila advocated educating local rulers' children 'so they would not conceal or protect native rites' (Glave, 1990, p. 460). To educate these youngsters in Spanish language and culture and make of them intermediaries between the indigenous and the Spanish worlds, the Jesuits founded Schools for Caciques (local rulers) in Cusco, Lima and Quito. The physical extermination of the indigenous intellectual class in power centres at the end of the eighteenth century brought about the cultural and linguistic decline of Quechua and Aymara. The very same indigenous aristocracy, that is, the local rulers and principals who began the process of independence from the Spanish crown, themselves used only Spanish to summon anti-colonial rebellion (Godenzzi, 1995).

The only extant written sources date from the earlier mid sixteenth to the mid seventeenth century period, 'the golden era of written Quechua' (Durston, 2003, p. 210). In addition to the aforementioned Quechua writings, there are other Quechua texts appearing in Spanish books, written by indigenous chroniclers such as Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala (*El Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno* in 1615) and Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua (*Relación de antigüedades deste reyno del Perú* in 1613); mestizo chroniclers like Inca Garcilaso de la Vega (*Comentarios Reales de los Incas* in 1609 and 1617); and mestizo monks like the Jesuit Blas de Valera (*Historia de los Incas* in 1596) and Cristóbal de Molina 'El Cuzqueño' (*Ritos y Fábulas de los Incas* in 1574). Poma de Ayala's work is specially worth mentioning. Written as correspondence to the King, it included Quechua and Aymara texts that combined alphabetic writing with illustrations of festive and daily scenes. This exemplary piece of multiple literacies allowed the writer to express veiled meanings of resistance and denunciation before the Spanish authority (Dedenbach-Salazar, 2004).

Fragments pertaining to widely circulating lyric genres, important during the Inca period for their ceremonial and ritual purposes permeating everyday activities, are today studied for their historical and literary meanings and reproduced for circulation among contemporary readers (Murra and Adorno, 1980; Sichtra and Cáceres, 1990). Historical sources that include these oral traditions as songs do not on the other

hand record any prose texts, with the exception of two epic fragments in Fray Martín de Murúa's *History of the Origin and Royal Genealogy of the Peruvian Inca Kings* (1590), collected from khipukamayúq who had survived the Spanish invasion.

The above-mentioned educated native literature (Beyersdorff, 1986), written by descendants of the indigenous nobility commissioned by the Crown or the Church, contrasts with another area of Quechua literature which has come to light only in the last two decades (Adelaar and Trigoso, 1998; Durston, 2003; Itier, 1991; Taylor, 1985). These are documents from the era when Quechua flourished, between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, consisting of judicial complaints written by notaries and letters or petitions of indigenous authorship, in several cases by indigenous elite women. The documents were written in the Quechua variety promoted by the aforementioned Third Council of Lima. After several centuries, it is extremely difficult to find this type of daily, spontaneous writings in neglected and isolated parish or archbishopric archives. Nevertheless, these documents are precious evidence of how much social validity Quechua writing must have had among the indigenous population, reaching beyond legal and administrative realms, and becoming a means of communication among speakers. According to Itier (1991), this is proof that Quechua had the status of a written language.

Gradually, literary Quechua began to be cultivated and its importance increased with the use of the Cusco variety in which the colonizing minority of Spaniards and creoles produced religious and secular literature in a European style, and even came to consider it as their own (Itier, 1987). This literature includes theatrical works with which the landholding elites, usurpers of indigenous lands, attempted to establish a Quechua literature that would legitimize them politically. Mannheim (1990) calls the revival of Spanish literary styles in Andean languages during the eighteenth century 'the golden century of literary Quechua'. Nonetheless, it generated an adverse process for Quechua as a means of communication in that the creole and mestizo elite cultivated the language for its importance in the glorious Inca empire rather than its significance as a language of the contemporary majority (Itier, 1995). These plays, targeted to an erudite creole audience, continued to flourish until the Republican period in the nineteenth century. One exception is the Quechua poetry of Juan Wallparimachi of Potosí, Bolivia who wrote at the beginning of the nineteenth century and whose poems have survived in part in popular culture as anonymous writings (Sichra and Cáceres, 1990). Over the course of two centuries (mid-eighteenth to mid-twentieth), Andean languages ceased to be written means of communication for indigenous users, with literary creation being maintained solely through oral tradition in stories and

songs regarded as folklore while in a parallel process languages were gradually being confined to low-prestige social roles and functions.

Although the work of the Summer Institute of Linguistics beginning in the first half of the twentieth century in the Amazonian and the Andean regions sought to assimilate indigenous populations through evangelization (Stoll, 1984), SIL linguists initiated truly pioneering work in systematizing indigenous languages and establishing them in writing. They also contributed to speakers' awareness of the feasibility of writing in their languages (Landaburu, 1998). The last third of the twentieth century reveals a profusion of linguistic descriptions and studies of languages and varieties of Quechua and Aymara, accompanied by protracted debates about their respective alphabets, debates which generate recurring confrontations despite the languages having achieved official status in Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador in the 1980s.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

The diversity of Andean languages began to be acknowledged and promoted as anti-authoritarian political currents swept the continent from Ecuador to Argentina, and also as a result of the accelerating phenomenon of globalization. Confronting the authoritarian regimes that had been established during the 1960s to the 1980s, movements with social and later ethnic demands questioned the state's homogenizing and unifying character and challenged nation-building aims that adopt a 'one language, one culture' ideology.

A remarkable fact is that the efforts to spread Quechua during the Inca regime and during the first century of Spanish rule, displacing regional and local languages including even a major language such as Aymara, nevertheless failed to impose a supra-regional Quechua variety. Despite the Republican language policy of forced imposition of Spanish, languages and varieties of the Quechua family have been maintained to a great degree in the entire Andean region—although with a tendency towards shift—with the exception of the now extinct languages of the central coast of Peru. Aymara, the most preserved language of the Aru family, is confined to the Peruvian–Bolivian high plateau. López (2001) estimates there are 12 million Quechua speakers and 2.5 million Aymara speakers, mostly Spanish bilinguals. In the Bolivian high plateau, there are still some few Chipaya speakers of the Arawak family. In all Andean countries, migration from the countryside to cities and capitals is transforming urban areas into spaces of increasingly greater reproduction of Andean cultures and languages (Sichta, 2005).

Another revelation, in these times when indigenous organizations and peoples are rising up as active interlocutors with the state in their

struggle for legal recognition and territorial rights, is the re-emergence of multi-ethnicity among peoples traditionally subsumed under the term Quechuas (in Peru and Bolivia) or Quichuas (in Ecuador), and to a lesser degree Aymaras. Oral traditions such as myths, stories and songs, common law (*usos y costumbres*), records and maps in chronicles or judicial writings, community demarcation and land titles and other oral and written documents are brought forward by indigenous communities (*originarios* or ‘aborigines’ in Bolivia, peoples or ‘nationalities’ in Ecuador) as historical evidence of their collective identity and rights. In the 1990s, all of the Andean constitutions were modified or created to incorporate adjectives like ‘pluriethnic’, ‘multilingual’, formulations like ‘ethnic and cultural diversity’, and terms like ‘ethnic groups’, ‘nationalities’, ‘indigenous peoples’ and ‘native peoples’. Amidst this constellation, asserting one’s belonging to indigenous peoples has ceased to necessarily be a stigma, as can be seen for example in Bolivia, where the proportion of the population claiming indigenous identity increased between the census of 1992 and that of 2001.

Among the most notable effects of the constitutional realignments are educational reforms in the Andean region that seek to include indigenous languages in primary education in order to develop decoding skills and literacy through them (López, 2001), under the rubric of intercultural bilingual education, indigenous education or ethno-education (see López and Sichra, *Intercultural Bilingual Education Among Indigenous Peoples in Latin America*, Volume 5). This is an arduous and paradoxical process, given the difficulty of erasing a long, painful history of discrimination towards everything indigenous; something that characterized—and still does—public schools in charge of ‘civilizing’ through Spanish literacy (Hornberger, 2000; Oliart, 2004). Nowadays, sustained by the diglossic relation between Spanish and indigenous languages prevalent in Andean societies despite constitutional and political changes, ‘writing and literacy are closely associated with the hegemonic language’ (López, 2001, p. 211).

The Freirean (1970) pedagogical current in Latin America of the 1970s and 1980s established the idea that writing can be an instrument of political participation, permitting processes of self-affirmation through reading the reality of the world. Raising awareness of a subordinate condition (in those times, of the popular sectors) went in tandem with introducing literacy. This was originally conceived of as Spanish literacy targeting the working population and the urban proletariat. From various scenarios and with the contribution of several actors—NGOs, indigenous intellectuals, rural union organizations, universities—a rich vein of literacy in Andean languages has been developing along the lines of ‘reading reality to write history’ (Pereson, Cendales and Cendales, 1983, p. 152). The fact that oral history and

life testimonies became crucial in this process of establishing literacy during the decades of de facto governments, political oppression and social exclusion is not coincidental. Raising silenced voices in order to narrate history through testimony not only updates historical awareness but 'can also have a political role in the sense of wanting to influence the present, transform the order of things, and project towards a different future' (Howard-Malverde, 1999, p. 341).

In La Paz, Aymara-Spanish bilingual transcriptions of community history, indigenous and union struggles, indigenous leaders and schools and oral tradition and life stories, all of indigenous authorship, were sought out using ethnographic methods and published by the *Taller de Historia Oral Andina* (THOA), the *Instituto de Historia Social de Bolivia* (HISBOL) and the History Department of the Universidad Mayor de San Andrés. Participants included Aymara intellectuals and descendants of local rulers' representatives or *caciques apoderados*, who had launched a movement in Bolivia at the end of the nineteenth century to recover and secure original community lands from state plundering by obtaining old titles signed by the Spanish Crown. Focusing on action-research in Cochabamba, the *Centro de Comunicación y Desarrollo Andino* (CENDA) generated bilingual publications in Quechua and Spanish, collecting oral history and literature on peasant survival strategies in health, agricultural wisdom, community leadership and union struggles. In all these cases, publications were targeted as much to indigenous activists and authors, adults and children in rural areas, as to urban mestizo readers.

For 20 consecutive years now, CENDA has been editing the rural bilingual magazine CONOSUR *Ñawpaqman* (Southern Cone *Forward*). Its contents, relevant to peasant life and political and social movements in Cochabamba, Bolivia, are collected periodically from its own rural readers and returned to them as registered oral discourse (Garcés, 2005). This work is therefore engaged in 'generating new styles and new usages, (with) the grand art of letting people feel that this is their language, that there is nothing artificial in it' (Albó, 2001, p. 9). Stories collected for two decades and regularly appearing in the newspaper have been republished as full-colour editions, along with other material in indigenous language, for school libraries established by the Bolivian Educational Reform at the end of the nineties.

In Peru, the Andean Centre for Education and Promotion (*Centro Andino de Educación y Promoción*, CADEP) publishes traditions and narratives in bilingual editions that recuperate contents related to myths, to the era of the *hacienda*, and aspects of culture; they also preserve some of this material as audio-recorded oral testimony. The Bartolomé de las Casas Andean Regional Studies Centre in Cusco has published several bilingual texts of oral history and oral literature.

In this line of literacy aimed at political empowerment, there is also considerable documentation in Ecuador of community and individual histories of participation in struggles of the 1960s and 1970s to recover lands occupied by hacienda owners and large landowners. Cayambe in the north of Quito, Chimborazo in the central sierra, and Cañar in the south were centres of peasant indigenous movements that stood out in their struggle to advance recognition of their rights to their own education, territory, organization and political participation. These issues came to light in bilingual texts collected and published by the Catholic University of Quito and the undergraduate course in Andean Linguistics and Bilingual Education at the University of Cuenca.

In all three of these countries, between the 1980s and 1990s, scholars, writers, and academics, Andean and foreign alike, compiled oral tradition, stories, legends, riddles, and songs in a wide range of texts for diffusion, cultural affirmation and study, but principally in order to recover and preserve them in writing so they would not disappear as oral patrimony. The Experimental Project for Bilingual Education in Puno, Peru, sponsored by the German Technical Cooperation, also produced texts in Quechua and Aymara. In all these cases, indigenous authorship, although situated in a local or regional context, is anonymous (commonly known as popular cultural wealth).

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Ironically, problems in indigenous literacy do not spring from a failure to recognize Andean languages and cultures, but from ideological notions embedded in Andean governments' lack of political will to face the promotion of writing and literacy in indigenous languages as instruments of power in the broadest sense. It is crucial to keep in mind the almost absolute weight granted everything related to Spanish literacy, writing and decoding skills, promoted by the globalizing and development-oriented current that underlies current state policies. National societies voluntarily assume this sort of dogma, with hegemonic sectors transmitting it to indigenous communities and individuals. Principles sustaining all types of international and national policies are therein crystallized and can be summarized as follows: Spanish decoding skills have intrinsic instrumental value in overcoming poverty and Spanish literacy is an inalienable right to participate as a citizen and a requisite for democracy. This strongly internalized faith, materialized in development through written Spanish and the consequential hierarchical differentiation between those who know how to write and those who do not, has been well documented in several Quechua speaking communities (Hornberger and King, 1996; Salomon, 2004b; Zavala, 2002). Contradictory as it may seem, this ideological current is

spreading among the indigenous organizations themselves, and is being fostered as state policy by the new Bolivian government (January 2006) that has an indigenous and popular orientation.

Linguists, education specialists and indigenous organizations continue to place enormous importance on problems concerning alphabets and orthography for indigenous languages, yet invest very little consideration to writing and literacy issues. Establishing written indigenous language was probably important per se to exemplify its equality and its potential equivalence with the dominant language. On the other hand, the policy and practice of public bilingual education has promoted a normative notion of writing that hinders and distances written practice of a daily nature (King, 2001). In the same vein, literacy in Andean languages in rural areas may actually undermine the very languages meant to be preserved and reaffirmed (Arnold and Yapita, 2000). With regard to this 'technical' vision of writing that, far from approaching literacy remains at the level of decoding, the vicious circle is closed by evidence that 'alphabetic non-literacy remains widespread and is a common focus of governmental and non-governmental development projects in Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador' (Arnold and Yapita, 2000).

Even where there are attempts to transcend the orthographic issue in order to promote writing as a useful tool in daily life, efforts in adult education and in primary school education tend to present literacy as the only medium to create and transmit cultural knowledge, ignoring or nullifying other Andean linguistic and cultural media (Howard-Malverde, 1998). Indigenous cultures are cultures of orality and of argumentation that grant central value to spoken words, a crucial characteristic that cannot be denied or ignored by failing to articulate a connection between orality and writing. If indigenous peoples have not appropriated writing, it is because it has been introduced without taking into account its relation to existing social practices in the community. Writing must cease to be a form of acculturation and rather be incorporated into indigenous social practices, without implying a loss of value for the spoken word or their own writings. It is a matter of recognizing writing's social value and ceasing to understand it as a merely educational or technical skill.

At the same time, this means recognizing the wealth Andean cultures exhibit in their diverse textual expressions. For example, Franquemont (1994, p. 362) wonders, 'How is it that textiles could represent information and ideas so effectively that the sophisticated Andean civilizations never felt the need to develop writing?' From this perspective, our failure to understand the textile system condemns us to perpetual illiteracy in Andean thought. Close inquiry into what

was and is present in the textile arts, pottery and music would further our understanding of the cultural, social and political meanings of the various textual practices. As Desrosiers (1994, p. 361) specifies, 'textile techniques have probably constituted a means of resistance to acculturation, which would explain both their preservation in numerous communities and their sudden abandonment by those seeking to partake of a new system of social relations pertaining to urban life.'

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Considering the above in the light of the ideological model that 'concentrates on the overlap and interaction of oral and literate modes rather than stressing a 'great divide'' (Street, 1984, p. 3), a couple of promising viewpoints emerge for the future. On the one hand, understanding and promoting indigenous literacy must take as point of departure the indigenous languages themselves and their characteristic orality. On the other hand, multiple, complementary modes of literacy (alphabetic, graphic, textile) must be taken into account.

Within formal education, this integrated perspective of literacy would build on the mutual influences among cultural, discursive and writing practices, in order to develop local, not universal, teaching and learning methods (Arnold and Yapita, 2000). Childhood literacy within the community realm is undoubtedly the most promising path, entailing the fostering of diverse writings, beyond imposition of a standardized norm or of school contents and topics. Existing experiences along these lines display great creative, stylistic and graphic wealth, where social meanings compete with those of identity, affect and self-esteem.

As for the development of indigenous language practice and functionality in academic spaces, the challenge implies overcoming the traditional narrative genres of stories, myths and legends, and penetrating into informative, descriptive, argumentative and other genres. For this, however, the starting point would not be Spanish discourse models, but rather the discourse forms and resources of the oral languages, such as metaphor, rhetoric, textual inference and ambiguity, and non-linear argument structure. In order to advance this task of respecting the structural particularity of orality, Calvo (1993) proposes a pragmatic grammar that responds to the specificities of orality, in which, for example, the circular organization of narrative text might be described. Sichra (2001) refers to the recognition of oral language discursive resources to stimulate indigenous students' creativity in formal scholarly events, such as the production of academic texts in the Masters program in Bilingual Intercultural Education at PROEIB Andes in

Cochabamba, Bolivia. In this way, the pedagogic practice of writing texts in indigenous languages according to Spanish molds, a consequence of an imposed literacy, could begin to be overcome (Ivanic and Moss, 1991). Paraphrasing these authors, the proposal is to go beyond a literacy where the permitted style and content range are set by external social institutions *of the Spanish learned culture*, and promote a self-generated literacy stemming from peoples' own interests, needs and purposes, where there is freedom to adopt the very content and styles of *oral indigenous cultures*. Elaborating, among others, academic, technical and pedagogical texts *in* Quechua and Aymara, and not only *on* Quechua and Aymara languages and cultures would further this line (Von Gleich, 2004).

The fact that Andean cities and capitals are becoming indigenous, and that formal spaces like higher education or the written mass media are being conquered for the use of indigenous languages, will no doubt encourage biliteracy in accordance with the interculturality evident in Latin American societies (Hornberger, 1997). Literacy events in which two languages intervene will probably exceed monolingual events in indigenous languages, given the advance of bilingualism in cities and the expansion of Spanish to rural areas.

As for multimodal writing, textiles have until recently been studied mostly as historical or modern products from three perspectives: firstly, to understand the cognitive and cultural meaning of their structure and techniques; secondly, to discover their semiotic meaning and related visual and cognitive grammar; and thirdly, to explore their use as clothing, for ritual purposes, and as means to transmit collective memory. Currently, attention is being drawn to the ability and practice of weaving as a process of acquiring socially relevant knowledge (Crickmay, 2002). There is evidence that, during their primary socialization stage, indigenous children learn through the language of textiles the repertoire of textual practices cherished by the community, such as narratives, songs and music (Arnold and Yapita, 2000). A very promising vein is for indigenous professionals to study these indigenous literacies from the perspective of the users themselves (Castillo, 2005). This perspective on indigenous pedagogy reclaims indigenous peoples' sociocultural childrearing and socialization processes for producing, systematizing and spreading their own knowledges and literacies.

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## LITERACIES IN THE LIVES OF URBAN YOUTH

### INTRODUCTION

A period of approximately 30 years from the late 1970s through 2006 frames the discussion in this chapter of out-of-school literacy practices. Young people born during this period can be seen as “natives” of the digital age. A key feature of this age is that “new media” enabled by digital computer technologies greatly increased the mobility, interchangeability, and accessibility of texts and signs while magnifying and simplifying processes for their production and dissemination. Video games, instant or text messages, blogs, zines, email, ipods, ichtat, and Internet sites like myspace are digitized places that many young people inhabit. Importantly, these new media have enabled “new literacies” (see also Leander and Lewis, *Literacy and Internet Technologies*; Street, *New Literacies, New Times: Developments in Literacy Studies*; Schultz and Hull, *Literacies In and Out of School in the United States, Volume 2*). Another consideration for this period is its overlap and reciprocal influences with the hip-hop generation—youth around the world who utilize particular styles of music, language, dress, and other practices linked to hip-hop culture for core representations of meaning and identity. During the early part of this period, ways that youth were framed in public discourse contrasted with ways young people have begun to use new media to enact alternative frames. Finally, this period reflected fundamental changes in how literacy itself was conceptualized, moving from traditional literacy models that focused on writing and speech as the central forms of representation to new literacy and new media models that explore multimodal and multi-textual representational practices and forms “situated” in specific social contexts.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Earlier theories of literacy as static skills that had pervasive cognitive consequences by scholars like Jack Goody and Ian Watt, David Olsen, and Walter Ong began to encounter challenges in the late 1970s and early 1980s from a number of scholars like Ruth Finnegan, Sylvia Scribner, Michael Cole, Denny Taylor, and Marcia Farr who reported ethnographic research on actual literacy practices in various social contexts. Heath (1983) was a classic example of these studies that described

the range of literacy events and practices of different participants acting together in social situations. She explored the language socialization of children in two communities she called Trackton and Roadville and compared these processes in conjunction with a third community of townspeople. Among other things, she found very different literacy events occurring.

Storytelling, for example, varied considerably from community to community. The black residents of Trackton saw the facts of a story very differently from the white residents of Roadville. Although Trackton storytellers may have based their stories on actual events, they liberally fictionalized the details such that the outcome of the story might bear no resemblance to what really happened. These highly elaborated tales were greatly valued. However, parents in this community almost never read stories to their children. In Roadville, on the other hand, stories were read to children and stories would also stick to the facts. There residents usually waited to be invited to tell their stories where in Trackton stories were self-initiated in order to reveal personal status and power. These literacy events had different functions and different social meanings in the different communities. This work by Heath and others during the late 70s and early 80s made early contributions to re-conceptualizing non-school literacy practices by delineating distinct and culturally specific ways of making and receiving meaning in a variety of textual mediums.

Extending the re-conceptions of literacy that were emerging from various ethnographic studies, Street (1984) argued that earlier theories claiming that literacy was a universal and decontextualized set of skills that did not change significantly from one social setting to another reflected an “autonomous model” that was severely limited for understanding actual literacy practices. He put forth an “ideological model” as an alternative framework for understanding literacy in terms of concrete social practices embedded in and given meaning through different ideologies. He chose the term “ideological” to denote that these practices were aspects of power structures as well as of cultures. In further developing this framework, Street (1993) began to outline a “new literacy studies” approach to focus more comprehensively on how literacy is linked to social and cultural contexts. In this edited volume, Street brought together research from a variety of world cultures to investigate and demonstrate the different meanings and uses of literacy in different cultures and societies. This work globalized what Heath (1983) had done with local communities and families in one geographical region.

One early revision of the autonomous model of literacy was a “continuum model” that challenged the notion of a great divide between orality and written texts. Yet, this model also tended to reify “literacy in itself at the expense of recognition of its location in structures of power and ideology” (Street, 1993, p. 4). Street co-founded a group

of international scholars (see Gee, 1990; Barton and Hamilton, 1998; Barton, Hamilton and Ivanic, 1999; Pahl and Rowsell, 2006; etc.) called the New Literacy Studies Group who took the view that literacies were multiple rather than a monolithic concept, and that they should be studied as variably and historically “situated” practices within social, cultural, economic, and political contexts. The contributions reviewed in the following section reflect this new literacy perspective.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

A wave of qualitative research and critique influenced by the early developments in studying and theorizing non-school literacy practices began to explore sociocultural contexts like transnational communities (Guerra, 1998, 2004; Gutierrez, 1997; Lam, 2004), families (Cushman, 1998), churches (Moss, 1994), sports (Mahiri, 1994), youth social and peer groups (Finders, 1996; Smith and Wilhelm, 2002; Willis, 1990) youth organizations (Heath and McLaughlin, 1993; Maira and Soep, 2005), gangs (Cowan, 2004), rap music and spoken word venues (Miller, 2004; Rose, 1994), and digital mediated spaces like the Internet (Alvermann, 2002), video games (Gee, 2004), and other electronic media (Johnson, 2005). This work documented and analyzed literacy practices and built additional, grounded theories about learning and literacy in non-school settings.

For example, Guerra’s (1998) transnational fieldwork with a Mexicano social network of several hundred people residing both in Chicago and in a rural *rancho* in Mexico further problematized notions of dichotomies between orality and literacy. His research indicated that both were highly overlapping linguistic (rhetorical) practices that resisted any clear characterization of fixed boundaries between them. Furthering this analysis, he used the literacy practices of one young woman in this social network to demonstrate her use of overlapping, situated literacies and a “nomadic consciousness” (shaped by continual physical and linguistic border crossings) to enact what he termed “transcultural repositioning” – a rhetorical ability to productively move back and forth between different languages, literacies, dialects, social settings, and ways of seeing and thinking (Guerra, 2004). Transcultural repositioning elides the simplicity of dichotomous models of literacy and can be connected to Gutierrez (1997) and her collaborators’ notion of a “third space” for language and literacy learning. Moving beyond discourses that position literacies as oppositional and hierarchical, these researchers posited a third space in which less distinction is placed on formal versus informal learning and more emphasis is placed on normalizing multiple pathways and literacies as learning resources. Lam (2004) utilized a slightly different third space metaphor in her

research on the transnational discourse of Chinese youth to illuminate the nature of their reading and discussion of international comic books as a fundamental social practice linked to literacy learning and the transformation of their cultural identity. Here the third space was the site of new or emerging frames of reference and processes of signification afforded between cultures of transnational youth.

A number of significant contributions followed leads from Heath (1983) to look further at community literacy practices revealed in families, churches, youth social groups, and neighborhood based organizations serving youth. Cushman (1998) showed the rich repertoire of literacy practices that poor black women exhibit as they interact with societal institutions from which they need to get resources. Moss's (1994) work on black sermons delivered from full, partial, or no texts continued the complication of intersections between oral and written language. Mahiri (1994) described and assessed an array of spontaneous and adaptive literacy practices of preadolescent African American males linked to their involvement in a community sports program. Smith and Wilhelm (2002) looked at boys and young men from a variety of backgrounds to investigate why males disproportionately underperform in literacy and found wide-ranging practices of literacy that usually do not get valued in schools. Cowan (2004) researched the low-rider car culture of some Latino males (who are often assumed to be gang members) and found unique literacy practices associated with constructing reading cars as symbolic texts and powerful identity markers. By contrast, Willis (1990) noted that traditional conceptions of symbolic creativity "have no real connection with most young people or their lives" (p. 1). Focusing on adolescent girls, Finders (1996) captured both visible and "hidden" literacies that girls use to construct personal identity and to maintain friendship groups. All of these studies or critiques acknowledged the contrast of their copious findings of complex and expansive practices of literacy to how little is known or utilized from these practices in schools and other societal institutions.

Other more recent contributions have explored the workings and implications of novel literacy practices connected to and often enabled by digital technologies. Manovich (2001) described how earlier visual media eventually converged with (or was consumed by) digital computer technologies through the expanding capability of computers to translate all existing media into numerical data. The result was a "new media" that incorporated graphics, moving images, sounds, shapes, and other forms of texts into data that was computable and thereby interchangeable. These qualities allowed for new forms of authorial assemblage through re-mixing, sampling, and cutting-and-pasting of highly mutable and (through the Internet) highly accessible texts. It created what Miller (2004) termed a "gift economy" that supplies abundant textual

raw materials that allow consumers of all kinds of literacy texts to easily become producers of them. Johnson (2005) argued that as these kinds transformations in meaning making are taking place, “the culture is getting more intellectually demanding, not less” (p. 9). Gee (2003), in his analysis of how these transformations play out specifically in the domain of video games noted that the theory of learning reflected in these digital environments actually “fits better with the modern, high-tech, global world today’s children and teenagers live in than do the theories (and practices) of learning that they see in school” (p. 7).

A number of studies have attempted to understand how and what intellectual demands and literacy practices are engaged by youth in digital environments. For the studies in her edited volume Alvermann (2002) broadened “the term *literacies* to include the performative, visual, aural, and semiotic understandings necessary for constructing and reconstructing print-and-nonprint-based texts” (p. viii). Chapters in this volume describe the new “attention” economy that is becoming increasingly pervasive; they portray literacies in the lives of people defined as “millennial” adolescents or “Shape-Shifting Portfolio People”; and, they argue that youth participation in digital technologies offers dramatically new ways of constructing meanings and identities.

An illuminating example of the some of these considerations was provided in a study by Fleetwood (2005). Her description and analysis of the production process for a narrative video about youth life in San Francisco’s Mission District that was to be shot from the youth’s perspective revealed provocative issues connected to practices of literacy and the creation and representation of identity through digital visual media. The question this study raised was could this visual media be utilized by youth for “authentic” projections, or did the larger community and organizational context surrounding the use of this media inherently work to mainly racialize and contrive youth identity? It was a question of could practices of literacy associated with visual media production work to transform rather than merely conform perceptions of youth. Fleetwood concludes that youth media production does provide possibilities for alternative representations of youth, but it does not resolve the complicated problems of youth being represented authentically.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

In attempting to apprehend more authentic youth practices and representations, recent research has worked to counter characterizations of youth in mainstream media and political discourse as a “transitional” category and often marked as violent, or dangerous, or weird: “the devious computer hacker, the fast-talking rapper, the ultra-fashionable Japanese teenager teetering on platform heels. Youth in these incarnations

personify a given society's deepest anxieties" (Maira and Soep, 2005, p. xv). The on-going work of these researchers attempts to capture and critique "the transnational imaginaries of youth culture" facilitated by the global reach of technology, but "always in dialectical tension with both national ideologies and local affiliations" (p. xxvi).

Other on-going research on learning and literacy of youth outside of schools attempts to capture their authentic textual productions and symbolic representations at the intersection of new or alternative digital media and the local and global manifestations of hip-hop culture. Miller (2004) continues to demonstrate the cross-fertilizing connections between hip-hop and technology noting, for example, that rap artists were quickest to exploit digital samplers and sequencers when these and other technologies suited their cultural purposes. A decade earlier Rose (1994) had argued that "hip hop transforms stray technological parts intended for cultural and industrial trash heaps into sources of pleasure and power. These transformations have become a basis of digital imagination all over the world" (p. 22). Now, contemporary youth in the U.S and globally are utilizing technological resources to sample, cut and paste, and re-mix multimedia and multimodal texts for replay in new configurations, just as hip hop DJs reconfigure images, words, and sounds to play anew (see Richardson, *African American Literacies*, Volume 2).

Work by Mahiri and a group of collaborators (2007) is one example of research at the intersection of digital media and hip-hop culture. One of the originators of hip-hop, DJ Herc, claimed that it "has given young people a way to understand their world" (Quoted in Chang, 2005, p. xi). It is widely considered to be a salient voice of contemporary youth – a voice that is electrified, digitized, and spoken through rappers' mikes, DJ music mixes, dance styles, and graffiti. The mic of the music DJ or the rap and spoken word MC is a potent symbol at the intersection of power and pleasure on hand inside this dynamic and comprehensive aspect of youth culture. The mic also marks the intersection and interaction of production and consumption of hip-hop texts and styles. Mahiri and his collaborators are documenting and analyzing the wide-ranging practices of literacy inside hip-hop culture focused on how these practices are manifested on both sides of the mic by producers and consumers who are writing and reading the world through vibrant, provocative, music-centric lenses.

Other work in progress by a group of distinguished literacy researchers under the direction of Banks (2007) is focused on understanding and theorizing the nature of learning that is "life-long, life-wide, and life-deep." This research is comprehensively addressing the nature of learning in the multiple contexts and valued practices of everyday life across the life span and attempting to connect the different and

continuously changing “whats” of learning to the different and continually changing “whos” of learners. One strand of this research contends that for youth particularly, the complexity of rapidly changing repertoires of practice might be best understood as “semiotic domains” that Gee (2003) noted as “any set of practices that recruit one or more modalities (e.g., oral or written language, images, equations, symbols, sounds, gestures, graphs, artifacts, etc.) [to create] and communicate distinctive types of meaning” (p. 18). This research on learning for youth that is life-long, life-wide, and life-deep is attempting to understand semiotic domains that are increasingly linked to interactive, web compatible, digital technologies like cell phones, ipods, video games, audio and video recording and playback devices, as well as computers.

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Traditional conceptions of print-based literacy do not account for the richness and complexity of actual literacy practices in young people’s lives enabled by new technologies that magnify and simplify access to and creation of multimodal texts. Similarly, traditional research processes (that intimately link to traditional conceptions of print-based literacy) are not well suited to capture these widely variable, highly changeable, temporal, and local acts of meaning making and identity construction. The novel, diverse, and transient text production and utilization we attempt to document, analyze, and publish are only realized long “after the fact” and thereby increase the possibility that the fact has significantly changed.

How do we bridge the generational divide between researchers and researched? If our informants are digital natives, we are more like digital tourists who are recognized immediately as if we were wearing fanny packs and white running shoes. I have tried to circumvent this problem by working with young graduate student researchers, but even they are quickly reminded that they are “old school.” More importantly, how do we bridge conceptual divides that distort our views of youth practices as they are filtered through our more static cultural models? Particularly the primacy of modes of meaning making and representation for youth seem to have shifted from written texts to more dynamic and interactive visual, tactile, and sonic texts, yet the primacy of modes for attempting to report these shifts seems not to be affected at all by these changes.

### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

A key challenge for the future seems to be to imagine and implement new ways to more fully and more accurately capture and reflect the

significance of everyday practices of youth in part through their textual productions. Willis (1990) noted, “that there is a vibrant symbolic life and symbolic creativity in everyday life, everyday activity and expression—even if it is sometimes invisible, looked down on or spurned. We don’t want to invent it or propose it. We want to recognize it—literally re-cognize it” (p. 1).

One of thing that needs to be “re-cognized” in research on the literacy and learning of youth is the centrality of practices of meaning making and representation through musical texts the selection of which enact narratives—sonic significations—that are increasingly enabled by digital technologies. “Sound,” Miller (2004) claimed, “has become a digital signifier whose form adjusts its shape in front of us like an amorphous cloud made of zeros and ones” (p. 5). His point and intent (that more literacy researchers may also need to engage) is to create a “rhythm science”—“a forensic investigation of sound as a vector of coded language that goes from the physical to the informational and back again” (pp. 4–5).

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LITERACIES IN AND OUT OF SCHOOL  
IN SOUTH AFRICA

INTRODUCTION

I imagine another universe, not beyond our reach, in which [we] can jointly affirm our common identities (even as the warring singularists howl at the gate). We have to make sure, above all, that our mind is not halved by a horizon. Amartya Sen (2006) *Identity and Violence*

Literacy learning in South Africa has never been value-free. Since print-based literacy was introduced in mission schools in the nineteenth century, through the apartheid era of Bantu Education (1948–1994), the idea of literacy has been constructed by social groups and governments as a marker of power and control, of exclusion and inclusion: between ‘literate’ and ‘illiterate’, ‘Christians’ and ‘heathens’, between the ‘civilised’ and the ‘barbaric’, between ‘traditionalists’ and ‘modernists’, between ‘English’ and ‘indigenous languages’. The advent of democracy in South Africa in 1994 brought with it a new dispensation based on human rights, social justice, equality and multilingualism. Since then, attention has turned to what a more inclusive, culturally responsive literacy curriculum might look like: what does it mean, in practice, to design a curriculum which works towards integrated understandings of South African identities, despite the diversity of races, cultures, languages, religions and histories? There is a progressive, learner-centred curriculum in place, but paradoxically, the autonomous model of literacy still prevails in most South African classrooms (Chisholm, 2004; Kell, 2001), where multilingual children are learning through the medium of English, their second or third language. Although there are pockets of good literacy instruction in some schools, not enough children are attaining the necessary literacy levels required for success in school. What counts as literacy is, in the main, constructed within very narrow bands: ‘in school’ literacy learning in the early stages is often the meaningless performance of phonic drills and practice, whether children are learning literacy in their home languages, or in English. At higher levels, literacy is taught as a set of decontextualised, technical skills, with a focus on written language in its standardised forms. There is little attention to literacy as a technology for the

interpreting and designing of meaning for diverse purposes, discourses and audiences. As a result, there is evidence of low literacy achievement and high dropout rates in the majority of schools.

This chapter presents a selected overview of research projects in South Africa, which investigate alternative ways of conceptualising literacy learning: here, literacy is constructed as a multiple semiotic practice, used, inserted and transformed by agentive human beings across local and global sites, contexts and spaces, discourses, languages and genres. In these multiple forms of crossings (Street, 2005), the relationship between learning in everyday lives and school learning, and what might be an effective relationship between them, is explored (Hull and Schultz, 2002). In doing so, it attempts to reconfigure taken for granted assumptions about what constitutes rich locations for literacy and learning.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The study of literacy is an under-developed but emerging field of enquiry in South African scholarship. An important body of work in post-colonial, cultural and historical studies (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1993; Harries, 2001; Hofmeyr, 1993) explores the relations between indigenous cultural and linguistic forms in Southern Africa, which were predominantly oral and performative in nature, and their interaction with western cultural forms and epistemologies, including literacy. The orientation of much of this work views literacy as a socially situated practice which African people appropriated for their own visions of modernity and embedded in multiple symbolic systems. This interactive relationship between African and western forms of knowledge positions African intellectual agency as central to these processes.

In her study of oral historical narrative in a Transvaal chieftdom that was radically transformed by colonialism and capitalism, Hofmeyr (1993) explores the dynamic relationship between orality and literacy in the history of this community. She traces the impact of mission school literacy, through its production of primary basal readers, on out-of-school indigenous oral storytelling practices, and vice versa. She argues that the overall impact of the agencies of colonialism on oral performance was ambiguous. It was not literacy per se which transformed oral forms: rather it was the political intervention of literate institutions like the church, state or school, which shaped and asserted how literacy was to be used and understood. Drawing on a classic study of Xhosa oral storytelling practices by Scheub (1975), Hofmeyr reveals the gendered nature of oral storytelling practices in African households and challenges the idea of indigenous or 'traditional' oral genres as fixed and stable: rather, she demonstrates

how they shift and transform in response to social and political dynamics and pressures. The instability and hybridity of cross-cultural forms, modes and practices is an important idea which underpins this chapter.

In the field of educational scholarship, the political struggle against apartheid injustices provides the backdrop against which the major critical debates in educational theory and practice have taken place (Christie, 1992). There has been little attention, until more recently, to focusing on literacy education and pedagogy per se, except in the field of adult basic literacy education. Kallaway's (1984) edited volume of essays, *Apartheid and Education*, explores the origins and evolution of black educational policy, including education beyond schools in the radical adult education night school movement during the first-half of the twentieth century. Most of the investigation into school-based literacy has taken place within the context of wider debates on language-in-education policies within the context of the relative status and positions of English, Afrikaans and the indigenous African languages (Heugh, Siegruhn and Pludderhann, 1995). This is particularly the case in relation to the debates around the language of choice for early literacy, in essence, the impact of mother-tongue literacy instruction and English literacy instruction on children's initial literacy learning. Hartshorne (1992) points out that during the apartheid era, decisions about language-in-education policy were intended to divide African communities and limit their social mobility and access to higher education. Since 1994, in spite of the political will to promote multilingualism, and declare all South African languages equal, official languages, English is rapidly monopolising powerful domains like government, the media, schools and business. The dominance of English needs to be seen in relation to the struggle to establish a body of literature in African languages, the absence of which has a direct impact on the range and availability of written materials for early literacy learning.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS AND WORK IN PROGRESS

In 1994, the ANC government, under the leadership of Nelson Mandela, initiated a new era in South African education. Nineteen departments of education, previously divided along racial lines, were combined into one national department of education. Faced with the challenges of producing educational policies which would address the inequities of the past and enable young people to enter the globalised world of the twenty-first century, the government introduced curriculum reform in 1998 through a national curriculum, Curriculum 2005, an outcomes-based model of education. This was later revised as the Revised

National Curriculum Statement in 2002. The South African model of outcomes-based education (OBE) differs from its international counterparts in its explicit emphasis on constitutionally enshrined values of redress, equity, the development of a democratic culture based on social and environmental justice, fundamental human rights and inclusivity, multilingualism and multiculturalism. The curriculum is 'learner-centred' and promotes participatory, interactive models of learning, emphasising the important role of the learner's interests, prior knowledge, history and identity in the learning process.

It was in this context of political and social transformation that a number of important initiatives in the area of literacy research took place. The government set out to redesign the assessment framework for education and training and a concern for literacy and Adult Basic Education was included. A major contribution to re-thinking literacy education within a social practice perspective in South Africa and influencing research traditions, was the path-breaking *Social Uses of Literacy* (Prinsloo and Breier, 1996), a collection of ethnographic case studies on the reading and writing practices of ordinary people in the Western Cape, who had little or no schooling. This volume formed part of the first wave of ethnographic research into local literacies research in the tradition of the New Literacy Studies (Barton, 1994; Heath, 1983; Street, 1984, 1993). This research aimed to make an intervention in adult basic education policy discussions, and challenge the universalism of most policy research by providing detailed accounts of the social uses and meanings attached to literacy in a range of contexts, from informal urban settlements to family farms, from townships to the taxi industry. Whilst the planners of the 1994 parliamentary elections considered 'illiteracy' to be a major barrier to knowing about the election and voting, only 1% of the votes cast were spoilt ballots, despite the fact that the ballot form was complex and lengthy. The work challenges the rhetorical 'literate'/'illiterate' divide operating in many educational and policy circles, that without schooling, adults are a homogenous mass of socially disabled people. The research demonstrates how people are able to draw effectively on local forms of knowledge, literacy mediators and forms of apprenticeship learning, in order to participate in processes and actions which affect their everyday lives.

There is a growing awareness in South Africa of the need for more ecological models of literacy education (cf. Barton, 1994) in which teaching young children to read and write has to be linked into much broader chains of sustainability. In a project focused on early childhood literacy learning, Tshidi Mamabolo an early literacy educator working with children from impoverished communities on the outskirts of Johannesburg, changed her 'autonomous' model of literacy pedagogy through reconfiguring the boundaries between home and school (Stein

and Mamabolo, 2005). She set 'in school' activities which built on children's indigenous knowledges, identities and multilingual practices outside of school. However, she discovered that 'pedagogy was not enough': the effects of hunger, poverty and HIV/AIDS on her children's lives forced her to cross the boundary between school and home backgrounds, to try to 'get everyone on board'—households, families and communities—in order to sustain early literacy development across multiple sites and contexts. In remaking the conditions for reading, Mamabolo recognised that 'home background' rather than being in 'deficit', needs to be positively referenced as a matrix of social relations, social conditions and potentials for social action.

In a different version of an ecological model, Janks (2003) describes a whole school environmental educational development project in a poor school on the outskirts of Pretoria, in which critical literacy was nested within other projects, and contributed to the changes produced in the school. One of these classroom projects involved the children in collecting, explaining and illustrating their everyday games for children in Australia. This project drew on their out-of-school literacies and used their multilingualism as a pedagogic resource (see Freebody, *Critical Literacy Education: On Living with 'Innocent Language'*, Volume 2).

It has been argued that the separation of early childhood development and Adult Basic Education and Training in different sites of delivery and curricula can undermine the potential of learning within the household or family. Culturally sensitive, organic models of family literacy in which meaningful partnerships are formed with family members, have much to offer in enhancing literacy in households. Pioneering work in this field was carried out in the early 1990s by Letta Mashishi (2003), who worked with parents and children in Soweto in the Parents and Schools Learning Clubs Programme (PASLC). These programmes were initially developed on the basis of requests from different communities of parents, who did not possess the requisite literacy skills to providing support to their children in school. The aim of these clubs was twofold: to encourage family members to share their experiences, knowledge of languages and cultural knowledge with their children and other members of the family; and to involve families in the effort to entrench reading, writing and learning as part of the culture of African homes. The PASLC curriculum which evolved over 10 years was based on a model of collaborative action research, allowing for high levels of democratic participation and resulted in synergies which directly impacted on parents' and children's engagement with literacy practices. A central focus of this work was discussion and research into African identities and traditional ways of life, including aspects of genealogy and kinship, musical and oral traditions such as

praise poetry, family totems, family and community histories, which then became the content around which different genres of written texts were produced, in extended family chains of collaboration. Building on the fact that the majority of parents indicated that they had not considered that cultural factors such as family trees and praise poems could be relevant to their children's education, this programme was highly political and challenging in its assertion of the importance of African cultural issues and indigenous knowledges within the realm of family literacy. In this organic, contextualised model of family literacy, parents and children, together, forged an alternative set of texts and concerns to those operating in mainstream schooling.

Another example of a successful intergenerational family literacy programme is the Family Literacy Project, which works with groups of women from remote rural areas in Kwazulu-Natal (Desmond, 2004). This model explores ways in which mothers can support the development of their children's early literacy learning. Through the process of broadening the women's horizons through developing a culture of reading, the women come to understand the importance of their own role in relation to their children's healthy development. In 2003, a home-visiting scheme was launched where group members visited other families, took out books and read to children, and at the same time discussed child development with the parents.

The Children's Early Literacy Learning Project (CELL) is an ethnographic research project in the tradition of the New Literacy Studies, investigating the literacy practices of children across homes, schools, streets and communities. This project is trying to understand the key shaping influences which enable some children, and not others, to read and write in South African schools. This research observes children from a range of socio-economic backgrounds in their home and school environments. In a study of children in their everyday play in the Western Cape, Prinsloo (2004) describes how, in contexts where children's resources for representation are not strictly regulated by adults, the children drew in imaginative and creative ways on multiple semiotic resources from their official school world, peer social world, the world of the media and the home. Their games are characterised by a mix of languages, hybrid narrative resources, images and artefacts from local popular culture, including 'traditional' Xhosa and Christian church influences, from the mass media (TV and radio) and from schooling (see Leander and Lewis, *Literacy and Internet Technologies*, Volume 2). In their home language, isiXhosa, they used rich sources of image, metaphor and music. These practices were in direct contrast to the kinds of literacy pedagogy they encountered in school, which was mainly in the form of highly directed skill and drill teaching. Prinsloo argues that in the absence of meaning making activities in school which

are connected to their social worlds, the children's chances of developing careers as successful readers and writers were limited by the narrowness of their school experience, rather than by their home experiences.

Stein and Slonimsky (2006) present data from the CELL project in their ethnographic study of multimodal literacies involving adult family members and girl children, all of whom are high achievers in school literacy, and who come from a range of socio-economic backgrounds. They investigate the microcultures in each family in relation to its ideological nature (Street, 1984): what kinds of textual practices count, by whom and for what ends, in relation to how different roles and identities for the child both as reader and as subject are constituted and projected. Through an analysis of particular family literacy events in each household, Stein and Slonimsky show how what counts as 'good reading practices' are not the same in each family. At the same time, they demonstrate how each adult family member uses the practice of literacy to project and orientate the child towards certain forms of worldliness. Each adult uses the practice of literacy to develop each girl's capacities to self-regulate, to map pathways of access in relation to aspirations and possible futures. These pathways include how to get access to various forms of linguistic, educational, cultural and economic resources. These pathways are both real and imaginary—the dusty roads which lead out of the 'shacks' and the 'townships' to the city of Johannesburg and beyond. The authors argue that the different ways in which adult family members shape and reshape the 'stuff' of literacy (Kress, 2003) with and for their children has deep effects on children's orientations to the future both as readers and as subjects.

In multilingual South Africa, a culturally responsive literacy curriculum has to include bilingual/multilingual literacy. In spite of new language-in-education policies which actively promote functional multilingualism, most parents want their children to have access to English as the language of power and internationalism (Granville, Janks, Mphahlele, Reed and Watson, 1998). The work of Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa (PRAESA) (Bloch and Alexander, 2003) is committed to promoting African languages and developing African literature in African languages in the face of what they call 'the self-defeating language attitudes of the majority of people'. They argue that full functional use of indigenous languages at all levels of education is central to economic development and the development of democracy in South Africa. They propose that all South African schools should become dual-medium institutions in which the home language is sustained as a language of teaching and learning for as long as possible, alongside a second language of teaching and learning, and in which additional languages are offered as

subjects. An important part of PRAESA's work is enabling and supporting teachers to carry out an additive approach to bilingualism and biliteracy in early childhood classrooms. In order to do this meaningfully and effectively, the project develops multilingual learning materials and story readers for teachers and parents to use in children's initial literacy development.

In an attempt to understand the relationship between school learning and students' learning in their everyday lives, the Wits Multiliteracies Project (Stein and Newfield, 2004) has developed classroom-based pedagogies which are multimodal, multilingual and involve different kinds of 'crossings'—across languages, discourses, popular youth cultural forms, indigenous knowledges and performance arts. The work is based on an application of the New London Group's Pedagogy of Multiliteracies (Cope and Kalantzis, 2000) to a South African context (see also Leander and Lewis, *Literacy and Internet Technologies*, Volume 2). These pedagogies attempt to move beyond literacy in the form of written language only. Members of the project argue that school literacies exclude the life worlds of those who participate in them and they work with indigenous knowledge systems, cultural practices and languages within a critical framework that takes account also of school and global literacies. Brenner and Andrew (2004), working in a university context, explore the relationship between visual literacy, identity and knowledge, in their class assignments which focus on local craft forms, such as the *minceka*, a traditional cloth inscribed with narrative forms, worn by women in Limpopo Province. Mamabolo's Grade 1 children at Olifantsvlei Primary School made dolls based on traditional South African fertility figures, as part of a project exploring history, culture and neighbourhood.

Similar work which explores the contribution of multimodality to designing culturally responsive curricula at the tertiary level is Archer's (2006) research which demonstrates how pedagogies which incorporate multimodality and indigenous knowledges can yield successful results for students from diverse language and cultural backgrounds, who are studying academic literacy in an engineering foundation course at university.

In an attempt to engage 'at risk' students in a Soweto secondary school, an English teacher, Robert Maungedzo consciously worked with multimodal pedagogies to stimulate his disaffected Grade 11 students into creative production, hoping that this might stimulate them to returning to poetry, which they had abandoned in the school because it was 'too difficult' (Newfield and Maungedzo, 2006). In this project, the students collectively made a cultural identity text, a large cloth stitched with maps of South Africa, ethnic dolls, praise poems and contemporary poems. They made this cloth to send to teenagers in

China in an international exchange project. The mixed media, multi-modal cloth they called TEBUWA, which means ‘to speak’. Since this time, they have returned to poetry and written a collection of their poems which have been published. Their poems experiment in playful and original ways with forms of rap, text messaging and different South African languages, including township idiom, youth slang and the rhythms of kwaito, a genre of local popular music (see Richardson, *African American Literacies*, Volume 2).

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

South Africa is engaged in a sustained process of recovery and reconstruction after centuries of racism, violence and oppression. The extremely damaging effects of generations of appalling apartheid education and poverty live on in people’s psyches, senses of identity and selfhood. They also continue to affect people in very material ways, in terms of grossly unequal access in the society to quality education, and therefore to successful literacy learning. This is especially the case for the rural poor (Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005). Whilst major gains have been made in overhauling apartheid education, with compulsory, improved access to schooling, free schooling for the poor, accelerated provision of school infrastructures, more equitable distribution of resources, school-feeding programmes, better teacher–learner ratios, and better quality textbooks in all schools, the fact remains that the majority of South African children are struggling to become successful readers and writers in school, *in any language*. There are many structural, social and educational reasons for this, some of which have been outlined earlier. A key area of concern is literacy pedagogy: the new national curriculum allows for a range of meaningful literacy activities, which incorporate and build on learner’s knowledges, semiotic resources and multilingualism. However, teachers find this difficult to implement, for historical, cultural and pedagogical reasons (Adler and Reed, 2002). Educators have only recently begun to note the differences in the long-standing international debate between phonics and whole language literacy pedagogies. Teacher education programmes, both pre-service and in-service, which focus on literacy as a social practice can work with teachers on how to sustain and develop learners’ literacies in ways which make sense to learners and which draw on their everyday worlds. Part of such programmes involve the development of teachers’ own multiple literacies, as most teachers were educated in the impoverished apartheid model. This seems to me an important way forward to improving literacy pedagogies. Another area of concern is resources: learners all over the country need access to literacy materials in different South African languages, in print-based

and electronic forms. These materials are more readily available in urban areas: hopefully, more sustained attention will be given by the government to adults and children in remote, rural areas, who live in conditions of extreme deprivation and hardship.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

As researchers in the New Literacy Studies have powerfully demonstrated, literacy learning is part of much broader chains of sustainability and social development. In a developing country like South Africa, which straddles first and third world economies simultaneously, it is important to 'get everyone on board' to raise public awareness around the value and importance of literacy in sustaining democracy and human rights. Families, households, communities, the business sector and the government need to support the development of literacy as one of the enabling conditions for the practice of freedom, at all levels and in all sectors of the society. Culturally responsive models of family literacy can have positive benefits to all participants. At the same time, rigorous, ongoing academic research into literacy practices across educational contexts needs to continue and be part of education programs at tertiary levels. Whilst this chapter has mainly concentrated on research investigating out-of-school literacies, it is fair to say that very little research has actually been conducted into 'in' school literacies: it is time to look in much deeper ways into children's actual experience of literacy learning across the curriculum. This involves getting a better sense of children's engagement with literacy at different grades and levels, across discourses, genres and technologies.

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## LITERACIES IN LATIN AMERICA

### INTRODUCTION

Latin America is a heterogeneous region with deep cultural, social, economic and linguistic differences. International agencies such as UNESCO, World Bank, and the Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL) refer to the region as Latin America and the Caribbean in order to include not only the land mass stretching from Mexico to Argentina but also the small English, Spanish, and French-speaking islands as well. Disparities in class, race, language, and ethnicity shape literacy in Latin America. In 2000, 20% of the region's income was earned by 5% of the population and 46% of all families were identified as living below the poverty line. Countries such as Brazil, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Haiti still have illiteracy rates above 10% and this figure tends to increase among indigenous peoples. As a region, Latin America has high educational gender equality. Male and female enrollment is nearly equal and the difference between genders in adult literacy statistics is just 4%. However, indigenous peoples are more likely to be illiterate than other groups. Indigenous women are more likely to be illiterate than indigenous men and although illiteracy in urban centers tends to be 6%, it is twice that in rural areas. Any discussion of literacy in Latin America needs to contemplate this socioeconomic reality as well as the history of literacy in the region, the role of schooling in the dissemination of reading and writing, and education policies promoted by international agencies (La Belle, 2000; Prins, 2001; Rivero, 2000; Seda Santana, 2000).

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

School is the social institution traditionally responsible for the education of readers and writers. Starting as early as the 1950s, Latin American countries made universal literacy a national goal and began expanding their school systems in order to guarantee all children a place in a classroom. As a result, literacy rates climbed to 70% in the 1970s, reaching 89% region wide in 2005 (La Belle, 2000; Socialwatch.org, 2005). While most children enroll in school, many fail the early grades and/or drop out before finishing their primary education, creating a potential population for adult education and literacy programs (Ferreiro and

Schmelkes, 1999). However, the role of formal schooling of children should not be underestimated. Latapi and Ulloa (1993) studied the relationship between schooling and the dissemination of literacy. After considering the expansion of the Mexican public school system and adult literacy programs and policies, they concluded that declined illiteracy rates were due more to the growth of formal education, rather than programs designed to teach adults to read and write given the steady increase in school attendance and terminal efficiency and the disappointing outcomes of adult literacy programs.

By the late 1960s, official programs linked literacy to economic development and employment. Seda Santana (2000, p. 41) notes that "the general premise was that industrialized countries have high levels of literacy and therefore reading and writing were necessary conditions for national development." Adult literacy curricula tended to emphasize *alfabetización* or the learning of letters and sounds and then *postalfabetización*, the development of so-called complex skills and abilities considered necessary for the job market. However, many organizers of nonformal education programs associated literacy with Paulo Freire's theories of consciousness raising and oriented their efforts towards building a more socially and politically aware population. Perhaps the best-known endeavor of this type was the literacy campaign in Nicaragua. Before the revolution of 1979, clandestine educational activity persisted for many years. Following the fall of Somoza, the National Literacy campaign, involving 150,000 student volunteers was launched. Employing Freire's methodology, the campaign used short narratives based on the nation's recent struggle as the basis for their program. The organizers claim to have reduced illiteracy in 3 months from 50.3 to 12.98, although there is not a clear picture of the types or depth of literacy achieved (Freeland, 1995; Hornberger, 1997; La Belle, 2000; Lankshear, 1988; Miller, 1985).

The dominant language in continental Latin America is Spanish, except for Brazil where Portuguese is spoken. Over 400 indigenous languages exist in the region, some of them with fewer than 10,000 speakers. In countries such as Bolivia, Paraguay, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, and Peru, the rate of illiteracy among the indigenous population is much higher than the nonindigenous population. One clear example of this phenomenon is Guatemala, a multilingual country with 15 languages having 10,000 or more speakers each. Data from 1993 put illiteracy among the indigenous population at 79%, as compared to 40% among the nonindigenous population (Psacharopoulos and Patrinos, 1993). Most of the literature on illiteracy and indigenous languages centers on bilingualism and national identity, the importance of literacy for development, the right to education in the mother tongue, and educational programs and policies. Shirley Brice Heath's 1972

publication of *La Política del lenguaje en México: De la colonia a la nación* is one of the earliest in-depth studies of the issues from a socio-linguistic perspective (Heath, 1972).

It is important to note that not all prehispanic languages were unwritten. While Quechua, the lingua franca of the Inca empire was agraphic, several Mesoamerican languages were not. In Mexico, writing developed around 600 B.C. and was passed on from one culture to another. At the time of the Spanish conquest, for example, the Mayans engraved stone and wrote glyphs on folded sheets of *amate*, a paper made from the bark of a local tree. Scribes and priests used writing to record historical events, sacred texts, almanacs, astronomical calculations, and mathematics. The Spanish destroyed the *amate* codices and prehispanic literacy as part of their policy to impose social and cultural dominion in the New World (King, 1994). While local literacy was shattered, the conquerors introduced their writing system and uses of written language as an instrument of authority, still associated by many with colonial power and domination (Zavala, 2005).

Education programs developed for speakers of indigenous languages have historically been based on transition models and cultural assimilation policies aimed at building a homogeneous national identity. Schooling for indigenous children and education for adults has involved either teaching the colonial language and then reading and writing or creating a written representation of local languages and using it to teach reading and writing as an intermediate step towards literacy in the dominant language (Freeland, 2003). Programs designed for adults have had different outcomes but most have been unsuccessful. Adults often do not register for programs, and if they do, they tend to drop out before completing them. Cutz and Chandler (2001) have noted that ethnic identity requires adults to adhere to standards of behavior that identify them with their communities. This may include working in the fields or the forests, dressing in typical clothing, and speaking their language. Literacy and/or the learning of Spanish may be seen as a sign of disrespect.

Research during the 1970s and the 1980s was mostly instrumental in nature, oriented towards material development and program design and description. However, there are some notable exceptions. The most prominent literacy theorist in Latin America is Paulo Freire (Freire, 1970), well known for his book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, ideas about banking education and his advocacy for *conscientização*—conscious raising learning processes. His work is still widely referenced by adult literacy program designers, informal education programs, and grassroots organizations and is used as a theoretical basis for the development of pedagogical actions in Latin America and beyond. Another early contribution was made by Ferreiro and Teberosky with the publication of their book (Ferreiro and Teberosky, 1979). Using a Piagetian framework, these

two researchers from Argentina unearthed the process of conceptualization involved in understanding the alphabetic principle. This work has been the basis for rethinking emergent literacy throughout the region.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

During the 1970s and 1980s, various countries in Latin America were ruled by military dictatorships and authoritative regimes or engaged in civil war. The impact of these extreme circumstances on human rights, combined with the general decline in living standards, fostered social movements during these years. According to La Belle (2000), women were protagonists of these social movements. Their momentum was assisted in 1980 by the United Nations declaration of the Decade for Women. Many of the activities that women engaged in combined various forms of social action with literacy efforts (Prins, 2001). Recent publications explore women's literacy learning and experiences within community-based organizations, official programs, and religious organizations (Aikman and Untehalter, 2005; King, 1998; Medel-Añonuevo, 1997; Prins, 2001; Purcell-Gates and Waterman, 2000). A recurring theme in this literature is the role literacy classes play as spaces for socialization (Kalman, 2005; Stromquist, 1997). Women tend to be confined to their households and hindered by domestic responsibilities and oppressive family structures with few opportunities to interact with other women. Stromquist observes that "the literacy classes constitute very desirable social spaces. The classroom emerges as a setting that is socially approved for women and can offer services that are not available elsewhere" (p. 90). These services function as a site for social distractions, a self-help group and an informal social club.

There is consensus in the literature that the majority of current literacy research continues to be instrumental, what Arnove and Torres (1995) call "under-funded and under-theorized." Jáuregui, Jeria and Retama (2003) note that a great wealth of work has been done on curriculum design and evaluations of performance and quality. Seda Santana (2000, p. 49) points out that "in the midst of multiple demands, research has not been a major priority for Latin American countries." The applied nature of literacy research is due, at least in part, to its close ties to education programs and the sense of urgency to understand and solve what are conceived to be obstacles to obtaining the long-standing goal of universal literacy. Furthermore, adult literacy tends to be divorced from other areas of educational research and perceived basically as a problem of remediation (Kalman, 2005).

In the late 1990's, UNESCO supported research on the characteristics of functional literacy. The study, published under the title *Functional Illiteracy in Seven Countries in Latin America* (Infante, 2000), was

carried out in Argentina, Brasil, Colombia, Chile, Mexico, Paraguay, and Venezuela. Using standardized tests for reading and mathematics, the study aimed to measure adults' abilities to comprehend texts with various degrees of difficulty, to do arithmetic calculations, read graphs, and understand numeric information. One of the most important conclusions was that all those tested showed some knowledge about reading and writing, leading the author to question the widespread belief in a literacy–illiteracy dichotomy. Adults classified in the lower levels of literacy had approximately 6 years of schooling while those with higher reading levels had at least 11 years. This led the researchers to conclude that functional literacy is correlated with at least 6 years of schooling. It should be noted that this finding did not consider more qualitative factors such as opportunities to read and write in everyday contexts or the availability of print materials.

Several studies have recently contributed a more qualitative perspective to a small but growing body of research on literacy, schooling, and social practice in Latin America. A study from Mexico documenting the dissemination of literacy in a semiurban township recently won the UNESCO International Literacy Research Award (Kalman, 2004). In this analysis, the author makes a conceptual distinction between availability (the material conditions for reading and writing) and access (the social conditions for appropriating written culture). She first draws on historical and interview data to portray the development of the town over the last 50 years as a context for using written language. Then she describes in detail a literacy class for some of the townswomen where the local history and culture were backdrops for learning to read and write. She notes that for those whose lives are basically confined to their town, their opportunities for accessing literacy are limited to the reading and writing contexts they encounter there. She concludes that opportunities to interact with other readers and writers are intrinsic in becoming literate.

Rockwell (2001) has also made important contributions to the study of literacy as cultural practice in classroom settings. She draws on Chartier's notion of written culture based on shared practices, artifacts, meanings, and attitudes. Her study centers on reading in a rural school in Mexico analyzing how the layout of the textbook and the ways in which reading was accomplished influenced the outcome of the lesson. She then discusses how students construct changing relationships to the written language through schooling. Zavala (2002) published an ethnographic study of Umaca, a small Quechua community of 70 families in the Andes. There she studied the different ways the townspeople perceive written language, how they associate different meanings to reading and writing and struggle with literacy in both their relationship with their traditional culture and with their efforts to relate to the dominant

culture. Because written culture has been associated with Spanish and perceived as foreign to Umaca life, people there have never considered literacy as necessary or found its' integration into their lives particularly desirable. Not only did the participants not use literacy in Spanish, they found reading and writing in Quechua cumbersome and pointless.

All of these studies offer a different perspective on the study of literacy. Their goal is to further the understanding of the factors and processes that contribute to the dissemination of written culture, explain why literacy is not always rapidly embraced and recognize the complexity of literacy practices. Overall, this line of research contributes to a growing body of knowledge about literacies in Latin America and beyond. The value of these studies is not the potential for their immediate application in a given program, but the specificity of the cases that they examine.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

One of the ongoing discussions in Latin America and the Caribbean is around the meanings of the term literacy and its representation in different languages. In Spanish, *alfabetización* (*alfabetização* in Portuguese) refers to both the process of learning to read and write and the presence of written language in a given society. Until the 1990s, the notion of literacy as divided into two phases prevailed. This concept claimed that an initial phase involved learning the most rudimentary aspects related to encoding and decoding written language, followed by a second phase of learning how to use written language known as *postalfabetización*. The majority of programs for unschooled and under-schooled youths and adults were built on this principle directing their efforts toward the acquisition of an isolated set of mechanical skills. Those unable to recognize the alphabet, name letters, read and write their names, or read and write simple messages were referred to as *analfabetos absolutos*. Those deemed as lacking in the abilities related to reading, writing, oral expression, and basic arithmetic thought necessary for employment were considered to be *analfabetos funcionales*. It should be noted that during the last decade these definitions have come under scrutiny. Broader notions of literacy and what it means to be literate have become subjects of dispute. These concepts have been debated in international meetings, academic publications, and among educators and policy makers in the region linking their arguments with similar debates in the international context (cf. Rogers, 2006; Street, 2006; UNESCO, 2005).

Researchers and educators have expressed concerns about the narrowness of the term *alfabetización* and its tendency to conceal the use of written language as social practice. In Brazil, for example, the term *letramento* has been used to analyze literacy as social practice and examine

its pedagogical implications (Kleinman and Moraes, 1999; Masagao Ribeiro, 2003) whereas in Mexico *cultura escrita* is currently in use to broaden the concept of *alfabetización* to include both culture of reading and writing and the culture found in written text. The definition of literacy as social practice (cf. Section 1 of this volume; cf. Street, 2001) now has widespread acceptance, as shown by its recent inclusion in the curriculum for language arts in countries such as Argentina, Mexico, and Chile. However, this does not imply that it has been easily integrated into teaching practices.

In the 1990s, the term “youth” was officially introduced to region-wide adult education and literacy and education efforts to explicitly refer to the large number of young people who leave school before finishing their basic education. During this period, Latin America has witnessed the proliferation of education programs aimed at reincorporating learners of 15–30 years of age (or more) back into the education system. These programs tend to be more flexible, focusing on the social, economic, and cultural issues young adults face (Jaureguí, Jeria and Retama, 2003). An example of this type of *approach* is the recent program developed by the Instituto Nacional de Educación para Adultos (INEA) in Mexico. The accelerated basic education program based on academic subjects such as mathematics, science, language arts, and social studies also includes courses based on health, family, domestic violence, child rearing, and employment issues.

The *Centro de Cooperación Regional para la Educación de Adultos en América Latina* (CREFAL) published in 2003, a theme issue of its journal *Decisio* on the topic of written culture and Adult Education. This collection of papers, written for literacy practitioners and program designers, emphasized the relationship between written and oral language, the notion of multiple literacies (Robinson-Pant, Women, Literacy and Development: Overview, Volume 2; Rogers, Informal Learning and Literacy, Volume 2), the use of writing as a vehicle for learning and self-expression, and the complex relationship between those who read and write well and those who want to read and write well. All of these notions extend the traditional boundaries of the concept of *alfabetización*.

In this discussion of the significance and accomplishment of literacy, the exchange of ideas among researchers, policy makers, and practitioners has become crucial. An ongoing host for this kind of dialogue is the *Comunidad E-ducativa*, run by Rosa María Torres of the organization Fronesis. This group serves as a permanent forum for exchanging articles, announcing events, proposing measures and region-wide declarations. Along with the Fronesis web page <http://www.fronesis.org/>, it has become one of the principal resources for keeping up with current literacy and education-related events.

International agencies continue to play a major role in shaping literacy policies and related programs. As part of the policy aimed at achieving universal primary education (UPE) for all children, UNESCO currently promotes the development of libraries, the publication and distribution of books, and access to information, themes partly articulated through the shift of focus from individuals to 'literate environments' signaled in the Global Monitoring Report (Street, 2006; UNESCO, 2005). In Latin America, this has been translated to a series of programs referred to as *fomento del hábito de la lectura* (promoting reading habits). Currently 19 Latin American countries have national reading plans with similar objectives and schemes of action. *The Centro Regional para el Fomento del Libro en América Latina y el Caribe* (CERLALC), an offspring of UNESCO, provides countries technical support for running their programs, organizing events, training teachers, librarians and other literacy personnel, and circulating information. It is not coincidental that these programs have developed simultaneously: the region is currently facing what has been called an education crisis, provoked at least in part, by the recent concern caused by the low achievement scores that students are obtaining on standardized tests and their poor rating in comparison with students in other countries, even after most Latin American nations have given priority to expanding their school systems over the last 45 years (Peña and Isaza, 2005).

The national reading programs are very similar in approach. They are based on the premise that reading is necessary for the development of democracy, the fight against poverty, the advancement of science and technology and, in general, a higher standard of living (Peña and Isaza, 2005). The idea that reading is essential for personal development, instills morals and values, and contributes to democracy by strengthening national identity and social economic development, is ideologically reminiscent of the 1960s literacy campaigns. The various ministries of public education seek to promote reading beyond the usual language arts curriculum, through book distribution programs for neighborhood groups, schools and public libraries; publishing programs to support the production of reading materials for young people; and working closely with teachers and school.

However, the programs do not exist without critics. Both Hernández (2005) and Zavala (2005) note that they operate from a single notion of reading and do not contemplate realities of people in Latin America struggling to get by. Kalman (2006) questions the idea that becoming a reader is a matter of habit and argues that written language use is deeply embedded in other communicative processes. Citing Rodríguez (1995) Seda Santana (2000) noted that legislating literacy often comes up against the conditions and variations of cultures. Becoming

“a region of readers” will only be possible when the social world of diverse groups and cultures are taken into account. All authors agree that the distribution of books alone will not turn people into readers. The appropriation of literacy requires opportunities to interact with other readers and writers and participate in social situations where written language is key to communication (Kalman, 2004; Robinson-Pant, *Women, Literacy and Development: Overview, Volume 2*; Rogers, *Informal Learning and Literacy, Volume 2*).

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

One problematic situation for countries in this region is the heavy influence that international agencies have in shaping policies and programs. From 1981 to 2000, UNESCO organized and directed its education policies for the region through the Principal Education Project for Latin America and the Caribbean (PPE). From 1981 onward, the main thrust was to promote primary education for children (Ames, 2003; Torres, 2004). Despite the importance official policies gave to literacy and basic educations for adults, few resources were channeled toward these areas. In countries where two-third of the rural population were illiterate, only 1% or 2% of their education budgets are/were directed to adult education (Arnove and Torres, 1995; Jauregui et al., 2003). This is partially due to the emphasis in international policy directives on UPE and the following reluctance of national governments to fund to adult literacy and basic education (cf. Rogers, *Informal Learning and Literacy, Volume 2*). The World Bank has also promoted the idea that investing in education programs for children brings a higher rate of return investing in adults (UNESCO, 2006; World Bank, 2003), although the Global Monitoring Report has scope for reintroducing emphasis on youth and adults (Street, 2006; UNESCO, 2005).

This policy has had several impacts on the direction of literacy work with communities and target populations. It has led educators in the region to separate literacy for children and adults, based on the premise that they could not learn together or from each other. As a result, many opportunities for intergenerational learning may have been missed despite the important findings on parent-child interactions around literacy from research in other contexts (cf. Ames, 2003; Rogers, *Informal Learning and Literacy, Volume 2*). It has also contributed to adult programs being second rate, depending on untrained volunteers, improvised spaces, and low social prestige. The poor funding and status of adult literacy and basic education has led to the dismantling of important state-funded organizations previously responsible for designing and coordinating learning opportunities. While many adult literacy initiatives have

often been criticized for their irrelevancy, inefficiency, and compensatory nature, these policies have been a major obstacle to professionalizing literacy teachers, systematically documenting programs, and improving practice (Rivero, 1999). The current tendency in Latin America is to think of literacy policy as a two pronged agenda: preventive measures to provide high-quality education for children and keeping them in school, and the development of programs for marginalized youth and adults (Torres, 1998). In order for this approach to be translated into action, international agencies and lenders will have to reconsider their policies and create mechanisms for more local participation.

Although countries in the region are making efforts to provide education opportunities, both oral and written, to indigenous populations in their own language, literacy in indigenous communities continues to be problematic and insufficiently understood. Today, even with the development of some alphabetic representations, most of these languages are unwritten. The issue of literacy and illiteracy among speakers of indigenous languages poses important questions for the conceptualization of what it means to be literate (King, 1998; Freeland, 2003; Jones and Martin-Jones, 2000). In the strictest sense, one would have to conceive these cultures and peoples as agraphical, without writing, rather than illiterate, unknowledgeable of writing. In school contexts, indigenous languages continue to be used mostly as a bridge to the dominant language. What is needed is that the local languages be used as a means of communication and reflexion as well as the language of instruction. For writing to thrive, literacy policies will need new strategies that promote the use of writing and the development of indigenous writers who can create written texts from and for their cultures (Ferreiro, 1993). Currently, countries such as Mexico, Nicaragua, Colombia, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru are developing programs that emphasize the need to develop a strong sense of identity among learners in addition to learning to speak, read, and write both the dominant and indigenous languages. If the context allows it, this would also include teaching indigenous languages to nonindigenous speakers (Schmelkes, 2006).

Research in literacy has been characterized as dispersed and weak: it is permeated by a sense of immediacy that overrides other agendas. In general, universities and other institutions of higher education lack the infrastructure, the funding, and qualified personnel in this field. For this reason, much of what is available in local publications is centered on immediate program applications, program evaluations, material development, and policy analysis. There is an urgent need for a broader research agenda, graduate programs for training of new researchers, and increased collaboration and academic exchanges among researchers.

## FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Globalization has caused important changes in national economic policies. One of the results of the incursion of Latin American countries into international markets has been economic growth during the 1990s, in some cases as high as 6.9%. Despite this statistic, the impact for local employment has been devastating (Hernández, 2005). Formal jobs are scarce and increasingly replaced by the rapid expansion of the informal economy: jobs located outside the formal social structures of work that do not adhere to labor laws, wage conditions, or social security and benefit regulations. They often include exchange mechanisms involving bartering, and activities such as household-based domestic work, day laborers, street vendors, and social services based on self-help. It is currently estimated that 40% of the work force in Latin America is informally employed, and the number is rising (La Belle, 2000).

Young adults in contexts of poverty are likely to end up in the informal sector. Often unschooled or under-schooled, they are ill-prepared for other types of employment. Recent research has reiterated that for survival in this job market, workers need to know how to read and write, make decisions in situations of great uncertainty, negotiate with customers, and calculate costs. For education programs to be relevant for young people and adults working in this environment, planners will have to contemplate the types of literacies and knowledges workers mobilize in this rapid expanding sector. Some activists would also argue that what we should really be doing is working to change this economic structure but that is beyond the scope of literacy programs alone and of this paper. The recent election of more governments with a stronger social agenda such as Michel Bachelet in Chile and Evo Morales in Bolivia is a reflection of these concerns.

Over the last four decades, urban spaces have been decorated with slogans and graffiti sprayed on walls, facades, or under bridges. Even the most unreachable spaces are turned into public displays of youngsters' loyalties and group affiliations. Murals exhibit common cultural icons that have been resignified to account for globalized urban identities (Valenzuela Arce, 1997). These and other types of representations are currently all but absent from research or considerations for literacy planning. Knowledge about people's meaning-making processes is important for thinking about their inclusion in written culture. Everyday literacy practices, alternative sources of text, popular literature, and symbolic representations form a fertile ground for both research and development.

New directions in literacy research should also include the use of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) (see Leander

and Lewis, *Literacy and Internet Technologies*, Volume 2). Present efforts are concerned with the distribution of equipment and “technological readiness” while the ways in which ICTs shape literacy use (how people learn to use these technologies, the place they play in everyday communication, or how new formats and connectivity are inserted into the language life of communities) are still unexplored. The impact of handheld devices and the types of transformations in reading and writing messages has not been investigated. While there have been some experiences in using computers in classrooms in Mexico, Chile, Brazil, and other parts of the region, there is an assumption that their mere presence in schools will improve learning. It is often assumed that past curricular contents of literacy will continue to be essential for the future. As a result, computers have been installed in classrooms without much thought given to how teachers and learners will use them.

In the last decades, literacy in Latin America has been contextualized by tensions for educators, policy makers, and researchers. Literacy has been seen as a step towards the labor market and at the same time as part of the road to liberation. It has been promoted as a means of cultural assimilation as well as the means for preserving local cultures. It has been prioritized for children yet almost abandoned for adults; and efforts to understand literacy have been so instrumental in nature that many questions remain unanswered. A deeper view of literacy in everyday life, the emergence of ICTs, the role of symbolic representations in identity building among youth, indigenous people, women and other historically marginalized groups will contribute to the development of a broader notion of literacy in Latin America. In turn, this understanding can help frame new courses of action for shaping literacy in this part of the world.

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## AFRICAN AMERICAN LITERACIES

### INTRODUCTION

African American literacies refers to the concept that African American cultural identities, social locations, and social practices influence ways that members of this discourse group make meaning and assert themselves sociopolitically in subordinate as well as official contexts. This definition includes but goes beyond making meaning out of and producing print and language in their strict and broadly defined senses, to include the contemporary context rooted in technological dominance which promotes multimodal meaning making. The term African American literacies encapsulates the sociocultural approaches to African American literacy education advanced by the various sub-fields: including sociolinguistics, rhetoric and composition, and New Literacies Studies. As Americans of African descent had been enslaved and marginalized within American society, the early scholarly thinking about Black language and culture reflected the common prejudices of the time: Blacks were culturally and intellectually inferior. Since the 1940s, scholars presented the systematicity, the West African background, the history and development of what is currently referred to by linguists as “African American Vernacular English,” with many language educators advocating inclusion of African American language histories, structures, and discourse practices alongside those of the dominant culture’s to make literacy education socially just by repositioning students as knowledge-making language resources. Other societal domains should have an awareness of African American literacies.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

One of the basic goals of the Civil Rights and Black Liberation Movements of the 1950s and 1960s was for African Americans to gain access to institutions and begin the project of a more multicultural America. The 1954 *Brown versus Board of Education of Topeka*, Kansas Supreme Court case won by the NAACP’s Legal Defense Team symbolized America’s granting of completely equal societal status to African Americans. This victory brought about the entrance of Black students into America’s previously segregated public schools, which

were not prepared to change their pedagogies or their ideas about the inferiority of African American language and culture. Early work in linguistic anthropology (Herskovits, 1941; Turner, 1949) and (socio) linguistics (Bailey, 1965; Labov, 1972; Smitherman, 1977) focused on the origins and development of Black English Vernacular (BEV) or “Negro Dialect” and its relation to other languages that have their origin in similar contact situations such as Gullah and Jamaican Creole. These experts uncovered significant West African language and cultural commonalities. The work of Labov (1969; 1972), Dillard (1972), and Smitherman (1977) urged educators to apply linguistic knowledge to improve Black literacy education. Smitherman emphasized the importance of Black language to Black culture, identity, and history along with knowledge of discourse modes, rhetoric, and linguistic surface features.

Labov’s (1972) work investigated whether or not “dialect differences” had anything to do with reading failure: and if so, could educator knowledge of the differences between the two systems be useful in curricula design and delivery of services to speakers of BEV. Labov concluded that the conflicts between BEV and standardized American English were symbolic of the cultural conflict and racism that is inherent in the society at large, and played out in the classroom. Such work discredited the idea that African American students were culturally deficient and lacked verbal stimulation in the home (Bereiter and Engleman, 1966). Subsequent scholars focused on factors associated with the trend of literacy underachievement among African American students. They noted mismatch between schools’ and students’ language and culture, (Heath, 1983, in linguistic anthropology; Shaughnessy, 1977, in composition studies), teachers’ negative attitudes toward Black students, (Goodman and Buck, 1973, in reading) Black communities’ mistrust of schools, Blacks as involuntary minorities and their opposition to imposed ways of being (Ogbu, 1979, 1983, in educational anthropology).

Researchers have sought to develop literacy curricula using well-documented research on African American language and culture as the basis of instruction. (See Rickford, Sweetland, and Rickford, 2004 for a fuller listing.) For example, Baxter and Reed (1973) developed composition curricula. Simpkins C., Simpkins G., and Holt (1977) developed reading materials or “dialect” readers. In 1974, The College Conference on College Composition and Communication (CCCC) developed the “Students’ Right to Their Own Language” policy, promoting the development of theories and practices for linguistic diversity in education. In 1979, a Michigan judge ruled that AAVE was a legitimate system of speech and that teachers needed to have knowledge of it to facilitate their students’ literacy achievement in

the “Ann Arbor King School ‘Black English’ Case.” Yet, as a general rule, American literacy education operates on sanctioned autonomous models of language and literacy, whereby subordinated peoples are made to submit to the dominant official language (variety) along with its received ways of using language and reading the world.

The ideas of vernacular literacy (UNESCO, 1953), later expanded to vernacular literacies (Camitta, 1993) converge with African American literacies, where it is understood that the subordinated culture has literacy practices and values that may conflict with the dominant culture’s and that the subordinate culture should define its own empowering literacy agenda.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Ethnographers of literacy have uncovered African American literacies that are not acknowledged or built upon by educational institutions as they are evaluated negatively. For example, Gilmore (1983) observed Black adolescent girls on school grounds “doin’ steps,” involving rhyming and spelling of words while doing rhythmic body movements. Because of their participation in these routines, school officials denied them access to full participation in school sanctioned literacy activities. School officials as well as some Black middle-class parents interpreted these performances as oppositional to school culture. As such, school officials labeled these girls as bad girls and they tracked them as lower ability. Officials never considered the value in the girls’ rhymes, for example, their employment of homonyms, their spelling abilities, and their display of embodied social knowledge. In the college context, researchers have identified such culturally biased educational experiences and note the development of adverse literacy practices within some Black students such as employing White supremacist discourse in their compositions or classroom talk (the use of “fronting,” for example) because they think they will be rewarded [and oftentimes are]. (See, e.g., Canagarajah, 1997; Fine, 1995 [in Gadsden and Wagner] among others)

From historical, intellectual, sociolinguistic as well as social justice perspectives, the literacy experiences of African Americans must be taken into account in literacy education. Documented history attests to Blacks’ struggle for literacy and education as a means of upliftment and liberation. (See Engs, 1987; Beavers and Anderson, in Gadsden and Wagner, 1995; Harris, 1992; Royster, 2000; among others) Gates’ (1988) study traced an intertextual chain of distinct tropes, themes, and oral-written patterns in the African American canon of imaginative literature, wherein Black authors repeat and revise themes to point to their shared experience and cultural identity. Among these are the

“freedom through literacy” and the “Talking Book” trope in which writers speak their voices into the Western text through their use of Black discourse patterns. Lee’s (1993) work on the application of the Black discourse genre of signifying to literary interpretation is instructive. Lee drew on students’ knowledge of the African American Language practice of signifying, which is based on indirection and shared knowledge to teach them how to interpret literature. Ball’s (1995) work showed that some high achieving urban African American high school students preferred certain Black culturally based design patterns in their writing. This finding corresponds to the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) essays that Smitherman (1994, reprinted in 2000) studied where she found that raters highly evaluated Black students’ writing as powerful and fluent when it evinced higher use of a Black discourse style. Both Ball and Smitherman recommended that educators build on these cultural strengths to enhance students’ literacy education (see also Gilyard, 1991).

Such research within the milieu of African American literacies has substantiated that written literacy cannot exist without orality, literacy is informed by an array of socially constituted practices, understandings, and ways of being in the world, literacy is not a set of isolated skills that can be taught, acquisition of language, and literacy is socialization into particular discourses and worldviews. An important work by Gee (1989) surveys key studies with regard to literacy that inform scholars’ theorization of African American literacies. Crucial ideas in these studies are the “the great divide” between literate and oral cultures [that literacy itself (without schooling) restructures thought and societies]; that oral practices are necessarily more bound up in group identity than “objective” written practices (Ong, following Havelock, Goody). One problem as Gee shows is how the literate/nonliterate debate evolved from the civilized/noncivilized conceptions of orally based cultures. Gee’s (1989, p. 45) observation of this is an important one: “In modern technological societies like the United States, something akin to the oral/literate distinction may apply to groups (usually of lower socioeconomic status) with “residual orality” or “restricted literacy” and groups (usually middle and upper class) with full access to literacy taught in the schools. Levi-Strauss’ recasting of the primitive/civilized distinction in terms of a contrast between concrete and abstract thought, now explained by literacy, comes then to roost in our’modern’ society.” Gee rejects this line of thought, and along with scholars now identified with the New Literacies Studies hold that literacy is a social construction and what counts as literacy varies with context and is bound up in relations of power (for an overview see Street, 1999).

The decades-long literacy underachievement of African American students as documented in periodic reports such as the NAEP and other US Department of Education publications is not the result of massive cognitive deficiency among Black students. Research has presented evidence which suggests that a host of factors contribute to the so-called achievement gap. Among them are: low parent educational level, low social economic status, poor school resources, to name a few. One response to counteract the problem of parents' educational level is the institution of community and family literacy programs to promote higher levels of literacy and to help "at risk" students of color to excel academically. The theory behind this movement and others (e.g. vouchers, charter schools, school choice) is that access to well-funded schools, with lower teacher-pupil ratios and highly skilled teachers, will provide teachers with adequate resources to help students. This is a start but avoids the politics of language and literacy education for Black and poor people. One of the major roots of African American literacy underachievement is the ideology of White supremacist and capitalistic-based literacy practices that undergird curriculum construction and reproduce stratified education and a stratified society, which reproduce the trend of African American literacy underachievement. White supremacist ideology is insidious because it is entangled with the discourse of American meritocracy, which says that individuals are responsible for their own success, which is not entirely false. However, the value of individualism is consonant with White supremacy when large groups of students of color fail to achieve under its account. White supremacy in this usage refers to practices that confer privileges to white-skinned Anglo Americans and their norms, values, and ways of being at the expense of disprivileging people not of white skin, a form of racism. The percentage of students suffering under this paradigm is far beyond that of a smattering of lazy and cognitively deficient individuals who cannot measure up. The failure is not individual, but ethnic and cultural groups are underachieving under the present (decades-long) practices. This indicates that the problem is structural.

Characteristics of the ideology of White supremacist and capitalistic-based literacy include consumption, consent, obedience, fragmentation, singularity (as opposed to multiplicity), and positivism. The educational practices associated with this autonomous conception of literacy (Street, 1993) are naturalized in the system and taught to students as a set of isolated skills divorced from social context, politics, culture, and power. Teaching standardized English, a narrowly conceived academic discourse, and the "academic essay," are examples of the "neutral skills" needed to succeed in the corporate educational system and the market driven capitalistic society (Berlin, 1996).

Works such as that of Hoover (1982) and Ladson-Billings (1995) argue convincingly for culturally appropriate and culturally relevant literacy education, at the college and pre K-12 levels, respectively. Culturally appropriate and relevant approaches focus on integrating African American perspectives, along with those from the dominant culture, in a way that empowers students. Such teachers employ diverse teaching methods and become partners with the community.

Lanehart's (2001) state-of-the-art collection of essays by scholars entitled *Sociocultural and Historical Contexts of African American English* contains chapters by Wyatt, Foster, Baugh, Labov, and Spears which address the role of African American English (AAE) in education. In that work, Wyatt discusses the wide diversity of language use among African Americans even within the same socioeconomic class and how this is not usually factored into theories of language acquisition and literacy education. Foster's research explores the instructional uses of call-response to engage students in higher order thinking, whereas Labov addresses AAVE with regard to reading development. He reports on research with the Oakland Unified School District and holds that reading difficulty can be overcome if the profession and educators apply what we know. Baugh's work details what it is that the profession knows and how all concerned can apply this knowledge, whereas Spears contributes new understandings of directness in African American speech practices and how this should be dealt with in educational settings. Spears makes the point that the terms set for African American Language are "rooted in non-black discursive practices" (p. 243). Many social interactions which would be judged negatively in White-mainstream-culture dominant classrooms would not be judged as such in spaces where all Black norms prevail. Black teachers and administrators in schools in which Black values predominate can use direct speech in ways that build educational achievement and community among the students and the families of the school.

Drawing on sociolinguistics, African American studies, rhetoric and composition, literacy research and critical race theory, Richardson (2003) constructed a theory and pedagogy of African American literacies, attending to discourse forms and functions as well as what it means to teach and learn within these discourse practices. This approach locates African American literacies in a tradition of negotiation of vernacular and standard epistemologies and ontologies. Literacy for people of African descent is the ability to accurately read their experiences of being in the world with others and to act on this knowledge in a manner beneficial for self-preservation, economic, spiritual, and cultural uplift. In the work, *African American Literacies Unleashed: Vernacular English and the Composition Classroom*, Ball and Lardner (2005) cover significant issues which teachers of

AAVE-speaking students must confront. Teachers must face their subjective knowledge about AAVE and become willing to go against the grain as many have internalized unconscious negative racial beliefs and attitudes and educational institutions have set us in motion to gate-keep. Ball and Lardner approach the problem through building teachers' sense of efficacy and reflective optimism. Ball and Lardner define this important approach to literacy education as such:

Efficacy acknowledges affect as an essential element in teacher's constructs of knowledge. Efficacy therefore pushes us to theorize unspoken dimensions of teaching practices, for example, its felt reality, and to trace them to their sources. Efficacy refers not just to what teachers know about linguistically and culturally diverse students but what teachers believe about their ability to teach students from various cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Reflective optimism as the correlate perception of those students' ability to achieve is reflected in the expectations teachers hold for their students' achievement. (p. 65)

Ball & Lardner work with teachers to help them develop culturally relevant pedagogy and to transform their identities as teachers who can teach all students.

An important review article by Alim (2005) revisits many of the issues and theoretical orientations outlined earlier, coupled with the current defacto segregation or resegregation of many urban cities and schools. Alim argues that critical language awareness pedagogies are desperately needed. In this view, it is not enough to teach unequal power relations and standardized English. Language and literacy educators use students' own discourse practices, their Hip-hop literacies, for example, to critically engage them in research and action, to confront and change racist discourse practices and institutions that promote them (see Mahiri, *Literacies in the Lives of Urban Youth*, Volume 2).

#### WORK IN PROGRESS: NEW THOUGHT IN AFRICAN AMERICAN LITERACIES—POPULAR CULTURE AND GLOBAL LITERACIES

Morgan's (2002) work helps scholars to understand how Black youth inscribe their identities through urban, working class and Black language use, how they mark public space therewith, the worldviews they bring to bear on their gendered, sexed, classed, racialized, and otherwise embodied readings of the world. As Black youth culture provides grist for the mill of popular culture in digital media and a wide array of industries, scholars have taken up these understandings of Black youth

language and applied them to their documentation of the development of global literacies.

Pennycook (2003) and Androutsopolous (2004) show that certain Black discourse and literacy practices have been incorporated into Japanese and German youth Hiphop, for example, language in offline and online contexts, respectively. Following this line of inquiry, Richardson (2006) explores Hiphop literacies of Black youth, the ways in which those who participate in Hiphop cultural practices manipulate as well as read and produce language, gestures, images, material possessions, and people, to position and protect themselves advantageously. Richardson attempts to locate strands of Hiphop discourse within global, dominant and vernacular contexts and relate these to the lived experiences of Black people, emanating from their quest for self-realization, their engagement in a discursive dialectic between various vernacular and dominant discourses and semiotic systems. Such lines of study underscore motivation for language acquisition, language change, identity negotiation, globalization and the conflicting evaluations of Black representations, how Black symbols are representative of power and powerlessness, the resilience, identification, and commodification of the global youth village. Such issues provide a complex view of African American Language and its potential in the larger scheme of things. Several scholars have advocated Hiphop or popular culture pedagogies at lower and higher levels of schooling, enlisting the rich knowledge that youth have about the world they live in and how these can be enlisted in literacy education (e.g., Alim, 2006; Haas Dyson, 2003; Jackson, Michel, Sheridan, and Stumpf, 2001; Morrell and Duncan Andrade, 2002; Yasin, 2003).

#### PROBLEMS, DIFFICULTIES, AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Though there has been significant support for application of knowledge of African American language and literacy in educational institutions, there are a range of problems of which institutions and instructors must be aware. A question that often arises is how will educational institutions become a site where no single historic group dominates the core experience in a dominating society? Further, as cultural practices and identities are always in flux so are literacies. This situation requires that educational institutions become more open to helping students adapt their literacies to an ever changing world, while simultaneously recognizing the role of identity, history, and context in literacy. This should not be understood as using students' home discourse to indoctrinate them into "traditional literacy." Recent work geared toward the gendered aspects of literacy for Black males and females (as well as to

other groups) demonstrates this sensitivity (Lanehart, 2002; Richardson, 2003, Tatum, 2005, See the chapters of Slaughter-Defoe and Richards; and Fine in Gadsden and Wagner, 1995, for example).

Culturally centered approaches to literacy education emphasize a holistic view. In other words, comparative/contrastive measures should not be understood to mean emphasis on only the grammatical surface level, but rather on the totality of different discourses as different ways of being in the world, the conflicts, coincidences, possibilities for change. Another factor that must be considered in improving literacy education is the role of institutional language policies and philosophies. Blake and Cutler (2003) report on a study of five (5) New York City public schools and their teachers' attitudes toward "African American English" (AAE) and language policies or lack thereof for AAE-speaking students. This work suggests that schools' philosophies influenced teachers' disposition toward AAE-speaking students. For example, the school with the large bilingual population had a philosophy that promoted linguistic diversity and its teachers had greater sensitivity to issues of AAE-speaking students. Baugh (1995) underscores significant problems that need to be addressed to reform delivery of educational services to African American students. Teachers along with the larger society harbor misinformed and racist beliefs about African American English though linguists have proved otherwise. In theory, all languages and varieties are equal, but in practice, they are not. Societal beliefs influence institutions, especially the law, which does not recognize African American English-speaking students as language minorities. This predicament denies AAE-speaking students funding which could be used to improve education. Another problem is that speech pathology is used to refer African American English-speaking students to special education, though AAE is not pathological. Further, sometimes schools place AAE-speaking students in classes with students for whom English is not their "native" language, which presents a different set of problems, though both groups experience barriers to an equitable education. Baugh argues that there is a need for policies and programs that address the literacy needs of linguistically diverse students.

#### FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

Heightening awareness of the politics of literacy education of African American students cannot be overstated. The most recent Ebonics Controversy of 1996 revealed not only the continued devaluation of Black culture and racist positions held by the general public but by the U.S. government as well. Research has continued to plumb the language and literacy acquisition of African American students, much of it providing fodder for comparative studies of literacy in various contexts

and how the various strengths of Black students, their families, and their teachers can be built on for successful delivery of literacy education. Investigation of school policies and attitudes toward Black students is another important area that deserves continued study. In the current era of high stakes testing and national standards, critical research on teaching, reading, and writing as well as assessment will continue to be invaluable. Though we must pay attention to the ever evolving condition of globalization, emigration, and continued cultural contact and shift as these affect the literacy development of our students, I agree with Auerbach (2005): It is abundantly clear that major global forces, not individual competence, shape life possibilities, and that to promote new multimodal literacies as the key to participation in the globalized world risks becoming a new version of the literacy myth. (p. 369)

There is a continued need for research that strives to contribute to more democratic literacy education and a better world.

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## CITY LITERACIES

### INTRODUCTION

*'Until then, I had thought each book spoke of the things . . . that lie outside books. Now I realised that, not infrequently, books speak of books; it is as if they spoke amongst themselves. It (the library) was, then, the place of a long . . . murmuring, an imperceptible dialogue between one parchment and another, a living thing, a receptacle of powers not to be ruled by human mind, a treasure of secrets emanated by many minds, surviving the death of those who produced them or their conveyors . . .'* (Eco 1980: p. 286)

Cities, the home of many of the world's great libraries, have traditionally been recognised as a hub of both literacy and illiteracy; proudly boasting literacy excellence in their wealth and variety of resources and practices and sadly acknowledging high levels of literacy failure in their inner-city schools. Below is a review of existing literature documenting the history and development of 'city literacies', translated into 'literacies in cities'. This is followed by a more detailed account of recent major contributions to the field and trends in research in progress with special reference to individuals growing up and becoming literate at the beginning and the end of the twentieth century in London, one of the largest and most ethnically diverse cities in the world.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

A number of historical studies include literacy in cities as part of a more general history of literacy. A comprehensive account of the history of literacy by Levine (1986) stresses the importance of Athens as the first city with widespread institutionalisation of literacy around 500 BC. However, although literacy made possible the wide diffusion of Greek ideals throughout the Mediterranean world, there was still a strong preference for oral dialectic (Havelock, 1976). Throughout history, however, it is clear that city life gradually facilitated and fostered the written mode and that literacy competences were generally more developed in cities (Clanchy, 1979). London was particularly advanced in this respect. Thus, wills were officially listed in London from 1258 and records kept by royalty of personnel in the state chancery etc. from the early Middle Ages (Levine, 1986). Papal documentation in Rome

reveals 300 writs in 1130 (Clanchy, 1979), a similar concentration of literacy to the city of Rome.

From the Renaissance on, cities were regularly populated by a higher proportion of literates and attracted more literate immigrants. They also held more formal and informal opportunities for learning and literacy education. Among other studies, Cressy (1980) documents impressively high rates of literacy amongst the merchant classes of late medieval London where literacy had a practical value for most professions and crafts. Cressy stresses that sixteenth century London women were precocious readers—something unknown in the rest of England—and highlights the fact that seventeenth century Londoners were unique in Britain whereby only 22% made marks as opposed to 70% who were unable to sign outside the capital. Studies of similar cities, for example Florence, show rates of literacy far exceeding more rural parts of Italy. As Graff (1987) stresses, not only were people in cities more likely to be in trades and professions needing literacy, they were also more likely to understand national vernaculars than rural folk, giving them not only an additional stimulus for acquiring literacy but also access to more materials. According to Graff, cities across Europe were hosting groups of readers, whereby books would be read out loud to both literates and illiterates.

Social historians focus on the importance of literacy as a means for galvanising workers, often in cities, into rebellion against oppression. In 'The History of the Working Class' (1963), Thompson stresses the uniqueness of 'Radical London' for 200 years (from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries), which was always more heterogeneous and fluid in its social and occupational definition than the Midlands or northern towns which were clustered into two or three staple industries. The population of London read more widely and was more sophisticated in its agitations. However, as the city grew, not all were able to be so literate. Altick (1957) stresses the contrasts between the literate artisans of London's West End who were 'almost to a man red-hot politicians' (p. 267) and the unskilled labourers of East London who remained 'a different class of people' who, through their lack of literacy 'have no political opinions at all' (p. 51).

The nineteenth century, indeed, saw a huge expansion of industrialisation in cities in Europe and USA leading to two very separate developments which would later influence late twentieth century and early twenty-first century research into literacy and illiteracy. Both took place within the context of the burgeoning of industry leading to the necessity for a literate workforce and both reveal opposite sides of the coin of literacy and illiteracy resulting from this. In Britain, for example, although basic literacy was offered to all children through the 1870 Education Reform Act which paved the way for free elementary

schooling in 1891, it was clear that the government aim was for workers only to be literate enough to be able to follow instructions rather than being literate enough to begin to question the conditions in which they were forced to work (Inwood, 1998). This tension between the growing demands of industry and the low standard of literacy delivered to and achieved by workers was to be the subject of a number of more recent large-scale studies on illiteracy in cities. On the other hand, literacy for poorer urban workers was generally improving. In smaller as well as larger cities, people were rapidly developing their literacy skills by turning to the radical press to further their case for more humane working conditions. Thompson (1963) documents working-class radical papers, such as 'The Gauntlet', 'The Poor Man's Advocate' and 'The Working Man's Friend' highlighting the spurt in working-class urban literacy as well as noting that Cobbett's *Second Register* sold between 40 and 60,000 copies in 1817.

Historical studies, therefore, leave us with contrasting views of literacies in cities; of both a lively and radical reading public encompassing not only the wealthy and artisans but also the newly urban working-class, as opposed to a large group of illiterates from the unskilled or unemployed labouring urban populace.

#### MAJOR RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS

During the last decades of the twentieth century, considerable concern was growing over the poor literacy skills of inner-city children as well as the 'functional illiteracy' (Vélis, 1990) of adults in urban European contexts. In a short document published by UNESCO, Vélis argues passionately for a greater understanding of the complexity of what he terms 'functional illiteracy' in Europe. He cites the 1986/7 study carried out at the University of Lancaster in the UK on behalf of ALBSU (adult literacy and basic skills agency) based on the data gathered from the National Child Development Study of 10,000 children born from 3rd to 9th March 1958 who were monitored until reaching the age of 23, which indicated that 13% of the group encountered difficulties with reading and writing. Extrapolating, this would put the number of functional illiterates in the UK at about 6 million, a figure allowing *The Guardian* (27/11/1987) to announce 'Illiterate Six Million: Only Tip of the Iceberg'. Parallel to government action in setting up more comprehensive adult literacy and family literacy programmes, a Literacy Research Group was formed at Lancaster University who were also founder members of a national network linking practitioners and researchers in Adult Basic Literacy, known as RAPAL (research and practice in adult literacy).

During the 1990s, members of RAPAL set out to put the insights and perspectives of literacy learners and users themselves at the centre of

research about literacy. The resulting 'Worlds of Literacy' (1994) edited by Hamilton, Barton and Ivanic, opened readers' eyes to the literacy lives of a number of urban readers setting out to improve their own literacy skills. These studies set out to question the notion, hitherto accepted, of literacy as an autonomous cognitive skill. Instead, they drew upon an 'ideological model' of literacy as outlined by Street (1984), whereby literacy is culturally and socially embedded in peoples' lives. Thus, instead of referring to 'literacy' it becomes more appropriate to refer to 'literacies' or 'literacy practices' (Scribner and Cole, 1981) in which people engage and of which they become 'members', using the materials, methods, participation structures and mediators that are appropriate. Within the framework of 'literacy practices' or habitual usage of certain types of literacy (e.g. Bible reading, shopping, playing monopoly, choirs, etc.) that include specific 'literacy events' or one-off occurrences of literacy, ethnographers were able to detail a particular cultural or learning practice and its importance in the individual's life.

Two in-depth studies of urban literacies written at the end of the twentieth and the turn of the twenty-first centuries were 'Local Literacies: Reading and writing in one community' by Barton and Hamilton (1998) and 'City Literacies: Learning to read across generations and cultures' by Gregory and Williams (2000). 'Local Literacies' provides an in-depth study of literacies in the lives of ordinary people in Lancaster, a city in north-west England. Data were collected from over 100 participants in the study in the form of interviews, case studies and a survey and these are embedded in a social history of the city, photographs, original literacy documents and information on the scope and variety of literacy resources in the community. The theory of literacy put forward is 'an ecological approach where literacy is integral to its context' (p. 4), whereby different chapters provide first the context (past and present) of literacy in the city before offering in-depth case studies of four different participants. These are followed by chapters analysing (i) the range of practices (ii) the patterning of practices (iii) the web of literacies in local organisations (iv) literacy and sense-making and (v) vernacular literacies. The whole study is designed within an ethnographic framework, where the authors explain the purpose of their work in empowering the literacies of ordinary people. Integral to the study is the aim to provide an emic perspective (literacy as viewed by the participants themselves) and part of this is the use of photographs of original documents, for example notes on horses for information at the betting shop as well as a residents' committee newsletter composed by one participant. Overall, the study provides an intimate yet broad picture of literacy lives in one city, revealing a wide range of practices, spanning the predictable,

such as library visits, reading newspapers, bills, working on the computer etc. to the less predictable, such as those tied up with the 25 local groups listed, as diverse as the Quiz League, Machine Knitting Club and People Opposed to Noxious Gases (PONG)!

'Local Literacies' is focussed on home and community literacy practices and on adults rather than children or the role of the school as part of the community it serves. In contrast, 'City Literacies' uses as its focus two Primary schools, one set within the square mile boundary of the City of London and the other, just to its east, in the area of Spitalfields, Tower Hamlets. Using a similar ethnographic approach to 'Local Literacies', this study presents a tableau of literacy in the lives of different generations of pupils attending or with children attending the two schools. Similar to 'Local Literacies', 'City Literacies' aims to 'make visible the lives of people whose lives are not normally told' (p. 16). In this case, those lives represent a heritage that is ethnically much more diverse than the Lancaster participants. The authors of 'City Literacies' interviewed over 50 people, aged between 3 and 93, whose origins could be traced back to the French Huguenots, East European Jewish, Bangladeshi British or Anglo London backgrounds. Again, set within the context of the area, past and present, participants relate their memories of learning to read in one of the two focus Primary schools, at home and in their community language or religious classes. The last section of the book presents classroom-reading experiences for children at the end of the twentieth century and contrasts these with their very different literacies in Qur'anic and Bengali classes. Throughout, the argument is made that 'contrasting literacies' (hitherto regarded as a cultural clash leading to school failure), instead are a strength and that emergent bilingualism and biliteracy equips children with advantages rather than problems.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

'City Literacies', written on the cusp of the twenty-first century, was beginning to reveal a major new development and area for research on literacies in cities: that of multilingual literacies. The end of the twentieth and the early years of the twenty-first centuries have witnessed a massive exodus of people from both economically and politically unstable countries to live in cities across Europe, Australia and USA. It is now clear that many children in urban contexts across the world enter school speaking a different language from that in which tuition will take place. Detailed demographic documentation on the scope of this in Europe and USA is given in *Urban Multilingualism in Europe: Immigrant Minority Languages at Home and School* edited by Extra and Yağmar in 2004. This collection draws together findings

from the Multilingual Cities Project, a project based at Tilburg University, The Netherlands, that investigated the scope and breadth of multilingual literacies as well as language choice in Göteborg, Hamburg, The Hague, Brussels, Lyon and Madrid at the beginning of the twenty-first century. The collection of papers highlights ways in which migrants are often, although not always, highly literate in their mother tongue and take with them numerous literacy practices from their country of origin. These practices or 'unofficial literacies' (Gregory and Williams, 2000) may remain separate from the 'official literacies' in school in their new country. With time, however, and for younger children, both heritage and adopted literacies may syncretise, forming a new and dynamic whole.

A number of ethnographic studies falling into the former category, showing dual or parallel literacy practices in the lives of migrants, can be found in Martin-Jones and Jones' (2000) edited volume 'Multilingual Literacies. Reading and Writing different Worlds'. This book provides a collection of largely ethnographic studies of multilingual literacy practices, largely in cities in Britain. Thus we learn of the different heritage literacies of, amongst others, Sylheti/Bengali speakers both in Spitalfields, East London and Birmingham; Gujarati speaking women in Leicester and children in London; Punjabi speakers in Southall, London; Mandarin speakers in Reading; Arabic speakers in Sheffield and Punjabi and Urdu speakers in Manchester. Most of these studies signal on-going work on a new and fascinating phenomenon taking place in cities, where people are operating in different languages and using different literacies according to the group within which they find themselves.

Studies falling into the latter category, showing very young children who are able to 'syncretise' or blend practices into a new form, can be found in 'Many Pathways to Literacy: Young Children learning with Siblings, Peers, Grandparents and Communities', edited by Gregory, Long and Volk (2004). Different studies in this volume show the cognitive and linguistic flexibility of young children in different cities across UK and USA as they go about making meaning from print in different languages and using different scripts. The authors argue that these children do not live in parallel but in simultaneous worlds (Kenner, 2004). The studies include 6-year old Puerto-Rican children in a Midwestern city in USA; a 3-year old Punjabi/Pahari child in Watford, near London, as well as Samoan-American children, Pueblo children in USA and Chinese children in London.

Studies on urban literacies in school settings during the first decade of the twenty-first century tend to focus on the classroom as an active site for negotiating cultures, including definitions of teacher/student knowledge and values, etc. A variety of examples showing ways in

which this is happening across the globe are presented in 'Portraits of Literacy across Families, Communities and Schools' edited by Anderson Smythe and Shapiro (2005). Authors in this volume explore the intersections and tensions between 'unofficial' and 'official' literacies in multilingual cities such as Johannesburg and Cape Town, South Africa; Vancouver, Canada; London, UK; Australia; Quebec, Canada and USA. In every case, literacies are multilingual and, as in Gregory, Long and Volk (2004), children show themselves as able to live in simultaneous worlds. The subtitle of this volume 'Intersections and Tensions' highlights the very contrasting experiences faced and managed by children as they confront different practices, styles and interpersonal relationships as well as languages from those of their parents. In some cases, children manage these very positively, practising with their siblings or other cultural and language mediators (Gregory, 2005; Maguire et al., 2005). In others, particularly for example where indigenous groups have been ostracised within their native country, shown by the example of First Nation children in Canada (Anderson, Kendrick, Rogers and Smythe, 2005) and aboriginal families in Australia (Cairney, 2005), the task is more complex and by no means resolved.

One major group of urban literacy practices in which early twenty-first century multilingual children are engaged, can be grouped under the umbrella of 'community classes'. These are the subject of interest by a number of linguists and educationalists and may involve both religious and secular literacy classes. Community classes have, of course, long existed in cities, usually entailing both religious and heritage language classes. However, research studies now reveal a shifted interest from simply the factual and historical to the ways in which community classes might enhance both cognitive and literacy skills as well as the effect they might have on children's identities. A number of studies in this field at the beginning of the twenty-first century are focusing on the multiple identities of children participating in community classes as well as the notion of identity choice (Creese and Martin, 2006; Chao-Jung, 2006; Robertson, 2006).

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

There are a number of problems and difficulties for future research on literacies in cities. Some of these are listed here, together with some possible directions for future studies in order to tackle these:

- There have always been (and still are) contradictions concerning the extent of illiteracy existing in cities. Different research approaches produce different data. In UK, for example, on the one hand surveys conducted among employers as well as Universities

appear to reveal considerable cause for concern at the standard of literacy. Most of this concern centres on the standard of children in urban contexts. On the other hand, however, national examination results improve year by year. Immense problems have always existed in measuring standards of literacy and illiteracy, and this is most apparent in city contexts;

- What is found tends to reflect the research methodology employed. Performance in national tests may well fail to reveal the breadth of urban children's 'unofficial literacies'. Ethnography has begun to open up insights into these but we still lack knowledge of the literacy practices of many multilingual and/or urban groups. For this knowledge to improve, we shall, at the very least, need:
- Life histories of those who have migrated so that the role and scope of different literacies in life as well as the way in which these link with changing and/or multiple identities are uncovered. We also need life-histories of those becoming literate for the first time later in life;
- Longitudinal studies showing how peoples' membership of different literacy practices changes over the years and the effect of these changes (particularly where the language in which the literacy takes place also changes) on the identities of individuals;
- A greater range of ethnographic studies on different local literacies, showing particularly what people are actually reading, the materials they use and the purpose for which they are used;
- Studies that trace the influence and importance of religious literacies in children's lives;
- The huge effect of computer and text messaging literacies—not only found in cities but having a major impact on urban youth cultures.

The quotation opening this chapter linked literacy with libraries and libraries with cities. It is clear that libraries are no longer the sole or even the major repository of reading materials. Even the most rural environment can often be connected via satellite or internet to a wealth of literacies, both oral and written, in numerous languages. Nevertheless, cities still remain a hub of literacy. Through facilitating face-to-face interaction for people of all nations and backgrounds they will always provide a haven for the development of new and dynamic literacies.

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# **Section 1**

**Discourse in Education: Theory and Method**

## CLASSROOM INTERACTION, SITUATED LEARNING

## INTRODUCTION

In past six decades, researchers in a broad range of disciplines have studied classroom interaction and situated learning, generally emphasizing one or the other. This article explores the developing directions in research on the relationship between classroom interaction and situated learning. As individual areas of study, classroom interaction and situated learning each bring an intellectual history and disciplinary roots to the intersection that lead to different ways of conceptualizing the relationship. Each intellectual history contributes a particular set of questions, theories guiding the research, methodologies, objects of study, and tenets of evidence to the study of this relationship. Therefore, to understand what is currently known about the intersection of classroom interaction and situated learning, it is necessary to explore the history of the different traditions associated with each and how these traditions have led to changes in understandings of this relationship over the past six decades. By contrasting the focus of different perspectives on the study of this relationship, we explore what each contributes to our understanding of the consequential nature of learning in classrooms, at both the individual and collective levels.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

This section begins with a focus on the early developments in the study of *classroom interactions*, the area with the longest history. The purpose of this section is to make visible how studies focusing on classroom interactions are not a unified body of work, but one involving multiple programs of research, each conceptualizing the relationship between teaching–learning interactions in particular ways. Early developments in the USA, UK, and Australia are marked by three foci—one on instructional behaviors of teachers, one on the match between the communicative practices of teachers and students and how those influenced student learning, and one on understanding the work of language of the classroom and its consequence for student learning within and across disciplines. The first focus frames the area often referred to as *interaction analysis in classrooms*; while, the latter two

areas, with their focus on *language in use*, frame a situated perspective on classroom interactions, providing an area of overlap with work on situated learning.

The earliest systematic work on analysis of classroom interactions in the US focused on instructional behaviors of teachers. This work was conducted by researchers from different disciplines (e.g., education, psychology, and sociology), interested in the study of the outcomes of classroom instruction, through observing classroom interactions. Evertson and Green (1986), in their review of the role of observation in research on teaching–learning relationships, date the earliest phase in the USA as beginning in 1939. Researchers in this phase (1939 through the 1960s) entered classrooms to identify pedagogical *behaviors*, primarily realized through *talk*, an approach that continues today. Questions of interest included democratic versus authoritarian teaching practices and direct versus indirect instruction, with little direct focus on what was learned. In most of these studies, language and its influence on learning was opaque. The researchers’ attention was on observed, and at times, predefined behaviors purported to represent teaching, and in a few instances, learning. One notable exception to these approaches was the work of ecological psychologist Roger Barker (1968), who examined how language of instruction varied across phases of the lesson observed. Using an ecologically grounded approach to the study of behavior and boundaries of behaviors, he identified different phases of the lesson and how these changes were consequential for what students could do in subsequent phases. This work is one of the earliest studies exploring the situated nature of learning in the context of teaching, using what has become known as an ecological psychology approach.

The second phase overlapped this early phase (1963–1975). In this phase, language, in teaching–learning relationships, remained opaque in some studies but became important directions for other studies. In the first *Handbook of Research on Teaching*, Gage (1963) argued that there was a dearth of research in classrooms. He called for systematic research that followed a paradigm that began with descriptive studies, moving to correlational studies, and then to experimental studies. He argued that this approach would form a loop, in which research could inform practice in systematic ways. The goal of this research was to identify universal laws of teaching by directly observing classroom interactions.

Three directions grew from Gage’s call, each with a different approach to analysis and a different set of outcomes and recommendations. In the introduction to the 18-volume collection of instruments used to observe classroom interactions, *Mirrors for Behavior*, Simon and Boyer (1970) stated that the purpose of the research was to develop a language of teaching. In this seminal collection, Simon and Boyer

identified 90 instruments, each seeking to explore particular dimensions of teaching by observing classroom interaction. In this body of research, they found no convergence of focus across the instruments, and little evidence of validity or reliability reported by authors, making the development of a common language about classroom interactions or behaviors in classrooms related to teaching and learning problematic. Extending this work, Rosenshine and Furst (1973) identified more than 125 instruments, generally used to observe behaviors during interactions in classrooms. Building on Gage's (1963) descriptive, correlational, experimental loop, they called for a *process x product* approach that linked observed behaviors with learning outcomes, generally identified through correlations with standardized tests and/or predefined outcome measures.

Using a different conceptual approach to reviewing research on classroom interactions and the impact of teaching behaviors, a cross-national team of Michael Dunkin (Australia) and Bruce Biddle (USA) reviewed more than 500 studies that were systematic and observational (Dunkin and Biddle, 1974). Their analysis showed that the same phenomena had different outcomes, given that they were studied in different ways, in different contexts, and with different groups of students. They argued that there was a lack of integrating theories concerning teaching and recommended a series of steps that had a strong epistemological orientation to theory-method relationships. They called for the development of findings that related contexts, presage variables, processes, and products of teaching and that explained related groups of findings, rather than all events of teaching. Dunkin and Biddle included some of the earliest linguistic studies that used technology to record and explore the consequential nature of communication between teachers and students. In their recommendations for close examination of a broad range of variables, they foreshadowed a situated approach to the study of teaching-learning relationships, a direction that differed from the one proposed by Gage (1963) and his colleagues (Rosenshine and Furst, 1973), who sought universal laws of teaching.

Directions that grew out of this early work are visible in a recent conceptual review by Rex, Graciano and Steadman (2006), who identified five theoretical and methodological perspectives that developed since the 1930s: process-product; cognitive; sociocognitive, situated cognition, and activity theory; ethnographic; and sociolinguistic and discourse analysis. Their review systematically examines the logic of inquiry guiding these perspectives and makes visible what each of these perspectives, and their related methodological approaches, brings to the study of the relationship of classroom interactions to learning. Through contrastive analyses of the questions addressed, the research design, data collection methods, and analytic procedures, Rex, Graciano and Steadman demonstrate why a situated perspective to examining

the history of a research field is necessary, if we are to understand what can be known through the different traditions. Further, their review makes visible the growing range of perspectives examining the situated nature of factors that support and/or constrain learning, in and through interactions between teachers and students as well as among students. Their review demonstrates the situated nature of knowledge about the situated nature of learning through classroom interactions.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

This section describes two inter-related developments that support the evolution of new understandings about how classroom interactions are central to the study of situated learning. The first is the development of new technologies that permit systematic (re)examination of what is being accomplished in and through classroom interaction. The second is the development of new theoretical perspectives that provide different angles of conceptualization and analysis on learning as a situated process. Innovations in technology since the 1960s (e.g., portable audio and video recording equipment, and computers) constitute an often-invisible contribution. Technological advances made possible, and continue to make possible, approaches that examine the actual talk and chains of communication between and among teachers and students, within events as well as across times and events. Tape recorders, and subsequently portable video recorders (and now digital recorders), made it possible for teachers and other researchers to step out of the moment and revisit the interactions in lessons or recorded events in and out of classroom contexts. The ability to revisit events and interactions multiple times led to new explorations of what teachers and students said to each other and what was accomplished through these interactions. Such studies examined when and where particular information was presented, taken up and used; how events were structured through moment-by-moment interactions; what norms and expectations were constructed for speaking, participating and displaying knowledge; who had access to what was being said and done; and what were the social and academic consequences of particular ways of interacting. Within this body of work, technology became a central actor and catalyst at multiple points in the research process, not just a tool for the study of classroom interactions and situated learning (e.g., Goldman, Pea, Barron, and Derry, 2007).

Examples of the synergy between technology and theory can be seen in early studies of the *language of the classroom* and *language as evidence of learning* in the UK and USA. In the UK, this work examined communication in classrooms from discourse, communicative, linguistic, and/or sociological traditions. Three of the directions that continue

today explored the situated nature of classroom interactions and their consequences for linguistically, and socially diverse students: the first builds on the work of Douglas Barnes, Harold Rosen and James Britton (Barnes, Britton, and Rosen, 1969), the second on the work of Michael Halliday (Halliday and Hasan, 1976), and the third on the work of Basil Bernstein (1971).

The approach taken by Barnes and his colleagues (Barnes, Britton, and Rosen, 1969) examined ways of involving teachers in exploring their own language and classroom interactions as well as in exploring how the situated nature of classroom communication was consequential for students. The use of technological tools enabled teachers (and researchers) to take a closer look at teacher and student interactions, raising questions about agency of the actors, chains of interaction and shifting patterns of language use across times and events, and how these influenced opportunities for learning. The second tradition focused on linguistic dimensions involved in *learning how to mean* within and across social situations, classrooms contexts and disciplines as well as on language differences between home and school. The third examined how social processes and practices outside the classroom influenced pedagogical practices that supported and/or constrained access to academic knowledge in classrooms. In the latter two traditions, technological resources were also central to close analysis by researchers of the social and academic texts that shaped the opportunities for learning of socially and linguistically diverse students.

In the USA, research on language in use and its relationship to classroom interactions and student learning was grounded in perspectives from education, linguistics (e.g., sociolinguistic and psycholinguistics), anthropology, and sociology. Using these traditions, researchers began to examine systematically the ways in which the linguistic forms and functions used by teachers and students impacted patterns of interaction and the opportunities for learning across times and events (e.g., Cazden, John, and Hymes, 1972; Green, 1983; Mehan, 1979). Central to this work was an ethnographic approach to the study of everyday life in classrooms and other educational settings. One common focus across traditions was the development of an alternative to the view of students as language deficient, which some researchers had equated with intellectual deficits. This work was designed to uncover the ways in which the language teachers and students brought to and used in classrooms shaped the opportunities afforded linguistically and culturally diverse students. This work was expanded in subsequent periods to include work examining the process of communication as the central factor in shaping what counted as meaning construction, social accomplishment of everyday life, and academic knowledge (Rex et al., 2006). For researchers grounded in communicative, linguistic and sociological

perspectives on language in use, the concept of situated perspective captures an ontological claim—that classroom interactions cannot be reduced to decontextualized codes, as in the observation systems presented earlier. Rather, interactions must be examined to understand how learning and academic knowledge and practices are talked, written and acted into being in and through the linguistic processes and practices of participants (e.g., teachers and students) over times and events.

A more recent development in the area of theory, that also uses innovations in technology to study learning in classroom interactions, is a body of work focusing on *situated learning*. This area developed in the past two decades, drawing on a range of disciplinary perspectives, including ecological psychology, human development, sociology (e.g., ethnomethodology, conversation analysis, and symbolic interactionism), anthropology, and most recently the learning sciences (e.g., Brown, Collins, and Duguid, 1989; Goldman et al., in press; Lave and Wenger, 1991; Scribner and Cole, 1981). Researchers from these traditions examine patterns of interaction of members of particular groups, exploring what they need to know and do, and how knowledge is situated in the practices of a community within and across times and events. Central to this work is the understanding that all learning occurs in context, that is, it is situated and realized in and through the interactions of people. Language is often viewed as constitutive of everyday life and knowledge construction. This perspective focuses on social and cultural processes and ways in which members of a community develop cognitive knowledge and practices as they interact within and across times and events. In the UK, this direction was clearly visible in work exploring the construction of knowledge in classroom contexts, leading to what Edwards and Mercer (1987) called *common knowledge*.

These advances in theory supported by advances in technology have led to new areas of research on what is learned, by and with whom, when and where, in what ways, for what purposes, under what conditions, and with what outcomes and/or consequences. These ways of posing questions about learning have led researchers to explore areas of learning from multiple angles of vision not previously considered. Topics being examined include cognitive processes, identity(ies), ideology(ies), literacy(ies), and disciplinary language(s) and knowledge. Currently, researchers are examining how, through the moment-by-moment and over time interactions among teachers and students, a classroom community as well as school and peer cultures are being constructed, raising new questions about how to conceptualize what counts as situated learning, and when and how to bound its study (e.g., Brown et al., 1989; Greeno, 2006) as well as what constitutes a community of practice (e.g., Barton and Tusting, 2005; Lave and Wenger, 1991).

## WORK IN PROGRESS

One area of work in progress focuses on epistemological issues raised by the broad range of traditions and approaches currently available. Over the past two decades, a number of volumes have been created to explore how different research traditions contribute to the study of situated learning and classroom interactions. These volumes enable readers to understand what each research perspective included in the volume contributes, the tenets of evidence within the perspective, the questions that can be addressed, and what is currently known. These volumes and special issues of journals (e.g., Green and Harker, 1988; Koschmann, 1999; Wyatt-Smith and Cumming, 2000) demonstrate how theory–method relationships shape what can be studied and known. The value comes from the fact that the authors of articles in these volumes were given the same data or a common set of data and asked to analyze these data from their research perspective. What is evident across the different studies is that the complexity of classroom interactions and their relationship to teacher actions and student learning in and across lessons and contexts becomes visible when the different analyses are juxtaposed. An examination of the differences among traditions helps readers construct a broader view of this complex relationship than any one perspective permits.

A second area of work in progress is one in which the two traditions, classroom interactions and situated learning are converging in the area of the construction of knowledge across disciplines. Researchers from these perspectives are examining how disciplinary knowledge is socially constructed within and across classroom contexts. Across national boundaries, researchers in mathematics and science education have provided new insights into ways in which knowledge of science and mathematics is constructed within and across events of classroom life (e.g., Baker, Street, and Tomlin, 2003; Forman and Ansell, 2001; Greeno, 2006; Inagaki, Morita, and Hatano, 1999; Kelly and Bazerman, 2003; Warren, Ballenger, Ogonowski, and Rosebery, 2001).

A third area of work on situated learning builds on an ethnographic and sociocultural perspectives on language and literacy learning in and out of schools in national and cross-national contexts (e.g., Barton and Tusting, 2005; Egan-Robertson and Bloome, 1998; Lee and Smagorinsky, 2000; Moll, 1990). These studies provide insights into ways in which knowledge is socially constructed in and through discourse and literate practices inside and outside of classrooms. This work extends and brings new insights into how learning is situated in communities of practice.

These three bodies of research make visible how studies of classroom interaction and situated learning are converging, and how each

represents a complex series of perspectives, each providing a particular lens on the relationship. This work also demonstrates the complexity of perspectives needed to explore the situated nature of learning in and through interactions in classrooms and other educational settings (e.g., homes, community settings, and peer groups). They also provide insights into the need for systematic and theoretically guided studies that make visible how academic and social practices, associated with the construction of disciplinary knowledge, are learned; how language-in-use shapes and is shaped by learning; and how learning is an overtime outcome of interactions in both classrooms and other educational settings. Further, the ethnographic framework used by researchers in many of the new studies makes visible the need for examining intertextual ties within and across times and events to explore the question of when is learning, what counts as learning in and across contexts of everyday life in and out of classrooms, and what learning counts.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Major problems facing those seeking to explore the relationships between classroom interactions and situated learning include the richness and diversity of the theoretical perspectives currently available. Each perspective can be viewed as a lens on a complex process, generally labeled learning. Given that learning requires an object of study, it is not possible to talk about learning without defining what is to be learned, in what ways as well as what counts as learning and what learning counts. Researchers need to pay special attention to formulating the problem of study, selecting theoretical perspectives, and situating or locating their work within the rich and complex range of traditions and perspectives available. This process also applies to those who explore classroom interactions. Researchers need to formulate carefully what constitutes an interaction and what theories will guide their work. Central to these challenges is the idea that epistemology is not enough. Rather ontological—epistemological relationships and practices used in research need to be made transparent. This richness means that researchers need to make visible the logic of inquiry guiding their work so that those who do not share their tradition can examine the basis of claims and the nature of evidence.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Today, there exists a broad range of theoretical perspectives across disciplines and a wealth of technological advances that make possible systematic analysis of the moment-by-moment work of teachers and

students within and across events and times. These advances enable researchers to examine how interactions shape a particular range of opportunities for learning afforded students in classroom and other educational settings. However, the challenge facing Dunkin and Biddle (1974) in the early phases of this work, the development of integrating theories, is one that is still with us today. How can this breadth of information be systematically and productively brought together to create new theoretical understandings about the complex relationships between interactions and situated learning in and out of school contexts? (Gee, 2003).

The questions that must be explored, if an integrating theory is to be developed, is *what counts as learning, when does learning count?* and *how is learning accomplished?* These questions raise a further question—Is learning a noun or a verb, and what difference does this distinction make? Related to this are questions of what counts as learning within and across events, who has access to opportunities for learning, what types of opportunities are afforded or required of members of particular groups, and how is what is learned at one point in time or in one context related to what people do in other contexts or at other points in time. Central to this research agenda are issues about the nature and role of classroom interactions and ways in which different traditions contribute new understandings of these complex phenomena.

Future work also needs to explore the relationship between micro and macro contexts to identify how actions and decisions at one level of scale support and constrain what can and does occur or is produced through interactions among members at another level of scale. For example, how do policies beyond the classroom or moment of interaction shape what is possible for students to learn and what types of interactions are possible? Without studying multiple levels, the information about situated learning may be too tightly focused on what occurs in the moment and may ignore how moments are historically situated and intertextually related. By examining how decisions at one level influence what is available at subsequent levels (both micro and macro), researchers can expand the concept of situated learning to include an understanding of how interactions and decisions at multiple levels of scale are central to the concept of situation and situated learning in particular.

Central to future work are studies that examine what is being learned by whom and in what ways, for what purposes, when and where, and with what outcomes or consequences. Multiple outcomes of learning are being identified (e.g., academic knowledge, identity, social practices, and literate practices), each requiring a particular angle of vision, analysis, and theorizing. No one tradition, theory–method relationship, or methodological approach will address the full range of the outcomes of the study of what is accomplished at the intersection of classroom

interactions and situated learning. Further, the current world is linguistically and culturally diverse. No longer can we define interactions from the perspective of one kind of English or from one type of learner. Rather, the future requires that researchers make transparent and address the theoretical and methodological traditions and actions they take to study learning in and across situations, including local, national and global contexts. Additionally, with the rapid development of new advanced technologies (e.g., the internet, digital highways, and multimedia contexts), researchers will need to rethink the boundaries of situations, raising questions about what situated means and bringing new challenges to studying interactions, whether in classrooms or not. These advances also raise questions about the boundaries of classrooms and interactions.

Finally, given new understandings of the situated nature of learning on a more abstract and general level, questions about the ways in which researchers are situated or located within their studies need to be addressed (Bloome, Carter, Christian, Otto, and Shuart-Faris, 2005). Today, many research traditions involve the researcher in participating in a context, not just studying a context, making it important for all researchers to make transparent the relationship between the researcher and those studied or participating in the study. For readers of research to understand the nature of the claims and the type and scope of evidence presented, researchers will need to make transparent the angle of vision used and their location(s) and positioning(s) within the context of study.

*See Also:* Jasmine Luk Ching Man: *Classroom Discourse and the Construction of Learner and Teacher Identities (Volume 3)*; Junko Mori and Jane Zuengler: *Conversation Analysis and Talk-in-Interaction in Classrooms (Volume 3)*; Harriet Bjerrum Nielsen and Bronwyn Davies: *Discourse and the Construction of Gendered Identities in Education (Volume 3)*; Patricia Duff: *Language Socialization, Participation and Identity: Ethnographic Approaches (Volume 3)*; Gregory Kelly: *Learning Science: Discursive Practices (Volume 3)*; Silvia Valencia Giraldo: *Talk, Texts and Meaning-making in Classroom Contexts (Volume 3)*; Frank Hardman: *The Guided Co-Construction of Knowledge (Volume 3)*; Sandra Lee McKay: *Sociolinguistics and Language Education (Volume 4)*; Duanduan Li: *Pragmatic Socialization (Volume 8)*; Betsy Rymes: *Language Socialization and the Linguistic Anthropology of Education (Volume 8)*

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CONVERSATION ANALYSIS AND  
TALK-IN-INTERACTION IN CLASSROOMS

INTRODUCTION

Conversation analysis (CA) was originally established in sociology during the 1960s, and since then it has found its way into various other disciplines, including applied linguistics and education. Its systematic description and explication of the moment-by-moment, turn-by-turn unfolding of social interactions, accomplished through repeated listening or viewing of audio or video recordings, have aided classroom researchers' understanding of the dynamics of talk-in-interaction in classrooms and the social orders manifested therein. This chapter will first introduce CA's aims and principles as proposed by its founders Harvey Sacks, Emanuel A. Schegloff, Gail Jefferson and their colleagues and apprentices, highlighting what distinguishes this methodology from other methods of microanalysis. Following this brief summary of fundamentals, it will discuss how CA has been applied to the study of classroom interaction by introducing some exemplar studies. The concluding section will refer to ongoing controversies concerning CA's effectiveness as a sole analytical tool for the investigation of classroom interaction. More specifically, it will address whether or not other theoretical or methodological frameworks, such as critical discourse analysis, ethnography, or sociocultural perspectives, among others, should be, or can be, combined with CA to further our understanding of classroom practices.

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS: AIMS AND PRINCIPLES  
OF CONVERSATION ANALYSIS

Talk-in-interaction, the term used in the chapter's title, reflects CA's central concern. Namely, CA considers that any speaker's talk at any moment should be viewed as a demonstration of the speaker's understanding of prior talk by the coparticipants, and simultaneously its delivery and design should be viewed as a reflection of the speaker's orientation and sensitivity toward the particular coparticipants. Furthermore, the recipients' conduct during the current talk or in the next turn is likewise considered to reflect their understanding of the current talk. Thus, CA's aim, which reflects its ethnomethodological origin, has

been to uncover how the participants themselves undertake the analysis of ongoing talk and engage in the sense-making process in interaction. To this end, CA researchers have conducted meticulous observation of numerous hours of audio- or video-recorded daily interactions involving a wide range of speakers and taking place in a wide range of settings. Through this process, they have discovered recurrent patterns and structures, which appear to operate as fundamental, shared resources for the participants to construct and interpret each contribution to the talk-in-interaction. Since the seminal work by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) on the fundamental organization of turn-taking for conversation, various procedures and expectations underlining ordinary social activities, including sequential organization, repair organization, preference organization, topical organization, among others, have been described and explicated.

The accumulated knowledge of these “context-free” (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, 1974) generic phenomena and mechanisms, which have been investigated based on a large collection of cases, have served as crucial foundations for investigating details of each action taken in interactions, including those occurring in institutional settings. That is, the aforementioned organizations explicated by CA studies should be understood not as the kind that confines the participants’ behavior, but rather the kind that offers frames of reference that assist the participants’ as well as the analysts’ understanding of what kinds of actions are accomplished and what kinds of stances and identities are displayed. For instance, the participants as well as the analysts can identify at which moment in the interaction a transfer of speakership is expected to (but does not need to) occur, or what kinds of moves can be considered conditionally relevant at the next turn. On each occasion, the participants may or may not conform to the expectations predicted by recurrently observed patterns. Even so, their seemingly deviant behaviors tend to be interpreted (by the co-participants) with reference to the normative patterns and its deviation may be considered to indicate some “context-sensitive” features, including relationships among the participants, social or institutional roles assumed for them, or purposes or goals of the interaction, to which the participants demonstrate their orientation.

To wit, CA starts its investigation with rigorous description and explication of moment-by-moment, turn-by-turn, sequence-by-sequence unfolding of talk captured in audio or video recordings. Rather than asking any specific questions or applying any theoretical assumptions, this strictly data driven approach attempts to describe, in as much detail as possible, at which precise moment each turn at talk is delivered and how it is constructed, and in doing so, uncover how the participants accomplish social actions at hand and display their orientations toward the co-participants. Unlike some other analytical frameworks for

analysis of discourse, CA discourages analysts' interpretation of the participants' intention or other psychological states, but rather encourages technical analysis of observable structures and features of the participants' talk and other conduct, through which the analysts may be able to infer the participants' own understanding of prior talk; CA also avoids making a premature connection between the participants' observed behaviors with their particular characteristics such as gender, age, ethnicity, native versus nonnative status, etc., unless such a category is shown to be relevant through the participants' behaviors. The analysts' intuitive speculation, which can be derived from their membership in the speech community of the participants, may guide their analysis (cf. Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998; ten Have, 1999), but the systematic presentation of visible evidence is considered necessary for the speculation to turn into an analytical claim. The visible evidence includes not only segmental features of talk, but also prosody and accompanying nonverbal behavior. The participants' gaze directions, postures, gestures, and other types of embodied conduct co-occurring with talk, crucially influence the ways in which they develop their talk-in-interaction and organize their participation (e.g., Goodwin, 2000). Thus, more recent CA studies have attempted to take into consideration any audible and visible features that the participants themselves use for their sense-making process.

CA's primary objective of describing the procedures and expectations through which the participants accomplish orderly and intelligible social interaction is retained when researchers trained in the CA tradition apply the methodology to the study of institutional discourse, including talk-in-interaction in the classroom. Through close examination of the intricacies of interactional practices, researchers can investigate (i) how and to what extent the organization of classroom interaction differs from, or resembles, that of ordinary conversation; (ii) how the participants in classroom interaction design their turns to accomplish specific actions and activities relevant to the specific purposes and conditions of a given classroom; and (iii) how the participants' institutional roles are displayed in the ways in which they interact with each other, or in other words, how the participants accomplish "doing being a teacher" or "doing being a student."

Earlier CA-informed studies of talk-in-interaction in classrooms focused on how instructional talk led by a teacher exhibits organizational features that are different from ordinary conversation. McHoul (1978), for instance, compared the organization of turns in instructional talk in the classroom with the conversational turn-taking mechanisms described by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974). Unlike ordinary conversation, where turn allocation is locally managed among the participants, in what he calls the 'formal' classroom, recurrent patterns

of turn taking indicate that only teachers have access to the use of creative turn allocation techniques. Such differential participation rights and obligations exhibited in turn-taking practices thus reveal how the social identities of teachers and students are realized in and through their conduct.

The outcomes of earlier studies, most notably the identification of the three-part structure consisting of initiation-response-evaluation (IRE) or question-answer-comment (QAC) sequences, where teachers generally take the first and third moves and students the second (e.g., McHoul, 1978; Mehan, 1979; Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975), have been widely recognized and incorporated into classroom research conducted within a variety of methodological and theoretical frameworks. This structure has been viewed negatively by those who examine its pedagogical effectiveness, criticizing it as rigid, controlling, and greatly limiting student participation in learning. However, for CA researchers, the IRE structure, like others described in CA, simply presents a regularity to which the participants may or may not demonstrate their orientation. It should be also noted that while this structure is commonly observed in the classroom, it can also occur in many other places outside of classrooms, where some potentially 'pedagogical' activities may take place. That is, CA considers that it is not only that the physical context of classrooms (or other institutions) may influence the ways in which the participants act the way they do, but also that the very ways in which the participants co-construct their interaction, based on their shared practices, creates the pedagogical context.

#### RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AND MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Subsequent CA studies have investigated further details of the ways in which teachers design their turns at talk by using various resources including syntax, prosody, and nonverbal behaviors, so that they can furnish different types of opportunities for subsequent participation by students (e.g., Hellermann, 2005; Koshik, 2002; Lerner, 1995). These studies demonstrate diverse ways in which the three-part IRE structure can be accomplished and expanded through the teachers' use of incomplete turn-constructive units or prosodic manipulations in feedback moves, among others. It is hoped that the findings of these studies will enhance the appreciation of fine details as to how such a sequence is constructed and prompt the reconsideration of simplistic recommendations against the use of the IRE in classrooms.

Another phenomenon studied extensively in CA-informed classroom research along with the three-part structure is "repair." As discussed by Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks (1977), the phenomenon called "repair"

in CA entails any kind of trouble in producing a turn or in hearing or understanding it, and does not always imply the occurrence of an error or mistake as the term “correction” might suggest. With this understanding, Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks describe the organizational possibilities of repair with regard to (i) who initiates a repair (self-or-other initiation); (ii) who actually performs the repair (self-or-other repair); and (iii) at which position in reference to the occurrence of a trouble source (same turn, turn transition, next turn, third turn, etc.) initiation and repair take place. Among the possible combinations, the analysis of a large collection of cases found in ordinary conversation yields a substantial skewing toward, or a “preference” for, self-initiated self-repair as contrasted with the rarity of other-repairs.

In a way similar to the approach employed for his comparative study of turn-taking operations, McHoul (1990) takes up these findings by Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks (1977) and investigates the organization of repair in the classroom. Indeed, Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks note that one exception to the aforementioned robust preference for self-initiation and self-repair is the domain of adult-child interaction, in which other-correction (i.e., adults correcting children), which serves as a vehicle for socialization, appears to be more common than the preferred practices of self-initiation and self-repair. And this note based on anecdotal evidence is what prompts McHoul to conduct his investigation of repair in the classroom, which constitutes one significant site of adult-child interaction. McHoul’s study of Australian classroom talk demonstrates that other-correction did not figure as much as may have been anticipated. While same-turn self-corrections were indeed relatively few, other-initiated self-corrections, that is, teachers’ performing initiations but withholding corrections, were predominant.

More recently, however, Macbeth (2004), who critically examines McHoul’s study, asserts, “conversational repair and classroom correction are better understood as distinctive, even cooperating organization, and thus poor candidates for comparative analysis” (p. 705). Namely, while McHoul’s study focuses on corrections regarding what is expected to be taught and learned in each lesson, which constitutes an identifying task and achievement of classroom interaction in its own right, Macbeth points out that repairs which are similar to those observed in conversational interaction, that aim at establishing common understanding and coherence of discourse, should be also omnipresent in classroom interaction. Thus, while it is important to examine the discursive production of classroom lessons and correct responses within them, conversational repair and classroom correction should not be compared on the same grounds.

This point raised by Macbeth resonates with a spirit of an emerging group of studies that shed light on diverse types of speech exchange

systems and the participants' orientation to them that coexist in a classroom (e.g., Markee, 2004). Namely, while earlier studies, including McHoul's, have tended to focus on the peculiarity of classroom talk represented by the recurrently observed sequential and participation structures that construct the appearance of teacher-fronted pedagogical talk, apparently not all talk-in-interaction taking place in the classroom consists of such participation structures. Furthermore, not all talk occurring in classrooms can be classified as pedagogical, just because of the setting. More recent studies have begun to explore such issues as how different types of classroom activities other than teacher-fronted lessons are accomplished through talk-in-interaction among peers, or how the participants in classroom interaction shift back and forth between pedagogical and non-pedagogical talk, often by adopting an approach that can be characterized as a single case analysis. In other words, rather than focusing on a recurrent phenomenon to describe some generic properties of interaction, these studies undertake a close analysis of a single case, while investigating how a range of phenomena and organizational domains of talk that have been studied and described by past CA studies based on a large data sample, are manifested for the achievement of a particular task or a learning opportunity that takes place in classrooms. The selection of such particular cases may be based on their ubiquity or idiosyncrasy, which depend, to a certain extent, on the researchers' ethnographic knowledge of particular classrooms (as will be discussed further in the concluding section).

Ford (1999), for instance, investigates how three high school students engage in a physics laboratory task through the collaborative coordination of multiple resources such as talk, gesture, gaze, and written materials. The study also examines how occasional teacher intervention can transform the structure of participation in group work sessions. Even if the intervention is not relevant to the ongoing task at hand, the students skillfully defer to the teachers' actions first and subsequently reestablish the group-internal structure by marking off the irrelevant intervention. The microanalysis of the ways in which these three students shift from one participation structure to another in the process of following task procedures illustrates forms of competence that can become visible only through interaction and not through other conventional methods of assessment. Similarly, Mori (2002) examines a case of group work occurring in a Japanese as a foreign language classroom. The analysis of the development of talk occurring in what is supposedly a task designed to have students engage in a discussion with native speakers of Japanese reveals that the learners ended up constructing their talk in a more rigidly structured interview format. This analysis is juxtaposed with the examination of a task sheet describing the procedures and requirements and the analysis of talk occurring during the learners' pre-task

preparation. The study demonstrates how the instructional design affected the ways in which the learners developed their talk, and conversely how their talk demonstrated their orientation to the described procedure and potentially hindered the demonstration of their language proficiency that they might otherwise have displayed. Markee (2005) also analyzes a short segment of small group work undertaken in an English as a second language classroom and provides empirical accounts for how “off-task” talk, such as an invitation to a party, was occasioned during a class in which the reunification of East and West Germany was an official topic of discussion. Thus, these studies based on single case analysis can offer vivid pictures of how exactly the learners participate, or do not participate, in learning as planned by instructors. These findings in turn help educators reconsider instructional designs and re-evaluate competence that these learners can or cannot demonstrate through talk-in-interaction.

Furthermore, the occurrence of non-pedagogical talk within classrooms analogously suggests the occurrence of pedagogical talk outside of classrooms. Thus, for CA researchers (or perhaps for other like-minded educational researchers), classroom talk should not be unquestionably linked to the confined physical space. Such a consideration is particularly important, bearing in mind the bringing into the classroom of more activities that simulate the outside world and at the same time recognizing the efforts to take learners outside of traditional classrooms and have them engage in various learning opportunities that have been made in recent years. Kasper (2004), for instance, studies German conversation-for-learning activities held outside of the classroom but nonetheless validated as a credit-giving assignment for an introductory German class. Kasper’s analysis of dyadic conversation between a learner of German as a foreign language and a native speaker of German concentrates on the situated identities constructed and invoked through their talk-in-interaction. The membership categories of target language “novice” and “expert” were invoked as relevant categories only on particular occasions, while the participants instead oriented to categories such as movie-watchers or female acquaintances, on other occasions. This relates to the fact that the participants evoke and shift their orientations to this interaction either as conversation or as a language-learning event.

Waring’s (2005) study of peer tutoring in a graduate writing center, involving a tutor, an expert in academic writing, and a tutee, a graduate student who has advanced knowledge of the area of her specialty, also explores this theme of locally constituted identities and expertise. By focusing her analysis on sequences of advice giving and resisting, Waring discusses the relationship between the patterns of resisting and the tutee’s identity claim, as well as the competing expertise between the

tutor and the tutee. Benwell and Stokoe's (2002) analysis of task-setting sequences in university tutorial sessions also uncovers complex and contradictory manners in which interactional power was negotiated between a tutor and students. Their study exhibits how the processes of negotiation embody the participants' "face" concerns and their orientation toward an academic identity or the lack thereof.

As the landscape of the classroom has changed over the years and will keep changing in the future, classroom researchers are required to expand their horizons. The wealth of CA studies of other institutional discourse (e.g., Drew and Heritage, 1992), including those that are not specifically labeled as classroom research, are able to inform classroom research, since they often address common issues, such as what kinds of competence or resources come into play for the accomplishment of social actions required of a particular institutional context, how the demonstration of expertise is evaluated in situ by the participants, or how manifestation, ascription, or resistance to various identities are achieved through talk-in-interaction.

#### PROBLEMS, ISSUES, AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

As illustrated in the previous section, CA studies have uncovered intricate ways in which talk-in-interaction in the classroom is constructed, demonstrating recurrently observed patterns and structures as well as unique features indicating the particularities of each task and activity undertaken. In the meantime, there are ongoing controversies concerning CA's potential for making contributions that appeal to a wider range of researchers and practitioners beyond immediate sympathizers. Many of these controversies stem from CA's exclusive reliance on audio or video recordings as its data source and its affirmative recommendation of "unmotivated" observation. Critics claim that it is critical for researchers to consider the participants' backgrounds, the institution's history, and so on, which may not appear in recordings. They also question what practical or theoretical implications can be drawn from the findings of CA studies of classroom interaction, which, to some, may appear to be purely structural descriptions of minute details. These questions have led both CA and non-CA researchers to reflect on procedures for data collection and analysis promoted by CA and the possibilities of combining them with other methodological or theoretical frameworks such as ethnography, critical discourse analysis, or sociocultural perspectives, for the purpose of educational research. In the remainder of this chapter, we will consider how far CA should or should not be paired with these other frameworks.

First, it is important to note that as much as CA researchers restrict their analyzes to the explication of details found in audio- or video-recorded

data, the analytic process could be informed by their ethnographic knowledge of a chosen research site. The earliest CA studies (e.g., Schegloff and Sacks, 1973), which based their investigation primarily on audio recordings of two-party telephone conversations, did not have to be over concerned about the comprehensiveness of audio-recorded data, because auditory features of talk were the only resources that were available to the participants themselves at the time of their conversation. However, when researchers try to analyze interactions in classrooms, where the participants share a physical space and use nonvocal resources along with their talk to accomplish the sense-making processes, it becomes critical to capture as much visual data as possible to replicate the participants' interactive processes. The more participants there are, and the more movable space they have (as in the case of many classroom interactions), the more challenging it becomes for researchers to videotape the entirety of the participants' experiences.

While technological advancement helps researchers to employ multiple cameras to record an event from different angles and coordinate images for analysis, the quintessential question of the observer paradox still persists. Namely, the more elaborate recording equipment becomes, the more likely it is for the participants to be influenced by its very existence. And, if it is impossible to record everything, the question then is how researchers can capture as much visual information relevant to the participants as possible in the least intrusive manner. As discussed by Mondada (2002), the researchers' (or videographers') familiarity with routine activities occurring at the research site and their development of skilled vision become essential for the selection of particular viewpoints and framings that can account for the setting as fully as possible. It is also important to acknowledge that the limited accessibility of visual or auditory information can influence what analysts can or cannot say about the participants' conduct.

Second, ethnographic information could also aid CA researchers of institutional discourse in their analytic processes. Maynard (2003), for instance, introduces the notion of "limited affinity" to discuss how to integrate ethnography and CA to enable "systematic and rigorous attention to the fullness of participants' spoken sociality and its generic structuring" (p. 77). According to Maynard, descriptions of settings and identities of parties, explications of terms, phrases, or courses of action unfamiliar to researchers, and explanations of unique sequential patterns observed in institutional discourse can all be informed by ethnographic data. At the same time, however, he cautions that proper analytic control of contextual information should be exercised. While ethnographic information can help researchers emulate the ways in which the participants themselves interpret or construct each turn at talk, it is only through the careful explication of the detailed manner

in which each turn is delivered and each sequence of talk is developed that researchers can ground their characterizations of participants or settings. That is, the unveiling of how the participants themselves procedurally display the relevance of such characterizations is what distinguishes CA from other methods.

Indeed, this bottom-up analytical procedure should serve as a powerful tool to reveal vivid evidence of how class, gender, ethnicity, institutional authority, and other critical issues surrounding classrooms are negotiated and reproduced in and through talk-in-interaction. Although a perception that CA is only preoccupied with the analysis of micro-interactional practices and is not concerned with the discussion of any macrolevel political, social and historical contexts has been prevalent among some critical discourse analysts (CDA) (e.g., Billig, 1999), this is not an accurate representation of CA's potential. While CA does argue against premature theorizing, or researchers' top-down ascription of the existing macrolevel discourses upon the interactional data at hand (which CDA is often considered guilty of), it demonstrates how systematic analysis of the complex interactional organization of talk can point to the ways in which political, social, or historical issues are made relevant to, and reconstructed in, daily interaction. While this debate over how to approach the micro-macro link may not be easily resolved, an increasing number of researchers appear to be willing to discuss and explore constructive ways to integrate CA and CDA (e.g., Woofitt, 2005).

Finally, another frequently raised critique of CA studies of classroom interaction claims that these studies do not adequately address the issue of learning, which is considered central to classroom interaction, beyond mere descriptions of locally constituted learning opportunities (e.g., Hall, 2004). In order to address this issue, some researchers have attempted to combine microanalyses of classroom talk aided by CA or CA-informed techniques and some theoretical perspectives accounting for the learning process, including the notions of scaffolding or zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1978), language socialization (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986), and communities of practice (Lave and Wenger, 1991), among others. The issue here again is how to link the careful CA analyzes of the here-and-now shown in the audio- or video-recorded data with preexisting theories of learning. Unmotivated, meticulous explication of interactional practices may result in the discovery of results that resemble what these theories predict. However, if data analysis is guided by (or obscured by) the preconceived theoretical assumptions, then the analysis is no longer considered genuinely CA. For instance, while the examination of longitudinal data has been welcomed in an attempt to document learning taking place in a classroom, from the CA perspective, different practices observed on two different occasions cannot be immediately seen as evidence of

learning. The comparability of the data sets needs to be established through the exhaustive analysis of all possible contextual factors differentiating the two occasions and the participants' potential orientation to these other factors.

Like many other cases of interdisciplinary undertakings that attempt to import a methodology from a different discipline, the application of CA to classroom research can reflect diverse stances taken by researchers. Some aspire to remain purely faithful to CA's methodological origins and attempt to describe structures of interactions, which may or may not be specific to talk-in-interaction taking place in the classroom. Others explore ways to supplement CA with other theoretical or methodological frameworks to address issues particular to this specific institutional context. While the latter approach may yield some fruitful results accessible to a wider audience, caution should be exercised to evaluate whether or not, or to what extent, such CA-informed or CA inspired hybrid approaches retain the true nature and strengths of CA. The amalgamation of different frameworks should be thought of as a means of maximizing their assets rather than risking their compromising of each other. This is a challenge that researchers will continue to face as they incorporate CA into classroom research.

*See Also:* Alastair Pennycook: *Critical Applied Linguistics and Language Education (Volume 1)*; Jasmine Luk Ching Man: *Classroom Discourse and the Construction of Learner and Teacher Identities (Volume 3)*; Judith Green and Carol Dixon: *Classroom Interaction, Situated Learning (Volume 3)*; Rebecca Rogers: *Critical Discourse Analysis in Education (Volume 3)*; Patricia Duff: *Language Socialization, Participation and Identity: Ethnographic Approaches (Volume 3)*; Susan Lyle: *Learners' Collaborative Talk (Volume 3)*; Amy B.M. Tsui: *Classroom Discourse: Approaches and Perspectives (Volume 6)*; Bonny Norton: *Identity, Language Learning, and Critical Pedagogies (Volume 6)*; Angel M.Y. Lin: *Code-switching in the Classroom: Research Paradigms and Approaches (Volume 10)*; Kelleen Toohey: *Ethnography and Language Education (Volume 10)*; Doris Warriner: *Discourse Analysis in Educational Research (Volume 10)*; Pedro M. Garcez: *Microethnography in the Classroom (Volume 10)*; Paul Garrett: *Researching Language Socialization (Volume 10)*

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GENRES AND INSTITUTIONS: FUNCTIONAL  
PERSPECTIVES ON EDUCATIONAL DISCOURSE

INTRODUCTION

A genre is itself an institution, for it is a socially sanctioned means of constructing and negotiating meanings, functioning so that it mediates the operation of other social institutions, taking its place in the complex interconnecting series of activities and events that constitute social life. Hence, while it is certainly possible to write of genres *and* institutions, like those of schooling, of the marketplace, or of family life, to mention a few, they are best understood as themselves institutional in character, and part of the fabric of social life. The notion of genres is relatively old, although scholarly interest in it for the purposes of educational linguistics is reasonably recent, dating from the late 1970s and 1980s, while its origins may in turn be dated a little earlier. All traditions of the relevant research acknowledge that genres are found both in speech and writing. However, in practice, it is genres and their role in literacy pedagogy which have generated the greatest body of research, as well as the most heated and lively debates. This paper will briefly review aspects of the development of genre theory, examining in particular these developments as they have had consequences for discussions of educational discourse.

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Paltridge (2007) writes that the term ‘genre’ came into use in educational discussions in the 1980s in at least three areas: the systemic functional linguistic (SFL) tradition originally associated with Halliday (1974); English for Specific Purposes (ESP), following Swales (e.g. 1990); and the New Rhetoric studies (e.g. Miller, 1984/1994). While the decade of the 1980s clearly was a productive one, genre-related studies emerged from developments in linguistic theory and research of the 1950s and 1960s. This was a period when linguistic research burgeoned and moved in several directions, not all of them functional or socially driven. Important examples of research with a strong functional and socially driven interest included that of Halliday and his colleagues (Halliday et al., 1967) in the British context and, in the North American context, that of such scholars as Hymes (1967), Gumperz (1968) and Labov (1972). Overall, the interest in genre had its genesis

in the broader scholarly interest in studies of language variety and/or register that enlivened linguistic research from the 1950s on.

For Halliday, like his teacher Firth, the study of language was necessarily social, because language is only comprehensible in terms of its uses and functions in social process, and he was to mount an ambitious account of the nature of language as a social semiotic, powerfully involved in the construction of social experience. Having provided his first discussions of a theory of grammar (e.g. 1961/2002), Halliday turned his attention to the ways language changes according to ‘different situation types’ and he and his colleagues adopted the term ‘register’ (Halliday, McIntosh, and Strevens, 1964): the meanings realized in language were said to be shaped in terms of the context, where the ‘field of activity’ (or topic in writing), the ‘mode’ (or medium and channel of communication) and the ‘style of discourse’ (later called the ‘tenor’, Halliday and Hasan, 1985) were all involved.

While genre in SFL theory was emerging, Swales and others (e.g. Bhatia, 1983) were developing their approaches to genres as part of an interest in ESP, though Swales (1986) also wrote of the relevance of genre-based approaches to language across the curriculum. His interest in genres was primarily in written texts—research articles, academic essays and the like, all of them important especially for the audience of students for whom English was a second language. Like Halliday, Swales has always had a strong sense of social purpose and context in addressing text types, though his account does not adopt an all embracing theory of language and social experience like Halliday’s. Indeed, in his most comprehensive discussion of genres, Swales stated that his approach was eclectic, and informed by a number of traditions of scholarship, not all of them linguistic (Swales, 1990, p. 13).

Genre in the tradition of the ‘New Rhetoric’ arose in the North American context, among scholars who had worked in composition studies, mainly for the audience of mother tongue students, and their priorities and goals were thus different from those of Swales or of Halliday and his colleagues. An early paper by Miller (1984) was very influential, arguing the importance of seeing genre as ‘social action’. She resisted any tendency to classify genres in any definitive way, on the grounds that they are unstable, though she did, like the other genre theorists, note that genres were both spoken and written, both prestigious (like the ‘eulogy’ or ‘the apologia’) and non-prestigious (like the ‘user manual’ or the ‘ransom note’), and that they were all worthy of study for their role in facilitating social action (Miller).

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Initial formulations of register in the SF tradition often conflated the terms ‘register’ and ‘genre’ (e.g. Hasan in Halliday and Hasan, 1985).

However, Martin and his colleagues offered an alternative formulation in which register and genre were said to operate on different planes of experience (Martin, 1985), the former shaping the language choices in a text with respect to the immediate ‘context of situation’, the latter with respect to the broader ‘context of culture’ (terms taken originally from Malinowski, and also used by Halliday). For Martin and his colleagues, a genre was a ‘staged, goal-oriented social process’. For the purposes of educational research and theory, Martin’s model of register and genre has proved the most influential, though Halliday and Hasan have never accepted Martin’s formulation (Hasan, 1995). They have, however, conceded its strengths in educational discussions (Halliday, 1996; Hasan, 1996).

The decision to propose register and genre as functioning on two levels or planes of experience arose from the early work of Martin and his colleagues, including Rothery (Martin and Rothery, 1986) investigating young children’s writing development. Over the ensuing years, the work extended into studies of writing in the secondary school (Macken-Horarik, 2002) and in adult life (Christie and Martin, 1997) as well as into patterns of talk (Christie, 2002a; Eggins and Slade, 1997).

Figure 1 sets out the model of genre, register and language proposed by Martin and others. The model emerged from the observation Martin and others made that children writing might select from the same field of activity (e.g. a class visit to the zoo), select the same mode (written) and the same tenor (that of child to teacher) but nonetheless select different genres (e.g. narrative, recount or observation). The choice for text type, it was argued, came from the broader context of culture, while the particular register choices with respect to field, tenor and mode, related to the immediate context of situation. Hence, a genre and its ‘elements of schematic structure’ were realized through choices

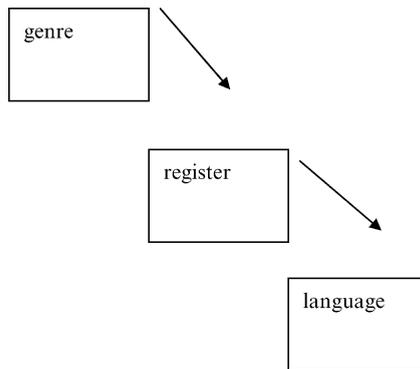


Figure 1 Genre, register and language (Martin, 1985, p. 250).

of register, and these were in turn realized in choices in the language system. Though the model embraces spoken and written genres, it has been most influential in discussions of literacy and literacy pedagogy, leading to many accounts of genres as well as accounts of genre-based curriculum design (e.g. Feez, 1998). Martin and Rose (2006) offer a recent SF account of genre.

Genre-based research methodology after Martin and his colleagues has provoked considerable debate, sometimes because the method of analysis and description of genres has been said to impose unacceptably rigid formulae on texts, and sometimes because the associated pedagogy is said to promote conformity in those who are taught using this approach. Freedman and Medway's edited collections of papers (1994, 1996) offer representative discussions in which SF models of genre are characterized in these ways, while Christie and Unsworth (2005) provide a recent review of SFL language education in which, among other things, genre theory is considered.

Swales' account of genre (1990) was developed round three key concepts: 'discourse community, genre and language-learning task' (ibid, 1), and he proposed that a genre is a 'communicative event', having 'communicative purposes' and being characterized by patterns of 'structure, style, content and intended audience' (ibid, 59). Swales, and others in his general tradition, have examined academic, research and professional writing, such as introductions to research articles, introductions and discussion sections of dissertations and legislative documents (Bhatia, 1993), to name a few (see Paltridge, 1997, for further discussion of the range of research topics). The work in this tradition has tended to focus on the overall text structures of the genres concerned, and while some grammatical features are often selected for close analysis, such studies do not offer the detailed linguistic analyses that have been a constant feature of SF genre work. However, even though Swales, as noted above, has termed his work 'eclectic', the influence of his original training in discourse analysis and applied linguistics is often evident, with a particular focus on the notion of the 'discourse communities' served by the genres involved, as well as their purpose and goals. For Swales, as for others such as Bhatia (1993) a genre has a structure identifiable for its stages, though these are to be flexibly understood. The genre is recognized primarily because of its relevance in social process, and, among other matters, this has the consequence that the genre should be taught with a strong sense of the social relevance and purpose of the genre. In this, Swales and others hold much in common with the SF genre theorists. However, unlike the latter, and in a manner closer to that of Paltridge (1997), who acknowledges a debt to him, Swales does not adopt the detailed accounts of schematic structure associated with

the SF work of Martin and his colleagues. Such accounts, Paltridge suggests (*ibid*, 107), following Biber, tend to assign texts as instances of genres too much ‘on the basis of form’, rather than on ‘the basis of use’.

While the theorists in the tradition of Swales have been termed eclectic, the New Rhetoricians are marked by an even greater eclecticism, as Freedman and Medway (1996, p. 1) made clear in pronouncing the presence of a ‘newly emerging field of scholarship in North America: genre studies’. This field, they said, drew on work as various as that of the rhetorician Burke, notions of ‘social constructionism’ following the philosopher Rorty or the anthropologist Geertz, ‘speech act theory’ following Austin, the work of Bakhtin investigating notions of ‘utterance’ as the fundamental unit analysis, and also the work of Swales and his notion of ‘discourse communities’. What seems most fundamentally to characterize the work of the New Rhetoricians, however, is their primary association with the tradition of composition or rhetoric in North America, conceived as it was originally for the audience of mother tongue students.

Since they write in this context, it is perhaps not surprising that the New Rhetoricians, unlike those in the ESP tradition, have been less inclined to foreground the language learning needs of students: mother tongue students bring to their composition activities a stronger sense of the discourse communities within which they work than do second language students of English, as well as a reasonably well developed grasp of the language, at least for the purposes of talk, though not always for the purposes of writing. Referring in particular to the genre theorists associated with the ‘Sydney School’ of Martin et al., Freedman and Medway (*ibid*, 15) wrote of these theorists that their work was marked by a greater emphasis on ‘explicating textual features’ than that of the New Rhetoricians, while their model of genre was marked by ‘prescriptivism’, and ‘an implicit static vision of genres’. In general, the work of the New Rhetoricians is inclined to celebrate—often in very interesting ways—the diversity of genres, while resisting what are seen as attempts to describe genre types in any definitive or taxonomic way.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Research in genres in educational activity continues on several fronts. One would expect this, because, whatever the theoretical framework adopted in addressing genres, it is clear that all contemporary traditions of scholarship see genres as dynamic and hence evolving in new ways, all of them potentially open to further research and teaching. One of the most notable of the new directions has been the recent emergence of interest in multiliteracies (e.g. Cope and Kalantzis, 2000), and the

impact of the Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) generally on the nature of genres, where these are increasingly both verbal and visual. One very influential paper was that of the New London Group (1996), prepared by a group of educators and linguists who met at New London, New Hampshire in 1994 to consider the future of literacy pedagogy, given the rapid developments reshaping literacy in the contemporary world. The various participants at the meeting observed that what might be termed 'mere literacy' had always focussed on language only, often conceived as a 'stable system'. The reality was that modern literacy involves many other meaning systems apart from language, and the New London Group created the term 'multiliteracies', noting that 'a pedagogy of multiliteracies . . . focuses on modes of representation much broader than language alone'. They went on to say that 'multiliteracies . . . creates a different kind of pedagogy: one in which language and other modes of meaning are dynamic representational resources, constantly being remade by their users as they work to achieve their various cultural purposes' (Cope and Kalantzis, 2000, p. 5). Kress (2003), one of the New London Group, has since written on literacy in the new age, noting among other things that while speech will remain our main mode of communication, 'language-as-writing will increasingly be displaced by images in many domains of public communication' (Kress, 2003, p. 1). In so far as the model of multiliteracies adopted by the New London Group has a grammar, it derives from the functional grammar of Halliday, though genre is conceived rather differently from either Halliday or Martin, since one important aim of the multi-literacy endeavour is to revise genre theory.

How genre is to be conceived and described in the multimodal world of multi-literacies is a significant new issue, about which not all writers agree, for not all would use the SF grammar (e.g. Hawisher and Selfe, 2000; Lankshear, Gee, Knobel and Searle, 1997). However, Unsworth (2001; Unsworth, Thomas, Simpson and Asha, 2005) has begun to contribute, exploring the nature of multiliterate genres, as well as pedagogies for teaching them, using the functional grammar while also exploring ways to develop models that do justice to image and design (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996). Lemke (2002) offers an interesting discussion of the multimedia and genres in science education, for it is clear that science is one important area of the curriculum in which the new media will have a significant impact.

Another area of recent research interest concerns 'subject specific literacies' (e.g. Unsworth, 2000). Where the first discussions of literacy in the SF tradition were devoted to descriptions of these in the primary school, it was in coming to terms with the secondary curriculum and beyond (e.g. Macken-Horarik, 2002) that researchers turned their attention to the 'subject specific' nature of the genres of different bodies

of knowledge (e.g. Coffin, 2006; Schleppegrell, 2004). Related work still ongoing concerns tracing emergent control of the genres that schooling promotes and rewards across the primary to late secondary years, and mapping in particular growing mastery of the complex linguistic resources involved in learning to express abstraction, generalization, explanation and elaboration of ideas that are features of the mature writing of the secondary school and of adult life (Christie, 2002b).

A further important area of research concerns the function and deployment of evaluative language in genres of many kinds (e.g. Hunston and Thompson, 2000; Martin and White, 2005). Here the object is to explore the nature of the authorial stance taken up by writers, and develop possible pedagogies for teaching an understanding of this. For pedagogical purposes there can be a tendency when teaching writing, to concentrate on the content—the ‘field’—and the overall organization of the text—the ‘mode’. But the interpersonal dimensions expressed in mood, modality and lexis, all contribute to what are now referred to as the resources of Appraisal (Martin and White, 2005), and the educational implications are still being developed.

#### SOME ISSUES THAT EMERGE FROM THE REVIEW OF THE GENRE TRADITIONS

This paper began with the observation that a genre is ‘a socially sanctioned means of constructing and negotiating meanings, functioning so that it mediates the operation of other social institutions, taking its place in the complex interconnecting series of activities and events that constitute social life’. Scholars in all the three areas of research identified would broadly agree with such an observation, despite the many issues over which they disagree. I shall identify some of the issues in disagreement, commenting on ways in which they might be addressed and/or resolved.

- ‘Process versus product’: This is a hoary old issue, which has absorbed a great deal of energy in discussions over genre pedagogy, causing some to focus on the ‘processes’ of writing, while generally criticizing the SF theorists who are said to focus too much on ‘products’. The SF theorists dispute this characterization of their work, pointing out that the pedagogy they propose has always had clear phases devoted to the ‘process’ of writing, pursued in consultation between teachers and their students. However, the primary interest in this issue lies in the wider theoretical sense in which genres are understood. If indeed they are recognized as *social institutions*, then they must indeed be understood in both ‘process’ and ‘product’ terms, though this apparent dichotomy is in many ways unfortunate. Any social

institution or practice—especially one realized in the wonderfully plastic resource of language—will be *dynamic*, offering the necessary *stability* and the necessary *flexibility* that social life requires.

- Definitive versus general descriptions: For many theorists—especially the New Rhetoricians—the notions of definitive text structures, and of ‘taxonomic’ accounts of genres are unacceptable. The ESP specialists accept the notion of genre types, and of stages within them, recognizing some similarities between genres. They do not, however, offer the various accounts of genres that have been proposed by SF theorists, where detailed descriptions of text structures are offered, as well as detailed accounts of genres that are said to be ‘agnate’ or related. To some extent this is an argument about the object of the research. For the SF theorist, pursuing an account of the construction of social life, a comprehensive model of genre types is a necessary part of building that account, though the exercise is by its nature always unfinished. In the SF tradition, the exercise will always inform pedagogical practices, providing essential data for teaching and for pedagogy generally. However, its primary motivation is to build a social semiotic account of language, in which genres and their functions have an essential role. For the ESP specialist, the object is to develop useful descriptions of genres, mainly for pedagogical purposes, and the descriptions will be pursued in so far as that object is fulfilled. For the New Rhetoricians, intent as they seem to be on celebration of the diversity of genres, detailed description has little use, especially if it inhibits learners.
- Static versus dynamic descriptions: This is a closely related issue, though often expressed in different terms. It refers to the issues of ‘prescriptivism’, alluded to by Freedman and cited above, and the criticism that genres are conceived as ‘static’, at least in the SF tradition. The difficulty here is that since SF linguists—unlike many New Rhetoricians—seek to provide careful grammatical descriptions of genres, they inevitably make explicit a great deal of their linguistic and educational program, thereby laying themselves open to the charge of ‘prescribing’ what children should write. To offer explicit accounts is not to ‘prescribe’, though the critics often misunderstand this (see Hasan, 1996, for a related discussion).
- Empowerment versus conformity: For SF theorists the argument has always been made that teaching genres is a means to empower students—many of them disadvantaged in the school system. The object is to make the text type and its social purposes available to students, and this will entail explicit teaching both of the text and

its purposes. Hence a genre will be introduced, its elements of structure explained and its social purposes explored. For many critics, this does not empower because the attention paid to the text type and its grammatical realization tends to take over, inducing conformity in students, not independence<sup>1</sup>. The issue here is surely one of how the text type is taught and of the extent to which reflection and critique of the goals and purposes of the genres is encouraged. In principle, an understanding of the text type and its overall structure should enlighten and empower, not least because it draws attention to the socially constructed nature of much of experience. Looking over these broad areas of disagreement it is clear that there is overlap. In my view, the arguments are about the same profoundly important concern: namely, how we explain the nature of social life, recognizing that genres—like other social behaviours—serve to structure and constrain experience, while they also facilitate independent and autonomous action. Much of the debate over genre of the last 25–30 years has sought to come to terms with this, and the debate will continue, so significant is it both for social life, in general, and for educational activity, in particular.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Research into genre is alive and well, a fact that is easily testified by the range of publications and research activities that continue in its broad name. Some topics for future research have been already touched upon.

- Multiliterate genres in the multimodal world of the future: Here there are many challenges, not only in identifying new text types, but in addressing issues of how to characterize the various modes of meaning making. Early descriptions of mode in the SFL tradition identified language that was ‘constitutive’ of the activity as in a novel, and that which was ‘ancillary’ to activity, as in a football match. The distinction was a valid one, though the contemporary multimodal world will require much more sophisticated tools for analysis to explain the meanings of texts in which verbal, visual, and diagrammatic resources, some of them moving, as in CDROM or video, all operate to build meanings and to construct the overall text.
- ‘Subject specific literacies’: Further work is needed on the ‘subject specific literacies of the various subjects in the school curriculum, though the ‘specific literacies’ of the wider areas of university

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<sup>1</sup> Ironically, this criticism is only ever made by successful academics and teachers, who are themselves very skilled in use of the academic genres they use to mount their arguments. They do not, apparently, consider themselves ‘conformist’.

research, commerce, the marketplace and so on, should emerge as the linguistic tools for their analysis and discussion are further refined.

- School subject English: For the purposes of teaching school subject English, work needs to be done to build a more coherent model of the knowledge base for teaching and learning English, and, using this, to build the English curriculum. Important work has been undertaken on genres for primary and secondary school teaching and learning, but so far, we lack theoretically well motivated accounts of ways these should be introduced into the overall school curriculum over the years of schooling, allowing for sequence and development in learning. At the moment English is badly in need of a theory of knowledge (Christie and Macken-Horarik, 2006).
- Genre for the TESOL audience: Relatedly, more work needs to be done in developing descriptions of genres and genre pedagogy for the ESL/EFL audience. At the time of writing this paper, for example, Indonesia had recently declared the adoption of a genre-based pedagogy for teaching English. However, the necessary resources for genre-based pedagogy for teaching of English as a modern foreign language have not yet been developed. Insufficient research has been done to determine the most appropriate strategies for teacher education, or for school teaching.

**See Also:** *Rebecca Rogers: Critical Discourse Analysis in Education (Volume 3); Jill Bourne: Official Pedagogic Discourses and the Construction of Learners' Identities (Volume 3); Silvia Valencia Giraldo: Talk, Texts and the Meaning-making in Classroom Contexts (Volume 3)*

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OFFICIAL PEDAGOGIC DISCOURSES AND THE  
CONSTRUCTION OF LEARNERS' IDENTITIES

INTRODUCTION

The term 'official pedagogic discourse' is derived from the work of British sociologist Basil Bernstein (1924–2000), who used it to categorize state discourses on education as revealed in government policy documents and statements, formal state-approved curricula, inspection and examination criteria. Official pedagogic discourse, Bernstein argues, establishes particular social relations between government agencies and those active in the field of education, including educational researchers and teacher trainers as well as teachers and regional administrators, offering each group more or less status and more or less agency in using different forms of pedagogic discourse, knowledge and practice. Through official pedagogic discourse, he argued, the State constructs boundaries between different subject areas; between different types of pedagogic institution; and between different categories of learner, offering each access to selected forms of legitimate knowledge. It thus not only impacts upon curriculum and classroom practices, but also offers different forms of specialized consciousness, and thus helps to construct different identities for different categories of learners.

Of course, in a democracy, government policy is not a single voice, and researchers drawing on the work of Bernstein have drawn attention to the multi-vocal struggle within official discourse itself, as well as the sometimes unpredictable outcomes for practice in the classroom of the convergence with official pedagogic discourse of a range of other (local) pedagogic discourses, themselves drawing on a wide variety of disciplinary fields (such as psychology and sociology), as well as from the 'craft' discourses of practicing teachers.

This chapter considers the role of official pedagogic discourse as the link between macro social structures and micro classroom interactional processes; or the way in which the 'outside' social order is constitutive of the 'inside', or learner identity.

## KEY CONCEPTS AND ANALYTIC FRAMEWORKS

The fundamental question which Bernstein attempted to answer was: 'Given that (a) native wit is not determined by social class, and (b) all children now receive equivalent basic schooling, why are those children who fail to become educated almost all from the lower working class?' (Halliday, 1995, p. 127).

His interests lay in what he called the 'devices of transmission' that is, how knowledge is relayed through symbolic modalities of practice and how these construct different forms of consciousness and thus of identity for different categories of learners (Bernstein, 1996). Essentially, for Bernstein, the construction of particular forms of consciousness has its roots in social relations. From this position, the social, or pedagogical, relationship between teachers and learners is basic to understanding outcomes for learners. The pedagogic discourse which marks the social relationship between teacher and pupil not only constructs knowledge and skills to be acquired, but also the specific social identities and orientations to meaning for learners. Bernstein's early work thus led researchers to focus on interaction between teacher and students in the classroom.

However, teachers are themselves acquirers of particular forms of what Bernstein calls 'official pedagogic discourse', theories of learning and pedagogy usually recontextualized in training courses, government policies, syllabus documents and then embedded in the craft knowledge teachers pass on to one another through their talk and practice. Power relations thus construct what is legitimate or not in classrooms, establishing a particular social order. Thus, through pedagogic discourse and its roots in and relationships to official pedagogic discourse, Bernstein attempts to explain the link between the micro-level of interactions between teachers and learners in the classroom and the macro-level of policy and state control.

*The Production of Pedagogic Discourse: Three Main Fields*

For Bernstein, this complex interaction of official pedagogic discourse with the more specialized pedagogic discourses of educationalists in the field, forms what he calls 'the pedagogic device', a discourse of classroom interaction marking the social relationships between teachers and learners, and not only constructing particular knowledge and skills to be acquired, but also particular social identities and orientations to meaning for learners. In this way, he argues, we are able to explore the question 'how does the outside become the inside and how does the inside reveal itself and shape the outside?' (Bernstein, 1990, p. 94).

For Bernstein, pedagogic discourse is produced through three main fields, which are hierarchically related: the fields of production,

recontextualization and reproduction. New specialized and complex forms of knowledge are produced in certain institutions, such as universities and research institutes (the field of production). Specialized knowledge has to be interpreted and turned into pedagogical knowledge to be accessible and appropriate for the very different institutional context of schooling. This involves selection from existing forms of knowledge, and converting it for use in a very different institutional setting from that in which it was formed. This 'recontextualizing' work has traditionally been carried out by a different group of knowledge workers, found in government departments of education, curriculum bodies, teacher education institutions, education journals, and by media gurus on education (the field of recontextualization). Reproduction, the teaching of these recontextualized forms of knowledge, takes place in yet another social context and community of practice, that found within schools, colleges, universities and groups devising virtual learning environments (the field of reproduction).

Official pedagogic discourse is seen by Bernstein as the work of these recontextualizers, who draw on theory from a range of subject disciplines, including business and management theory as well as theories of child development, psychology, sociology, etc, in order to construct recommendations and prescriptions of different types, either universal (for all learners) or differential (different forms of educational prescriptions for different groups of learners). Current discourses influential in the construction of official pedagogic discourse also include those drawn from business manuals, and management theory. Current key terms, for example, include 'personalization', which is derived from discussions on web publishing. The press, too, are increasingly influential players in forming official pedagogic discourse, along with proliferation of private 'think tanks'. As Bernstein explains: 'Pedagogic discourse is a principle for appropriating other discourses and bringing them into a special relation with each other for the purposes of their selective transmission and acquisition' (Bernstein, 1990, pp. 183–184).

It is through this polyphony of different voices and interpretations that discourses are selected, 'de-located' from their previous position in their original discipline and 'relocated' within the classroom context, where, of course, there is potential for further adaptation in relation to the reactions of students, bringing with them to the classroom discourses from their diverse family and community contexts.

### *Performance and Competence Models of Education*

Bernstein (1996) draws attention to the way official pedagogic discourse constructs two major contemporary models of education. In the first, which he calls a 'performance' model, official pedagogic

discourse sets up a context in which subject areas are clearly and explicitly defined and classified, as are the skills and procedures to be taught to students. Teachers and learners have little control over the selection, sequencing and pacing of the curriculum. The focus is on what teachers need to teach and what learners have yet to learn, rather than on what they know already. There are clear rules on behaviour and presentation. Assessment is explicit. In evaluating students' work, teachers are more likely to comment on what is missing than on what is present; for example, 'You need to put in quotation marks here'. Student performances are likely to be graded, and there is clear stratification between learners. Grading gives rise to 'repair services' and diagnostic practices. Learners are clear about what they have achieved and what they are intended to achieve in the future. However, they are not made aware of how their learning is socially situated and dependent on good teaching as well as the institutional context. Instead, achievements are presented as the result of innate talents and abilities.

In contrast, in a second, 'competence' model of education, official pedagogic discourse sets up a context in which subject areas are more and diffuse, integrated in the form of projects and themes. Learners have more control of the selection, sequencing and pace of the curriculum, facilitated by their teachers who are under less pressure to meet targets. There is more emphasis on what learners already know and the skills they already possess. It is recommended that classroom control is personalized, focused on self-reflection: for example 'Would you like to work with me at the writing table?' Teachers are less likely to explicitly grade work, and more likely to comment on what is present in learners' work rather than on what is missing: for example 'What a lovely piece of writing. I like the way you described the bus journey!' Teacher professionalism lies in an understanding of theories of learning and language development, in facilitating learning rather than in explicit teaching. Though the overt outcome is a focus on shared outcomes, however, this may in fact mask an underlying stratification of outcomes. In such contexts, teacher assessment does indeed take place, but (in contrast to the performance model) here it is covert and not shared with the learner, nor are explicit targets for attainment clarified. Learners therefore may not know how they are perceived as achieving in relation to others in their class or age group until too late, when they may find themselves placed in lower streams, considered of low ability, and later excluded from further education.

However, whether competence or performance based, all pedagogic discourse, Bernstein (1996) argues, is essentially goal directed. Each curriculum is staged and hierarchically sequenced, either strongly in a performance model, or more weakly but with staged evaluative criteria in a competence model. More advanced learning is built on earlier

experiences. Unlike the 'horizontal' discourses of everyday life, pedagogic discourse is a 'vertical' discourse, competence at one level permitting access to the next. A sequenced curriculum is explicitly taught and tested in a performance model; in a competence model development is intensely monitored and recorded, within a carefully organized learning environment.

### *Official Pedagogic Discourse and the Construction of Identities*

At different times and in different national contexts, either the competence model or the performance model can be more dominant in official pedagogic discourse. At the same time, different discourses might be dominant for different categories of learner, for example, those categorized and identified as 'having special educational needs' might be offered a competence model at a time when a performance model was dominant for most learners; or 'English as a second language learners' might be offered a performance model in contrast to a competence model operating for other learners in the same context. In other cases, one might find both discourses in operation in a school system, the one operating for learners categorized as 'high ability', the other for those of 'low ability', whether in different schools or within the same school in parallel 'streams' or 'tracks'.

In this way, official pedagogic discourse operates to distribute specialized forms of discourse and thus different ways of thinking and feeling across different categories of learners. 'Symbolic control translates power relations into discourse and discourse into power relations' (Bernstein, 1990, p. 134). If we do not conceive of identity as a finished and fixed thing, but rather see it as an ongoing process of identification, then we can clearly see how the distribution of different forms of pedagogic discourse and their ways of categorizing and providing for different learners works in the structuring of learner identity. Any educational reform, Bernstein argues, can be regarded as 'the outcome of the struggle to project and institutionalize particular identities' (Bernstein, 1999, p. 148).

Despite apparent differences, Bernstein argues that all forms of pedagogy, whether competence or performance focused, involve the social formation and regulation of individual identities:

'Pedagogy is a sustained process whereby somebody(s) acquires new forms or develops existing forms of conduct, knowledge, practice and criteria, form somebody(s) or something deemed to be an appropriate provider and evaluator' (Bernstein, 1999, p. 259).

Although a performance pedagogy is explicit in taking up a position of authority, in a competence model the authority of the teacher is still

there, but implicit, hidden. Equally, the essentially evaluative nature of the schooling process is also masked. Each form of pedagogy constructs a particular form of 'ideal student', whether as attentive, rule following and obedient, or as risk-taking and problem solving, for example. Against this 'ideal' student, other categories of learners are then distinguished, as slow learners, the 'gifted and talented', those with special needs, the 'underachieving', the second language learner, for example.

Such boundaries are important concepts in Bernstein's work—boundaries socially constructed between different categories of learner, between different social groups; also boundaries produced between different school subject areas, and boundaries between home and school. Bernstein argues that to understand a social system, or the differences between social systems, one needs to examine the way in which such boundaries, or 'classifications' are socially constructed and maintained, and the 'degree of insulation' or strength of the boundary between one socially constructed category and another.

In relation to language in multilingual contexts, a whole raft of learner identities are constructed in official pedagogic discourse in the Western world, each category being subject to a specialized form of pedagogy and specialized forms of evaluation of achievement: these include the identification of certain pupils as 'ESL', 'English as a second language' students; 'EAL', 'English as an additional language' students', 'LEP' or students with 'limited English proficiency', 'LOTE' or students with languages other than English, or 'bilingual' students. Each of these categorizations offer different interpretations of students' existing knowledge and skills, and are used in recommending different forms of educational treatment. Bourne (2001) showed how at different moments in UK education policy, students were strongly classified into 'English mother tongue' and 'English as a second language' speakers, resulting in recommendations for quite different forms of pedagogy. The Bullock Report (DES, 1975) proposed a competence model for English mother tongue speakers, and a quite different, performance model of education for those categorized as ESL. About 10 years later, in the Swann Report (DES, 1985), policy makers drew on a different configuration of discourses in second language research to re-introduce ESL learners into the mainstream competence model of education, in a context in which 'diversity' was proposed as the norm, and the recommended focus was on the training of all teachers for greater awareness of the language demands of the subject curriculum, as important for all learners.

One might ask why contextual issues such as prejudice and racism, so dominant in the literature in relation to African-American or African-Caribbean children, were so rarely the focus of research when

examining causes of underachievement in relation to children of language minorities. Indeed, in focus group interviews with language minority parents and pupils in the UK, reported in Blair and Bourne (1998), issues of low teacher expectations, lack of respect of schools towards minority group parents and pupils, and of unfair treatment were voiced as readily by minority language background parents and students as by those of African-Caribbean origin. Indeed, both parents and students from different linguistic and ethnic minority backgrounds in the different focus groups focused on these issues, rather than raising concerns about provision for English as a second or additional language at all.

In a recent twist, official pedagogic discourse in the UK has brought about the reintroduction of a mainstream performance model of language and literacy pedagogy, through the National Literacy Strategy, but English language pedagogy for learners from other language backgrounds is not similarly addressed, remaining inexplicit and invisible, nor are students' skills in other languages pedagogized. Official pedagogic discourse thus offering a masked competence model for that group of learners within a performance model of pedagogy and attainment for all learners. If ESL pedagogy often appears blind to the effects of racism and the social context of learning on attainment, current pedagogy in the UK for bilingual learners appears 'language blind' in relation to pedagogic treatment of bilingual learners' existing knowledge and skills.

Each form of official pedagogic discourse sets up different categories of learners, different definitions of learner needs, and leads to a different set of prescriptions for practice. Each is based on a different selection and configuration of theories from other fields, such as second language research, sociology, cultural studies, etc, differentially drawn on by the official recontextualizing field to form policy for practice in schools, constructing different categories of learner with different curricula contents, and different forms of pacing and criteria for evaluation of their achievement.

#### BUILDING ON THE FOUNDATIONS LAID BY BERNSTEIN: WORK IN PROGRESS

In his early work, Bernstein focused on the differences in the way children from different social backgrounds 'learn to mean' in the classroom, analysing the social relationship between teachers and students in the classroom and the cultural transmission being relayed there. This work was critiqued as neglecting the wider structuring of the education system in its narrow focus on classroom dialogue, emphasizing the lone teacher as source of cultural transmission (Archer 1995; Karabel and

Halsey, 1977). Nevertheless, it engendered a body of groundbreaking research on local pedagogic discourse in the classroom, as well as comparisons of home-school discourse, most notably the work of Hasan (1988), Cazden (1988), Christie (1995) and Morais (2002), all equally relevant to studies of classroom discourse today. Later research on language education has, however, drawn on Bernstein's later work on the structuring of the education system and the construction of official pedagogic discourse, and as classroom discourse is the subject of a different chapter in this volume, it is to a short review of these studies that we now turn.

Although not specifically focused on language education, important implications can be drawn from the work of sociologists such as Ball (2000) on the structuring of education systems, and Apple (2003) on 'official knowledges', both drawing heavily on the foundational work of Bernstein. Walkerdine (1984) provided a convincing critique of early progressive education as a masked pedagogy which remains worth reading. In some Western nations, official pedagogic discourse has taken up the progressive suggestion of building on children's own interests and home knowledge by introducing home and peer practices into the literacy curriculum. Both Williams (1999) in Australia and Moss (2000) in the UK have explored what actually happens when home literacy practices are recontextualized into school contexts. Moss explores what happens when the horizontal discourses around children's comics and magazines are introduced into the curriculum as 'media studies' and argues that such out of school activities change form and meaning once recontextualized as school practices in the school context, with different outcomes for students from different social groups. Williams (1999) also argues that introducing home practices into schools has differential effects for children from different social backgrounds. However, he claims that school practices have become reflected back into the home practices of middle class ('high autonomy') families in the parental search for success for their offspring, with the result that the middle class home has been turned into an auxiliary pedagogic context of museum visits, web research, and other out of school but school-like activities.

Christie (1999), like Williams, draws on the tools of functional grammar (Halliday, 1994) in her analysis of the pedagogic device in operation, in her case in relation to the impact of national standard language policy on curriculum and consciousness. Analysing a series of secondary school English lessons in Australia, she finds that, unlike other curriculum areas in which technical terms are introduced and put to use in constructing a particular view of the world, English lessons avoid any close examination of how language works, and focus instead on constructing a shared ethical position on issues related to the text. She argues:

‘Surely it can be no accident that the national language—that resource in which so much is constructed that is fundamental to the maintenance and transformation of culture—is often so poorly served pedagogically. The interests of the state are involved in pedagogic practices that leave the national language not well understood, for where people are not aware of how language works to construct the various positions available to them, they are less likely to challenge those positions’ (Christie, 1999, p. 181).

Bourne (2000) and Moss (2002) both examine the formation of a new official pedagogic discourse around literacy in the introduction of a national literacy strategy in the UK. Bourne (2000) notes the switch involved from an invisible, progressive primary pedagogy to a highly visible, performance pedagogy, with the overt aim of raising the attainment of disadvantaged students. She draws attention to the way in which government has marginalized the traditional pedagogic establishment as agents in the formation of the new official pedagogic discourse, setting up new sites for the training of teachers in private agencies and with business interests, so creating a new ‘social geography’ of pedagogic control.

However, simply following a centrally devised strategy without really understanding its logic can mean that teachers are unable to make the strategy work to raise the attainment of disadvantaged children. Moss (2002) examines the way the National Literacy Strategy impacts on teacher autonomy and their sense of professional identity, with the evidence of student achievement in the testing regime coming to be seen as evidence of teachers’ compliance with the policy.

However, the formation of educational policy and its classroom practice is complex and never uncontested. Recognizing the macro structuring effects of classroom discourse does not mean eliminating human agency. Wong and Apple (2002) show the potential for conflict, resistance and inertia between the fields of official pedagogic discourse and school level pedagogic discourse in a diverse school system which allows space for some autonomy. At an individual level, too, Bourne (2003) illustrates how the horizontal discourses of ‘out of school’ knowledge can be skilfully woven by a committed teacher into a regulated performance pedagogy in order to involve and raise the attainment of students from disadvantaged backgrounds.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Kress, Jewitt and Tsatsarelis (2000) suggest that dramatic changes in contemporary forms of representation and the affordances for communication of new technological media signal important challenges for

official pedagogic discourse. They point to constructions of the learner as 'client' and education as 'consumption', and the dissolving boundaries between work and leisure, between home and school, between age groups and between institutions, asking 'what are the features of an education for instability?' (p. 12). Kress, Jewitt and Tsatsarelis argue this means a shift from 'the centre to the mass, to multidirectional communication from many directions/locations, a shift from the 'passive audience' ... to the interactive audience' (p. 12). They suggest that such dramatic change in representational resources offers space for 'transformative remaking' of pedagogic discourse. Tyler (2001) also begins to develop the way in which Bernstein's theory can be applied to virtual learning environments and new forms of communication such as hypertext. Like Kress, Jewitt and Tsatsarelis, he is aware of the enormous potential of these new forms of representation for remodeling teaching and learning. However, he also warns against utopianism, pointing to management interests in 'exploiting the interdisciplinary and fluid structures of hypertext ... the abolition of academic specialisms and disciplines through managerial or system imperatives rather than for intellectual and pedagogical integration' (p. 357).

Bernstein (2001), in a late paper, identified this new social order, constructed by new technologies, lifelong learning policies and a fluid, adaptable workforce, as a 'totally pedagogised society' (p. 365), requiring 'a new cadre of pedagogues with their research projects, recommendations, new discourses and legitimations' (p. 367). Yet his work always recognized that educational discourse was a site of struggle, and that with struggle, there was potential for transformation, for what he called the 'yet to be voiced' (Bernstein, 1990). There is clearly much work to be done on mapping the impact of such new societal changes on both official and local pedagogic discourse, on all forms of communicative meaning making, and on the construction of social agents in the pedagogic field.

*See Also:* Joseph Lo Bianco: *Language Policy and Education in Australia (Volume 1)*; Naz Rassool: *Language Policy and Education in Britain (Volume 1)*; Vivian Gadsden: *Family Literacy (Volume 2)*; Kwesikwaa Prah: *Language, Literacy and Knowledge Production in Africa (Volume 2)*; Jasmine Luk Ching Man: *Classroom Discourse and the Construction of Learner and Teacher Identities (Volume 3)*; Diana Boxer: *Discourse and Second Language Learning (Volume 3)*; Ann Williams: *Discourses about English: Class, Codes and Identities in Britain (Volume 3)*; Elizabeth Birr Moje: *Everyday Funds of Knowledge and School Discourses (Volume 3)*; Joseph Lo Bianco: *Bilingual Education and Socio-political Issues (Volume 5)*; Rebecca Freeman

*Field: Identity, Community and Power in Bilingual Education (Volume 5); Jim Cummins: Teaching for Transfer: Challenging the Two Solitudes Assumption in Bilingual Education (Volume 5); Gabriele Kasper: Discourse and Socially Shared Cognition (Volume 6); Bonny Norton: Identity, Language Learning, and Critical Pedagogies (Volume 6); Tim McNamara: The Socio-political and Power Dimensions of Tests (Volume 7); Joshua A. Fishman: Theoretical and Historical Perspectives on Researching the Sociology of Language and Education (Volume 10)*

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## CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS IN EDUCATION

### INTRODUCTION: THE EMERGENCE OF CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS IN EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

Education researchers from around the globe have turned to critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a way to describe, interpret, and explain important educational problems. CDA is an interdisciplinary set of theoretical and analytic tools applied to the study of the relationships between texts (spoken, written, multimodal, and digital), discourse practices (communicative events), and social practices (society-wide processes) (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000; Collins, 2004; Fairclough, 1993; Luke, 1995/1996). Luke (2002) defines CDA as a “a principled and transparent shunting back and forth between the microanalysis of texts using various tools of linguistic, semiotic, and literary analysis of social formations, institutions, and power relations that these texts index and construct” (p. 100). CDA focuses on how language as a cultural tool mediates relationships of power and privilege in social interactions, institutions, and bodies of knowledge.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS: DIFFERENT SCHOOLS OF THOUGHTS

Critical discourse studies stem from overlapping intellectual traditions, each emphasizing the linguistic turn in the social sciences. CDA is a particular strand of Critical Discourse Studies. It is a problem oriented and trans-disciplinary theory and method that draws from different schools of thought. Fairclough (1992) has referred to CDA as a textually-oriented form of discourse analysis (TODA). To develop this textual analysis, Fairclough brought together the linguistic theory of Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday and Hasan, 1989; Halliday, 1985) with the social theory of discourse as it evolved in the work of Foucault (1969/1972, 1979, 1981).

Systemic functional linguistics (SFL) offered a meaning based alternative to autonomous models of syntax and a means to build a theory of language as a social semiotic. From these developments in language theory sprang Critical Linguistics, (CDA) and later Critical

language awareness<sup>1</sup> (Fairclough, 2003; Luke, 1995/1996; Pennycook, 2001). A number of books draw on SFL within a CDA framework; *Discourse and Social Change* (Fairclough, 1993); *Classroom Discourse Analysis* (Christie, 2002); *Systemic Functional Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis: Studies in Social Change* (Young and Harrison, 2004), and *The Language of Schooling: A Functional Linguistics Perspective* (Schleppegrell, 2004).

In the early 1990s a group of European scholars (Fairclough, Kress, van Dijk, van Leeuwen, and Wodak) spent two days at a symposium in Amsterdam discussing theories and methods specific to CDA. These scholars came from somewhat diverse academic backgrounds, and CDA reflects their interdisciplinary approach (van Dijk, 1993).

There are a number of landmark volumes that reflect the developing European tradition of CDA: *Discourse & Social Change* (Fairclough, 1993), *Discourse as Social Interaction* (van Dijk, 1997); *Discourse and Discrimination* (Smitherman and van Dijk, 1988); *The Discursive Construction of National Identity* (Wodak, Cillia, Reisigl, and Liebhart, 1999), *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1995), *Speech, Music, and Sound* (van Leeuwen, 1999), *Discourse in Late Modernity* (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999), and *Multimodal Discourse* (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001).

The recent trend in the USA, embedding CDA within educational contexts, is predated by the work of Natural Histories of Discourse scholars—scholars who combine anthropology and discourse analysis, often asking questions about power and knowledge (Silverstein and Urban, 1996). In educational research in the USA, perhaps no one scholar is cited more for his approach to Critical Discourse Analysis than James Gee. In his 1999 book, *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis*, he introduced analytic and theoretical links between linguistic processes, situated identities, cultural models, and situated meanings. Books such as *Natural Histories of Discourse* (Silverstein and Urban, 1996), *Literacy and Literacies: Texts, Power, and Identity* (Collins and Blot, 2003), *A Critical Discourse Analysis to Family Literacy Practices* (Rogers, 2003), *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis* (Gee, 1999), *An Introduction to Critical Discourse Analysis in Education* (Rogers, 2004), *Discourse in Place: Language in the Material World* (Scollon and Scollon, 2003) represent the diversity of the CDA tradition as it has evolved in the USA.

CDA has now been adopted in different settings across the globe: in Europe, Australia, and North America, as we have seen, and in Africa (e.g., Ensor, 2004; Janks, 1999; Kapp, 2004), Asia (e.g., Tong, 2005;

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<sup>1</sup> Critical Language Awareness is the social action dimension of CDA. CLA is the ultimate aim of socially committed CDA.

Yiemkutipavorn, 2005), and South America (e.g., Heberle, 2000; Coulthard and Coulthard, 1996; Magalhaes, 2005). Differences in schools of thought are not the product of geographic differences alone. There are different degrees of eclecticism in different strands of CDA and different scholars draw on different social semiotic traditions: for example, Barker and Galasinski (2001) link Cultural Studies with CDA. Gee (2004) makes a distinction between the capitalized term “Critical Discourse Analysis” (which the abbreviation CDA represents) and “critical discourse analysis” in lowercase letters. He argues that CDA refers to the brand of analysis that has been informed by the work of Fairclough, Hodge, Kress, Wodak, van Dijk, van Leeuwen, and others. Lowercase “critical discourse analysis” includes a “wider array of approaches” (p. 20)—Gee’s own form of analysis (1992, 1996, 1999), falls into this category. It grows out of a rich vein of US-based work in linguistic anthropology, including the work of scholars such as Gumperz (1982), Hymes (1972), and Michaels (1981). Such scholars have conducted critically oriented forms of sociolinguistics, ethnography and discourse analysis, but do not specifically call their work CDA. Gee (2004) points out that what critical approaches to language have in common is that they “treat social practices in terms of their implications for things like status, solidarity, distribution of social goods, and power” (p. 33). Because language is a social practice and because not all social practices are created and treated equally, all those who accept this premise will be committed to analyses that are inherently critical.

Each of these schools of thought share commonalities in terms of a situated theory of power and discourse, but differ according to their analytic procedures and the degree to which they emphasize context. Despite these differences, there are a number of shared characteristics of researchers engaging with CDA. First, all approaches are buttressed by some form of critical theory. Critical theory is not a unified set of perspectives. Rather, it includes critical race theory, poststructuralism, postmodernism, neocolonial studies, queer theory, and so on. Critical theories are generally concerned with issues of power and justice and the ways that the political economy and ideologies about race, class, gender, religion, education, and sexual orientation construct, reproduce, or transform social systems. Critical researchers are intent on discovering the specifics of domination through power, in all of its various forms. Critical theorists generally agree that language is central in the formation of subjectivities and subjugation.

A second shared assumption within the CDA tradition is that discourse is defined as language use as a form of social practice. Moreover, discourse moves back and forth between reflecting and constructing the social world. Seen in this way, language cannot be considered neutral,

because it is caught up in political, social, racial, economic, religious, and cultural formations (see Blommaert, 2004; Fairclough and Wodak, 1997 for the common tenets of discourse).

A third shared assumption is that CDA is a socially committed scientific paradigm that addresses social problems through a range of methodological approaches with the ultimate aim of raising awareness of the ways in which language mediates asymmetrical relations of power, hence the notion of Critical Language Awareness (see the collection of papers, edited by Norman Fairclough, 1992, for further details). Generally speaking, analyses aim to describe, interpret, and explain the relationships between texts, social practices, and society-wide processes. However, each discourse analyst approaches research in different ways, some foregrounding microlevel issues, foregrounding macrolevel issues. Some analysts draw on extensive fieldwork, others stay close to the texts themselves.

#### THE RANGE OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO EMPIRICAL WORK AND THEORY BUILDING: A RECENT REVIEW

During the past decade, education researchers have increasingly turned to CDA as an approach to answering questions about the relationships between language and society. Rogers, Berkes, Mosley, Hui, and O-Garro, (2005) conducted a review of CDA in education drawing from five databases in the social sciences from the years 1980 to 2003. The search term was “critical discourse analysis.” The review included studies that were conducted in formal classrooms or informal educational sites (e.g., museums, families, and after-school programs) and studies that pertained to the production, interpretation and use of different kinds of texts (e.g., policy documents, textbooks). Forty articles were identified that used CDA in the context of education, with an additional six references being collected through bibliographic branching. This review was limited to referred journal articles that specifically called their theory and analysis critical discourse analysis. Books and dissertations were not included in the review.

The findings of the 2005 review suggested that a significant amount of empirical work was conducted in education using CDA, to inquire into a wide range of problems. Of the 46 articles reviewed, 39 of the studies were empirical and 7 theoretical. The focus of this research ranged from the study of ideologies embedded in textbooks (Heberle, 2000), to the construction of gender in learning (Young, 2000), to how consent is achieved in committee on special education meetings (Rogers, 2003). The theoretical articles presented conceptual pieces (e.g., Beach, 1997; Rampton, 2001), critiques (Price, 1999; Widdowson, 1998), and

directions in specific fields, such as literacy research (Burns and Morrell, 2005).

A set of discussions in the journal *Discourse & Society* focused on the relationship between conversation analysis and CDA (Billig, 1999; Schegloff, 1999). The question raised was how much of the context—beyond the here and now of the interaction—is necessary to understand the interaction. CDA attends to the macro and microlevel contexts and, as the 2005 review revealed, analyses were typically embedded in ethnographic contexts. Indeed, all of the empirical studies reviewed used some form of ethnographic method—including participant observation recorded in fieldnotes, document collection, debriefing (Chouliaraki, 1998; Comber, 1997; Egan-Robertson, 1998; Hinchman and Young, 2001; Hughes, 2001; Rogers, 2002; Rogers, Tyson and Marshall, 2000; Young, 2000), focus groups or interviews (Brown and Kelly, 2001; Collins, 2001; Johnson and Avery, 1999; Nichols, 2002; Peace, 2003; Young, 2000). Of course, the studies varied in the depth and description provided about the fieldwork, the data collection, and the participants.

The context in which the studies were set was diverse. The review found the studies covered a wide range of contexts, including science classes (Moje, 1997; Myers, 1996), a social studies class (Brown and Kelly, 2001); literature classes (Hinchman and Young, 2001), after-school programs (Egan-Robertson, 1998; Rogers, 2002), home schooling experiences (e.g., Young, 2000), interviews (e.g., Collins, 2001; Nichols, 2002), special education meetings (Rogers, 2002), administrative school meetings (e.g., Corson, 2000; Orellana, 1996), or written documents (e.g., Ailwood and Lingard, 2001; Anderson, 2001; Davis, 1997).

About 66% of the empirical studies reviewed drew on interactional data (e.g., analysis of spoken language and/or an analysis of spoken and written language), whereas much of CDA research conducted outside of the field of education has focused on written texts (e.g., Rampton, 2001; Teo, 2000). Interestingly, 85% of the studies took place in middle school, high school, or higher education. Only 15% of the studies (4/26) took place in elementary school or with children under the age of ten.

Finally, the 2005 review also pointed out that 20% of the articles (8/39) did not address the specifics of their analytic procedures. This is a problem because some CDA work has been critiqued for reading ideology onto data and creating a disproportionate balance between social and linguistic theory (Flowerdew, 1999; Price, 1999; Widdowson, 1998). A related critique is the lack of attention to analytic procedures amounts to assuming a political stance rather than doing research. Lewis (2006) similarly cautions educational researchers from turning to CDA

because they are attracted to the explicitly ideological agenda and avoid the situation where “CDA becomes the purpose and product of the research rather than a method to use in the service of significant research questions and aims” (p. 356).

#### WORK IN PROGRESS AND NEW DIRECTIONS

Recent research in education, drawing on CDA, is being conducted in areas such as critical race theory and policy studies. Some of this research incorporates a significant social action/critical language component and some teacher researchers have carried our studies in their own classrooms. Recent studies also include research conducted in primary grade classrooms (Heffernan and Lewison, 2005; Martinez-Roldan, 2005; Rogers and Mosley, 2006; Webb, 2005).

#### *CDA and Social Action*

A number of studies combining CDA with critical literacy (e.g., Armitage, 2005; Comber, 1997; Heffernan and Lewison, 2005; van Sluys, Lewison, and Flint, 2006; Young, 2000) have shifted their focus toward social action. The concerns of these researchers is not only with the ways in which power is reproduced but also how it must be challenged, subverted or resisted. The move toward CDA research amongst teachers is to be welcomed, since as Comber and Thompson (2001) write, “teachers need to be engaged in analyzing their own discursive practices . . . and considering the effects on different students” (p. 25). Collins (2004) writes that linking knowledge and action is also increasingly an ethical obligation; “as both social analysts and social actors feel the need to grapple with greater complexity under conditions of greater uncertainty, they do so with an increasing state of ethical commitments” (p. xxii).

Drawing on a range of texts and contexts, Armitage (2005) used CDA in a practitioner-led study to examine the effects of a policy of higher standards on children and families in Ontario, Canada. Armitage explores the discursive and material consequences of testing and higher standards through an analysis of interviews, policy documents, and curriculum documents as well as a critical examination of her own practice. Her analysis, one that foregrounds the impacts of testing from the point of view of parents, reveals how the language arts curriculum continues to maintain a unitary view of literacy, one that often disenfranchises historically marginalized groups of students.

Webb (2005) situated her CDA within Third Space theory (Lefebvre, 1974). She conducted a study of book club discussions in her primary grade classroom in California, which included students who were first

and second language users of English. Webb had the following to say about CDA: “CDA helped me to better understand Discourses and situated identities enacted in positioning, the cultural models negotiated and shaped locally and the larger institutional and societal influences perpetuating the production and reproduction of Discourses and cultural models” (p. 3). Webb analyzes how the children in her class constructed meaning around their reading of the book *Esperanza Rising*. This is a book that focuses on Esperanza, a young girl, who escapes political and personal conflicts in Mexico to live in a migrant farm camp in California. As a teacher researcher, Webb focused on one episode during the book club discussion because it contained contradictions and complexities and as she put it, “it nagged her.” This episode departed from the normative routines of classroom discourses and was more aptly described as a hybrid, or third space. Webb describes through a careful discourse analysis, the ways in which first language users of English dichotomized identity—one was either a Mexican *or* an American. Webb then analyzed her own participation in the book club discussion and on the way in which she redirected focus and encouraged the English as a second language students to draw on their personal experiences of immigration to show the complexity of identity. Webb concludes with implications for her own practice and for bringing together Third Space theory with critical discourse analysis.

### *CDA, Texts, and the Representation of Identities*

A number of researchers and teacher-researchers have begun to use texts to explore with their students the ways in which identities are constructed and the ways in which particular social groups are represented (e.g., Lewis, 2005; Martinez-Roldan, 2005; Young, 2001). Young (2001), for example, used critical discourse analysis to analyze a document designed by and for African Americans in the mid-1800s called *The Freedman's Torchlight (TFT)* (p. 685). Young presents a multimodal analysis of the *TFT* focusing on the genres, framings, omissions and backgrounding, foregrounding, and the visual representations embedded within this text. A major facet of Young's argument is the use of the concept of design—a concept since popularized by the New Literacy Studies. Young draws attention to the racialized construction, production, consumption, and circulation of texts and the ways in which they were designed and redesigned. Young argues that a “community of designers” produced *TFT*, a community who “chose to support Black people and Black progress” (p. 686). Young concludes that *TFT* constituted an example of empowering text written by and for African Americans. Young's study points to the need for

further critical discourse analyses of relevant texts along with pedagogy and instructional technologies produced by and for African Americans.

Martinez-Roldan (2005) uses Critical Latino/a Theory in combination with sociocultural theory and CDA to interpret the ways in which a group of second grade Hispanic children in the US Southwest “work at understanding, marking, and resisting gender boundaries” during literature discussion groups (p. 157). Martinez-Roldan’s study marks an important contribution to CDA in education because she fills three lacunas in existing research. First, Martinez-Roldan pairs the theoretical and methodological tools of CDA with critical race theory (CRT), a combination that has been missing in the literature thus far. Second, she employs CDA and CRT within the ethnographic contexts of a primary grade bilingual classroom, another underdeveloped area of research in CDA in education. Third, this study also attends to the role of cognition and learning in relation to CDA.

Like Young (2001), Martinez-Roldan embeds the CDA within sociocultural frameworks, paying particular attention to the ways in which children acquire, learn, resist, and transform gender identities in texts and talk. Martinez-Roldan uses Gee’s (1999) six building tasks as the methodological foundation of her research. She combines this with a close linguistic analysis of each of the tasks and interprets the way in which the children’s understanding of gender changes over the course of a 50-min discussion about the book *Oliver Button is a Sissy*. Martinez-Roldan is a researcher, a teacher, and a participant in the study and acknowledges all of these roles—including her insider-outsider status in the classroom and how she brought “adult ideological beliefs” to bear on the discussions (p. 165). Her close analysis of this discussion with the children, accompanied by her year-long ethnographic observation in the same classroom, enabled her to demonstrate that the children’s talk reveals sophisticated understanding of gender ideologies—understandings that sometimes reproduce polarities and other times, challenge gender dichotomies.

Arguing that critical analyses of “race” should extend to work with white children, Rogers and Mosley (2006) use CDA in combination with critical race theory and whiteness studies to analyze the ways in which white, working class second graders construct understandings of “race” during Guided Reading groups. They illustrate that young white children can and do talk about race, racism, and antiracism within the context of the literacy curriculum. Using a particular framework for analyzing “white talk,” one that incorporates the insights of whiteness studies, critical race theory and draws on critical discourse analytic frameworks, they show how talk around “race” unfolds among white, second grade students and their teachers. The study illustrates the instability of racial identity formation and outlines the implications

of this for teachers and students when “race” is addressed in primary classrooms.

### *CDA and Written Texts*

Educational researchers have long used CDA to investigate the construction of ideologies in written texts (e.g., Ailwood and Lingard, 2001; Bloome and Carter, 2001; Myers, 1996). Such scholarship continues to deepen and widen as CDA is put to work within written texts as diverse as children’s book order forms, Chinese language textbooks to texts circulated on college campuses. For example, McNair (2005) combines CRT with CDA as she conducts an analysis of Scholastic book order forms, a catalog designed to advertise and sell children’s books, for their multicultural content. Her textual and semiotic analysis indicated a lack of inclusion of books written by and about people of color. Further, only books written by white people were labeled as “classics” in the catalog. When multicultural books *were* included in the order forms, they were often relegated to marginal places on the order form or were touted as part of a special celebration (e.g., Black History Month). In the spirit of praxis, McNair presented her analysis to her teacher education class. Several of the students in the class, with the support of McNair, wrote a letter to Scholastic incorporating the findings of the analysis and urging Scholastic to be more inclusive in their representation of children’s literature in their catalog.

Liu (2005), for example, examines the discourses, cultural values, and beliefs constructed in Chinese language textbooks currently used for primary school students nationwide in China. Powell (2004) argues that CDA can complement and extend existing critical and radical writing pedagogies. Powell uses CDA to analyze texts that circulated on the campus of Miami University, Ohio, surrounding a conflict that exacerbated ongoing disputes about diversity, access, and standards, and discusses how CDA might inform composition pedagogy.

An important, and perhaps under-researched area of CDA in written texts, is in the domain of policy studies. There have been some new directions in this area. Comber (under review) investigates how the literacy curriculum in a socioeconomically disadvantaged school in South Australia was informed by policy, media, and teachers’ ongoing curricular decisions. At the macro level, Comber focused on the historical, political, and economic impetus behind literacy agendas by the Australia government between the years of 1983–1993. Drawing on newspaper texts and policy documents, Comber documented the emergence of the testing regime, a regime constructed by corporations in the service of economic interests, and the consequences on schools, teachers, and children. At the microlevel, Comber draws on texts

produced about the school (e.g., advertisements to boost enrollment), observations in teachers' classrooms, interviews, and local assessment documents. She demonstrates the connections between the macro and micro, using CDA as a way of interrogating normative discourses of schooling constructed and represented in these forms of talk and text—and also the ways in which oppositional and resistant discourses were produced.

Collins (2001), in a study of how teachers take up (or resist) the discourses of educational standards and the ways in which the standards echo larger sociopolitical educational reforms, presents himself as a text analyst or researcher and also as a member of the educational community within the district that he is writing about and a parent of a child in the same district. Stevens (2003) conducted a critical policy analysis of her observations and written artifacts from the Reading Leadership Academy held in 2002. Stevens analyzes the texts for the situated meanings of the texts and the ways in which these meanings are connected to local, institutional, and societal discourses. Similarly, Woodside-Jiron (2004) uses CDA as a tool in the critical analysis of public policy. Woodside-Jiron provides a close analysis of changes in reading policies in California between 1995 and 1997, and the more recent US-federal policy—No Child Left Behind. She combines Bernstein's (1996) social theory with a discursive analysis—specifically linking linguistic devices of cohesion and intertextuality with the construction of hegemony through policies. Woodside-Jiron demonstrates the ways that policy texts were constructed to ensure particular interpretations. She concludes with implications for policy development, policy communication, and policy implementation.

### *CDA and Multimodal Texts*

An area where we have not seen much CDA activity has been in globalized knowledge flows—including digital texts. CDA can also be put to work in new literacy studies—where the focus on the “new” is both new ways of looking at literacy as well as inquiring into new types of literacies (Lankshear and Knobel, 2004). Nichols (2006) provides an exemplar for using CDA to ask and answer questions about the flow of knowledge using Internet texts. Nichols (2006) combines the frameworks of New Literacy Studies and Activity Theory in her CDA of internet texts across time and space. She traces the use of “thinking literacies,” in this case new educational software called “Six Thinking Hats,” across the social space of a primary classroom in Australia and the digital space of the internet. “Six Thinking Hats” has been designed to produce creatively thinking knowledge workers through cyber and social spaces. Nichols analyzes the ways in which

a teacher in a grade 1–2 classroom in Australia is connected to globalized knowledge flows and the ways in which the knowledge is similar and different in cyber space and in the social space of her classroom. She also examines the internet texts looking for what she calls “network effects”—on and offline. She compares this approach to the three levels of analysis (text, interaction, and discourse) of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1993, 2003). Nichols study is one of the few studies that engages with both critical discourse analysis and multimodal examination of hypertexts and digital literacies.

### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

As a result of transdisciplinary analyses such as those described earlier, CDA work in educational contexts is contributing to the shaping of the boundaries of the general field of CDA. In his 2004 keynote address to the first International CDA Conference, Teun Van Dijk (2004) invited us to reframe CDA as Critical Discourse Studies, emphasizing both theory and method. The need to dually emphasize theory as well as method can be seen in recent work in education that combines CDA with theoretical frameworks such as critical race theory (McNair, 2005; Rogers and Mosley, 2006; Martinez-Roldan, 2005; Young, 2001); activity theory (Keating, 2005); Third Space theory (Webb, 2005). More attention might be paid to the issues that surface at the interface between frameworks. For example, the research in CRT and CDA leave us with questions such as: How does the researcher prioritize the narratives of people of color (a central tenet of CRT) while at the same time using CDA as a way of understanding the multiplicity of the form and function of the narratives?

More research is needed in the areas of digital and multimodal literacies, especially as they relate to localized networks of knowledge. More effort could be devoted to the use of CDA in inquiring into the global trend of privatization as it relates to curriculum, teachers, and schools. As Luke (2004) suggests, analyses might focus on the ways in which power is subverted, resisted, or challenged as well as places where power is reproduced. What are the relationships between texts, discourse practices, and social processes in the case of a teacher who continues to teach for justice in the midst of scripted reading programs and a test driven curriculum? What does learning look and sound like for high school students who are immersed in a critical literacy curriculum? Further, more studies are needed that attend to the emotional aspects of power. Emotions such as sadness, love, guilt, anger, and surprise are often the stronghold of ideology and yet we know very little about how people negotiate the emotional terrain of learning.

In short, CDA conducted within educational contexts has led to new and exciting insights both in terms of the shape of text, talk, and social practices that comprise learning environments as well as continuing to contribute to the shaping of the boundaries of CDS.

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## POST-STRUCTURALIST ANALYSIS OF CLASSROOM DISCOURSE

### INTRODUCTION

Within the last two decades, Poststructuralist Discourse Analysis (PDA) has emerged in classroom research as a valuable and original methodology with which to investigate and evaluate ‘real’ samples of text and talk in context. Associated in the past with esoteric, abstract theorising, it is increasingly being taken up by educational researchers as a flexible yet systematic tool to make sense of the complexities and ambiguities of classroom discourse.

PDA is both a theoretically coherent paradigm in its own right, and an effective methodology for explaining ‘what is happening right now, on the ground, in this very conversation’. As Wetherell (1998) has argued, there are too many past critical and poststructuralist studies that pronounce on the nature of discourses without getting down to the business of what is actually uttered or written. This chapter will seek to review how educational researchers variously use PDA to describe, analyse and interpret a highly salient feature of classroom discourse: the ways in which speakers (teachers, learners, non-teaching assistants) constantly shift between positions of powerfulness or powerlessness within competing cultural and educational discourses (Baxter, 2003; Creese, 2005). The chapter will also show how PDA is *not* concerned with the modernist quest of seeking closure or resolutions in its analysis of what discourse *means*, but rather with highlighting the diverse subject positions, viewpoints, voices and fragmented messages that classroom research data often represents.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Poststructuralist discourse analysis was developed by social scientists from the theories of leading poststructuralist thinkers such as Althusser (1971), Bakhtin (1981), Derrida (1987), Foucault (1980), and feminist post-structuralists such as Butler (1990) and Weedon (1997).

The history of PDA is a relatively short one, so I shall consider early developments in the field by reviewing two areas of influence: Applied linguists and sociolinguists interested in second language learning and

social identity, and research in first language classrooms as illustrated by Walkerdine's (1990) seminal exploration of identity construction.

First, applied linguists have brought poststructuralist insights to the analysis of multilingual contexts, based upon the sociological approach of Bourdieu (e.g. 1991), the sociolinguistic ethnography developed by Heller (e.g. 1999) and 'positioning theory' advocated by Davies and Harré (1990), among others. In this tradition, Thesen (1997) argues that second language learners must often negotiate multiple and changing identities for themselves within classroom discourses which may 'position' them as variously powerful and/or powerless. They may be powerfully positioned as multi-skilled language users but simultaneously, powerlessly located as 'deficient', 'disadvantaged', and 'under-prepared'. This is supported by Norton (1997), who demonstrates the poststructuralist principle of *resistance*. She recounts the story of how Mai, a young woman from Vietnam and an adult immigrant to Canada, resists the way she is positioned as a listener rather than as a speaker on her ESL course. Mai votes with her feet, refusing to return to a class that appears to privilege the speech of articulate, European male students over the contributions of reticent, Asian female students. Yet, this is no simple oppressor–oppressed dichotomy (as might be depicted by a critical discourse analysis; see Rogers, *Critical Discourse Analysis in Education*, Volume 3)—the teacher was potentially *empowering* students with the chance to share their 'life histories' with the class, a chance Mai ultimately resisted. Norton's act of providing Mai with a 'space' within her research study to express this sense of entrapment by classroom discourses, serves the poststructuralist principle of 'heteroglossia' (Bakhtin, 1981): that is, releasing 'silenced' voices so that they can be more clearly heard. More recent work by Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) investigates how the identities of second language learners constantly shift, dissolve and reform in relation to different power variables such as gender, ethnicity, class and language status.

In contrast, Walkerdine (1990) helped to develop PDA as a field by analysing samples of classroom talk. She conducted a renowned study of spoken interaction involving a British female nursery school teacher and two four-year-old boys. In her analysis, she shows how the teacher is constituted simultaneously as a powerful authority figure, and as a powerless woman/sex object, within just a few moments of conversation:

SEAN: Miss Baxter, knickers, show your knickers.

TERRY: Miss Baxter, show your bum off.

(They giggle.)

MISS BAXTER: I think you are both being very silly.

As a former teacher myself, I can empathise with Miss Baxter here, but I am not related to her! In this data, Walkerdine argues from a

feminist stance that the teacher has been ‘made to signify as the powerless object of male sexual discourse’ (1990, p. 4–5). Yet, from the greater complexity of a poststructuralist stance, she suggests that the two boys cannot ‘simply’ be conceptualised as powerless children oppressed by the authority of the teacher, who in turn represents ‘the bourgeois educational institution. Nor can they simply be understood as the perpetrators of patriarchal social relations’. In short, these boys have the potential to be produced as subjects in *both* discourses—as simultaneously powerful and powerless. This multi-faceted notion of subjectivity means that, if students are positioned as powerful within one particular discourse (e.g. male students ‘doing power’ over female teachers), they may well be positioned as powerless within an alternative discourse (e.g. children oppressed/controlled by the power of the teacher).

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

I will now consider the work of three highly influential role models who have each drawn upon PDA in principle and practice: Davies (1989/2003, 1995), Wetherell (1998), and Bergvall (1998), alongside my own work in this field (e.g. Baxter, 2002, 2003). To a greater or lesser extent, all these theorists have a special interest in the construction of gendered identities in the classroom.

Our first major contributor, Davies with her colleague, Banks (1992), conducted a longitudinal study of a group of preschool children (aged four) and later, the same primary school children (aged eight) in Australia. Drawing on the work of the poststructuralist theorist Althusser (1971), Davies explores the ways in which this group of boys/girls ‘take up’ differently gendered subject positions in relation to two types of fairytale—conventional and feminist. As a feminist herself, Davies argues that the majority of children tend to assume fairly rigid, conventionalised subject positions, which construct their identities as stereotypically masculine or feminine. If a child identifies herself as stereotypically feminine at age four, this is still likely to be the case at age eight. For Davies and Banks (1992, p. 3), the value of the poststructuralist approach is that it views the ‘current gender order as problematic and locate(s) the problem in its dualistic and hierarchical nature’. She considers that PDA provides teachers with the educational rationale to enable children to deconstruct their ‘lived experience’, and to see the danger of binary, gendered relations that are essentially ‘entrapping’. Davies’ major contribution to PDA is therefore her insistence that post-structuralism is not simply a tool of discourse analysis for researchers, but also a potential teaching and learning method which can lead to transformative action in the classroom.

Our second major contributor, the social psychologist Wetherell (1998, p. 395), has effectively argued that a combination of poststructuralist and Conversation Analyst (CA) approaches is a powerful means of analysing the fine-grained detail of 'talk-in-interaction'. She makes the case for a 'synthetic approach' to discourse analysis, which draws upon the combined strengths of CA's interest in the 'highly situated and occasioned nature of participants' psychological orientations within spoken interaction', and poststructuralism's more 'socio-political' concerns with the assignment of subject positioning through discourse. Wetherell's detailed analyses of small-group discussions between 17- and 18-year-old male students in a UK-based, single-sex independent school, which she has also conducted with the discursive psychologist, Edley, tends to highlight gender issues and specifically the construction of adolescent masculinities (e.g., Edley and Wetherell, 1997). But, unlike Davies (1995), Wetherell (1998, p. 395) does not select a feminist focus for specific analysis. Rather, she fulfils the poststructuralist quest to track:

the emergence of different and often contradictory or inconsistent versions of people, their characters, motives, states of mind and events in the world—and asking why this (different) formulation at this point in the strip of talk?

For Wetherell, subjects have a 'portfolio of positions' at their disposal, which 'remain available to be carried forward to the other contexts and conversations making up the 'long conversation'. These positions may be variously 'troubled' or 'untroubled' by the flow of routine interaction. In strictly poststructuralist terms, Wetherell's view of subject positions as akin to 'social learning' or 'sex role' theory might be regarded as somewhat modernist (Baxter, 2003). Nevertheless, her perspective makes a hugely significant contribution to PDA in its pioneering combination of 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' approaches to the analysis of spoken discourse.

Our third major contributor, Bergvall (1998), demonstrates (again through close examination of spoken classroom discourse) the complexities and ambiguities of experience for female engineering students, in a traditionally masculine domain. She argues that women in this community of practice (an Engineering Department in a US, mid-western university) must shift between competing subject positions: their minority role as women and their position as engineering students. They must struggle continuously between these different subject positions in order to gain recognition and acceptance from their male colleagues. The analysis takes the form of detailed attention to the ways in which female speakers co-construct varying identities for themselves according to classroom context. Her methodology resembles a PDA approach, but does not demonstrate how subjects constantly *shift* between different

positions of power, or different forms of identity, within a given moment or context. In her concluding comments, Bergvall (1998, p. 194) argues for the importance of a form of analysis that is ‘neither binary nor polarising, but situated and flexible, grounded in research that is based not only on the careful examination of discrete linguistic structures, but also on the social settings in which such structures are embedded’.

Finally, my own approach to PDA (e.g. 2002, 2003) has specifically built on the role models above by aiming to produce more fully explored and systematic analyses of classroom data. My work is now better known as FPDA (Feminist Poststructuralist Discourse Analysis; Baxter, 2003), but for the purposes of this chapter, I will be referring to it under the generic label of PDA. My decision to use PDA emerged quite naturally from the ethnographic process of observing a class of Year 10 students (aged 14–15 years) in a British, co-educational, secondary school, who were being assessed for their ability to speak publicly for the General Certificate of Secondary English (GCSE) examination. Over a three-month period, I noted numerous examples of how students’ ‘public’ speech appears to be constituted, not by a simple list of examination criteria, but by a complex interplay of social and educational discourses. It was the significance of *three* of these discourses (‘teacher and peer approval’; ‘collaborative talk’; ‘gender differentiation’) on students’ talk that led me to take up PDA as both a theoretical framework and a methodological tool. From my use of long-term, *diachronic* methods (observation; interview) and moment-specific, *synchronic* methods (micro-analysis of spoken discourse), I noticed that individual students might be positioned as powerful within certain discourses, and powerless within others. Students were most likely to be constituted as ‘effective’ public speakers by their teachers, classmates and examination criteria—and therefore to receive a higher exam grade—if they could take up powerful subject positions within and across all *three* discourses. Most powerfully located in this classroom were a couple of vocal, non-conformist, ‘popular’ boys; least powerfully located were a number of quiet, conformist, less peer- and teacher-approved girls.

A number of new researchers around the world have begun to explore the use of PDA in classroom contexts. In the next section, I shall introduce the work of three such scholars who are currently working in the field of classroom discourse.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

In different ways, the following scholars have subjected the PDA approach to test, and have adapted and extended its methodology to suit their own purposes.

Firstly, Castaneda (2007) is currently analysing the social construction of gender identities through an ethnographic study of Colombian preschoolers learning English as a foreign language (EFL). He selected a feminist version of PDA (FPDA; see Baxter, 2003) as a focused micro-analytical tool to locate the ways in which a number of gendered discourses, arising from teaching materials used to develop language skills, operate intertextually to situate the preschoolers' voices within the classroom interaction. He notes how the preschoolers, both male and female, are never uniformly powerful or powerless, but constantly shift between different subject positions in relation to the different discourses, sometimes between one conversational turn and the next. He suggests that teachers should examine the type of instructional materials used during EFL lessons since they may prompt preschoolers to negotiate subject positions in gendered discourses that 'do not treat peers as equals'. He argues that PDA 'seems to open a new self-reflexive theoretical framework to the study of the interface of gender, EFL learning and early childhood education', which he considers to be a highly under-researched area. Castaneda's development of a sequential, turn-by-turn denotative analysis, building on CA methods (op. cit), focuses on how conversations can be co-constructed between participants.

Secondly, Warhol (2005) is developing methods of PDA to investigate how students at an American, non-denominational, divinity school learn 'exegesis': the interpretation of biblical texts. Drawing on insights from Bakhtin (1981), Warhol argues that all utterances are dialogical in nature: they cannot be read or heard in isolation. Instead, they respond to utterances that precede them and anticipate utterances that will respond to them. Therefore, meaning is not found in one text alone, but amidst a dialogue of interacting voices. Any original text, such as a version of the Bible, will be re-accentuated by new voices. Through a micro-analysis of spoken transcripts, Warhol shows that in one seminar, the exegesis of Galatians 1:11–24 by a group of students and their teacher presents multiple voices: the characters *within* the biblical text; the voices of theological scholars *outside* the text; and the voices of the seminar participants themselves. Warhol (2005, p. 19) adds her own voice to this mix, and then suggests that the reader of her papers will add their supplementary voices to the exegesis process. Thus, 'an infinite number of voices echo through the interpretation of the biblical text'. Warhol therefore uses PDA to challenge the modernist quest of much current theological teaching which seeks closure by deriving a single, correct meaning from a text, presumed to be that of the author. Warhol advances the PDA approach by showing how it can be used to analyse multi-voiced, heteroglossic, written texts such as the Bible, and more importantly to analyse how students make sense of these competing accounts in their seminar discussions.

Thirdly, Gabriele Budach (2005) is exploring the connections between language, gender and local community by means of an ethnographic study of three French literacy centres in Ontario, Canada. Such literacy centres are part of a francophone institutional network designed to sustain the francophone community by providing privileged access to cultural and linguistic capital for Francophones. As such, literacy centres represent an important site where meaning and control over these kinds of resources are debated. To understand the complexity of the issues at stake, Budach finds PDA a useful approach as it offers theoretical and methodological tools to reveal competing and contradictory subject positionings. Being run by women and mainly attended by female course participants, literacy centres are discursively constructed as a homogeneous gendered space, representing female power and excluding men. Applying PDA to interview transcripts and written documents, Budach interrogates this idea of a gendered homogenous space in two ways: first, by looking at the individual life trajectories of female participants, she demonstrates the diversity of subject positionings, needs and investments of individuals, taking account of their backgrounds and life experience. Some of the competing and contradictory accounts foreground social categories other than gender and centre on language ideological issues related to French monolingualism and French/English bilingualism. Second, by linking the literacy centre to broader social relations and grounding it historically in the local context, yet another reading of the homogenous gendered space is offered. Looking through the lens of local history, Budach shows that gender is associated with the opposition between the literacy centre and a male dominated Francophone Cultural Centre. Both institutions are negotiating leadership in the local francophone community. According to Budach, both axes of analysis are in line with a guiding principle of poststructuralism, that is, that there are no fixed and enduring meanings, but contestations and redefinitions revealed by different readings within different contexts.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

The number of role models of poststructuralist analysis using transcripts of classroom talk is insufficient. While many classroom studies purport to offer a poststructuralist perspective, they tend to base their observations upon interview data—interaction between the research subjects and the interviewer—rather than upon classroom discourse. More work demonstrating the PDA approach to analysing actual classroom talk would help to establish its epistemological identity and its specific value to the research community.

PDA currently struggles for recognition in the field of discourse analysis; its future is far from certain, and indeed, it might eventually

be assimilated by Critical Discourse Analysis, which it arguably most resembles. Herein lies the paradox of PDA. The poststructuralist quest is to *contest* the authority of more established theoretical and methodological approaches such as CA and CDA, which currently dominate the field of discourse analysis. This is a vital function of the poststructuralist approach to theory and methodology. Lesser known methodologies like PDA serve a *resistant* value in challenging fashionable or entrenched approaches that inevitably transform themselves into 'grand narratives . . . grounding truth and meaning in the presumption of a universal subject and a predetermined goal of emancipation' (Elliott, 1996, p. 19). PDA should ideally be an evolving, ever-changing methodology, receptive to new ways of thinking, to divergent methods of study, and to approaches that question and contest received wisdoms or established methods. Ironically, if it were to become more established, better known, more routinely used by educational researchers and discourse analysts, it might be destroyed by its own success.

One practical problem with PDA—and one that will need more discussion and clarification—lies in its *warrant* for identifying, naming and analysing significant discourses within classroom and other contexts. There are times when it seems that both CDA and PDA are capable of randomly generating new discourses to suit their ideological (CDA) or epistemological (PDA) purposes. But the fact that new discourses have been identified in research data does not mean that they *exist*, except in the mind of the analyst who coins them. CA, in contrast, bases its own warrants on a systematic methodology: any larger patterns it claims to detect in its micro-analysis of 'talk-in-interaction' can always be located, turn by turn, within specific speech exchanges. This is not an approach that Critical Discourse analysts have traditionally deployed. There has been a tendency to consider that a discourse is simply 'out there' waiting to be 'bird-spotted' through a combination of an analyst's finely honed intuition, some supporting textual analysis, and the consensus of like-minded colleagues. Once spotted and tagged, that discourse is taken 'on trust' and then applied as a research category to the critique of other texts. For example, it is fairly routine for analysts of both PDA and CDA to refer to 'discourses of gender' in the classroom, but not to explain upon what warrant these discourses have been identified. Such a discourse may well be widely recognised by communities of analysts, but it is not always clear that it has been identified and named through the application of rigorous research methods such as those developed by CA.

In my own work (see above), I have suggested the need to devise more rigorous and reliable methods based on a combination of 'diachronic' ethnographic methods and 'synchronic' micro-analysis of discourse. However, the development of a systematic methodology to provide a

warrant for identifying and analysing significant classroom discourses remains a continuing challenge for PDA.

### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Although PDA certainly does embrace complex and abstract poststructuralist principles such as deconstruction and supplementarity (Derrida, 1987), I have aimed to show how recent research studies have got down to the business of analysing how talk is uttered. PDA's 'unique selling point', so to speak, is its facility to create a multi-faceted interpretation of spoken interactions in educational and classroom contexts that reveals, rather than suppresses, the discursive struggles to fix meaning according to different and competing interests.

PDA offers educational researchers a clear, coherent and systematic means to explore the complexities and ambiguities of classroom discourse. Indeed, there are several other areas of educational experience that might benefit from the polyphonic and pragmatic perspective PDA brings. First, PDA could be of particular value to action research within education. Many of the principles that constitute poststructuralist projects—collaboration, participation, practicality, focus, self-reflection, a commitment to informed, directed and flexible action—can also play a part in classroom action research. Both PDA and action research perceive their work to be historical, localised and context-bound; their work is rarely transferable to other settings and periods. Both approaches aim to increase understanding of participants' own practices and the situations in which these practices are carried out. The value of bringing PDA to action research in classroom contexts is that it seeks to promote a greater plurality, openness and richness of perspectives as the basis for insightful action by the participants of the study. It will not close off or disguise the potential for competing viewpoints, or conflicting points of interest; instead, these provide the basis for more informed decisions, more multi-layered actions and developments.

Secondly, now that PDA is relatively well developed, it would be fruitful for researchers working in this vein to engage in dialogue with those working in related sub-fields who have also embraced a broadly poststructuralist approach. This dialogue could centre on future directions for research in classroom contexts where the negotiation of multiple and competing identities, viewpoints, teaching strategies and textual materials is a routine yet often problematic occurrence. We have seen, for example, how applied linguists and sociolinguists have identified 'social identity theory' (Macnamara, 1997) and more latterly, a feminist, poststructuralist perspective to identity (Norton, 1997) as helpful in their analyses of multilingual teaching contexts, where the negotiation of multiple subject positions is a daily yet formidable

challenge for bilingual, second language learners. One particularly productive area of dialogue might be with those conducting research of a sociolinguistic ethnographic nature in bilingual classroom contexts (e.g. Heller, 1999; Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001). Within this particular strand of poststructuralist research, there has now been a decade-long tradition of close analysis of bilingual discourse and code-switching. In such studies, the aim has been to link insights into the local interactional order in different educational sites, with the analysis of the changing social and symbolic order. Through dialogue across these two fields of poststructuralist research on language in education, PDA and critical sociolinguistic ethnography in multilingual settings, areas of common concern with regard to both theory and method, could be identified.

Finally, a PDA approach might usefully be applied, not only to spoken discourse within classroom interactions, but also to other types of classroom text. CDA has traditionally focused on the ways in which institutional texts, printed and multi-modal, often represent the world in hegemonic ways, and by implication, their audiences. PDA would question the binary view that such assumptions are necessarily fixed and static, or that they tend to support dominant over minority interests. PDA would invite analysts to consider the ways in which texts often embed *competing* assumptions about the content they represent and/or the identities and needs of their audience. A PDA methodology would ask analysts to use textual micro-analysis to deconstruct the plural voices and diverging accounts contained within many teaching materials, and to suggest ways of opening up spaces for alternative or 'silenced' viewpoints.

In summary, PDA is an instrument particularly suited to the classroom context, where multiple voices, shifting identities, and different versions of reality compete for recognition and attention. It also enriches the range of theoretical and methodological approaches available to researchers and practitioners. Let us make more use of it in our future research!

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## REVOICING ACROSS LEARNING SPACES

### INTRODUCTION

In the context of a considerable amount of language research applying Bakhtinian ideas about voice and dialogue, I shall focus here on studies that look specifically at revoicing, sometimes referred to as discourse representation or ventriloquation.

Our language, as Bakhtin puts it, is full of other people's voices (Bakhtin, 1981, 1984). We quote other people as authorities or call into question what they have said, fill our anecdotes and stories with recreated dialogue (Tannen, 1989), and reproduce the voices of teachers, friends, newspapers and politicians. Voices may be framed grammatically or prosodically as reported speech, or signalled as 'imported' in a range of other more subtle ways, or they may appear to merge with the speaker's own voice (Bakhtin 1984, 1986), traceable only through a knowledge of the speaker's previous language experience. In addition to reporting and reconfiguring actual utterances, or features of specific voices, we may also take on and reproduce the voice of a genre or discourse, for example the genre of online chat, or the discourse of advertising, or imitate the voice of a particular social group, for instance by putting on a different accent. While the language of people of all ages is filled with the features of other voices, which may or may not be identifiable, the ways in which students take on, reproduce and represent the voices of significant people, texts and genres in their lives are particularly interesting because of the implications of this revoicing for learning and meaning-making. Researchers have examined what the multi-voiced nature of children and young people's language can reveal about how they draw on, are positioned by and interrogate the resources of their cultural worlds, and language educationalists have begun to look at how insights about revoicing can inform and drive pedagogy.

### THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

In this section I briefly introduce how 'voice' is linked to 'genre' and 'social language' in Bakhtin's work, and note some ways in which the notion of revoicing has been used by psychologists and linguists. I then go on, in the subsequent section, to discuss how these ideas have been applied in educational research on language and learning.

Bakhtin (1981, 1986) argues that we cannot communicate other than through speech genres, i.e. the patterns of language form and use, content themes and evaluative perspectives that emerge in a specific sphere of human activity. Children learn these genres at the same time as they learn language itself. They also learn how different ways of using language (e.g. accent, grammar and style) are associated with what Bakhtin calls the 'social languages' of different social classes, ethnic groups, age groups, generations and so on. When speakers or writers reproduce voices, whether by quoting or appropriating them, these voices bring with them a generic 'taste' of their previous use, and also an association with particular social languages. In fact, it is these very connotations, together with the way in which they are reconfigured by the new speaker/writer, which provide the potential for meaning-making in the new context (Volosinov, 1973). Bakhtin (1984) suggests that there is a range of ways in which reproduced discourse can be strategically framed or reconfigured, or blended with the new speaker/writer's own voice. His preliminary categorization includes direct and indirect quotation, imitation, stylization (where a speaker or writer tries on some aspect of the style of another voice but it is still recognisable as separate from their own) and hidden polemic (arguing against an unspoken alternative position). The use of these dynamic and overlapping strategies by a speaker/writer depends on how far they want to align themselves with the semantic nuances and evaluative perspective the voice brings with it, and how far express varying degrees of distance. In the very manner in which they reproduce a voice and its generic and social connotations, therefore, speakers or writers are in a sense answering it, and saying something about themselves in the process.

The American psychologist James Wertsch (1991) uses Bakhtin's concepts of voicing and genre to develop Vygotsky's argument about the mediating role of language in children's socialization, and the transition from intermental to intramental functioning. Wertsch suggests that children are guided, through dialogue with more experienced others, to learn which kinds of speech genres and social languages are appropriate in particular settings. From their experience of dialogue, for instance with parents and teachers, children internalize the voices of more experienced others and then reproduce these voices themselves. In this way, they take on what Wertsch terms the 'privileged' ways of using language in the genres associated with different spheres of human activity, so that children learn to voice or 'ventriloquate' themselves through the different genres of their social world. For instance, the genre of school science involves using a register of scientific concepts to construct knowledge organized in explicit, standardized taxonomies and schemas. Children learn that this is the approved way of talking about science, and that in appropriating the scientific

genre they are also appropriating power. Thus, children are inducted through their engagement within an increasingly finely differentiated range of genres, into particular ways of reading and representing experience and knowledge. In this sense, Wertsch argues, speech genres provide a crucial link between the psychological processes of individuals and their cultural historical and institutional settings.

While Bakhtinian notions of voicing and revoicing have been applied by psychologists within a sociocultural model of socialization and learning, they have also been taken up by linguists interested in how language reflects and creates the social world, and the speaker's position within it. The British linguist Norman Fairclough (1992), in discussing how all language users borrow from, and orient towards, other voices, distinguishes between what he calls 'manifest intertextuality' where the words from another speaker or text are reproduced or inferred, and 'constitutive intertextuality', or 'interdiscursivity', where broader aspects of style, genre and ideological positioning from another's discourse are reproduced. He suggests that 'manifest intertextuality' may involve clear boundaries between voices (marking direct or indirect quotation grammatically and through punctuation), or unclear boundaries, where other voices may be signalled through presupposition, negation, metadiscourse and irony. Particular genres (e.g. a news report, a chat, a scientific article) are associated with particular modes of discourse representation and writers' use of linguistic strategies for revoicing is constrained and conditioned by relations of power realized through institutional practices. The question of how writers grammatically indicate their position in relation to the voices they are representing is also explored in an influential study of the stylistics of fiction. Leech and Short (1981) use a cline to represent grammatical forms ranging from where the author's voice is most dominant in 'narrator's representation of a speech act', through 'indirect speech', 'free indirect speech' and 'direct speech' to 'free, direct speech', where the character's voice and perspective are more prominent in the meaning being conveyed.

The issue of revoicing is also addressed by the American sociologist Erving Goffman, who began to deconstruct the traditional linguistic model of speaker-listener roles by showing how speakers may assume any combination of three roles in relation to what is being said within a conversational frame: the *animator* who produces the utterance, the *author* who is responsible for its wording or the *principal* who is ultimately responsible for the views expressed. On their side, listeners may be either an *addressed recipient*, the rest of an *official audience* or *unofficial bystanders* including overhearers and eavesdroppers (Goffman 1974, 1981). Goffman's work has been productive for researchers focusing on local interactions, sometimes in combination with Bakhtinian ideas

about polyvocality and revoicing which suggest ways of linking local language interactions with broader social, cultural and historical contexts, and provide a greater theorizing of dialogicality.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS/WORK IN PROGRESS

Applications of Bakhtinian ideas about revoicing within recent and continuing educational research draw both on sociocultural theory about learning and socialisation, and on the analysis of the linguistic features of reproduced discourse and their relationship to wider social patterns. Researchers have focused on different aspects of 'voice' and 'revoicing', depending on their research and disciplinary interests.

Educationalist Anne Haas Dyson (e.g. Dyson, 1997, 1999, 2002), for instance, suggests that children in multiethnic urban 1st–3rd grade classrooms in California draw on a 'landscape of interrelated voices' in their writing practices, appropriating content, text forms and features, graphics, voiced utterances and ideologies of gender and power from popular texts outside school. Arguing that popular culture has been neglected in literacy theory and undervalued as a resource in school, Dyson provides a number of closely observed studies showing how children borrow and revoice fragments of text from songs, movies, cartoons and the sports media, both in informal talk among themselves and in classroom tasks. Dyson is interested both in *how* children appropriate, translate across and reframe voices and other features from popular texts into school activities, and also in *the effects* of this on their knowledge construction in school, and on their own personal development. Through their recontextualizations, she argues, children are 'answering' the voices they reproduce, for instance in the way they juxtapose and blend them with voices from stories encountered in school (Dyson, 1997). Dyson suggests that these recontextualizations often bring to the surface a struggle between peer and school worlds, which can be skilfully managed by teachers to encourage discussion and reflection on representations of good and evil, strength and weakness, gender and ethnicity in both popular and school texts. Through borrowing and revoicing, Dyson argues, children can reorganise and rearticulate their own resources, and in the process, expand their knowledge about social practices, symbolic systems and their ideological world.

The reproduction of the features, style, rhetorical patterns and ideological perspectives of voices from family, friends, teachers, TV, film and song in children's writing is also highlighted in Kamberelis and Scott's analysis of 9–10-year-old Detroit students' writing assignments. Kamberelis and Scott (1992) show how students' skill in orchestrating and framing voices in their writing involves using direct quotation,

merging their own voice with another, stylization (e.g. parody), hidden polemic and idealisation (i.e. the taking on of a utopian discourse, for example assuming that hard work leads to success, or that different races live in harmony together). They found that less successful writing may reflect inconsistent and conflicting voices within a students' social world, and the student's unsuccessful efforts to work out a coherent personal position for themselves in relation to these. The development of literacy skills and the ability to present an argument, Kamberelis and Scott suggest, involves the marshalling and grammatical framing of a range of voices, and the child's response to them, within a school writing genre. This process is then part of a child's forging of his or her own social and political identity.

In my own research (e.g. Maybin 1999, 2006) I have focused on the different ways in which specific utterances are revoiced in 10–12-year-old children's informal talk. I examine what patterns of voice repetition, appropriation, stylization and reporting can reveal about children's exploration of new kinds of knowledge, relationships and gendered identities as they make the transition from childhood into adolescence. I suggest that children's reproduction of voices from teachers and textbooks, other children and themselves on previous occasions shows them playing an active role in their induction into school practices and discourses. More generally, I found that reproduced speech was frequently used to invoke past events and bring them to bear on what was happening in the present, and it seemed to provide a powerful way of commenting on experience and drawing the listener in. Children tried out and conveyed personal judgments about people, relationships and events through the ways in which they rephrased and reframed reported speech and through their orchestration of dialogues in anecdotes and longer narratives. Focusing on talk rather than writing highlights the dynamic dialogical processes involved in meaning-making and I found that personal judgments conveyed through revoicing were often reconfigured in ongoing dialogue with other children so that individual impressions and reactions became socially forged. I suggest that 'evaluation' (Volosinov, 1973), that is, the way in which we can never talk about anything without making some kind of judgement reflecting an assumed evaluative framework and signalling our own position in relation to it, is central both to children's continuing socialisation, and to their ongoing identification as individuals. Children's evaluative activity in reproducing and orchestrating voices reflects their social background and values, but also reveals how they are acting on their environment, becoming conscious of their positioning in the world and developing a sense of themselves as a particular kind of person.

While my research looks at revoicing in the context of socialization and learning (in a broad sense), Ben Rampton's sociolinguistic research

on voice stylization in teenagers' talk reveals how general ideological categories of ethnicity and social class are highlighted and recreated by young people, within interactions at a local level. Rampton (1995) found that what he terms 'language crossing' (when speakers use language which doesn't seem to belong to them) was closely woven into the everyday talk and social activity of teenagers of Indian, Pakistani, African Caribbean and Anglo descent in schools and youth clubs in an English Midland town. For instance, teenagers of Indian, Pakistani and Anglo descent reproduced words, phrases and pronunciation from African Caribbean English/Creole, which seemed to carry with them the 'taste' of an exciting youth culture which they aspired to be part of. African Caribbean and Anglo teenagers used Panjabi words in ritual teasing, and Indian and Pakistani students used a stylized Asian English pronunciation to parody limited linguistic and cultural competence. The form and meaning of language crossing varied in different contexts. Like the other examples of voice reproduction discussed above, this stylization is 'double-voiced', that is, both the semantic intention of the speaker and the semantic intention of the voice they are taking on, are evident (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 189). Rampton suggests that the taking on of Creole was usually what Bakhtin terms unidirectional double-voicing, where the semantic intentions of both voices are consistent: teenagers crossed into Creole to emphasize desired identities, and in some cases this use of Creole merged into a local multi-racial vernacular. In contrast, crossing into stylized Asian English seemed to be vari-directional double-voicing, where the speaker was expressing their difference from the voice they were taking on, through an ironic code-switching. This language crossing was used, often playfully (see Lytra, *Playful Talk, Learners' Play Frames and the Construction of Identities*, Volume 3), by young people at moments when ordinary social constraints were relaxed. Rampton suggests that it constituted a challenge to dominant notions of ethnicity, partially deconstructing these at a metaphoric level.

Rampton (2006) extends his analysis to students' stylization of Cockney and 'posh' accents, and the revoicing of German words, in their talk in a multi-ethnic inner London classroom. He found teenagers using exaggerated posh and Cockney accents in greetings, taunts, and in talk about teachers, physical prowess and misdemeanors. Cockney and posh were associated with particular kinds of cultural imagery: Cockney with solidarity, vigour and passion and posh with social distance, superiority and constraint. Teenagers strategically manipulated the imagery invoked through their stylization of accents, in order to, for example, negotiate the reception of a personal story, keep down powerful girls and juggle between school and peer values. Rampton suggests that a temporary fad of playful revoicing of German words

in interactional rituals between students was similarly strategic, signalling both an academically prestigious language, and subversion of the formality of German lessons (see also Hirst, 2003, on Australian students' resistant stylization of Indonesian words in a second language classroom).

Within Higher Education, researchers have found that the reproduction of voices from various sources in students' writing reveals important insights about the writing process, and about the writers' positioning in relation to broader discourses. Ivanic (1997) analyses traces of different discourses within students' essays at a Northern English University and explored, with the students, the reasons behind their choices of voices to reproduce. She found they had taken up particular words, syntax, argumentation strategies and other structuring devices from their reading, lectures, tutorials and discussion with other students and from sources outside the university altogether. Some pieces of language were appropriated because the student had been interested and excited by an idea or a writer and some because the student felt they were appropriate for discourse within their discipline and would be positively valued by staff marking the essay. It was sometimes difficult to knit language from these different heterogeneous sources together, and to negotiate the tricky boundaries between quotation, paraphrase and plagiarism in becoming an academic writer. As Ivanic puts it: 'Complex negotiations of identity lie beneath the surface of what may appear at first glance to be 'inadequate' academic writing' (Ivanic, 1997, p. 343). She argues that teachers need to give more attention to the ways in which students are struggling with different discourses and different kinds of selves within their writing, as they draw on intermental experience to develop their own intramental resources. She suggests that while student writers are constrained by the actual voices they have encountered through interactions with people and texts, and by the conventional genres of higher education, their (often unconscious) acts of selection from the available alternatives constitute a personal response to the patterns of privileging within these genres, and an important component in the discursive construction of their own identity.

Ivanic's suggestion that it may be productive to approach problems of quotation and citation in students' academic writing as part of larger questions about polyvocality and discourse representation, rather than purely as surface features, is also developed in research by Scollon, Tsang, Li, Yung and Jones (1998) in their study of discourse representation in writing by bilingual university students in Hong Kong. Scollon, Tsang, Li, Yung and Jones modelled their work on research by Wertsch and colleagues, who found that Russian and American students appropriated existing historical discourses (of official Soviet history, or civil liberties and individual freedoms, respectively) in their writing about

significant world events, even when constructing oppositional narratives (e.g. Wertsch, 1997). Using Fairclough's categories of linguistic features signalling intertextuality, Scollon Tsang, Li, Yung and Jones analyse how the Hong Kong students appropriated, adapted and contested other voices, in a letter-writing assignment. They found considerable manifest intertextuality in students' writing, expressed through quotation, presupposition, negation, hedging, paraphrase and irony. It was more difficult to trace the appropriation of discursive frames, styles, formats and packages of wordings which would signal interdiscursivity, but they found some students reproducing a public discourse about Hong Kong's success and prosperity. They also point out that the letter-writing assignment (in contrast to such a letter in 'real life') was ventriloquated through the language of English, appropriated from the context of a university lecture and the parameters of an assignment.

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Researchers have produced a range of analytic frameworks, and a variety of ways for identifying and conceptualizing 'voice', 'revoicing' and 'genre'. While on the one hand this reflects the richness and suggestibility of the Bakhtinian concepts, on the other there is also the potential for confusion about what counts as a 'voice' or a 'genre', and how these can be identified and analysed. In Bakhtin's own account the distinction between intertextuality and interdiscursivity is somewhat blurred, as specific recontextualized voices also index genres and social languages.

Early linguistic analysis of polyvocality tended to focus on written texts (e.g. Fairclough, 1992; Leech and Short, 1981). Researchers identified linguistic grammatical features that signalled the reproduction of a specific voice (manifest intertextuality) or a particular discourse (interdiscursivity), and the writer's own position in relation to these. Researchers of oral language have found that they needed to develop new analytic frameworks to capture the more fluid, dynamic, dialogic negotiation of revoicing and its meaning and significance, in ongoing interaction (see Bloome and Egan-Robertson, 1993, on negotiations of local entitlement to make particular intertextual references in classroom talk, see also Bloome, *Literacies in the Classroom*, Volume 2). Meanings and evaluations are more fluid in talk, and researchers have had to combine textual analysis with conceptual frameworks drawn from psychology, anthropology and cultural studies. Some researchers have identified revoicing using specific linguistic features e.g. language choice, grammar, accent, prosody and analysed how these features are strategically used and interpreted, in the context of ongoing conversational interaction and the wider cultural setting. Other researchers have conceptualized voice primarily as a situated utterance, and tracked

the effects of the strategic reconfiguration and reuse of utterances, in combination with other voices in a new conversational context. Still others track intertextuality and interdiscursivity through writers' accounts of the resources they have drawn on, and through researchers' own perception of the significant discourses within students' environments. These different analytic approaches involve various combinations of linguistics, discourse analysis, sociocultural analysis, interactional sociolinguistics and ethnography. Moreover, they conceptualize the relationships between revoicing and the invoking and instantiation of broader social practices and discourses, in a variety of ways. The most useful research defines voice and revoicing fairly precisely in ways which can be systematically investigated, leading to specific insights about students' language and learning.

Bakhtin's conception of genre, as the pattern of language form and use, content themes and evaluative perspectives which emerge in a specific sphere of human activity, encompasses both the internal, as it were, aspects of a written or spoken text, i.e. its formal features, and also its external significance: the ways in which it is recognized, ventriloquated, responded to and valued. Defining genres as communicative patterns emerging in a specific sphere of human activity, however, begs the question of how large or small a sphere of activity the term 'genre' can usefully be connected with. Bakhtin's list of speech genres includes a wide range of communicative events, from everyday informal conversation to political speeches to literary genres. He talks of simple primary genres (for example everyday chat, an informal written note) being absorbed and reconfigured in more complex secondary genres (e.g. a novel, a speech). However, everyday chat itself could be also argued to include genres of family mealtime conversations, pub conversations, small talk with neighbours and so on, so there is a danger that the level of analysis, and the boundaries between genres, may seem unclear. Within the current context of new technologies and globalised communication, generic transformation and hybridity is happening increasingly rapidly, and this is difficult to document and represent within more formal analyses. While the notion of speech genre seems potentially productive in capturing the mutually constitutive relationship between language and the social world, its very scope and dynamic potential make it difficult to use with precision as an analytic category, which can be deduced from empirical language data, without an accompanying cultural analysis. Researchers drawing on Bakhtin have tended to interpret 'genre' in a fairly general sociocultural sense as associated with particular ways of using language, for instance the genre of science lessons, or the genre of children's informal chat.

In studies of revoicing and interdiscursivity, there are similar difficulties with the empirical warrants for identifying specific discourses, which

are usually conceptualized at a relatively abstract level. Researchers have tended to use the term 'discourse', in the Foucauldian sense as a macro-level complex of language, knowledge and power (Foucault, 1981). For instance, a voice may be seen as invoking a popular culture discourse incorporating particular ideologies of gender. The analytic steps from identifying an instance of revoicing to claiming it invokes a genre, or a discourse, and then to further claims about the nature of these and their implications for students' positioning and learning often involve considerable amounts of interpretation, which also needs to be carefully grounded.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Researchers are beginning to suggest possible applications of work on revoicing to pedagogy, and raise questions for further research in this area. Dyson (1999) argues for a more 'permeable' curriculum, which will allow students to apply a wider range of voices from their experience outside school, within classroom learning. Similarly, Kamberelis (2001) suggests revoicing can produce hybrid practices where teachers and students can fuse authoritative and inwardly persuasive discourses. Duff (2003) however, shows how students' differential access to popular culture may adversely affect their potential engagement in hybrid teaching and learning practices. In addition to this work suggesting the need for further refinement of research on revoicings of popular culture in school, research on revoicing in older students' writing suggests they can usefully reflect on the polyvocalic nature of their texts, and be helped to find ways of effectively orchestrating the various voices within the appropriate genres (see Bazerman, 2004, on ways of analysing intertextuality in academic texts to help students with their own academic writing).

Research on revoicing reveals classrooms as much more hybrid environments, in terms of language practices, than traditional studies of teacher-student dialogue would suggest. There is a rich range of revoicing practices both in talk related, and tangential, to classroom tasks. Revoicing can be seen as contributing to students' induction into particular social practices and discourses, their curricular and other learning, and their negotiations of personal positioning and identity (e.g. see Haworth, 2001, who suggests that full participation in small group discussion in a class of 7-year-olds involved learning how to revoice appropriated and stylized voices from classroom and community genres). There are potentially rich links between the ways of conceptualizing the revoicing strategies and effects illustrated in the research discussed earlier, and current ongoing research on students' use of multimodal discourses (see Jewitt, *Multimodal Discourses across*

the Curriculum, Volume 3), diverse funds of knowledge (see Moje, *Everyday Funds of Knowledge and School Discourses*, Volume 3) and ways of using hybrid language contexts as a resource for enhancing joint activity and productive learning (Gutierrez, Baquedano-Lopez, Alvarez and Chiu, 1999). Further research on revoicing practices in multilingual and multiethnic student communities, and in relation to multimodal texts in a range of emerging new media, should provide additional important insights into students' strategic uses of language for learning, and into the dynamic relationship between local language acts and broader changing social, cultural and historical practices and discourses.

**See Also:** *David Bloome: Literacies in the Classroom (Volume 2); Brian V. Street: New Literacies, New Times: Developments in Literacy Studies (Volume 2); Carey Jewitt: Multimodal Discourses across the Curriculum (Volume 3); Elizabeth Birr Moje: Everyday Funds of Knowledge and School Discourses (Volume 3)*

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## LINGUISTIC ANTHROPOLOGY OF EDUCATION

## INTRODUCTION

Linguistic anthropologists investigate how language use both presupposes and creates social relations in cultural context (Agha, 2006; Duranti, 1997; Silverstein, 1985). Theories and methods from linguistic anthropology have been productively applied to educational research for the past four decades. This chapter describes key aspects of a linguistic anthropological approach and reviews research in which these have been used to study educational phenomena. Readers should also consult the chapter by Betsy Rymes on Language Socialization and Linguistic Anthropology of Education, in Volume 8 of the *Encyclopedia*, for a review of linguistic anthropological research in the language socialization tradition.

Almost all education is mediated by language use. The linguistic and paralinguistic signs that compose educational language use have both referential and relational meanings. When educators and learners speak and write, they signal things, not only about the subject matter they are learning, but also about their affiliations with social groups, both inside and outside the speech event. These affiliations, some of which are created in educational events and institutions, can shape students' life trajectories and influence how they learn subject matter. For both theoretical and practical reasons, then, educational researchers need to understand how language use both creates and presupposes social relations during educational activity.

Linguistic anthropology provides a useful set of tools for studying how educational language use creates social relations (Wortham and Rymes, 2003). As implied by its name, linguistic anthropology is an interdisciplinary field—a recognized subdiscipline within American anthropology that also draws on linguistics (e.g., Eckert, 2000), qualitative sociology (e.g., Goffman, 1981; Mehan, Villanueva, Hubbard and Lintz, 1996), cultural anthropology (e.g., Street, 2005) and European “linguistic ethnography” (e.g., Blommaert, 1999; Rampton, 2005). Linguistic anthropologists study how signs come to have referential and relational meaning as they are used in social and cultural contexts. In doing so, they draw on four key concepts, comprising what Silverstein (1985) has called the “total linguistic fact”—that is, four aspects of language use that must be analyzed to understand how linguistic signs have meaning in practice—*form, use, ideology and domain*.

Linguistic anthropologists use linguists' accounts of phonological, grammatical, and other systematically distributed categories of language *form*. Unlike formal linguists, however, linguistic anthropologists are not primarily interested in how forms have meaning apart from contexts of use. Instead, they study how linguistic signs come to have both referential and relational meaning in social and cultural context (Duranti, 1997; Hymes, 1964). The meaning of any linguistic sign in *use* cannot be determined by decontextualized rules, whether linguistic or social. No matter how robust the relevant regularities, speakers and hearers can use signs in unexpected yet meaningful ways (Goffman, 1981; Silverstein, 1992). Linguistic anthropologists study how speech comes to have sometimes-unexpected meanings in local contexts. As important as local context is, however, the meaning of any linguistic sign cannot be understood without also attending to more widely circulating models of the social world. Linguistic anthropologists often construe these models as *ideologies* of language—models of linguistic features and the speakers who characteristically use them, which people use to understand the social relations signaled through language use (Schieffelin, Woolard, and Kroskrity, 1998; Silverstein, 1985). These ideologies are not evenly distributed across social space, but have a *domain*—the set of people who recognize the indexical link between a type of sign and the relevant ideology (Agha, 2006). Linguistic anthropologists study how models of language and social relations move from event to event, across time and across social space, and how such movement contributes to local and historical change.

#### FORM AND USE

The earliest linguistic anthropologists of education moved away from a linguistic emphasis on referential meaning to a more ethnographic emphasis on appropriate communication in cultural context (Gumperz, 1982; Hymes, 1964). They described how students from non-mainstream language communities employed norms of appropriate communication from their home communities and how mainstream educators often misinterpreted their language use as uneducated (Cazden, John, and Hymes, 1972). This research attended systematically to linguistic *form*, but it did so to understand how linguistic patterns interconnect with other aspects of communicative events—with nonverbal signs, the layout of a setting, physical objects, presupposed models of social relationships and appropriate demeanor, and the emergent organization of the speech event. Contemporary linguistic anthropology of education continues to offer systematic analyses of various linguistic patterns, ranging from studies of phonological variation across groups (e.g., Bucholtz, 2001; Eckert, 2000; Stocker, 2003) to studies of

grammatical and lexical patterns that distinguish dialects and registers (e.g., Jaffe, 1999; Kiesling, 2001).

From the beginning, linguistic anthropology of education has also emphasized the study of language in *use*. Hymes (1972) argues that speech can have multiple functions and that educational researchers must examine how utterances come to serve particular functions in context. Instead of presenting speakers as following decontextualized linguistic and pragmatic rules, Gumperz (1982) and Hymes (1972) describe speakers as drawing on diverse resources and creating novel responses in context. Erickson and Schultz (1982) provide an extended study of creative language use, in which they explore the “socially and culturally organized improvisation” that occurs in conversations between academic counselors and students from non-mainstream backgrounds. Erickson and Shultz do not argue simply that non-mainstream students and mainstream counselors experience a “mismatch” of discursive styles, resulting in counselors’ misjudgments about students. They show how counselors and students use various resources to create, override, resist, and defuse such mismatches. Non-mainstream students are often disadvantaged by their nonstandard habits of speaking and by mainstream counselors’ assumptions about these “deficits,” but such disadvantage does not happen simply through a clash of monolithic styles. Erickson and Shultz find that “situationally emergent identity” explains more about the outcome of a “gatekeeping” encounter than demographically fixed identity, and they urge attention to how speakers use social and cultural resources in context both to reproduce and to overcome disadvantage.

The general point here, as described systematically by Silverstein (1992), is that signs indicate social relations only in context. When a speaker uses a less formal term, for instance—say, “lawyer” or “ambulance-chaser” instead of “attorney”—this can indicate that the speaker is poorly educated or unrefined, but it can also signal solidarity or humor. Tokens of such a sign only come to have determinate social meaning when hearers understand them against the background of relevant context. “Context,” however, potentially includes an enormous number of sometimes contradictory pieces of information. When I said “ambulance-chaser” just now, were you aware of the fact that I had recently been victimized by an unscrupulous lawyer, or the fact that I am organizing a grass roots movement to rescue our government from the legal-lobbyist complex, or the fact that I know you are married to one? Any or all of these aspects of the context could have been made salient by earlier interaction, or they could be established things that we know about each other. Depending on which features of the context are in fact, salient at the moment of utterance, participants will interpret the sign differently. This is what Silverstein calls “contextualization,”

the fact that signs come to have meaning only as they and co-occurring signs index aspects of the context. Cultural knowledge is crucial to interpreting the relational meaning of utterances, but we can only interpret that meaning by examining how utterances get contextualized in use—not simply by establishing a list of decontextualized beliefs, styles, or rules that allegedly suffice to determine meaning.

Contemporary work in the linguistic anthropology of education has shown how attention to language in use illuminates educational processes. Rampton (2005), for instance, describes language “crossing” in urban, multiethnic groups of adolescents. Crossing is the use of words or other linguistic features from one or more other languages in the course of an utterance. Rampton studies the use of Panjabi, Caribbean Creole, and Stylized Asian English by white, South Asian and Caribbean youth in the UK. He does not argue simply that minority languages are devalued and used to stigmatize non-mainstream youth, nor that such youth use their home languages to resist such discrimination. Both of these processes, among others, do occur, but Rampton studies how various social effects are achieved in practice. Crossing is a “discursive strategy” in which diverse youth contest and create relations around race, ethnicity and youth culture. The use of terms from a minority language does not have one or two fixed meanings—like stigma or resistance—because particular uses involve contestation, teasing, resistance, irony, and other stances with respect to the larger social issues surrounding minority identities in Britain. Like Erickson and Shultz (1982), Rampton is deeply concerned about how the cultural politics of difference can disadvantage minority youth, and he describes the larger social and political forces regimenting language, identity, and politics in the UK. But, he does not reduce disadvantage to predictable forms of identity politics, in which certain signs of identity routinely signal negative stereotypes. He shows instead how youth use language to navigate among the conflicting forms of solidarity and identity available to them in multiethnic Britain.

He (2003) and Rymes (2001) also attend closely to creativity and indeterminacy in speech events. Like Rampton, they also describe habitual patterns of language use as well. He (2003) shows how Chinese heritage language teachers often use predictable three-part “moralized directives” to control disruptive behavior. Rymes (2001) describes typical “dropping out” and “dropping in” autobiographical stories, through which academically marginal students construct senses of self and reject or embrace formal education. But He and Rymes do not describe speakers as passively invoking these habitual patterns. Such familiar patterns are resources that educators and learners use and sometimes transform as they construct particular stances in context. He shows how the Chinese heritage language teacher’s authority waxes and wanes during a lesson,

as she uses moralized directives in various ways and as students variously react to these uses. Rymes shows how youth in an “alternative” school for “at-risk” students reproduce, contest, ridicule, and otherwise reposition typical dropping out and dropping in stories. Sometimes they even contest the distinction between students who have embraced and rejected school, thereby positioning themselves in unpredictable ways with respect to linguistic, ethnic, and economic stereotypes. This work shows that creative uses of language take shape only against a background of habitual patterns. In order to study the social relations established through education, we must attend to the sometimes-unexpected ways that both marginalized and mainstream speakers use habitual patterns to position and reposition themselves with respect to larger identities.

#### POWER AND IDEOLOGY

Erickson and Shultz (1982), He (2003), Rampton (2005), and Rymes (2001) all attend both to the unpredictable character of local interactions and to the larger social patterns that provide resources for such interactions. Other linguistic anthropologists of education attend less to the creative potential of language in use, focusing instead on the power relations bound up with language and education. Before moving on to the concept of language *ideology*, I will review several studies that show how linguistic anthropologists have attended to questions of *power* at the same time as they acknowledge the importance of creative language use.

Heller (1999) and Blommaert (1999) both describe language planning and education within multilingual nation states. They acknowledge the unexpected meanings that can emerge in particular events, but they do not focus on creativity within discursive interactions. Instead, they provide more detailed accounts of how state and institutional language policies can differentially position diverse populations. Heller studies how French Canadians’ arguments for ethnic and linguistic legitimacy have shifted over the past few decades. Before globalization, French Canadians proclaimed the authenticity of their culture and asserted their rights as a minority group in Canada. In recent years, however, they emphasize the benefit of French as an international language spoken in a multicultural and multilingual Canada. This shift in models of “Frenchness” has changed the value of various French Canadians. Now bilinguals are valued more than monolinguals and Standard French is valued more than vernaculars. Heller explores how this shift plays out in a French language high school in Anglophone Ontario, exploring how the school handles the tensions between standard and vernacular French and between French and English. Blommaert

(1999) describes how the Tanzanian state has used language planning for nation building. He traces the attempt to make a common nation out of a multilingual society by establishing Swahili as the index of a homogeneous Tanzania and as the primary language of education. In the process, language planners sometimes deliberately and sometimes inadvertently create “symbolic hierarchies” between languages and language varieties. Blommaert shows how institutions like schools (and the media, science, etc.) organize language use and language hierarchies, so as to make some types of speakers sound more authoritative.

Other linguistic anthropological work on language and power has addressed literacy. Street (2005) distinguishes between an “autonomous” model of literacy—which casts literacy as a cognitive skill independent of cultural contexts—and models that emphasize the diverse cultural activities in which writing is used. He shows how governments and institutions like school favor the autonomous model and how this model disadvantages “less literate” people and students with non-mainstream literacy practices. The contributors to Street (2005) describe how schools might instead use diverse home literacy practices as educational resources. Collins and Blot (2003) follow Street in exploring literacy practices, but they also describe how local practices are embedded in global processes (like colonialism and neoliberalism) and institutionally anchored power relations. They analyze interdependencies between local uses of literacy and larger sociohistorical movements, describing, for instance, the hegemony of the literate standard and how this has provided cultural capital to some groups and disadvantaged others. They argue against the common assumption that schooled literacy always provides intellectual and economic salvation for less literate peoples, showing instead how this assumption devalues nonstandard literacies and has been used to justify exploitation.

Like Collins and Blot, Eckert (2000) argues for a “practice” theory approach to language and power. Using arguments similar to those offered by Rampton (2005), Silverstein (1992) and others who work on language in use, Eckert denies that tokens of a given linguistic form have determinate social meanings. Furthermore, she argues that apparently stable and homogeneous macrosocial categories are more variable than most theories of “power” assume—“masculinity,” “heterosexuality,” “sluttiness,” and other social categories are constructed in practice instead of being stable and prior to instances of language use. Eckert does not abandon macrosociological variables, but she explores how they are deployed in unexpected ways. Using ethnographic and sociolinguistic methods, she describes the relations among and the divergent phonological patterns of peer groups at a suburban high school. Her study reveals complex relations among students’

social positions and their habitual phonology, with important patterns organized by gender, social class, and orientation toward mainstream institutions like school.

As linguistic anthropologists have moved toward practice-based accounts that attend both to language in use and to power relations, many have used the concept of language *ideology* (Schieffelin, Woolard, and Kroskrity, 1998). Silverstein (1985, 1992) defines an ideology as a “metapragmatic” model of language and social relations that regiments particular uses. Because of indeterminacy about what a sign might mean in context, speakers and hearers must draw on models that link types of linguistic forms with the types of speakers who stereotypically use them. When one such model becomes salient, from among the many that might be relevant to explaining the meaning of a given utterance, it “regiments” the values of indexical signs in the utterance and the context. When I called lawyers “ambulance-chasers,” for instance—and you were unsure whether I was upset about a recent legal experience, crusading to overhaul the legal-lobbyist system, or insulting you and your spouse—you needed to know more about the relevant context to know what my utterance meant. Each of these models (aggrieved victim of legal misconduct seeking sympathy, political crusader seeking a convert, aggressive interlocutor) might frame the event we were engaged in, and in doing so stabilize the indexical value of “ambulance-chaser” (and neighboring signs) in a certain way. As Silverstein (1992) argues, any account of the social meanings of language use must describe such models and explain how they become salient in practice.

Many linguistic anthropologists have noted that such models or language ideologies often systematically associate types of speech with socially located types of speakers, across a range of events. This has become an important concept, allowing linguistic anthropologists to explore relations between the emergent meaning of signs in use, socially circulating ideologies and broader social structures. Language ideology has also been important for the linguistic anthropology of education, because schools are important sites for learning (and legitimating) associations between types of speakers (“educated,” “authoritative,” “at-risk,” etc.) and types of (“refined,” “educated,” “intelligent,” etc.) language use.

Jaffe (1999) uses the concept of language ideology to trace the policies and practices involved in the recent revitalization of Corsican. She describes the essentialist ideology that values French as the language of logic and civilization, the countervailing ideology that values Corsican as the language of nationalism and pride, as well as a less essentialist ideology that embraces multiple languages and multiple identities. Her analyses show how schools are a central site for the struggle among these ideologies—with some trying to maintain the centrality of French in the curriculum, some favoring Corsican language revitalization and

the displacement of French, and others wanting some Corsican in the schools but resisting a new “standard” Corsican as the official language of schooling. Jaffe explores both predictable sociohistorical patterns, like the struggle of a colonized people to value their own language in diglossic situations, and contradictions—like celebrations of “authentic” Corsican by “natives” who cannot speak the language well.

Bucholtz (2001) and Kiesling (2001) use the concept of language ideology to explore peer relations and ethnic stereotypes among white Americans. In her work with high school students, Bucholtz shows how many white adolescents adopt “deracialized” aspects of Black English Vernacular and thereby mark themselves as “cool.” She describes how “nerds” reject coolness and mark this rejection by refusing to adopt any features of BEV. Nerds even go so far as to use what Bucholtz calls “superstandard” English, which includes careful attention to articulation, grammar, and lexis (saying “have to” instead of “hafta,” for instance). The relevant ideologies here associate types of language use—superstandard, borrowing a few features of BEV, speaking mostly BEV—with types of people—nerds who reject coolness, white students trying to be cool, and white students who go too far toward a racialized other. Kiesling studies the speech of middle class, white fraternity brothers, exploring how racially linked features of their speech both serve local interactional functions and reproduce larger social hierarchies. He describes fraternity brothers asserting their intellectual or economic superiority over each other by marking interlocutors as metaphorically “black.” On the other hand, he shows how they assert physical prowess over each other by themselves speaking like black men, thus inhabiting a stereotype of physical masculinity. The fraternity brothers use and reinforce ideologies of BEV speakers as less rational, economically distressed, and physically imposing, as they jockey among themselves for position in everyday interactions.

Stocker (2003), Bokhorst-Heng (1999), and Berkley (2001) apply the concept of language ideology to educational situations outside Europe and North America. Stocker describes a monolingual Spanish-speaking group in Costa Rica that is believed to speak a stigmatized dialect—despite the fact that their language is not linguistically distinguishable from their neighbors’—because they live on an artificially bounded “reservation” and are perceived as “indigenous.” She shows how high school language instruction reinforces this ideology. Bokhorst-Heng describes how Singapore used schools to make Mandarin the “mother tongue” of ethnically Chinese Singaporeans. In 1957, less than 0.1% of ethnically Chinese Singaporeans spoke Mandarin as their home dialect, but in the 1970s the government selected Malay, Tamil, and Mandarin as the “mother tongues” of all Singaporeans.

The government created an image of Singapore, as a multicultural state composed of three homogeneous subgroups, and tied this image to the three standard “home” languages that students were to learn in school. Berkely describes Mayan speakers going to school to learn how to write “authentic” local stories in their language. He shows how this brought two ideologies into conflict—a literate ideology that valued the authority of the (young, female) teacher and treated literacy as an “autonomous” skill, and a local ideology that presented older men as empowered to tell stories on behalf of others. Berkely shows how the teacher and the elders creatively navigated this conflict, with older men telling stories that younger people learned to write down.

#### DOMAIN

Work on language ideology shows how language in use both shapes and is shaped by larger power relations. We must follow some of these authors and be careful, however, not to cast this as a simple two-part model—sometimes called the “micro–macro dialectic”—in which events create structures and structures are created in events (cf. Wortham, 2006). In fact, there are many scales of social organization relevant to understanding language in use. In their study of “untracking” as an educational reform, Mehan, Villanueva, Hubbard, and Lintz (1996), for instance, move beyond a simple combination of local events and larger social patterns. They explore various realms that influence “at-risk” students’ school success—ranging from the student him or herself, to parents, family, the classroom, the school, peer groups, the community, as well as national educational policy and broader socioeconomic constraints. Instead of describing “micro” and “macro,” Mehan and his colleagues describe how resources from many different spatial and temporal scales facilitate or impede students’ academic success. They give a more complex account of how “intelligence,” “educational success,” and other properties are constructed in practice, describing how resources from various layers of social context come together to facilitate a given student’s path.

One important type of resource for the linguistic construction of social relations, are “metapragmatic” or “metasemiotic” models that associate linguistic features with a socially located type of speaker (Agha, 2006; Silverstein, 1992). Agha (2006) and Agha and Wortham, (2005) argue that all such models have a *domain*. Models that link linguistic features with types of social identity are used and recognized by only a subset of any linguistic community, and this subset changes as the model moves across space and time. There is no one “macro” set of models or ideologies, universal to a group. Instead, there are models that circulate densely in communities ranging from pairs, to local

groups, to groups at various spatial and temporal scales all the way up to global language communities. In analyzing language and social relations, then, we need to do more than relate micro to macro. We must instead describe various relevant resources—like models drawn from different spatial and temporal scales—that facilitate a phenomenon of interest, and we must describe the “intertextual” links across events through which models move (Agha and Wortham, 2005; Wortham, 2006).

Wortham (2006) applies this approach to the emergence of social identities in one ninth grade classroom in an urban American school. He traces the development of local models that specify different types of “student” one might be in this classroom, showing the distinctive gendered models that emerge across several months. These local models both draw on and transform more widely circulating models, and they are used in sometimes-unexpected ways in particular classroom events. The analysis follows two students across the academic year, showing how their identities emerge as speakers transform widely circulating models of race and gender into local models of appropriate and inappropriate studenthood, and as they contest these identities in particular interactions. Rogers (2003) also follows an individual student’s trajectory across two years, as the student and her family negotiate with authorities about whether she is “disabled.” Rogers shows how both institutionalized and local models and practices facilitate the transformation of this student from “low achieving” to “disabled,” and she follows the intertextual links among official texts, conferences, tests, family conversations, and other events that helped constitute this student’s trajectory.

Linguistic anthropologists of education study language form, in use, as organized by ideologies, as those ideologies move across social space and come to identify individuals. Educational research done from this perspective shows the utility of these concepts for illuminating important aspects of educational processes and institutions.

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## **Section 2**

### **Educational Discourses, Situated Practices and Identities**

## LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION, PARTICIPATION AND IDENTITY: ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACHES

### INTRODUCTION

Ethnographic research examining educational discourse has for several decades focused on how students are inducted or socialized into new subject matter at schools and other learning sites and how language and literacy practices mediate their learning and are themselves a goal and outcome of learning. There has thus been considerable emphasis on how students learn to engage in the sanctioned oral and written discourse practices of different disciplines and social groups, how they negotiate the routine questions, responses, and feedback behaviors of their teachers and peers, as well as other forms of accepted (or sometimes subversive) interaction, and how, in the process, they become more sociolinguistically competent participants in, or members of, these local cultures or learning communities.

With minority students or students experiencing linguistic/literate schooling practices different from those found in their homes and communities, research has also examined the nature of those differences, how they affect performance at school, and also how they might best be bridged to enhance students' academic achievement. Participants' identities, desires, and goals, on the one hand, and their appropriation and demonstration of new knowledge and practices, on the other hand, are closely interconnected. Therefore, research has sought to uncover learners' subjectivities, agency, and intentionality to a greater extent rather than simply describe and interpret their observable behaviors and cultures.

This chapter provides an overview of ethnographic research examining language socialization (LS), participation, and identity, particularly in the North American (i.e., US and Canadian) LS tradition, by considering the methods for conducting the research, the extension of early work to include older learners, and new activities and contexts, and some of the key findings.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Some of the earliest ethnographic studies of language socialization were conducted in the 1970s and early 1980s by American researchers,

such as Heath (1983), Philips (1983), and contributors to an important volume by Schieffelin and Ochs (1986) documenting first language socialization in the USA and elsewhere (e.g., Pacific island communities, Japan). The researchers emphasized that language learning is highly social and cultural and that culture itself is instantiated and reproduced in linguistic interactions. The general focus was predictable, formulaic *interactional routines* (Peters and Boggs, 1986) between caregivers and children or between peers or siblings within and across cultures; for example, affectively charged speech acts such as teasing, shaming, threatening, or insulting, or the less charged acts of narrating a story, and prompting or telling youngsters how to speak or to imitate and repeat others. On the basis of these sociolinguistic interactions, children or newcomers to a group learn, explicitly or implicitly, how that culture and language encode thoughts and feelings, and how they are expected to speak (or read, write) in various settings. The end result, it is assumed, is communicatively competent members who have appropriated the culture's core values, beliefs, and dispositions (e.g., social control, self-assertion, egalitarianism or hierarchical status, reciprocity, empathy, verbal play, expression of anger) plus other kinds of knowledge (e.g., oratory, narrative structure).

The research methods used in these early studies, guided largely by linguistic anthropology and thus ethnography, typically involved extensive longitudinal fieldwork, including participant observation, the recording and analysis of speech by focal participants (families, caregivers, children) over time, the selection of key activities or routines for analysis (e.g., teasing, bedtime story-telling), interviews with family members, and then an analysis of target linguistic forms, such as morphemes, sentence-final particles, words, phrases, adjacency pairs, pitch and intonation contours, or politeness markers (see Duff, 2002; Ochs and Schieffelin, *Language Socialization: An Historical Overview*, Volume 8). The size of the entire corpus of similar episodes was often described and then features of these episodes or routines were explained and exemplified from transcribed data excerpts, with core features outlined. Variations as well as regularities in practice or form were noted. Changes over time were described, especially in young children's development, and often captured quantitatively as well.

Most of the studies in Schieffelin and Ochs (1986) did not examine institutional or educational discourse per se, but rather examined the informal socialization and instruction of infants, toddlers, and preschool-aged children in and around their homes. Yet, preschool question-answer sequences, prompting, correction, and repetition—plus a variety of literacy activities that may be introduced in the home—figure prominently in schooling as well. Thus, children's earlier

socialization becomes the foundation for later experiences with educational discourse, both successful and unsuccessful. For example, students must learn to speak at appropriate times using the register and routines called for, by taking part in Initiation-Response-Evaluation sequences (Mehan, 1979). They must also learn to be silent and to work independently at certain times. As Peters and Boggs (1986) wrote: "interactional routines facilitate the child's perception, analysis, and practice of utterances" (p. 80), which are central to social/cultural and linguistic learning across a variety of settings and speech events, particularly in early schooling. Language input and behavioral coaching of children by caregivers or by older siblings and peers are followed by teachers' coaching or scaffolding in classrooms.

The early focus on socialization into and through the interactional routines of a community or culture also acknowledged the key *participation structures* (Peters and Boggs, 1986; Philips, 1983) or sociolinguistic roles that interlocutors should assume. Philips' research in schools with Native American (Indian) children in Oregon, USA especially highlighted differences in home and school socialization for that population. Silence or reticence to speak (especially for all the class to hear) had a very different status and meaning to the mainstream Oregon population (and teachers) compared with the Warm Springs Indian students, but such differences were not always well understood or appreciated by the entirely non-Indian staff. As Heath (1982) points out in her seminal article "What No Bedtime Story Means," educators cannot assume that children raised in less "school-oriented," non-mainstream homes or communities come to school well prepared to engage in ("take from" and "talk about" or exhibit) the linguistic, literary, and interactional behaviors or routines of the dominant society. They need to be socialized into these behaviors or risk academic underachievement in mainstream institutions. However, institutions must also find ways to accommodate diverse learners to a greater extent, by building on students' prior socialization practices as well, for example, through the use of oral story-telling (e.g., the use of "talk story" and small-group work, in Hawaii; Gallimore, Boggs, and Jordan, 1974). Yet such well-intentioned adjustments must not, in turn, deprive them of opportunities to gain access to the mainstream discourse practices they require for higher education or professional careers.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The methods, operationalization of language socialization, and findings reported in the above-cited studies remain influential in current research on educational discourse and have inspired many other significant

studies in the intervening decades (see reviews by Duff, 2002, 2003; Garrett and Baquedano-Lopez, 2002; Kulick and Schieffelin, 2004; Watson-Gegeo, 2004; Zuengler and Cole, 2005). Much more LS research has now also been contextualized in formal educational settings than in the past, as well as in other settings, such as workplaces and community programs. Here I focus on some of the major contributions of this more recent work and how it has enriched and expanded LS theory and the range of research populations, activities, and sites that the theorizing has sought to account for.

### *Language Socialization Theory*

Recent reviews and ethnographic studies have contributed to the original theorizing of LS, with insights from contemporary understandings of human agency, subjectivity/identity, intentionality, and change processes. Some of the new perspectives derive from sociology and post-structuralism but are also grounded in careful empirical research (Watson-Gegeo, 2004). They underscore the dynamic, bi- or multidirectional, political, and highly contingent nature of LS, especially in multilingual settings. Furthermore, they demonstrate the mutually constitutive nature of specific linguistic interactions and local contexts as well as more macro-contextual forces, such as globalization, (post-)colonialism, and institutional power (Duff, 2003; Kulick and Schieffelin, 2004).

Instead of viewing LS processes and outcomes as purely reproductive, behavioristic, and predictable, by assuming that learners are passive, willing subjects who will necessarily appropriate and reproduce the various (socio)linguistic forms, practices, and values of their teachers or other co-participants, scholars increasingly acknowledge other possibilities: resistance, the transgression of norms, incomplete reproduction or attainment of demonstrated norms, or the development of hybridized (syncretic) or multiple codes/practices, subject positions, and cultures. My own work has illustrated how in school or workplace settings (e.g., Duff, 2002; Duff, Wong and Early, 2002), especially in those undergoing social and cultural change, the processes and outcomes of LS can be rather unpredictable. Children, adolescents, and adults, have histories, desires, fears, identities, and (some) choices with respect to the discourses they negotiate, the affective stances they perform, and the power structures they encounter, appropriate, or defy. One of the choices, for example, may be to orient themselves to other less sanctioned sociolinguistic models and codes (e.g., vernacular counter-discourses), rather than those that are most licensed or prized within mainstream society and institutions like schools (e.g.,

Rampton, 1995). Another choice is to adapt very selectively to new cultural norms and thereby also influence emerging new norms to some extent.

### *Expanding Research Populations and Sites*

An increasing number of LS studies investigate discourse and education with previously unexamined populations, age groups, activities, and socio-educational contexts. Research with school-aged school students analyzes not only home and school discontinuities but also the mechanisms and processes of ongoing, advanced language/literacy socialization across the curriculum. The intersection of work on LS and academic literacies or academic discourse(s) (often referred to as *discourse socialization*) is also more pronounced than before. Research on international graduate students being socialized to give in-class oral presentations using various texts and media and to engage in seminar discussions reveals the challenges and learning experienced by many learners and not just newly arrived nonnative speakers of the language of instruction (e.g., Morita, 2000, 2004). Among other things, students need to learn how to display an appropriate epistemic stance discursively, one that projects them as credible and compelling knowers of the subject, without being overly authoritarian. The discursive positioning of self and other (e.g., as knower, insider, outsider, legitimate, or ethnic minority) and its consequences has itself become a focus of LS research (Duff, 2002; Toohey, 2000).

Postsecondary language or discourse socialization research is also examining how new technologies and practices (e.g., electronic bulletin board postings) mediate learning, in contrast with traditional face-to-face instruction, and how learners' identities are constructed through these interactions. Students, peers, and instructors are now socializing one another into emerging and evolving new forms of participation and discourse (e.g., pragmatics, register, citation; e.g., Yim, 2005). Research with older learners, such as immigrant women seeking education and employment in clerical or long-term resident-care fields, illustrates issues in lifelong, multilingual, multimodal learning (e.g., Duff and Labrie, 2000).

Second-wave LS research on discourse socialization in non-Western educational settings and in diasporic communities has also contributed greatly to our understanding of multilingual or heteroglossic socialization and language shift, particularly in small-scale societies and post-colonial contexts in which children encounter colonial languages and discourse traditions at school (e.g., see also Garrett and Baquedano-Lopez, 2002; Moore, 1999).

## WORK IN PROGRESS

*Identity, Participation, and Communities of Practice*

*Identity* (e.g., social roles, membership status, and stances connected with those), *participation*, and *practice* or *activity* have always been important constructs in LS research. However, they have been taken up somewhat differently in recent related poststructural and critical work incorporating the notions of *communities of practice* (Lave and Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998), *habitus*, and *practice theory* (Bourdieu, 1977). This trend is seen in ethnographic research by Miller (2003) and Toohey (2000), and in Norton's (2000) multiple-case study of immigrant women's socialization in Canada. All examined immigrant children's and adults' identities, participation (or nonparticipation), and practices as they sought integration into educational discourse(s), and wider communities, although none of them framed their studies as LS. Examining the ability to *participate* fully, as legitimate members, in new communities, including e-mediated or transnational communities, and in new practices such as virtual Bulletin-Board discussions and chat rooms, and to take up or inhabit new subject positions within those communities contrasts markedly with the earlier emphasis on the less contextualized *acquisition* of linguistic skills and knowledge. However, *overt* participation cannot be the only measure of language and culture learning because competent people may opt *not* to participate like their peers or mentors—or may be unable to—for a variety of reasons (Duff, 2002; Morita, 2004). They may be denied access to the key practices and to their ostensibly more capable co-participants, may not value them, or may prefer to participate mentally and emotionally but not in observable linguistic ways in deference to co-participants; they may be afraid of being singled out or mocked, or may be ambivalent. They may opt for other modes of participation more in keeping with their prior socialization and identities as well. They may also participate very differently in one classroom context than in another or at different points in time (Morita, 2004).

Furthermore, people might be considered competent, “legitimate” participants at one point in time but not later, because of migration, displacement, membership in other communities, subsequent language/literacy learning, interrupted learning, and so on. Thus, identity and participation, like cultural knowledge and practices, are co-constructed by participants within particular sociohistorical contexts. Yet, many of these twenty-first century sociolinguistic and educational contexts—whether in Europe, Africa, Asia, or the Americas—are changing dramatically and should be examined more closely. Observation alone may not reveal participants' reasons for their behaviors or

transformations, which is why triangulated emic and etic perspectives become crucial.

*Ethnography and LS: Methodological Considerations*

Suitable research methods for LS is a topic of current discussion and contention. Although some researchers argue that all LS research must be ethnographic, with extended observations and the triangulated analysis of the acquisition of particular linguistic and cultural forms/practices over time and contexts (e.g., Kulick and Schieffelin, 2004), not all published “LS” studies—and not even some in Schieffelin and Ochs’ (1986) own volume—are truly ethnographic. Some studies that claim to investigate LS processes do not necessarily document observed (socio) linguistic behaviors or developments by producing language excerpts, detailed discourse analyses, or systematic developmental accounts nor do they use systematic ethnographic methods (e.g., Bayley and Schecter, 2003). Conversely, not all ethnographic studies that examine the ways in which learners are apprenticed into new cultural, linguistic, or literary practices (e.g., interactional routines) describe themselves centrally as studies of “LS,” even though they may provide important insights on LS processes (e.g., Harklau, 1994; Santa Barbara Discourse Group, 1993; Toohey, 2000). Different levels of analysis and context may be foregrounded or backgrounded in publications, and different articles written by the same researcher may be more synthetic versus more microanalytic. Furthermore, the perspectives and methods may be framed to different degrees by the source disciplines of sociology, education, (cultural) psychology, linguistics, or anthropology.

Methodological and theoretical pluralism should be welcomed in “LS research” because it allows us to view common phenomena from distinct but complementary perspectives, and not just according to the conventions or prescriptions of first-generation American linguistic anthropology. However, LS risks becoming a very vague and diffuse construct and subfield if the term can apply to any research or any type of analysis in which language is used between more capable members of a cultural group and less capable ones, with any social interaction, or with any unit of analysis, theoretical foundation or method. Yet, the basic principle that a longitudinal, contextualized, sociocultural “perspective” should be present, even if the research design itself is not longitudinal, has merit. The investigation of how newcomers become culturally and discursively competent in a social group certainly implies a longer range view or trajectory. A cross-sectional research design or one more limited in duration, although it may illuminate the intricacies of the socio/linguistic practices

themselves, does not capture change over time, end-state (or later stage) knowledge/participation, or nonlinear developmental patterns and contextual changes.

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

### *Focus in LS*

LS research on language/literacy practices for newcomers to learning communities has gained steady momentum over the past three decades and has entered new theoretical, methodological, and pedagogical realms. The earlier emphasis on rituals and particular kinds of affectively charged speech acts (teasing and shaming in particular) and interactions related to “calling out” or repeating others’ utterances has widened to include broader forms of language and literacy practices, cross-generational language shift, even more diverse populations and contexts (e.g., in religious schooling settings), with more of a “life-span” perspective (Garrett and Baquedano-Lopez, 2002; Kulick and Schieffelin, 2004). In addition, many first-wave LS researchers were not “indigenous” members of the communities, though they may have spent considerable periods of time in the field. Now significant numbers of researchers are turning their attention to everyday sites of language/literacy socialization within their own local communities—in schools, colleges, and workplaces (e.g., Bayley and Schecter, 2003; Duff, 2003).

Yet there are issues to be addressed in LS work on language, participation, and identity, and in ethnographic research in particular. With respect to LS itself as a theoretical construct, earlier American conceptualizations, with some exceptions (e.g., Heath, 1983), mainly aimed to account for children’s oral pragmatic or grammatical development resulting from their participation in everyday speech events. The observations that not all parents interact with their children linguistically and around literacy artifacts and practices in the way that many White middle-class American parents were reported to do was theoretically significant (Kulick and Schieffelin, 2004; Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986). However, as LS’s domain has spread to include more types of language/literacy events, discursive forms, and sociocultural knowledge that newcomers gain through LS (e.g., content knowledge), the kind of speech act or event analyzed or scale/scope of studies (i.e., the unit of analysis) has changed too. The *socialization to use language and socialization through language* to gain other kinds of cultural knowledge that defined Schieffelin and Ochs’ (1986) seminal work now can, in principle, include any topic in which language and social interaction are present: the linguistic or discursive socialization of

identities, affect, mathematics ability, intertextuality, respect, narrativity, disability, political ideologies, gestures, taste, and so on. This is at once an exciting, potentially interdisciplinary aspect of LS, offering a world of possibilities to explore, and an issue because the object of study risks becoming too vast and amorphous.

### *“Expert-Novice” Discourse*

Also sometimes problematic is the dichotomous discourse of “expert” and “novice” commonly found in LS and related work. Unfortunately, some of the apprenticeship literature and language leads people to assume that the mature “native” members of the culture are invariably experts in all aspects of their work who, in turn, inevitably socialize their students or advisees into such expert knowledge. Even acknowledging that LS is bidirectional (Jacoby and Gonzales, 1991), not all so-called experts are consistently good socializing agents, and newcomers have their own valuable prior experiences. There is a common misconception that “native speakers” of a language can write or produce oral academic discourse (i.e., serve as models as well as socializers) better than nonnative speakers purely on the basis of their linguistic roots and prior experience. But native speakers vary considerably in their discursive/communicative competence and thus in their ability to write well, to present well, to teach well, or to relate to others in socially acceptable ways (Li, 2000). Thus, there are limitations in the dichotomies and metaphors commonly used.

### *Critical Perspectives*

Much LS work has been surprisingly uncritical of the cultural and linguistic practices studied within (often) very hierarchical societies or groups in which novices have little power. Verbal and physical threatening, teasing, shaming, public humiliation, and the like, were simply considered normal and generally benign in the cultures. They were ways of teaching children to fend for themselves, to toughen up, to be socially accountable, and so on. A more critical theoretical perspective might question the assumptions of benevolence or benign neglect in some cases and the relativist assumption that as long as members of the culture continue to tolerate or enact such practices, they have sociocultural legitimacy, and that outsiders, in particular, should not cast aspersions on them. Or that because certain traditions have a long history, they are in the best interests of newcomers’ enculturation and well-being. While it is important to see the richness, complexity, and value in certain interactional socializing routines, we should consider

their negative consequences as well for subsequent learning, for their participation in a just society, and for their identities.

### *Research Ethics*

Another ongoing challenge, especially for research on discourse socialization within institutions, is formal research ethics procedures. Gaining access and informed consent to study important LS-related interactions in context is becoming much more complicated and protracted—even to visually observe, let alone to audio-record or videotape them. Potentially vulnerable populations, such as new immigrants with limited second-language proficiency, undocumented workers, elderly people, or populations uneasy with or unused to the legalistic written language and conventions of university research ethics boards may elect to withhold their consent for a variety of reasons. Asking to observe and interview people and follow them ethnographically over long periods of time, with recording devices at home, school, work, community meetings, and so on, and sign formal documents to that effect, only increases the sense of suspicion, imposition, or intrusion. Participants' concerns may be completely justified, of course. But the denial of permission from even one potential participant (or guardian) for observation purposes may eliminate the research site or activity setting (e.g., classroom), compromising the analysis of oral discourse and interaction or making it undoable (e.g., Duff, 2002). Some participants may simply be too busy for the kind of in-depth, sustained research that LS has come to represent, particularly in frenzied urban environments. And if permissions *are* obtained, it may be difficult to obtain crucial “emic” insights from participants themselves about their understandings, experiences, and identities for a variety of linguistic, cultural, cognitive, personal, and practical reasons. Lastly, as on-site university workplace demands and expectations increase, particularly in the field of education, carrying out extensive offsite ethnographic fieldwork becomes particularly difficult logistically.

### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Despite the foregoing challenges, LS research holds much promise for the future. Socio/linguistic norms, language/literacy practices, participants, and political conditions, like the identities and roles of speakers, normally change over time. Therefore, new sites for LS should include societies or communities or workplaces experiencing rapid changes in the norms of language use, especially with new, globalizing multilingual and multimodal discourses. How, for example, is English

language education in non-English-dominant societies socializing language learners into new kinds of cultural understanding, knowledge, and practice (for better or worse)? How is the current spread of Chinese language education around the world socializing and positioning learners of that language, whether in Pakistan, Australia, or Turkey? How is the quickly changing demographic composition of many major European and African cities receiving new waves of immigrants and asylum seekers affecting language and literacy socialization in public and private educational spheres there? How and when do language learners resist the very practices they are being apprenticed into or instructed to emulate, as in Siegal's (1994, 1996) study of English-speaking women learning Japanese in Japan who chose not to align themselves with certain gendered and honorific sociolinguistic norms and practices? What compromises are made and what are the consequences of the acts of resistance (or ambivalence) and compliance, in terms of these speakers' identities and participation and their acceptance (rejection) in Japanese society? How do these new practices in turn influence their own first-language discourse?

Much of our LS research to date has examined relatively introductory language forms, though the interactional routines might be quite elaborate, and we need to explore the advanced end of the language learning/performativity spectrum more. How does discourse socialization proceed in highly sophisticated professional or academic settings, such as physicists' laboratory discussions and conference presentation rehearsals (Jacoby and Gonzales, 1991)?

In addition, follow-up research with communities and participants studied years before would shed more light on the evolution and ecology of language practices over time and space, and across generations, social groups, and sociopolitical contexts (e.g., Heath, 1991; Kulick and Schieffelin, 2004). Such research would also reveal the degree to which earlier LS practices have been effective for participants' integration into and achievement in desired communities of practice (e.g., academic, vocational, social)—and how, and why, the norms in those new communities have also changed. Duff, Wong and Early (2002), for example, documented how the new urban Canadian workplace has changed in some sectors (e.g., inner-city hospitals vs. suburban nursing homes). Immigrant workers being trained in English and healthcare to take care of elderly long-term residents and their interlocutors must be socialized into new ways of communicating verbally and nonverbally because the elderly clients often don't speak English or another shared language or have various degenerative conditions affecting communication (e.g., blindness, deafness, dementia, aphasia).

Additional research could, moreover, extend LS theory/research to other communities, such as populations with mental health disorders,

socially marginalized cultural groups into which newcomers seek refuge or membership, older learners in the new age of “lifelong education,” and highly skilled professionals negotiating complex speech events and tasks through an array of international and virtual networks in postindustrial society. Alternatively, research might explore, to a greater extent, LS in informal education settings.

Investigations such as these will shed more light on the discourse(s) learned, adapted, and used in a variety of contemporary activities—within their larger sociopolitical, economic, and cultural contexts—and the relationship between socialization into these new discourses and the transformation of participants’ identities, practices, and possibilities.

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## CLASSROOM DISCOURSE AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF LEARNER AND TEACHER IDENTITIES

### INTRODUCTION

Classroom discourse refers to contextualized or situated language use in classrooms, as specific interactional contexts, that reflects cultural and social practices. Interest in classroom discourse analysis grows with an enhanced understanding of the mediating role of talk in learning as a high-level mental activity (see review by Green and Dixon, *Classroom Interaction, Situated Learning*, Volume 3). From a socio-cultural point of view, a person's speech is a marker of identity. The interweaving relationship between identity and contextualized use of language in the classroom has been brought to our attention by post-structuralist and social constructivist researchers, who view classrooms as a social and cultural space where power politics and ideological conflicts are in constant interplay (e.g. Kumaravadivelu, 1999). An understanding of how such politics and conflicts come into being requires an understanding of teachers' and students' identities as a dynamic, (re) negotiable, and powerful factor in the process of interaction, which, in turn, affects ways of teaching and learning. In this review, I shall identify major developments and themes in classroom discourse analysis pertaining to teachers' and students' identity construction, and show how these contribute to our understanding of teaching and learning.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

In its most basic form, identity refers to our sense of self, or who we are. Since birth, every person is subject to a set of 'ascribed' identities usually associated with biological referents. For example, on our identity cards and passports, there is information about our nationality and/or ethnic origin, age generation and gender. All these forms of identities are given to us, and enable us, as we move along different social planes, to perceive how we are the same, or different, from 'others'. In the field of applied linguistics, different disciplines proffer different ways of talking about identity, often without agreement about their distinctive features. Some terms which are commonly used to express different aspects of the concept of identity include 'self', 'role', 'positioning', 'subject position', 'subjectivity'. Basically, 'self' is associated

with an individual's feeling, whereas 'role' highlights the more static, formal and ritualistic aspect of identity. Subject positions/subjectivity, on the other hand, imply agency, conscious action and authorship (see related review on Freeman Field, Identity, Community and Power in Bilingual Education, Volume 5). In the following paragraphs, I will discuss how the concept of teachers' and students' identity was presented in some of the early developments of classroom discourse analysis.

Despite its weaknesses, Flanders' (1970) interaction coding scheme offers the first, most widely known, systematic method of analyzing classroom speech data. His scheme employs a finite set of pre-selected and pre-determined categories to identify and code the on-going speech acts of the teachers, and attempts to establish a link between teacher behaviour (e.g. praising, questioning, responding) and student academic achievement outcomes. In Flanders' coding scheme, terms such as 'teacher' and 'pupil' appear in the coding categories as fundamental, given, referential labels denoting literally the two types of participants inside the classroom.

Another line of research, in the spirit of Flanders' coding taxonomies in the mainstream second language acquisition research, focuses on features of discourse management (e.g. comprehension checks, self-repetition) and discourse repairs (e.g. requests for clarification, requests for confirmation) that result in input and interaction modifications when miscommunication arises. These studies originated from social interaction discourse that draws an analogy between 'foreigner talk' and 'teacher talk' (see Ellis, 1994). Findings from these studies seemed to suggest a connection between teachers' discourse features and how they perceive their relations with the interlocutors (e.g. native versus non-native speakers; experts versus novices). *Who* we are seems to be determining or affecting *how* we talk. However, the psycholinguistic perspectives of these studies tend to characteristic identities such as foreigners, native speakers, learners, as more or less universal labels rather than socially and contextually situated and constructed self-representations.

A coding-scheme analysis of classroom discourse has been criticized by various classroom researchers as inconsistent, limiting, unreliable and failing to account for how classroom interactions take place in a specific context, and *why* certain verbal acts dominate. As a consequence, a more *qualitative* discourse analysis approach to classroom interaction studies has been developed. In this perspective, emphasis is placed on the *sequential structures* of teachers' and students' turns of talk, the contextual features of the interactions, and ethnography as a method of data collection. A representative outcome of this approach is the three-part I(nitiation)—R(esponse)—E(valuation) or F(eedback) sequential discourse format with a dyadic participant structure identified by Mehan (1979) through his ethnomethodological work in a mainstream, mixed-ethnic third-grade classroom in America. A similar

classroom interaction pattern was proposed by Sinclair and Coulthard in 1975. Their system of analysis was developed on the basis of linguistic descriptions of teacher–pupil interactions and the functions of the linguistic structures identified.

The basic IRE/IRF classroom interaction sequence identified by Sinclair and Coulthard and by Mehan has been widely used for other classroom analyses, and found to contribute more to the *interpretation of meanings* in the interactions than the frequency count approach. It enables readers to see what has actually happened, how it happened and possibly, why it happened that way. Researchers can also tease out the norms of interaction from the turn-taking and organizational patterns. Even though identity did not feature as a key concern for these researchers, there were clear indications of the importance of acknowledging the role implications of the labels ‘teachers’ and ‘students’, and the corresponding institutional rights and obligations associated with these. Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), for example, highlight the need to address questions such as ‘who controls the discourse?’, ‘how do other participants take control?’, ‘how do the roles of speaker and listener pass from one participant to another?’.

Mehan (1979) alerts us to the importance of developing students’ interactional competence through socialization so that they may participate effectively in interaction in a manner that is acceptable to others, thus implying the developmental nature of identities. Heap’s (1992) article best illustrates this point. By looking at the sequential arrangement of the turn taking in a series of classroom episodes, Heap was able to explain how and why a student’s attempt to act in a turn was rebuffed by the teacher. The student was considered a *rule violator* (an identity constructed through the interaction) because s/he mistook the teacher’s informative in the preceding turn as a directive and acted accordingly. Heap (1992) draws the conclusion that in revealing how and speculating why something is done, the speakers’ roles/identities within the context often have a role to play. For example, the teacher has the right to ignore students, or even snub them by not allocating a turn to talk. This is part of the teacher’s institutional identity. From Heap’s micro-analysis, we see an emerging concern and awareness of the impacts of institutionalized power relations on the enactment of roles and obligations attached to social classifications, such as teachers and students.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Subsequent developments in classroom discourse analysis tend to take identity as a more dynamic and less deterministic and predictable factor, as a result of a correspondingly more dynamic and constructivist view of identity.

*Changing Perspectives on the Notion of Identity*

The practice of viewing identity as bearing a set of ascribed attributes with biological referents has been called into question by many post-modernist researchers. There has been a fundamental shift away from a unified, stable, pre-linguistic and essentialist notion of identity towards identity being conceptualized as socially constructed, undergoing a process of continual emerging and becoming. Identity concerns not just 'who we are', but 'what we might become'. The case is felt to be particularly strong with changing discourse patterns due to the acquisition of a new form of literacy, or to the learning of a new language, or when a different language is used as the medium of learning (Gee, 1996). New forms of personal and cultural identities are constructed and performed, as the person tries to come to terms with new sets of ideologies and worldviews and establish social membership in a new community (Norton, 2000). Thus, a person's identity can be achieved, transformed, subverted and negotiated across time and space. Bernstein (2000) proposed an elaborate model that shows the multi-perspectives and multi-layeredness of a person's identities. A person may construct their identities by drawing on resources from past grand cultural narratives retrospectively or prospectively by responding to cultural, economic and technological change.

A person's identity is also discursively constructed. That people create their linguistic systems so as to resemble those of the groups with which they wish to identify from time to time is a seminal theory of speech and identity developed by Le Page (1986). Le Page found that children from Belize developed various forms of Creole English after independence from British rule as a way of displaying a sense of Belizean identity. The work of Le Page (1986) has effectively drawn people's attention to the fact that language achieves more than communicative functions. It is a major vehicle through which we make acts of identity that bear social meanings. Through linguistic adjustments or appropriation, members of the community may become more like one another in their linguistic behaviour.

Le Page's view of discourse as acts of identity is further advanced by other critical social theorists. For example, Butler (1990) argues that gender-related social categories, such as females, are indeed socially constructed and performed through repeated participation in social interactions. We perform who we are by (amongst other things) using varieties of language. Although these studies were not specifically situated in classroom contexts, discourse features pertaining to the construction and performing of identities, such as adolescents and males and females, are highly relevant to classrooms as a form of social context.

Though not always explicit, a growing number of studies on classroom discourse in the last two decades have taken into account the dynamic and interpenetrating relationship between discourse and identity construction. Such relationship is usually revealed through an analysis of the *code-switching* and *code-mixing* practices, and *participation structures* (e.g. turn-taking and turn-allocating practices) within a basic IRF/IRE framework.

### *Code-Switching and Code-Mixing*

In classrooms with speakers from diverse ethnic and linguistic backgrounds, early work suggested that teachers' and students' switching between, and/or mixing of, codes in their interactions produce social and political meanings, apart from addressing linguistic concerns. One line of thinking posits that code switching may be a participant-oriented practice (Auer, 1984). For example, in a second language classroom, the teacher may switch to the students' L1 to enhance comprehension, and to establish solidarity and foster affective relationship with the students by adopting the 'we code' (the shared L1), versus the 'they code' which is the target language (Guthrie, 1984).

However, as pointed out by Martin-Jones (1995), it may be oversimplistic to claim that a bilingual teacher switching into the learners' L1 is invariably expressing solidarity with the learners. When the two codes are of asymmetrical social status (e.g. one being a socially dominant language such as English, and the other, an indigenous language), the codeswitching often produces highly socio-political meanings. Often, the teachers switch between the codes to fulfil, on one hand, their institutional role by exposing students to English as a highly valued social commodity, and on the other hand, their professional role by ensuring that students' comprehension of the lesson content is not impaired by the use of an unfamiliar and alienating language (see Arthur, 1996). Such code-switching practices, as observed by Arthur (1996) in Botswana, reveal subtle processes of identity construction at work. By enabling students' 'on-stage' performance in English (the L2) through ritualized and routine recitation of question and answer, while reserving the shared L1 for clarification, explanation and correction as the 'backstage' code, the teachers and students in Botswana primary classrooms colluded in keeping up the appearance of effective activity and fulfilment of their respective roles for mutual face-saving.

This kind of highly controlled and mechanical talk is labelled as 'safe talk' by Hornberger and Chick (2001), and seen as a coping strategy used to deal with learning difficulties arising from the need to use the former colonial language to learn in post-colonial settings. Similar work carried out by Lin (2000) in Hong Kong shows that

L1-Cantonese-speaking Hong Kong students employed hybridized discourses (L1 mixed with English words, or L1 spoken with an Anglicized tone) apart from their L1 to respond to the teacher's formal initiation in English, probably to assert a 'local Cantonese-based Chinese cultural identity' in the face of the socio-politically dominant but alienating English. Findings of these studies show that a microanalysis of classroom interaction data may not be complete without making reference to the macro-social contexts of which the school is a part.

### *Participation Structures*

Studies on participation structures are concerned with how students' learning outcomes or performance in class may be a result of their participation mode and/or opportunities to participate (see Philips, 1983). In some teaching contexts, teachers' institutional authority in assigning roles and validating comments from students may facilitate student participation, but in other cases, teachers consciously or unconsciously position students in awkward ways and deprive them of some of their learning opportunities. Hall (1998) reports how different opportunities for learning, and/or of displaying knowledge in sanctioned ways were created in the IRF structure through the teacher's differential attention to student initiations in a classroom where Spanish was learnt as a L2. Such differences in attention resulted in the formation of two different status groups: a primary group (which received more attention from the teacher) and a secondary group (which received less), each with different participating roles and rights to the floor. Hall's (1998) study reveals the highly asymmetrical role relationships between teachers and students in shaping the direction and consequences of participation in classroom discourse.

Some recent studies, however, illustrate that there are times when the students may exercise considerable *agency* as to whether and how they take up the talking turns assigned by the teacher. The study by Duff (2002) in a multilingual and multicultural classroom context found that some students might refrain from taking up a turn directed to them by the teacher to avoid publicly identifying themselves with the tradition or practices of their home culture with which they feel uncomfortable. Duff concludes that such contradictions and tensions in classroom discourse can be most effectively revealed through 'ethnography of communication' as a context- and culture-sensitive method for conducting research in classroom discourse.

### WORK IN PROGRESS

Recent work on classroom discourse and identities continues to reveal the social constructedness and multilayeredness of identities as

discursively constructed notions. Three interrelated themes prevail in most of these recent studies.

### *Contesting Discourse Frames*

The concomitant existence of multiple voices and multiple identities requires that classroom discourse analyses respond to multiple perspectives emerging from the heteroglossic discourse in multiple dimensions.

The plurality of discourses in the classroom was captured by Bernstein's (2000) distinction between an official 'vertical discourse' and a local 'horizontal discourse'. While 'vertical discourse' takes the form of a coherent, explicit and systematically principled structure, 'horizontal discourse' 'entails a set of strategies which are local, segmentally organized, context specific and dependent' (p.157), which represents the users' everyday lived experiences. These two forms of discourse resemble Gee's (1996) primary (or home) and secondary (or institutional) discourses, as well as Bakhtin's (1986) 'authoritative discourse' and 'internally persuasive discourse'. Authoritative discourse is the discourse of the teachers and the father, people who wield power. This type of discourse, infused with the stamp of authority, requires our acknowledgment and appropriation. However, we can transform the authoritative discourse of others into our own words, reconsider it in the light of other ideas, and in Bakhtin's term, 'reaccentuate' it so that it may start to lose its authority and become more open (see Cazden, 2001).

To counteract the alienating effects of the authoritative discourse, students are sometimes found to have inserted horizontal and often surreptitious layers of talk of their own initiation within a vertical sequential participation structures of the IRF/IRE, which are more or less controlled by the teacher. Pennington (1999) was among the first to employ a frames approach, to reveal the co-existing but often conflicting layers of talk in a typical Hong Kong EFL classroom. She showed how students contested authority by articulating different voices to achieve a balance between structure (which exercises control and constraint over talk) and agency (which emphasizes freedom of choice and consciousness). Apart from official *lesson frame* and *lesson-support frame*, Pennington discovered the existence of a *commentary frame* as the outer layer that featured students' L1-dominated discourse. The students' commentary talk showed that they were trying to employ the L1 to move away from the set classroom roles, assert their comments and opinions on issues they found interesting and reproduce the culture from *outside* the institution *within* the classroom. Pennington (1999) suggests that opportunities for students' spontaneous commentary talk in their mother tongue could be strategically planned

and structured within the lesson frame and transformed into English so as to increase students' participation in the lesson. Whether students' interactive practices can be manipulated structurally needs further investigation, but Pennington's (1999) findings reveal that researchers may lose a lot of insights into discourse and identity construction, if they only focus on the official IRF interactional patterns.

### *Student Resistance*

The existence of horizontal discourse alongside vertical discourse focuses attention on students' agency and power in classroom discourse, which often emerge as forms of resistance to the authoritative and socially valued institutional discourse. Student resistance is a core topic for investigation in the field of critical classroom discourse analysis (CCDA) (see Kumaravadivelu, 1999). Playful and parodic discourses are generally felt to be key features of resistance. These features are believed to be responses to conflicting discourse communities (e.g. Canagarajah, 2004), and/or uninteresting and unimaginative pedagogical discourse (e.g. Lin and Luk, 2005). To counteract alienating authoritative pedagogical discourse, students tend to look for 'safe houses' in the classroom; in other words, hidden spaces for them to assert their preferred identities, often with a view to turning the authoritative discourse to internally more persuasive discourse of a horizontal nature. Classroom ethnographers are encouraged to go beyond surface-level interactions and go deep into the underlife communications to discover evidence of student agency in creating new, alternate and hybrid identities in highly complex ways. In Lin and Luk's (2005) work, which is based in Hong Kong, students' playful discourse may also appear in the official IRF structure and cause disruptions to the lesson agenda. They call for an open-minded attitude on the part of the teachers towards students' desire to assert their home and street identities within the official authoritative discourse. In general, works on student resistance, playful discourse and hybrid identities tend to accentuate the importance of TESOL professionals developing intercultural communicative resources to respond to students' pluralistic discourse and identities (see also the review by Lytra, *Playful Talk, Learners' Play Frames and the Construction of Identities*, Volume 3).

### *Intertextuality, Intercontextuality and Interdiscursivity*

How teachers and students make intertextual, intercontextual and interdiscursive connections during interactions and what these reveal about multiple identities are one of the key issues explored in Bloome, Carter,

Christian, Otto and Shuart-Faris' (2005) book on classroom discourse analysis, which adopts a micro-ethnographic approach. By referring to the concept of intertextuality, in relation to ways in which readers shape meanings of texts through the mediation of 'codes' and meanings acquired by the readers from other texts, Bloome, Carter, Christian, Otto and Shuart-Faris (2005) illustrate how one discourse may penetrate another discourse, or one context within another context, in classroom interaction. This theoretical orientation is closely related to Bakhtin's (1986) concept of dialogicality of voice. According to Bakhtin, our speech, that is, all our utterances, come to us already filled with the words of others, with varying degrees of awareness and detachment. These words of others carry with them their own expression and evaluation tone, which we 'assimilate, rework and reaccentuate' (p. 89). Speakers engaging in talk-in-interaction are at the same time being engaged in a dialogic process with former users and uses of particular language code in the same or similar contexts. An understanding of a person's speech requires a corresponding understanding of other texts and contexts, and sometimes other discourses that are invoked by the speaker.

Bloome, Carter, Christian, Otto and Shuart-Faris (2005) elucidate this theory through a classroom story-telling activity of a young student. It is shown that the young girl shifted between a series of social identities and roles (e.g. a reporter, a gatekeeper, a daughter, a student, a friend and a moral commentator) she created by herself in the story telling and enacted different voices, for herself and for others. For example, by assigning some of the students in the story gendered and sexual social identities (e.g. being easy with the opposite sex) while keeping herself clean from such identities, she created for herself a good daughter and a good student identity. An understanding of the reasons behind the student's construction of such an identity for herself requires an understanding of what counts as taboo issues in the society, at least among young school children. The need to consider intertextual, intercontextual and interdiscursive resources no doubt complicates the work of classroom discourse analysis, but on the other hand, also enriches the findings and insights we could draw from the process.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS AND CONCERNS

This review has focused on one distinctive line of inquiry within classroom discourse analysis that gradually moves from investigating structural organization and linguistic categories of teacher-student talk to issues concerning how ways of teaching and investments in learning are closely intertwined with a sense of self, and how these identities are constructed, enacted and transformed through discourse. In this

section, I would like to discuss issues for future considerations along two dimensions: *ideological* concerns and *methodological* concerns.

### *Ideological Concerns*

Bakhtin's authoritative-versus-internally-persuasive discourses, Gee's primary and secondary discourses, and Bernstein's vertical-versus-horizontal discourse, though not exactly referring to the same concepts, reveal the co-existence of forms of talk that are often not congruent with each other. At a time when plurality of identities, differences and alternatives are celebrated, teachers and students representing different forms of discourse have been shown as competing to articulate voices from which tensions and conflicts often arise. Power relations and student resistance have, thus, become two major issues that classroom discourse analysts, particularly those who espouse a critical approach, will need to address. This need is felt to be particularly strong in language learning classrooms where discourse is both the means of mediation as well as the object of study. Kumaravadivelu's (1999, pp. 477–479) *TESOL Quarterly* article on CCDA raises a list of suggestions for further exploration. The following three questions are particularly relevant to the current review:

1. How can we reconcile learners' voices with classroom rules and regulations, and with instructional aims and objectives?
2. How can we make sure students' own forms of cultural capital are recognized, rewarded and enriched?
3. How can we reconcile the relationships between learners' linguistic needs and wants, and their socio-cultural needs and wants?

Basically, the three questions concern how we can accommodate, if not assimilate, students' everyday discourses and identities constructed outside the classroom within the official mainstream classroom discourse, if the two are incompatible (also see Cazden, 2001). While it is generally acknowledged that the discourse and identities students develop in the 'safe places' in the classroom enrich their critical and creative contribution to academic literacies and discourses (Canagarajah, 2004), teachers and researchers must be alerted to the differentiated social value of different discourse and identity resources brought to the classrooms by students from different socio-cultural backgrounds.

Various classroom researchers have used insights from Bakhtin's (1986) theory of dialogicality, addressivity and heteroglossia (see the edited book by Hall, Vitanova and Marchenkova, 2005) to address these questions. Some researchers have called for pedagogical innovations to transform and (re)imagine traditional practices of language and literacy learning to accommodate intercultural innovations in meaning- and identity-making through the learners' hybrid discourses.

Lin and Luk (2005), for example, point to the importance of achieving dialogicality between the teacher, the students in relation to what is taught and what is learnt. They particularly stress the need to avoid reproducing the underprivileged lifeworlds of some lower social class students by reinforcing their restrictive discourses, and assert the importance of helping students master the more valued social languages of English for survival in the globalized economy. Luk and Lin (2007) further proposes a 'pedagogy of connecting' to articulate students' local linguistic and cultural resources and the forms of knowledge and norms of interaction sanctioned by the school institution. The pedagogy of connecting requires teachers to proactively engineer learning activities to enable students to see how their desire to release and assert local or home identities can be capitalized on in the development of socially valued linguistic and cultural resources. While these studies have established the ideological roadmap concerning discourse, identity and learning for further investigations, more classroom-based ethnographic studies are required to show how these pedagogical conceptualizations can be translated into everyday classroom practices, and their effectiveness established.

In general, there is a clear growing interest among researchers from a socio-cultural and socio-political perspective to investigate the situationally constructed nature of identities and the interweaving relationship between social identification and academic learning in schools. Wortham (2006), for example, argues that models of identity are not simply social categories which have emerged from long timescale socio-historical conventions, but rather contingent local categories emerging from event-level social interactions. Such locally constructed models of social identification have been shown to constitute non-academic resources that can be deeply implicated in academic learning.

### *Methodological Concerns*

The first methodological concern relates to increased difficulties with data collection and interpretation due to the multiple layers of talk and the need to attend to intertextual, intercontextual and interdiscursive connections within talk. The concomitant layers of talk between teacher–student and student–student within the classroom create tremendous difficulties in transcription. Not only is it difficult for the transcribers to present these layers of talk on paper, they also have difficulty in deciphering latching utterances, despite the advances in audio-recording technology.

Due to an increasing awareness that teachers' emic, or insider, perspectives and students' everyday lifeworlds and home and street cultures need to be taken into account in interpretation, it seems

that it is no longer sufficient to view meaning as totally situated in the moments of interaction. As Bloome, Carter, Christian, Otto and Shuart-Faris (2005) note, the needed data are sometimes recognized only after data collection has been completed, and/or can only be collected in different contexts that are not easily accessible to the researchers. This sometimes results in analyses conducted with partial contextual information only. To reduce this problem, researchers should seek to conduct classroom research *with* the teachers, rather than *on* them, or *for* them. Teachers should be empowered to become mini-ethnographers, to conduct classroom discourse analysis research collaboratively with researchers, so that the researchers can benefit from the teachers' insiders' knowledge and experiences with the pedagogical setting they are situated in, while the teachers can draw insights from the researchers' etic perspectives often synthetically formed through observations of a wide range of classrooms.

As for the choice of research methodology, although ethnography of communication is felt to be the best methodology to investigate the discursive construction of identities due to its culture- and context-sensitive nature, Bloome, Carter, Christian, Otto and Shuart-Faris (2005) highlight the need for a dialogic approach to the building of relationships among different research perspectives. An ethnographic or micro-ethnographic approach to classroom discourse analysis could draw on strengths from other methodological frameworks, such as conversation analysis, interactional sociolinguistics and systemic functional linguistics (see related reviews in Hornberger and Corson, 1997). Bloome, Carter, Christian, Otto and Shuart-Faris (2005) also point to the importance of locating discourse analysis studies, connecting these studies with other disciplines or lines of inquiry such as New Literacy Studies (see related contributions in Volume 2), and Critical Pedagogy, in which identity construction and negotiation have a key role to play. There is, therefore, a tendency for classroom discourse analysis to be considered as an eclectic pool of resources to be drawn from for a variety of research issues.

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## CATEGORIZING LEARNERS BEYOND THE CLASSROOM

## INTRODUCTION

All social activities rely on categorization. In order to understand the world, to discuss it with others, and to participate in social action, we have to *re-present* to ourselves and to others what is happening. Language is the primary mechanism for this, and categorization can be seen as one of the most ‘fundamental organizing principles of human thought and action’ (Edwards, 1991, p. 515). In institutional settings, such as courts of law, hospitals, and schools, categorization is an important element of, and instrument in daily practices. Institutional categories are constitutive of how we construe entitlements and obligations of social actors. In schools, a child who is categorized as ‘learning disabled’, ‘immature’, or as a ‘slow reader’, is met with expectations that are different from those that apply to other children.

Institutions are central to the functioning of a complex society, and they play a decisive role in the production and use of knowledge. Through the use of categories in institutional practices, people are ‘transformed’ into entities that the organization can recognize and process (Lipsky, 1980). In this sense, categories are part of an ‘institutional machinery’ (Mehan et al., 1986, p. 164), and they ‘work as some kind of stabilising standards’ (Douglas, 1986, p. 63) for the activities undertaken. Through categorizing, the institution puts similar ‘things’ together, and entities of ‘dubious standing lose their ambiguity’ (Douglas, 1986, p. 59). In this manner, the institution organizes and encodes information, produces knowledge and co-ordinates its daily practices.

In this chapter, we address issues that relate to categorization in educational settings. We want to emphasize that categorization is to be seen as a very practical activity, as something that people *do* to get their job done. In schools, as elsewhere, categorizations are consequential; as Bowker and Star (2000) put it, the ‘material force of categories appears always and instantly’. The focus of the chapter is on how difficulties children encounter in school are interpreted in the context of pupil welfare meetings, i.e. settings where teachers, heads of schools, and specialists such as school psychologists, social workers and others, discuss children’s problems and decide on how to provide support (Hjörne and Säljö, 2004a).

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The activity of classifying and categorizing children is as old as schools themselves. In fact, the very introduction of schooling some five thousand years ago in Mesopotamia implied a significant transformation of identities; 'children' were turned into 'pupils'. This was a new category and a new social role with specific obligations on how to behave. What has varied during history are the kinds of categories that have been considered informative and justified when organizing school practices and when, for instance, understanding learning difficulties. In the 19th century, when public schooling was introduced in many countries, a religious and moral discursive tradition served as a provider of categories that were used to account for school failure. Pupils were described as vicious, lazy, slow, immoral, or as nailbiters, to mention but a few examples of categories that typically referred to the alleged moral character of children (Trent, 1994; Deschenes et al., 2001). During the early 20th century, the testing of intellectual capacities of children and their maturity was introduced. The testing movement was grounded in medical and psychological accounts of school difficulties. New categories emerged with a fine-grained set of concepts, especially for describing the lower end of the scale. Terms such as mentally dull, feeble-minded, imbecile, idiot, backward, slow, moron and intellectually weak were introduced as relevant accounts (Trent, 1994).

Later during the 20th century, other modes of accounting for school difficulties were introduced. A range of factors that relate to social background and upbringing of children came to be used. In this more sociological understanding of children's adaptation to school, family conditions came to be seen as important determinants that have to be attended to when trying to improve school performance. Categories such as disorderly behaviour, concentration difficulties, aggressiveness, immaturity, shoplifting and truancy now came to play a prominent role. The mental hygiene movement of the 1950's and 1960's in a similar fashion pointed to social background as significant for understanding success in school. When accounting for school problems at this time, the children were for example described as maladjusted, rejected or coming from bad homes.

Understanding categorizing practices in schools is a key to understanding how diversity is dealt with. It is also obvious that categories are ideological in nature. An important function of categories throughout the history of schooling has been 'to control difficult children, divert them away from schools (...) into institutions or regimens of treatment' (Hacking, 1999, p. 111). Furthermore, a very important general observation is that accounting for school failure seems to have been based mainly on categories of individual failure and have left structures in school largely intact (Deschenes et al., 2001)

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CATEGORIZING PRACTICES

In recent decades, the topic of categorization, and its consequences for children and their schooling and identity, has emerged as a research interest in its own right. An important line of research has been carried out by Mehan and his colleagues (Mehan, 1986; Mehan et al., 1986). In this work, in-depth studies of the processes and consequences of sorting students into categories such as 'normal', 'special' or 'educationally handicapped' are reported. Mehan and his colleagues have found that in the American context, the school psychologist, and the social language (Bakhtin, 1986) of this profession, plays an important role. Thus, when 'the school psychologist speaks, it is from an institutionally designated position of authority' (Mehan, 1986, p. 160). A consequence of the categorizing practices invoked by psychological categories is that the problems of the child 'are treated as if they are his private and personal possession' (p. 154). This is yet another confirmation of the observation that there is a strong tendency in school to explain difficulties in terms of individual disorders. And, as a consequence, the problems become located '[b]eneath the skin and between the ears' (Mehan, 1993, p. 241) of the child.

When scrutinizing descriptions of 'deviance' in school in the UK, Hester (1991, 1998), using data from Child and Family Guidance Service as a part of the Special Education Services provided, found that certain kinds of activities, attributes, characteristics and school problems of the pupils were, in a sense, expected to be relevant to report. 'Such recognitional "work" is what provides a sense for the participants of their being respondents to an independent or objective set of problems within the school', as Hester (1991, p. 461) puts it. Thus, these categorizing practices contribute to the construction of the facts of 'deviance', and these facts, in turn, become the "grounds for intervention and treatment" (p. 462). Similar categorizing practices have been reported by Verkuyten (2000, 2002) in studies of teachers' talk about pupils' problems in school in the Netherlands. He argues that defining a student as, for example, 'disruptive' implies introducing an explanation for poor educational results that is accepted by the institutional actors. The study also confirmed that the accounts produced emphasized the role of the students, while at the same time hiding the teachers and their activities from view.

In a study of so-called class conferences (a kind of pupil welfare team meeting) in Sweden, reported by Cedersund and Svensson (1993), similar results were found. The discourse employed, though vague, still pointed to children's shortcomings in traditional, individualizing terms as the causes of school problems. Categories such as

weak, slow, immature were frequently used. This is a further indication that there seems to be a prevalence of the psychological discourse in school settings in many different Western countries.

In a practice perspective, categories should not be seen as passively reflecting a pre-given social reality. Rather, they are formative for our understanding of a problem and for our acting in the world. Our “seeing” is “in-formed” by the terms in the dominant discourse of the day’ (Shotter, 1993, p. 102). The categorizing practices create a common understanding of what to ‘see’ and ‘how to go on’ when solving dilemmas as Shotter puts it. Another facet of this constitutive nature of categories is that once an institutional category has been accepted as valid, there is, as Hacking (1986, 1999) points out, a ‘looping effect’ by means of which people ‘spontaneously come to fit their categories’ (Hacking, 1986, p. 223). In other words, there is a tendency to find people who fit into the categories used by institutions, and their identities may be shaped accordingly.

This phenomenon that categories themselves generate people who fit into them is significant in the context of pupil welfare. The study by Thomas and Loxley (2001) is an interesting illustration of this. They refer to the results of the Warnock report by The Department of Education and Science in the UK in 1978. The committee introduced the idea that one in five pupils has special needs in school (earlier, the figure was assumed to be around two percent) with the positive intent of ‘highlighting children with difficulties and directing resources to them’ (Thomas and Loxley, 2001, p. 78). This direct link between categorizing practices and the provision of resources testifies to the centrality of categories in pupil welfare. Since the ‘consensus has always been that such rationing will follow the axiom that resources will be provided in ratio to the need assessed’ (Thomas and Davis, 1997, p. 269), the claim that one of five pupils were in need of special support had as a direct consequence that an increasing proportion of the school population was found to be in need of special support. Expressed differently, this implies that the committee ‘actively generated a ‘reality’, which had to be lived up to’ (Thomas and Loxley, 2001, p. 78). A significant element of this ‘looping effect’ is that to ‘be called “special” is to be given a new identity within the schooling system’ (Thomas and Loxley, 2001, p. 76); a process that can be expected to have far-reaching consequences at the individual and institutional level. This can be seen as a decisive step in a child’s future career in school, and ‘when known by people or by those around them, and put to work in institutions’, categories may well even ‘change the ways in which individuals experience themselves’ (Hacking, 1999, p. 104).

## EXAMPLES FROM WORK IN PROGRESS

In complex societies, children's adaptation to school is central. The significance of schooling for the life careers of individuals has become increasingly important. Prevention of school failure and drop-out is high on the political agenda. Many educational systems are operating in societies which are more diverse in terms of the social, cultural and ethnic backgrounds of their respective populations. Also, many countries now have some kind of comprehensive compulsory school system in which children of different backgrounds and academic orientations are educated in the same classroom. All these factors add to the complexity of teaching and learning practices, and issues of pupil welfare have become increasingly emphasized.

One characteristic feature of the interpretation of school failure during the past few decades is the widespread adoption of neuropsychiatric diagnoses. These diagnoses include conditions such as AD/HD (Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder), MBD (Minimal Brain Dysfunction/Disorder), syndromes such as Aspergers and Tourette, dyslexia, dyscalculi, to mention but a few. To some extent, neuropsychiatric disorders can be seen as yet another set of categories that originate in medical and psychological diagnostic traditions. The problems are located in the individual, and, in most cases, they are considered as biological in nature. The role and consequences of the uses of categories of this kind for the individual as well as for the school system are important to analyse.

In many school systems, pupil welfare has expanded as an activity, and there is an increasing professionalization with special needs teachers, school psychologists, social workers and others taking part in multi-professional team work. Analysing the discursive activities of such multi-professional pupil welfare team meetings in Sweden, we found that the nature of the accounts produced, and the categories used by the staff nevertheless referred more or less exclusively to individual traits of the pupil as causes of the problems observed (Hjörne and Säljö, 2004a, 2004b). Lack of adequate intellectual capacity and immaturity are frequently used. An illustration is when the team in one school is discussing Jonas, 9 years old, (see in Excerpt 1).

Furthermore, the problems are accounted for without considering the role of the teacher's activities, the family or any other contextual elements. In the next excerpt (Excerpt 2), the team elaborate the school problems of a 9 year old girl (Malin) and the members use the category 'weak', implicitly meaning being weak intellectually, as an explanation.

An interesting feature of the work in these multi-professional teams is that many of the categories used are ambiguous and vague, and the

## Excerpt 1

|                        |  |  |
|------------------------|--|--|
| Assistant principal    | it's difficult to get him to concentrate and to get his work sort of finished and then of course.uhm in other words he might not be the most (.) he needs time and private lessons [to]- | han är svår att få å koncentrera sej å få arbete gjorda färdigt å sen har han väl naturligtvis.ehh en liten alltså han e ju inte världens (.) det tar väl tid å han behöver enskild undervisning för [att] - |
| Special needs teacher: | [mmm]  | [mmm]  |
| Assistant principal    | everything is not just easy for him, rather, he has some problems  | allting går ju inte bara lätt för honom, utan han har ju lite problem  |

## Excerpt 2

|                     |   |   |
|---------------------|---|---|
| Assistant principal | Malin . . . I think she hides . . . I think she's got problems in school she has difficulties, it's not easy for her and this she hides . . . | Malin . . . jag tror att hon gömmer . . . jag tror att hon har problem i skolan hon har de svårt hon har de inte lätt å de gömmer hon . . . |
| School nurse        | She's a weak pupil you mean?  | hon e en svag elev menar du?  |
| Assistant principal | yeah she's weak   | ja hon e svag   |

concrete instances of exactly how the problems appeared in the classroom are generally not presented or considered relevant to discuss. Nevertheless, there is a high level of consensus in the team. We have observed very few overt disagreements in these settings, and the representatives of the various professions do not seem to interpret the problems differently. When discussing Philip, 10 years old, (Excerpt 3), several of the experts are involved, and they all follow the same idea of explaining his supposed problems by means of one of the most frequent categories, 'immaturity'.

Another interesting feature of the process of categorizing children is that most of the accounts and categories produced are negative in character, i.e. they focus on weaknesses of the pupils rather than on their strengths. When discussing Maria, 10 years old, (Excerpt 4), the team do not point at any strengths in her behaviours in school.

## Excerpt 3

|                       |   |   |
|-----------------------|---|---|
| Special needs teacher | Well, visually he has a good memory and memory of sequences and so on. So that's not it, it's not that type of problem. But it is entirely possible that he has, in addition, but we, we don't have time to get that far, but on the other hand when he is here then he works and then he reads, he sort of sounds together and then he puts a lot of energy into it and tries, but he sort of gets nowhere, and then he is gone and then he is lost and, well all the time he is somewhere else. Comes in late . . . | jo, han har ju visuellt bra minne och sekvensminne och så där. Så det är inte det, det är inte den typen av problematik. Men det är ju mycket möjligt att han har, dessutom, men man, vi hinner komma så långt, men däremot när han är här så jobbar han och då läser han, han liksom ljudar ihop och då lägger han ner mycket energi och försöker, men han kommer liksom ingenstans, och så är han borta och så är han försvunnen och, ja hela tiden är han någon annan stans. Kommer sent . . . |
| School nurse          | But he is about to start in [fourth]  | Men han skall börja i [fyran]   |
| Special needs teacher | [Mm]  | [Mm]  |
| School nurse          | And the teacher wants, well says that he is on the level of a first grader.   | Och läraren vill, ja säger att han är på en ettas nivå.   |
| Special needs teacher | Mm, first grader during the autumn possibly.  | Mm, etta på hösten möjligtvis.  |

A striking observation when analysing how the team talk about pupil difficulties is that the problems accounted for are rarely contextualized as responses to pedagogical practices, teachers' activities, or other aspects of life in the classroom and in school. There are hardly any discussions of the appropriacy of pedagogical practices for particular pupils, or if they could be modified so as to support pupils with reported difficulties. Rather, the presumed problems are understood as residing within the pupil and determining his/her inability to participate in school practices in the expected way. In the next meeting, the

## Excerpt 4

|                       |   |   |
|-----------------------|---|---|
| Special Needs Teacher | Maria doesn't do anything in principle and she has no idea when she does things, so she doesn't sort of know what she is doing. It doesn't matter if it comes out wrong or right or nice or, there is sort of, it's just far out everything. Everything is just way out. She is completely out of it and so is her mother, so when she is with her mother it is sort of, then she is not on time and ah ... | Maria gör ingenting i princip och hon har ingen aning om när hon gör saker, så hon vet liksom inte vad hon gör. Det gör ingenting om det blir fel eller rätt eller snyggt eller, det finns liksom, det är bara hej hopp allting. Hela hon är hej hopp och det är mamma också, så när hon är hos mamma så är det liksom, då kommer hon inte i tid och ah ... |
|-----------------------|---|---|

## Excerpt 5

|                       |   |   |
|-----------------------|---|---|
| Special Needs Teacher | ... he spins around, doesn't manage things the others have managed and he has great difficulties according to the teacher, she has, I've -  | ... han snurrar runt, klarar inte sånt som de andra har klarat och har jättesvårt enligt läraren, hon har, jag har -                                      |
| School Psychologist   | Difficulties schoolwise, difficult to follow, yes yes, it could be the case that one has hit the ceiling a bit too, his developmental maximum that there sort of begins to be some resistance | skolmässigt svårt, svårt att hänga med, ja ja, det kan ju vara så att man har slagit i taket lite grann också, sitt utvecklingstak att det börjar ta emot |

team again discuss Philip, (Excerpt 5), without introducing any new contextualization of how to understand his school behaviours.

In this manner, our results show that the meetings are not cumulative or systematic. Little attention is paid to previous decisions. There are

almost no discussions concerning the goals of the actions taken, and, consequently, no attempts to evaluate what previous discussions and decisions have resulted in. It is also hard to see that the multi-professional character of the team adds to the nature of solutions produced. There is no obvious sense in which the team members provide different analyses or suggest alternative modes of handling the situation. On the contrary, results such as these show that the team regularly uses a limited number of individualizing categories that are well established. The function of these categories is to match the institutional category 'pupil in need of special support' with the few options that the staff perceive as available: an extra year in school, having an assistant as extra help, etc. It is worth noting that the pupil's own perceptions of life in school, and/or his/her alleged problems, are not visible or attended to in this process.

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Summarizing the implications of the research such as this, often end up in one of two traditions of argumentation; either schools or pupils are considered to be suffering from 'deficits' and/or as failing to meet expectations. In our opinion, it is necessary to avoid ending up in any of these positions. An important premise to take into account is that pupil welfare teams are coping with very different, and sometimes conflicting, demands. Any normative claims as to how to deal with various dilemmas will have to take this into account. Schooling, very clearly, is an ideological activity where different kinds of dilemmas constantly have to be handled. These dilemmas concern how limited resources are to be used, what ambitions and goals are reasonable to have for teaching and learning in different circumstances, and a range of other issues related to inclusion and exclusion. Decisions on matters of this kind do not follow from laws of abstract logic, but are, and have to be, grounded in values and knowledge.

During the last hundred years we have seen a radical expansion of education. In many, if not most, parts of the world the number of students at various levels of the educational system, and the number of years of schooling *for* each age cohort, have increased dramatically. Secondary and even tertiary education, previously catering to the needs of small elites in society, are now available to large proportions of the population. In contemporary society, where knowledge has come to play an increasingly important role for the future of the individual, there are high expectations that schools will provide students with knowledge and skills that are relevant for active participation in working life and in the practices of a democratic society, and, in general, for the development of a productive and healthy life-style.

This development implies that issues of pupil welfare, and the support of individuals who risk becoming marginalized, have become increasingly important. Yet we see from recent research how learners and learning difficulties are categorized and interpreted by teachers and other members of school staff, and by the general public. This is a problem that has to do with the politics of representation of human abilities and needs, in and through educational discourse. At the same time, discourses about learning difficulties are, increasingly, a site of struggle. One illustration of this is that, during recent decades, many groups who were previously marginalized or even excluded from education, such as people with various kinds of learning disabilities, now are able to successfully participate in learning practices suitably geared to their needs. Innovation and flexibility in the organization of teaching and learning practices have been grounded in attempts to meet the needs of individuals of different backgrounds and with different needs, rather than insisting on maintaining traditional modes of instruction and authority patterns. This change of ideologies, and of school practices, to a large extent is grounded in new modes of categorizing and understanding human capacities and needs.

An important problem in this field of research is to develop knowledge that is relevant for teaching and learning practices. The present trend of relying on neuropsychiatric diagnoses carries an obvious risk of resulting in segregation of increasingly large proportions of children from mainstream schooling. This is a development that, from an educational point of view, is problematic. In many cases, segregation from mainstream, even when carried out with the best of intentions, has questionable consequences for the identities of learners and for the expectations of teachers and others on what can be achieved. Also, there is very little evidence in empirical research that strategies of segregation are beneficial. The role of pupil welfare systems in dealing with these issues clearly requires more research.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The creation of pupil welfare systems is an important step in the process of instituting arenas where significant events and features in school are publicly and openly analysed by those who have the most intimate knowledge about the daily activities in school. Knowledge is built through such collective practices where the difficulties experienced by learners are attended to, defined and collectively handled. However, the potential of these arenas as contexts in which practices of schooling, and responses by pupils to these, are critically explored does not seem to have been fully exploited. To further our knowledge

about how to analyse and understand problems of this kind, and how to convert such knowledge into viable pedagogical practices that are accepted by teachers, students and parents, must be seen as joint responsibilities for many parties in school as well as those outside, such as university-based researchers analysing these issues. But, to be productive, such knowledge cannot be grounded in research that ends up reinforcing the familiar patterns of pointing to student ‘deficits’ and school ‘deficits’. In our opinion, the reasoning has to be much more complex, innovative and strategic, and it must recognize the dilemmas in pupil welfare. It must include habits of critically scrutinizing the local teaching and learning practices, appreciating the value of dissent between the actors on how to solve problems, sensitivity to the perspectives of pupils on their own schooling, and continuous concern with implementing and evaluating activities that will enhance the possibilities for inclusion into mainstream schooling for large proportions of children.

**See Also:** *Judith Green and Carol Dixon: Classroom Interaction, Situated Learning (Volume 3); Harriet Bjerrum Nielsen and Bronwyn Davies: Discourse and the Construction of Gendered Identities in Education (Volume 3); Jill Bourne: Official Pedagogic Discourses and the Construction of Learners’ Identities (Volume 3); Britt Louise Gunnarsson: Professional Communication (Volume 4); Shirley Heath: Language Socialization in the Learning Communities of Adolescents (Volume 8); Elinor Ochs and Bambi Schieffelin: Language Socialization: An Historical Overview (Volume 8); Alexandra Jaffe: Language Ecology and the Meaning of Diversity: Corsican Bilingual Education and the Concept of ‘Polynomie’ (Volume 9); Doris Warriner: Discourse Analysis in Educational Research (Volume 10); Colin Baker: Survey Methods in Researching Language and Education (Volume 10)*

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## CONSTRUCTING ELITES IN KENYA: IMPLICATIONS FOR CLASSROOM LANGUAGE PRACTICES IN AFRICA

### INTRODUCTION

In Kenya, as elsewhere in Africa, the elite are a class of highly educated people, more often than not with university degrees and even post-graduate degrees, who hold well-paid and influential positions in the civil service, in business, politics and other fields. They are the children and grandchildren of the select few who managed to get western type education and the language of the colonial power—English, French, Spanish and Portuguese—during the colonial era. On attainment of independence in the late 1950s and early 1960s, such people were able to send their children to good schools, even sometimes to schools that had been reserved for Whites only during the colonial era, where the colonial language served as the language of instruction. The children were therefore in a position to obtain appropriate higher education academic credentials that put them on an upward social mobility track.

In this chapter, I trace the construction of elites in Kenya (and by extension in other Africa countries) to the introduction of western type education and English by the missionaries and explore how this is currently perpetuated through school and classroom language practices and through the expansion of the private education system. I then discuss some of the language and education problems and difficulties confronting the education of non-elite children and end by making suggestions on what needs to be done to begin to address these problems.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS: THE COLONIAL ERA

The construction of elites in Kenya, as in other former British colonies in Africa, dates back to the introduction of western type education and English language by the missionaries (with later British colonial government participation) in mid-eighteenth century. English, the language of the socially and politically powerful white colonial officers, farmers, also known as white settlers in Kenya, businessmen/women and missionaries became available to the Africans as a means of gaining power. Writing about the situation in Nigeria in particular, and British colonial Africa in general, Goke-Pariola (1993) has stated: ‘To speak that language in itself was power . . . the local person who understood the

White man's language increased his own power dramatically: he became a man before whom others stood in awe' (p. 223). At the same time, the Africans who acquired English language skills gained inclusion into colonial power in as far as they gained employment in junior positions of the colonial administration; according to Ngũgĩ, in Kenya, 'English was the official vehicle and the magic formula to colonial elitedom' (Ngũgĩ, 1985, p. 115).

On the other hand, it was only through access to western type education that the Africans could gain access to this inordinately powerful language and, thus, join the class of the elites. However, for various reasons, very few Africans managed to do this. Colonial society in Kenya was based on a three-tier hierarchy, with European farmers, missionaries, civil servants and business people occupying the top, Asian shopkeepers and artisans in the middle and African labourers, on European farms or on their own land, at the bottom. The racially segregated western type education system, with English as its symbol, enhanced this three-tiered, racially based social stratification of colonial society.

The quantity and quality of education provided, reflected these social stratifications. In 1926 government expenditure on education per year per pupil was: \$33.40 for Africans, \$37 for Asians and \$180.50 for Europeans (Sheffield, 1973). The European children received an academic British education in preparation for an English university education; the Asian children received higher forms of vocational training aimed at preparing them to become technicians, technologists and engineers (Kerre, 1991). However, vocational education for the Africans became colonial government policy from 1909 onwards. This curriculum choice for the Africans was based on the racist thinking within which handwork was thought to be suitable for Africans because they had undeveloped reasoning faculties and thus like mentally defective children could only benefit from vocational education (Stabler, 1969).

In the early part of British colonial rule in Kenya, access to English was controlled by language in education policies and practices that severely restricted the number of African children learning English. Education in indigenous languages with a switch to Kiswahili was the norm. Only those few Africans who went beyond the first few years of primary school were introduced to English at a time when educational opportunities for the Africans were very restricted. The 1949 Beecher report for example targeted only 40% of eligible African children for primary education, 10% for intermediate and less than 1% for secondary. Only the less than 1% targeted to enter secondary education so as to become members of the educated and skilled professionals required by the state and by commerce were to be taught English. Further, English was to be offered only where recognized teachers of English were available (Kioko and Muthwii, 2001). Since there were

only British colonial teachers, of whom there were very few could meet this criterion, this was an extremely difficult condition for African schools to satisfy. Hence, very few African children acquired English skills during this period. Consequently, within the African communities western type education and English in Kenya (as elsewhere in the British African colonies) led to the emergence of a two tiered stratification: an elite that spoke English, the language of colonial power and the masses that were illiterate or literate only in their indigenous language (Bamgbose, 1991).

In the later part of British colonial history in Kenya, beginning in the 1940s, there was a change in the colonial government education and language in education policy marked by the two Beecher reports referred to earlier, which saw the expansion of both primary and secondary school levels (Sheffield, 1973) and the liberalization of English (Gorman, 1974). According to Ngũgĩ (1986) the teaching of English was vigorously pursued, culminating in the introduction of English as the medium of instruction right from Standard 1 programme in African schools in 1961 (Mbaabu, 1996). Ngũgĩ (1981) posits that the colonial government realized that its days were numbered and therefore found it necessary to ensure that those who took over power would serve its interests. The colonial government therefore expanded access to English literacy as a way of passing on its values and standards to the incoming African elite. This interpretation is not far fetched. According to Macaulay, quoted in Bamgbose (1991, p. 4), in India, the justification for the elite breeding colonial policy was: 'It is impossible for us with our limited means to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions we govern—a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect'.

The hegemony of English was secured early. Both the African elite and the non-elite were happy with the English as the language of instruction from Standard 1 programme. The elite had been schooled in English and had bought into the value accorded to English and enjoyed financial and social-political gains. The non-elite, on the other hand, interpreted vocational education in indigenous languages as a colonial strategy to keep them and their children under and yearned for an English language academic education for their children, thus also buying into the legitimization of English.

#### MAJOR TRENDS

On attainment of national independence in 1963, the education and English language-based inequities that resulted in the creation of a

small elite class, with western education and English language skills as its distinguishing marks, were enhanced. Ironically, this time round, this was achieved through the expansion of teaching through English. The first post independence education commission report released in 1964 recommended that English be used as the language of instruction in all schools right from Standard 1. The second post independence education commission of 1976 reversed this decision by recommending that indigenous languages be used as languages of instruction in linguistically homogeneous areas and English or Kiswahili in linguistically heterogeneous areas, with those who start by using indigenous languages and Kiswahili switching to English in Standard 4. All the same, this policy is not adhered to strictly in the actual classroom situation and overall the tendency is for schools to opt for English as the language of instruction right from Standard 1, in the mistaken belief that this increases the children's intake of English and thus their chances of acquiring English literacy skills faster (Muthwii, 2002; Merritt, Cleghorn, Abagi and Bunyi, 1992; Obura, 1986 ). Unfortunately, while such practices work well for children of the elite, owing to access to English in their homes and communities, they have a negative impact on the education of non-elite children who lack access to English in their daily lives.

It should be noted that the marginalization of indigenous languages in the education of African children is not unique to Kenya. Virtually all African governments have continued to maintain language in education policies that promote the use of colonial languages—English, French, German, Portuguese and Spanish (Chiatoh, 2005).

### *The Growth of Private Education and the Construction of Elites*

As already indicated, a racially hierarchical ordering of primary schools with schools for European children coming first, those for Asian children second and those for African children last pertained in the colonial era. With independence and the dismantling of racial segregation in schools, elite African parents started enrolling their children in the formerly European and Asian schools as European and Asian parents started withdrawing their children from these public schools and enrolling them in private schools. Gradually, elite African parents also started enrolling their children in expensive private schools.

With the expansion of educational opportunities in the country and especially with the free primary education programme implemented from January 2003, which decreed that no user fees should be charged and that teaching learning materials should be provided free of charge by the government, conditions in the primary schools for the poor have worsened. The class sizes have grown to over 80 students

per class taught by just one teacher, in some cases. Furthermore, the composition of these classes has also changed radically with over-age children and greater variability in abilities, due to the entry of new students who may never have gone to school before and some who might have dropped out earlier but have now re-entered the system. Consequently, the previously small private education system has expanded, as the elite withdraw their children from the public school system. Expensive elite primary schools, referring to themselves as *academies*, some of which offer foreign, especially British curricula, are now fashionable for the elite. Having tasted the fruits of elite education, members of the elite are prepared to pay the very high school fees charged in these institutions to ensure that their children get into the best public secondary schools in Kenya, where they stand a good chance of qualifying for the very limited and thus highly competitive public universities places<sup>1</sup>.

Furthermore, the expansion of private university education and the deterioration of standards in public universities are contributing to the entrenchment of the elite. Previously, only those who failed to get admission into public universities sought admission into private or even universities overseas. However, private universities in Kenya are becoming the universities of choice for a substantial proportion of elite parents<sup>2</sup> who can afford to pay the high fees charged. At the same time, there are already anecdotal observations that employers prefer to hire private instead of public university graduates. These elite students are reportedly more self-confident and have better communication skills in English. Given their class and cultural background and the more liberal learning environment in these universities, it is not surprising that the students have these qualities.

### *Constructing Elites—Ethnographic Evidence*

In a comparative study of social selection processes in two primary schools—Park View, an elite, formerly Whites only, school with adequate teaching-learning resources and Gicagi, a rural non-elite, formerly African only, school with limited teaching-learning resources—Bunyi (2001) showed that the two groups of children received a differential curriculum, with the elite children in Park View receiving a rich and intellectually challenging curriculum that enabled them to

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<sup>1</sup> For example, in the 2005 Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education examination, of the more than 60,000 students who attained the minimum university requirement, only about 10,000 will find places in the public universities.

<sup>2</sup> Elite parents with even more financial resources send their children to overseas universities such as in Britain, the USA, Canada and Australia.

succeed in school unlike the Gicagi children who received a very restricted curriculum.

The fact that Park View students come to school with a good knowledge of English, which they have learned at home and in English medium nursery schools, contributed to their being positively evaluated by their teachers. The teachers were quick to point out that Park View students were very good children and that they did not have a language problem as they knew English very well. The teachers talked of the children being clever and willing learners. This perception of the students was passed on from one generation of teachers to another. A teacher new to the school reported:

*The teachers told me that the children in this school are very clever and that they don't need much teaching. All they need is for you to show them how to do something and they will do it.*

Reporting on her experience she said

*It is true. These children are clever and they do their work. They learn very quickly and even if you test them on things that they did long ago, they will still pass.*

Because the teachers believed in the students' abilities and study habits, they offered them an academically engaging and challenging curriculum. The students spent considerable amounts of time interacting with text, as they worked on assigned readings and exercises and therefore did well in the tests; this in turn helped to validate the teachers' high expectations.

Classroom ethnographers working in African classrooms for non-elites have reported on the pervasiveness of choral responses and chanting as pupils repeat individual letters, words or sentences after the teacher or even read pieces of texts aloud (Arthur, 1994; Bunyi, 2005; Rubagumya, 1994). Interestingly, this was not observed in Park View. For example, the Standard 1 teacher observed did not usually ask the pupils to repeat anything after her and actively discouraged reading as chanting. Rather than teach reading by asking the children to read bits of text after her, she employed the phonic approach and encouraged the children to sound off the words they could not read.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS: RESEARCH ON CLASSROOM LANGUAGE PRACTICES

For the last three decades or so, Kenyan newspapers have carried articles that decry the poor English skills of primary and even secondary and college students. Articles with titles such as 'the big English problem', 'language experts concern', 'declining standards of English language', 'English standards are falling' are a fairly common feature of

newspaper articles. This is an indication that Kenyans are dissatisfied with the English language learning levels that the schools are achieving. At the same time, there is evidence that Kenyan primary school learners are not achieving the literacy skills necessary for successful learning. The 1998 SACMEQ criterion-referenced English reading test administered to a representative national sample indicated that 77% of Kenyan Standard 6 pupils had not attained the English reading mastery level deemed desirable for successful learning in Standard 7 (UNESCO IIEP, 2001). As a response to these concerns, the English Literacy Norms research team based at Kenyatta University has been trying to determine the appropriate English language literacy proficiency levels (referred to as norms in the project) for Standards 3 and 6 (Groenewegen, forthcoming). It is expected that once completed, these norms will serve as useful guidelines for curriculum developers, text book writers and teachers on the minimum and desirable English language competencies that learners in these classes should have, to be able to learn other school subjects in this language.

Classroom ethnographers have paid attention to language practices in the teaching learning process. Merritt, Cleghorn, Abagi and Bunyi (1992) analyzed the functions of codeswitching between English Kiswahili and indigenous languages in the teaching-learning process. They concluded that codeswitching provided a crucial communication resource that both teachers and students drew on to accomplish important communicative goals. Bunyi (2005) has documented classroom discourse and shown that linguistic routines (such as greetings and prayers, choral responses, strict initiation-response-feedback (IRF) and code-switching) are the predominant language practices in non-elite primary schools. She argues that these language practices translate into boring and intellectually uninspiring classroom processes that lead to little learning of English and/or of the content subjects.

Researchers have also paid attention to the attitudes of parents, teachers and students towards the various languages used in education. In her compilation of ten case studies— five in Uganda and five in Kenya, Muthwii (2002) reports that in all the case studies, more positive attitudes towards English than towards any other language were observed. Even when poor primary school students, their parents and teachers admit that the students have difficulties understanding lessons taught in English, they still say that they prefer English as the language of instruction.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Some of the problems facing language in education have to do with policy and its implementation. On the face of it, Kenya seems to have

a reasonable policy as regards using the indigenous languages as languages of instruction for the first three years of school. The assumption made is that after three years of English language learning, the students will acquire sufficient English proficiency to study other subjects of the curriculum in the language. This is often not the case, as the SACMEQ assessment referred to earlier show. Further, the Ministry of Education statistics show that the highest grade repetition rate of 17.2% is at Standard 1 (Ministry of Education Science and Technology, 2003). The report indicates that most of these children repeat because they fail to acquire literacy. This is probably not surprising. In addition to the indigenous language and English, the Standard 1 child is also taught Kiswahili. Since the syllabus for each of the languages is developed separately, the Standard 1 child is expected to acquire literacy in the three languages simultaneously. It would make better sense for the curriculum to be so designed as to allow children to acquire initial literacy skills first in their indigenous languages, which they already know, and which they would therefore learn to read in more easily. They could then transfer the skills to acquiring literacy in Kiswahili and then English (Cummins, 1981).

Second, there are no content subject textbooks in the indigenous languages, even for the first three years where policy requires teaching-learning is conducted in these languages. This means that teachers have to translate the content. Many of these teachers have attained a 'D' grade in English in their end of secondary school examination and, thus, have less than adequate proficiency in the language. Third, although estimates of the number of Kenyan indigenous languages range from over 30 (Gorman, 1974) to over 40 (Abdulazizz, 1982), the initial literacy materials TLY (Tujifunze Lugha Yetu—let us learn our language) for Standards 1–3 are available in only 22 languages (Mbaabu, 1996). Many of the other languages do not even have orthographies. Interestingly, although there is little government supported orthography development work, a Christian non-governmental organization, the Bible translation and literacy (BTL) is very active in this area, developing orthographies for minority languages spoken by very small often marginalized communities. Fourth, in a highly examination oriented education system; there are no examinations in the indigenous languages. Teachers therefore do not see the value of teaching through these languages even in the first three years as mandated by the language in education policy.

All the same, a major difficulty in the design and implementation of language in education policies through which education could serve as tool for the improvement of the lives of the poor, has to do with the language attitudes of the elite and the non-elite who both accord

English greater value than indigenous languages. For the elite, English constitutes a valued resource that they have access to and control over; a resource that they can use to benefit not only locally but also in the global labour marketplace (Mazrui, 1997 cited in Stroud, 2000). The non-elite, on the other hand, unknowingly buy into the designs of the elite. They see their lack of English as the reason for their marginalization and therefore misguidedly believe that their children should be taught in English as early as possible.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The foregoing discussion in this article has shown that through the language policies and practices in place in Kenya, the education system continues to reproduce elites, as the majority of Kenyan children fail to derive any social mobility benefits from the system. This is an untenable situation in a country that professes democracy and social equity. The National Goal of Education, Number 4 states, 'Education should promote social equality and foster a sense of social responsibility within an education system which provides equal educational opportunities for all'. Even as researchers and others continue to call for a change in policy, classroom language practices that enhance non-elite children's learning should be sought, disseminated and implemented.

As already indicated, language practices, such as codeswitching, have been shown to be useful tools for helping teachers accomplish a variety of classroom tasks, including making lessons understandable by the students (Brock-Utne, 2005; Merritt, Cleghorn, Abagi and Bunyi, 1992). However, other observers have pointed out that codeswitching does not always enhance student learning of the lessons content and/or English, the target language (Bunyi, 2005). There is therefore need for pre- and in-service teacher education programmes to train teachers in the strategic use of codeswitching.

It is undoubtedly true that English remains the key to education in Kenya. It is therefore critically important that methods of teaching the language to non-elite children within their material, sociolinguistic and cultural context are found. In particular, language practices that empower these children, by validating the indigenous languages they come to school with as they are helped to learn the English they require to learn other subjects in, should be explored and implemented. Further, teacher education programmes should educate the teachers to help them avoid applying a language deficit model in coping with these children's lack of English skills on arrival in school, so that they can help them acquire English as an important, additional language, needed first and foremost to access school-based knowledge.

**See Also:** *Ben Rampton et al.: Language, Class and Education (Volume 1); Margaret Akinyi Obondo: Bilingual Education in Africa: An overview (Volume 5)*

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DISCOURSE AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF GENDERED  
IDENTITIES IN EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

Children learn to take up gender as an element of their personal and social selves, and they do so, among other things, through learning the discourse practices in which all people are positioned as either male or female. Children develop an emotional commitment to their gender as early as 2 years of age and when they arrive in preschool, many of them already act, speak and behave according to conventional images of gender—though the contents of these images vary considerably according to culture, historical period, social class, ethnicity, age, and individual circumstances. Images of gender also vary in the lifetime of any individual, and as the individual moves from one context to another. Yet classrooms can be sites where a specific gender order is made to seem intractable: a binary and hierarchical order between girls and boys, and a shifting array of hegemonic or marginalized positions within each gender group. Classrooms may also be sites where students discover ways of talking and being that liberate them from more conventional forms of gender, and where they develop a reflexive awareness of the power of discourse to shape identities.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine in which ways classroom talk is implicated in the construction and maintenance of gender. Conventional gender orders have been contested and also to some degree changed during the last decades, but so has the understanding of gender as a theoretical concept. Hence, the shifting images of gender in classroom discourse which are found in research literature from the last decades.

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

From Rousseau through to the 1950s, gender differentiation was an explicit *goal* of education. This ideal was challenged after the Second World War, with the political ideology of equal rights and the educational ideology of child-centred development and learning gaining dominance. However, even though the language shifts and structural changes taking place suggested that gender was no longer a central

defining feature of students, many of the earlier assumptions and practices constitutive of gender difference remained remarkably intact. 'Boys' and 'girls' had become 'children' or 'students', and mixed schools became the norm in most parts of the Western world. The ideal 'un-gendered' child in the child-centred ideology was implicitly a generic male—and in many classroom studies those observed and referred to as 'students' were actually boys. Until around 1970 the few studies focusing on gender influences in classroom interaction criticized the treatment of boys in primary school and suggested that the teachers, being female, were unable to meet the boys' learning needs effectively (Brophy, 1985). The girls were, apparently, as invisible and uninteresting to the researchers as they were to the teachers. During the 1970s, feminist researchers began to make girls visible in the classroom and to reveal the problematic patterns hidden by the cloak of egalitarian educational discourses. They found that the assumed advantages enjoyed by girls at the primary level were not sustained. This led to important texts such as Spender and Sarah's edited collection *Learning to Lose* (1980) from Australia, Delamont's book *Sex Roles and the School* (1980) from England and Wernersson's *Könsdifferentiering i grundskolan* (Gender Differentiation in Compulsory School, 1977) from Sweden.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

##### *Gender- and Class Structures in the Classroom—Research from the 1970s and 1980s*

The first wave of research showed that the gender neutrality of the modern school was an illusion. Sex/gender had remained a major organising principle of the classroom under the claim and intention of gender neutrality. In the 1970s and 1980s it was found that teachers, on an average, paid less attention to girls than to boys (Brophy, 1985; Kelly 1988). Kelly (1988) in a meta-analysis of 81 quantitative studies of primary and secondary schools showed that in all countries studied, across all ages, school levels, subjects, and socio-economic and ethnic groupings, girls received fewer instructional contacts, fewer high-level questions and academic criticism, less behavioural criticism, and slightly less praise than boys. Kelly's study also showed that, while girls volunteered to answer questions as often as boys, they were less likely to initiate contact. Other studies found that boys initiated more contact with teachers in classroom talk, while girls tended to contact the teacher outside this context (Brophy, 1985). Qualitative studies (for instance, Nielsen and Larsen, 1985) revealed a typical discourse sequence in a primary school classroom: teacher asks a question, a girl raises her hand and is appointed to answer; she does so briefly and her

answer is usually correct; a boy interrupts with an interesting comment on the topic and the teacher leaves the girl and engages in an exchange with the boy; other boys then join the discussion; the girls silently wait for the next question or may use the time to whisper together on other matters.

Good, Sikes and Brophy found that level of academic achievement (often corresponding to socio-economic and ethnic background) differentiated boys more than girls: low achieving boys got more behavioural criticism, while the high achieving boys 'receive the best of everything' (1973, p. 81). In this study, low achieving girls came out as the group in the classroom talk that got the least teacher attention, whereas other studies found this to be the case for high achieving girls (Kelly, 1988; Öhrn, 1991). High performance in girls gained ambivalent responses from the teachers: on the one side it was praised, on the other hand was often dismissed as the product of conformity and instrumentalism. As Adams and Walkerdine (1986) observed, an unruly and quite incompetent boy could be perceived by the teacher as bored, but 'really' more intelligent than a cooperative and high achieving girl. In general, girls' better achievement and more cooperative style meant that they received less attention: 'The overall picture of teachers' relationship to students of both sexes indicates that the girls do get some praise for their obedience and willingness to please the teacher, but that they pay a price for this by being forgotten and taken for granted, they do not exist as individuals in their teacher's minds' (Wernersson, 1977, p. 254, translated from Swedish).

Even though girls were often praised as good pupils in the primary school, performed better, and were reported to be more satisfied with school, several studies indicated a serious decrease in self-esteem of girls in secondary school (Lees, 1986). Although girls continued to get better marks than boys, teachers often perceived girls' classroom participation to change dramatically and for the worse in adolescence (Hjort, 1984; Wernersson, 1977). The girls tended to become less compliant, less self-confident and participated less in classroom discussions. Contradictory explicit and implicit norms for what was valued meant that while girls might meet the explicit demands of obedient behaviour, the more inventive and individualistic behaviour of the boys was what corresponded to the (implicitly male) ideal student of child-centred pedagogy.

*Gender Identities, Age and Peer Group—Research from the 1980s and 1990s*

In the 1980s, the focus shifted from analyses of inequality produced through differential treatment and double standards in the classroom

to a focus on the active role children themselves play in constructing gendered worlds and taking up gendered discourse. In learning to be recognizable members of their social worlds, children actively take up their assigned gender in complex patterns of conformity and resistance. Already from preschool age, children are engaged in 'category maintenance' (Davies, 1989/2003) or 'borderwork' (Thorne, 1993). The expressions and the relative importance of this work vary with age, gender and situational context. It is strongest and most inflexible in the age span from 5 to 12 years, and though boys tend to demarcate themselves more fiercely from girls than the other way round, both genders engage more in borderwork in institutionalised or group contexts, than in more informal and personal contexts.

This new approach situated classroom talk in a broader cultural, linguistic and psychological context, as part of a process of gender identity formation. This was an important interpretive shift in which girls' cooperative style was no longer seen as an expression of inherent obedience and passivity, but as an active taking up of gendered identity in which female identities are relational and responsive to others.

Studies focusing on the formation of gendered identities and life-worlds indicated that girls' cooperative and boys' competitive and individualistic discursive strategies are found and practiced in their respective single sex groups. Girls like collaboration with peers and group work better than boys (Hjort, 1984; Reay, 1991). Girls and boys tend to take an interest in different aspects of the world around them: girls are more active in classroom talk when human and social issues are discussed, and the greatest male dominance is found in science classes and when the discussion concerns politics and history (Hjort, 1984; Kelly, 1988). In classes where girls dominate, the conversation patterns tend to be different, both in regard to form and content and in the way the girls relate to classmates (Öhrn, 1991). The girls' interpersonal interest is also seen in their dyadic friendships where their relational competence is used both as a means of establishing contact and in fighting and betraying each other. The boys' more assertive and aggressive behaviour could be connected to their more hierarchical and competitive social life, where getting public attention and admiration from the group of boys counts more than intimate relations, and where demonstrating their superiority over girls seems to be a central point in establishing a collective male identity (Best, 1983; Hey, 1997; Nielsen and Larsen, 1985; Paley, 1984). The subtle interplay between the priorities and social orientations of girls and boys, the structure and content of classroom discourse and the responses they receive from the teacher is seen as almost inevitably maintaining and reinforcing the traditional gender order.

The focus on cultural meanings and active self-constructions gave more attention to the secondary level where classroom activity displayed a more varied picture than the findings for earlier ages (Brophy, 1985; Lees, 1986; Öhrn, 1991). Some girls tended to adopt a more 'masculine' approach at this age, in line with what they perceived as being valued in school. Others responded to boys' more concerted displays of dominance by becoming silent or oppositional. The explanations given were the gradual changes in the academic demands towards more abstract knowledge, matter-of-factness, more impersonal relations to the teachers, a more competitive atmosphere, and, related to this, the limited area of application in school for the girls' interactive skills (Brophy, 1985; Hjort, 1984). Generally, girls were neither taken seriously in regard to the (implicit male) norms of school curriculum and discourse, nor were they given possibilities to develop their personal and social orientation.

The different social orientations of girls and boys were also seen as gender specific platforms for strategies of resistance towards the power asymmetries in the classroom. These differed according to the class- and ethnicity-related cultures of the students. Studies of youth cultures analysed different gendered identities as positions for gaining power and control both in relation to teachers and in peer groups. Some working class boys, for instance, seemed to oppose the middle class culture of school through macho behaviour, strengthening both their working class male identity and the likelihood of dropping out of school (Kryger, 1988; Willis, 1977). Similarly, girls' docility could sometimes be used to gain facilities or advantages, and they could use their interactive skills to gain influence. Adolescent working class girls appeared to have their own patterns of resistance, using more personal weapons against teachers and school routines (Lees, 1986; Öhrn, 1991).

*Intersectional Identity Constructions—Research from the 1990s and the New Millennium*

While studies from the 1980s mostly saw classroom behaviour and discursive strategies of girls and boys as part of a developmental process in which gendered identity is accomplished, researchers in the social constructionist and post-structuralist traditions from the 1990s onwards have challenged the idea of such coherent and stable identities, and such coherent and stable gender binaries. In this new research it was argued that through ignoring the complexity of gender, the identity formation studies might actually have contributed to the maintenance of the bipolarity of gender, instead of deconstructing and opposing it. Gender should rather be seen as dynamic and processual: 'We *are* and *have* gender; but we can also do gender, avoid

gender, ignore gender and challenge gender' (Gordon, Holland and Lahelma, 2000, p. 3).

In studies informed by post-structuralism, the focus changed to the discursive practices through which culturally available meanings are taken up and lived out. They ask what positions are open for students to identify with in the gendered discourses of learning, and how do students position themselves in relation to such gendered discourses? (Adams and Walkerdine, 1986; Davies 1993/2003; Walkerdine, 1990). To do gender in the classroom is to continuously negotiate, maintain, or oppose these positionings offered in classroom talk. At the same time, because gendered images, metaphors and narratives are part of the everyday, unexamined discursive practices of the classroom, they mostly pass unnoticed by both teachers and students. The binaries that structure Western thought (abstract/concrete, rational/emotional, independent/dependent) are tied into the binary male/female in complex ways (Davies, 1989/2003). Our patterns of language usage contain and shape the positions that are open to boys and girls in the discursive practices of the classroom, and the meanings that are attributed to what they do.

A number of studies have taken a broader social constructionist approach and put more emphasis on the open and ongoing processes of subjectification by which students construct themselves as gendered subjects within specific contexts and organisational framings (Ambjörnsson, 2004; Davies and Kasama, 2004; Gordon, Holland and Lahelma, 2000; Mac an Ghail, 1994; Staunæs, 2004; Thorne, 1993). School ethnographies combining observations, interviews and visual material from the everyday life at school with an analysis of the wider material and political structures outside the specific school have become more prevalent. New emphasis has been put on the relation between gender constructions and the constructions of sexualities (Robinson and Diaz, 2006). The complexity, ambivalence and multiplicity of masculinities and femininities among and within individuals has been emphasised, and also the intersecting character of different social categories: Gender, ethnicity, class and sexuality should not be seen as additive identities, but rather as mutually constituting at every moment in the school setting, resulting in an array of different and fluid, but also hierarchically ordered forms of masculinities and femininities which come into existence by being 'done' in interaction (Alloway, Gilbert, Gilbert and Henderson, 2003). Thus, the result is not fixed identity categories, but an ongoing process where different students are in- and excluded, according to what is seen as appropriate or inappropriate ways of doing gender, ethnicity, class and sexuality in a specific context. As a methodological consequence, the analytic focus is often

on the borderline figures or incidents—on those who do not fit within what is perceived as ‘normal’ in a specific context—and thus on making the naturalized categories visible and potentially transgressable. One study, for instance, (Staunæs, 2004) found the following ‘normative imperatives’ to be at work in two Danish compulsory schools: stay mono-ethnic, preferably Danish, expose an appropriate amount of heterosexuality, and keep your sexual-romantic relations within your own ethnic group. However, the different educational values of the schools—one striving to convey Danish culture to its multi-ethnic group of students, the other trying to create a multicultural environment for learning—had different impacts on how the borders were drawn, and on what identities became visible and problematic. While multi-ethnic boys were seen as the trouble-makers at the first school, the girls with Danish ethnicity who extended their liberated sexual behaviour outside their own ethnic groups were the problematic category in the other. In the ‘Danish’ school, sexism was absorbed in the overwhelming visibility of ethnic borderlines; in the multicultural school, problems arose when students behaved in non-appropriate ways (sexually and otherwise) for the ethnic group to which they belonged. Another study interrupted the long-term association of hegemonic masculinity with an individualism that is disruptive of the teacher’s agenda and of harmonious social relations in the classroom. Davies and Kasama (2004) found that dominant masculinity in Japanese preschools is expressed through co-operation with the teacher. The individuality of boys is not accomplished against relationality and awareness of others’ needs, but in harmony with it.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

The unfolding of different research perspectives throughout the last decades make it difficult to say what changes in gendered classroom talk have taken place during that period. Different groups of students have been viewed from different perspectives in different studies and at different times (Öhrn, 2002).

Studies of classroom interaction and gendered identities from the 1990s onwards indicate a situation of both continuity and change. Several studies (including some of the new school ethnographies) have found discourse patterns not radically different from the ones seen in the 1970s, and relative stability in boys’ and girls’ gender stereotypes and peer relations. At the same time, they convey a more nuanced picture of variation related to social class and educational context (Bailey, 1993; Gordon, Holland and Lahelma, 2000; McLeod and Yates, 2006). It is not easy, however, to say whether this variation is due to a change

in ways gender may be expressed in schools today, or to a greater awareness on the part of the researchers relying both on the critique of the gender binary of the 1990s, onwards and on making gender visible in the first place in the 1970s and 1980s. From the early 1990s a new figure in the classroom has become a centre of attention: the 'new' active girl who keeps intact her relational interests and competencies, but does not lose her self-confidence at adolescence. She does better than the boys, not only with regard to marks, but also with regard to coping with new qualification demands in school and society (see for instance Hatchell, 1998; Nielsen 2004). As a mirror to this, the discourse about 'failing boys' has become prevalent in public and educational debate (see for instance, Epstein, 1998). A difficulty is, however, that girls' and boys' situation in school is often analyzed from different perspectives—the 'new' girls in term of agency, and the 'failing' boys in terms of an assumed feminised school context (Öhrn, 2002). Whereas the 1970s and 1980s saw a tendency to analyse boys in terms of class, and girls in terms of gender, the opposite is the case today where the 'new' girl is often explicitly individualised, white and middle-class, and the 'failing' boys are grouped together as the losing gender. The current studies of boys come from a range of political agendas and adopt a range of research perspectives: the 'what about the boys?' studies continue with the approach of the seventies in which female teachers are blamed for boys' failure and unhappiness. The 'multiple masculinities' agenda focuses on the varieties of masculinity and blames the dominant boys for not accepting difference. The more post-structurally oriented studies question the automatic assumption of masculinities of one kind or another being inextricably linked to the male-sexed body.

Another complexity is that even if school today should, to some degree, be characterised by new ways of constructing gender identities among girls and boys, the teachers' interpretation of the students may not have changed to the same extent. Oppositional girls are seen as a bigger nuisance than oppositional boys and are disciplined for less disturbing behaviour than are boys (Gordon, Holland and Lahelma, 2000). Öhrn (1991) found in her study of Swedish classrooms that being outspoken and active does not necessarily give girls individuality in the classroom. Teachers still described girls in groups and boys as individuals, and now referred to active girls collectively as, for instance, the 'girl mafia'. Öhrn also found that teachers overestimated the extent of the girls' oral activity, while the reverse applied for the boys. Boys were only judged to dominate when the gender difference was extremely marked. The discourse about failing boys in the 1990s has aroused much more immediate attention than the discourse of 'silent

and insecure girls' in the 1970s and 1980s. The old gender order may also be seen in the research itself where the attention of even aware researchers is easily drawn towards the boys, while the girls remain marginalised (Gordon, Holland and Lahelma, 2000). And whereas the study of different 'masculinities' in school appears to be an interesting and legitimate subject in contemporary gender studies, the study of different 'femininities' does not.

A last point is that these various theoretical perspectives on gender in education could be seen as supplementary rather than as mutually excluding each other. Without a gender identity and a gender construction perspective, the structural perspective may overlook the attractions of doing gender, the agency of the students in specific contexts, and the ways gender intersects with other categories. Without a gender structure and a gender construction perspective, the identity perspective may overlook existing power relations in the classroom and the flexible, contradictory and processual character of subjectification. Without a gender structural and a gender identity perspective, the construction perspective may overlook the astonishing stability of structural patterns over time, in spite of all the ongoing negotiations, and neglect the motivational and formative dimensions of such constructions and negotiations. Language is both a means for construction of gender, and a means for expressing gender. Studies of 'being' gendered and 'doing' gender could, thus, be seen as functionally related and reveal different aspects of the social process of gendered identity construction. Studies of individuals cannot give any full account of the collective process of doing gender—something new is accomplished/created in this process. But the reverse is also true: the analysis of the collective praxis does not tell us anything about the different motives of the individuals who engage in this meaning making, what positions they choose in it, and what consequences this has for their sense of self over time. Studies of gender in classroom discourse reveal both obvious differences within each gender group and in the array of gender positionings the same girl or boy can take up, and, at the same time, striking similarities within each gender group over a wide array of cultural and situational contexts in the ways girls or boys do and are their gender. A theory of gendered identity should account for both, being aware of the traps both of false similarities and false differences.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Future research must see how gender structures in classroom discourse, gendered identity formations and gendered positionings and subjectification in school interact—in a period of time where major social and

economic changes, particularly in relation to family—and work patterns have had a pro-found influence on gender images and gender relations. What do schools do with gender compared to what, for instance, families do? (McLeod and Yates, 2006). A growing interest in comparative, longitudinal, and generational studies (see, for instance, Davies and Kasama, 2004; Gordon, Holland and Lahelma, 2000; McLeod and Yates, 2006; Nielsen, 2004;) may indicate an urge to overcome the somewhat fragmented picture in the research and also to locate classroom discourse in a wider perspective. Gender construction also needs to be understood better in relation to intersecting identities like age, class, ethnicity and sexuality, in relation to specific educational contexts and situations, and in relation to ways teachers position students as girls and boys. Little is known about what differences in teachers' own gender, class, sexuality and ethnicity mean for these processes.

Future research must also ask questions such as, in what respect must gender be part of the identity formation process? Can identity be maintained without it—and do we want to maintain it? Post-structuralist theorists imagine a world that goes beyond gendered identities. Might doing away with gender leave us once again with the gender neutral illusion of the child-centred ideology, ignoring the fact that social structures of gender and power hierarchies can work quite effectively even when linguistically disguised?

*See Also:* Aneta Pavlenko and Ingrid Piller: *Language Education and Gender (Volume 1)*; Mary Kalantzis and Bill Cope: *Language Education and Multiliteracies (Volume 1)*; Anna Robinson-Pant: *Women, Literacy and Development: Overview (Volume 2)*; Jasmine Luk Ching Man: *Classroom Discourse and the Construction of Learner and Teacher Identities (Volume 3)*; Judith Green and Carol Dixon: *Classroom Interaction, Situated Learning (Volume 3)*; Rebecca Rogers: *Critical Discourse Analysis in Education (Volume 3)*; Charlotte Haglund: *Ethnicity at Work in Peer-group Interactions at School (Volume 3)*; Jill Bourne: *Official Pedagogic Discourses and the Construction of Learners' Identities (Volume 3)*; Judith Baxter: *Post-structuralist Analysis of Classroom Discourse (Volume 3)*; Amy B.M. Tsui: *Classroom Discourse: Approaches and Perspectives (Volume 6)*; Anne-Brit Fenner: *Cultural Awareness in the Foreign Language Classroom (Volume 6)*; Hilary Janks and Terry Locke: *Discourse Awareness in Education: A Critical Perspective (Volume 6)*; Daryl Gordon: *Gendered Second Language Socialization (Volume 8)*; Kelleen Toohey: *Ethnography and Language Education (Volume 10)*; Doris Warriner: *Discourse Analysis in Educational Research (Volume 10)*

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ETHNICITY AT WORK IN PEER-GROUP INTERACTIONS  
AT SCHOOL

INTRODUCTION

This review focuses on the ways in which ethnicity and allegiance are manifested in peer-group interactions at school. The intimate relationship between social process and everyday life of social actors is central to the review and will be referred to throughout the text. The review includes an outline of some of the early developments and major contributions to research in the field. Some implications from on-going work and suggestions relating to challenges and future directions in the study of youth, language and education are delineated. The author takes as a point of departure research in the Swedish context but the empirical suggestions and theoretical implications outlined ought to be valid also outside of the Nordic context.

CHANGING THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND  
SIGNIFICANT SOCIAL CHANGE: THE  
IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCH

Research in the field has been guided by theoretical developments as well as social changes. The development of the theoretical perspective of poststructuralism on the one hand and the increasing complexity of society in this late modern time on the other have influenced both initial and more recent work in the field.

*Poststructuralism: The Power of Language and Discourse*

In the early developments of research on multilingualism with grounding in poststructuralist and critical theory the intimate relation between social actors, their language practices and the contexts in which their social encounters take place has been the main focus (Gal, 1989; Heller, 1988; Mehan, 1987; Rampton, 1995; Woolard, 1985;) (see Heller, *Language Choice and Symbolic Domination*, Volume 3). Applying the poststructuralist perspective to analyses of language practices and narratives shifts the focus away from traditional concerns with linguistic differences towards the ways in which meaning is constructed locally within particular sociocultural and linguistic contexts.

Theorizing around language in this tradition is concerned with the identities inscribed in discourses and how they operate (Gee, 1992). Hence, “[i]nstead of assuming that individuals have an identity as, say, a woman or a black, or assuming that selves are produced by discourses in any simple way, [poststructuralists] see individuals as being inserted into webs of discourses that always position [them] in multiple intersecting ways” (Seidman and Alexander, 2001, p. 7). There is accordingly an attempt in the approach to identify the relationship between everyday practices and the sociohistorical and economic conditions, which shape them.

The initial contributions in the field take as a point of departure that all human action, including language practices, is dialectically related to social structure and social process. Language is part of the social, interacting with other modes of social behavior. Discourse and daily interaction accordingly *mediates* something more than what is observable here and now. The mediating function of language helps draw attention to power dynamics both in the encounters themselves and in other aspects of a particular sociocultural context. Mediation, in view of that, stands for something more than simple reflection or reproduction (Williams, [1973]1991).

*The Nation State in Late Modern Times: Struggles for Uniformity Within Diversity*

The early work in the field, in Sweden and in other Western societies, highlighted the increasing preoccupation with the maintenance of an imagined homogeneous society and a shared mainstream culture and language. This is in response to, on the one hand, continuous and radical social and cultural transformation and change and on the other an ambition to maintain traditional social and cultural practices. Majority members may come to regard themselves as guardians of traditional mainstream values, attitudes and beliefs, mediated through the majority language. The majority in this effort draws on an existing system of dispositions and a particular habitus already shared in the (dominant) communities (Bourdieu, 1991; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) (see Heller, *Language Choice and Symbolic Domination*, Volume 3). In this way, the majority members may succeed in sustaining their key positions in the game of power taking place throughout organizations and institutions. Withholding an official policy of uniformity within diversity, the state, governed by this elite, sets out to control the increasing heterogeneity (Sjögren, 2001). Accordingly, what appears to be struggles for pluralism and a profound integration project may be just new masked forms of assimilation. In Sweden, these processes would be scarcely different from the assimilating processes underpinning the

linguistic and educational policies directed to the Sami and the Finnish-speaking minorities in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Municio, 2001; Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummins, 1988).

Bourdieu assigns a central role both to education and to language in these processes, pointing to the decisive role of the teacher in the construction, legitimation and imposition of an official language:

[The primary school teacher], by virtue of his function, works daily on the faculty of expression of every idea and every emotion on language. In teaching the same clear, fixed language to children who know it only very vaguely or who even speak various dialects or patois, he is already inclining them quite naturally to see and feel things the same way; and he works to build the common consciousness of the nation. (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 49)

Owing to the hegemonic practices legitimizing nationalism on the basis of a shared language, minority members, including the young multilinguals in focus here, may be prevented from participating in powerful discourses (Heller, 1994). Yet, as representatives of emergent cultures and identifications and given notions of counter or alternative hegemony (Dirks et al., 1994), young people are still in possession of central roles (Cieslik and Pollock, 2002). They are symbols of the changes but also act as participants in the process of implementing them.

#### INVESTIGATING THE LINKS BETWEEN THE INTERACTIONAL ORDER AND THE SOCIAL AND SYMBOLIC ORDER

Recent sociolinguistic studies in the field of language and education include attempts to uncover connections between the interactional order and social and institutional order. The findings of this research have illustrated how structures of domination and discrimination are established and reproduced but also contested on the micro-level of speech (Heller, 1999; Rampton, 1995; see also Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001 and Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004 for collections of articles on this theme). In the Swedish context, the relationship between language and social context was established when the poststructuralist perspective was first applied to the study of language and education in work among youth in a multiethnic school setting (Haglund, 2005).

The theoretical direction suggesting that there is a potential in social structures for actors, above all young people, to actively respond to and even resist dominant discourses has been established in much cross-disciplinary research over the years. The studies in this direction have illustrated how experiences of social exclusion may direct youth to invest outside of mainstream majority contexts, in the globalized

marketplace where some of them already operate (see e.g., Hall, 1988), or towards the margins of society, where they eventually give up their struggles for legitimacy (see e.g., Cieslik and Pollock, 2002; Heath, 1994; Willis 1977). An additional strategy includes accommodation to mainstream language preferences and corresponding normalized and neutralized language practices (see e.g., Nieto, 1996).

Studies demonstrate how speakers employ their expanding linguistic repertoires to create and modify their social worlds (Hoyle and Adger, 1998; Maybin, 1993, 1999, 2006). Maybin offers insights into pre-adolescents' use of repeated, appropriated and reported speech in order to position themselves in relation to the institutional practices of schooling (1999). Albeit without focusing primarily on ethnicity, Maybin raises questions about the notion of individual voice, individual agency and the boundaries between the voice of the self and the voice of the other.

Given the current transformations and changes of Western societies, above all in relation to ethnicity, culture and language, there is a need in current research to take full account of the sociohistorical and present economic and political conditions. Such a focus in the study of language and education facilitates the appreciation of the background to and consequences of rejections of categorization and of the knowledge valued by the dominant class (or race). In some groundbreaking studies this implication is taken seriously (Heller, 1999; Rampton, 1995). These studies point out linguistically mediated contestations among young minorities of the attempts by the elite to establish this knowledge and the language it produces as legitimate.

Heller (1999) illustrates how choices of specific languages, vernaculars, or certain expressions over others may index ethnicity or a particular political stance between language and ethnicity. In a Franco-phone school in Ontario, Heller observes tensions between the monolingual ideology of the school and the language use and ideologies of some of its students. Heller finds that some of the students find ways of resisting the linguistic ideology of the school through the very language which oppresses them. In the school, the French language is officially manifested in order to resist the general domination of English in the province and in the urban environment. Unofficially, and on the micro-level of interaction among the students, English, thus, becomes the language of resistance.

In a study on language and ethnicity among adolescents in England, in the South Midlands (Rampton, 1995), in a similar way, situates interaction in the larger structures "that both constrain and are reproduced through specific activities, values, norms, roles, purposes and systems of stratification" (p. 348). According to Rampton, to adjust one's linguistic practice is an act of investment, an expression of desire

and a deliberate counter-hegemonic undertaking. Rampton shows how adolescents draw on a repertoire of languages (or language varieties) in an effort to affirm or contest social structure and define community. According to Rampton (1999) languages and dialects are used in order to appropriate, explore, reproduce, or challenge influential images and stereotypes of groups to which the speakers themselves do not belong.

Rampton (1995) accordingly identifies a multilingual repertoire suggesting that linguistic switches “contribute[s] to the definition of multiracial youth community ... an imperfectly shared meaning potential that enabled youngsters to declare positions and comment on social order” (p. 237). Rampton compares the observed “language crossing” to a kind of “liminoid practice,” which contains social critiques of mainstream structures and organization. He argues that crossing warrants close attention to the emergence of “new ethnicities of the margins” (Rampton, 1998, p. 299) (cf. Hall, 1988). The observation that “crossing” is used in efforts to define community corresponds to the assumption that actors, in their daily conduct and communication, undermine taken-for-granted realities and try to establish new conventions and assumptions where old ones no longer seem tenable (Rampton, 1995).

Bailey (2001) observes how different language forms are adopted in order to resist white cultural and linguistic hegemony and the dichotomous black–white racial classification system in the USA where his study among Dominican Americans is conducted. The discursive construction of identity is situationally activated through language. A non-white identification is highlighted among the high school students through avoidance of marked white English forms, mocking use of white English and extensive adoption of African American vernacular English. Bailey argues that the multilingual repertoire “serves to undermine U.S. assumptions of a primordial unity among language, phenotype and identity, particularly in constructions of the category African American” (p. 215).

Giampapa (2001) illustrates how Italian-Canadian youths use language in order to re-position themselves and downplay neutralizations of their ethnicities as well as actually accentuating them or performing a range of ethnicities through participating in creating a “new” code. Language is thus used by youth to locate themselves in relation to expectations but also in terms of their individual preferences in relation to language and culture.

The major contributions in the field accordingly show us that contestation and partial penetration of dominant structures are important components of the power infrastructure and that social actors are most active in bringing about social transformation and change. These findings have guided more recent work.

## WORK IN PROGRESS IN THE SWEDISH CONTEXT

Some insight from on-going work in Sweden will serve here as *one* illustration of everyday life, language and identity among young people in multiethnic school settings. We will see how the experiences of young people can bring about particular interactional patterns and identification processes, which in turn reflect some of the social mechanisms at work at school.

*Institutional Order and Sociocultural Change: Peer-Group Interactions at a Swedish School*

A recent study among young multilinguals in Sweden (Haglund, 2005) has provided insights into how identifications and allegiances get constructed and reconstructed in everyday social interaction in and out of school. The study is based on an ethnographic fieldwork among a group of first- and second-generation minority members in their early to late adolescence (aged 12–17). The fieldwork was conducted in the stratified multiethnic neighborhood of “Durby” and at the junior high school of the community “Durby School.”<sup>1</sup> The fieldwork covered the 3 years of junior high school focusing on the activities of about 50 students during this period. The dominant ethnic backgrounds of the subjects were Turkish and Kurdish. Other nations of origin represented among the young people were Chile, Iraq, Serbia, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Finland, Greece and Russia. The primary ethnographic method employed was participant observation in a number of different situations and contexts both inside and outside of school. Fieldnotes and audio-recordings, in addition to subjects’ diary notes and individual audio-recordings constituted the bulk of data generated. The research revealed the influence on identification processes and language preferences and practices from the youths’ common diasporic experience of living outside of the countries or nations of origin, experiencing marginalization in relation to Swedish majority society and concurrently being part of global, national and local transformations and changes.

The contradictory experience of simultaneous central and marginal positions led to claims regarding the right to be valued, feel a sense of belonging and have access to instruction that is responsive to the needs of diverse learners. Efforts were also made to acquire the legitimate cultural capital and the prestigious majority language, which in some cases resulted in disparagement and a reduced use of the minority language, even though the majority language was not yet completely

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<sup>1</sup> ‘Durby’ and ‘Durby School’ are pseudonyms given in order to preserve confidentiality.

mastered. In the latter case, the struggle to remove oneself from the margins accordingly seemed to take place at the expense of the young people's multilingual development.

The collective interactional practices among peers in formal classroom interaction, to a large degree, embodied contestation, whereas individual accounts to a larger degree reflected ambivalence and sometimes compliance. Hence, the absence of the peer-group seemed to lead to perspectives and approaches that in some cases stood in glaring contrast to the ones that emerged from these other negotiations among peers or between students and teachers. A hypothesis emerges suggesting that the peer-group and the interaction that took place here or where support was retrieved, offered more space for contestation.

Ethnicity was constructed as part of counter-hegemonic strategies identified in interactions with teachers and in attempts of the young people at positioning themselves as positive as possible in the peer-group, ensuring solidarity was maintained, at the same time as making sure the individual positioning as scapegoat was avoided.

#### *Contestation in Formal Classroom Interaction*

The young people did not simply accept the negative expectations embedded in some of the discourses and practices they were subjected to. Instead, parallel to their attempts to conquer other fields, they objected to the structures of domination (Haglund, 2005, p. 102ff.). They made efforts to challenge teachers' attempts to maintain control of the content of the classroom.

They struggled to manifest the benefits of their backgrounds, their multitude of competencies and transcultural experiences. Accordingly they collectively set out to position themselves in relation to expectations, demands and prescribed statuses and roles and took a collective stand in relation to the agendas of the teachers. A counter-discourse was constructed among them as a part of this effort.

#### *Strategic Positionings in Peer-Group Interactions*

In peer-group interactions the young people negotiated common strategic positionings, which they subsequently drew on collectively in the formal context. But in the peer-group they also exploited stigmas and stereotypes related to specific ethnicities and languages, a strategy which itself was ambiguous. It offered a possibility of escaping workings of the dominant discourses but simultaneously functioned to manifest precisely these ideas. The strategies, with the dual purpose of ensuring commitment to the allegiance established and achieving individual

agendas, include claiming authority, monitoring and mocking. Each of the strategies is discussed subsequently.

*Role Enactments: Authoritative Voices*

The young people objected to the unequal distribution of power at school and in society through attempting to rearrange the institutional order. A salient example of such repositioning includes the efforts made in peer-group interaction to draw on authoritative voices (Haglund, 2005, p. 125ff.). Discussions on politics and power issues both from a local a more general global perspective were frequent among peers. In these interactions, roles were enacted with the general purpose of gaining more influence on the present power structure. The roles available were, for instance, those of presidents and prime ministers from countries all over the world. The young people moved between different “nationalities” in these interactions. In addition to the range of roles available, this elusivity implies that “national identity” was subordinated to the goal of achieving certain purposes in the interaction.

The young people attempted to problematize not merely the ethnic and social segregation characteristic of their neighborhood as they saw it, but also the unequal power distribution of Swedish society more generally. In one episode where this pattern was manifested one of the young people in this study enacted the role of the president of the USA at the time, Bill Clinton: “I’ve come from America, all the way up to Sweden . . . to visit Durby [the multiethnic neighborhood], to visit you.” Referring to the general understanding of Sweden as an egalitarian country the boy asserted: “I’ve heard and I didn’t believe . . . Because in Sweden everything is beautiful,” and thereby scratching the surface of the well kept secret of the social, economic and ethnic segregation of Swedish society. Furthermore, drawing on media discourse, suggesting that he (Bill Clinton) wanted to see what Durby is like through the perspective of the inhabitants he announced: “And now I have given the camera to everyone who lives in Durby,” an approach quite commonly taken by journalists focusing on life in multiethnic neighborhoods in the late 1990s.

This enactment of imaginary roles (see Lytra, *Playful Talk, Learners’ Play Frames and the Construction of Identities*, Volume 3) supported the attempts of the young people to position themselves vis-à-vis social inequalities and the lack of control and influence accompanying their subordination. Claiming the powerful voices also functioned to rearrange the distribution of power in the particular situation. The authoritative voices provided new legitimacy and thereby affiliated individual, as well as collective positionings. Other interactional strategies

employed in order to display this kind of solidarity included talking simultaneously and finishing or repeating each other's utterances.

*Performance Control: Monitoring and Mocking*

In order to manifest solidarity within the peer-group, ensure the shared interest and direction of the community established and further manifest the common agenda and commitment to a mutual allegiance the young people ensured that the degree of deviation among them, for instance in terms of language use and identification, was limited. They monitored one another's performances and quests for identities. The status and value of the variety of Swedish spoken among them was put forward as one of the most powerful symbols of their allegiance (Haglund, 2005, p. 113ff).

The young people also shared fragments of, or merely the intonations and pitches of, each other's languages. The practice of mocking seemed to reinforce and manifest solidarity but was also drawn upon by individuals to escape the stigma and stereotypes they were aware were depicted about some of the additional languages and ethnicities represented among them.

*Popular Culture and the Internet*

The constructions and reconstructions of identities and allegiances in peer-group interaction reflected successful attempts by the young people to make sense of their own position in relation to the diasporic experience. In their quests for identities, they did not draw on the conditions set up by the local community or mainstream society alone, but instead their identifications were constructed in relation to a combination of these conditions and more modern influences from global, trans- and postnational experiences. These experiences derived, for instance, from their virtual communication on the internet or from popular culture, both offering material from which they were relatively free to choose (Haglund, 2005, p. 151ff.). Unique insights were accordingly offered here into the lives of other young people from their countries of origin or from other major European and international cities. Space was accordingly provided in which the young people constructed their own "truths" about, for instance, their life situations and negotiated and critically reflected upon the complexity of the diasporic experience. The identifications of these young people, then, should not be understood as autonomous, but temporally, spatially and situationally contingent.

It is possible to draw out resonances from this empirical work with research in contexts outside of Sweden. For instance, Maybin (1999)

identifies, in a similar way, how appropriated and reported voices are drawn on in order for adolescents to invoke an authoritative voice to pursue their own social goals. Goodwin (1990) also identifies how authoritative voices may be drawn upon in interaction in order to create or maintain hierarchical status. Commitment among youth to peer-group allegiances has also been identified, for instance, by Fordham and Ogbu (1986). They observed how African Americans develop group loyalty by defining some attitudes and behaviors occurring among them as “white” and consequently unacceptable. Furthermore, the strategies of mocking identified in the present study correspond to occurrences of “crossing” (see above) and to mocking of institutional voices and jocular abuse in relation to representatives of the dominant mainstream population more generally (Rampton, 1995). Together, this work in the field illustrates how language use lets aesthetic creativity and identity formation interact with ideological discourses and power relations.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Theoretical as well as methodological challenges apply in the study of ethnicity in peer-group interactions. Studies focusing on subcultures and transgressive identifications rarely account for the situation where the construction of allegiances is linguistically mediated. Similarly, it is not always the case that studies focusing on interaction account for how objections and oppositions are connected to social order, or in which ways language offers space for negotiations of this order. Instead, analyses and interpretations mainly linger at the interactional level. Most studies, for instance in the Swedish context, are accordingly part of a direction in research influenced by conversation analysis theories (see Mori and Zuengler, *Conversation Analysis and Talk-in-interaction in Classrooms*, Volume 3). Identifying the relationship between everyday social practices, including interactional practices, and the sociohistorical and economic conditions which shape them, thus stand out as the primary theoretical challenge in the field.

Methodologically other challenges apply. For instance, there have been calls in educational and sociolinguistic research for accounts of everyday interactions and discourse that do not avoid questions of who gets studied, who gets to study, where the study takes place and on what grounds it is justified (Cameron et al., 1992; Rampton et al., 2002). There are other debates about how researchers are located in the field as cultural outsiders, how they are inserted into the contexts of the field and the specific agendas of the subjects. There is also a concern about the ways in which observers can provide context and space for the voices of others and eschew their own voices and agency (see

Duff, *Language Socialization, Participation and Identity: Ethnographic Approaches*, Volume 3).

Furthermore, it is argued that building arguments and interpretations from accounts of social interaction may sometimes be a precarious activity. This is because large areas of social life and cognition are non-linguistic and cannot be easily "translated" into language (cf. Bourdieu, 1977).

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Drawing on the dominating theoretical directions and most influential empirical findings in the field, it has been argued in this review that the distribution of power, for instance in education, is often acted out on the level of language. It has been illustrated that language is not a neutral medium but mediates power hierarchies, domination and authority. Accordingly, words carry with them a power that goes beyond the description and identification of people, objects, properties and events. By uttering a word, for instance, in a different language, speakers may index another time and place and connotations associated with other situations. Furthermore, theory as well as empirical findings reveal that the identification processes among contemporary youth stretch well beyond predictability, homogeneity and national borders.

Together these developments suggest that the challenge for future research in the field may be, for instance, to investigate further the masked meanings and nuances of utterances, to look closer at the ways in which speakers' interests and intentions are conveyed in talk and to document the ways in which the changing cultural traditions with regard to roles and identities both support and restrain young people in exercising freedom and creativity over how they define their sense of self (cf. Rampton, 1995).

It will be of particular value to investigate the circumstances that allow space for more hybrid and transgressive identifications, thereby increasing our understanding of language as a resource for young multilinguals as they endeavor to assert the legitimacy of their identifications, languages and language practices. The challenge for future studies in the field of language and culture is clearly to uncover previously unseen connections between the micro-level of face-to-face verbal interaction and the macro-level of statuses, roles and identities (cf. Duranti, 1997).

In future ventures in the field, researchers might also want to make more explicit the connections between local instances of social interaction and wider processes, such as globalization, internationalization, transnationalism and postnationalism. Such efforts would increase our awareness of the mechanisms at work in these processes and of the

influence of sociocultural transformation and change on individual attitudes, choices and social practices, particularly with regard to language and identity. The complex and unpredictable nature of contemporary social life and social practice requires understandings that go beyond the categories of social class, gender, ethnicity and religion that are frequently applied in more traditional sociolinguistic studies. Methodologically, ethnography, and more specifically critical ethnography, offers opportunities to uncover the kind of structures and processes under scrutiny. Adopting a dual focus on the macro-level of society and the micro-level of speech and narratives can also offer opportunities to further advance cross-disciplinary approaches.

Last but not least, researchers have a responsibility to share whatever they can of their findings with the young people who participate in their research and to explore ways of collaborating with them in doing such research. The link between research and practice, and in particular educational practice, also needs to be explored in dialogue with teachers and teacher educators.

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PLAYFUL TALK, LEARNERS' PLAY FRAMES  
AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITIES

INTRODUCTION

Research into learners' talk in schools and classrooms from educational and sociolinguistic perspectives has explored the intersection of language and identity construction. These research traditions view identity as "an emergent construction, the situated outcome of a rhetorical and interpretative process in which interactants make situationally motivated selections from socially constituted repertoires of identificational and affiliational resources and craft these semiotic resources into identity claims for presentation to others" (Bauman, 2000, p. 1). From this perspective, language (including playful talk) emerges as one of the central semiotic resources available to learners (and teachers) to make identity claims. By focusing on the learners' linguistic and other semiotic resources, we can then explore "when and how identities are interactively invoked by sociocultural actors" (Kroskrity, 1993, p. 222). This understanding of identity is premised on a view of the self as an active participant in the interactively achieved social construction of meaning. Identity construction is, therefore, viewed as an on-going process that is constituted through daily interactions in sites such as schools, classrooms and other social places, rather than a quality that a learner has or does not have. Moreover, in educational contexts, social realities are shaped by the institutional order of the school, rather than a priori taken for granted social fact. Both premises underlie a social constructionist approach to identity.

Playful talk can, therefore, provide a productive locus for the study of the constitution, representation and negotiation of social roles and identities in learners' talk in schools and classrooms (see also Bourne, *Official Pedagogic Discourses and the Construction of Learners' Identities*, Volume 3; Luk Ching Man, *Classroom Discourse and the Construction of Learner and Teacher Identities*, Volume 3). In this chapter, I use the term "playful talk" as a super-ordinate category with the purpose of capturing a wide range of verbal activities and routines, including teasing, joking, humour, verbal play, parody, music making, chanting that can emerge in learners' talk. Some of these activities and routines may be more fleeting and highly unstructured (e.g. private solo singing and humming of popular tunes in circulation) and others more ritualised

(e.g. teasing routines). Moreover, these verbal phenomena may require different understandings of local and global contexts and allow for varying audience roles and participant structures. The notion of playful talk can be fruitfully combined with the concept of performance as linguistic practice that is “situated, interactional, communicatively motivated” (Bauman, 2000, p. 1). Playful talk as performance then can “represent for participants an arena for the display, contemplation, and manipulation of salient elements, practices, and relationships that allow language to serve as a resource for the expression of identity” (ibid., p. 4).

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Bateson in *Steps to an Ecology of the Mind* (1972) was one of the very first scholars to develop a theory of play and communication drawing on a number of disparate disciplines, including anthropology, psychiatry and biology. In his pioneering essay *A Theory of Play and Fantasy* (reprinted in the aforementioned volume), he provides us with two important insights that have influenced the way subsequent scholars working within educational and sociolinguistic paradigms have conceptualised the relationship between play and communication. Observing two young monkeys playing in the San Francisco Zoo in the 1950s, he noted first that the monkeys were engaged in an interactive sequence of actions or signals that were similar to but not entirely the same as those of combat. Second, he noticed that the participant monkeys treated their playing as such. Based on these observations, Bateson deduced that the two monkeys were capable of some degree of meta-communication that involved exchanging signals carrying the message “this is play” (Bateson, 1972, p. 178). Drawing on Bateson’s insights, subsequent scholars have explored the close association between play and combat in human communication and the liable nature of play as well as the significance of meta-communicative awareness in recognising that an interactive sequence should be interpreted as play.

Goffman’s discussion of frames in *Frame Analysis* (1974) can be a useful point of entry into the examination of the unstable nature of play with important implications for the conceptualisation of play frames in general and learners’ play frames in particular. Goffman regards frames as mechanisms through which participants structure their social and personal experiences, thereby providing us with an interpretation of what is going on in a given interaction (Goffman, 1974, pp. 10–11). As indicated in the introduction of this review, playful talk as performance can encompass a wide range of verbal phenomena (e.g. humour, teasing, joking) which in turn set up play frames. Learners can then

employ clusters of contextualisation cues (e.g. laughter, shifts in pitch, rhythm, voice quality, volume, nicknames, repetition) which function as framing devices and signal how their utterances, movements or gestures are to be interpreted by their teachers and fellow classmates. Contextualisation cues as framing devices allow us to glean into the organisation of social interaction and explore how learners strategically exploit playful talk to do identity work in educational settings. By framing talk as play, learners mark-off periods of playful talk devoted to a particular verbal activity (e.g. teasing, music making, verbal play) from talk about other matters (e.g. talk about a school task). Learners need to have a certain degree of meta-communicative awareness in order to distinguish between those signals or cues used for play and those used for combat. Meta-communicative awareness is created and constantly renewed against a backdrop of shared cultural assumptions, associations and background knowledge reflecting the learners' interactional histories and interpersonal ties.

Some of the earliest social interactionist studies on playful talk in urban neighbourhoods in the USA and Turkey explored verbal duelling and ritual insulting routines among African-American young males (Labov, 1972) and Turkish young people respectively (Dundes, Leach and Özkök, 1972). Although not focusing on schools and classrooms, these early studies provided useful insights for the investigation of playful talk, learning and peer socialisation. They highlighted the role and function of ritual and personal insults as contextualisation cues and the unstable and ever-changing boundary between play and non-play. Moreover, they stressed how contestants became competent players by learning to suspend normal conditions of accountability and take what would normally be considered serious business as play. On the other hand, contestants who issued impulsive or defensive protestations or denials lost out and needed to learn how to respond to ritual and personal insults more effectively within the context of the verbal game.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Educational and sociolinguistic research has tended to focus on learners' official school practices, often ignoring that there is more happening than just learning academic subject matter in schools and classrooms. Indeed, as Maybin (2006) aptly argues, mainstream accounts of schools and classrooms have tended to adopt an "educational gaze". They have tended to concentrate on the learners' curriculum-oriented talk usually with their teachers. As a result, they have often treated instances of "off task" talk in the classroom, for instance, or as learners pass through school corridors, play in school grounds and have lunch together as

marginal. Nevertheless, educational and sociolinguistic studies of schools and classrooms from an ethnographic perspective have repeatedly shown that playful talk is an enduring feature of classroom talk and learning (e.g. Lytra, 2003; Maybin, 2006; Rampton, 2005; see also Garcez, *Microethnography in the Classroom*, Volume 10). These studies have demonstrated that learners' talk is often saturated by the use of nicknames, cross-sex teasing routines and quiet solo singing. They have also illustrated that learners experiment with rhyme and rhythm, differences in intonation contours, pitch, volume and repetition. Moreover, they have shown that learners often refer, allude to, or perform recyclable and recontextualisable fragments of talk from music, TV and film as well as mimic and parody the voices of their teachers and fellow classmates. The shift of focus away from the learners' official school worlds has also been influenced by more recent approaches to classroom talk. These have probed into the heterogeneity of classroom discourses and practices and have highlighted the processes of recontextualisation and dialogicality at play in learners and teachers' talk (e.g. Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López and Tejada, 1999; Haworth, 1999; Kambarelis, 2001; see also Maybin, *Revoicing across Learning Spaces*, Volume 3).

In his seminal study *Crossing: Language and Ethnicity among Adolescents* (1995), Rampton was one of the first scholars to shift our analytical gaze away from curriculum learning and draw our attention to the wide variety of different expressive resources and practices in young people's talk in multiethnic schools and classrooms (see also Haglund, *Ethnicity at Work in Peer-group Interactions at School*, Volume 3). Among other practices, he identified crossing into Punjabi by black and white adolescents in routines of jocular abuse and the impact of popular media culture (in particular music making) on their talk and conduct across different interactional contexts at school. As far as the latter is concerned, he looked into crossing into stylised Asian English in school-sponsored theatrical performances and the spread of bhangra (a form of folk music and dance closely associated with Punjabi culture) among black and white adolescents. One important theme that emerges in this line of research is the different ways in which popular media culture provides young people with rich and complex linguistic and cultural repertoires for play to appropriate, transform and recontextualise in order, for instance, to take part in a sequence of jocular abuse or in singing along snippets of Bhangra and pop songs.

Another key theme is linked to the positioning of such instances of playfulness in daily school activities and classroom routines. Although, as Rampton (2006) argues, such instances of playfulness during instruction were often regarded as undermining teacher authority and

the canonical patterns of classroom talk, they had the potential of opening up new possibilities for teaching and learning. Rather than sanctioning such talk through out, the teacher in his study seemed to tolerate a high degree of playfulness by a group of over-exuberant and keen learners. Indeed, he seemed to regard their contributions as helping to keep the lesson on course. In doing so, the teacher and this group of learners negotiated and co-constructed a particular classroom settlement that appeared to be based on the strategic co-existence and mix of curriculum priorities and popular media culture (notwithstanding along with other influences). For the learners, this classroom settlement, Rampton maintains, seemed to allow them to explore different kinds of sociability, to consolidate existing friendship ties and aid them in their quest for social influence among their peers.

One strand of research that has fruitfully explored the intersection of learners' expressive repertoires (including various forms of playful talk and text production, such as producing and acting out imaginative episodes inspired by contemporary super-heroes and characters from ancient Greek mythology) and popular media culture are childhood literacy development studies (see also Bloome, *Literacies in the Classroom*, Volume 2; Mahiri, *Literacies in the Lives of Urban Youth* Volume 2; Prah, *Language, Literacy and Knowledge Production in Africa*, Volume 2). Dyson's (2003) ethnographic research into primary school literacy highlights the importance of young learners sharing what she called a "common sociocultural landscape" to draw upon in playful talk and text production. She comments on the young learners she worked with:

They had, for example, a favorite radio station and saw many of the same videos; they referenced the same sports teams, and most watched the same televised sports shows; they were all comfortable with a religious discourse and the promise of a heavenly reward (Dyson, 2003, p. 8).

This shared sociocultural landscape provided these young learners with diverse symbolic and textual material and resources to appropriate, recontextualise and reuse in order to fashion both their official and unofficial school worlds. An important theme that emerges is that the young learners' engagement with popular media culture opened up spaces for more polyphonic written and oral playful performances, which in turn, generated new opportunities and challenges for meaning making, social fun and social affiliation.

The importance of the children's shared common knowledge and metalinguistic awareness in participating in playful activities and routines has also been illustrated in studies looking at more linguistically, culturally and ethnically rich pupil populations from an ethnographic sociolinguistics perspective (see also Fenner, *Cultural Awareness in*

the Foreign Language Classroom, Volume 6; Van Essen, *Language Awareness and Knowledge about Language: A Historical Overview*, Volume 6). In my work (Lytra, 2003, 2005), I examine the linguistic and other semiotic resources and practices available to a group of majority Greek and minority Turkish-speaking learners in an Athens primary school. I illustrate how they adapted and refashioned shared references to mainstream Greek popular media culture in their playful talk (e.g. teasing routines and music-making activities) across school contexts. I argue that these resources and practices functioned as a powerful identity kit for the display and co-construction of a shared peer group identity and show how this peer group identity co-articulated with their other social identities and roles at school (e.g. gender, pupil/learner identities). The active participation in such playful routines and activities, I claim, allowed minority children in particular to gain access to and display their knowledge and expertise of valued linguistic and other semiotic resources and practices associated with mainstream Greek popular media culture. At the same time, these processes of boundary leveling based on the sharing of out-of-school recreational practices, experiences and a common sense of humour were fraught with tensions and contradictions. Minority children's claims to knowledge and expertise displayed through their playful talk could be contested by their majority peers, thereby raising boundaries of exclusion and positioning them as peripheral to the group.

Duff (2004) further explores the processes of boundary leveling and boundary raising in relation to inter-textual references to popular media culture (e.g. references to shared jokes, one-liners and set phrases from various media sources) in two linguistically, culturally and ethnically diverse Canadian social science classrooms. Taking an ethnographically informed applied linguistics stand-point, she observes that for the local (Canadian born and raised) pupils and teachers such popular media culture laden talk, saturated by playful banter and repartee, served to affirm their socio-cultural affiliations. For most of the newcomers (ESL learners), however, this on-going playfulness was a source of fun but also bewilderment and ambivalence: more often than not, ESL learners had difficulty following the complex web of inter-textual references which they had no or limited access to at home and through their various community networks. These well-established classroom practices among locals had the effect of restricting the active participation and involvement of ESL learners—or at best allowing them some marginal participation. This resulted to “what was cultural play for some [being] heavy cognitive and identity work for others” (Duff, 2004, p. 253).

One key theme permeating the aforementioned studies is how through playful talk and text production learners take on and reproduce

the “voices” of others by drawing on a diversity of sources (including popular media culture) for meaning making, meaning negotiation and identity work. The notions of inter-textuality (Kristeva, 1980) and contextualisation (Bauman and Briggs, 1990) are central in understanding these processes. Both of these notions are premised on an understanding of talk and text as being “constructed of a mosaic of quotations” (Kristeva, 1980, p. 66). These notions have been fruitfully combined with insights from socio-cultural and social constructivist theories of learning (e.g. neo-Vygotskian approaches), literary theory (e.g. Volosinov and Bakhtin’s work on dialogicality and heteroglossia) and interactional sociolinguistics (e.g. Goffman’s work on *Frame Analysis*). This line of research has looked into learners (and teachers’) various types of playful talk across learning contexts (e.g. in undirected informal talk among peers, small group and whole group instruction). It has highlighted the opportunities for identity work and processes of learning that the heterogeneity of voices in the classroom might be supporting.

For instance, Maybin (2003) explores how, through the introduction of “other voices” (e.g. snippets of songs, parodies of teacher voices, “he-said-she-said” routines and other forms of stylised talk) in informal talk during group work, learners produced rapid frame shifts to play. The frame transformations of instructional interactions into more playful ones allowed learners not only to display and experiment with different institutional roles, identities and classroom practices but also to scaffold their engagement in classroom tasks and learning activities (see also Maybin, 2006). In her comparative study of two groups of learners engaged in the same collaborative writing task, Haworth (1999) reaches similar conclusions. She observes that the group which produced the most collaborative and dialogic talk experimented more with seamlessly shifting between task related and play frames, mixing genres (e.g. task-related talk with playful talk drawing on the playground and the courtroom genres) and adopting a range of different voices. She argues for the importance of such collaborative and dialogic talk for classroom learning and highlights its carry-on potential to support learning across classroom genres.

In Hirst (2003), our analytical gaze shifts to an Indonesian second language classroom in Australia. Hirst explores how through the ventriloquation of diverse voices characterised by the pervasive use of teasing, ironic remarks and parody learners appropriated and resisted aspects of the teacher’s voice. Through the use of these playful resources, they not only had social fun but also engaged in constructing their cultural identities and interpersonal relations by raising boundaries of inclusion and exclusion. Baynham (1996) investigates how the use of humour by both teacher and learners in an adult numeracy class is exploited as an interpersonal resource. He illustrates how it is

strategically manipulated for the management of the interactants' complex and potentially conflicting social roles and identities and to address the power/knowledge imbalance in teacher–learner relations.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

As mentioned in the previous section, there has been an increasing research interest in the heterogeneity of voices, genres, frames, practices and discourses in schools and classrooms and its implications for meaning making and identity work (e.g. Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López and Tejada, 1999; Kambarelis, 2001). In addition, a number of recent studies have explored the intersection of learners' expressive repertoires (including various forms of playful talk) and popular media culture in probing into learners' strategic shifts and alignments to display their multiple and at times conflicting identities and roles (e.g. Duff, 2004; Dyson, 2003; Maybin, 2006; Rampton, 2006). Although both strands of research seem to offer promising directions for the investigation of learners' playful talk, there is still a dearth of work in progress from sociolinguistic and educational stand-points with an explicit focus on various forms of learners' playful talk and identity construction in schools and classrooms.

The following two ESRC research seminar series (*Children's Literacy and Popular Culture* and *Play, Creativity and Digital Cultures*) focus primarily on popular culture and only indirectly on playful talk in so far as they probe into the different ways popular culture informs various forms of playful talk (e.g. teasing routines, humour, music making) and issues of identity, knowledge, agency and social capital. This work is premised on the ubiquitous presence of popular cultural and media texts and artifacts in the lives of children and young people in out-of-school arenas and seeks to understand its corresponding influence on school literacy and other school-related learning processes and practices. More specifically, the first ESRC Seminar Series on *Children's Literacy and Popular Culture* (2002–2004) looks into the different ways popular media culture has been used and transformed across sites (within homes, communities, peer groups and schools) and the different affordances and constraints it offers for learning and identity work. Following on the first seminar series, the second ESRC Seminar Series on *Play, Creativity and Digital Cultures* (2005–2007) focuses on the role of play (including aspects of playful talk and text production) and creativity in learning with new media technologies both within and outside school.

Two ethnographically informed sociolinguistic ESRC funded projects are looking indirectly into various forms of playful talk focusing specifically on contemporary British urban schools and classrooms

(mainstream comprehensive schools and complementary also known as supplementary or heritage schools). Rampton et al. (2005–2008) are exploring the intersection of ethnolinguistic difference and popular culture with the purpose of investigating young people's ethnic, popular cultural and educational identities in school-based interaction. Creese, et al. (2006–2007) are investigating “new multilingualisms” currently in development by young people and their teachers in complementary schools in four ethnolinguistic communities (Chinese, Turkish, Gujarati and Bangladeshi). The project aims to extend the boundaries of traditional sociolinguistic research by examining not only widely researched discursive phenomena such as code-switching and code-mixing but also more dynamic ones. These include the emergence of new linguistic varieties associated with youth/popular media cultures and the appropriation and transformation of linguistic, cultural and other semiotic resources, practices, genres and strategies in learners' talk inside and outside the classroom. Moreover, it aims to explore how through these discursive practices (including playful talk) learners display their multilingual/multicultural identities and sense of belonging.

Both the research seminar series and projects can provide important insights into what Pennycook (2003) has referred to as “more fluid ways of thinking about language, identity and belonging” (Pennycook, 2003, p. 514). Playful talk can constitute a central resource for learners in understanding such processes of meaning making and identity formation in schools and classrooms.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

While the recent turn in the research agenda towards exploring learners (and teachers') hybrid discourses and practices and the heterogeneity of resources, genres, styles, registers, frames available to them across school arenas can not be denied, more research still needs to be done in this direction. The privileging of whole class instruction over, for instance, undirected informal talk among learners and small group instruction and the corresponding focus on unified floors, sequential turn-taking and the conventional IRE structure of classroom discourse have influenced the extent to which learners' playful talk and play frames have been examined as discursive phenomena in their own right. As a result, the focus on particular types of talk, practices and resources has tended to consign playful talk, play frames and their producers to the margins of educational and sociolinguistic research. Indeed, playful talk in the form of music making, humming and chanting during whole class instruction, for instance, has often been associated with noisier, more unruly classrooms and has been seen as

undermining traditional teacher authority and power and disrupting content transmission (cf. Rampton, 2006). The fact that these discursive phenomena remain under-researched may also be linked to broader questions concerning what counts as legitimate knowledge in educational settings and what kind of linguistic and other practices are relevant in supporting it (Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001).

Moreover, while sociolinguistic and educational research into various forms of playful talk and play frames has benefited from insights from childhood literacy development studies and ethnographic sociolinguistics, there is a need to explore further the potential contribution of other research traditions in enhancing our understanding of learners' playful talk and identity construction. For instance, there is a growing interest in learners' playful and creative uses of language within second language acquisition (SLA) research and applied linguistics (see Broner and Tarone, 2001; Cook, 2000; Warner, 2004). In her study of playful talk (language play with form, content and frame) in synchronous computer-mediated communication (CMC) among second language learners of German, Warner (2004) draws the following illuminating conclusions:

Play can no longer be regarded as an anomaly or exceptional form of communication, but must be acknowledged as a legitimate and conventional use of language. In particular, greater attention must be paid to playful elements in language use that are not limited to the linguistic form. Students in the German classes were not simply playing with the language, but playing *within* [italics in the original] the language. In such instances, it is not primarily meaning that is being negotiated, but also the relations between speakers, their interlocutors, the medium and the context. What's more, they are negotiating their relation to a foreign language, which to them feels in some ways inauthentic and, as one student noted, like "just a game" (Warner, 2004, p. 80).

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

As learners' lives become saturated by popular media culture and new telecommunications technology, increasingly much of what constitutes learning takes place outside mainstream schools and classrooms. Homes, community-based and other recreational organisations, after-school homework and other clubs, complementary schools, chat rooms, on-line discussion lists and newsgroups, the internet are some of the sites where learning for children and young people also takes place. These changes have important implications for how processes of learning,

meaning making and identity construction are conceptualised and explored. It would, therefore, be fruitful to extend the investigation of learners' playful talk, play frames and identity work beyond mainstream schools and classrooms to look into these other sites for learning. In this context, more work needs to be done: (1) to examine how these sites provide novel opportunities but also perhaps limitations for the use, appropriation and refashioning of the learners' diverse linguistic and other resources and practices for playful talk; (2) to explore playful talk as a productive locus for the co-construction of knowledge and social affiliation but also perhaps as a powerful tool for social/discursive differentiation and exclusion in these sites and (3) to explicitly raise awareness regarding the centrality of playful talk and its various manifestations in learners' lives in general.

Moreover, while fine-grain analysis of learners' playful talk can yield important insights into the regularities of how they manage their linguistic and other semiotic resources, more work needs to be done to explain how playful talk can be linked to broader social, educational and historical contexts, linguistic and institutional ideologies as well as processes associated with consumption, leisure, globalisation and migration (cf. Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001). At the same time, more attention needs to be paid to how different learners are positioned within particular institutions and social networks, ranging from local school-based peer groups to trans-national diasporas and virtual communities and how they engage with particular practices and activities associated, for instance, with popular media culture consumption (cf. Rampton, 2006). Both analytical perspectives can greatly enhance our insights into learners' playful talk, play frames and identity work.

**See Also:** *Jasmine Luk Ching Man: Classroom Discourse and the Construction of Learner and Teacher Identities (Volume 3)*; *Jill Bourne: Official Pedagogic Discourses and the Construction of Learners' Identities (Volume 3)*; *Charlotte Haglund: Ethnicity at Work in Peer-group Interactions at School (Volume 3)*; *David Bloome: Literacies in the Classroom (Volume 2)*; *Jabari Mahiri: Literacies in the Lives of Urban Youth (Volume 2)*; *Kwesikwaa Prah: Language, Literacy and Knowledge Production in Africa (Volume 2)*; *Janet Maybin: Revoicing across Learning Spaces (Volume 3)*; *Anne-Brit Fenner: Cultural Awareness in the Foreign Language Classroom (Volume 6)*; *Arthur Van Essen: Language Awareness and Knowledge about Language: A Historical Overview (Volume 6)*; *Pedro Garcez: Microethnography in the Classroom (Volume 10)*

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## **Section 3**

### **Discourses about Language and Linguistic Diversity**

## LANGUAGE CHOICE AND SYMBOLIC DOMINATION

## INTRODUCTION

Research on language choice and symbolic domination in schooling can be seen as one approach to one of the major sociological questions regarding education, namely the role of education in social and cultural reproduction. Sociologists and anthropologists of education have long argued that, while schooling often is supposed to be a major means of meritocratic, and hence democratic, access to social success, in fact its evaluation procedures favour the already successful. In other words, schooling simply reproduces existing social hierarchies, whether based on class, ethnicity, race, religion or gender.

Most of this research was based on examination of patterns of school achievement, that is on the statistically skewed outcomes of the educational process. Pioneering work of Bourdieu and Passeron (1970) on this subject focussed attention on the process of social selection through education. Central to their argument is the notion that schools contribute to social and cultural reproduction because the knowledge they value is not, as they claim, universal, but rather is the privileged property of the dominant classes. As a result, students who come to school already possessing that knowledge have a better chance of doing well at school than those who do not. However, to fulfil this function effectively, it is crucial that it be masked; that is, all participants must accept the basic, albeit false, assumption, that schools really are meritocratic. Bourdieu and Passeron term symbolic domination the ability of the dominant classes to convince themselves and others that the existing social hierarchy is thus justified on the basis of inherent properties of people or knowledge (this might include personality characteristics such as talent or drive, or properties of knowledge, such as the relative purity or clarity of languages).

For Bourdieu and Passeron, language is central to the exercise of symbolic domination, for it is through language that reality is socially constructed. Clearly, this implies that there are many ways in which linguistic variation, as it is tied to social differentiation and stratification, is relevant to social and cultural reproduction. However, for the purposes of this review, I limit myself to two of the most evident ways in which language contributes to this process, that is, through preferences for the acquisition and display of knowledge through certain

languages (or language varieties) rather than others, or for the acquisition and display of knowledge of certain languages themselves.

In the rest of this chapter, I show how the notions of Bourdieu and Passeron have met up with an Anglo-American tradition of sociolinguistic interest in linguistic and social difference and school success, and how the resulting cross-fertilization permits an analysis of the local and the global conditions influencing social selection through language choice in multilingual educational settings. This type of analysis opens the door to explorations not only of social reproduction (the only scenario Bourdieu and Passeron discussed), but also of challenges to existing forms of symbolic domination. In the final section, I consider some implications of these areas of research for future trends in research, policy and practice.

#### DEFICIT, DIFFERENCE AND DOMINANCE: SOCIOLINGUISTIC APPROACHES TO SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT

In the 1960s, among the prominent explanations offered for the skewed representation of certain groups among those doing well, or, conversely, doing poorly, at school, the argument that the problem was due to cognitive, social and linguistic deficit among unsuccessful student populations (Bereiter and Engelmann, 1966; Jensen, 1969) was particularly influential. (Similar arguments are still made today.) In other words, researchers argued that some students did poorly because they were not well-equipped (genetically, or by their environment) before entering school. It was held that the problem was due to lack of knowledge, of cognitive and social stimulation, and of cognitive and linguistic skills among certain segments of the population.

Along with other social scientists, several prominent sociolinguists (notably William Labov and John Gumperz; cf. Gumperz, 1982, 1986; Labov, 1972, 1982) attacked this argument on the grounds that sociolinguistics showed that the problem was not one of degrees of knowledge, but rather one of kind. They demonstrated that educationally unsuccessful groups certainly possessed systematic knowledge (for example, their linguistic production was perfectly grammatical, even if its rules were different from those of the standard). According to them, the problem was that schools did not recognize this knowledge, since it was different from the forms of knowledge valued by educators. This insight inspired over a decade's worth of research focussing first on discovering the nature of linguistic and cultural differences at play in a variety of settings and their consequences for educational evaluation, and second on ways of transforming schooling so as to take these differences into account in ways that might equalize chances of school success for otherwise marginalized groups.

The most influential of these studies focussed on differences between White, Black and Native American students and schools in US. Among these, it is important to cite the early work of Philips (1972), who showed that Native American ways of learning and displaying knowledge were radically at variance with those of classrooms run by White teachers. In particular, Native American students were accustomed to learning by observation, to collective undertakings and to choosing when to display competence once acquired. Teachers' insistence on individual displays of the learning process forced students to violate their cultural norms, resulting in patterns of student resistance. Michaels (1981) showed that Black students' narrative styles differed from those expected by White teachers; as a result, those teachers were actually unable to discern Black students' narrative structures. Hence, from an early age, these students were understood not as having a different competence, but as being incompetent. In addition, as Michaels and others showed (cf. Collins, 1988; Erickson and Schultz, 1982), not only were students of different backgrounds negatively evaluated, they also received differential treatment that effectively closed off for them any hope of educational success. Well-meaning attempts to 'help' (such as remedial reading programs), in fact tended to increase the distance between targeted students and the kinds of knowledge they would need to do well in school.

On the basis of such research, a number of individual and collectively initiated action-research programmes were undertaken with the intention of building into teaching and learning practices not only an awareness of linguistic and cultural differences, but also of modifying curriculum and pedagogy to make it more culturally compatible for minority students. Among the better-known of these is the work of Heath (1983), who examined language socialization patterns among working-class and middle-class Black and White families in the US south. Based on her findings, she worked with teachers and students to increase awareness of linguistic and cultural differences at play in the community and school; her use of ethnographic techniques as learning and teaching practices might stand as one source of the language awareness movement that has been developing since the late 1980s, with the goal of facilitating language learning and school achievement through metalinguistic awareness and socioculturally embedded pedagogy (cf. Bremer, Roberts and Vasseur, 1996; Fairclough, 1992). Other significant works in this domain include the reading programs implemented in the Hawaiian Kamehameha schools for Native Hawaiian students, which build on indigenous collective oral narrative strategies to modify literacy and literacy preparation activities in the classroom (Au and Jordan, 1981; Jordan, 1984); and the culturally compatible programs and practices implemented in a Navajo school (McCarty, Wallace, Lynch and Benally, 1991; Vogt, Jordan and Tharp, 1993).

While language choice (Black English, Hawaiian, Navajo) is clearly one element of cultural compatibility, these efforts incorporate the issue of language choice into the broader context of cultural practices of teaching and learning, that is, of acquiring, constructing and displaying knowledge.

While such research has inspired many people, and many such programs seem to have met with at least a certain degree of success, they have also encountered criticism from a number of quarters (for example, de Castell and Walker, 1991; Delpit, 1988; Ogbu, 1993). What these critiques have in common is that they point out that the cultural-difference model (as it has come to be known) cannot account for some cases because it does not take into account the relationship between cultural difference and social dominance; in other words, it tends to ignore the relations of power obtained in schooling (and in research on schooling), and to neglect contribution of schooling to social and cultural reproduction. Its primary recommendation (culturally compatible programs and pedagogy) does not accord with minority needs to at least understand the language and culture of power (Delpit, 1988), and does not work unless students are convinced that education actually gets them somewhere (Erickson, 1993; Ogbu, 1993, 1999). It also fails to address issues faced in ethnolinguistically heterogeneous settings, whether stable or in flux.

Recent research has tried then to understand the relationship between school and community language and cultural practices as one of power, in which differences are embedded in the exercise of and resistance to the school's power to impose its values and norms on students and their families. Much of this research has in fact focussed on the issue of language choice, as one area where struggles over the value and distribution of linguistic and cultural capital may emerge most clearly. One reason for this is that research on codeswitching since the 1970s demonstrated the prevalence of this practice in (usually officially monolingual) educational institutions in multilingual settings, and established its effectiveness for purposes of social, discourse and conversational organization (Martin-Jones, 1995). However, by the early 1990s, this strand of research had also developed an awareness of the necessity of examining the social, economic and political constraints and processes that not only make language choice an issue in such settings, but also make them meaningful. It became clear, in other words, that language choice practices in educational settings were about, and had to be understood in terms of, social structures and processes beyond the ethnographic present and the local site (Heller, 1995, 2006). Indeed, given the centrality of social selection in educational processes, it became clear that language choice in schools or other

educational settings was, at least in part, about struggles of power, about, quite literally, whose voice would dominate educational discourse, about whom education is really for.

#### LANGUAGE CHOICE AND SYMBOLIC DOMINATION IN EDUCATIONAL SETTINGS

Work in this area focuses both on the relationship between standard and non-standard varieties of the same language, as well as between other kinds of language varieties, more or less linguistically related. The issue of power emerges clearly in the first, since by definition what characterizes standard languages is the authority institutionally invested in them (this of course raises the question of who controls the institutions). In the second, the issue of power is connected to the relations of inequality obtaining between speakers of the languages in contact, whether due to conditions of colonization, immigration, conquest or other processes.

Some of this work emerged from a reflexive movement in applied linguistics, in particular among those engaged in the field of English as a second language, beginning in the early 1990s (see, notably Pennycook, 1994, and Phillipson, 1992, followed later by Pennycook, 2001), have focussed on the importance of moving away from examining language teaching and learning as principally technical, or universalistically cognitive, processes, and of taking into account the relations of power which inform them (this is particularly obvious in the case of English, the new global lingua franca, but has been applied more generally to various aspects of the role of language in globalization, post-colonialism and post-nationalism; cf. e.g. Block and Cameron, 2002; Cronin, 2003; Coupland, 2003; DelValle, in press; Dor, 2004; Heller, 2007; Leap and Boellstorff, 2004; Maurais and Morris, 2003; Wright, 2003).

Major focuses have, however, crystallized around post-colonial settings, questioning the practice of using the former colonial language as the language of instruction and of granting former colonial powers the authority to define legitimate language; around politically mobilized indigenous or long-established minorities fighting for the right to use their language as the language of instruction; and around areas of dynamic immigration, where almost every day new questions are raised about the linguistic dimensions of relations among groups. This trend is usefully captured in Heller and Martin-Jones (2001), a collection of papers from a variety of such settings around the world. The collection explicitly aims to link language choice practices in interaction in educational settings to institutional processes, and to the political

economic foundations of symbolic domination. The central notion is that codes represent institutional authority, or challenges to that authority, and can be drawn on in ways that serve principally to establish or resist the local, interactional order, and through that order, the larger institutional, and social one. It is the mediation through the local interactional order that instantiates symbolic domination, since it is there that relations of power are masked through appeals to legitimizing ideologies.

For example, my own contribution to that collection shows how, in French-language minority schools in Canada, the authority of the teacher is maintained through an interactional order based on a sequential organization of turn-taking, which is institutionally legitimized through the notion of 'respect' ('respect' means listening silently while others talk, and talking when invited to do so). This local interactional order permits teachers to control both the form and the content of talk in ways which, among other things, allow them to reproduce institutional language norms (a preference for standard, monolingual-type French). These norms are in turn legitimized through the notion that they are necessary for the maintenance of French as a minority language, and for the maintenance of the quality of that French. The unintended effect, however, is to privilege students who are speakers of the valued variety of French, members of the new middle class, as against working class speakers of the (often bilingual) vernacular, despite the fact that the schools ostensibly exist to promote the interests of all francophones, and especially those who suffer most from economic, social and political marginalization. Williams (1987), Jaffe (1993, 1999; and her contribution in Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001) and McDonald (1990) have made similar arguments about how the standardization of minority languages (in their cases, Welsh, Corsican and Breton) through education (as well as through related forms of linguistic research and legislation) serves the interests of emerging middle classes who benefit from political mobilization, while constructing new relations of inequality internal to the ostensibly unified minority. These cases, as well as others (see earlier paragraphs), show clearly how language choice helps to reproduce (or, on rare occasions, to challenge) the unequal distribution of resources in the community through symbolic domination.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

I have traced here a developing commitment to understanding language choice in education as a matter of power, as well as a commitment to examining the role of language in educational processes of social reproduction. These orientations have implications for further research, and also for educational policy and practice. Two priorities for research

stand out. The first has to do with internal linkages, the second with cross-setting comparison.

Current work has begun to explore the ways in which language choice as a discursive or conversational strategy is connected to its effects regarding the distribution of linguistic (and hence other cultural, or even material) resources, that is, to social and cultural reproduction. However, we still understand poorly the nature of that link, and in particular of its relationship to legitimating ideologies of language, class, ethnicity, gender and education, and to institutional structures and processes. Nonetheless, some ethnographies have laid the groundwork for how to tie what happens in the here-and-now of life in the classroom to academic achievement (and hence social reproduction) and to the political economy of language and education in particular arenas. Some of these (such as Heller, 1999, 2007, or Jaffe, 1999) focus on the particular problem of linguistic minority education, tying issues of language standardization to nationalism. Others, notably Wortham (2006), examine the local construction of social categories, in this case, gender and class, and their ties to academic achievement. In all these cases, the methodological path involves analysis of interaction, institutional ethnography, and social histories in the form of political economic analyses of language and education. This entails asking why these forms of interaction, there, then? With what consequences, for whom? In addition, we know we must look for institutional and ideological interstices to discover possibilities for resistance and change (Heller, 2007; Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001), but we have only just begun to take on this challenge.

In addition, clearly, generalizations cannot be made without a comparison across close understandings of individual, socially and historically situated cases. We are beginning to build up such a body of ethnographic work, and to explore the general processes of state-building, nationalism, colonialism and globalization which help us understand the role that language has played in the past and plays currently in constructing education as a social institution in the service of reproduction of specific forms of social organization, legitimated and made sense of through specific ideologies, under specific historical conditions (in addition to those mentioned earlier, see Block and Cameron, 2002; Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001; Martin-Jones, 2007).

The results of such research have clear practical implications. This work fundamentally asks whom education is for, who benefits from the way things are, and who is marginalized. That leaves us with the question of whether we are happy with the picture our research portrays, or whether changes are needed. Either way, such research should help us understand what policies and practices actually produce, and

therefore help identify critical points of intervention. Most importantly, it shows that educational language choices are never neutral.

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LANGUAGE PLANNING IDEOLOGIES,  
COMMUNICATIVE PRACTICES  
AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES

INTRODUCTION

Languages are far more than just media of communication. They embody more subjective features such as values, ideals and attitudes that imbue them with particular symbolic qualities and functions. They are then seen as emblems of nationhood, cultural identity, progress, modernity, democracy, freedom, equality, pluralism, socialism and many such 'values'. These valuations become central elements in the ascription and achievement of language status (Blommaert, 1999). Such attitudes and beliefs, when linked to other social ideologies, can influence and constrain the development of language planning and policy (LPP). For this reason language planning issues are rarely solely about language.

Ideologies are unconscious beliefs and assumptions that are 'naturalized' and thus contribute to hegemony. They bring into play relationships of power that perpetuate inequality and social injustice. Further, ideologies are reproduced by a variety of institutional and everyday practices, such as those followed in schools, administration, media, advertising, art, literature and so on. These reproduction practices tend to reinforce privilege and grant it legitimacy as a 'natural' condition (Fairclough, 1989). A good example is the notion of a standard language; itself a product of such 'naturalized' thinking (Bex and Watts, 1999; Milroy and Milroy, 1985). Scholars engaged in LPP, therefore, seek to understand and uncover the ideologies inherent in the historical and sociopolitical structures and practices that contribute to the reproduction of such systems of authority and control, and how they may be resisted, for language planning to be beneficial.

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Early work in LPP first emerged in the 1960s and 1970s to aid programmes of 'modernization' in 'developing' countries and was seen as having practical value for newly independent, multilingual and multiethnic states facing the problem of national unity and socioeconomic development. Much of this work (Fishman, Ferguson and, Das Gupta, 1968; Haugen, 1966; Kloss, 1966; Rubin and Jernudd, 1971) focused on the

formulation of language planning goals and on constructing frameworks and typologies as tools for determining which languages should be developed for which purposes.

The central question in status planning for many of these 'new nations' was the selection of a national language for the purposes of modernization and nation building. Since language diversity was typically perceived as a problem and, only 'developed' languages were considered appropriate in formal and specialized domains, this role was typically assigned to a major European language (usually English or French), whereas indigenous languages served other, subservient functions. Thus, the European formula for successful nationhood, of one-nation/one-language, became the model which implicitly informed language planning in several decolonized states in Africa, Asia and the Middle East (Ricento, 2000).

The long-standing dominance of 'standard language,' 'native speaker norms' and 'linguistic competence' as icons of communication and pedagogical practices in the periphery, owes its existence to the imposition of this Eurocentric universalistic model, despite their total irrelevance in these multilingual and multicultural contexts. These deeply entrenched practices marginalized the indigenous languages and devalued local forms of knowledge and culture.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

By the 1970s and 1980s, LPP scholars were vigorously critiquing and questioning the descriptive models they had developed. A number of factors led to a reconsideration of the goals and methods of LPP. The fundamental assumptions underlying these models were found to be problematic, e.g. the belief that language as a resource could be planned; that status and corpus planning could be undertaken as separate activities which were ideologically neutral; that languages could be abstracted from their social, historical and political contexts (Ricento, 2000).

The choice of European languages as 'neutral media' to aid national development favoured the economic interests of metropolitan countries, and not those of marginalized minority language speakers. The selection of indigenous languages for low variety functions and European languages for high functions tended to perpetuate socioeconomic asymmetries based on education, and differential access to linguistic, social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991). The newly independent states thus became more dependent on their colonial masters than during the colonial era. At the same time, several studies on multinational LPP cases (e.g. South Africa, India, Thailand, Nepal, and others) challenged the one-language/one-nation ideological tenet of modernization and development theory.

Widespread dissatisfaction with the inherent limitations of early top-down models led to the call for an LPP that would move beyond the descriptive to become more theoretical, predictive, and explanatory. A rich profusion of work emerged in the early 1990s that would inject new theoretical and empirical perspectives into LPP. Whereas early scholars were largely concerned with status planning and issues connected with standardization, graphization and modernization, scholarly interest in the 1990s shifted to examining the social, economic and political effects of language contact and change from a more critical and post-modernist perspective. How do such approaches critique LPP?

A critical approach to language planning (CLP) takes a more complex view of the new world order and acknowledges that power is implicit in the policy-making process, where policies often create and sustain various forms of social inequality. Most policies adopted by the state and other institutions controlled by supra-national dominant groups, are viewed as serving the interests of oppressors. Hence CLP scholars adopt a more probing approach (Canagarajah 1999, 2000; Luke, McHoul, and Mey, 1990; Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 1992; Tollefson, 1991) in elucidating the link between language policies and ideologies of power.

A particularly influential notion that has stimulated much discussion is that the global expansion of English as a vehicle of modernity and economic progress is little more than 'linguistic imperialism' (Phillipson, 1992) or 'linguicism' (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). This perspective offers a forceful critique of the global spread of English and English language teaching in the periphery as being motivated by the hidden interests of agencies of the centre, while engaged in supposedly altruistic activities. The process of political, economic, social, cultural and educational domination and exploitation with which English was promoted in these countries has had devastating effects on indigenous languages, amounting to 'linguistic genocide'.

In this view, social and economic progress is denied to those who do not learn this language of modernity, thus propagating unequal division of power and resources between groups in former British and American colonies. This leads speakers of the less powerful minority languages to increasingly dispense with their first language(s) in favour of learning English, resulting in language shift or displacement. One consequence of this process is the marginalization, and ultimately the loss, of thousands of indigenous languages. This view of linguistic imperialism has been strongly criticized as being deterministic, because it largely overlooks local cultural politics and tends to cast members of the periphery in the role of helpless and largely unconscious victims of a linguistic hegemony in which they are persuaded to connive. In other

words, this perspective has been criticized for divorcing language from human agency: people are agents and not merely objects in the creation of their own meanings.

Clearly, there exists a tension between English, seen on the one hand, as a neutral, pragmatic language, essential for national development, and on the other, as a language tied to undesirable forms of Western culture, values and knowledge which threaten local cultural identities (Pennycook, 1994). This paradox gives rise to 'conflicting discourses', indicating that the local people still 'desire' English, thus perpetuating its hegemony, as revealed by the post-colonial status of English, especially in countries like Singapore and Malaysia, or urban South Africa, where it is seen to thrive even at a period of intense nationalism.

This suggests that it is not only the power and position of English globally that needs to be considered, 'but also the struggles around English in its local contexts' (Pennycook, 1994, p. 219), characterized by these competing discourses. Using English does not necessarily imply a deterministic imposition of cultural and discursive frameworks, since English can be used and appropriated in different ways, as in 'writing back' from the periphery. In short, English can be taken over and employed by periphery users as a way of asserting cultural and political independence from centrist interests.

Yet other studies illustrate the point that in many local communities and contexts, marginalized subjects are resisting established policies, constructing alternative practices that exist parallel to the dominant policies and even initiating changes that transform unequal relationships (Canagarajah, 1999). Such analysis demonstrates how people from the periphery use different strategies in creative and critical ways in different historical contexts, to achieve their ends. For instance in Sri Lanka, in the period of colonization, English was used to represent the local discourse through a 'strategy of discursive appropriation'. In the decolonization stage, the dominant English discourse was re-worked to reflect the local interests and ideologies through a 'strategy of reinterpretation'. After independence, English was used by the new elite to strengthen their power, via a 'strategy of accommodation.' And in present day Sri Lanka, people have mixed the use of the vernacular with English to form a system of hybrid codes to achieve a variety of symbolic purposes through a 'strategy of appropriation' (Canagarajah, 2000, pp. 125–128). Such realities involve individual agency and point to incipient cases of language planning from the bottom up.

Recent investigations of specific cases of LPP as mechanisms for exclusion bear evidence of exploitative policies in education systems that impose disadvantages on minority students and restrictions on bilinguals among both subordinate and dominant populations. This aspect is discussed in the following section.

## WORK IN PROGRESS: NEW PERSPECTIVES

The turn of the millennium has seen a resurgence of interest in LPP, fueled in large part by the unprecedented spread of English and other global languages, and the alarming loss and endangerment of indigenous and small language communities worldwide. Old themes have been repeated and several new issues have emerged arising mainly from the dilemmas caused by two major historical (and in some ways opposing) movements: decolonization and globalization. Decolonization entails resisting English and other colonial languages in the interest of building an autonomous nation state; globalization, on the other hand, has reinstated the importance of English for all communities through multinational production flows, pop culture, cyber space, and digital technology.

In English-speaking countries, such as Britain and the USA, two dominant ideologies have continued to thrive: the ideology of English monolingualism and the standard language ideology (Ager, 2003; Wiley and Lukes, 1996). The first frames policy issues in an immigrant paradigm in portraying language diversity as an alien and divisive force, identifiable in the rhetoric of the English Only movement in the USA. The second positions speakers of different varieties of the same language within a social hierarchy, with schools functioning as the principal instruments of this stratification, as the chief purveyors of standards.

These linguistic ideologies are, in turn, reinforced by other ideological assumptions that link language with national unity and social mobility.

In the US context, the ideology of monolingualism prompts the assimilationist belief that incoming language minorities should give up their native language in favour of the dominant one: first, because preservation of a minority language is seen as a potentially divisive factor in maintaining national unity, and second, as the key to equal opportunity that allows linguistic minorities to integrate into mainstream socioeconomic systems.

The chief characteristics of a standard ideology is the belief that there is one and only one correct spoken form of the language, modeled on a single correct written form and that access to standard language education is an essential component of social mobility. However, although literacy in the standard is held out to be universally accessible, its control by the elites strengthens its potential to either open or bar doors of access and opportunity. Groups that can impose their language and literacy practices as normative have a strategic advantage over those who cannot. In Britain, from the nineteenth century through to the first decades of the twentieth century, the concept of Standard English was identified as the speech of the ruling class, thus permitting

the ranking and valorizing of certain forms of speech as superior: (see Williams, *Discourses about English: Class, Codes and Identities in Britain*, Volume 3). In the USA, on the other hand, the standard ideology reveals itself in attitudes that can be described as overtly racist or ethnically discriminatory, where speakers of African American Vernacular English, among others, constitute the largest number among 'nonstandard' varieties of English (Modiano, 2001).

These ideologies have not only drastically affected bilingual education policies in the USA, usually based on a 'weak' transitional model rather than on a maintenance model, but have also influenced teaching and testing procedures, wherein the linguistic background and abilities of students in their native languages are either ignored or perceived as deficiencies in ESL classes. Moreover, significant gatekeeping mechanisms, such as college entrance requirements and tracking, bear testimony to the hegemony and centrality of the standard ideology in education. The historical legacy of the ideologies of English Only and Standard English, and their continuing differential impact across racial and ethnic groups, as foregrounded in the Ebonics debates in the USA, has led to a call for more equitable instruction for speakers of non-dominant varieties of English.

In many non-Anglo-American settings, particularly the former colonies in Africa, South Asia and South East Asia, where English continues to play a powerful role, the ideology that prevails is the pre-eminent instrumental value of this language in modernity and economic progress. The power wielded by English as the primary language of globalization is further boosted by its perceived 'neutrality' amidst competing interest groups of diverse ethnic and linguistic affiliations in these multilingual and multicultural contexts and its potential, as lingua franca, for bringing about social and national cohesion among these peoples—a role which frequently hides the fact that, in these contexts, English is far from neutral in terms of social class and has equal potential for dividing people.

Meanwhile, the impact of globalization presents new dilemmas which lead to 'the assimilation of the powerless towards the powerful' as communities and individuals find themselves torn between the desire to enhance their economic prospects and maintain their linguistic/cultural affiliations. For instance, the European Union is officially committed to multilingualism and linguistic diversity, while integrally involved in the processes of globalization that are symbiotically linked to English. It is likely that increasing European integration strengthens the process of globalization, Americanization and Englishization rather than constraining them (Phillipson, 2003). Similarly, faced with the dilemma of accommodating the presence of its indigenous languages and English, having apprehended English in purely instrumental terms,

Singapore, a country where much of current social life is driven by economic demands, finds itself framing its indigenous languages correspondingly in non-instrumental terms, as bearers of ethnic identity and repositories of traditional and cultural values, thus weakening their internal role and status vis-à-vis English (Rappa and Wee, 2006, pp. 129–130).

The growing emphasis on the use of English in education in the peripheries of the World system, articulated in national language and educational policies, is increasingly based on an image of globalization as monocentric, with an English-dominant economic, financial and political centre. The promotion of English in countries as diverse as Congo and Mozambique, where English used to be a marginal commodity, and Thailand and Malaysia, countries that are committed to having their indigenous languages flourish, is motivated by a desire of national governments to align themselves with the USA and international organizations such as the International Monetary Fund and World Bank (Blommaert, 2006, p. 241). The imbalances created by this tendency to construct majority languages as instruments of modernity and economic progress and minority languages as (merely) carriers of ‘tradition’ or ‘cultural identity’ has created an awareness of the need to rethink nation states in more linguistically plural and inclusive ways.

One area that has received particular attention is language shift and loss, particularly among the smaller languages that are dying out due to the spread of a few world languages such as, English, French, Spanish and Arabic (Crystal, 2000; Nettle and Romaine, 2000). Of the estimated 6,800 languages spoken today, 96% of the world’s population speak 100 languages, with 4% speaking the remaining thousands of languages. It is predicted, on present trends that between 20% and 50% will die out by the end of the twenty-first century. Concerns about the plight of many of today’s minority languages have led scholars to advocate their revitalization by reversing the limited instrumentality of these languages and according them at least some of the protections and institutional support that majority languages already enjoy (Freeland and Patrick, 2004; May, 2001, 2006).

Thus, in the midst of a heightened awareness of language endangerment an ‘ecology-of-language’ paradigm has been proposed, most articulately developed in the works of Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Robert Phillipson (1994; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). Its aim is to build linguistic diversity worldwide, promote multilingualism and foreign language learning, and grant linguistic human rights (LHRs) to speakers of all languages. In this view, the cure for linguisticism and linguistic genocide requires a proactive political and moral response, involving the promotion and acceptance of LHRs by states and international bodies as universal principles. LHRs could then be one way of:

- preventing linguistic genocide;
- promoting integration and defending people against forced assimilation;
- promoting positive state policies toward minority languages;
- promoting the maintenance of the world's language diversity;
- promoting conflict prevention and self-determination.

The proponents of LHR believe this can be effected by changing the rules of the game that automatically presume an exclusive relationship between dominant languages, modernity, and mobility. They desire to avoid language displacement and discrimination and allow individuals a choice in the maintenance of their first languages. This view also has been critiqued for being somewhat utopian, for essentializing the linguistic identity of minority communities and treating vernacular rights as non-negotiable.

The debate about the relative status of the vernacular and dominant languages continues to pose serious practical and policy problems in many nation-states, particularly with regard to the choice of medium of instruction (MOI) in education, increasingly seen as playing a crucial role in determining social hierarchies, political power and economic opportunities. Many case studies detailing policies and practices in different countries across the globe (Fishman, Conrad, and Rubal-Lopez, 1996; Rappa and Wee, 2006; Tollefson and Tsui, 2004) have revealed that decisions on MOI policies are guided more by complex extraneous factors than inspired by academic or pedagogical considerations. These factors are often linked to a range of politico-economic issues including globalization, migration, labour problems, competition among elites in the distribution of economic resources and the nuances of political power. This suggests that MOI policies are never politically neutral. Pedagogical arguments for or against mother tongue medium very often serve as an alibi for pushing forward 'hidden agendas' of pressure groups while paying 'lip service' to nebulous ideological goals and are therefore open to a greater possibility of political manipulation and negotiation.

Recent studies (Canagarajah, 2005; Lin and Martin, 2005) have examined the debilitating conflicts and dilemmas involved in planning the relative status of the vernacular or mother tongue and English in society and education. In communities where the vernacular has been upheld in education and social life by way of affirmative action in recompense for colonial disparities, there are subtle resistances in favour of English, as can be seen in Malaysia and Iran. In communities that have accorded primacy to English as a key to economic and educational opportunities there has been a resurgence of localism, for example, in Brazil and India (Ramanathan, 2004). The unresolved tensions arising from the imposition of English in classrooms in such disparate

countries as India, South Africa, Tanzania, Kenya, Brunei and Hong Kong (see Lin and Martin, 2005), to name a few, are revealed in the many subtle ways in which the local language is introduced to negotiate the values, identities and interests of the local people. These ground realities indicate that abstract theoretical debates which pit one ideological position against another may not offer productive solutions to the practical problems confronting these communities.

Analysis of communicative practices in multilingual educational settings show that language use in the classroom often defies policies that are largely monolingual and purist. Code selection and codeswitching become particularly prominent in contesting (or constructing) domination in schools (Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001). While teachers and students use the authorized language for on-task and official sites, they use the unauthorized codes in surreptitious ways in unofficial and off-task contexts. Such practices enable minority students to represent their preferred cultural identities, develop solidarity, and tap into local knowledge both to facilitate their learning and to resist unfavourable policies by employing covert language acquisition and communicative practices that counteract dominant policies.

Given the role played by language in struggles of power and dominance between groups, language planning can often result in conflicts rather than solutions (Wiley and Lukes, 1996) or it can produce unintended outcomes. For instance, attempts at language maintenance in the interest of preserving linguistic ecology can be frustrated by some minority communities that are not committed to preserving their language, and instead prefer to learn the dominant code to overcome their marginalization. At other times, overt policy may belie the ulterior motivations of covert policy, as in the case of the egalitarian, pro-Tamil policy of the Singapore government, whose housing policy, militates against the language policy and covertly works to prevent Tamils from enjoying the numerical strength or cohesiveness to use the language in social life (Schiffman, 2003). These studies foreground the importance of LPP as a site for struggle and contestation as a prerequisite for social change. CLP scholars have an important responsibility to help people see how they can negotiate their own interests in an imperfect world.

Currently, intensification of efforts at the revival, revitalization, renewal, and reversing of language shift in LPP has generated some useful frameworks for addressing the exigencies of LPP practice, such as the graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale framework (Fishman, 2001) for reversing language shift, the model of forces at work in a linguistic ecosystem (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997), and the continua of biliteracy framework (Hornberger, 2003). LPP remains a complex balancing act, as the revival of one language can lead to the endangerment of others, as in the case of the revival and revitalization of Hebrew (Spolsky, 2004).

Meanwhile a series of contributions have emerged, calling for greater attention to the role of human agency, and in particular bottom-up agency, in LPP (e.g. Canagarajah, 2005; Ricento, 2000, 2006; Tsui and Tollefson, 2006). These combined critical perspectives on ideology, ecology and agency provide a rich resource for moving LPP forward in the new millennium.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The field of LPP has witnessed significant growth over the past 35 years and continues to broaden and deepen its scope of inquiry. Yet there is no unified theory of LPP that offers a model which can predict and explain the consequences of particular policy decisions, despite the existence of a number of theories and frameworks. It has been suggested that micro-level research on language choice needs to be integrated with macro-level policy investigations to provide a more complete explanation of language behaviour—including language change—than is currently available (Ricento, 2000). Here I present in point form some broad recommendations that may help move in the direction of such a unified theory:

- A conceptual framework needs to be developed, which, in addition to linking the macro- and micro-levels of investigation, permits valid comparisons to be made between language policies of different nation states as lessons to learn from.
- More research is needed, by way of both empirical and ethnographical studies, not only to provide richer descriptions from an insider perspective, but also to provide a more illuminative vantage-point for analysis and critique.
- In rethinking nation-states in more linguistically plural and inclusive ways, the prospect of more representational multinational and multilingual states needs to be fostered (May, 2006). This can be done by exploring mechanisms for directly contesting the historical inequities that have relegated minority language speakers to the social and political margins.
- Broadening the basis for language preferences of the state to better reflect the cultural and linguistic demographics of most present-day multinational and multilingual states to improve people's life chances.
- At a time of increasing domination by supranational structures of decision-making, a key issue is how can more democratic forms of language policy be developed, in which non-dominant ethnolinguistic groups can shape the language policies that affect them. This means seeking ways to alleviate the repression non-dominant groups have experienced and continue to do so by making accessible to them the democratic choices they were previously denied.

- Greater critical awareness and a spirit of skepticism needs to be fostered towards the hidden agendas and interests that underpin the actions of particular nation-states, institutions and communities in promoting or inhibiting certain (or certain kinds of) LPP decisions and activities, so that non-beneficial ones can be resisted or subverted and empowering decisions sustained.
- Better understanding of the factors contributing to successful language maintenance and revitalization programmes must be developed, with particular attention to the role of indigenous communities in shaping policies and programmes that will both promote social equity and foster language diversity.
- Adequate material and institutional support needs to be accorded to allocate more resources (funding for education, provision for teacher education, books, libraries, multi-media, literacy activities, etc.) to communities that seek to cultivate and revitalize their vernacular/indigenous/heritage languages.
- In an era of increased globalization, LPP researchers need to explore what kind of policies will better be able to serve the competing needs and aspirations of individuals, represented by dichotomies such as economic advancement versus cultural authenticity, social mobility versus ethnic group integrity, educational opportunity versus class affiliations and so on, without necessarily pitting them against one another.
- With the rapid loss of languages worldwide, which has understandably provoked resistance, a better understanding needs to be developed as to which forms of individual and collective resistance may be productive and which may not, and under what conditions. More importantly, the role of human agency in this process must be clearly understood.

In a global future, increasingly characterized by plural societies and multi-modal information networks, the field of LPP would do well to realize the risks involved in proposing universalistic formulas or holding out uniform solutions. This means LPP must liberate itself from its old constraining frameworks and revitalize *itself* by seeking new answers to new questions.

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## TEACHERS' PRACTICAL KNOWLEDGE, STANDARD LANGUAGE AND MULTICULTURAL CLASSROOMS

### INTRODUCTION

This review deals with the teaching of national standard languages in multicultural contexts in Europe. It discusses ethnographic studies that describe and analyse subject English in England, German in Germany, Dutch in the Netherlands and so forth. Its focus is on teachers' practical knowledge as reflected in the discourses they produce in classrooms and in interviews. The early developments in this field are discussed in the context of the work of the International Mother Tongue Education Network (IMEN), which was set up in 1981. Initially, this network developed and used ethnographic research methodologies to investigate how standard language teaching was nationally and culturally shaped. In the 1990s, the attention shifted towards the challenge of multilingualism and multiculturalism to standard language teaching. A similar focus emerged in European ethnographic research outside the network. The main thrust of the contributions discussed in this area is the attribution and legitimisation of linguistic resources in standard language classrooms in contexts of immigration and multilingualism. Some new avenues for future research are also discussed.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The story goes that the IMEN research programme on standard language teaching in Europe originated from the experience of one of its members who, as a German professor working at a Dutch university, was intrigued by cross-national differences in the teaching of ostensibly similar subject areas. 'Grammar', for instance, appeared on timetables of both German and Dutch schools, but classroom observations suggested that there were significant differences between the two countries in the teaching of grammar. This impression led IMEN to adopt an ethnographic and international-comparative perspective, using multiple methods of inquiry. Observations were set out to unveil classroom discourses of standard language teaching in various European countries, whereas interviews and document analyses were to unveil 'rhetorics', or discourses of standard language teaching realised outside these classrooms.

The research programme started off with a study on historical developments in the rhetoric on standard language teaching in nine European countries (Herrlitz, Kamer, Kroon, Peterse and Sturm, 1984). Drawing on Bernstein's (1971) notions of classification and framing of educational knowledge, classic educational publications, such as widely used textbooks for teacher training, were analysed. The analyses showed that across the countries, a paradigmatic shift had taken place in the 1970s, from a literary-grammatical paradigm, which valued a literary canon and grammatical correctness, to a social-communicative paradigm, which focused attention on popular forms of literature and communicative adequacy. The study also indicated that this shift was shaped by the local socio-historical and geo-political contexts of the cases.

In a second study, the research focused on classroom realities of standard language teaching as experienced by teachers. The international design of this project implied that case studies were carried out in various countries and that researchers from these countries were brought together to allow for 'international triangulation'. This technique of involving researchers external to a case in its analysis opened up new ways of making familiar rhetoric and practice of standard language teaching 'strange' (Erickson, 1984). In the study, teachers were asked to keep diaries about what they experienced in their classrooms (Holly, 1984). Besides, long, unstructured interviews were conducted with the teachers on their professional development (McCracken, 1988). These systematic and more spontaneous accounts resulted in a series of comparative portraits in standard language teaching. They offered illuminating insights into teachers' developing professional practical knowledge as partly autonomous and partly shaped by their national and cultural context (Delnoy, Herrlitz, Kroon and Sturm, 1988).

In a third study, classroom discourses were investigated. In two international-comparative case studies (Flanders-Italy-Netherlands and England-Hungary), data were collected synchronically and analysed collaboratively. In addition, a number of single case studies were carried out in which external researchers participated for purposes of triangulation. One of the main findings of this study was that the organisation of the field of standard language teaching in different curricular areas and the contents offered in these areas clearly showed culturally specific differences, whereas the conversational structures or communication patterns in the classroom did not greatly differ (see Delnoy, Herrlitz, Kroon and Sturm, 1992). The Hungarian case, for example, showed a curricular division between language and literature, while the Dutch case revealed a division within the subject 'language' between grammar and texts, where reading was a subfield. The French case, on the other hand, showed a curricular structure in which spelling, texts, grammar, writing, and reading all represented clearly separated fields.

In the 1990s, it became imperative to focus on the growing linguistic and cultural diversity represented in the classrooms as this heterogeneity had the potential to challenge, in overt and covert ways, previously relatively stable discourses on national standard language teaching. The common designation as 'mother tongue education', for instance, appeared to have become obsolete; its very defining feature no longer seemed to match the linguistic and cultural realities of students. In a variety of case studies, IMEN sought to investigate how these changing realities actually impacted on rhetorics and practices of standard language teaching. Using its international comparative methodology with key incident analysis as a main technique (Kroon and Sturm, 2000), projects involving case studies were carried out in Flanders, England, Germany, and the Netherlands (Gogolin and Kroon, 2000), and later also in Norway (Bezemer, Kroon, De Wal Pastoor, Ryen and Wold, 2004). This work is reviewed in connection with similar European undertakings outside the network in the following section.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS AND WORK IN PROGRESS

Ethnography seeks to understand the rules or norms that individuals within a society, community, school or classroom have to know, produce, predict, interpret and evaluate to participate in socially and culturally appropriate ways (Green and Bloome, 1997). The studies reviewed in this section are described from this standpoint. On the one hand, they attend to the attribution of linguistic resources to students in the national standard language and in immigrant minority languages. On the other hand, they attend to the legitimisation of and valuations attached to these resources and their users. In the final part of the section, some problems and difficulties emerging from the review are explored.

##### *Attribution of Linguistic Resources*

When linguistic tasks are set up in language classes and accompanied by instructions on how to deal with these tasks, teachers' beliefs about the linguistic resources that students have at their disposal are brought into play. Examples of instructions used in multicultural classrooms such as, 'write, as you speak' (Neumann, 2000), 'listen to what it sounds like when you make the word longer' (Kroon and Sturm, 1996), or 'listen to what it sounds like when you invert the word order' (Bezemer, 2003) are often rooted in traditional didactic maxims which are based on the common monolingual assumption that students share particular linguistic resources in the national standard language (Gogolin, 1994).

When students actually draw on wide-ranging commands in a variety of languages and conceptions of phonemes, letters, and grammatical principles, these types of instructions are bound to be misunderstood. In most of these reported cases, students, in fact, requested clarification or contested the monolingual conception of language that underpinned the instruction. In everyday practice, however, such mismatches between the linguistic resources attributed to students and those to which they actually have access may not come to the surface of classroom discourse (Tuveng and Wold, 2005).

The linguistic tasks that students encounter in multicultural classrooms may also explicitly call on cultural knowledge. Sturm (2000) presents a classroom event showing how a teacher's and student's culturally shaped conceptions of swimming clash when completing exercises actually meant for practicing past participles in Dutch. The cultural embeddedness of language is also repeatedly observed to be taken for granted in classes focusing on aspects other than language. De Wal Pastoor (2005) discusses excerpts showing how Christian-Western notions such as 'baptising' and 'godmother' are taken as shared when teaching religious studies or during 'circle time' in a Norwegian classroom. Elbers and De Haan (2005) present an excerpt from a Dutch Maths lesson in which students have to count loaves of rye bread which are only identifiable in the picture in the textbook if one knows that rye bread in the Netherlands usually has a rectangular shape. Gorgorió and Planas (2001) present a Maths lesson in Catalan where the notion of a 'will' becomes a source of misunderstanding. Kroon (1987) discusses the confusion raised when Dutch maritime history is taken for granted when the origins of the French terms 'babord' and 'tribord' are explained.

The attribution of linguistic resources in languages other than the standard language appears to follow a similar pattern. Kroon (2003) presents a Dutch lesson in a mainstream classroom, where students were asked to translate 'cauliflower' and 'peanut butter' into their own language. The students, however, explained that they do not know, as their mother always uses the Dutch words for this food. Bezemer and Kroon (2006) report on special 'language support' lessons for 7-year-old Turkish/Dutch bilingual students. They were asked to translate words from Dutch to Turkish, but occasionally failed to do so. As in the previous case, the 'Turkish' students were taken to be 'native Turkish' and 'non-native Dutch' (cf. Leung, Harris and Rampton, 1997). They were attributed linguistic resources in Turkish, which they did not possess. Being born in the Netherlands, and immersed in Dutch schooling since the age of four, their proficiency in Dutch had developed in domains where they hardly ever used their 'home' language, and these languages in turn, were used in domains where Dutch played no role.

Linguistic resources available to students can thus be misconceived in the classroom. Ongoing immigration and globalisation will only reinforce the blurring of boundaries between students' 'first language' and 'second language' that create the caveats of such misattribution. The 'Turkish' student may not know the Turkish word, and at the same time know perfectly well what standard Dutch word order 'sounds like'. Indeed, when she misspells words in the context of instructions such as 'listen to what it sounds like when you invert the word order' the mistake may well have been the result of other factors unrelated to the lack of particular resources in the target language.

Paradoxically, teachers may react differently when students' linguistic resources are discussed in interviews. The Dutch teacher who encouraged a student to invert the word order 'so that it sounds better' also articulated the belief that 'it doesn't sound weird to foreign children' (Bezemer, 2003). The Turkish teacher, when asking students to translate from Dutch to Turkish, believed that 'there are also children who don't even know the Turkish word' (Bezemer and Kroon, 2006). Such mismatches between classroom practice and articulated beliefs may be indicative of the multi-faceted character of practical knowledge, with rhetoric changing more rapidly than the beliefs which inform the day-to-day classroom routines upon which teachers may have acted for many years (Anderson-Levitt, 1987).

### *Legitimisation of Linguistic Resources*

The second issue focused on in European case studies of standard language teaching in multicultural contexts is the valuation and legitimisation of linguistic resources. Kroon and Sturm (1996) present a Dutch multicultural school where there was a rule generally acknowledged by all teachers that students could not speak any language other than Dutch in the classroom. When students speak languages other than Dutch, it was argued, 'we' are excluded and may believe negative things are being said about one of us, while at the same time, it was seen as a lost opportunity for students to practise Dutch. Indeed, in the classroom, students could be seen to be reprimanded for using Turkish to each other during a group discussion. Only on one occasion was Turkish used legitimately. A student had written, in Turkish, 'happy birthday', under a drawing for a boy whose birthday it was. When the boy, who did not speak any Turkish, attempted to pronounce and translate the Turkish congratulation, he was praised by the teacher. Those students who did speak Turkish corrected his pronunciation and objected that the boy could easily have guessed the meaning of the message from the context. However, they were not given the floor. 'Turkish' was legitimate only when used by a student for whom Turkish

was a 'foreign' language, rather than a 'home' language. Comparable reluctance to allow students to display their knowledge of languages spoken at home—as opposed to knowledge of 'modern foreign languages'—was observed in Flemish (Ramaut, 2000), German (Neumann, 2000) and British multilingual classrooms (Bourne, 2000).

Blommaert et al. (2006) show how a Flemish teacher applies common-sense, ideological and professionally habituated distinctions between some linguistic resources and others in the emergent literacy repertoire of her students. In her classroom, literacy was defined as Dutch-language literacy in the Latin alphabet. Other kinds of literacy were disqualified as lower-value or even value-less linguistic resources. The authors observed two types of disqualification. First, the disqualification of existing writing skills acquired in other linguistic contexts but potentially valuable as an instrument for learning, such as basic, grass-roots literacy skills developed in English in Sierra-Leonese education. Second, the disqualification of 'foreign' accent in speaking or writing. Unlike 'native' non-standard accents, which the teacher sometimes used herself, the foreign accents would be corrected.

If languages other than the national standard language count as legitimate in European school contexts it appears that in most cases their use is limited to special classes, such as language support classes and reception classes, where use of these languages is seen as instrumental to the regular curriculum. In the 'language support class' in a Dutch school (Bezemer and Kroon, 2006) 'Turkish' students and a bilingual teacher were physically separated from the regular class for 1 hour per week to learn Dutch through Turkish. Martin-Jones and Saxena (1996) discuss English reception classes with bilingual support teachers working alongside a class teacher, showing how the legitimate use of multiple languages in one and the same classroom is tightly controlled by the national standard language speaker. The bilingual support teachers were positioned as assistants, with the monolingual class teachers assuming the principal speaking rights, allocating turns to the bilingual assistants and shaping the patterns of code-switching across turns.

Mondana and Gajo (2001) report on reception classes for Portuguese children in French-speaking Switzerland. They discuss key excerpts illustrating uses of bilingual resources ranging from rejection or disqualification of bilingualism to the recognition of bilingualism. They conclude that languages other than French were most often given attention when a more communicative approach to language teaching was adopted. This is also the conclusion that Bezemer et al. (2004) draw from a comparison of Dutch and Norwegian instances of dealing with multilingualism. In the Dutch case, a teacher-centred approach was accompanied by a reluctance to have students display linguistic

resources other than the standard language. In the Norwegian case, a more communicative approach was accompanied by occasional room for the students to use their home language.

From time to time, students have been observed contesting the linguistic norms and valuations operating in the classroom. Jaspert and Ramaut (2000) conclude that those students who openly questioned the linguistic norms in the classroom they studied were the most proficient students in the class. Following Bernstein (1971) and Bourdieu (1977), they argue that those students, in particular, who do not belong to the dominant language community, will increase their chances of symbolic gain and thus improve their position in the class when they accommodate to the norms of the linguistic market (see Heller, *Language Choice and Symbolic Domination*, Volume 3). Frey (2000) noted that it was precisely those children whose contributions had an impact on educational practice, who understood the teacher's linguistic norms. Jaspers (2005), however, reports how students taken to represent a minority group use their awareness of linguistic norms to what they themselves call 'fool around'. Moroccan boys in a secondary school in Antwerp, Belgium, were observed 'playing' with three different varieties of Dutch, that is, Antwerp dialect, 'poor' Dutch and standard Dutch. By simulating hysterical indignation, complete incompetence or extreme cooperation in the mainstream class through creative use of these language varieties, they did not directly contest but 'sabotaged' linguistic norms. In raising confusion and ambiguity, they entertained themselves and others, thus quite literally taking centre stage in tedious lessons. At the same time, this tacitly conveyed their misgivings about linguistic rules, attitudes, stereotypes and asymmetrical social relations inside and outside the school.

The reported practices of legitimisation of the national standard language in European schools show that students who speak a language variety need to become acquainted with situated sets of linguistic norms which are needed to participate in socially and culturally appropriate ways (Green and Bloome, 1997). These include a sense of appropriateness of school-based uses of linguistic resources within varying constellations of location, speaker, and audience. Contestations of these norms were initiated by those students who could be expected to be acquainted with the norm, in most cases but not exclusively, members of the dominant language community. Teachers were observed to allow marginal infringements of the norm when the use of other languages was conducive to the learning objective. In other cases, contestations were unacceptable and sanctioned.

Legitimisation practices echo different socio-political discourses. The national standard language may be statutorily defined as the official language of communication in classrooms. Curricular prescriptions may

facilitate the (instrumental) use of languages other than the national standard language in mainstream or separate classrooms. National or local policies on intercultural education, inclusive education or language-in-education may promote reflection on linguistic and cultural diversity. Besides, there are ongoing debates across European countries as to how to organise a multicultural society, with positions ranging from assimilation to separatism (May, *Language Education, Pluralism and Citizenship*, Volume 1). These discourses form the backdrop to the classroom practices portrayed here.

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Two difficulties emerge from the documented practices of national standard language teaching in multicultural contexts. As regards the attribution of linguistic resources, it may be observed how misattributions in both the standard language and other languages can result in ineffective instruction. It has been predicted that growing diversity and hybridity will only reinforce the difficulty of making assumptions as to precisely which linguistic resources students have at their disposal. Assumptions of what students already know are nonetheless inevitable in pedagogical contexts where the teacher is in control of sequencing and pacing curriculum content. Weaker framing is less dependent on insight into individual students' language backgrounds.

With respect to legitimisation and valuation, we can see how disqualification of linguistic resources may lead to missed opportunities to learn. Existing speaking and writing skills acquired in other linguistic contexts may be potentially valuable as means of learning to speak and write in the national standard language (Blommaert, Creve and Willaert, 2006). Recognition of such resources as valuable in their own right may also promote self-awareness and identity formation. At the same time, incorporating knowledge and practices which evolve outside school into the curriculum probably always involves some form of overt or covert transformation (Moss, 2001). It is this transformed, schooled knowledge that offers pathways to educational qualifications which teachers and students are pressured to create and pursue.

From a methodological perspective, a number of difficulties emerge from the review. Most of the reviewed case studies are, in fact, about one class, and one teacher. Moreover, most of the analyses appear critical with respect to the practices they describe. The episodes presented in the studies were usually selected as a result of the impact they had on the researcher, thus potentially leaving episodes unattended which might qualify more convincingly as 'good practice'. However, the strength of the accounts offered lies in their power to unveil socially and culturally shaped processes of attribution, legitimisation and valuation

of linguistic resources that have implications for equal opportunities to learn. Some of these mechanisms might be reshaped through growing awareness of multilingualism, others might recede as new generations of teachers embark on their career.

### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The review has shown some of the ways in which immigration and internationalisation have challenged and occasionally destabilised traditional conceptions of national standard language operating in European classrooms. These challenges will continue to develop. National standard language teaching has played a key role in recent national debates on what citizens should know and do in order to count as a member of the national culture. In 2005, various European governments initiated such debates themselves. In Germany, there was a proposal to make German the compulsory language of communication, not only in classrooms but also in schoolyards in Berlin (Presseerklärung, 2006). In the Netherlands, the minister of immigration and integration suggested that a civil code of conduct should be drawn up in which speaking Dutch in public was to be declared the norm. The minister of education appointed a committee whose brief was to propose a cultural-historical and socio-cultural canon (Opdrachtbrief, 2005). Future research should account not only for the origins of such *reaffirmations* of monolingualism and monoculturalism but also for their ramifications in multicultural classrooms.

This future research would benefit from further integration of the foci on teacher and student. In trying to understand what goes on in language classrooms both the teacher's and the student's 'emic' perspectives are indispensable. Much of the work reviewed here centres on teachers' practical knowledge. The understanding of this perspective may be reinforced when teachers are involved again as researchers in classroom research, as suggested two decades ago in English and American publications (see e.g. Hopkins, 1985). Through participation in classroom research, teachers would also gain a deeper understanding of their own behaviours, which could lead to (more) appropriate ways of dealing with heterogeneity and diversity in their day-to-day practice. At the same time, students' perspectives should be an integrated part of future studies on standard language teaching. In view of popular discourses that problematise multilingual students' competence of the national standard language, it is of paramount importance to describe and understand the creative ways in which these students use their repertoire of linguistic resources inside and outside classrooms.

Achieving understanding of the attribution, legitimisation and valuation of these resources also bears on the construction of teacher and student identities (Luk Ching Man, Classroom Discourse and the Construction

of Learner and Teacher Identities, Volume 3). Where students may be defined as ‘foreign’, ‘different’, ‘disadvantaged’, ‘second-language learner’, ‘Muslim’, ‘non-native’ and so on in discourses inside and outside the classroom, students often have much more complex self-ascribed identities. These intricate relations between language and identity in school deserve further research (Spotti, 2006).

Sociolinguistic and school ethnography remains a fruitful approach to these matters (Green and Bloome, 1997; Jaspers, 2005). It provides detailed accounts of language-in-use in specific settings, taking educational practice as an ensemble of interrelated texts. The methodological challenge that lies ahead involves accounting for the multimodal construction of these texts. Recent classroom studies show that discourses on standard language teaching are indeed realised not only through speech and writing, but also, and often primarily, through image, gesture, wall displays and other modes of representation and communication that have remained largely unattended in the research reviewed here (Jewitt, *Multimodal Discourse across the Curriculum*, Volume 3). A multimodal lens also opens up new ways of understanding the communicative resources that novice students have to acquaint themselves with, which range from, for example, ‘Dutch word order’ in the mainstream classroom to ‘Turkish gaze’ in the ‘language support’ classroom.

**See Also:** *Stephen May: Language Education, Pluralism and Citizenship (Volume 1); Carey Jewitt: Multimodal Discourses across the Curriculum (Volume 3); Jasmine Luk Ching Man: Classroom Discourse and the Construction of Learner and Teacher Identities (Volume 3); Monica Heller: Language Choice and Symbolic Domination (Volume 3)*

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DISCOURSES ABOUT ENGLISH: CLASS, CODES AND  
IDENTITIES IN BRITAIN

INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the social and historical processes involved in the creation of a standard language, the discourses which emerge and circulate as a result of those processes and the social and educational consequences of standardisation for speakers of the non-standard, marginalised dialects. In order to provide the historical and contemporary evidence needed to support the arguments in this chapter, I have chosen to focus on one standardised national language, British English. Similar accounts have been written on other languages in their national contexts. We now have a wealth of studies on the development of standard languages and language ideologies in many countries, and especially in Europe where links between language and nation have been widely articulated (Davies and Langer, 2006; Grillo, 1989; Mar-Molinero, 1997; Tosi, 2000). Several interesting studies have also been carried out in Anglophone countries (Collins, 1999; Lippi-Green, 1997). There are themes common to all these accounts, but the process of language standardisation is essentially historically situated, hence the decision to focus, in this chapter, on the details of the social and ideological conditions in Britain and on the processes at work in the rise of Standard British English. As I suggest, in Britain, possibly more than in any other country, the development of the standard has been inextricably linked with class stratification and social prejudice.

DISCOURSES ABOUT ENGLISH IN BRITAIN: MAJOR  
CONTRIBUTIONS TO RESEARCH

*Defining the Standard*

Standard English (SE) is usually defined as the set of grammatical and lexical forms typically used in speech and writing by educated native speakers (Trudgill, 1975). It has undergone the processes of determination, codification and stabilisation and is now the variety used in almost all forms of writing, the media, government, and crucially, in education. However, while it is the official dialect of the school, and commonly referred to as 'the English language', standard English is only one

dialect of English among many and is spoken natively in only a minority, approximately 15%, of homes in UK according to Trudgill (1999). In spite of its wide use in the public domain, the press and education, the term ‘standard English’ is problematic. Most linguists agree that standard English is simply one (albeit the most important) of the many dialects of English which are distinguished from each other by their grammar, phonology and lexis. Unlike regional dialects, however, which now largely exist as spoken varieties only, SE has developed as the fully developed written variety, the ‘historically validated and uniform written form of the language’ (Crowley, 2003, p. 259). Thus ‘to use spoken or written SE is to signal competence in a set of well-established rules, endorsed by a normative education system’ (Milroy, 1999, p. 174). Some argue that there cannot be a true spoken variety of SE since the educated nature of its speakers means that their spoken mode is heavily influenced by written norms, and certainly, twentieth century grammars of standard English (cf. Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik, 1972) were based on written and spoken corpora provided largely by academics. Milroy suggests, ‘spoken standard English might be described as what is left after we remove from the linguistic bran-tub, Estuary English,<sup>1</sup> Brummie,<sup>2</sup> Scouse,<sup>3</sup> Geordie,<sup>4</sup> various quaint rural dialects, London Jamaican . . . etc.’ (Milroy, 1999, p. 174). Recent research on the grammatical structure of spoken English, based on more varied corpora (Cheshire, 1999; Carter and McCarthy, 2006) suggests that it differs considerably from the written mode. In the public mind however, references to standard English generally evoke ideas about a fixed and unchanging language rather than a dialect, and about ‘good English’ and ‘correct usage’.

### *Authority and Distinction: Historical Perspectives*

Such beliefs are due, in part, to the word ‘standard’ itself which can mean both uniformity<sup>5</sup> and level of excellence.<sup>6</sup> The notion of a standard therefore ‘involves [ideas] about authority, commonality and evaluation’ (Crowley, 2003, p. 78). It is generally accepted that the standardisation of English began in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Britain with the emergence of a variety of English which was

<sup>1</sup> Standard English spoken with an accent that includes regional features localisable in and around London.

<sup>2</sup> Brummie is the dialect spoken in Birmingham.

<sup>3</sup> Scouse is the dialect of Liverpool.

<sup>4</sup> Geordie is the dialect of Newcastle and the northeast.

<sup>5</sup> As in the expression ‘this is the standard issue for soldiers’.

<sup>6</sup> As in the expression ‘her work was of a consistently high standard’.

used in the first printed books, and which developed into the uniform, national literary language we find in written texts today. The process of 'fixing' or codifying the written language, initiated by the prescriptivist writers of the eighteenth century (Dr. Johnson, for example) with the publication of dictionaries and grammars, means that there is little variation in standard written English and change is very slow. Spoken language, in contrast, is in a state of constant change and many linguists would argue that attempts to standardise it are bound to fail, especially in the case of the phonology which is 'particularly resistant to standardisation' (Milroy, 1999, p. 173). The designation of a standard form with its attendant notions of authority and evaluation, however, means that it becomes the primary form against which all others are judged, and other, i.e. 'non-standard' spoken varieties are devalued with social consequences for their speakers.

Judgements about standard and non-standard varieties date back to the eighteenth century when Swift and other writers urged that there should be 'a standard set up for those to repair to who might chuse (sic) to speak and write grammatically and correctly' (Crowley, 2003, p. 79). Their primary aim was to find a commonly accepted, literary language such as that used in the King James translation of the Bible, to serve as a model for writers, but interest was also growing in establishing a spoken standard and 'shops [swarmed] with books whose titles announce a standard for pronunciation' (Walker, 1774 cited in Crowley, 2003, p. 107). The variable nature of speech however, meant that selecting a model was more complicated and many of the books consisted mainly of 'a barbarous orthography and a corrupt pronunciation' (ibid.).

By the mid-nineteenth century however, an association between language and the social hierarchy had become firmly established. This was under-pinned by the ideas about the links between language and nation that were circulating in Europe at the time. Sociolinguistic research in UK has since repeatedly demonstrated clear correlations between the number and variety of non-standard regional features a speaker uses, and social class, with speakers at the lower end of the social scale using the most regional forms. Leith maintains, 'in no other country in the world are pronunciation and social class so closely linked' (Leith, 1997, p. 55). The agreed model for spoken standard English and the corresponding accent, Received Pronunciation (RP) was that of the educated elite whose speech betrayed no trace of their regional origins. Commentators at the time referred to: 'the common standard dialect . . . in which all marks of a particular place of birth and residence are lost and nothing appears to indicate any other habits of intercourse than with the well-bred and well informed' (Smart, 1836 cited in Crowley, 2003, p. 111). By the 1930s, Henry Wyld, Merton professor of English

at Oxford University, had narrowed down the model for spoken SE to a particular profession:

The best speakers do not need to take thought for their utterance: they have no theories as to how their native tongue should be pronounced. . . . Their fathers have told them – that suffices. If I were asked among what class the ‘best’ English is most consistently heard, . . . I should say among officers of the British Regular Army. The utterance of these men is at once clear cut and precise, yet free from affectation: at once downright and manly yet in the highest degree refined and urbane (Wyld, 1934, p. 614).

The ability to speak SE with an RP accent became a matter of birth and accessible to only a small minority of the population. ‘By analysing correct usage in terms that only a tiny minority of educated people could command, the codifiers ensured that correctness remained the preserve of an elite. The usage of most people was wrong, precisely because it was the usage of the majority’ (Leith, 1997, p. 57).

### *Language Values and Social Class*

The confident belief in the intrinsic superiority of SE, expressed by scholars such as Wyld, has ensured that not only are the non-standard dialects spoken by the least powerful groups in society considered ‘wrong’ but they have long been subjected to stigmatisation. In the nineteenth century, Whitney described the speech of the ‘uncultivated’ as containing ‘a host of inaccuracies, offences against the correctness of speech, ungrammatical forms, mispronunciations, burdens of application, slang words, vulgarities’ (Whitney, 1865 cited in Crowley, 2003, p. 128), while H-dropping, a feature of many non-standard varieties, and possibly the most stigmatised feature in British English, was said by Alford (1864) to be ‘common throughout England to persons of low breeding and inferior education’. Urban dialects and accents in particular are still widely stigmatised and articles criticising regional speech and by association, the speakers, commonly occur in the press today. On the subject of adolescents, Dr. Rosalind Miles wrote:

brought up as they are on little more than a mouthful of glottal stops, the garbage of mental gutters awash with the waste of today’s rock and pop ‘yoof talk’ (Dr. Rosalind Miles, *Mail on Sunday*, September 1995).

The following description of the Liverpool dialect was published in *The Times*:

T'me ed laaa' . . . Example of the delightful dialect known as Scouse,<sup>7</sup> derived from lobsouse, a Norwegian name for meat and vegetable stew.

(*The Times*, June, 2004).

Linguists have made repeated attempts to counter linguistic prejudice, and have consistently stressed that all languages and dialects are equally complex, structured and rule-governed systems. In spite of their efforts however, beliefs about non-standard varieties being 'sloppy', 'lazy', 'wrong' or 'ugly', seem to persist, even in the minds of the speakers themselves, who often feel they cannot speak their own language properly.

And yet the characterisation of working class speech as incomprehensible, harsh and ugly has been shown to be based on little more than social prejudice. Trudgill (1983) asked North American and British judges to rate a series of British accents for their inherent aesthetic qualities. Interestingly, there was no agreement at all between the North Americans who did not recognise regional British varieties, but British judges were united in rating the dialects of the big cities—Liverpool, London, Glasgow and Birmingham—as the least attractive, a finding that would suggest that social connotations have a strong influence on aesthetic evaluations. Interestingly, traditional rural dialects are generally evaluated as 'attractive' and their speakers as trustworthy and friendly (Milroy, 1999).

Equally serious for working class speakers is the process of 'symbolic revalorisation' (Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994), whereby negative (or positive) values assigned to a dialect or a language, are transferred to the speakers themselves. This means that while there has long been an association between standard English and RP and good breeding, a good education and other exemplary qualities, the use of non-standard English has a history of being associated not simply with speakers from the lower socio-economic groups, but with low moral standards. Twentieth and twenty-first century politicians and journalists have been voluble on the subject:

If you allow standards to slip to the stage where good English is no better than bad English, where people turn up filthy to school . . . . All those things cause people to have no standards at all and once you lose standards there's no imperative to stay out of crime. (Lord Tebbit MP, *BBC Radio 4*, 1985).

The new dialect emerging in the new town of Milton Keynes was described as:

a hellish, slow-spreading, universal yob-tongue (Peter Tory, *International Express*, August 1994).

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<sup>7</sup> See footnote 3.

While the publication of the new Cambridge Grammar of English (Carter and McCarthy, 2006) prompted the following comment from a journalist:

Grammar is a question of manners, practically of morals  
(D. Wordsworth, *Daily Telegraph*, March 2006).

The wide coverage given to such prejudicial opinions in national newspapers suggests that whereas racial or sex discrimination is no longer permissible, prejudice and discrimination on linguistic grounds are still considered acceptable in Britain. The educational consequences for children and their parents whose home language is a non-standard variety will be discussed in a later section of this chapter.

### *Standard and Non-Standard: English in Education*

Since the introduction of compulsory state education in the UK in the 1870s, a primary aim has been the teaching of SE. In the period following the First World War, language was seen as a powerful dividing factor in society and fears that a dissatisfied, poorly educated working class might trigger social unrest led educationists to propose that teaching English should be the main focus of all state education. Sir Henry Newbolt, who chaired the Newbolt Committee to report on the teaching of English, stated:

Two causes . . . at present distinguish and divide one class from another in England. The first of these is a marked difference in their modes of speech. If the teaching of the language were properly provided for, the difference between educated and uneducated speech, which at present causes so much prejudice and difficulty of intercourse on both sides, would gradually disappear (Newbolt, 1921, p. 22).

The Committee decided that non-standard dialects had no place in school.

It is emphatically the business of the elementary school to teach all its pupils who either speak a definite dialect or whose speech is disfigured by vulgarisms to speak standard English and to speak it clearly and with expression (Newbolt, 1921, p. 65).

Forty years later, speakers of non-standard dialects from working class backgrounds were still being characterised as inarticulate and unintelligent. In attempts to explain under-achievement by working class pupils, speech pathologists Gerber and Hertel, blamed lack of language skills for children's poor performance in IQ tests:

The language that is spoken in the working class home is typically poor in quality and quantity. It is not used to express subtle feelings or to express ideas and thought. With inadequate

stimulation from people and experiences there is little to talk about. Most of the conversation is by non-verbal means. (Gerber and Hertel, 1969, p. 270).

Such views appeared to be reinforced in the early writings of the eminent educationist, Basil Bernstein (1971), whose labelling of working class and middle class speech<sup>8</sup> as restricted and elaborated codes, respectively, was unfortunate in that it served to confirm the negative attitudes held by some members of the educational establishment towards non-standard dialects. Bernstein's views were strongly opposed by linguists (Labov, 1970; Rosen, 1972; Trudgill, 1975) and from the early 1970s onwards, calls were increasingly being made by linguists and educationists for a change in attitudes toward non-standard dialects.

After a period of intense debate, the wider educational climate began to change, albeit for a brief period. An independent committee, chaired by Sir Arthur Bullock, was set up to report on language teaching in schools. The Bullock Report, *A Language for Life* (1975), articulated some of the most progressive views on language diversity that have ever been published in policy documents. The main recommendation was that every secondary school should develop a policy for language across the curriculum. It acknowledged that children arrive at school speaking a range of dialects and languages and that 'to criticise a person's speech may be an attack on his self-esteem'. 'No child' it stated, 'should be expected to cast off the language and culture of the home as he crosses the school threshold' (Bullock, 1975, p. 143). There followed a period when tolerant attitudes towards many varieties of English prevailed, creative writing using features of local dialects was encouraged and language awareness was taught in many schools.

#### POLITICAL DISCOURSE ON ENGLISH IN EDUCATION

English is far more than merely a school subject however. Language and language ideologies have regularly been the source of conflict, political dissension, and even the cause of 'moral panics' (see Cameron, 1995 for discussion). The introduction of a national curriculum by the Conservative government in 1988 signalled a shift in attitudes towards language in education, and the teaching of English, became 'a crucial focus of tension and debate . . . a site upon which political positions were argued' (Crowley, 2003, p. 258). Debates about an appropriate model of English and about the merits of teaching formal

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<sup>8</sup> Bernstein was careful to point out that he was not referring to SE and NS dialects as such, but his theories have regularly been interpreted in that way.

grammar raged in the media, with journalists, politicians, educationists and even members of the Royal Family taking part (see Cameron and Bourne, 1989 for discussion). In spite of the recommendations of the Kingman Committee (1988),<sup>9</sup> and its successor the Cox Committee (1989)<sup>10</sup> that SE should be taught in ways that do not denigrate the regional dialects spoken by many pupils' and that 'teachers should encourage an interest in both rural and urban non-standard dialects', politicians took a firm stand: SE was to be the only acceptable variety in school. For the Conservative politicians of the 1980s and 1990s, standard English represented nationhood, a unified electorate and a return to traditional values. Topics such as variation in English, language and gender and language in multicultural settings were removed from the curriculum and the Minister of State for Education, Mr. Tim Eggar, banned the publication of a government-commissioned set of materials<sup>11</sup> for teachers which focused on language in social context. His reasons were that:

They [were] banal and theoretical and failed to give children the basic grammar they needed to speak and write the English that could be understood throughout these islands. It was as though 'the experts' were determined to destroy the concept of correctness in language and literature ... (Editorial *Evening Standard*, 26/6/1991).

A change of government in 1997 brought about further changes in English teaching. The stated aim of the new Labour government was to 'raise standards' in literacy and numeracy. The repeated use in policy documents of expressions such as 'raising standards' or 'high standards' however, appears to have led to a certain slippage in the meaning of the term standard English. Whereas it had previously been used to mean 'a uniform kind of English to be used in formal neutral contexts' in the National Curriculum documents of the 1980s and 1990s, it now took on the meaning associated with 'levels of excellence'. In official documents, therefore, we now find frequent juxtaposition of SE with expressions such as 'correct, accurate, precise'. For example on a Department of Education and Skills (DfES) web site entitled 'The Standards Site', parents are informed:

Pupils should be taught in all subjects to express themselves *correctly and appropriately* and to read *accurately* ... Since SE, spoken and written is the predominant language in which knowledge and skills are learned ... (DfES, April 2006).

<sup>9</sup> Committee appointed to advise on a model of English to be taught in schools.

<sup>10</sup> Committee whose role was to provide programmes of study and attainment targets for the teaching of English.

<sup>11</sup> The LINC project, coordinated by Ron Carter, University of Nottingham.

DISCOURSES IN SCHOOLS AND CLASSROOMS:  
WORK IN PROGRESS*Standard and Non-Standard English in the Classroom*

The insistence on accuracy, correctness and precision in the National Curriculum for English Guidelines can have the effect of persuading teachers that the language spoken by many of their pupils is 'sub-standard' and that children's language should be 'corrected' from a very early age. Education professionals' lack of understanding of the nature of language variation can lead to difficulties in schools for both children and parents as the following section will demonstrate. The data presented here was collected in a wide range of state primary and secondary schools across England.

The following extract was recorded in the course of a research project<sup>12</sup> on family literacy. The Year 1<sup>13</sup> children are having a literacy hour<sup>14</sup> lesson

*Year 1: classroom observation*

It is the Literacy Hour: the children are sitting on the mat and the teacher is showing the children a big book

1. Teacher: Which page is this? (*pointing to a page*)

Child: The one we *was* reading yesterday

T: **Were** reading

2. T: Where did we get to yesterday?

Ch: Houseflies

T: So where will I look?

Ch: We *ain't* done houseflies yet

T: Ain't, ain't!! Is there such a word?

3. T: What are these?

Ch: Bullet points

T: There's a T at the end of bullet.<sup>15</sup> (Williams and Gregory, 2004)

The corrected forms are all common features of non-standard dialects of British English, but no explanation was offered to the children as to why they were corrected. It is unlikely that the teacher's corrections were understood. Rather, they may have had the effect of confusing the

<sup>12</sup> Leverhulme-funded project: 'Literacy practices at home and at school: community contexts and interpretations of literacy', conducted by Eve Gregory, Brian Street, Dave Baker and Ann Williams.

<sup>13</sup> Year 1: pupils aged 5–6.

<sup>14</sup> The Literacy Hour: a daily hour of literacy teaching compulsory in all state primary schools as part of the National Literacy Strategy.

<sup>15</sup> In fact, the 't' is realised as a glottal stop before a following consonant even in RP, so the child was 'right'.

children and leading to hypercorrection as was the case in the following example. The following sentences were taken from the English exercise book of Jade, a 9-year-old girl who lived in Reading, and were written over a period of 6 months:

|  |                           |
|--|---------------------------|
| We down <sup>16</sup> the housework                                |                           |
| We don don done our homework                                       |                           |
| My brother <del>done</del> (i) <del>done</del> <sup>did</sup> (ii) | (i) Jade's correction     |
| a jigsaw   | (ii) Teacher's correction |
| We <del>done</del> did a bit more dancing                          | Jade's correction         |
| When we had <del>done</del> did some housework                     | Jade's correction         |
|  | (Williams, 1994)          |

The above examples suggest that primary school children need time and careful teaching if they are to acquire the grammar of SE. While it is generally accepted that children need to be able to write in standard written English if they are to function as fully competent members of society (see Cox, 1991 for discussion), there is less support for attempting to change children's spoken dialects and in particular, their regional accents.

### *Discourses about English in School*

In spite of linguists' repeated efforts to 'educate' the public and the educational establishment about the complex and rule-governed nature of local dialects, it is not unusual for teaching personnel to evince the same linguistic prejudices shown by the general public. The following texts illustrate some educationists' views on their pupils' language:

1. . . . many children, when they come to school, can scarcely talk at all. Sometimes, a witness told us, they cannot even remember their eyes, ears, toes and so forth.<sup>17</sup>
2. A generation of young teachers has gone into schools recently, convinced that working class parents never talk to their children . . . that the language they do possess is lacking many essential features.<sup>18</sup>
3. Teacher. And in fact in Reception,<sup>19</sup> you notice it there . . . just in the lack of language . . . the number of children that are just not speaking.

AW                      What do you attribute this to then?

Teacher                Nobody talks to them<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> In the dialect of the town of Reading in Berkshire, the past tense of DO is 'done', e.g. I done, you done, he done, etc.

<sup>17</sup> The Newbolt Report.

<sup>18</sup> Rosen and Rosen (1973, p. 54).

<sup>19</sup> The first year of school in UK. The children are aged between 4 and 5.

<sup>20</sup> See footnote 12.

Depressingly, the quotations span 80 years: the first was written in 1921, the second in the 1970s and the third was recorded in 2001 in an interview with a special needs teacher in an affluent town in the south of England. The view that working class parents do not speak to their children appears to be remarkably persistent. Linguists, however, suggest that context plays an important role in a speech production and that a school setting can be intimidating for some children (Labov, 1970).

Such negative opinions can have serious educational repercussions on children's education. Firstly, there is a danger that such attitudes colour the professional judgement of those whose role it is to assess children's competence, and lead them to the pathologise normal children. For example, in one school in a poor district, special needs staff maintain that 90% of the pupils (all of whom have English as their first language) enter school with a 'serious to moderate language delay'.<sup>21</sup> As a result, otherwise normal children are taught Makaton, a rudimentary sign language, developed for children with autism and other severe learning difficulties.

Second, such views can have an impact on school policy. In some schools where it has been decided that the children are unlikely to achieve the targets set by the National Curriculum, a reduced curriculum has been introduced. Children who are offered a restricted curriculum from age 5 are highly unlikely to catch up in the educational stakes.

Finally, frequent correction and the stigmatisation of the language used by a child's family and friends can erode self-esteem and promote feelings of alienation. There is ample evidence in the UK that children from lower socio-economic groups fare worse than their middle-class colleagues in the education system, and that social mobility has changed little since World War II. A recent OECD<sup>22</sup> survey based on 16,000 respondents showed that the opportunities gap between those from different social backgrounds is no better for those born in 1970 than it was for those born a generation earlier in 1958. It would be injudicious to attribute working class children's poorer performance in national tests to language alone, but it has long been understood that linguistic practices are deeply embedded in one's sense of identity. In a school context where SE is the only legitimate code, the non-standard dialect of a working class child has minimal value and both pupils and their parents are fully aware of this. The following comments made by adolescent girls in a secondary school in the north of England clearly demonstrate the role of language in social class stratification:

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<sup>21</sup> See footnote 12.

<sup>22</sup> Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development.

AW: Do the teachers correct you when you speak?

R: Mrs C. corrects all your language. She says, 'You're not on the street now you know'. She takes us for estate kids. Estate kids are meant to be real bad, druggies and everything.

P: The posh teachers think we're all like that. It does my head in.

R: They don't give you a chance do they.

(Kerswill and Williams, 1997).

Working class parents also feel intimidated and, as a result, excluded in the school discourse community. The following extract is taken from field-notes made by the author in a working class area of a town in the UK in 2002<sup>23</sup>:

Mrs P said that her son Justin had started to stutter when he was in the nursery. The play leader told her to ignore it, but the school doctor said that she 'should be picking it up'. When Mrs P enquired how, the doctor ignored her question and said to a teacher who was present, 'Can't she understand anything?'. Mrs P says she felt terrible and too upset to respond. (Williams and Gregory, 2004).

Justin's mother suffered the same feelings of humiliation as the mothers in a study carried out in London schools by Reay, who found that for many parents, 'the primary school constituted a field that was least favourable to their linguistic productions and which condemned them to a more or less desperate attempt to be correct or to silence' (Reay, 1998, p. 166).

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Outside the school context, of course, non-standard varieties continue to flourish. Although the traditional rural dialects are gradually dying out as rural life changes and incomers from towns and cities move into the countryside, other regional and urban dialects are still thriving. There is now a growing body of research on dialect levelling (the reduction of regional differences between dialects), which suggests that features of non-standard dialects such as the replacement of 't' by a glottal stop (a feature of Cockney<sup>24</sup>) are rapidly spreading not only geographically across the country, but also into middle-class speech. The range of local dialects being researched and described by linguists is increasing steadily and it is crucial, that their findings be made available and accessible to non-linguists such as teachers and teacher trainers.

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<sup>23</sup> See footnote 12.

<sup>24</sup> The dialect of London.

Among the public, there appears to be a growing awareness of and interest in language issues. It is encouraging that the number of pupils choosing to study English Language (which includes topics such as language variation, language and gender, etc.) at Advanced Level<sup>25</sup> increases year on year. Many towns and cities produce booklets on their local dialect and there are now Web sites where regional speech can be accessed.<sup>26</sup> Possibly the most hopeful recent development is that schools in the county of Norfolk have recently received a grant to teach the Norfolk dialect. The organisers said ‘[they] were tired of hearing all the teachers running it down as laziness and not seeing it as a dialect. It’s critically important that youngsters are aware that there’s a wonderful rich dialect that they need to use or lose. It’s not something to be ashamed of’ (*Guardian Newspaper*, 23/03/06). It is to be hoped that the actions of Norwich educationists will be replicated across the UK and in other countries and that the position of standard and non-standard varieties in all schools might finally be re-evaluated.

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# **Section 4**

## **Discourse and the Construction of Knowledge**

## THE GUIDED CO-CONSTRUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE

## INTRODUCTION

Enabling students to become more adept at using language is seen as one of the major goals of education: first, so they can express their thoughts and engage with others in joint intellectual activity to develop their communication skills; second, so as to advance their individual capacity for productive, rational and reflective thinking. The guided co-construction of knowledge, in which a teacher talks with students in whole class, group and individual situations to guide their thinking, is, therefore, seen as being central to the educational process. In this theory of learning, teachers and learners are seen as active participants in the construction of knowledge on the basis of ideas and experiences contributed by the students as well as the teacher (Mercer, 1995; Wells, 1999).

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Writing in the 1930s, Vygotsky was one of the first psychologists to acknowledge the role of talk in organising learners' understanding of the world, particularly through his writings on *Thought and Language* first translated into English in 1962. He suggested that using language to communicate helps in the development of new ways of thinking: what children learn from their 'inter-mental' experience (communication between minds through social interaction) shapes their 'intra-mental' activity (the way they think as individuals). More importantly, Vygotsky argued that the greatest influence on the development of thinking would come from the interaction between a learner and a more knowledgeable, supportive member of a community, such as a parent or teacher. In what became known as the zone of proximal development (ZPD), the zone between what a learner can do unaided and what he or she can manage with expert assistance, language was seen as being central to instruction. Classroom language was also seen as mediating and reflecting the wider socio-cultural context in which it operated (Daniels, 2001).

A similar emphasis on the social origins of the individual's language repertoire is found in the work of the Russian philosopher Bakhtin on the dialogic nature of language and literature, originally published in Russian in the 1920s and 1930s but not translated in the West until the 1960s and later (Holquist, 1990). Bakhtin argued that dialogue

pervades all spoken and written discourse and is essential where meanings are not fixed or absolute. It is therefore central to educational discourse and learning because of the need to consider alternative frames of reference.

Out of the work of these early theorists developed the social constructivist view of learning which suggests that classroom discourse is not effective unless students play an active part in their learning (Barnes and Todd, 1995; Wells, 1999). This view of learning suggests that learning does not take place through the addition of discrete facts to an existing store of knowledge, but when new information, experiences and ways of understanding are related to an existing understanding of the matter in hand. One of the most important ways of working on this understanding is through talk, particularly where students are given the opportunity to assume greater control over their own learning by initiating ideas and responses. In this way, they can contribute to the shaping of the verbal agenda and introduce alternative frames of reference which are open to negotiation and where the criteria of relevance are not imposed. The social constructivist theory of learning therefore questions the value of the linguistic and cognitive demands made on students within the traditional teacher-led question–answer recitation format where the students are mainly expected to be passive and to recall, when asked, what they have learned and to report other people’s thinking.

Closely related to Vygotsky’s work is Bruner’s (1985) concept of ‘scaffolding’ developed from his observations of young children interacting with their mothers to highlight the way that an adult can guide a learner through an activity. As a term it has increasingly been used in educational contexts to describe certain kinds of support which learners receive in their interactions with teachers and peers. Through such interactions, students are helped to move towards new skills, concepts and ways of using language, and acquire new frames of reference to interpret observations, information and events (Maybin, Mercer, and Stierer, 1992).

The concept of scaffolding has also led to a series of educational interventions designed to facilitate the guided construction of knowledge. For example, Tharp and Gallimore (1988) developed a mode of pedagogical interaction which they called ‘instructional conversation’ allowing for a range of instructional conversations in small-group and whole class situations in contrast to traditional patterns of question–answer teacher-led recitation. Similarly, Brown and Palincsar (1989) developed a co-operative learning system for the teaching of reading which they termed ‘reciprocal teaching’ where teacher and learners work in group to interrogate a text using questioning, predicting, clarifying and summarising techniques (see also Valencia Giraldo, *Talk, Texts and Meaning-making in Classroom Contexts*, Volume 3).

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

In the development of a dialogic and constructive view of knowledge building, the notion of teaching as 'transmission', in which knowledge is presented as closed, authoritative and immutable rather than open to discussion and interpretation was challenged. Drawing upon insights from the work of Vygotsky, Barnes, Britton and Rosen (1969) working in the UK developed a critical and cross-curricular analysis of what they saw as teachers' overwhelming use of transmissional forms of teaching. Rather than seeing talk in learning as a linear process, they argued it should be a reciprocal process in which ideas are discussed between students and teacher so as to take thinking forward.

In an attempt to open up classroom discourse and encourage greater student participation, research has focused on the promotion of 'higher-order' questioning techniques to promote reflection, self-examination and enquiry through the use of 'open' questions which invite students to speculate, hypothesise, reason, evaluate and to consider a range of possible answers (Brown and Wragg, 1993). A large amount of research has been carried out into teacher questioning techniques and it has generated controversy about the use of questions as a strategy for guiding the co-construction of knowledge because of teachers' overwhelming reliance on 'closed' questions in which students provide the 'right' answer as defined by the teacher (Wood, 1992).

Dillon (1994) argues that a high level question might be said to express a high level of thinking on the part of the teacher, but it does not necessarily cause it in the respondent. He goes on to suggest that discussion usually begins with a problem in which all participants share some perplexity, giving rise to genuine questions; however, teachers are rarely perplexed about the questions they ask, as they typically know the answers, so there is little opportunity for sharing the question and therefore stimulating either teacher or student thought. Therefore, teachers' questions cannot be held to have a stimulating effect on enquiry, as there is no enquiry in asking them and none in answering them. In order for teachers to be more effective in opening up classroom talk to students, a range of alternatives to teacher questions have been suggested which include the use of provocative, open-ended statements, encouraging students to ask their own questions and maintaining silence so that students have thinking time before they respond (Edwards, 1992). Such alternatives to teacher questions also led, as discussed later, to a shift in emphasis to the way teachers react in their feedback to student responses.

Other research studies have also raised doubts over the effectiveness of teacher questioning techniques in situations where teachers and students from different ethnic groups have different cultural expectations

about how to use language in the classroom (Corson, 1993; Heath, 1983), and where such questioning could impact upon social class and gender differences in the classroom (Drudy and Chathain, 2002; Myhill, 2002).

The difficulty of managing the turn-taking of a large numbers of students in whole-class talk has also led to the raising of doubts about the effectiveness of teacher questioning and the development of group-based learning. For example, Barnes and Todd (1977) went on to explore the promotion of student talk through the use of collaborative group work as a way of 'decentralizing' classroom communication, so as to encourage more students to participate in, and practise of, academic forms of discourse normally dominated by the teacher, and allow for alternative frames of reference. In discussing the features of group work where students are encouraged to explore meanings collaboratively, Barnes and Todd (1995) pointed out the clear differences in discourse structure between this and whole class question and answer routine. Because the absence of the teacher means there is no authoritative figure to dominate the discourse, there are no clearly marked asymmetrical relationships, and the consequent lack of pre-allocated rights makes it necessary for the students to negotiate the terms of their interaction as they go along.

As Edwards and Westgate (1994) argue, in such group discussion turn-taking is managed locally and interactionally, and it sets up different expectations and patterns of working because speakers potentially have equal rights and joint ownership of the interaction allowing for both the asking as well as answering of questions. The patterns of interaction are therefore, strikingly different from the kinds of discourse associated with the whole-class, transmission model of teaching. In this way, as Mercer (1995) suggests, students can share in and practise forms of academic discourse of the classroom normally inhabited by the teacher: that is, sharing, comparing, contrasting and arguing from different perspectives, providing opportunities for instructional conversation or the shared construction or negotiation of meaning. Therefore, in group or paired work, students are given more opportunities to develop linguistically and cognitively (see also Lyle, *Learners' Collaborative Talk*, Volume 3).

Work on the linguistic patterning of teacher–student interaction was carried by Sinclair and Coulthard in the UK (1975), although they consider its value in the promotion of student learning. In their study of primary English lessons, they revealed the initiation-response-feedback (IRF) exchange as being central to teacher/pupil interaction. In its prototypical form, a teaching exchange consists of three moves: an *initiation*, usually in the form of a teacher question, a *response* in which a pupil attempts to answer the question, and a *follow-up* move, in which

the teacher provides some form of feedback (very often in the form of an evaluation) to the pupil's response. In a similar study in the USA, Mehan (1979) used 'evaluate' to designate the third move because it was found that this move in the exchange was often used to provide an evaluation of a student's answer.

International research into classroom discourse suggests the IRF structure is central to all classroom teaching (Abd-Kadir and Hardman, 2007; Alexander, 2001; Arthur, 2001). It is particularly prevalent in directive forms of teaching and often consists of closed teacher questions, brief student answers which teachers do not build upon, superficial praise rather than diagnostic feedback and an emphasis on recalling information rather than genuine exploration. This has led some researchers to call for the demise of the IRF exchange because of the cognitively limiting role it appears to afford to students where most of the questions asked by teachers are of a low cognitive level designed to funnel responses towards a required answer (Lemke, 1990).

While accepting the pervasiveness of this phenomenon, other researchers have argued IRF can be functionally effective, leading to very different levels of student engagement and participation. Mercer (1995), for example, argues that it can be an effective means of monitoring students' knowledge and understanding, guiding their learning and identifying knowledge and experience which is considered educationally significant, thereby promoting academic forms of discourse. Others suggest that the IRF structure can take on a variety of forms and functions leading to different levels of student participation and engagement, particularly through the use that is made of the feedback move. Nassaji and Wells (2000), for example, suggest that through feedback which goes beyond evaluation of the pupil's answer, the teacher can extend the answer to draw out its significance so as to create a greater equality of participation for the student.

Similarly, Nystrand, Gamoran, Kachur and Prendergast (1997) advocate that teachers pay more attention to the way in which they evaluate student responses so that there is more 'high-level evaluation' whereby teachers incorporate student answers into subsequent questions. In this process, which they term *uptake*, they suggest that teacher's questions should be shaped by what immediately precedes them so that they are genuine questions. When such high level evaluation occurs, the teacher ratifies the importance of a student's response and allows it to modify or affect the course of the discussion in some way, weaving it into the fabric of an unfolding exchange. Such high level evaluation therefore chains together teacher questions and student responses so that the discourse gradually takes on a conversation-like quality, thereby encouraging more student-initiated ideas and responses, and, consequently, promoting higher-order thinking.

## WORK IN PROGRESS

Research has started to explore the connection between patterns of classroom discourse and learning, particularly the link between discourse patterns and teachers' theories of learning, arguing that the use of particular discourse strategies reflects certain pedagogical epistemologies (Cazden, 2001; Barnes and Todd, 1995; Moyles, Hargreaves, Merry, Pateron and Esarte-Sarries, 2003; Wells, 1999). It is argued that the choices teachers make about the kinds of discourse patterns and pedagogical strategies they use in their classrooms are linked to their pedagogical beliefs, and that the most effective teachers are those who can theorise their teaching so as to make confident and professionally informed pedagogic decisions (Askew, Brown, Rhodes, Johnson and Wiliam, 1997).

Through his comparative research into classroom talk in primary school classrooms in five countries (England, France, India, Russia, USA), Alexander (2001) found that although the IRF exchange is ubiquitous, it is used in different ways to organise the communicative process of teaching and learning. While in most of the classrooms he observed teachers spoke for the majority of the time, the contribution of the students varied considerably across the different cultures, leading to different levels of student participation and cognitive engagement. For example, in Russian and French classrooms it was more common for a teacher to probe a student's response, leading to higher levels of student engagement and longer stretches of discourse conducted through a more formal academic discourse, when compared to British and American classrooms. Alexander argues that this reflects a commitment in French and Russian schools to collective/public, rather than individualised, learning.

From this work, Alexander (2004) has developed the concept of 'dialogic talk'. Here the essential features of a dialogic classroom are that it is collective (teachers and students address the learning task together), reciprocal (teachers and students listen to each other to share ideas and consider alternative viewpoints), supportive (students articulate their ideas freely without fear of embarrassment over 'wrong' answers and support each other to reach common understandings), cumulative (teachers and students build on their own and each others' ideas to chain them into coherent lines of thinking and enquiry) and purposeful (teachers plan and facilitate 'dialogic teaching' with educational goals in mind). Alexander (2004) also argues that the term dialogic teaching should replace the organisational restrictiveness of 'whole-class teaching' as teaching can be dialogic when teachers are interacting with individuals, groups or the whole class.

However, in drawing on international findings to inform his concept of dialogic teaching, Alexander (2006) cautions against the assumption that teaching approaches which are effective in one country can be imported into another, because of the cultural differences which shape educational beliefs and practices. Before adopting such practices, he argues that it is important that the cultural assumptions, values and pedagogical principles which shape such approaches are fully understood so as to judge how far the pedagogy can be accommodated in a different cultural context. Out of such an accommodation will come new teaching approaches with a greater chance of them being implemented in the classroom.

Alexander (2006) also argues that recent research into formative assessment, emphasising the power of feedback in enhancing the teaching and learning process, supports the concept of dialogic teaching. Feedback is found to be particularly powerful when it is used by teachers to adapt their teaching to the learning needs of students, and when it focuses on the qualities of student work and offers guidance on what can be done to bring about improvements (Black and Wiliam, 1998). Effective teacher–student and student–student interaction and discourse, in which students are given opportunities to actively participate in their own learning and communicate their evolving understanding in spoken and written forms in group-based and whole class activities, is therefore central to the whole teaching and learning process. Black, Harrison, Lee, Marshall and Wiliam (2003) recognise, however, that such an approach to classroom assessment requires fundamental changes to underlying pedagogic practices to enhance feedback between those taught and the teacher.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

While extensive research in the USA by Nystrand, Gamoran, Kachur and Prendergast (1997) and Cazden (2001) found that managing the quality of classroom discourse is the most important factor if there is to be genuine dialogic teaching, leading to significant gains in learning outcomes, both studies found there was a persistence of teacher-led recitation.

Similarly, recent studies of national educational initiatives in England designed to improve the quality of classroom interaction show they are failing to induce fundamental pedagogic change as they have done little to change traditional patterns of whole class interaction. Despite a scenario of considerable change in, for example, curriculum planning, assessment and use of ICT in the UK, studies have found a relative continuity at the deeper levels of pedagogy as measured through classroom

interaction and discourse (Galton, Hargreaves, Comber, Wall and Pell, 1999; Hardman, Smith and Wall, 2003; Moyles, Hargreaves, Merry, Paterson and Esarte-Sarries, 2003; Smith, Hardman, Wall and Mroz, 2004). The research suggests traditional patterns of whole-class teaching have not been dramatically transformed by the strategies, despite official endorsements of 'interactive whole class teaching' (Reynolds and Farrell, 1996). More worrying for advocates of dialogic approaches, compared to earlier studies of the primary phase, the findings suggest an increase in teacher talk and directive forms of teaching and less opportunities for students to explore ideas (Alexander, Willcocks and Nelson, 1996; Galton, Simon and Croll, 1980, Galton, Hargreaves, Comber, Wall and Pell, 1999).

Similarly, in studies of teacher–pupil dialogue in the small-group 'guided' sessions, it was found that teachers exercised tight control over the parameters of relevance and were reluctant to allow student initiation or modification of the topic (Hardman, Smith and Wall, 2005; Skidmore, Perez-Parent and Arnfield, 2003). This resulted in an international pattern of teacher–student talk which afforded little opportunity for students to formulate ideas in their own words. Such findings about the persistence of recitational patterns led a recent evaluation of national literacy and numeracy initiatives in England to argue that there is a need for different approaches to in-service training to change habitual classroom behaviours and traditional discourse patterns, and secure the long-term effectiveness of educational initiatives (Earl et al., 2003).

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The research findings reviewed earlier suggest major challenges have to be overcome if classroom talk is to be transformed from recitation into dialogue so as to promote the co-construction of guided knowledge between teachers and students. They suggest the need for the exploration and researching of alternative teaching and learning strategies to raise the quality of teachers' interactions with their students, and promote broader participation beyond the role of listeners or respondents. The research also, as Alexander (2006) argues, suggests the need for dialogic principles to inform professional learning and school improvement.

If the classroom discourse is to take a variety of forms and functions as suggested by advocates of dialogic talk, leading to different levels of student participation and engagement, the studies reviewed earlier suggest teachers will need to pay close attention to their use of questions and feedback strategies so as to promote the use of alternative discourse strategies (e.g. probing, student questions, uptake of questions, teacher statements). Research into the professional development of teachers suggests monitoring and self-evaluation will need to become a regular part

of in-service training so as to give teachers a degree of ownership of the process of school improvement.

Studies looking at dimensions of teacher development (e.g. Alexander, Willcocks, and Nelson, 1996; Joyce and Showers, 1995) suggest that teachers are slow to change their ways of teaching and new teaching methods or innovations are not readily taken on. Tharp and Gallimore (1988, p. 191) suggest that because innovation and change always cost time, anxiety and uncertainty, it is essential that teachers have supportive interactions with peers through modelling and feedback if the 'recitation script' is to be changed to 'new repertoires of complex social behaviour necessary for responsive teaching' which the co-construction of knowledge requires. Similarly, Dillon (1994) suggests that coaching and talk-analysis feedback may be useful tools for professional development whereby sympathetic discussion by groups of teachers of data derived from their own classrooms could be an effective starting point. In addition to recordings and transcriptions, observation and coaching could prove a very useful means in providing such quality feedback.

Research into the role of coaching in teacher professional development suggests that the instructional behaviours of teachers cannot be influenced until the internal thought processes have been altered (Joyce and Showers, 1995). Reflection on teachers' intentions and beliefs about their practice is seen as a way of enhancing expert thinking and problem solving so as to bridge the gap between theories and actual classroom practice.

In order to facilitate such changes in pedagogic practice, research has started to explore the connection between patterns of classroom discourse and learning, particularly the link between discourse patterns and teachers' theories of learning, arguing that the use of particular discourse strategies reflects certain pedagogical epistemologies (Cazden, 2001; Moyles, Hargreaves, Merry, Paterson and Esarte-Sarries, 2003; Wells, 1999). The research suggests teachers should be encouraged to theorise their teaching so as to make confident and professionally informed decisions about the way they interact with students so as to encourage greater participation and higher levels of cognitive engagement. Moyles, Hargreaves, Merry, Paterson and Esarte-Sarries (2003) found using video clips of lessons selected by the teacher to be a powerful means of promoting critical reflection on professional practice. They found that their video project, entitled video-stimulated reflective dialogue (VSRD), encouraged teachers to articulate and demonstrate their own understanding of their interactive styles and provided opportunities for monitoring and self-evaluation.

In addition to the provision of more powerful professional development programmes, there is the need for more research to provide comprehensive evidence, for both teachers and policy makers, that dialogic styles

of teaching encouraging more active student involvement in the guided co-construction of knowledge can produce significant gains in learning.

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TALK, TEXTS AND MEANING-MAKING  
IN CLASSROOM CONTEXTS

INTRODUCTION

There is now a rich body of literature on classroom research and on the talk that takes place in interaction in educational settings. Talk is a fundamental component of interaction in classrooms; however, texts are also an important element. Interaction often takes place around texts of various kinds and in educational settings, pedagogy is ‘made possible’ by the use of texts (Freebody, 2003, p. 179). In this review, I will focus on the development of research on classroom talk and talk around texts in monolingual and multilingual settings, highlighting specific aspects of interaction in classrooms and taking account of the contribution of ethnographic methods of analysis to this area of research.

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Initially, educational research focused exclusively on methods of teaching and assessment. Before the 1960s, very little was known about the characteristics of educational discourse and the analysis of transcripts of classroom talk was not considered a major part of research on classroom interaction (Edwards and Westgate, 1987/1994). Early research involving observations of classroom lessons relied on coding schemes. The focus of research was mainly on the ideal traits of teachers and learners, and on teaching styles (see Green and Dixon, *Classroom Interaction, Situated Learning, Volume 3*). Most studies at the time, centered on teacher talk, practically ignoring students’ contributions to the interaction.

One of the most significant contributions to the study of classroom language in the 1970s was that of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) who developed linguistic methods of analysis. Their concern was not primarily educational. Applying speech act theory, they drew attention to form-function relationships and built their model of classroom discourse around this. In addition, they drew attention to the three part exchange structure of classroom discourse, the Initiation-Response-Feedback structure (IRF), which has, since then, been found to be the most common sequence in teacher-led discussions in classrooms all over the world.

As researchers have carried out analyses of the IRF patterns of classroom talk over the years since the 1970s, there has been increasing concern about the predictability, simplicity and limited nature of such teacher–pupil talk, and also about the way this structure positions students in class (Barnes, 1976; Van Lier, 1996). However, IRF exchanges may present very complex patterns, compared with the relatively ‘simple’ structure originally described by Sinclair and Coulthard. Researchers such as Mehan (1979), Cazden (1988/1996) and Zentella (1981) have shown that it is indeed a complex and variable pattern, especially in bilingual classrooms. Mehan (1979) used the acronym IRE, in his analytic framework, with the E component of the three part structure referring to ‘Evaluation’ since he wanted to foreground this evaluative dimension of classroom discourse.

Barnes’ (1976) research led the way in focusing attention on classroom language and how it relates to learning processes. According to Barnes, genuine exchange of meanings between teacher and pupils provides opportunities for learning, so talk that draws on the prior knowledge and experience of the learners should be encouraged by teachers. Barnes looked at both teachers’ questions and pupil-initiated sequences and found that the latter represented only a small proportion of the classroom talk in his data. Along with this finding, his main contribution to the study of classroom discourse was the formulation of the concept of ‘exploratory talk’ in contrast to ‘presentational’ or ‘final draft talk’. The former occurs when teachers ask open questions and reply to the contributions of learners instead of merely evaluating them. The latter is found when teachers ask questions to test the students’ understanding of topics that have already been explained and evaluate their responses paying particular attention to the form of student’s utterances.

A predominant feature of teacher talk, teacher control of classroom interaction, shows up in many studies of classroom discourse. This kind of talk is usually asymmetrical in nature (Stubbs, 1976). In addition, research by Edwards and Westgate (1987/1994) has shown that talk in classrooms is ‘not conducted normally on a basis of shared knowledge’. Moreover, as Lemke (1989) has noted, participants in classrooms have rights and obligations, which are continually being negotiated, but most of the time teachers succeed in imposing their authority.

#### INCREASING INTERDISCIPLINARITY AND THE WIDENING SCOPE OF RESEARCH: MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

In this section, I turn to developments in the 1980s and 1990s. In this period, research on classroom discourse moved beyond linguistic

description and functional code analysis. However, it did continue to be problem-focused, seeking to examine the effects of teaching on learners. The attention of researchers now shifted from a primary focus on communicative functions to a more detailed concern with the sequential structures of classroom discourse and with the ways in which meanings are contextualized through the use of both verbal and non-verbal cues. At the same time, research on classroom interaction widened its focus to include second and foreign language contexts and talk in bilingual classrooms.

### *Increasing Interdisciplinarity*

By the 1980s, research on classroom discourse was beginning to reflect diverse and, often, intersecting influences from the fields of social science research that had been developed and consolidated in the preceding decades. These included fields such as ethnomethodology and conversation analysis (CA) (Garfinkel, 1972; Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974); the ethnography of communication (Gumperz and Hymes, 1972; Hymes, 1968); micro-ethnography (Erickson and Schultz, 1981) and interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz, 1982). Several scholars working in these fields had a particular concern with the educational achievement of children from social groups who found themselves positioned towards the lower echelons of the social hierarchy and they conducted some of their research in educational settings. Their influence was far-reaching. The attention of classroom-based researchers shifted away from the communicative functions of individual utterances towards the detail of the ebb and flow of talk in classrooms, highlighting its situated nature and the recurring sequential structures of classroom routines. The emphasis was now on the joint construction of meanings by teachers and learners. The contexts for teaching and learning were no longer seen as fixed and pre-defined but as being constituted in and through interaction and therefore continually open to negotiation and redefinition.

John Gumperz (1982) made a distinctive contribution to the study of classroom discourse by foregrounding the ways in which meanings are contextualized in ongoing interactions between teachers and learners. He was the first to put forward the notion of 'contextualization cue', referring to choices of verbal and non-verbal signs, which participants in a conversation perceive to be marked. This included, for example, signs such as a change in pitch or intonation, codeswitching or an unexpected gesture. He showed how teachers and learners draw on such cues in negotiating classroom encounters and in making situated inferences about each other's contributions to classroom conversations and about the significance of ongoing activities.

Working along similar lines, Fred Erickson (1986) developed a micro-ethnographic approach to the study of the fine grain of classroom interaction, focusing, in particular, on non-verbal cues and on the manner in which participants in classroom conversations attend to such cues. He was especially interested in the ways in which teachers and learners manage to synchronize their contributions to classroom interaction. He also sought to identify the means they employed to engage in conversational repair and to describe the strategies deployed when synchrony is not achieved. He was also interested in documenting the consequences of cross-cultural miscommunication.

Several researchers working in education in the 1980s and 1990s were specifically interested in applying the principles of ethnomethodology and conversation analysis (CA) to the study of classroom discourse (e.g. Baker and Freebody, 1989; McHoul, 1978, 1982, 1990; MacBeth, 1992; Mehan, 1979, 1981; ). They focused on the sequential structures of classroom interactions, on question and answer routines and on the accomplishment of turn-taking and conversational repair in multi-party classroom interactions. A good deal of this ethnomethodological work focused on the teaching of reading in the early years of schooling, on the construction of what counts as literacy and on the orientation of learners to specific ways of working with texts.

Influences from developments in social psychology were also beginning to be felt in studies of classroom discourse in the 1980s. Two influential concepts were Vygotsky's (1978) concept of 'zone of proximal development' (ZPD), and Bruner's notion of 'scaffolding' (Wood, Bruner and Ross, 1976). These concepts were taken up as interest grew in the role of talk as a means of joint knowledge building. The construction of knowledge came to be seen as a collaborative process. These concepts were taken further in work by Mercer (1995) who developed a Neo-Vygotskian approach to the analysis of classroom talk. Mercer's approach highlights the social nature of interaction and foregrounds the role of talk between learners and between teachers and learners in the construction of knowledge (for further details see Hardman, *The Guided Co-construction of Knowledge*, Volume 3).

The 1990s saw further development and consolidation of research in bilingual classroom discourse. Here too, there were cross-cutting influences from different disciplines. Conversational analysts' work was combined with new analytic frameworks from sociology and from research on bilingual codeswitching (e.g. Auer, 1984). Some of this research was based in language classrooms (e.g. Mejia, 1994, 1998; Lin, 1996, 2001). Other research was developed in contexts where a second or foreign language was employed as medium of instruction (e.g. Arthur, 2001; Bunyi, 2001, 2005; Canagarajah, 1995; Martin,

1999a,b, 2005a,b; Martin-Jones and Saxena, 1996). Research based in countries of the South constituted the greatest portion of this new body of work on classroom discourse and opened up new insights into the ways in which meanings are exchanged by teachers and learners in multilingual classrooms.

As Martin-Jones (2000, p. 2) points out in her review of research on bilingual classroom interaction:

We now have ample examples in the research literature of teachers using code contrast as a resource for demarcating different kinds of discourse: to signal the transition between preparing for a lesson and the start of the lesson; to specify a particular addressee; to distinguish 'doing a lesson' from talk about it; to change footing or make an aside; to distinguish quotations from a written text from talk about them; to bring out the voices of different characters in a narrative; to distinguish classroom management utterances from talk related to the lesson content.

The analysis of codeswitching practices in these different contexts also drew attention to the tensions arising between official language policy and classroom practices. Teachers in many of the contexts under study were falling back on codeswitching in order to accomplish lessons, despite the fact that, in some schools, this was not an approved practice (e.g. Arthur, 2001; Lin, 1996, 2001; Mejia, 1994, 1998; Martin, 1999a,b).

Some studies in post-colonial contexts, where English was the medium of instruction, documented the prevalence of classroom routines such as teacher-led orchestration of classroom interaction where students responded in chorus to teacher prompts (Bunyi, 2001, 2005; Chick, 1996; Hornberger and Chick, 2001; Martin, 1997). Chick (1996) introduced the concept of 'safetalk' to capture this interactional phenomenon. 'Safetalk' was defined as 'talk that creates a space where teacher and students know more or less what to expect and how to behave in class, but where a high price is paid in terms of (a lack of) learning' (Hornberger and Chick, 2001, p. 52). Chorus-style responses serve as a means to avoid loss of face associated with being shown up publicly, in the classroom, as being wrong. Chick (1996) gave particular attention to chorused behavior and the way in which chorusing was orchestrated by teachers through ample use of contextualization cues. This concept was taken up in classroom-based research such as Arthur's (2001) study in Botswana, Bunyi's (2001) research in Kenya, Martin's (1997) research in Brunei and Hornberger and Chick's (2001) comparative study of Peru and South Africa (see also the chapter by Bunyi, *Constructing Elites in Kenya: Implications for Classroom Language Practices in Africa*, Volume 3).

*A New Eclecticism*

As research on talk in face to face classroom interaction developed over time, in different areas of the curriculum, it grew more eclectic, often drawing on different strands of previous work. Thus, for example, by the turn of the century, conversational analytic approaches were increasingly being interwoven with work of an ethnographic nature (details of this way of working are discussed in a discussion paper prepared for the British Linguistic Ethnography Forum—Rampton et al., 2004).

This new eclecticism has, in fact, come to be seen as a positive development and as a welcome move away from the methodological purism of some research in the field of conversational analysis. A special issue of the journal of *Applied Linguistics* was devoted, in 2002, to a comparison of approaches to the micro-analysis of classroom discourse, including ethnography of communication, conversation analysis and a systemic functional approach. One group of researchers, who were invited to respond to the papers in this issue, concluded that all three approaches ‘offer more to the analysis of classroom discourse in combination than they do alone’ (Rampton et al., 2002, p. 387).

*Texts, Talk and Classroom Practices*

Texts do not exist in isolation in educational settings. The talk that takes place around them is what gives them meaning (Maybin and Moss, 1993). The term ‘text’ here does not only refer to printed materials, it may also include electronic text, student notes, lesson plans or school textbooks and many other types of educational material, which are ‘inspected, dissected, and analyzed in various ways’ (Barton, 1994, p. 58). In classroom situations, the text is almost always the object of mediation by teachers. As we will see in the following section, this process of mediating is particularly evident in bilingual classrooms where bilingual talk often unfolds around monolingual texts. Textbooks are also mediators of experience. They represent the social world in particular ways (Barton, 1994).

Research on talk around texts in different types of classrooms has shown us that knowledge is often constructed in classrooms via a cultural artifact or a textbook. As De Castell and Luke (1989) have observed, a textbook constitutes an authorized medium that conveys ‘legitimate knowledge’ to pupils. In language classrooms, such as EFL and ESL classrooms, the textbook is invested with characteristic features that distinguish it from other types of texts. In a detailed analysis of the features of EFL textbooks, Dendrinos (1992) draws attention to the variability in the discourses, to the different type of

genres, to the cultural content of different EFL texts, and especially their underlying ideology. In contexts where English is taught as a foreign language, the 'EFL textbook' is often relied upon to guide classroom-based interactional activities; its authority derives from sources outside the classroom, including curriculum authorities, local and central government departments concerned with education and multinational publishing companies. The relative importance of the EFL textbook depends on the way in which the curriculum is organized: so the tighter the state control over educational content and instructional practice, the stronger the reliance on the textbook (Ibid.). However, in developing contexts, textbooks may not be readily available to learners who lack economic resources, so teachers rely on alternative 'texts', as a recent case study in public secondary schools in Colombia has shown (Valencia Giraldo, 2004; 2006). Teachers often create texts from a range of existing textbooks. So, in schools such as these, textual authority resides in these locally produced worksheets and they largely determine the teaching content.

Teacher mediation of texts takes place in specific observable literacy events in classrooms. The notion of 'literacy event' derives from the influential work of Heath (1983). Heath referred to literacy events as encounters between people 'when talk revolves around a piece of writing' (1983, p. 386). Her particular focus was on children's literacy socialization in different classroom and community contexts, so she studied talk exchanged between adults and children around texts. Heath's ethnographic work paved the way for the development of a sociocultural approach to literacy, an approach which came to be known as the New Literacy Studies (e.g. Barton, 1994; Street, 1984, 2000). In this approach, reading and the use of texts are seen as profoundly social and cultural practices, embedded in particular historical contexts.

For two decades, the focus of much ethnographic work on literacy, was on the local, on particular cultural contexts and on detailed accounts of the ways in which local literacy practices were manifested in particular literacy events. However, there has been recent debate within the New Literacy Studies about the need to take account of global contexts and global, cultural flows in empirical work related to local literacy events and practices (e.g. Brandt and Clinton, 2002; Pahl and Rowsell, 2006). It is argued that close description and analysis of literacy events in which talk is exchanged around texts can provide revealing insights into the ways in which the global pervades the local. As Pahl and Rowsell (2006, p. 11) observe, we can see 'how texts are shaped by practices which themselves are both locally based and globally shaped . . . we see the global and the local in *instances of practices*'.

Thus, in the study briefly mentioned above, carried out by Valencia Giraldo (2004, 2006) in public secondary schools in Colombia both

the local and global dimensions of local teaching/learning events were taken into account. The focus was on particular events when Colombian teachers of English, in two public schools, were talking with the students about texts they had produced themselves from existing textbooks. Detailed analysis of the talk around texts in these events revealed complex patterns that could be linked to the wider policy context and to broader processes of change, such as globalization. Global forces are clearly having an impact on Colombian education and on the day to day classroom routines of public schools. However, the issues raised by globalization are not exclusive to development contexts in South America. There are wider resonances, as I will argue in the [next section](#).

#### GLOBALIZATION AND TEXTS IN AND FOR ENGLISH: WORK IN PROGRESS

There has been increasing interest in classroom interaction in settings where English is a second or foreign language, settings such as the post-colonial contexts of countries of the South: in Africa, Asia, South and Central America. Recent work carried out in these contexts shows a growing concern with socio-cultural issues in the context of the English classroom and a trend towards research which takes account of how the local interactional order in particular classrooms is constructed *and* the ways in which global processes impinge on the local. Attention has been drawn to the rapid spread of English due to globalization. Some studies focus on the increasing dominance of English within the curriculum and the resistance to this linguistic dominance which is manifested in and through interaction in different educational sites. Work by Canagarajah (1999, 2005) shows how teachers and learners deal with the tension between English and Tamil ideologies in classroom interaction. In this context, codeswitching practices constitute a subtle means of resistance to language education policy constraints which is played out in the daily rounds of interactional life in classrooms in Jaffna.

As Pennycook (1994) has pointed out, discourses about the spread of English in different parts of the world, often embody a positive image of English, as a new commodity on the educational market. Language education reforms tend to privilege English at the expense of other languages. Conflicts and tensions generated by the rapid spread of English and the imposition of new policies are most visible in the daily routines of classroom interaction. As noted by Heller and Martin-Jones (2001, p. 422) 'it is through the interactional order . . . that it is possible to act with regard to interests and positioning constrained by institutional and social orders beyond the control of actors'.

The impact of English language policies on classroom interaction and on talk around texts is particularly evident in recent research carried out in Southeast Asia by Peter Martin (2005a,b). A study by Martin (2005a), in Malaysia, highlights key issues related to talk around texts and the construction of knowledge. This study focuses on the language practices in two rural schools in Malaysia where English has come to be seen as a desirable commodity. Recent policy developments have established English as the main medium of instruction in mathematics and science in schools across the country. Martin describes in detail the consequences of this policy. The teachers in these classes have limited English resources so they read through short texts in English from the official textbook, with the students annotating key words and concepts. These are usually key lexical items that are repeated by the students. Interactional exchanges in these lessons take place in both English and Malay, with the teacher's initiations being in Malay and with the students responding with single lexical items in English and in Malay. The teachers and students have become reliant on the textbook, although it is in a language which is remote from the local Malay vernacular. The textbook's pictures and lifestyles have a Malaysian flavor but according to Martin (2005a, p. 90) the cultural contents are 'far removed from the lifeworlds of the students'.

Thus, in these two rural schools, English is the language of the text and Malay is the language of mediation. They are both used in the daily cycles of classroom interaction. While codeswitching is a practice that is permitted in these classes, tensions arise as the local educational policy does not approve of this practice. There is little participation on the part of the students, a situation commonly reported in research in other multilingual contexts. As Martin (2005a) points out, what has emerged in these and other similar classes, where teachers are constrained by the imposition of new language in education policies, are instances of 'safetalk', of the type described previously. Safetalk practices like these provide an interactional resource for coping with the imposition of official policy. In using the term 'safe', Martin notes that it does not necessarily refer to 'pedagogically sound' practices (2005a, p. 94), but rather just a means of coping and getting lessons done. What becomes clear from this study is that the tensions in the interactional order of these classrooms need to be considered with reference to the external context of the classroom, to the local language in education policy and to the ways in which the global is inserted in the local.

Martin (2005b) reports on research conducted in Brunei on the uses of texts and talk around texts and the ways in which textual practices are bound up with the construction of knowledge. This study was conducted in a small rural community in Brunei and focused on how knowledge was talked into being around texts in primary schools. Both

Malay and English are recognized as official languages in this context, as part of a national bilingual education program but English is once again seen as a desirable commodity and it enjoys a privileged status in education from primary education onwards. It is seen as the language of social and educational mobility. A further issue in this context arises from the fact that the children in local schools, such as the one in Martin's study, have home languages other than Malay and have varying degree of proficiency in Malay. The local language of inter-ethnic contact in this remote, multilingual region of Brunei is Iban. The difficulties that stem from the imposition of a bilingual education policy based on two languages that are remote from the children's lived experience surface in the talk around texts in the daily rounds of interaction in the classroom. Further difficulties stem from the use of the school textbook which has cultural content which is not familiar to the children although it was produced in Brunei. Martin (2005b) shows how the teacher in this class struggled to make links between the world of the textbook and the local knowledge of the students. This was partly because of the remoteness of the two officially sanctioned languages of the curriculum and partly because of the remoteness of the cultural content of the textbook from the students' own lived experiences. They had been brought up in a rural community that was located on the political and economic periphery of the nation of Brunei. The textbooks were produced in the Malay-speaking centre of Brunei, by a government agency, in a joint venture with international publishers.

#### PROBLEMS, CHALLENGES AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

These two studies of classroom practice in primary schools in South-east Asia demonstrate the need to investigate in more detail the ways in which global process impinge on and constrain local educational practices. Further attention is needed, in classroom-based research in the countries of the South, to the spread of English and, specifically, to the trend towards the creation of bilingual education programs involving an official national language and English. How do teachers and students manage the communicative demands of such bilingual education policies? What kind of meaning-making goes on in such classrooms? How are these meanings built up around texts? How do teachers and learners talk knowledge into being in different kinds of policy conditions? What evidence is there of resistance to the implementation of these policies? From my own work in Colombia, it is clear that secondary school students in public schools continually engage in small acts of resistance to the efforts of English teachers to implement a

national policy of bilingual education (Spanish with English) (Valencia Giraldo, 2004). Teachers deploy different strategies, some playful, some quite authoritative, in responding to these challenges from students. What evidence is there and elsewhere of student resistance to the implementation of such bilingual education policies? How common are these practices in other public secondary schools in other countries of the South where similar policies have been imposed?

These questions need to be addressed in research conducted by researchers who speak the local languages. They are best-placed to describe and interpret the intricacies of classroom talk in such settings and the particular meanings generated through that talk. As Canagarajah (2005, p. 19) notes, it is important to maintain an ‘ongoing conversation with local knowledge . . . for our common pursuit of broadening knowledge construction practices. The local will always have a questioning effect on established paradigms’.

In all classroom-based research in the countries of the South and the North, the bulk of research still tends to focus on the voices of teachers. In future research, more importance needs to be given to the role of learners in classroom interaction. Focusing primarily on SLA research, Breen (2001) proposes a research agenda that takes into account not only the value of learners’ contributions to language-learning processes, but also the social relations underpinning classroom interaction.

As I have tried to show in this chapter, research agendas in the future will also need to pay greater attention to the role of texts and talk around texts in the study of classroom discourse. As Smith (1999) and Barton (2001) have pointed out, we need to take greater account of the intensely textually mediated nature of contemporary social life. If we focus primarily on spoken language in face to face encounters, we will risk overlooking significant textual dimensions of human endeavour. Barton (2001) argues as follows for research which incorporates frameworks from the New Literacy Studies with a view to deepening insights into the communicative practices that predominate in today’s world.

Whether it is technological change and internet use, educational change and the nature of learning, the relation of language to poverty and social exclusion, or language in the changing workplace, an analysis which starts from literacies is central to understanding. Studies restricted to spoken language cannot adequately account for these crucial areas for contemporary language use (2001, p. 101).

Lastly, the increasingly complex and multimodal nature of text production and of contemporary communication poses new challenges for researchers engaged in classroom-based research. Our attention has

been drawn to some of these complexities in recent work in science classrooms (Kress et al., 2001) and in English classes in urban schools (Kress et al., 2005) (for further details see Jewitt, *Multimodal Discourses across the Curriculum*, Volume 3). The challenge posed by the rapidly changing nature of contemporary communication in classrooms need to be met with new theory and method. We will need new analytic lenses and new approaches to research design in future studies of talk, texts and meaning-making in classroom contexts.

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## LEARNERS' COLLABORATIVE TALK

### INTRODUCTION

Learners' collaborative talk involves students working together to use talk as a meaning-making strategy to achieve common goals. Theoretically, research in the field is mainly located in socio-cultural approaches which suggest that the world is a discursive construction and the mind is embedded in contexts which have unique historical, political, cultural, social and interpersonal determinants. Learning is seen as a social process and knowledge as a jointly constructed phenomenon. Collaborative talk is, therefore, a means by which dialogic engagement between learners can become a tool for meaning making.

Social-cultural research draws extensively from the theories of Vygotsky who emphasized that human beings construct their understanding and knowledge in dialogic ways with others. This led researchers to look closely at classroom discourse and the ways in which pupils use talk to make meaning. Characteristic of recent work has been the emergence of a number of disciplinary hybrids which see human action as the proper focus for research in the human sciences, and language as the key mediator of such action. Three key disciplines, psychology, sociology and linguistics, have each drawn on two Vygotskian-inspired concepts: the centrality of the socio-cultural world, and language as part of a culture's toolkit for mediating and shaping action to produce new fields of study. These fields include cultural psychology (Bruner, 1996); socio-cultural studies (Wertsch et al., 1995); and discursive psychology (Edwards and Potter, 1992). Learners' collaborative talk has emerged as having particular relevance to all three disciplinary hybrids. Findings indicate a growing consensus on its potential contribution to the development of learners' higher mental functioning.

Recent research that has focused on analysis of transcripts from the natural setting of the classroom has increasingly been informed by the ideas of Bakhtin, in particular on the role of dialogicality in the construction of meaning (e.g. see Haworth, 1999). The concept of dialogical meaning-making allows the learner to play an active role in developing a personally constructed understanding of the curriculum through dialogic interchange. It is proving to be an important framework in which to investigate the impact of learners' collaborative talk

because it is the dialogue that occurs between learners in collaborative settings that supports the co-construction of meaning.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The antecedent of current interest in the processes of collaborative talk, is early research reported in such key works as Barnes and Todd (1977). They saw pupil-to-pupil talk as beneficial to the learning process and an essential part of problem solving. Since then, views on classroom talk have produced considerable consensus that pupils need worthwhile opportunities to work together in small, collaborative groups using talk to facilitate understanding. However, early classroom studies rely on experimental settings; observation of classrooms in their natural setting suggests that the benefits of collaborative talk promised by research did not materialize in school.

Experimental early research into the impact of collaborative talk on learning outcomes focused on conditions which influenced its effectiveness. A large body of research from the USA showed that the structure of the learning context has an effect on the outcomes of group work (e.g. Johnson and Johnson, 1992). This research rarely investigated actual classroom practice: classrooms were simply used as the site in which to implement varying models of group learning. All required reorganization of typical practice in grouping, and often, in curriculum content. The importance of carefully planned, systematic approaches to collaborative talk in small groups was thus established early on. Little is known from the early American studies about what actually goes on in small, cooperative learning groups that stimulates the use of appropriate cognitive processes.

Early observational research from both sides of the Atlantic has produced a consistent picture: schools and classrooms are full of talk, but little collaborative talk between learners. It is generally accepted that the Initiation/Response/Feedback (IRF) (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975) discourse structure is a fundamental feature of all official talk in classrooms, constituting around 60% of the teaching/learning process. This practice, known as recitation, is understood well by teachers and plays a central part in the direction and control of student learning, allowing little opportunity for collaborative talk among peers. The movement to promote such talk has to compete against this dominant form of classroom interaction. Implementing a change from the traditional classroom to one that values talk is not a simple matter.

It was not until the National Oracy Project (NOP) in the UK that we start to get substantial evidence of the value of speaking and listening to children's development gathered by researchers and teachers

working in classrooms (Norman, 1992). The project led the field in using transcripts from children's talk in small groups as research evidence. Following this, a number of researchers have found that the educational value of any classroom talk between children hinges on how well the teacher has set up activities (Galton and Williamson, 1992).

Collaborative talk is not, however, restricted to a consideration of small group work. There is a considerable body of evidence on the development of collaborative talk through whole class discussion which challenges the established IRF pattern. The claims made for its efficacy in promoting communicative competence, as well as social and cognitive development are many (for a review of such studies see Gall and Gall, 1990); however there was little research or empirical study of classroom practices to back up the claims until more recently (Dillon, 1994).

The early work indicates that the centrality of spoken language in the education process is widely recognized in theory, but until recently, there has been little attempt to ensure its place in the curriculum.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Any discussion of learners' collaborative talk must acknowledge that in Britain, North America and Australia the focus on a National Curriculum and standardized testing through paper and pencil tests has marginalised speaking and listening. It has mainly been the voices of researchers, rather than government or teachers, that have called for oracy to be embedded in the curriculum and practices of schools. The movement to promote collaborative talk has to compete in a climate dominated by teacher accountability based on narrow measures of pupil attainment.

Major contributions to our understanding of collaborative talk come from researchers in the field. In the UK, the work of Neil Mercer and the team at the UK's Open University is seminal. Barnes' original concept of 'exploratory talk' has been extensively researched by the team, which has proved to be very influential on the work of other researchers and practitioners (Mercer, 2000). (Kelly, *Learning Science: Discursive Practices*, Volume 3). Robust evidence to support the value of collaborative talk to learning and cognitive development has emerged. Members of the team have also considered children's talk around computers and a growing body of literature on this topic is emerging. (Hardman, *The Guided Co-construction of Knowledge*, Volume 3).

#### *Thinking Skills*

A key development has been the emergence of thinking skills as a theme in discussion of learners' talk. Research has identified

collaborative talk as a key component of success in all existing models for teaching thinking skills. Evidence supports earlier work which focused on task design; for learners' collaborative talk to be effective in small group work, the tasks must have a degree of open-endedness and uncertainty to permit learners to impose meaning, to make judgements, or to produce multiple solutions. In addition, the concept of metacognition has emerged as a key to understanding what makes for success in the promotion of high quality thinking. If pupils are to develop metacognition, they need time and opportunity to talk about thinking processes so they can take more responsibility for their learning.

In the USA, Swartz and Parks (1994) designed an infusion approach to embed thinking skills within the given curriculum. Following this, McGuinness (1999) developed the ACTS (activating thinking skills) project in the UK. Activities to promote collaborative talk are at the heart of this approach and the use of graphic organisers is characteristic of this work. Also known as thinking frames, they provide a focus for pupils to keep a record of their thinking during tasks, and help make the steps in the thinking process explicit thus promoting metacognition. They are a valuable tool for teachers wishing to understand learners' thinking processes as they provide a record of what has been jointly developed and understood. This approach enables teachers to find out what has gone on in group work, providing a bridge between teacher control and learner autonomy. The autonomy of learners can be a major stumbling block to the implementation of small group work, with teachers unwilling to suspend their role as authorities on meaning; an infusion approach can help overcome this.

Teaching from a thinking skills perspective is also evident in various curriculum subject areas. CASE (cognitive acceleration through science education) (Adey and Shayer, 1994) and also CAME (cognitive acceleration through Mathematics) are notable examples. Other subject areas have developed curriculum approaches to thinking, for example, in Geography and History. Common to subject-based approaches is the development of disciplinary-based cognitive tools to examine ideas. Tasks within these programmes depend extensively on collaborative talk for their successful completion. Such developments in the practice of collaborative talk led by subject associations constitute significant moves towards embedding such talk in the mainstream classroom.

Development in the work undertaken by small groups is only one aspect of collaborative talk. Other initiatives make use of whole class interaction as well as pair and small group work. Lipman's (1988) Philosophy for Children (P4C) is widely used in over 30 countries and is an approach to collaborative talk which sees development and

understanding best achieved in dialogue between peers, facilitated by their teacher. An increasing body of research evidence suggests the impact of this approach on improved pupil outcomes in a range of assessments is considerable. Success in P4C depends on the quality of teacher questioning to promote higher order contributions from learners including exposition, explanation, justification, speculation and hypothesising.

Other initiatives have sought to adjust the balance between teacher-dominated classrooms and group work. Brown and Campione (1993), for example, recommend classroom procedures that start with small collaborative groups which then build into larger groups until the whole class is involved in what they describe as a 'community of learners'. The resulting whole class discussion draws on Socratic dialogue to allow the teacher greater insight into children's collaborative practices when working in peer groups.

### *Language and Literacy Development*

Collaborative teaching methods and activities to promote collaborative talk has been a particular focus for those working with children for whom English (in Britain, Australasia and the USA) or French (in Canada) is an additional language. There is widespread agreement that such pupils need an environment where they can engage with their peers in activities which are cognitively challenging. Development in English as an additional language (EAL) work has increased our understanding of the role of collaborative talk in language acquisition and development and the promotion of bilingual ways of working to acquire literacy, (e.g. Swain, 2001). Stimulated by these initiatives, there is a growing body of evidence to suggest that collaborative discussion about texts provides *all* pupils with ways to improve their reading comprehension and writing skills as well as improve their attitude towards literacy tasks.

### *The Impact of Collaborative Talk*

Research design impacts on the nature of evidence presented, some larger-scale studies seek to measure the impact of collaborative talk on standardized test scores. A study in Mexico by Rojas-Drummond and group (2003) found that teaching primary age children to use exploratory talk leads to an improvement in their individual test scores on *standardized* test of non-verbal reasoning. Other studies have compared experimental groups with control groups to measure the impact of collaborative group work on pupil outcomes according to a range

of variables. Ethnographic studies evaluate the impact of group work through the analysis of transcripts to draw attention to the quality of the verbal interaction that takes place between learners during collaborative talk. These small-scale studies have identified variables that impact on task design and outcome, which has increased our understanding of the conditions which promote successful learner outcomes, some of which are discussed below.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

There are a number of influences on current research on children's collaborative talk. A key concept is emerging, that of dialogue and dialogic forms of learner talk. Focusing on whole class interaction, Alexander's (2001) study of classroom practice in five countries identified very different opportunities for structured talk and the associated deep learning. He uses the term 'dialogic teaching' to describe what happens when teachers and pupils work together to build on their own and each others' knowledge and ideas to develop coherent thinking. Reporting on his project to guide dialogic teaching initiatives in England, Alexander (2005) calls for a greater focus on teacher questioning which seeks to prompt and probe pupil thinking, to promote deep learning through skilful scaffolding, while acknowledging that such a shift in practice will require sustained professional development and support for teachers. Work in this field is in its infancy, but early results suggest it will become an important strand for those who wish to promote learners' collaborative talk.

#### *The Emergence of Narrative as a Theme*

Recent research has identified a range of variables that can impact on effective practice in collaborative talk. Gelat's (2003) investigation of pupil inter-subjectivity in a primary setting evaluated the role of collaborative talk in preparing pupils for a writing task. An experimental design, it compared pupil outcomes in collaborative groupings with control groups who completed the same writing tasks following whole class instruction from a teacher. The experimental groups performed significantly better than the controls. Of particular interest was the role narrative played in the pupil discussions. During peer talk, recounting stories helped pupils 'clarify' understanding and was a 'vehicle of meaning making' (Bruner, 1996, p. 39, 129). Other work in a whole class setting also found that narrative understanding was used as a primary meaning-making tool by pupils engaged in collaborative talk through role-play (Lyle, 2002).

Extending this theme, Wegerif (2005) discusses the importance of verbal creativity in collaborative talk. He argues that there are educationally valuable ways of pupils talking together that are characterized more by verbal creativity than by explicit reasoning. He calls on us to expand our understanding of collaborative talk to incorporate creativity and believes that the concept of 'playful talk' may be central to the aim of improving the quality of thinking and learning. (Gardner and Yaacob, *Role Play and Dialogue in Early Childhood Education*, Volume 3).

Such research emphasises that we can no longer consider children's cognitive development without acknowledging its interdependence with the affective and social in children's learning. The role of collaborative talk in promoting analytical and critical ways of thinking is well established, it also seems to play an important role in promoting creative and imaginative thinking, drawing on narrative as a primary meaning-making tool (Bruner, 1996).

### *Role of the Teacher*

The importance of the teacher's role when setting up collaborative work is a common theme in the literature. Yamaguchi (2003), for example, investigated the ways in which groups are instructed in group work by their teachers. Ten groups were engaged in a collaborative mathematics activity; six groups worked under a mastery condition, emphasising learning and improving as the goal of the task, and four groups under a performance condition, emphasising competition and social comparison. The mastery condition produced more positive behaviours and attainment than the performance condition. This suggests that teachers can influence discursive patterns by the way in which they introduce tasks to learners, and that this influence will impact on performance and outcomes. This has implications for how pupils are introduced to collaborative tasks.

The role of the teacher in promoting collaborative talk in the infant school is under-researched. In a rare study Ogden (2000) concludes that young children may not have the strategies or the capacity for understanding others necessary for engagement in extended reciprocal interaction with their peers. In her study it was not until the age of six that pupils were able to engage in meaningful collaborative activity. However, research evidence from the natural setting of the home shows children as young as two engaging in extended reciprocal interactions. This has implications for the creation of learning environments for the early years which offer interactive experiences for peers so children can experience the perspectives of others. Ogden also stresses the

importance of imagination and play if collaborative talk is to flourish in the infant classroom.

Overall research calls for teachers to engage with children as co-collaborators in meaning making. To succeed, teachers need to select topics and plan tasks that generate fruitful discourse between children. During activities teachers must observe the learners and use interventions that are contingently responsive to their needs. When they do this, learners will be engaged in deep-level learning.

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

This overview of current thinking on learners' collaborative talk highlights the gap between mainstream practice and the growing recognition of the power of talk in the process of making meaning. One of the barriers to the implementation of collaborative learning is the dominance of the teacher's voice at the expense of students' own meaning-making voices. The power relationship between teachers and learners is a stumbling block to genuine dialogue in classroom settings. Many teachers lack the skills necessary for planning effective group work and as a result the pedagogic potential of learning through collaborative talk is unrealized. Blatchford and group (2003) argue that research and theory relevant to group work in classrooms is limited and calls for a new approach to training teachers. Even rarer is the presence of dialogic discourse. Nystrand and group (1999), in a study of over 100 middle and high school classes, found that such discourse took up less than 15% of instruction time; when 'lower-track students' were considered there was a virtual absence of structured talk.

Recent trends in the UK, USA and Australia has identified whole class teaching as an important component of successful classroom practice which has detracted from the value of collaborative talk. In England the introduction of Literacy and Numeracy Hours in primary schools means that pupils spend all morning in tasks controlled by teachers. Although this approach includes the grouping of pupils for pedagogical purposes, the emphasis is on 'direct instruction and well-paced interactive oral work' (DfEE, 1997, p. 18) and this style of interactivity imposes discursive patterns and functions which detract from genuine dialogue. This emphasis on whole class interaction constructs pupils as respondents only and limits children's discourse. The privileging of adult voice may displace children's voices and limit their expectations of classroom discourse (Haworth, 1999). The dominance of the literacy and numeracy hours means learners rarely get to work with their peers in pairs or groups independently of the teacher so that the 'shadow of whole class interaction falls heavily across the discourse' of pupils' (Haworth, 1999, p. 114).

The presence of a National Curriculum in many countries means teachers have an overriding practical concern with 'covering' the curriculum. Collaborative group work is time-consuming and many teachers working to strict timetables and content-led curriculum requirements struggle to see how collaborative talk can become a regular feature of classroom practice. Much will depend on how current trends towards the promotion of thinking skills which require collaborative talk are actually embedded in the statutory curriculum.

Much of the research evidence base for the benefits of learner collaborative talk comes from natural classroom and experimental settings using transcript data to illustrate findings. This evidence is inevitably small-scale, often takes the form of a case-study, and attempts to generalize can only be justified in terms of the number of studies with similar findings across a range of contexts. In addition, reported studies take place predominantly in upper primary classrooms; there is a much smaller base of evidence from either the early years, secondary or tertiary phases of education. This reflects the age of participants and the difficulty of carrying out research with very young children, and the nature of the secondary classroom, with its rigid timetabling and focus on a subject-dominated curriculum. Evidence from secondary classrooms is more likely to be based on pre and post-testing using standardized tests and comparing experimental and control groups. The evidence available supports the claim that engagement in collaborative talk will improve performance on standardized tests when compared with control groups who have not. How the evidence base for the impact of collaborative talk on learner outcomes can be increased is an area researchers must continue to address.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

If we accept that the social world is a discursive construction then language is at the heart of cognitive activity and dialogue the key to learning. If classrooms are to become places where learners' collaborative talk is an accepted teaching strategy, where all (including teachers) can learn, change and grow, approaches to learning and teaching must value the affective as an essential element in the learning process as well as cognitive growth. Learners bring with them different cultural meaning systems through which they make sense of the world, knowledge is therefore something to be negotiated as students and teachers create meaning dialogically. Collaborative talk has the potential to allow learners to experience the different ways in which people use language to make meaning out of educational text. Opportunities for dialogic engagement are growing as teachers are expected to focus on processing information,

rather than testing for recall; such dialogue will increasingly take place on a computer screen.

Content must increasingly reflect students' need to understand our complex world and to make sense of global interdependence and its implications for sustainable development and social integrity. Collaborative talk could offer a pedagogical addition with emancipatory potential to current authoritarian models of teaching and learning and better prepare learners for the challenges of tomorrow.

More evidence is needed on how the type and quality of talk during collaborative groupings changes with age and experience. More work is needed on variables such as gender, class and ethnicity, as well as variables in terms of strategies for grouping pupils, task design, and teacher input to better understand what interactions provide the most effective discourse.

Other trends can be seen to support the importance of children's voices in educational settings. There is growing awareness of the importance of teachers listening to learners' talk; by listening to children interacting with each other, teachers learn a great deal about their perspectives on the topics of the curriculum and how this relates to their lives. Such information can play a central role in assessment for learning and ensure that planning is truly learner-centred. As well as listening to pupils in classrooms, Grudeon and colleagues (2005) encourage teachers to review transcripts of children's talk in order to understand what children bring to collaborative learning tasks. It is this growing body of transcript evidence, often produced by teacher-researchers working in an Action Research paradigm, which helps us to understand the processes children engage in as they use talk for making meaning.

How to listen and learn, as well as to teach and lead, is a challenge for today's teachers and schools. Research shows pupils have a lot to say about learning and can advise on peer support and how to improve group work. When pupils are genuinely involved in discussing group work they can contribute to improvement in teaching and learning.

Computer-mediated communication is growing rapidly. Many commentators believe the developed world is on the cusp of a combined pedagogical and technological revolution with profound challenges for learning and teaching in the twenty-first century. A key challenge for the future will be that of developing new pedagogies and new technologies to advance computer-mediated dialogic engagement.

Increasingly the role of the teacher does not just lie in teaching basic skills or the content of curriculum subjects, teachers are expected to engage with new technologies, to be able to teach thinking skills including the ability to compare and contrast, predict, hypothesis, analyse, synthesis and evaluate, and to carry out action research in their

own classrooms. Learners' collaborative talk has a major part to play in all these developments.

**See Also:** Junko Mori and Jane Zuengler: *Conversation Analysis and Talk-in-interaction in Classrooms (Volume 3)*; Jasmine Luk Ching Man: *Classroom Discourse and the Construction of Learner and Teacher Identities (Volume 3)*; Frank Hardman: *The Guided Co-construction of Knowledge (Volume 3)*; Carey Jewitt: *Multimodal Discourses across the Curriculum (Volume 3)*; Gregory Kelly: *Learning Science: Discursive Practices (Volume 3)*; Richard Barwell: *Discourse, Mathematics and Mathematics Education (Volume 3)*; Charlotte Haglund: *Ethnicity at Work in Peer-group Interactions at School (Volume 3)*; Vally Lytra: *Playful Talk, Learners' Play Frames and the Construction of Identities (Volume 3)*; Sheena Gardner and Aizan Yaacob: *Role Play and Dialogue in Early Childhood Education (Volume 3)*; Jill Bourne: *Official Pedagogic Discourses and the Construction of Learners' Identities (Volume 3)*; Harriet Bjerrum Nielsen and Bronwyn Davies: *Discourse and the Construction of Gendered Identities in Education (Volume 3)*

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## ROLE PLAY AND DIALOGUE IN EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

### INTRODUCTION

In order to explore how role play and dialogue in early childhood contexts contribute to our understanding of language and education, we focus on, but are not limited to studies of sociodramatic play, where children pretend in verbal interaction with others. The terms *imaginative play*, *fantasy play* and *pretend play* are also used to describe play that is crucial in children's development, particularly around ages 4–6, beyond which more rule-governed games and language play take over (see Lytra, *Playful Talk, Learners' Play Frames and the Construction of Identities*, Volume 3).

Smilansky (1968) characterises sociodramatic play as: (a) imitative role play, (b) make-believe with regard to toys or objects, (c) make-believe with regard to actions and situations, (d) persistence for at least 10 minutes, (e) interaction between at least two players and (f) verbal communication. In our discussion of role play we are not limited to studies of at least 10 minutes, nor indeed to those that involve two actual players, rather we focus on those that include analysis of the language of the role play, or the dialogue.

Assuming roles in dialogue is a complex process:

In role play, children are able to synthesise their 'factual' and 'fictional' experiences, and also transform them for their own purposes. Such transformations involve both children's affective selves and their adopted roles. That is, players do not simply reproduce pre-formed adult roles, but actively recreate playful versions of them. These re-creations do not necessarily adhere to 'expected' norms but may reflect players' own interests and perspectives (Martin and Dombey, 2002, p. 58).

Role play generates dialogue in different ways. Before and during the role play, children negotiate roles, props and plot, sometimes producing written scripts for themselves or puppets to perform. Educators may be involved at various stages, or not. The roles and the play blend stories and lived experiences with children's imagination and developing identities, moving in and out of the play and different social contexts. As

this suggests, role play is an excellent site for the study of dialogue that is creative, social and spontaneous in young children.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The relationship between sociodramatic play and the language and literacy development of preschool children was well documented in the 1970s (Fein, 1981). Role play can promote increased language performance (Smilansky, 1968); a higher level of thinking skills (Bergen, 2001; Marjanovic-Umek and Musek-Lesnik, 2001) and power of imagination (Kitson, 1994; Martin and Dombey, 2002) in young children. It is a complex process that involves role taking, script knowledge and improvisation (Bergen, 2001).

Play is not only beneficial for children, but also allows adults to learn more about children's needs, perceptions and growth. Teacher action research has long been interested in play. For instance, a project in Canada (Thornley-Hall, 1989) which engaged teachers in analysing the role of spontaneous play in the development of oracy in their classes has echoes in a recent teacher research project supported by the TTA teacher-researcher scheme in the UK called 'using role play to improve nursery children's language' (Aubrey, Godfrey and Thompson, 2000, p. 74).

Play has been studied from a range of disciplinary perspectives and in different research traditions. Reference is made to early work by Piaget on developmental stages of play, or to Vygotsky and the importance of social interaction and adult scaffolding. Smilansky's work on the effects of sociodramatic play on disadvantaged preschool children's language development (1968) is a significant early contribution.

Broadly speaking, research on play has followed general trends in educational research. Two of the preoccupying themes of early childhood educational research in the late 1970s were classroom interaction, and play-tutoring, where teachers might initiate a role play with a child (Aubrey, Godfrey and Thompson, 2000, p. 74). The 1980s saw an increase in clinical studies of play and language whereas the 1990s could be characterised by an increase in interpretive methods to capture naturally occurring situations and complex, social practices.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Research on role play and dialogue is varied and scattered. We have selected contributions to illustrate three recurring themes: experimental research using role play in interventions; ethnographies showing the influence of popular culture on literacy development through role play; and the varied insights gained from children 'playing school'.

*Dialogue as Intervention to Develop Role Play*

The connections between the development of socio-dramatic play, cognition and language have led researchers to experiment with interventions to develop children's dialogue in specific directions. Two such studies are presented here.

McWilliam and Howe (2004) cite their earlier findings that both construction and symbolic play were associated with the production of a greater number of explanatory exchanges, while symbolic play, fantasy and role play have frequently been linked to enhanced reasoning or justificatory skills. In this study, in an urban nursery setting in Scotland, they used role play with 'Alien' puppets to model either 'justificatory' or 'non-justificatory' three-turn exchanges to 4-year-old dyads in 10-minute play sessions, decreasing their support over 5 days. The dialogue with Aliens modelled in the experimental condition was 'claim-why-justification' (e.g. I like this school—why? —because I can talk to all the nice children), whereas in the control group it was 'claim-question-response' (e.g. I like this school—What do you like about it?—I like to talk to the nice children). On day 2, the researcher modelled one part in the exchange. On day 3, the researcher prompted the children in dyads (e.g. Tell Zag to answer the question), on day 4, the role play dialogue with puppets was simply encouraged where necessary and on day 5, the researcher moved away from the dyad after asking the children to talk with the puppets as before. The results show that the experimental groups were able to produce more 'why' questions and justifications at every stage of the intervention than the control group. For example:

Control: I'm playing with that (yellow puppet)—Do you not want to help with this?—yes that's his nose and put his hair on.

Experimental: I've a broken spaceship—Why did the spaceship crash?—Because he wasn't a very good driver.

This research is significant not only in its attribution of justificatory talk to children as young as four, in collaborative play (as opposed to conflictory talk where it had been previously noted), but also in its support for the identification of role play as an ideal site to develop justificatory talk.

Neeley, Neeley, Justen and Tipton-Sumner (2001) describe research on the effectiveness of scripted play as a teaching strategy for children with developmental disabilities. Their literature review suggests improvements in cognition, language development and socialisation may be positively correlated to a child's acquisition of more sophisticated play behaviours, and these behaviours can be facilitated using a scripted play paradigm (2001). Following 20 minutes of individual script training involving what would appear to be a fabricated dialogue of a service encounter

between an employee and visitor to a fast food restaurant, there was a clear shift in the children's overall balance of play activity from solitary and functional play (muscle movements) to group constructive play (e.g. with blocks), games with rules, and dramatic (role) play, with group dramatic play being the most frequent after training. This study highlights both the social aspects of role play and the difficulties some children have in engaging initially, as well as the importance of shared scripts or schema (e.g. about the nature of service encounters) in the development of dialogue.

The issues and findings in these experimental studies resonate with studies from very different research traditions where play occurs naturally, in and out of school.

### *Role Play in Natural Settings*

Spontaneous, naturally occurring role play is open to interpretation from many perspectives. To illustrate this, Danby in her study of pre-school children's speech practices in daily play in Australia contrasts a reading of her data based on 'more traditional' early childhood practices in terms of educational and social learning with one that "constitutes children as persons of gender and power by showing how they are positioned (and position themselves) as teachers, learners and players" (Danby, 1999, p. 151). Further perspectives are now illustrated.

### *Revoicing, Recontextualisation and Popular Culture*

Dyson (2003) reports on an ethnographic study of a group of African-American first graders. Two of her findings are particularly relevant here: she shows how the children recontextualise from popular culture in their dramatic play and how these processes shape their entry into school literacy.

She examines how children appropriate 'the symbolic stuff of media genres', and adapt it in their dramatic play and other practices. This is a process of revoicing or recontextualising (see Maybin, *Revoicing across Learning Spaces*, Volume 3):

A song heard on the car radio . . . might become collaborative dramatic play among peers (as in playing "radio singing stars" on the playground), or particularly appealing bits of film dialogue might be lifted for group language play (ibid., p. 331).

Voices from the movie *Space Jam* which "incorporates the children's three most common sources of symbolic material—sports media, songs and animation" (ibid., p. 329) provide a focus for her study. Here, Dyson traces one child's experience with the movie:

Noah originally experienced *Space Jam* with his real family as a multimodal story, complete with pictures, music score and dialogue. Then, with fake siblings and classroom friends, Noah recontextualized and transformed that original experience into childhood practices of group singing and dramatic play (ibid., p. 342).

She describes the Grade One class watching the movie as a treat. Most had seen it many times before and joined in for group singing and reciting lines. “Noah matched tone, pitch and volume almost exactly. Indeed, he did not like others to say the lines if . . . ‘they don’t say it right’” (ibid., p. 335). Later in composing time, he drew Bugs Bunny and Michael Jordan in cartoon style. When he added a written report to this paper saying that he watched *Space Jam* with his cousins, he had converted it into a personal experience text that fulfilled the school expectations of composing. He later wrote longer texts that reframed the media resources with school expected voices (*I learned that . . . ; I saw . . .*) as encouraged by the literacy teaching.

Dyson argues against narrow conceptions of young children’s literacy and for opening up classrooms to literacies that children engage with outside class. The movie provided the shared script which was imitated, extended and exaggerated in role play, eventually providing a focus for school literacy.

### *Playing School*

Role play not only brings popular culture into school, but also extends school practices into play. Woods, Boyle and Hubbard (1999) observe that girls in their first year of school in particular were fond of playing school. One child would sit in the teacher’s chair, use the teacher’s pens with an old red diary as the register, and play ‘school’. Children with little English could also participate in pupil roles.

Bourne describes a range of school role play practices: “Sometimes they played ‘pretending games’, for example, when Ahmed was the ‘teacher’ telling a group to sit up straight and cross their legs; or when Najma, half in play and half seriously, instructed me in how to write in Bengali, drawing on the practices of her Bengali classes outside school, making me recite the text without telling me what the text meant (‘making sense’ being, in contrast, an essential feature of school reading practices). In the next example, Alea drew on past experiences of using the tape recorder in a previous ESL class to use another kind of discourse, with an intonation and delivery sadly only too familiar to teachers of ESL: . . . Alea: (*In a clearly enunciated, stiff ‘drill’ voice*)

Yes Somiron. What.is.your.name? My.name.is.Alea” (Bourne, 2002, pp. 245–246).

Significant in this area is the work of Gregory and colleagues. In an investigation of the role played by siblings in mediating both home and school literacy practices, they compared ‘playing school’ with what actually happens in school, among monolingual and bilingual learners. Gregory (2004) reports on play between siblings, one aged 9–11, the other 4–8, in Bangladeshi British homes. The children learn from each other, “usually through *playing out* formal classroom experiences” (Gregory, 2004, p. 99; Williams, 2004). The ‘lessons’ at home, one of which lasts almost an hour, show that the older child “could almost be her sister’s real teacher. The curriculum is clearly focused, the discourse shows respect from both teacher and learner, and praise is given where deserved” (2004, p. 104). Direct comparisons of classroom interaction and home role plays illustrate that children’s play exemplifies procedural, cultural and as illustrated in Table 1, academic knowledge.

Table 1 Classroom interaction and playing school

| Classroom interaction   | Siblings playing school at home   |
|---|---|
| <p>81. Teacher: ‘Right’. Can you tell me why that’s a homophone, Sultana? What’s the other word that sounds like it? How would you spell that? Sorry, can’t hear you.<br/>A. can you spell it for me?</p> <p>82. A: ‘w-r-i-g-h-t’</p> <p>83. Teacher: what ‘w-r-i-g-h-t’ Do you agree with him, M?<br/>(Gregory, 2004, pp. 102–103)</p> | <p>42: Now we’re going to do homophones. Who knows what a homophone is? No one? OK. I’ll tell you one and then you’re going to do some by yourselves. Like watch—one watch is your time watch, like what’s the time, watch. And another watch is I’m watching you. OK? So Sayeeda you wrote some in your book, haven’t you? Can you tell me some please. Sayeeda, can you only give me three please.</p> <p>43. Oh I have to give five</p> <p>44. No, Sayeeda, we haven’t got enough time. We’ve only got another five minutes to assembly. And guess who’s going to do assembly—Miss Kudija (<i>Wahida’s friend</i>) . . . .<br/>(Gregory, 2004, p. 103)</p> |

The older children are not only expert imitators of their teacher's talk and pedagogic style, they are also able to adjust the 'lesson' to the learner (making it a meaningful learning experience), and to inject creativity by extending or exaggerating the talk. For example, the 'teacher' gives her sister lines for bad behaviour (not a school practice); others blend (syncretise) literacy classes with styles used in Qur'anic and Bengali classes. (Gregory, 2004).

### *Syncretic Literacy Studies*

The work of Gregory, Long and Volk (2004) under the umbrella of syncretic literacy studies is important in exploring how different languages and cultures blend in talk and literacy practices. It also brings to the study of role play the complex relationships between home and school talk. A study by Kelly (2004) describes a child who lacked confidence in school literacy practices, but then demonstrated use of specialist vocabulary and understanding of space procedures when able to join in sociodramatic play about Buzz Lightyear, a character he was familiar with from home videos. As with Dyson (2003), we see the transfer of popular culture from home, to play, to literacy in school. Role play also provides a window at home on school learning. Drury (2004) portrays 3-year-old Samia using English mixed with Pahari in playing nursery with her younger brother—though Samia's teacher was unaware that she could speak any English at all. In these diverse ways, role play enhances children's confidence, linguistic growth, literacy development and sheer pleasure.

### *Role Play in Qualitative Research*

The work of Gregory and colleagues has promoted the use of role play as a research tool. For instance, Yaacob (2005) in her study of Year One Literacy Hours in Malaysia was able to use role play alongside classroom observation and participant interviews. With suitable props and a dedicated quiet space, she prompted children to pretend they were teaching younger children how to read, just as their teacher did. Recordings of the 'lessons' revealed how children were able to move in and out of the fantasy, as well as between English in the instructional register and several dialects of Malay in the regulative register, and showed their imitative and productive language proficiency and command of the script or dominant literacy practices. The role play technique also helped resolve the observer's paradox (Table 2). For example, the child playing 'teacher' would discipline the 'pupils' with techniques which were sometimes exaggerated, sometimes not:

Table 2 Role play and the observer's paradox

|   |  |
|---|--|
|   | Some students start to play among themselves while the teacher is reading the text. She moves to the group and asks them to stand on the chair   |
| Farra: Diri atas kerusi! <stand on the chair!>        | She holds Sofea's hand to help her stand. The other students stand up too. The teacher asks the students to hold their ears and bend up and down ten times. They count 1 to 10 as they do it and giggle among themselves |
| Farra: Nak sembang lagi? <Do you still want to talk?> |  |
| All: Tak nak dah ! <No!>                              |  |
| Farra: Hah duduk! <Ok sit down!>                      | The teacher still holding the text book walks to the other side of the classroom   |

Source: Yaacob, 2005.

In this instance, Yaacob recognised the punishment, was able to check with the real class teacher and confirm that indeed this was a practice, but one that she intentionally tried to avoid when being observed.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

The rich variety of contextual variables in studies can make comparison difficult, which points to the value of continuing research on variation in the interactants, the props, the themes and the settings in relation to features of the dialogue in role play. In this section, we point readers to studies that have explored different aspects of the context.

##### *Contextual Variables and Role Play*

Props can prompt increased sociodramatic play. Levy, Wolfgang and Koorland (1992) found that building shared background information and adding time, space and props in play areas (hospital, restaurant) increased amount and complexity of language in sociodramatic play. Their single case repeated measures multiple-baseline design across three subjects found increased language (type, token and Mean Length of Utterance) as well as increased use of imaginative functions per se and in multi-functional units (e.g. from the imaginative *bang!* to the

imaginative and instrumental *I want a pizza*). Marjanovic-Umek and Musek-Lesnik (2001) found that ‘Doctor play’ gave children greater opportunities for personal interaction, verbal communication and make-believe with objects in comparison to ‘lost doggy’ play which was found to be more imitative with its involvement of fewer objects. Siraj-Blatchford and Whitebread (2003) describe children around a computer manipulating items on the screen which become props in their role play (ibid.) illustrating a new form of symbolic play and its interaction with sociodramatic play. The increase of Information and Communications Technology (ICT) in early childhood education, and the fast developing technologies will continue to have an impact on the nature of young children’s Role Play and Dialogue.

Neppyl and Murray (1997) found that interactive, imaginative play tended to occur most where children were grouped in same sex pairs, largely because they opted for different kinds of play activities. Where girls seem to feature in the research on playing school, boys are central in studies on superheroes. For instance, Hicks and Kanevsky (1992) note that Mike’s symbolic play focused on superheroes and flying vehicles in their description of the discourse processes surrounding journal writing.

Kitson (1994) looked at pretend play through collaborative talk and makes a case for adult intervention arguing that

“Structuring the play enables us to extend and enhance children’s learning. Through socio-dramatic play, educators are able to create a situation and generate motivation which will encourage children to behave and function at a cognitive level beyond their norm” (Kitson, 1994, p. 98).

Paradoxically, Gmitrova and Gmitrov (2003) found that child-directed play in small groups resulted in a significant increase cognitively in comparison with teacher-directed play in their Slovak classrooms.

Drummond (1999) extends the focus on the role of adults to the setting. She contrasts a mainstream argument for play based around learning outcomes, achievements and cognitive gains with an approach that allows children to imitate and express their will in play in Steiner schools. “When the children arrive at kindergarten, the adults are doing adults’ work—sewing, preparing snacks, mending a broken toy—which creates the freedom, rhythm and creative space in which children can play” (ibid., p. 53). This means that teachers do not question children to elicit verbal displays of understanding, they do not engage in Initiation-Response-Feedback (IRF)-type exchanges, they do not use the ‘teacher tone of voice’ to call for silence or issue instructions. They talk, laugh and sing, as the children engage in spontaneous, creative, transformative play (1999).

As part of a series of studies on the telephone dialogues of children in pretence play, Gillen and Hall (2001) analyse the dialogue of

3–4 year olds in a nursery setting in spontaneous role play as they make emergency calls, place delivery orders and call their parents on a toy phone in a play hut. They found, for instance, that 71% of calls included an appropriate opening move, 45% included a closing move whereas 51% including turn taking. Whereas the imaginary interlocutor was usually identified, self-identification was rare. One third of the ‘emergency’ calls followed the pattern of a request or imperative followed by justification, such as:

Anna: Doctor come round tomorrow ‘cos someone’s poorly.

It’s teddy bear poorly so come round. *Call ends* (ibid., p. 20).

Gillen’s one-sided telephone dialogues show children’s proficiency in pretence telephone talk exceeding their proficiency in actual dialogues. This is then extended when a second telephone is added to the nursery setting and children are able to communicate by phone as part of their play (Gillen, 2000). With the lack of face-to-face communication usual in role play, these telephone dialogues show children’s developing ability to use less contextualised language.

In a similar way, Janson’s (2001) study of blind and sighted pre-school children’s negotiations in fantasy play are conducted in contexts which require more explicit language. It is not the disability that impedes communication, but the different scripts and experiences blind and sighted children have in familiar contexts. Where background knowledge and scripts differ, there is more need for negotiation. In contrast, Annica (2005) examines the interaction in a Swedish pre-school between two girls playing at holding a funeral ceremony and shows how new knowledge occurs through negotiation. Children also draw on their different cultural backgrounds. For instance, Riojas-Cortez (2001) shows how Mexican American children in their socio-dramatic play draw on funds of knowledge including language, values, beliefs, ways of discipline and the value of education.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

As studies have shown, an effective means to capture spontaneous socio-dramatic play is through ethnography. The drawbacks are well rehearsed, but the rewards are rich (see Toohey, *Ethnography and Language Education*, Volume 10). Through ethnographic research, researchers observe the naturalistic development of language, social interaction and negotiation over longer periods of time. They learn to understand the children, and their backgrounds, in context, in ways that inform interpretation of the role play. Although ethnographies are well tested, and developments in Linguistic Ethnography (Creese, *Linguistic Ethnography*, Volume 10) in particular are a current focus of research activity in Britain and North America, many researchers do not have

the luxury of being able to spend many months or years with children. Here the use of strategically placed video cameras, as in Gillen and Hall (2001), can help with studies tied to specific play areas, or attaching microphones to individual children can provide data on individuals, as in Bourne (2002). The use of researcher-initiated role play of teaching practices as in Yaacob (2005) is also possible, although personal communication with some researchers in the UK suggests that their attempts to encourage young bilingual children in England to 'play school' were 'hilarious' but ultimately unsuccessful in yielding useful insights into children's learning or practices. Working with young children is challenging, and careful trial is necessary if techniques are to be developed to record specific types of dialogue or role play in relatively natural settings.

### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Bergen (2002) in her synthesis of the latest research on the role of play in children's cognitive, social and academic development, which notes the clear links between pretend play and social and linguistic competence, identifies the need for research on the relationship between high-quality pretend play and development of specific academic skills. This is one possible future direction.

A second promising sign comes from the developments in cognitive psychology towards discursive psychology, which aims to use methods of conversational analysis in its pursuit of understanding of psychology. Most studies on the benefits of role play in early childhood education pay little attention to dialogue, or the actual language, and how this is used in context. A more effective analysis of the language or conversation would enhance current findings.

A third area of growth might be in the direction of work on language and identity. Research in this area has been growing, and in early childhood education we see the beginnings of how children, particularly when leaving their homes to enter new communities of practice for the first time, construct their identities through language (e.g. Sawyer, 1996). Role play could well provide an ideal lens for such studies.

In Britain and North America, the early years curriculum is perceived as having moved away from play. Teachers who advocate play as a central part of the curriculum are reported to be under pressure to conform to more traditional educational practices. The message from Bergen (2002) from an American cognitive perspective: "the limited research evidence that does exist suggests that educators should resist policies that reduce time for social pretend play experiences in preschool" is the same as from Gregory (2004) from a British syncretic literacies perspective, and indeed from all the research reviewed for this

paper. This is an area where research would not only inform our limited understanding of how role play and dialogue contribute in education, but would also add weight to the arguments for more socio-dramatic role play in early years educational settings.

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## DISCOURSE AND SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING

### INTRODUCTION

Discourse is both the starting point of second language learning and the result. That is to say, it is through expressing ourselves in language using whole pieces of discourse that we stretch our linguistic abilities in that language; moreover, fluent discourse, whether it is monologic or dialogic, spoken or written, is the culmination of successful learning of a second language (L2). Recent research in second language acquisition (SLA) has begun to glean insights from the various approaches to the analysis of discourse, and these insights lend theoretical illumination and practical applications to L2 learning and pedagogy. By studying how language users employ their language(s) in a variety of contexts, with a variety of types of interlocutors, and on a variety of topical issues, we can create curriculum, materials, and assessment instruments based on something more substantial than the intuitions of mother tongue users. The current state of affairs in the field is that we have a highly developed Discourse Analysis and a highly developed body of research in SLA that have begun to inform each other in important ways.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

In the intersection of discourse and SLA there is a tension between psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic perspectives. While much of what has been studied as “interactional” in SLA has, historically, been psycholinguistically based, there are several early trends that are firmly rooted in sociolinguistics.

Labovian sociolinguistic perspectives on SLA were explored in work on variation and SLA by Tarone (1985, 1988). These studies focused on variability in learner usage along the dimension of attention to speech. A somewhat different approach was taken by studies focusing on accommodation theory perspectives on SLA (e.g., Beebe and Giles, 1984; Beebe and Zuengler, 1983). This research looked specifically at formality/informality of context and interlocutor relationships and their effects on second language production. For example, a formal context of speech might result in transfer of a formal feature of the L1 into the L2 in a similar situation. Moreover, a relationship of rapport

between a nonnative speaker (NNS) and her native speaker (NS) interlocutor was found to foster convergence with some of the characteristics of the NS's speech patterns in the target language, particularly on the phonological level.

Acculturation is another important early discourse perspective on second language learning (e.g., Schumann, 1978, 1986). This theory focused on immigrant group members' language acquisition along the dimensions of social distance and psychological distance. *Social distance* considers the language learner's community in relation to the host community as a critical factor in the success of acquisition. *Psychological distance* factors are more individually based. Acculturation theory has received only limited support, but has served to put forward a more macro-sociolinguistic view of factors involved in successful L2 learning. As such, it is an important early view of the connection between discourse and second language learning.

Also significant are the early contributions of studies focusing on classroom discourse and interaction (e.g., Mehan, 1979; Stubbs, 1983). This body of research examined the discourse features of language and content classrooms with particular attention to teacher and student "moves." An important construct to emerge from this research is the "IRF" (initiation, response, feedback) pattern typical of classroom interaction, which tells us that teacher talk accounts for some 2/3 of all discourse in the typical "chalk and talk" format of formal schooling. Classroom discourse is an important area for analysis that continues in current studies on tutored second language development.

Cross-cultural discourse has been an important focus of work on *Crosstalk* spearheaded by John Gumperz (cf. Twitchen, Gumperz, Jupp, and Roberts, 1979). This perspective focuses on the use of differing contextualization cues by speakers of languages in multilingual settings. It continues to be a significant tool in pointing out the pitfalls of miscommunication potential across different ethnic/cultural groups using a lingua franca. (<http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/Anthro/gumperz/gumtalk.html>).

A psycholinguistically oriented thread of discourse and SLA research has focused on negotiated interaction (e.g., Hatch, 1978; Long, 1983), either between native speakers and learners (NS-NNS) or between two or more learners (NNS-NNS). Negotiated interaction has been thought to encourage language learners to stretch their linguistic abilities in L2 by means of checking their comprehension of the discourse until mutual understanding is achieved. This perspective viewed interaction as the quintessential site of acquisition. Hatch (1978) went so far as to propose that out of discourse comes syntax; that is to say, the ability to use native-like strings of words into sentences emanates from participation in discourse in the target language.

Long (1983) found negotiated interaction to be replete with such moves as comprehension checks, clarification requests, repetitions, and reformulations. These serve the learner by aiding in comprehension of the ongoing discourse and providing necessary feedback of the learner's comprehensibility.

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

### *Theoretical Frameworks for Discourse and Language Learning*

Recently, a contingent of applied linguists has argued for a broadening of perspectives on SLA to include increased *emic* points of view. At the 1996 International Association of Applied Linguistics (AILA) meetings, Alan Firth and Johannes Wagner opened up a controversial debate in which they called for a reconceptualization addressing what they saw as an imbalance biased toward a cognitive perspective on SLA that neglected social interactional perspectives. Ben Rampton (1997) has been an important voice among this group whose arguments point out that the current state of world globalization necessitates new perspectives on what it means to be a language "learner" and "user." For Rampton, globalization presents an opportunity to take a post-modern view on issues such as "communicative competence" and "speech community." Currently, language learning is no longer seen as a purely cognitive phenomenon by most researchers interested in discourse and SLA. This new perspective is congruent with a view of the world as it presently exists: one of transnationalism and globalization. Indeed, the issue of the "native speaker" is obfuscated in a shrinking planet (cf. Boxer, 2002).

In order to adequately analyze the best processes for applying findings on discourse analysis to SLA, we must assess the usefulness of existing theories, models, and frameworks for the processes involved in the development of language ability in second/additional languages. Three theoretical models offer fairly compatible insights into these processes: (i) Language Identity, (ii) Language Socialization, and (iii) Sociocultural Theory.

### *Language Identity*

In the past several years there has been a developing interest among applied linguists in the relationship between identity and second language development (e.g., Boxer and Cortes-Conde, 2000; McKay and Wong, 1996; Norton, 1997). These scholars have been interested in studying how incorporating an additional language and culture

impacts on one's sense of who one is in the world. For immigrants, the issue of taking on a new and/or changed identity is a hallmark of one's linguistic and cultural development in the context of immigration. Even for those learning an L2 for more instrumental purposes, as the case with ESL/EFL as the world's lingua franca, adding a language to one's verbal repertoire necessarily entails modifying one's self perception in relationship to others in the world.

McKay and Wong (1996) focused on the importance of fluid and changing individual and social identities and their relation to multiple discourses (e.g., immigrant, minority, academic, gender). In this view, the identity of an individual in the process of SLA affects agency, which differs from the traditional view of motivation. Agency enhancement affords learners a sense of power over their environment and thereby their learning.

In a somewhat parallel view, Norton (1997) highlighted the importance of "investment enhancement" in her discussion of identity and language learning. Boxer and Cortes-Conde (2000) put forth the concept of "relational identity" (RID), which is displayed and developed between and among specific interlocutors in their interactions over time and which affords comfort to build on sequential interactions that rest on rapport and solidarity. This relationship built between interlocutors leads naturally to further interaction and, consequently, increased opportunities for language development.

It seems likely that the first and foremost resource of those involved in additional language learning involves face-to-face spoken discourse. Second language users must grapple with fluid and shifting identities—individual, social, and relational—and come to terms with the power relations inherent in them. Whether or not those in the position of taking on new linguistic and cultural identities choose to appropriate or reject the "affordances" of the new language/culture may depend largely on the lived histories of the individuals, the contexts of their interactions, and the power relationships inherent in these contexts.

### *Language Socialization*

The Language Socialization framework of studying linguistic and cultural development derives from Schieffelin and Ochs (1986). This early work views language as the symbolic means by which humans appropriate knowledge of norms of behavior of their speech communities (see Ochs and Schieffelin, *Language Socialization: An Historical Overview*, Volume 8). For L1, the transmission of linguistic and cultural knowledge is largely implicit; however, explicit metalanguage is also used in the socialization process, as it is with L2 learners (e.g., "What do you say?" "Say 'thank you'"... "Say 'I'm sorry'"). Becoming a

competent member of any speech community for children in L1 and for L2 users entails taking on the appropriate behaviors of the community.

The applications of a language socialization model to L2 learning have been most notable in studies focusing on second language classrooms as communities of practice (Lave and Wenger, 1991). Socialization practices of such communities are reflected in the classroom discourse and interaction in which teachers take on the role of socializing agent. The applications of socialization theory to SLA are principally in the realm of discourse and pragmatic development (Duff, *Language Socialization, Participation and Identity: Ethnographic Approaches*, Volume 3).

### *Sociocultural Theory*

A contingent of applied linguists spearheaded most notably by James Lantolf has been actively engaged in adopting the theoretical perspectives of Vygotsky (e.g., 1978) to second language studies. This work views the acquisition of language as a sociocultural phenomenon linking the social/interactional with the cognitive. Unlike the Language Identity and Language Socialization models described above, Sociocultural theory (SCT) sees language as a tool that mediates between social interaction and the development of higher order mental processes

Those who espouse SCT as a lens through which we can view both tutored and untutored second language development call for a careful analysis of the social setting of such development (cf. Lantolf and Appel, 1994). The concept of “scaffolding” is one in which the interlocutor possessing expertise guides the novice through a series of interactions in which the expert gradually cedes and the novice takes on increasing responsibility. Scaffolding occurs through social interaction, and includes modeling and training by the expert and observing and imitating by the novice. Gradually the novice becomes more adept, and that which began as an intermental, socially mediated activity becomes an intramental, cognitive developmental process. Sociocultural theory applies to any learning process, and connects sociolinguistic with psycholinguistic contexts and outcomes.

### WORK IN PROGRESS

Research in progress on the interface of discourse and second language learning has taken up an important methodological debate, as discussed above, and put forth a strand of investigations that are firmly rooted in Conversation Analysis (CA). Firth and Wagner’s call in 1996–97 for a more fully contextualized, *emic* perspective on second language learning has blossomed into a series of research projects using CA as a

methodological tool. Researchers involved in this new thrust claim that CA is the most effective means for studying moment-by-moment second language development. This body of research has by and large focused on classroom discourse and interaction, with a few exceptions (see also Mori and Zuengler, *Conversation Analysis and Talk-in-interaction in Classrooms*, Volume 3). Indeed, the *Modern Language Journal*, in 2004, devoted a special issue (Volume 88, number 4) to a series of articles using CA for L2 research, and included four essays taking a critical perspective on the pros and cons of this line of research endeavor.

The special issue of *MLJ* was edited by applied linguists Numa Markee and Gabriele Kasper. The authors overview the debate begun by Firth and Wagner (1997) and assess how far we have come since then insofar as “how cognitive SLA might be re-specified in sociocultural terms” (p. 481). They go on to discuss if and how CA can be used to demonstrate language learning, and describe to what extent the authors contributing to the volume believe that it can or cannot.

Articles in this special issue include one on task accomplishment in French as a foreign language (Mondada and Pekarek Doehler). These authors characterize their approach as sociointeractionist, and assert that CA as a research tool enables the observation of task (re)organization by teachers and students. A second contribution is on ESL writing conferences (Young and Miller). In this piece, the authors show how a CA analysis of such conferences affords a view of participation frameworks that change over time for the learner. They assert that studying the moment-by-moment unfolding of revision conferences offers a lens into the learner’s evolving central participation in the process. A Japanese language classroom is the site for a study by Junko Mori, in which she highlights learners’ orientation to learning opportunities. Kasper’s own study on a learner of German takes the conversation partner speech event as the research setting. Her CA analysis shows how participant statuses were made relevant through the interactions between the expert and the novice. Markee’s piece puts forth his notion of “Zones of Interactional Transition,” (ZITS), to designate talk that occurs at the boundaries of speech exchange systems. His CA analysis affords an exploration of two ZITS phenomena, which he terms *counter questions sequences*, and *tactical fronting talk*.

Agnes He’s piece uses Chinese heritage language classrooms as the site for her research. As a researcher with a long history of CA research, He is nevertheless hesitant to make sweeping claims for the extent to which CA can be used to demonstrate that language learning has taken place. She proposes that a language socialization perspective may lend increased insights into this process through its propensity to

deal with introspective matters important to SLA. She states, “[the] indexical relationship beyond language form and meaning lies beyond the central concern of CA. In this sense, language socialization may complement CA” (p. 579). Thus, He seems to have a clear view of the limitations as well as the benefits of any one approach.

Of critical importance among the essays in the special edition are the four commentaries by applied linguists Susan Gass, Diane Larsen-Freeman, Joan Kelly Hall, and Johannes Wagner. Each assesses the role played by CA while taking to task some specific claims made by the individual papers in the collection. Gass comes from a psycholinguistic tradition in SLA research, that of negotiated interaction. Thus, as in the 1997 *MLJ* debate, she continues to question how CA can demonstrate *acquisition*. Larsen-Freeman, who espouses a chaos/complexity perspective on SLA, questions the CA conception of *emic* in these studies. Hall’s work is firmly rooted in a Vygotskian sociocultural perspective, and thus while noting the pros of CA, also outlines what SCT can offer to L2 language development; Wagner, the sole CA representative of the group, reasserts his stance that classroom discourse may not be the best site for studying language learning. He states: “the real potential for a social approach to language learning lies outside the classroom in the activities of ordinary bilingual social life.” (p. 615).

So, what research is in progress? A brief glance at the 2005 program of the conference of AILA/AAAL shows us that current research using qualitative methodologies are highlighted. Some interesting ongoing research focuses on interculturality in talk-in-interaction (e.g., Kakava, 2005). Identity issues continue to be a salient focus of current work in the interstices of discourse and language learning (e.g., Caldas-Coulter, 2005; Lemke, 2005). And, of course, CA for SLA still takes a central place in the ongoing new thrusts in the field, as we have seen in the above overview.

The year 2005 celebrated a resuscitation of the conference on Pragmatics and Language Learning (P & LL). The meeting was held at Indiana University and hosted by Kathleen Bardovi-Harlig. Research featured at this biannual conference shed light on the subject of developmental pragmatics and represented many qualitative and quantitative approaches to L2 pragmatics research.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

The major problems with applying discourse analysis to second language learning revolve around methodological, theoretical, and epistemological issues. The models and theories discussed above in current major contributions have stemmed from the epistemological question

of what counts as evidence of second language learning. An outgrowth of this problem is that of ascertaining the most effective means of studying discourse to determine how second language learning best takes place. As we have seen in the above discussion of CA for SLA, there has been a strong move toward connecting *emic* perspectives on discourse to the study of SLA.

A major difficulty is the issue of documenting actual L2 learning. Gass and Larsen-Freeman took up this specific argument in their commentaries on the 2004 *MLJ* articles. While CA can trace a learner's participation in the learning process, this is not the same as showing that acquisition has taken place. Some examples of this problem are found in the articles by Mondada and Pekarek Doehler and Young and Miller. In Mondada and Pekarek Doehler's description of a French L2 classroom, they use CA to demonstrate a process of task (re)organization by teachers and students. The assumption is that demonstrating the process is evidence of the product (i.e., language learning). It is a leap to claiming language learning has taken place. A similar problem exists with Young and Miller's study on a novice and teacher involved in writing conferences. While their CA analysis shows increased central participation on the part of the learner, we cannot assume that this increased participation is evidence of language learning.

Thus, the existing problem with this current research thread using CA to investigate SLA is that the studies fall short of demonstrating language acquisition. Moreover, as Larsen-Freeman points out, the authors' conception of CA as *emic* is not the same as what is considered *emic* in other qualitative approaches (e.g., ethnography of speaking or interactional sociolinguistic perspectives). Wagner's suggestion that we explore contexts of lingua franca use as rich sites for study is a good one. Limiting the *emic* analyses to classroom discourse provides us with limited views of language use, let alone language learning.

The growing body of research deriving from contextually rich methodological approaches has lent important insights into language *use* by NS for decades. However, their applications to language *learning* contexts are more problematic. Ethnography of speaking (ES) and Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS) offer alternative qualitative approaches to the study of language learning. ES, for example, takes into account a variety of contexts as well as insider knowledge. The meaning of speech for particular speakers in specific social activities is a central concern for ES; thus, it is particularly suitable for the study of spoken language and its application to second language learning. ES is concerned with community members' perceptions and representations of their own culture; therefore, it describes everyday, ordinary functions of language. For this very reason it is a potentially very powerful methodological approach to language learning data.

ES and CA diverge specifically in their distinct notions of context. While for ES the sociolinguistic variables of gender, social distance, status and power, age, and social class are taken as indexical to the analysis, for CA what is in the transcription of the interaction is what counts as important. In CA the participant perspective is not considered useful. Thus, CA and ES differ in what are construed as relevant contributing factors to the realization of speech behavior.

Work in the tradition of Interactional Sociolinguistics takes as its focus developmental bilingualism and cross-cultural miscommunication between and among different linguistic/ethnic groups. IS unites some of the tenets of ES and CA, but typically employs triangulation techniques in order to tap into the participants' own perspectives on the interaction under analysis. This sort of *emic* consideration can lend critical insights into miscommunication and misperceptions between interlocutors of different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Participants in the interaction are invited to reflect on the interaction as it naturally occurred to lend insights into what they meant by what they said, what they were trying to achieve, and how they felt about their own language use and that of the other participant(s) in the moment-to-moment unfolding of the exchange. As such, IS offers rich analyses of talk in interaction that have important potential implications for the application of the study of discourse to SLA contexts.

ES and IS are highly contextualized *emic* methodologies for studying language use. The fact that CA is all the rage in current studies of SLA begs the question of why ES and IS should not be further exploited. Indeed, their usefulness for studying second language development has long been overlooked.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

While there is now a considerable body of rich, highly contextualized research on how speakers carry out their daily communicative practices, few scholars have applied what we know about norms of spoken discourse in communities around the world as a *baseline* to SLA. The little that has been applied to language learning contexts has been by and large applied to the English language and to ESL/EFL contexts. Nessa Wolfson (1989), an early protégée of Dell Hymes regarding application of his theories of communicative competence to educational linguistics (1972), was one of the first to propose that before we can study what language learners do in spoken L2, we need to know, from empirical evidence, how languages are actually used in face-to-face interaction by members of communities. While much of this knowledge is intuitive, we have no way of really knowing what

we do in conversation as community members until we systematically study these speaking practices.

The world has begun to be transformed into one in which language users, employing languages from their linguistic repertoires other than their L1s, quite frequently interact in these languages with other speakers who are also *not* mother tongue users of those languages. Firth and Wagner (1997) made this case strongly, and Rampton (1997) eloquently elaborated on it. No one would deny that English is a lingua franca around the world. Here we move beyond the social domain and enter domains of language use that are transactional as well as interactional. Thus, the issue of comprehensibility in such cross-cultural interactions is more critical now than at any other time in history. Even if we eschew the concepts of “native-speaker,” “learner,” and “interlanguage,” we are still left with the nagging question of whose burden it is to make a message comprehensible in any linguistic interaction (see Boxer, 2002 for a more complete discussion of this issue). Having said this, it is important to take into account norms and rules of any community of practice in order to be able to guide and train novice language users into increased expertise.

Once we have knowledge of what members of discourse communities successfully do in spontaneous spoken discourse, we can then apply these findings to situations in which novice language users are acquiring and employing an L2 in any domain and in variously configured communities and interactions. Such varied contexts include: bilingual language practices, such as code alternation and switching; sensitivity to the constraints of the sociolinguistic variables (e.g., gender, social distance, and social status) in the L2; sensitivity to domains of usage (e.g., workplace, education, and social interaction); and understanding how to carry out transactional and interactional discourse (cf. Brown and Yule, 1983), to take some examples.

Highly contextualized, *emic* approaches to applied linguistics research are increasingly critical in current analyses of spoken discourse, now not necessarily only within native speech communities, but in multilingual contexts of interaction as well. Critical discourse analysis is and will continue to be an important thrust in such analyses, since issues of power and dominance necessarily come into play (see also Rogers, *Critical Discourse Analysis in Education*, Volume 3).<sup>1</sup> Yet we are still left with nagging questions of how best to view language acquisition as well as use, and ethnographic, conversational analytic, and interactional sociolinguistic perspectives have only recently begun to lend insights into these questions.

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<sup>1</sup> For a thorough overview of Critical Discourse Analysis, see Fairclough (1995).

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## DISCOURSE, MATHEMATICS AND MATHEMATICS EDUCATION

### INTRODUCTION

Mathematics has long had a curious relationship with language. For some, mathematics *is* a language; for others mathematics is beyond language, a mode of thinking that escapes the ambiguities of human beings or the languages they use. The *teaching and learning* of mathematics is, however, a process that, perhaps more than any other subject, depends on language. Abstract mathematical ideas are brought into being through classroom talk or writing. It is perhaps for this reason that mathematics teachers and educators have always been interested in the language of mathematics and the role of language in the teaching and learning of mathematics.

In this chapter, I give an overview of some of the key issues, ideas and findings of research in this area. I discuss, in particular, research on mathematical discourse or mathematics classroom discourse, by which I mean research that focuses on language in use in social context in mathematics or mathematics classrooms. Much of the work I refer to draws explicitly on theories of discourse. Some of these theories merge with theories of learning or cognition, however, so the boundaries are not clearly defined. In general, then, I will refer to research that has a central concern with the social, ideological or political nature and use of language as part of the process of doing, teaching and learning mathematics.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Research on discourse in mathematics and mathematics education dates back little more than 25 years. Austin and Howson's (1979) survey of research on 'Language and mathematical education', for example, contains little that could be said to concern discourse in the sense I have indicated earlier. There was a recognition, however, that mathematics involves a distinctive form of language use. Halliday (1978), for example, defined the *mathematics register* as:

the meanings that belong to the language of mathematics (the mathematical use of natural language, that is: not mathematics itself), and that a language must express if it is being used for mathematical purposes (p. 195).

This definition maintains a separation between language and mathematics, or rather, between linguistic meaning and mathematical meaning. Halliday makes a number of important observations about mathematics registers. First, all languages are equally capable of developing mathematics registers, although there is variation in the extent to which this has happened. Second, different languages, through their semantic structure, stress some meanings more than others. The mathematics registers of different languages, therefore, stress different mathematical meanings. This may mean that students of mathematics in different languages develop differing awareness of a given aspect of mathematics. Third, mathematics is a social activity and is therefore suffused with the values and patterns of natural language. It is not possible to eliminate language from mathematics.

Pimm (1987), in his influential book, in effect explored the nature of the mathematics register in classroom settings in English. He developed several ideas, some of which are mentioned later. Firstly, talk is important in learning mathematics in that it:

focuses attention on argument and conviction by means of explanation, as well as on the task of finding more precise and succinct expressions which may therefore be more readily worked with and verified (Pimm, 1987, p. 48).

Convincing, arguing and explaining are all important aspects of mathematics and mathematics education. The presence of discussion in a mathematics classroom is not, however, a guarantee of enhanced mathematical learning. The quality of the talk is also important: students need to 'learn how to mean like a mathematician' (Pimm, 1987, p. 203). They need, for example, to learn relevant mathematical vocabulary. This vocabulary, however, derives, often through metaphorical extension, from everyday words (e.g. difference, times, base, root), and must often be used in fairly narrow ways. The overlap between the mathematical and the everyday can be a source of confusion for students. Finally, Pimm highlighted the authoritarian nature of mathematics classroom talk. Teachers and mathematicians often use 'we', for example, to refer to an abstract community of mathematicians who provide legitimacy for the mathematical conventions introduced by the teacher (e.g. now we divide by  $x$ ).

While not all research in this area derives directly from Halliday and Pimm, their work is indicative of the kinds of issues that are taken up later. They provide descriptions of the nature of mathematical language as it is used in classrooms that make possible subsequent more discursively oriented analyses. Furthermore, Pimm, in particular, shows how mathematics, contrary to popular opinion, needs to be seen as a discursive subject (1987). A broader social perspective on language use in mathematics and mathematics education is therefore more illuminating

than a narrower formalist approach. Students need to learn to use the mathematics register, both to express their ideas and to discuss and justify them. Teachers need to find ways to support students to develop their use of the mathematics register in line with their developing mathematical thinking.

#### MAJOR AREAS OF RESEARCH

Research on the role of discourse in mathematics and mathematics education can be positioned in relation to its concern with the relationship between talk and learning. Some have primarily emphasised the social nature of mathematics classrooms (e.g. Bauersfeld, 1980). Such research has drawn on sociological perspectives on interaction, including interactional sociolinguistics and symbolic interactionism, to explore the social organisation of mathematics classroom discourse, highlighting, for example, the conventions and norms that arise. A related body of work has drawn on neo-Vygotskian socio-cultural theory to argue that, in mathematics, talk is 'almost tantamount to thinking' (Sfard, 2001, p. 13; also Lerman, 2001). Such studies have, for example, attempted to trace the processes of socialisation through which students learn to use mathematical discourse and to do mathematics. Others have been more interested in the specific nature of interaction in mathematics classrooms. This work includes studies that draw on social-semiotic perspectives to explore, for example, the nature and role of mathematical texts and of inter-textuality in mathematics education. Finally, some researchers have turned to post-structuralism to examine the processes through which mathematics, teachers and students are positioned or constructed by mathematical discourses (e.g. Brown, 2001). These different approaches are inter-related and often compatible (for an alternative characterisation, see Sierpinska, 1998). The differences between them are frequently a question of particular research interests and emphases. In the rest of this section, I discuss some of this work, with the aim of giving some sense of both its nature and range.

##### *Sociological and Socio-Cultural Perspectives*

In Germany, a rich seam of work has emerged that, following Bauersfeld's (1980) lead, draws on sociological perspectives (see Steinbring, 1998, for an overview). This work has uncovered some of the micro-discursive processes through which mathematical meaning is negotiated and understanding develops. The *conventions of mathematics* and of mathematics classroom talk emerge as a factor in students' meaning-making.

Learners of mathematics must learn how to interpret phenomena through these different conventions. It may not be clear to teachers or students whether students are struggling to understand a mathematical concept, or are struggling to see which convention is relevant (Voigt, 1998).

The nature and role of such conventions was further explored through a project involving German and US researchers (Cobb and Bauersfeld, 1995). The collaboration was based on data from a project in which the mathematics teachers sought to bring about a culture of inquiry in their classrooms—that is, a culture in which students were encouraged to seek explanations for the ideas they encountered. This work leads to a distinction between social norms and *socio-mathematical norms* (Yackel and Cobb, 1996). Social norms include general expectations or assumptions about classroom interaction, such as the norm of putting a hand up to seek permission to speak, or the expectation that students justify (or not) their solutions to mathematical problems. Socio-mathematical norms are social norms specific to mathematical activity, such as what is seen as an elegant solution or a satisfactory explanation.

The German–US collaboration also developed a detailed examination of students' *mathematical argumentation*, that is, the ways in which students put together justifications of their mathematical reasoning. Krummheuer (1995), for example, shows how some aspects of mathematics classroom argumentation are frame-independent while others are not. Stated another way, some aspects of reasoning depend on how the situation is perceived. Students may use 'everyday' reasoning to solve a problem about spending money, for example. Their teacher, using a more formal frame for the problem, could see this reasoning as 'incorrect'. On the other hand, the basic information given in the problem, for example, can be implicitly accepted from both perspectives. What frames come into play, however, depends on the local socio-mathematical norms. The teacher plays a central role in establishing and developing these norms (see, for example, contributions to Cobb and Bauersfeld, 1995). It may be in response to the authoritarian nature of mathematical discourse that students can be rather circumspect in their argumentation. In one study in the UK, for example, students were observed to use a variety of pragmatic devices to reduce the certainty of their ideas, including hedges (e.g. 'maybe'), indirectness and modality (Rowland, 2000).

Ultimately, students need to be able to use conventional mathematical discourse practices if they are to be successful. These practices include explaining and justifying as mentioned earlier, as well as defining, questioning or checking. Students can be seen to acquire and refine their use of such practices through a process of *socialisation into school*

*mathematics*. That is, through participating in mathematics and mathematical discourse, students come to speak more mathematically (Lerman, 2001; O'Connor, 1998; Sfard, 2001). Not every mathematics classroom is the same, of course, and differences in the discourses at play can lead to quite different outcomes in terms of students' learning. In classrooms where there is a discourse of exploration and problem-solving, students are likely to be more successful when tackling novel tasks than students who have been socialised into more procedural mathematical discourses (e.g. van Oers, 2001). The teacher plays a particularly important role in this socialisation process, through their influence in shaping the nature of classroom discourse (e.g. Cobb and Bauersfeld, 1995; van Oers, 2001), although it should be recognised that teachers are not the only influence. Through their interaction with each other, for example, students' ways of talking about mathematical problems, and, therefore, their ways of thinking about them, can be seen to evolve over time (Zack and Graves, 2001). Students' socialisation is, moreover, in relation to emerging norms as well as wider mathematical conventions. From this perspective, there is a reflexive relationship between the mathematics learning of individual students and the communally shared practices (including discursive practices) of a mathematics classroom (Yackel and Cobb, 1996; see also Hardman, *The Guided co-construction of Knowledge*, Volume 3; Rymes, *Language Socialization and the Linguistic Anthropology of Education*, Volume 8).

### *Social-Semiotic Perspectives*

Mathematical discourse includes the production and use of *mathematical texts*, whether in the form of published textbooks, professional mathematics research papers or students' written work. Given the highly conventional nature of mathematics, particularly written mathematics, it is perhaps surprising that there appears to be considerable variation in the mathematical discourse of published research articles (Burton and Morgan, 2000). For newer mathematicians, learning how to write such an article is rather a mysterious process, since many of the conventions are implicit (e.g. avoiding the use of 'I'), and many are flouted by more experienced mathematicians. This situation turns out to be similar to that faced by school mathematics students. The problem for students is that written mathematics can be read in many different ways. Mathematics has, for example, a high degree of *intertextuality*: it involves making links between different kinds of text, such as between tables, graphs and explanations, or between a word problem and a solution. Chapman (1995) argues that these connections are an important part of mathematical meaning; seeing how a table of data

and a graph are related is the essence of mathematics. Morgan (1998), in an investigation of how secondary school teachers assessed their students' mathematical writing in extended project reports, uncovered a range of implicit assumptions and expectations, including a sense of what an 'ideal' text should look like (e.g. contains tables, graphs and a narrative explaining the development of the project). Students' mathematical ability was constructed by teachers partly based on the details within each of these ideal elements. Chapman (2003) also analysed what makes a text more or less appropriate in mathematics. She identifies two dimensions: low–high modality and metaphor–metonymy. She argues that more mathematical texts tend to have high modality (they are more 'certain') and are more metonymical (they use symbols or labels to stand for concepts or processes). As students make progress in mathematics, they shift between high and low modality and between metaphor and metonymy, with the overall trend towards more mathematically appropriate texts. Many students, however, are likely to be unaware that this is happening. Both Morgan and Chapman argue that developing students' critical language awareness would give them greater understanding and autonomy in their use of mathematical discourse (see also Jewitt, *Multimodal Discourses across the Curriculum*, Volume 3; Valencia Giraldo, *Talk, Texts and Meaning-making in classroom contexts*, Volume 3).

### *Post-Structuralist Perspectives*

Mathematics is widely seen as being the objective truth, a somehow pure form of knowledge. This characterisation is very difficult to dislodge: surely  $2 + 2 = 4$  cannot be subjective or argued about, it just *is*. The first serious challenge to this ideology of objectivity came from Walkerdine's (1988) study of the mathematical discursive practices of young children, both at school and at home with their families. She noticed how the same words are used in different ways and for different purposes in the home and in the mathematics lesson. In mathematics, for example, 'more' contrasts with 'less' in comparisons of quantity. In the home, 'more' contrasts with 'no more' in discourses of food consumption. Walkerdine argues that truth is *produced* through networks of signification within such different discourses. For example,  $2 + 2 = 4$  stands more as an iconic exemplar of 'mathematical truth', rather than a particular instance of mathematics. Rather than being truths derived from the abstraction of experience, a stripping away of context, statements like  $2 + 2 = 4$  rely on a *suppression* of significations associated with other discourses (e.g. two hands, two legs, four limbs). Brown (2001) expands these ideas from an interpretivist, hermeneutic perspective, in which to seek objectivity in mathematics is missing the

point. Rather, each student or teacher inhabits their own evolving mathematical world, based on their interpretation of social norms, classroom situation, mathematical task and so on. Since this idea applies to all of us, the question of objectivity does not arise. Both mathematics, and our own identities as learners or teachers of mathematics, are constructed through the discourses we inhabit (see also Baxter, *Post-structuralist Analysis of Classroom Discourse*, Volume 3).

#### RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

There has been an increasing level of interest in the role of *multilingualism* (including bilingualism) in the teaching and learning of mathematics. While there has been research going back to the 1970s on this topic (see, for example, Austin and Howson, 1979), it is only more recently that discursive perspectives have been brought to bear (e.g. Adler, 2001; Barwell, 2005; Moschkovich, 2002; Setati, 2005). For Moschkovich (2002), working in the USA, characterising classroom mathematics in terms of participation in a range of discourses is a necessary part of overcoming deficit models of bilingual learners. Rather than seeing such students as having problems, such as not knowing English or needing to fill in gaps in their mathematical vocabulary, a discursive perspective turns the focus to the different discursive practices that students use. Such practices can include students' home language(s), gestures, code-switching, everyday experiences and mathematical artefacts (see also Lin, *Code-switching in the Classroom: Research Paradigms and Approaches*, Volume 10).

Setati's (2005) research in multilingual South African classrooms has highlighted how some of these different discursive resources can interact. In classrooms in her study in which English was the designated language of learning and teaching, Setati found that students and teachers would also use Setswana. Her analysis shows how use of Setswana coincided with conceptual discourse, while use of English coincided with procedural discourse. That is, in English, students and teachers rehearsed the steps involved in solving a problem, but discussed why a particular method was appropriate in Setswana. Setati goes on to link these discursive patterns to underlying cultural models, in which, for example, English is seen as the language of educational advancement and of mathematics. Thus, the use of Setswana, and of code-switching more generally, can be seen to be an important discursive resource in learning mathematics. The way Setswana is used, however, as a route into doing mathematics in English tends to reinforce the dominance of English; there is a link between classroom

language use and broader language ideologies (see Freeman field, *Identity, Community and Power in Bilingual Education*, Volume 5; Lin, *Code-switching in the Classroom: Research Paradigms and Approaches*, Volume 10; Probyn, *Policy, Practice and Power: Language Ecologies of South African Classrooms*, Volume 9).

In many mathematics classrooms in countries like the UK, however, code-switching is not available to multilingual students, since classroom business may be entirely conducted in English. In my own research (e.g. Barwell, 2005), I have explored how learners of English as an additional language (EAL) make sense of mathematics in such classrooms. My analysis of the discursive practices of such students highlights how, for example, they draw on narrative accounts of personal experience and mathematics classroom genres to make sense of mathematical tasks. I have also shown how these practices are reflexively related to language learning practices, such as negotiating the spelling of a word or the choice of verb tense.

A second important area of recent research is the comprehensive analysis by O'Halloran (2005) of the functional grammar of mathematical discourse. She divides mathematical discourse into three areas: written text, symbols and diagrams. In analysing each area, she has had to extend theoretical ideas in functional grammar, particularly in order to deal with diagrams. She then develops an account of the inter-semiotic processes through which the three areas are related in the production of mathematical meaning. She shows, for example, how there are fundamental differences in how meaning is constructed using symbols and using natural language, the former being based on relations, the latter on categories. These differences help to show why mathematical symbolism is such a powerful tool in mathematical thinking, and why talking about mathematics can sometimes seem rather difficult. O'Halloran's work is notable in that, as well as shedding light on the nature of mathematical discourse, her analysis has led to significant developments in systemic functional linguistics.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Sierpiska (2005) suggests that a focus on discourse can result in a loss of focus on mathematics. By examining the nature and use of mathematical discourse in mathematics, we are actually looking at language, not at mathematics. This argument depends on a more fundamental, epistemological debate about the nature of mathematics itself and its relation with discourse. Can mathematics be entirely described in discursive terms? Teaching, learning and doing mathematics are clearly processes that rely on discursive interaction between people, whether through talk or text. This is not to say, however, that they *only* depend on language.

As Radford (2003) argues, discourse is part of a wider set of social practices, and derives its meaning in part from these practices. In essence, Radford is arguing that there are limits on what can be said about mathematical thinking from a discursive perspective. It may be argued that our interpretation of these wider social practices is itself mediated by discourse (perhaps following Brown, 2001). Alternatively it may be argued that discourse and social practice are the same thing, thus expanding the sense of discourse as being purely linguistic. These issues need further exploration, since they have implications for, among other things, pedagogy. If mathematics can be described discursively, that might imply that teaching and learning mathematics can also be so described. What would mathematics teaching then look like?

A current area of weakness in much work in this area is a general lack of interaction between mathematics educators and discourse specialists, such as those found in applied linguistics. All of the work referred earlier is based on readings of discursive theories of one kind or another. Frequently, however, mathematics educators discuss these theories among themselves, before applying them, sometimes superficially, in their research. In some cases, mathematics educators develop new methods of discourse analysis, despite similar tools being available elsewhere. Much of this work would be enriched by working alongside applied linguists. While there are some instances of such collaboration (e.g. Barwell, Leung, Morgan and Street, 2005), they seem to be relatively uncommon. Much of the research discussed earlier, while being interested in classroom discourse, is theoretically based on constructivist or socio-cultural learning theories, rather than on discourse theories *per se* (Sierpinska, 1998). Systemic linguistics is perhaps the most widely used theory of discourse in mathematics education. Greater inter-disciplinarity would facilitate deeper theoretical engagement with a wider range of discourse theories.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

In many ways, research into discourse in mathematics and mathematics education is still developing. There have been some significant areas of work and some useful findings of relevance to teachers and educators, but there is still much to do. Recent work has begun to develop the more rigorous application of discourse theory (as opposed to learning theory) in mathematics education (e.g. Barwell, 2005; Moschkovich, 2002; O'Halloran, 2005; Setati, 2005) and to show signs of greater engagement with linguists. As this work develops, it will enrich understanding of mathematical thinking, teaching and learning. Emerging areas of focus are likely to include: the role of identity, including mathematical identity; the role of language politics in mathematics classrooms (see Setati, 2005)

and the relationship between mathematical discourses and social class, race, ethnicity and gender. Such work will also contribute to the development of discourse theory, as O'Halloran's (2005) work illustrates in the case of systemic functional linguistics.

Substantively, research will continue to extend the attention paid to multilingualism in mathematics classrooms (e.g. Barwell, Barton and Setati, 2007). The recent work on multilingualism has begun to develop more refined discursive tools to deal with the challenges of analysing interaction involving speakers of more than one language. These tools are, however, likely to have much wider application in the study of mathematics classroom discourse and classroom discourse in general.

Mathematics, of course, is not the only subject in the curriculum. There is much interesting work on discourse in science education, language and literacy education, bilingual education and in other curriculum areas (see, for example, Kelly, *Learning Science: Discursive Practices*, Volume 3). To some extent, these areas of research proceed along parallel paths, only loosely connected. Research which spanned some of these different areas would have the potential to identify more general patterns, while retaining a degree of subject specificity, and could lead to broader theoretical descriptions of the relationship between discourse and learning in schools.

Finally, there is an increasing recognition in curriculum and policy documents of the importance of language in the teaching and learning of mathematics, including the emergence of the notion of mathematical literacy as an important aspect of participation in contemporary society. Making sense of personal finance, medical information, politics or war all depend on the interpretation of a mass of mathematical information located within a range of discourses. There is room then, for more research into how people participate in such discourses, and for greater consideration of the role of mathematics curricula in preparing future citizens to participate in them.

*See Also:* Angel M.Y. Lin: *Code-switching in the Classroom: Research Paradigms and Approaches (Volume 10)*; Frank Hardman: *The Guided Co-construction of Knowledge (Volume 3)*; Rebecca Freeman Field: *Identity, Community and Power in Bilingual Education (Volume 5)*; Betsy Rymes: *Language Socialization and the Linguistic Anthropology of Education (Volume 8)*; Gregory Kelly: *Learning Science: Discursive Practices (Volume 3)*; Carey Jewitt: *Multimodal Discourses across the Curriculum (Volume 3)*; Margie Probyn: *Policy, Practice and Power: Language Ecologies of South African Classrooms (Volume 9)*; Judith Baxter: *Post-structuralist Analysis of Classroom Discourse (Volume 3)*; Silvia Valencia Giraldo: *Talk, Texts and Meaning-making in classroom contexts (Volume 3)*

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## LEARNING SCIENCE: DISCURSIVE PRACTICES

### INTRODUCTION

Language and communication are essential elements in science learning. Learning science can be viewed as developing a repertoire of discursive practices with which to engage in the knowledge and practices of various social groups. Such groups may include classroom communities, professional science disciplines, or various citizen organizations. Through participation, learners transform these communities, knowledge, and themselves. The importance of communication to science learning can be understood in at least three ways. First, teaching and learning events are constructed through language and social processes. Studies of science learning have traditionally focused on students' conceptions and how they change over time, assessed through clinical interviews or research instruments. Increasingly, the role of discourse processes in learning events has been recognized as creating, framing, and defining opportunities for cognitive development. Second, student access to science is accomplished through engagement in the social and symbolic worlds comprising the knowledge and practices of specialized communities. Learning science consists of building means for participation and affiliation, through which understanding of ideas occurs through use. Engaging in a set of discursive practices entails, not only language use, but also a related set of values, beliefs, attitudes, and ways of being in the world. Thus, learning includes ways of being with others, the development of learner identities, and their relationships with cognitive development. Third, disciplinary knowledge is constructed, framed, communicated, and assessed through discursive practices. The tensions between linguistic structure of the final form scientific knowledge and the language of the sense making experiences of students represent a key research issue regarding science learning.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Studies of classroom science discourse processes emerged from an interest in classroom interaction, and specifically, the development of the related fields of ethnography of communication, social semiotics, and sociolinguistics (Hicks, 1995). These fields contrasted with studies of science learning which typically drew from cognitive psychology

and focused on cognitive frameworks and conceptual change, while omitting the study of language use in the learning process. Much of this changed with the publication of Lemke's (1990) *Talking Science: Language, Learning, and Values*. Lemke's social semiotic perspective on classroom discourse demonstrated the limited ways in which science was talked about in secondary science classrooms in the USA. The thematic content of science lessons was largely controlled by the teacher, with little variation from the restricted, final form of science textbooks. The sense making uses of language were absent and students were required to do little other than play the game of school science in which they provided short answers to highly directed and thematically narrow questions. While Lemke identified the importance of providing students with opportunities to combine meanings and use science discourse, the teachers' pedagogical goal of transmitting the propositional content of the products of scientific communities did not invite students into substantive discussions regarding the epistemological bases of scientific knowledge. The consequence of such pedagogy was that science remained for students a subject conceptually opaque and perceived as reserved for a cognitive elite.

Lemke's seminal work opened the field for studies that examined features of classroom discourse in more detail. These studies examined ways that science was communicated through discourse processes and considered alternatives to the highly restricted pedagogy found in the studies by Lemke. Lemke found that teachers relied heavily on the triadic dialog—a pattern of teacher initiation, student response, and teacher evaluation (IRE sequence). A series of important studies examined uses of teacher questions in more detail. For example, Carlsen (1991) drew from sociolinguistics to study the dependence of teacher discourse on subject matter knowledge. He found that in areas of subject matter knowledge strength, teachers were more likely to open up classroom conversations to student participation, vary cognitive complexity of questions posed to students, and diverge from specific, defined curriculum goals.

While initial studies often identified ways that teacher discourse shut down student participation, and thus opportunities to talk science, other studies examined pedagogical alternatives. These alternatives were often created by the researchers to examine how to develop rich environments for science learning. In one example, Roth (1996) examined an open-inquiry learning environment created through the use of engineering design in a combined fourth–fifth grade classroom. Under these conditions, the teacher posed questions without a preconceived, expected student response. The teacher was able to maintain the role as an epistemic authority without the use of the triadic dialog to control the thematic content of the conversations in highly restrictive ways. She was able to accomplish this by beginning with students' own

topics of interest and engaging in questioning sequences to discuss issues such as properties of materials and design principles, thus embedding canonical knowledge identified as salient by the teacher. In another example, teacher questioning took the form of a reflective toss (van Zee and Minstrell, 1997). In this case, the teacher was able to draw students into substantive discussions by examining the students' initial ideas, refining the proposed ideas and developing an alternative. While many initial studies examined the predominant role of teacher discourse, Gallas (1995) shifted the focus to consider how her first and second grade students posed questions. By listening to these students, Gallas identified how science talk can emerge out of the students' interests, concerns, and fledging theories. In her classrooms, the community of inquirers developed ideas by paying close attention to children's thinking and adjusting pedagogy accordingly.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Theories of language and science suggest that the discursive practices of school science often mislead students about the nature of language. Sutton (1996) contrasts the views of language entailed in many school science situations, and derived from a positivistic philosophy of science, with a view of language as an interpretative system. The view of language as an interpretative system focuses on the uses of discourse for sense making, exploring, and persuading, rather than uses of language for transmission of information, presumably about natural phenomena. While science textbooks often use conceptually dense, nominalized, and abstract language characteristic of some final form articulations of scientific knowledge (Halliday and Martin, 1993), these linguistic features mask the diversity of scientific discourse in professional fields. The empirical study of scientific practices identifies a range of purposes for language use, each embedded in a particular activity system (Knorr-Cetina, 1999). The complexity of the sense-making uses of language is lost in the published accounts of the events leading to a new discovery. To recover the sense making, interpretive uses of language, educators have turned to the analysis of the social bases of conceptual change, student discourse in groupwork, uses of argumentation, and heuristics for supporting science writing.

Science education researchers have had a sustained interest in how students' beliefs, values and knowledge change over time through educational processes. This focus on conceptual change has increasingly considered the role of social interaction and discourse in meaning making for students (Duschl and Hamilton, 1998). One strategy used by teachers to bridge the differences from the students' familiar ways of talking to the unfamiliar discourse of science has been the use of analogies and metaphors. Dagher's (1995) studies identified a range

of analogies used in science teaching including, compound, narrative, procedural, peripheral, and simple. While she identified the value of analogies, she cautioned about the efficacy of analogies for cognitive change. Kelly and Green (1998) argued further for a social view of conceptual change by noting the many ways that classroom life is constructed through language. They note through the construction of common ways of perceiving, acting, and evaluating, members of classrooms influence the opportunities to participate in an intellectual ecology where meanings are constructed through discursive practices. These practices include epistemic considerations, such as presenting and weighing evidence, assessing the merits of proposed ideas, and evaluating the strength of an explanation.

Cognitive, social, and sociocultural dimensions of learning science have been examined in student small groupwork. In such contexts, students are often working together to make sense of natural phenomena. These contexts present opportunities to understand their reasoning as students develop scientific understandings. Studies have documented the differing roles students take and the ways that social status influences cognitive outcomes. For example, Herrenkohl and Guerra (1998) created multiple student roles with variations in the roles taken as audience members. By assigning specific audience roles, the nature of the discourse processes was altered so that students with assigned roles as audience members initiated more engagement and challenges among the student group members than those with exclusively intellectual role assignments. This study indicated, as do others, that the discursive processes of knowledge construction are tied to, and part of, the ways that social identities, positions, roles, and relationships are negotiated among members of a group. For example, maintaining interpersonal relationships, differentiating status among peers, and varying consensus building processes have been shown to lead to differential construction and appropriation of knowledge made publicly available (Bianchini, 1999).

Learning science requires that students acquire ways of knowing and understand the reasoning behind knowledge claims. The commitment to developing respect for the reasons supporting knowledge claims has led reform in science education to focus explicitly on epistemological dimensions of learning science (Duschl and Hamilton, 1998). Educators have turned to the study of argumentation to develop pedagogy, assess students' uses of evidence, and enhance teacher education. Argumentation refers to the uses of evidence to support a knowledge claim. Pedagogical uses of argumentation have employed various means to provide students with opportunities to learn to create and critique arguments. For example, Bell and Linn (2000) sought to scaffold student knowledge integration through uses of explanation and evidence with

a computer-based argument-building tool. In this, and other studies (Sandoval, 2003), computer support for argument building served as the cognitive and epistemic goals. The uses of argument have been associated with student cognitive growth and changes in their understanding of the nature of science (Sadler, 2004). Analytic applications of argumentation analysis document the ways that discursive practices of science are appropriated by students through their own speaking and writing regarding evidence for knowledge claims (Erduran, Simon, and Osborne, 2004; Sandoval and Millwood, 2005; Takao and Kelly, 2003). Argumentation has also been used to create experiences for teachers to learn how to incorporate epistemological considerations in their teaching practices. Avraamidou and Zembal-Saul (2005) identified the need to incorporate learning experiences for teachers where priority is given to argument and explanation. That study identified how first-year teachers learned to argue in the disciplinary practices of science through experience in inquiry.

While much of the research on student learning and discursive practices has examined spoken discourse, the research on reading and writing science has contributed to understandings of how written texts support learning scientific concepts. Norris and Phillips (2003) make the case that learning science, including being knowledgeable and able to employ scientific knowledge in everyday contexts, is dependent on competence in the ability to read and write science. Studies of science reading have shown how textual materials, often in support of and supported by spoken discourse, improve students' conceptual understandings, metacognition, and science inquiry activities (Yore, Bisanz, and Hand, 2003). Support for student writing in science has included scaffolds to promote argumentation and heuristics to support reflection on practice experience. Writing supports argumentation by providing a structure for adherence to specific genre requirements, uses of extensive data sets, and reflection on crafted uses of evidence (Sandoval and Millwood, 2005; Takao and Kelly, 2003). One example of support for writing has been the development of the Science Writing Heuristic (SWH), which has two parts, one for the classroom teacher, and the other for the student writers (Wallace, Hand, and Prain, 2004). This heuristic was designed to support reflection and intersubjective reasoning among students during laboratory experiences. The use of the SWH has shown to be effective at enhancing cognition and promoting metacognition.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Research on the discursive practices of science learning is developing in many directions. Four of these research directions are: access and

equity to science, the practical epistemologies of everyday school science, activity theory and learning, and multiple literacies.

Access to knowledge and participation in science is deeply dependent on the ways that learning contexts are constructed with language. Discourse of school science has been shown to discriminate against students with alternative ways of talking about their worlds. Research concerned with equity and underrepresentation of minority populations continues to examine the ways that discursive practices serve to build knowledge and affiliation or limit participation and access (Brown, 2004, Lee, 2003). Discourse practices of science classrooms are often based on taken-for-granted assumptions about ways of talking science that contrast with students' ways of talking, being, and interacting in the world (Lee, 2003). Students' ways of talking about nature are tied to previous experiences, cultural assumptions, and worldviews (Lee, 1999). Other studies show how teachers incorporate students' discourse practices into science activities, and through the process of introducing ways of posing questions, finding evidence, and communicating results allow students opportunities to construct more standardized ways of talking science (Warren, Roseberry, and Conant, 1994). Gender equity has been a concern regarding science learning because of differences in interest and affiliation between female and male students. Studies of classroom interaction have identified ways that female students had fewer interactions with teachers were posed less cognitively complex questions, and had fewer opportunities to practice paradigmatic discourse (Barba and Cardinale, 1991; Kurth, Kidd, Gardner, and Smith, 2002).

Variations in discursive practices associated with ethnic background and gender pose problems regarding the fluidity with which students may be able to slot into the taken-for-granted assumptions about talking science in schools (Brown, 2006). Scientific discourse often requires not only employing specialized syntactic moves, but also involves assumptions about questioning, making ideas public, challenging the claims of others, and so forth. Discursive practices are thus related to assumptions about knowledge. The instantiation of epistemic practices in schools relies on interpretations of scientific knowledge and practices by social and symbolic mediators whose views may vary from those of both their students as well as scientists. An important development for science teaching involves the continued understanding of the ways that diverse student sociolinguistic experiences can be viewed as intellectual resources for learning (Warren, Ballenger, Ogonowski, Roseberry, and Hudicourt-Barnes, 2001), rather than a liability for speaking and acting in a prescribed manner.

Historically, much thinking about science learning has included epistemological questions about the nature of evidence, criteria for theory choice, and the structure of disciplinary knowledge. Current research

on science learning suggests that cognition can be productively conceptualized as distributed and that knowledge should be understood as accomplished in situationally specific contexts. Thus, the discursive practices that community members use to propose, justify, evaluate, and legitimize knowledge claims have become central to research programs interested in the epistemologies of everyday activity (Kelly, Chen, and Prothero, 2000). Scholars have advocated the study of students' *practical epistemologies*—i.e., what counts as knowledge claims, justification, and so forth—through examination of the discourse of authentic scientific tasks (Lidar, Lundqvist, and Ostman, 2005). This research line considers the ways that knowledge is interactionally accomplished and recognized among members of a group through participation (Roth, 2005).

Sociohistorical Activity Theory, or sociocultural theories of learning, represents an avenue for much future research in science learning. These approaches consider social epistemology, language, and participation as prominent theoretical constructs for the interpretation of potential learning events (Mortimer and Scott, 2003; Roth 2005). For example, Mortimer and Scott (2003) argue for the importance of the social plane of interpsychological phenomena as a tool for individual thinking. Their focus on classroom discourse is based on a view that meaning is constructed among people through dialogical processes. The teacher's role becomes one of introducing, framing, shaping, and evaluating dialog about natural phenomena so that students are able to engage with scientific ideas and internalize knowledge developed at the interpsychological plane. Similarly, Roth (2005) identifies the ways that as a teacher he was able to enter the microworld of his students to mediate the "collaborative construction of useful ways of seeing and talking" (p. 172). The mediation in such cases is both between the student and the world (in an experiential setting) and the student and standard language of observational categories and theoretical statements. Activity theory may provide ways of understanding student identity, participation, and affiliation commensurate with research on learning, multimedia literacies, and equity.

Science learning increasingly poses multimedia literacy demands on students. New technologies and the ever-increasing means for data and model representation transform what is required to be part of the science learning experience. These demands include interpretation of verbal discourse, paralinguistic features, such as voice quality, diagrams, mathematical symbols, and various images from computers, blackboards, and calculators (Lemke, 2000). Students are expected to be able to use various texts for multiple purposes, such as science textbooks, newspapers, pamphlets from advocacy groups, and Internet resources, among others (Wellington and Osborne, 2001). Uses of such

texts are recontextualized through engagement in discursive practices; that is, texts are publicly available resources that can be evoked, recognized, and interpreted through spoken discourse, instant messages, blogs, threaded discussions, and so forth.

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Across theoretical traditions, a number of problems remain outstanding for science learning. One issue is the ways that formalism of disciplinary language of science fields, particularly as articulated in its final theoretical form, contrasts with students' everyday ways of talking about their worlds (Lee, 2003; Roth, 2005). Written science depends often on unique linguistic features, such as interlocking definitions, technical taxonomies, lexical density, and semantic discontinuity, which pose challenges to student learning (Halliday and Martin, 1993). Such discourse is the continuing consequence of various communities of knowledge producers whose goals include creating knowledge for specialized professional use. The goals of education often include communicating scientific knowledge and inculcating students with a set of beliefs and values about ways of investigating the natural world. The contrasting goals of these communities lead to differences in the purposes and uses of language. Despite such differences in purpose, the formalized language of final form science plays a predominant role in school science often leading to frustration and lack of interest among students (Brown, 2004). While it is generally acknowledged that the language of science offers a potentially powerful perspective, and that students need opportunities to make sense of their worlds from this perspective, the everyday discourses of students nevertheless need be to part of the processes leading to students' expanding repertoires.

Another problem facing the field of science learning with respect to discursive practices is methodological. The problem space for defining relevant aspects of interaction—discursive practices embodied and embedded in particular spatial and temporal contexts—is ever expanding. Continued work on the study of discursive practices of science learning further complicates what can be considered relevant to the intersubjective meanings constructed and derived from interactions. Variations across ethnicity and with multimedia literacies add orders of complexity to the research processes. Difficulties capturing relevant information are less technical and increasingly theoretical, as knowledge accrues regarding the sense making processes of human interaction. Gestures, proxemics, and prosody are all part of the interpretative field open to interlocutors and analysts alike. While the complexity of interaction poses methodological problems, the emerging modalities may create new opportunities for access to science for a

more diverse population. The inclusion of such populations in studies of science and science learning may expand and improve the discursive practices of scientific research and school learning, thus leading to new ways of understanding science learning.

The study of discursive practices also faces the problem of generating normative knowledge about educational processes. The study of discourse has tended to be highly descriptive, but within professional communities and schools, expectations for knowledge include generating specifics regarding practice. While the language of discourse analysis has been effective for understanding the micromoments of interaction, it has been less applied in the fields of teacher learning and education. Science learning requires that teachers mediate knowledge, language, and interpretations for students. This requires knowledge about how to understand language and social processes. A challenge for discourse-oriented studies of learning is to generate ways of talking with those working closely with students. One example of this is found in Mortimer and Scott (2003) who offer examples of how to consider discourse in the planning of instructional sequences, how to help teachers understand their mediational roles, and how to incorporate thinking about classroom discourse into teacher education.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The emphasis on discourse processes and discursive practices in science learning has led the field of science education research to shift its focus from individuals learning socially sanctified knowledge to the social interactions that make knowledge public, recognized, appropriated, and critiqued among participants.

Future directions regarding the discursive practices of science learning may include at least six possibilities.

First, the ways that discursive practices mediate and shape students' understanding, participation, and affiliation with disciplinary knowledge needs to be examined in the everyday life of science learning in school and nonschool settings. Studies of the lived experience of science learning document the ways that coming to participate in the genres of science requires reformulations of student identity. This research direction may contribute to understandings of the ways that students choose to affiliate to different social groups and the disproportional interest in science learning across the student population.

Second, research needs to consider the distribution of access to science across student populations and problems of equity for those excluded from science. The discursive practices of scientific fields, and their surrogates in schools, have a great influence on the ways that schooling selects students and students select school experiences.

While there has been productive work in the area of creating opportunities for excluded students, the recognition of the importance of language for learning has only increased the focus on the ways that access is achieved through discourse and social processes.

Third, research needs to examine further the relationship of language use and knowledge construction as situated practice. Emerging views of language in science understand discourse as a means for structuring and constructing ways of participating. Research can identify the ways that discursive practices are interactionally accomplished, and what gets accomplished among members of a group.

Fourth, the ways that teacher education can incorporate knowledge created through discourse studies of student learning represents a relatively unexamined area of study. Research on the discursive practices of science learning can contribute to teacher education through respecification of key constructs of learning to teach.

Fifth, the potential of cultural–historical activity theory to contribute to research and pedagogy in science settings awaits careful consideration. Anthropological and sociolinguistic perspectives focusing on the discourse of learning may be informed by learning theory, and thus contribute to the development of learning theory. Activity theory places language as a central tool for learning.

Sixth, the methodological challenges of the study of the lived experiences of science learning in multiple settings continue to pose challenges for future work. The many ways that discourse is enacted in space and time pose challenges for researchers interested in understanding how the lived experience of coming to know in science is embodied by speakers interacting with one another. Furthermore, changes in the communicative processes of contemporary science, especially the extensive use of electronic media, pose challenges for educators as standardized genres give way to more amorphous, multivocal, and high-speed ways of communicating.

**See Also:** *Mary R. Lea: Academic Literacies in Theory and Practice (Volume 2); David Bloome: Literacies in the Classroom (Volume 2); Junko Mori and Jane Zuengler: Conversation Analysis and Talk-in-interaction in Classrooms (Volume 3); Stanton Wortham: Linguistic Anthropology of Education (Volume 3); Amy B.M. Tsui: Classroom Discourse: Approaches and Perspectives (Volume 6)*

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## EVERYDAY FUNDS OF KNOWLEDGE AND SCHOOL DISCOURSES

### INTRODUCTION

Those who live, work, and study in schools know that schools are places where many different kinds of knowledge and ways of knowing, talking, and being (i.e., discourses) come together. The potential for competing knowledge and discourses is especially high in classrooms where students and teachers of different backgrounds and experiences come together. What's more, those who live, work, and study in schools typically recognize that certain kinds of knowledge, knowing, believing, and valuing have more power than other kinds. In particular, academic knowledge and discourses tend to have more credence inside school than do home, community, or peer group ways. The recognition that difference abounds in schools suggests the need for intensive and systematic study of the varied knowledge and discourses that youth bring to and experience in school. The intent of this chapter is to lay a foundation of research that has been generated on the funds of knowledge and of discourse documented in students' lives outside of school and to connect that work to studies of school, or academic knowledges and discourses students are expected to demonstrate in school. I use the phrase "to demonstrate" rather than "to learn" purposely, because it remains an open question as to whether students are explicitly taught academic discourses in school, or whether those who enter school with budding proficiency in those discourses—a kind of *linguistic capital* (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990)—are groomed for development in those discourses, whereas those without linguistic capital fail to achieve.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS IN THEORY AND RESEARCH ON FUNDS OF KNOWLEDGE AND DISCOURSE

Two bodies of research and theory are central to this discussion. First is research that examined students' home cultures to determine whether differential levels of achievement in school might be explained by differences between the cultural practices of home and those demanded by school. Cross-cultural studies, such as the extensive project

conducted by Sylvia Scribner and Michael Cole (1981), also contributed to the focus on cultural difference by demonstrating that how students performed on certain academic tasks was more about whether they had practiced such tasks as a part of their everyday lives than it was about innate ability or about access to particular sociocultural tools. Scribner and Cole, like many other sociocultural theorists, documented that learning was a matter of engaging in certain social and cultural practices over time, with those practices producing not only knowledge, but also ways of knowing.

One articulation of the concept that people learned certain kinds of knowledge and ways of knowing outside of school as well as in school was the concept of “funds of knowledge,” first proposed by Carlos Veléz-Ibañez and Luis Moll (Moll, Veléz-Ibañez, and Greenberg, 1989; Veléz-Ibañez, 1988). The construct of funds of knowledge has been broadly taken up to mean any knowledge that children and youth construct outside of school, but the original work focused on *networks* and *funds* in which knowledge was constructed and learned as important as the knowledge itself. In short, Moll and colleagues characterize the *funds* in which knowledge is constructed, revised, maintained, and shared as *social organizations*, in which the people who are members of the fund matter to the way knowledge is constructed and communicated. It is the social nature of knowledge construction, reconstruction, and maintenance that Moll and colleagues underscore, with implications being the need for educators not only to learn about the various funds of knowledge from which youth draw, but also to make opportunities for those funds to intersect with school funds (e.g., parents and teachers working together in school classrooms to enact science curriculum). Whereas early work on cultural difference emphasized the differences in home and school practices as possible constraints on students’ school achievement, a funds of knowledge perspective emphasizes possible intersections and ways to build relationships to support student learning.

The second body of work revolves around linguistic explanations of difference between home and school by examining whether students’ school achievement was an artifact of communicative differences (e.g., Gumperz, 1977; Heath, 1983; Phillips, 1972). These early studies generated theories regarding communicative competence (Hymes, 1994), which rooted explanations for students’ lack of school success in breakdowns in culturally derived communication practices.

In line with this work, and drawing from anthropological discussions of the construct of *culture* as ways of knowing, believing, and doing (e.g., Goodenough, 1981), James Gee (1996) proposed the concept of *Discourses* to suggest that all linguistic acts—whether oral or written—were situated in cultural models, or ways of knowing, doing,

and believing. Discourses represent ways of talking, reading, and writing that are shaped by cultural models. Gee used the uppercase *D* to signal a distinction between *ways of engaging in language* and a stretch of actual language, or discourse. (In what follows, I use the lowercase discourse to refer both to stretches of language *and* to the ways that language is used in different contexts, groups, times, and relationships, with the rationale that all language is always shaped by and situated in cultural models.)

Bringing together the work on discourses and work on funds of knowledge, it could be argued that discourses are generated not only from particular group practices, but also from particular funds or social networks, making funds or networks not only funds of knowledge but also funds of discourse. In other words, people learn how to say, read, write, believe, and know certain concepts within social funds or networks. The conception of a relationship between culture and discourse refers not only to differences of ethnicity or race (i.e., the differences often evoked by the word *culture*), but also to the many other ways that people group themselves or are grouped by others. That is, discourses can also be drawn from disciplinary, peer, social class, and community relationships, among others. What's more, these relationships often intersect in points of convergence and conflict. If one examines the concept of discourses in school settings, and particularly in the upper-levels of schooling, then it can be argued that content-area classrooms represent communities that privilege both particular cultural practices and particular ways of using language—or *academic* discourses—as a means of learning and of representing what one has learned. Students in such classrooms, however, bring everyday knowledges and discourses to their academic or school learning, producing possible conflicts, as well as points of intersection for teachers and learners.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS TO UNDERSTANDING FUNDS OF KNOWLEDGE AND SCHOOL DISCOURSES

Although several different intersecting discourses can be at work in any one classroom, at least three are particularly salient for this discussion: social or everyday discourses, disciplinary or content area discourses, and classroom or instructional/interactional discourses. These discourses represent distinct ways of knowing, doing, talking, reading, and writing, and yet they overlap and inform one another in important ways. For example, the discourses of classroom instruction are informed by what teachers and students believe about the nature of knowledge in the discipline. Similarly, the ways that students take up

classroom or disciplinary discourses are shaped by the social or everyday discourses they bring to the classroom.

### *Social/Everyday Discourses*

Perhaps the most well-known examples of social or everyday discourses come from Heath's (1983) study of the literacy practices of three communities in the North Carolina Piedmont. Heath demonstrated that these three communities each had different "ways with words" outside of school, and that these different ways had important implications for their school and social success. In the community she called "Trackton," for example, young people grew up reading and writing in groups, and learned to consider those who engaged in solitary literacy acts as somewhat unusual. The written word in Trackton was routinely supplemented by or embellished with the spoken word, and community members valued creativity, fluency, and lyricism. By contrast, members of the community labeled "Roadville" emphasized literal understanding of written text, and rewarded close readings and the following of rules in literate interactions. These different discourses for literate practice were a function of an interaction of social class, race, and geography; in short, they were mediated by the complex configuration of each group's cultural practices. More important, they were different from the discourses typically practiced or valued in the schools that served each community.

My own study (Moje et al. 2004a) on the funds of knowledge about science available to young people in their homes and communities provides a sense of the everyday ways of knowing, doing, talking, reading, and writing about science that young people bring to their classroom interactions. Indeed, funds of knowledge research related to science indicates that although youth have ample stores of knowledge about the natural world available in their everyday interactions, the discourses that they use to make sense of and communicate this knowledge are often viewed as different from those valued in science and in science classrooms (see also Lee and Fradd, 1998; Michaels and O'Connor, 1990; Warren, Ballenger, Ogonowski, Rosebery, and Hudicourt-Barnes, 2001). In addition, teachers in these studies were often unaware of, or sometimes dismissed, these funds. As a result, students' funds of knowledge about scientific phenomena are rarely articulated in deep and sustained ways to the scientific funds of knowledge and scientific discourses valued in classroom interactions. This lack of articulation of different knowledges and ways of knowing and talking about that knowledge can hinder deep conceptual learning in science because students and teachers use the same words but mean very different things (see Lemke, 1990).

*Disciplinary Discourses*

Engaging in reading, writing, and talking about disciplinary concepts is often difficult for middle-school students because the language and the ways of thinking are new to them regardless of their particular cultural, ethnic, or social class backgrounds (Hicks, 1995/1996; Hinchman and Zalewski, 1996). As Lemke (1990) has illustrated, the discourse of science represents a specialized system of language that rests heavily upon themes and concepts that are not immediately apparent to the novice science learner. Moreover, becoming a member of a scientific discourse community can be challenging for students as they encounter different *ways* of talking, reading, and writing (discourses) in their science classrooms (cf. Hicks, 1995/1996).

History reading, writing, and analysis, for example, require that students learn to think about the contexts in which texts or ideas were produced. Readers must examine texts for attribution; that is, the reader must ask such questions as, *Who wrote the text? What was the writer's background? What was the writer's perspective or standpoint?* (Wineburg, 2005). School science, by contrast, in general requires students to bring practices of prediction, observation, analysis, summarization, and presentation to their science reading, writing, and oral language practices (Lee and Fradd, 1998). In general, students are expected to apply previously learned basic language, literacy, and technology skills to the comprehension, interpretation, and application of disciplinary knowledge. This movement from everyday to disciplinary discourses is expected even of young children, as documented by Ciechanowski (2005) in a study of third-graders' use of everyday experiences and discourses as resources for learning in science and social studies. Ciechanowski analyzed a classroom teacher's routine call for students to think like scientists and to think in "social studies mode," despite their young age and the lack of explicit instruction in how to engage in those discourses.

As cross-cultural studies have illustrated, however, such skills associated with schooling practices are not necessarily valued by or practiced in the same ways by all cultural groups (e.g. Akatugba and Wallace, 1999; Heath, 1983; Hudicourt-Barnes, 2003; Michaels and O'Connor, 1990; Scribner and Cole, 1981). In *Ways with Words*, Heath examined how everyday reading and writing practices— or discourses—were aligned with and valued among school discourses. Heath's work also analyzed how even school discourses changed as students moved throughout the grades, with upper grades requiring discursive practices of interpretation, analysis, and creation that were not demanded, or even valued, in earlier grades. Children in Heath's study from Roadville, a white, working-class community whose

families practiced more literal readings of texts, found themselves challenged by work in the upper grades of their school experience when interpretation and analysis were required. This example provides a useful illustration of the ways that disciplinary discourses are linked to the instructional and interactional discourses typically valued or practiced in classrooms.

### *Instructional and Interactional Discourses*

Teachers' and students' cultural and language practices shape classroom instructional and interactional discourses to produce a unique hybrid known as school disciplinary discourse (i.e., school history discourse, school science discourse, etc.). These discourses can draw from interactional practices ranging from how one acknowledges questions posed by an adult authority figure to expected classroom participant structures (e.g., whole-class or small-group arrangements) (Cazden, 2001; Green, 1983). Instructional discourses may also include the language of instruction that revolves around how to use textbooks, where to record class notes, and when and how to answer questions, among others. A number of sociolinguists have illustrated that such practices are among the most invisible and most assumed in school learning (e.g., Gumperz, 1977). As Hymes (1994) argued, if the interactional discourses that students learn in their homes do not match those valued in school classrooms, then students may not be communicatively competent and may struggle to learn both disciplinary concepts and norms for classroom practice.

In addition to issues of differences in cultural practice that lead to the development of different discourses, many students in urban schools live in homes where standard English is not a dominant language. English language learners may have proficiency in English language, but not have proficiency in the *ways* of talking, reading, and writing necessary for classroom success, particularly in the disciplines they encounter as they move into secondary school settings (Cummins, 1984).

In most schools, multiple ethnic, peer, home, and community discourse practices meet multiple content and pedagogical discourse practices, resulting in complex interactions enacted in such classrooms. Thus, teaching and learning, especially in diverse settings, and especially at upper grade levels, where disciplinary discourses become more and more precise and texts become more and more demanding, is especially challenging. Teaching academic discourses, then, becomes more than a matter of engaging students in learning content concepts and more than teaching general reading, writing, speaking, and listening skills. Disciplinary teaching for the benefit of all students requires that teachers and curriculum developers engage students in explicit

discussions of and practice in recognizing the many different and competing discourses at work in their learning lives (cf. New London Group, 1996). Furthermore, recognition of the many different discourses at play in any classroom setting underscores the importance of working toward “third space” (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, Alvarez, and Chiu, 1999; Moje et al. 2004a). Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, Alvarez, and Chiu (1999) argue that these many different discourses can be viewed as a *resource* for helping students develop stronger understandings of both academic and everyday concepts and language practices.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

One step toward building stronger connections among students’ various funds of knowledge and the academic discourses they are expected to learn in schools lies in a dramatic rethinking of what it means to engage in disciplinary, or academic, learning. A number of theorists have argued that the content areas, or disciplines, can be viewed as spaces in which knowledge is produced or constructed, rather than as repositories of content knowledge or information (Foucault, 1972; Halliday and Martin, 1996; Luke, 2001). Even more important, knowledge production in the content areas needs to be understood as the result of human interaction. As such, knowledge production of the disciplines operates according to particular norms for everyday practice, conventions for communicating and representing knowledge and ideas, and ways of interacting, defending ideas, and challenging the deeply held ideas of others in the discipline. Disciplines, then, are no different as discourse communities than are students’ everyday home discourse communities or peer group discourse communities. They are not immutable, they are not unchangeable. And they are not simply bodies of knowledge to be handed down from expert to novice.

For example, in science, a norm of practice is that researchable problems be carefully defined and systematically and repeatedly studied before claims can be made about phenomena. Particular forms of evidence—typically empirical or observable forms that derive from experimental study—are required to provide warrant for claims. In history, by contrast, the norms of practice differ in important ways. Historians, like natural scientists, set aside researchable problems to be studied systematically, but the means of obtaining evidence and the forms that provide warrant for claims differ. The context in which a claim is situated matters tremendously to an historian (Bain, 2000). Moreover, how claims are made public differs across content areas. The types of texts produced are different and the role that various texts play in providing warrant for claims also differs. Part of learning in the content area, then, is coming to understand the norms of practice for

producing and communicating knowledge in the disciplines (Bain, 2000; Lemke, 1990; Wilson and Wineburg, 1988; Wineburg, 2003). Part of that learning also involves examining how content-area norms for practice are similar to and different from everyday norms for practice. Such learning requires understanding deeply held assumptions or themes of the discipline, as well as the ways of knowing, doing, and communicating.

The task of education, relative to these goals of learning the academic or school discourses, then, becomes one of teaching students what the privileged discourses are, when and why such discourses are useful, and how these discourses and practices came to be valued. For example, in middle-school science classrooms that several colleagues and I are currently studying, teachers emphasize the scientific practices of data representation, analysis, and interpretation, as they teach students how to write clear scientific explanations of phenomena (Moje et al. 2004b). Even as they engage in inquiry around the phenomena, these teachers help students learn the literate practices required to make scientific investigation meaningful. Together with students, for example, they have constructed criteria for producing scientific explanations, criteria that include (i) making a claim; (ii) providing multiple pieces of evidence, drawn from experimentation or the past research of others; (iii) reasoning through the evidence back to the claim; and (iv) writing the explanation in precise and accurate language that “Anyone interested in science should be able to understand.”

What is equally important to content learning, however, is providing opportunities for young people to examine how the norms of knowing, doing, and communicating are constructed. Each of these norms is not only an important aspect of “doing” the discipline, but each norm is also socially constructed. That is, the norms are constructed, practiced, and enforced by people; they are not a set of immutable rules that can be questioned or changed. Indeed, members of the different disciplines and profession often reconstruct rules, especially in their day-to-day practices. To learn deeply in a content area, young people need to have access to the way that conventions of disciplinary knowledge production and communication can be routinely or more explicitly challenged and reshaped; such knowledge gives young people the power to read critically across various texts and various disciplines. Such knowledge also gives them the power to draw from other funds of knowledge and discourse to raise challenges to what they learn in the disciplines. The more they interrogate their practices across all the funds, networks, or discourse communities they encounter in and out of school, the more they become critical readers and thinkers.

Carol Lee is actively pursuing such pedagogical and curricular developments in her research program (Lee, 2001). Lee’s construct of

*cultural modeling* situates subject areas as cultures and seeks to tease out the demands of discourse in subject areas such as English. She then looks for spaces to link students' everyday discourses and practices specifically for the purpose of enhancing academic discourse and literate development. Similarly, Ernest Morrell and colleagues (Morrell and Duncan-Andrade, 2003) have demonstrated methods for enhancing what might be thought of as traditional print literacy and discursive skills, while building critical literacy skills among adolescent learners. Gutiérrez and colleagues (Gutiérrez, 2005) continue their work in developing third spaces that provide bridges for young people from the counter-scripts of their everyday lives and funds of knowledge to the official scripts of their classrooms. Many other scholars are engaging in similar work with younger students in classrooms across the United States (Fradd, Lee, Sutman, and Saxton, 2001; Moll, 2006; Warren, Ballenger, Ogonowski, Rosebery, and Hudicourt-Barnes, 2001). Although each of these projects varies in important ways in theoretical and methodological orientations, the goals of the work are similar: To provide opportunities for children and youth to bridge, navigate, and/or reconstruct both everyday and academic discourses in ways that allow them to learn disciplinary concepts and literacy skills and practices, to achieve in school settings, and to make contributions to and changes in society.

#### PROBLEMS AND POSSIBILITIES

Although a number of the researchers named above have demonstrated that *bridging* everyday and academic knowledge and discourse do support young *children's* literacy and content learning (e.g., Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, Alvarez, and Chiu, 1999; Heath, 1983; Hudicourt-Barnes, 2003; Lee and Fradd, 1999; Moll, Veléz-Ibañez, and Greenberg 1989; Warren, Ballenger, Ogonowski, Rosebery, and Hudicourt-Barnes, 2001), we need studies of bridging, navigating, and change-oriented third spaces constructed in *upper-level* (grades 7–12) content area classrooms to document what and how older youth learn in such classrooms. In addition, there are few studies at this point that document the *learning gains* that result from the construction of *navigational* (Elmesky, 2001; Ingalls, 2005; Lee, 2006) and *change-oriented* (Barton, 2001; Seiler, 2001; Morrell and Collatos, 2003) third spaces in advanced content literacy learning classrooms. Most of the current studies provide in-depth examinations of the processes at work in classrooms that draw from and extend students' funds of knowledge, but we need more studies in the tradition of Lee's (1993) mixed methods design that demonstrated both the learning gains in academic literacy terms and the teaching practices required to make such a third space possible.

A second issue that presents both a potential problem and possibility is related to questions of identity. A number of theorists have argued that shifts in learning both require and produce shifts in identity (Gee, 2000/2001; Lave, 1996). What then, are the implications of producing hybrid learning spaces by drawing from students' identities, cultures, and funds of knowledge and discourse? How might such work complicate the identity development of young people? How might young people resist these mergings, wishing instead to keep the multiple spaces of their lives separate? As youth engage with texts based in many different funds, they may enact hybrid identities because their identities are framed by a complex intersection of many different funds of knowledge and discourse. If youth enact hybrid, globalized identities that cross multiple discourse and national communities in their everyday lives, then the challenge of subject matter learning becomes even more complex than learning to negotiate home and school discourse communities. The challenge involves negotiating communities and identities that are always changing and shifting. And for youth in secondary school settings, the challenge is incredibly daunting, as youth are expected to negotiate five to six different discourse communities—and thus, at least as many identities—within school each day while moving from one subject matter class to another. In short, subject-matter learning has never been, and never will be, about merely learning the concepts of a target discourse community. Even our attempts to complicate subject-matter learning by acknowledging funds of knowledge do not go far enough because those funds, in the postmodern world, are increasingly complex and multiple.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Perhaps most important to future work is the realization that learning in a discipline requires people to enact particular identities, even if they do not fully take that identity on as an aspect of "self." Thus, young people in secondary school are expected to participate in the discourses of the disciplines; to incorporate those discourses with other discourses and identities they experience throughout the secondary school day; and to forge, or at least try out, new identities as they take up those discourses. What this suggests is that teachers of content areas need to provide young people with opportunities to examine the discourses they are learning in the discipline in relation to the discourses (and identity enactments) of other funds of knowledge and discourse in everyday life.

In sum, we need to reconceptualize content-area learning as a matter of learning new ways of knowing and practicing, not merely as spaces in which students are exposed to new ideas or bits of information. Part

of teaching in the content areas then becomes a matter of teaching students how the disciplines are different from one another, how acts of inquiry produce knowledge and representational forms (such as texts written in particular ways), as well as how those disciplinary differences are socially constructed.

Bain (2000) calls this the generation of an epistemically grounded curriculum and pedagogy, or one in which students come to understand that knowing how knowledge is produced is as important as having access to the knowledge itself. The focus moves away from accessing or generating texts only to obtain or produce information, toward an understanding of how texts represent ways of knowing, doing, and believing in different discourse communities. From this perspective, content teachers should also teach students to be *metadiscursive*, which means that they should not only be able to engage in many different discourse communities, but should also know how and why they are engaging, and what those engagements mean for them and others in terms of social positioning and power relations (New London Group, 1996).

Even with such a reconceptualization of the disciplines and academic discourses, the everyday realities that have historically limited the integration of students' everyday funds of knowledge and discourse with academic knowledge and discourses should not be ignored. What opportunities do teacher education and inservice professional development provide teachers to learn about the discursive basis of the content areas? How do teacher educators support teachers in supporting young people as they construct identities across different disciplines? How are teachers to work with a notion of content-area literacy as *meta-discursive practice* as they encounter probable resistance from students who have become quite comfortable with the idea that learning in the content areas is a matter of memorizing and reproducing information?

At a broader level, what school structures need to change to support teachers in supporting students as they navigate, critique, and weave together the discourses of the disciplines? The issues of the content area sub-cultures, limited opportunities for teachers to work across disciplines, the implacable structure and timing of the typical secondary school day all work to challenge a metadiscursive approach to disciplinary teaching. Indeed, a metadiscursive pedagogy calls for teachers to be able to work across disciplines, to develop courses of study that examine ideas from many different disciplinary perspectives as a way of questioning the norms of their primary discipline. Without a change in typical school structures of 50-min classes, relative isolation of teachers in single classrooms, and confinement of classes within the physical school space, a broad, metadiscursive pedagogy and curriculum will be difficult to develop.

Finally, we should not ignore the powerful ways that young people already negotiate multiple discourse communities and literacies in their lives. A number of studies illustrate that youth demonstrate remarkably metadiscursive practices in their lives out of school (Alvermann, 2001; Knobel, 1999; Leander and Lovvorn, 2006; Lewis and Fabos, 2005; Maybin, 2006; Moje, 2000). We have much to learn from young people about how we could develop a metadiscursive approach to content literacy.

Researchers need to continue to examine and make evident the different funds that youth draw from as they engage with the texts of different content areas. We need to continue to clarify how these funds mediate youths' reading and writing of all the different kinds of texts they encounter in school. We also need to experiment with classroom practices that we think bring these many different funds into play alongside the funds currently valued in many classrooms. However, the work and commitment required for the development of an integrated approach to literacy teaching and learning in the secondary content areas is enormous, requiring conceptual changes in our definitions, cultural changes in our practices, and structural changes in the enduring institutions of the secondary school and secondary teacher education. Because these constraints do not exist in some sort of hierarchical form (i.e., changes in structures lead to changes in culture or vice versa), each set of constraints needs to be addressed simultaneously, and these constraints need to be addressed by several different players of the content-area literacy puzzle, including teacher educators; school administrators; teachers; researchers; and local and national policy makers. No one group can wait for one of the other groups to take action toward change. The integration of literacy into the content areas is a complex change process that will require collaboration, communication, and a commitment to major conceptual, structural, and cultural changes.

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## MULTIMODAL DISCOURSES ACROSS THE CURRICULUM

### INTRODUCTION

Multimodality approaches representation and communication as something more than language. It attends to the complex repertoire of semiotic resources and organizational means that people make meaning through—image, speech, gesture, writing, 3-dimensional forms, and so on. Strictly speaking, then multimodality refers to a field of application rather than a theory. A variety of disciplines and theoretical approaches can be used to explore different aspects of the multimodal landscape. Psychological theories can be applied to look at how people perceive different modes or to understand the impact of one mode over another on memory for example. Sociological and anthropological theories and interests could be applied to examine how communities use multimodal conventions to mark and maintain identities. The term ‘multimodality’ is, however, strongly linked with social semiotic theory and is widely used to stand for ‘multimodal social semiotics’. This is the use of multimodality in this chapter.

Multimodality is concerned with signs and starts from the position that like speech and writing, all modes consist of sets of semiotic resources—resources that people draw on and configure in specific moments and places to represent events and relations. From this perspective the modal resources a teacher or student chooses to use (or are given to use) are significant for teaching and learning. In this way, a multimodal approach rejects the traditional almost habitual conjunction of language and learning. Using a multimodal approach means looking at language as it is nestled and embedded within a wider social semiotic rather than a decision to ‘side-line’ language. Examining multimodal discourses across the classroom makes more visible the relationship between the use of semiotic resources by teachers and students and the production of curriculum knowledge, student subjectivity, and pedagogy.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS: A VISUAL START

Multimodality is to some extent an eclectic approach. Linguistic theories, in particular Halliday’s social semiotic theory of communication (Halliday, 1978) and developments of that theory (Hodge and Kress,

1988) provided the starting point for multimodality. A linguistic model was seen as wholly adequate for some to investigate all modes while others set out to expand and re-evaluate this realm of reference drawing on other approaches (e.g. film theory, musicology, game theory). In addition the influence of cognitive and sociocultural research on multimodality is also present, particularly Arnheim's work on visual communication and perception (1969). Many of the concerns that underpin multimodality also build on anthropological and social research (specifically the work of Barthes (1993); Bateson (1977); Foucault (1991); Goffman (1979); and Malinowski (2006) among others).

By the mid to late 1990s, a few books and papers on multimodality were starting to be published. The primary focus of this work was visual communication and the relationship between image and writing. The work of Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen (1996), the New London Group (1996) and Michael O'Toole (1994) was particularly significant for multimodal research within education. This work challenged the notion that learning is primarily a linguistic accomplishment, sketched key questions for a multimodal agenda, and began to define conceptual tools for thinking about teaching and learning beyond language.

The call to understand pedagogy as multimodal was radical when it was first made. A key design element of a future pedagogy of multi-literacies was heralded as 'designs for other modes of meaning' (New London Group, 1996). In part, this call was a response to the social and cultural reshaping of the communicational landscape (related to globalization, new technologies, and new demands for work). In a sense, the conclusion that reading this 'new' multimedia, multimodal landscape for its linguistic meanings alone is not enough was inevitable. A special issue of *Linguistics and Education* on multimodality was an important publication (and one of the first) to provide tools for educational researchers wanting to undertake multimodal research (Lemke, 1998).

Attempting to understand the relationship between image and text was central to the development of research on multimodality. The redundancy of 'non-linguistic' modes was argued against and the idea that the meaning of modes is incommensurable was key. *Reading Images* (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996) opened the door for multimodality in the way that it discusses key concepts such as composition, modality and framing. This work offers a framework to describe the semiotic resources of images and analyses how these resources can be configured to design interpersonal meaning, to present the world in specific ways, and to realize coherence. It demonstrates and generates a series of semiotic network maps showing the semiotic resources of image in play and how discourses are articulated visually through the design of these resources.

Work by Kress on literacy and young children's meaning making also helped highlight the potential of multimodality for literacy. His concern with font, style, the spatial design of the page, and the materiality of the written text positioned writing as multimodal. This work began to make connections across multimodality and New Literacy Studies—a combination that offers a distinct theoretical accent to multimodality.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS: KEY THEMES IN THE STUDY OF MULTIMODAL DISCOURSES

From early 2000, there has been an explosion of interest in multimodality within educational research and this approach has been actively taken up educational researchers across a wide range of learning contexts. Some of the major contributions made by this work are discussed below.

##### *Mode and Semiotic Resources for Meaning*

In order for multimodality to be of use to educational research a clearer sense of how modes are used for meaning making is required. Much is known about the semiotic resources of language in the classroom and curriculum, but considerably less is understood about the semiotic potentials of gesture, sound, image and so on. A number of detailed studies on specific modes helped begin to describe these semiotic resources, material affordances, organizing principles, and cultural references. Alongside Kress and van Leeuwen's work on images (1996) other key works that contribute to an evolving 'inventory' of semiotic modal resources include Van Leeuwen's (1999) work on the materiality of the resources of sound (e.g. pitch, volume, breathing, rhythm, and so on). Martinec (2000) contributes to this with his work on movement and gesture. With a focus on writing as a multi-semiotic resource Kenner (e.g. 2004) shows how young bilingual learners use directionality, spatiality, and graphic marks to realize meaning and express identities in complex ways. The work of Kress, Jewitt, Ogborn, and Tsatsarelis (2001) and Kress et al. (2005) attempts to map how these modes interact and interplay in the classroom.

##### *Shapes of Knowledge, Pedagogy and Subjectivity*

Through detailed multimodal analysis, classroom research shows how teachers orchestrate a range of modes in the classroom. Some key studies include Kress, Jewitt, Ogborn, and Tsatsarelis (2001) in relation to school Science and school English (2005) and Mathematics

(O'Halloran, 2004). This research maps how curriculum concepts are 'filled in' by teachers' pedagogic movement between, in the case of science, abstract diagrams, embodied action, interaction with models, and canonical images to create complex multimodal narratives. At times, the complex multimodal configurations realized by teachers are designed to enable the tension between discourses, and domains of knowledge (e.g. everyday knowledge and the specialized scientific knowledge) to reside in the seams between modes: with one mode supporting one discourse and another mode realizing a quite different one. The classroom itself can also be viewed as a multimodal sign that articulates discourses of time, managerialism, ability, subject knowledge etc. through its spatial arrangements, furniture, visual displays, equipment, and artefacts. This research shows how multimodality can be applied to examine the connection between policies, the use of technologies, pedagogy and what it means to learn.

### *Multimodality and New Technologies*

The ways in which modes are newly configured and made available for teaching and learning via new technologies is also a focus of multimodal research (Kress, 2003). Burn and Parker's (2001) work on media education and digital animation explores how students design meanings across different sites of display and semiotic resources and what this means for learning and literacy. Multimodal research into new technologies and learning also explores the meaning potential of a texts structure: the semiotic facilities of linking, hypertext, and the design of hyper links (Jewitt, 2002; Lemke, 2002; van Leeuwen, 2005). These links and structures create relations and continuity or discontinuity between elements, what Lemke calls 'hyper-modality'. Another term useful to multimodality is 'resemiotization' (Iedema, 2003) which focuses on how new technologies remediate discourses via multimodal representation and communication across media. This is explored in the work of Jewitt (e.g. 2006) that brings together multimodal social semiotics with Vygotskian theories of learning to explore the relationship between representation and technology in relation to the production of curriculum knowledge, literacy, learning and pedagogy.

### *Multimodal Learning and Literacy*

Approaching the classroom as a multimodal environment demands a rethinking of learning and literacy. Multimodal research shows the complex decisions of children that are involved in the design of multimodal texts: what mode to use in order to 'best' represent and

communicate a particular meaning. Considering students in the classroom as *designers* of meaning in this way has important implications for learning such as what semiotic resources are made available in the classroom (and how modes are valued in different contexts) (Unsworth, 2002). Children's multimodal selections, adaptations, and transformations of these semiotic resources to make their own meanings are examined as one kind of evidence of learning (Jewitt and Kress, 2003; Kress, Jewitt, Ogborn, and Tsatsarelis, 2001; Kress et al. 2005). These transformations have been traced and mapped as links in the 'chain of semiosis' (Pahl, 1999; Stein, 2003). This rethinking of learning has implications for how to think about assessment.

### *Developing Theory and Method*

Alongside accounts of multimodal research, the need to develop multimodal research tools remains. Kress and van Leeuwen's book *Multimodal discourses* (2001) contributes to the general theory of multimodality in their exploration of the distinction between mode and medium and the formulation of the relationship between discourse, production, dissemination, and design. Multimodal theory has opened up the question of what constitutes a mode. The idea of mode has also been expanded in van Leeuwen's *Introducing social semiotics* (2005) to look at semiotic resources such as food, dress, everyday objects as well as image, music, gesture and writing.

Ethnographic methods have been combined with multimodality to look at semiotic literacy practices as well as texts. Stein (2003), Pahl and Rosewell, (2006) for example explore how students in South African townships express complex narratives of identities and culture through multimodal texts, highlighting the links between representational means and the production of identities. This work explores how multimodal pedagogy can reconnect linguistically disenfranchised learners—through the use of performance, semiotic artifacts, visual representation etc.

Scollon and Wong-Scollon (2004) combined multimodal semiotics and intercultural communication to explore how the physical and material characteristics of language as situated in the world give meaning to people's actions. Sigrid Norris (2004) takes up this approach to multimodal discourses and introduces several interesting concepts to the multimodal debate, one of which is the idea of *modal density* (intensity and complexity), a conceptual tool for separating out the modes as analytical units. This sets out a way of thinking about the relationships between modes in terms of a scale of low to high intensity and contributes to the theorization of the relationship across and between modes.

## WORK IN PROGRESS: DISTINCTIVE DIRECTIONS

There is substantial work in progress that looks at multimodal meaning making across a wide range of sites in pre-school and early years writing and meaning making, school English and Media education, games studies, Science education, Music, Maths, and technology-mediated learning (e.g. Bearne and Kress, 2001; Carrington and Marsh, 2005; Goodwyn, 2005). Building on this work, researchers are now looking at how the ‘choice’ and use of representational modes and media/technologies shape teaching and learning across the curriculum in different ways—choices that are made by policy makers, teachers, curriculum and software designers, and students at a national level, a local level, and in the classroom. In this way multimodal discourses analysis has begun to shift from primarily descriptive accounts to connect more explicitly with macro social, political and cultural concerns within education.

Ongoing multimodal research focuses on the development of more robust theoretical concepts and methodological tools. The need to develop practices of multimodal transcription and systematic multimodal analytical processes for working with video data is an area that is at a relatively early stage of development (e.g. Flewitt, 2006; Jewitt, 2006; Norris, 2004). The work of conceptualizing modal hierarchies and relations, and problematizing the concept of semiotic resource. Another approach in the early stages of development is an analytical framework for dealing with multimodal data in corpora (Bateman, Delin, and Henschel, 2004).

The need to rethink what it means to learn and to be literate is a thread that runs through much multimodal educational research. This raises numerous research questions in relation to learning including how representations impact on thinking and learning? What kinds of opportunities do different modes present for dialogue? How are modes valued in and out of the school? And what kind of learners do schools want to produce? It also raises questions about what literacy is and could be in a multimodal and multilingual communicational landscape. This, in turn, has led to research that sets out to ask what multimodality has to offer as a pedagogic resource and how it can be shaped as a force for change.

The need to engage with social questions (beyond the role of description) is realized in research that attempts to move from notions of critique to design. As already described, multimodality can be used to build inventories of semiotic resources and to understand how resources are used to articulate discourses across the curriculum. Multimodality can *also* contribute to the development of new ways of using semiotic resources. Focusing (through historical analysis) on how semiotic

resources come to be as they are, multimodality can ask why they are as they are. This is a powerful approach enabling people to see *how* it is a 'reality' comes to be represented and offering the potential to *imagine* it differently and to *redesign* it. Highlighting the implications for learning of how semiotic resources are used can help to bring resources into the awareness of educational practitioners, and this brings with it the potential for new ways of using and configuring—*designing*—multimodal pedagogy.

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Multimodal analysis is an intensive research process both in relation to time and labor. One consequence of this is that research on multimodal discourses is generally small scale and this *can* restrict the potential of multimodality to comment beyond the specific to the general. It is perhaps important to be clear, however, that multimodality can be applied to take a detailed look at 'big' issues and questions through specific instances. Nonetheless, the scale of multimodal research can make it difficult to use findings for policy and educational strategy. The technical and theoretical developments mentioned in an earlier section, for example, the development of multimodal corpora may help to overcome this problem. The potential to combine multimodal analysis with quantitative analysis in innovative ways in the future is an alternative strategy.

A criticism sometimes made of multimodality is that it can seem rather impressionistic in its analysis. How do you know that this gesture means this or that that image means that? In part, this is an issue of the linguistic heritage of multimodality, that is, how do you get from linguistics to all modes. In part, it is the view of semiotic resources as contextual, fluid and flexible—which makes the task of building 'stable analytical inventories' of multimodal semiotic resources complex. It is perhaps useful to note that this problem exists for speech and writing. The principles for establishing the security of a meaning or a category are the same for multimodality as for linguistics (or Philosophy or Fine Art). It is resolved by linking the meanings people make (whatever the mode) to context and social function. Increasingly, multimodal research looks across a range of data (combining textual/video analysis with interviews for example) and towards participant involvement to explore analytical meanings as one response to this potential problem.

Linked with the problem above is the criticism that multimodality is a kind of linguistic imperialism that imports and imposes linguistic terms on everything. But these critics overlook the fact that much of the work on multimodality has its origins in a particular strand of linguistics: namely, the social semiotic theory of communication first

proposed by Halliday (1978). This strand of research on language and communication foregrounds meaning and the ways in which language contributes to the construction of social life. The social component of this approach to language sets it apart from narrower concerns with syntactic structures, language and mind and language universals that have long dominated the discipline. From a multimodal perspective this view of communication can be applied to all modes, to gesture and image no less and no more than to speech and writing.

Description is theoretically grounded and contributes to theory building. There is a need to actually ask questions of and through detailed description. For instance, to ask what kind of discourses are being articulated in a classroom and why, what is the social function of the representations being described. For example, to ask how the multimodal design of the English classroom shapes what school English is, what texts are included in English and how does this shape what it might mean to be a student in that classroom and so on. This analytical focus is important to show how discourses are articulated across the curriculum so that they can be made explicit, shared or challenged and re-designed. Multimodal research can be problematic if it offers an endless detailed description that fails to make clear the broad questions it seeks to answer.

The question of where the boundaries of its effective work are located is key for multimodality (as with any approach). In social semiotics, of which multimodality is a part, it is recognized that there are such limits, beyond which other approaches work much more effectively. In part, this is a question of scale. Semiotic analysis works best with small elements or with larger-level elements treated as small, namely as 'signs'. When the aims of enquiry shift to larger-level relations in process, and historically over time, it may be necessary to shift theoretical paradigms, and combine multimodality with other theoretical approaches.

#### NEW DIRECTIONS

The combination of multimodality with theories that attend to the social at a macro-level is an area for development. Multimodal theories of communication and representation emerged at a 'pivotal moment' when boundaries were fraying across the communicational landscape: modes were being recast, revalued and redesigned by the social demands on communication (the remaking of boundaries between nation states, languages, work and leisure and so on as well as the use of new technologies). Such moments and shifts have happened in the past and will happen in the future. The use and conventions of semiotic resources are established over time, and are fluid, situated,

as well as being shaped by community and culture. The work of describing modes and semiotic resources as they are used in education is therefore an ongoing and important one. To realize the full potential of multimodality research also needs to make links between *what* is happening in the classroom and *why* it is happening—to ask how the micro social interactions of the classroom inflect, reflect and connect with the concerns of macro educational and broader social policies.

The ‘change potential’ of multimodal semiotics is another aspect that may be developed more in the future. The potential for multimodal research to impact on teacher training, the design of learning, and curriculum and software design is immense. By challenging the exclusivity of the link between language and learning, multimodality opens up the need to better understand the relationship between multimodal pedagogy and learning and this raises significant questions: questions about the impact of modes of representation on learning: what does it mean for learning to have all these modes operating in the classroom? What mode is best for what? How does the move between modes impact on shapes of knowledge? What does all this mean for cognitive load and learning? What forms of communication are students being expected (often implicitly) to understand? Questions concerning what educationalists want learning to be and how a knowledge of multimodal semiotics could enable it to be redesigned: How can students best be taught the skills to make and interpret multimodal texts? A future direction for multimodality is to theorize the relationship between semiosis and learning. This is needed to find pedagogically productive ways to connect on the one hand the ways that students select, adapt, and transform information in the classroom (the resources that they bring into the classroom to learning) and on the other the expectations and demands of curriculum subjects.

The connection between student practices, curriculum, and pedagogy foregrounds the notion of assessment. There is a glaring disjuncture between multimodal pedagogy, multimodal learning, and a primarily written assessment process. This is a growing focus within multimodal research across the curriculum and a key direction for research in the future is to tackle the issue of assessment, to ask how best to assess students’ learning in a multimodal classroom.

*See Also:* Kate Pahl: *Language Socialization and Multimodality in Multilingual Urban Homes (Volume 8)*; Kelleen Toohey: *Ethnography and Language Education (Volume 10)*; Frances Christie: *Genres and Institutions: Functional Perspectives on Educational Discourse (Volume 3)*; Jill Bourne: *Official Pedagogic Discourses and the Construction of Learners’ Identities (Volume 3)*; Rebecca Rogers: *Critical Discourse Analysis in Education (Volume 3)*

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# **Section 1**

## **Theoretical Underpinnings**

## APPLIED LINGUISTIC THEORY AND SECOND/FOREIGN LANGUAGE EDUCATION

### INTRODUCTION

Applied linguistics has been defined as “the theoretical and empirical investigation of real-world problems in which language is a central issue” (Brumfit, 1995, p. 27)—for example, problems of miscommunication in social life, institutional discourses of courtrooms, classrooms, and hospitals, language policies and testing procedures. In addition, it has been, since its inception, the foundational field of research for second language acquisition and learning. Researchers have made recommendations for language teachers based on their findings; in turn, language educators have drawn on applied linguistic research to illuminate and solve problems they encounter in their practice.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The name “applied linguistics” was given to the field when the first program of that name was founded at the University of Edinburgh in 1957, leading in the 1970s to the *Edinburgh Course in Applied Linguistics* (Allen and Corder, 1973–1977). According to Davies and Elder (2004), it was largely taken for granted in the 1960s and 1970s that applied linguistics was about language teaching and learning. The journal *Language Learning: A Journal of Applied Linguistics*, published from the University of Michigan in 1948, was the first journal in the world to carry the term “applied linguistics” in its title (Davies, 1999, p. 6). In the subsequent 50 years, the field has experienced an explosion across various disciplines, encompassing, beside language teaching, first and second language acquisition, psycho- and neurolinguistics, sociolinguistics, pragmatics, discourse and conversation analysis, text/processing/translation, computational linguistics, forensic linguistics, corpus linguistics, and language policy and planning.

Today, applied linguistics is well represented by its vibrant national and international professional organizations, for example, the International Association for Applied Linguistics (AILA) founded in 1964, the British Association of Applied Linguistics (BAAL) established in 1967, the American Association for Applied Linguistics (AAAL)

founded in 1978—and an increasing number of scholarly journals: *Applied Linguistics*, the *Journal of Applied Linguistics*, the *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, *Modern Language Journal* among many others. It has become an exciting and capacious field of inquiry that seeks to engage with and reconceptualize various problems in the practice of language acquisition and use. This engagement is somewhat more interdisciplinary than that of other, more specialized fields that also pertain to second/foreign language (SL/FL) education, for example, second language acquisition (SLA) research, educational psychology, teaching methodology, language learning technologies, language testing research, or literacy theory (Kramsch, 2000).

The term “applied linguistic theory” refers to the theoretical insights gained from the empirical studies that are the hallmark of the field, but, given the careful distinction made by applied linguists between applied linguistics and linguistics applied (Davies, 1999, p. 12), we should not expect applied linguistic theory to be the mere application of linguistic theory to solving the problems of linguistic practice. Nor is it a unified theory that all applied linguists agree upon. First, because SL/FL education is more than the internalization of linguistic forms; it is also social, cultural, aesthetic, and political practice. Second, because as an applied field of inquiry, applied linguistics has both shaped and been shaped by the various aspects of the practice of language learning and teaching. Given the multiple facets of SL/FL *learning*, applied linguistic theory seems best suited to account for and explain the increasingly complex interaction of theory and practice in language education. However, as will be argued later, it might need to be supplemented with other theories when engaging with SL/FL language *education* in a transnational, global world of plurilingual and pluricultural encounters with varying historicities and subjectivities.

#### DEFINITIONS

##### *Second versus Foreign versus Heritage Languages*

A *second language (SL)* is a language other than the mother tongue, learned in an environment in which that language is the dominant language (e.g., English in the USA, French in France, for immigrants or minority learners), or where the language is an international language of commerce and industry (e.g., English in Korea or Hungary, German in Poland or Russia). The learning of second languages takes place in a variety of formal and informal sites: in schools, in adult classes, and at the workplace. Teaching methodologies and textbooks are published in the target country (e.g., by TESOL in the USA, the Goethe Institute in Germany) and promoted by the target country’s private, public, or

state institutions around the world. Emphasis is on the development of communicative competence and the ability to become a functioning member of a cultural, occupational, or professional community. (see Oxford, *Conditions for Second Language (L2) Learning*, Volume 4)

A *foreign language* (FL) is a language that is learned in an instructional environment or during a temporary sojourn abroad as part of general education or for professional purposes. Instruction is delivered in classrooms and in language media centers with the help of instructional technology. Some scholars make the distinction between (second) language *learning* and (foreign) language *study* or *education*. I shall return to this distinction later. Foreign language teaching guidelines and textbooks are published in the source country (e.g., Spanish is taught in the USA with American textbooks and according to the US foreign language proficiency guidelines; German is taught in France according to the Instructions Ministérielles of the Ministry of Education but also according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Language Learning, Teaching, and Evaluation). These guidelines reflect the goals and values of the source country's educational system.

A *heritage language* (HL) is a language that is learned by members of an ethnic group desirous to reconnect with the culture of their ancestors, for example, Mandarin Chinese or Cantonese, Armenian, Korean, or Spanish for 2nd or 3rd generation American youngsters. At many universities in the USA, courses are offered especially for HL learners, for example, Chinese or Spanish "for native speakers" (see Kagan and Dillon, *Issues in Heritage Language Learning in the United States*, Volume 4). HL-specific teaching methodologies and textbooks are still under development in many languages. They show a desire to validate the knowledge and experience of those who have spoken the language at home and are emotionally attached to forms of the language that are often nonstandard. They also show a tension between teaching an idealized culture of the past (as for Western Armenian or Yiddish), the present culture of a distant country of origin (as in the case of Korean or Spanish), or the present culture of the immigrant communities now in the USA, for example, the culture of Korean-Americans or Latinos. Ancestral languages are also taught in noninstitutional master-apprentice settings, for instance Native American Indians strive to revitalize the language of their tribe by eliciting speech from the elders and learning directly from native speakers through ethnographic field techniques (see Hinton, *Learning and Teaching Endangered Indigenous Languages*, Volume 4).

### *Language Learning versus Language Education*

Both language learning and language education have to do with the process of learning another language, but language learning sees the

learner as a singular individual seeking personal, economic, or professional opportunities whereas language education sees the learner as a student in an educational setting taking a foreign language as one of his/her school subjects. While language learning responds to the needs of immigrants, tourists and professionals or all ages seeking contact with speakers of languages other than their own, language education is inscribed within the schooling career of adolescents and young adults.

In terms of methodology, language learning and language education reflect the historical conditions under which they developed. Language *learning* acquired its institutional and scientific legitimacy with the rise of a multinational capitalistic economy after WWII and the growing spread of English around the world, with the concomitant emergence of applied linguistics as a scientifically recognized field of research. Applied linguistics made the learning of English as a second language (ESL) at schools and universities a legitimate academic pursuit and gave modern languages a legitimate research base (see Tarnopolsky, *Non-native Speaking Teachers of English as a Foreign Language*, Volume 4; Kagan and Dillon, *Issues in Heritage Language Learning in the United States*, Volume 4; Gunnarsson, *Professional Communication*, Volume 4). However, to this day, language learning is fighting for symbolic recognition: ESL is not seen as being at par with other subjects in the academy, and FL learning does not enjoy the same academic prestige as literature study in foreign language and literature departments. Indeed, at some institutions the first year of college FL instruction is sometimes seen as “remedial,” for example, in the case of Spanish in the western and southwestern parts of the USA.

By contrast, language *education* goes back to the days when Greek and Latin were the only languages worthy of academic study. The rise of modern languages in the second half of the nineteenth century was made possible by the rise of a mobile, internationally minded middle-class that relied on education to understand the world and its place in it.

Its academic legitimation was to be found in the then prestigious field of philology, itself made possible by the colonial practices of Western powers and their advances in the study of Sanskrit and other classical languages.

SL/FL education is inherently linked to institutional, moral, and political values that are culture-specific and are linked to the technology of the word. Unlike ESL learning that often takes place on the margins of campuses, foreign language education takes place in the center of campus, often within foreign language and literature departments. It is often seen as a means of gaining a profit of distinction on the market of symbolic exchanges. It is linked to the value of literacy and the high culture of literature and the arts. Because it enables learners

to not only master the linguistic forms of the vernacular, but to grasp the historical and cultural values of the target speech community, foreign language education can also be an aesthetic education that links taste and moral value and expands learners' notion of the good and the beautiful.

As few foreign language learners can afford to go and study abroad, FL education is often insulated from face-to-face contact with native speakers and has to compensate for the lack of an authentic cultural environment through the active use of technology. It makes full use of audio, video, and computer technology to promote distance learning for less commonly taught languages, multimedia programs for virtual cultural immersion, and telecollaboration for native–nonnative speaker exchanges across the globe (see Thorne, *Computer-mediated Communication*, Volume 4; Blake, *Distance Learning for Second and Foreign Language Teaching*, Volume 4; Kern et al., *Network-based Language Teaching*, Volume 4). But because foreign language educators are closer to academic, political, and institutional power than their colleagues in second language learning, they are often less free to experiment with new methodologies and sites of learning.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS: APPLIED LINGUISTIC THEORY AND LANGUAGE LEARNING

Because it emerged in the second half of the twentieth century when the demand for English was growing around the globe for employment and business purposes, much of the research on language learning has focused on the learning of English as a second/foreign language. Its main research focus has been the acquisition of spoken language, pragmatic skills, conversational strategies, and the learning of the conventional written genres—for example, the academic essay, the research report, the job application, and the statement of purpose. Many aspects of ESL pedagogy have been an inspiration for developing the pedagogy of other second languages, for example, Spanish as a second language in Spain, German as a second language in Germany, and foreign language education in general (see Broeder and Martyniuk, *Language Education in Europe: The Common European Framework of Reference*, Volume 4).

The construction of an applied linguistic theory of second language learning has grown out of the empirical research findings of applied linguists studying for example the acquisition of French by Anglophone children in immersion programs in Canada (Swain and Lapkin, 1982), the acquisition of English by immigrant children in American schools (e.g., Wong-Fillmore, 1979), of German by Turkish immigrants to Germany (Pienemann, 1981), the speech act realizations in nonnative speakers' speech or interlanguage pragmatics (Kasper and Rose, 1999), sociolinguistic phenomena in situations of language hybridity

and linguistic crossing in British schools (Rampton, 1995), and the cognitive strategies used by participants in group activities mediated by language (Donato, 2000). These empirical studies have given rise to various theories of language learning, for example, psycholinguistic theory (Larsen-Freeman and Long, 1991), sociolinguistic theory (Rampton, 1995; see also McKay, *Sociolinguistics and Language Education*, Volume 4), cognitive processing theory (Skehan, 1998), pragmatic and conversational analytic theory (Kasper, 2001), socio-cultural theory (Lantolf, 2000), and their concomitant recommendations for pedagogic practice, for example, task-based, activity-based, or participation/collaboration-based pedagogies.

The changes brought about in the last 25 years by the rise of a multinational business class and the explosion of information-processing technologies have transformed English from just another foreign language into the world language of trade and industry. The case of English, more than any other foreign language, is emblematic of the close link between language teaching and the clash of national interests and international power struggles taking place at the present time in the technological, economic, and cultural spheres. These changes have created conditions favorable to the emergence of what has been called a communicative approach to language pedagogy or communicative language teaching (CLT). CLT has imposed itself on the teaching of all foreign languages around the world. It is slowly causing a backlash on the part of some language educators who question the appropriateness of applying to non-Western contexts a pedagogy that was designed within a Western context (Canagarajah, 1999; Lin, 1999).

Unlike language teaching based on philology, CLT has been based on social scientific applied linguistic research. Applied linguistic theory posits that:

1. Language is not primarily a mode of representation of some textual truth, but interpersonal communication; not historical knowledge, but information to be exchanged. The target model is not primarily the truth and accuracy of the written text, but the authenticity and trustworthiness of the native speaker. The purpose of language learning is to communicate with native and other nonnative speakers of the language in a grammatically accurate, pragmatically appropriate and discursively coherent way (Canale and Swain, 1980; Savignon, 1983).
2. The emphasis is on spoken language, the focus is on lexical knowledge and lexicalized grammar, on idiomatic phrases, pre-fabricated chunks, procedural know how, fluency in production, and the skillful management of conversation.
3. Language learning emerges from comprehensible input, interaction, participation and collaboration in authentic contexts of use

- in which meanings are expressed, interpreted and negotiated (see Oxford, *Conditions for Second Language (L2) Learning*, Volume 4).
4. It is a cognitive process of structuring and restructuring knowledge that can be facilitated by a task-based pedagogy (see Pica, *Task-based Instruction*, Volume 4).
  5. The learning and communication strategies of good language learners can and should be taught explicitly.
  6. Pair and group work in a student-centered classroom aimed at collaboratively solving real-world tasks greatly facilitates language learning.

Applied linguistics has enormously enriched the teaching and learning of SL/FL through its careful empirical investigation of the linguistic, cognitive, affective, and social processes at work in an individual's acquisition of a foreign symbolic system, and through its painstaking observations of the way actual speakers and writers, listeners and readers use language for communicative purposes. But what has it contributed to *SL/FL education*?

#### WORK IN PROGRESS: APPLIED LINGUISTIC THEORY AND SL/FL EDUCATION

CLT has had a considerable impact on SL/FL education, especially English, in countries around the world through institutional, national and international guidelines. In the USA, this impact has been informed less by applied linguistic theory, but by a proficiency-oriented methodology that is used in US government language schools (American Council for the Teaching of Foreign Languages, 1986) or by an ESL methodology that has been extended to the teaching of other languages. This methodology has generally assumed a rather harmonious and symmetrical relationship between native and nonnative speakers and a willingness to cooperate in the negotiation of meanings. It has not taken into consideration what language education also has to deal with, namely: cultural and moral conflicts, historical incompatibilities, identity politics, and the struggle for symbolic recognition. To explain these social and cultural aspects of language education, researchers have had to draw on social and cultural theories like those of Bhaskar and Habermas (Corson, 1997), Marx and Foucault (e.g., Canagarajah, 1999), Bourdieu (e.g., Lin, 1999; see also Norton, *Identity, Language Learning, and Critical Pedagogies*, Volume 6), and Butler (Ibrahim, 1999), and on the educational theories of Bakhtin and Vygotsky (e.g., Lantolf, 2000), thus creating a strand of socioculturally aware applied linguistics (Fairclough, 1992; Pennycook, 2001). It has also drawn on Halliday's functional systemic linguistics and its applications to language education. Indeed, critical applied linguistic theory has had a substantial impact on second language

literacy education in secondary schools in Australia and is slowly beginning to have an impact on foreign language education at the postsecondary level in the USA (Byrnes and Hiram, 2003; Kern, 2000).

The impact of applied linguistic theory has been felt in secondary and collegiate FL education at the beginning levels of instruction. At colleges and universities, the fact that much of language education has become de facto language learning has exacerbated the split between language studies and literary/cultural studies in foreign languages and literature departments (Byrnes and Hiram, 2003). But at the more advanced levels, the potential benefits of a socioculturally aware applied linguistics are becoming more apparent both for the undergraduates who are increasingly interested in issues of language rather than literature, and for the graduate student instructors in search of educational, rather than merely communicative, goals for their teaching.

This is where applied linguistic theory can be of use by offering theoretically validated tools of inquiry. These can enable learners to:

1. Critically approach texts, understand their textuality and the intertextualities they afford (e.g., Bazerman and Prior, 2004; Widdowson, 2004);
2. Understand the link between culture, ideology and identity, language and power (e.g., Norton and Toohey, 2004; Pennycook, 2001; Schieffelin, Woolard, and Kroskrity, 1998);
3. Understand the link between grammatical choice and authorial style (e.g., Ivanic, 1998);
4. Make connections between various symbolic systems (across languages, across modalities) and their meaning potential (e.g., Kress, 2003);
5. Appreciate the importance of genre in all its forms, including the literary;
6. Become critically aware of the relation between socialization and acquisition in SL/FL education (Kramersch, 2002).

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

### *Research Issues*

In the wake of geopolitical changes without precedent—the explosion of information technologies, a global market causing global migrations and increasingly plurilingual and pluricultural societies—researchers in applied linguistics are confronted with a series of issues that they didn't have to confront in the fifties or sixties. The first is: What is the link between language and culture? And what is culture: a way of life, an ideology, a discourse, a national history? To what extent does the learning of a language entail an acculturation into in a specific way of life and

specific ideological values? Even though an international language like English is not seen to belong to any particular culture, it is still linked historically to British or American imperialism, or at least to economic globalization and its neoliberal ideology. The question of culture in language education is particularly urgent for teachers of English (Pennycook, 2001), but also for FL educators (Kramsch, 1993). The difficulty in researching the issue of language and culture in a positively inclined field like applied linguistics is that there is no culture-neutral place from where to examine it and that it intersects with moral, religious and political interests, which makes objective research with universally recognized research findings a difficult enterprise.

A second research issue is: What is the link between language and social/cultural identity? What is the ultimate goal of language learning and language education: Socialization? Understanding of self? General education? Job opportunities? In the case of immigrants learning the language of the host country, it can no longer be assumed that all learners want to blend into the host society and relinquish their ethnic, social and cultural identity (see Norton, *Identity, Language Learning, and Critical Pedagogies*, Volume 6). In the case of FL education, issues of identity have not been as salient as in SL learning, because learners have been assumed to be well-established in their national and social identity, but recently questions of learner identity have been posed at the institutional level. What are educational institutions preparing language learners to be: regional community members? national citizens? global citizens? Even in countries that have national education systems, there is a great deal of debate about what kinds of citizens nation-states want to educate through their educational institutions (Kramsch, Howell, Warner, and Wellmon, 2007) Applied linguists are called upon to testify in political circles as to the value of learning languages other than the national language.

Other difficult issues in applied linguistics include: How should foreign language education be framed within plurilingual/pluricultural environments, for example, the European Union (see Broeder and Martyniuk, *Language Education in Europe: The Common European Framework of Reference*, Volume 4)? How should language learning technologies be theorized, beyond their attractive use to teach languages in authentic contexts (see Winke and Fei, *Computer-assisted Language Assessment*, Volume 4; Thorne, *Computer-mediated Communication*, Volume 4). Notions like authenticity, historicity and communication become problematic in electronic environments where the axes of time and space have been redefined. Finally: How should the outcomes of SL/FL learning and education be defined, measured and evaluated fairly and in a valid and reliable manner? To find answers to all these questions applied linguists are increasingly turning to poststructuralist, ecological theories

of language, culture and learning (see Kramersch and Steffensen, *Ecological Perspectives on Second Language Acquisition and Socialization*, Volume 8).

### *The Limits of Applied Linguistics in SL/FL Education*

The field of applied linguistics has traditionally had more to do with language learning than with language education, in part because it has been based on psycholinguistic research that has studied universals of second language acquisition rather than culture-specific modes of learning. As a respected branch of the social sciences, it has developed an authority in the field of language education because of its scientifically attested findings. But what is pedagogically valid for the teaching of English in Japan might not be appropriate for the teaching of Chinese or Arabic in the USA, for example.

Furthermore, language education includes more than just the acquisition of communicative competence. Education in FL literacy, as well as in the appreciation of social, literary, and cultural traditions, requires educators to draw on other fields than applied linguistics in its original sense. Applied linguistic theory must be supplemented by educational theory, aesthetic theory, literary theory, and even political theory to deal with all facets of FL education. The difficulty for the researcher is that FL education straddles the social and the human sciences, which have quite different research paradigms and methods of inquiry.

### *Critical Appraisal and Future Directions*

Today, globalization is presenting a challenge of unprecedented scope for SL/FL educators. What should they prepare youngsters for in a world that is increasingly diverse, changing, plurilingual and pluricultural, and where language is increasingly misused, even abused by politicians, pundits and marketing strategists alike? The notion of “textual competence” was well-suited to the *national* need for law and order in the public sphere. “Communicative competence” was appropriate for the *international* demand for smoother economic transactions and exchanges of information. But neither seems to be sufficient in a *global* world where symbolic, historical, cultural and ideological values are taking on ever greater importance. What can applied linguistics offer SL/FL education in global times?

Applied Linguistics can serve as the theoretical basis for a socially and culturally aware language education. Today, miscommunication might occur not because two interlocutors make imperfect use of the English language, but because one considers himself to be superior to the other while the other sees him as his equal (i.e., they don't share

the same symbolic reality); one comes from a country that used to be a colony of the other, or was at war with the other (i.e., they have different views of history); one might say something that evokes bad stereotypes in the mind of the other, for example, he might be heard as being condescending when he intended to be friendly, she might sound deceitful when she wanted to be tactful, he might come across as aggressive when he was trying hard to be truthful (i.e., they have different cultural values); they might mean different things even as they use the same words (i.e., their words conceal different ideologies). It is said that the more a language is used in a variety of contexts by native and nonnative speakers who have nothing in common (no common history, no common point of reference, no common worldview), the more they have to restrict themselves to the immediate task at hand. Such a view is predicated on the assumption of a common purpose for the task, but in a global world interlocutors must be ready to negotiate not only how to complete the task, but how to define the very nature and purpose of the task itself.

Nowadays, rather than communicative strategies, language learners might need much more subtle semiotic tactics, that draw on a multiplicity of perceptual clues to make and convey meaning. These tactics are especially necessary in situations where power, status and speaking rights are unequally distributed and where ideology superimposes itself on referential meanings. SL/FL learners need to understand the different historical experiences evoked by the words spoken and the different subjective resonances that the memory of these experiences elicits in the participants in cross-cultural encounters. A socially and culturally aware applied linguistic theory can show nonnative speakers not only how to make themselves understood linguistically, but how to position themselves in the world, that is, find a place for themselves historically and subjectively on the global market of symbolic exchanges.

*See Also:* Claire Kramsch and Sune Vork Steffensen: *Ecological Perspectives on Second Language Acquisition and Socialization (Volume 8)*; Matthew C. Bronson and Karen Watson-Gegeo: *The Critical Moment: Language Socialization and the (Re)visioning of First and Second Language Learning (Volume 8)*

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## SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND LANGUAGE EDUCATION

### INTRODUCTION

Sociolinguistics is concerned with the relationship between language use and social variables. One of the major debates in the field of sociolinguistics is whether to take social or linguistic factors as primary in investigating this relationship. As evidence of this debate, Wardhaugh (1992) and others make a distinction between *sociolinguistics* and the *sociology of language*. Whereas sociolinguistics takes linguistic factors as primary in its investigations of language and society, the sociology of language investigates the manner in which social and political forces influence language use. Trauth and Kazzazi (1996) in the *Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics* make a similar distinction, noting that sociolinguistics can have either a sociological or linguistic orientation. The dictionary, however, adds a third possibility, namely, an ethnomethodological orientation. Hence, three areas of sociolinguistic investigation are delineated:

- (a) A primarily sociologically oriented approach concerned predominantly with the norms of language use (When and for what purpose does somebody speak what kind of language or what variety with whom?) . . .
- (b) A primarily linguistically oriented approach that presumes linguistic systems to be in principle heterogeneous, though structured, when viewed within sociological parameters. . .
- (c) An ethnomethodologically oriented approach with linguistic interaction as the focal point, which studies the ways in which members of a society create social reality and rule-ordered behaviour. (p. 439)

In this chapter, sociolinguistics is viewed as composed of all three areas listed earlier. The chapter shows how all three strands have contributed to a field of inquiry that has significant implications for language education.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Many contend that early work in sociolinguistics was sociologically uninformed, concentrating primarily on an analysis of language structure (Fishman, 1968; LePage, 1997). A major exception to this

characterization occurred in 1968 with the publication of Fishman's (1968) seminal book, *Readings in the Sociology of Language*. In this collection of studies on the relationship between language and society, Fishman (1968), argued for the benefit of a greater emphasis on the social aspects of language use. He maintained that it was only natural that since society was broader than language, social structures should provide the primary focus of sociolinguistic studies. Ultimately, Fishman argued that sociologists and linguists would both gain from developing a robust interdisciplinary field. Sociologists could arrive at some reliable linguistic indicators of social class and demonstrate how the diversity inherent in language use is patterned. Linguists, on the other hand, might come to discover that what appears to be free variation in language use is in fact socially patterned.

One of Fishman's major criticisms of early fieldwork in linguistics was that it was devoid of a theoretical orientation. He questioned the value of linguistic fieldwork that provided an extensive inventory of the patterns of use of a single informant without any theoretical justification. His criticism was largely directed at early work in geographical dialectology, which tended to investigate the language use of older uneducated informants in rural areas. LePage (1997) also criticized early work in dialectology, maintaining that it tended to assume a static social structure. In his view, early dialectologists mistakenly focused on finding reasons for language change in the language use of their rural informants rather than assuming that language diversity was the base line.

The study of geographical dialectologists has a long history, beginning in the nineteenth century with historical-comparative linguistics. One of the earliest and most intensive investigations of geographical dialects in the USA was Kurath, Hanley, Bloch, and Lowman (1939–1943), whose fieldwork resulted in a comprehensive linguistic atlas of New England. More recently, a comprehensive fieldwork project of American regional dialects led by Cassidy (1985) resulted in a *Dictionary of American Regional Dialects*. In both projects, a large number of fieldworkers were employed to interview individuals of various communities and age groups to map out specific features of dialect regions.

The belief that sociolinguistics should give greater emphasis to the social aspect of language use was shared by Hymes, who argued that researchers interested in describing how language is used need to consider the context in which particular interactions take place and how this context affects the interaction. Specifically, Hymes (1972) maintained that the following four questions must be raised in analyzing language use.

1. Whether (and to what degree) something is formally *possible*;
2. Whether (and to what degree) something is *feasible* in virtue of the means of implementation available;
3. Whether (and to what degree) something is *appropriate* (adequate, happy, successful) in relation to a context in which it is used and evaluated;
4. Whether (and to what degree) something is in fact done, actually *performed*, and what its doing entails. [emphasis in original] (p. 281).

These questions have significant implications for language education since, they suggest that language education should examine standards of correctness in relation to language use and address issues of language appropriateness.

A concern with the social context of language use was also evident in the controversial work of Bernstein (1971), who examined early language socialization. Based on his research in England, he maintained that particular family structures tend to foster a closed communication system that results in the development of a *restricted code* in which there is a great deal of assumed background knowledge. On the other hand, some family structures promote an open communication system that results in an *elaborated code* where the speaker assumes that the audience needs to be supplied with necessary background knowledge. Bernstein contended that children who have access to the latter code have greater chances of success in formal educational contexts.

The work of Fishman, Hymes, Bernstein, and others, which challenged investigations that assumed a static linguistic situation, were brought about to a large extent by an interest in urban rather than rural dialectology. Linguistic communities were viewed as heterogeneous with languages and language varieties coming into regular contact. Emphasis was now placed on linguistic diversity. The new emphasis on linguistic diversity resulted in investigations of language variation, language contact, and language change.

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

### *Language Variation*

One of the major contributors to modern sociolinguists is William Labov. Labov's work provided a significant shift in how sociolinguists approached linguistic variation. His MA thesis entitled *The Social Motivation of a Sound Change*, published in Word in 1963, was based on work he did in the resort area of Martha's Vineyard. In this study, he demonstrated how linguistic variation served as a means for individuals to mark their identity as natives of the area as opposed to summer

visitors. Labov's most important contribution came from his doctoral thesis, published in 1966 and titled *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*.

In this study, Labov worked with a random sample of New Yorkers from the Lower East Side stratified into four socioeconomic classes based on occupation, income, and education. He investigated to what extent variables like *ing* vary in how they are pronounced based on an individual's socioeconomic class. Using interview data, Labov mapped the percentage of time that speakers dropped their *gs* (using "in" rather than "ing") in casual speech, careful speech, and reading style. What he found was a consistent pattern of the lower-working class using the reduced form more than the upper-middle class. However, like the upper-middle class, the lower-working class had a lower frequency in their use of the reduced form in the reading style than in the casual speech.

What was significant in Labov's study was that he drew on natural data to quantify the existence of particular linguistic variants among specific groups of individuals. He then used this information to write a variable rule that described general tendencies in the use of a particular variant like *ing*. The quantities he used were not based on individual use of a variant, but rather on the mean score for a social group. His methodology was highly innovative in that he used naturalistic speech to make generalizations regarding linguistic variation. Even more importantly, the generalizations he made from this data demonstrated the relative frequency of a particular linguistic feature rather than the mere presence or absence of this feature.

During the 1950s and 1960s, Labov's work in developing variable rules that characterize the use of a particular linguistic feature in a specific social group was applied to the Black community in the USA. In 1965, Labov with Cohen and Robins carried out a study for the US Office of Education and Welfare on the structure of English used among Black American and Puerto Rican speakers in New York City. In a later study, Labov (1969) developed a variable deletion rule to account for the deletion of the copula (e.g., the man rich) among the speech of Harlem street gangs. An interest in delineating the features of a Black English Vernacular led to many investigations in the 1960s such as the studies undertaken by Stewart (1964) and Wolfram (1969). More recently, there has been a vigorous debate over the role that African-American Vernacular English (AAVE) or Ebonics should play in the schools, with some arguing that it should be recognized and promoted in its own right as a legitimate variety of English and others arguing that the role of the school should be to replace this variety of English with Standard American English (see Rickford, 1996). There has also been continuing research on teachers' attitudes toward AAVE (see e.g., Blake & Cutler, 2003).

*Language Contact*

Another area of sociolinguistics that has been investigated in recent years is language contact and the development of pidgins and creoles. Pidgins came into being through the interaction of individuals who have minimal needs to communicate with one another and no shared language. Typically, they develop in coastal areas for trade or forced labor purposes. Because pidgins are used for limited communication between speakers, they typically have a simple vocabulary and uncomplicated morphological and syntactic structure. In general, the language of the economically and politically more powerful group provides the lexicon (the superstrate language) and the less powerful (the substrate language) the syntactic and phonological structure. Technically, a *creole* is a pidgin that has native speakers, namely children of pidgin speakers who grow up using the pidgin as their first language. Because the code is now the only language the speaker has available, the lexicon expands and the syntactic structure becomes more complex.

Rickford and McWhorter (1997) provide several reasons why theoretical linguists, sociolinguists, and educators should be interested in pidgins and creoles. First, pidgins and creoles demonstrate the manner in which sociohistorical issues such as trade and enslavement can influence language development. Second, pidgins and creoles provide important data for investigating sociolinguistic variation and change in that they illustrate the manner in which language variation is related to social class, power, and identity. Third, pidgins and creoles raise important issues in applied sociolinguistics and language planning such as the feasibility and desirability of using them as languages of instruction. Finally, investigations of pidgins and creoles often produce what Rickford and McWhorter term “fractious energy” in that creolists are consistently arguing about theories and subtheories to account for the origin and development of pidgins and creoles. (For a thorough discussion of the development of creoles and other new languages, see Mufwene, 2001.)

One of the major pedagogical issues surrounding the use of pidgins and creoles is to what extent they should be used in a classroom. In some contexts, creoles are used in initial literacy instruction under the assumption that early education is most successful if it is conducted in the child’s first language. However, there is great resistance to this option, particularly when a standardized version of the superstrate language exists in the same region, as it does, for example, in Hawaii. Often this resistance develops from negative attitudes toward the pidgin and creole rather than on any linguistic basis. In response to such negative attitudes, Hawaiian educators have been instrumental in undertaking a successful revitalization of Hawaiian creole (see also Hinton, *Learning and Teaching Endangered Indigenous Languages*, Volume 4).

An interest in language contact has also led to investigations of the language use of bilingual individuals and communities. Ferguson (1959) coined the term *diglossia* to describe the situation of a community in which most of the population is bilingual and the two codes serve different purposes. The term was originally used by Ferguson to describe a context in which two varieties of the same language are used by people of that community for different purposes. Normally one variety, termed the *high or H variety*, is acquired in an educational context and used by the community in more formal domains such as in churches or universities. The other variety, termed the *low or L variety*, is acquired in the home, and used in informal domains like the home or social center to communicate with family and friends. As examples of diglossia, Ferguson pointed to situations like the use of classical and colloquial Arabic in Egypt or the use of Standard German and Swiss German in Switzerland. Later, Fishman (1972) generalized the meaning of diglossia to include the use of two separate languages within one country in which one language is used primarily for formal purposes and the other for more informal purposes. The expansion of the meaning of the term made it applicable to countries where English is one of the official languages such as South Africa, Singapore, and India. In these countries, English often assumes the role of what Ferguson calls the high variety being used in formal contexts with the other languages of the country used in informal domains. The term has also been applied to countries like Peru where the indigenous language, Quechua, is used by many in informal contexts while Spanish serves the functions of a high variety.

Investigations have also been undertaken on the code-switching behavior of bilinguals. One of the main questions addressed in research on code switching is what leads a bilingual to shift from one language to another. In answer to this question, Blom and Gumperz (1972) posit two types of code switching. The first is *situational code switching* in which the speaker changes codes in response to a change in the situation such as a change in the setting or the speakers involved in the conversation. The second type is *metaphorical code switching* in which the shift in languages has a stylistic or textual function to mark a change in emphasis or tone. Some, like Poplack (1980) and Singh (1996), maintain that code switching is closely related to language proficiency. Singh, in fact, argues that this relationship can be summarized in the following aphorism: "A strong bilingual switches only when he wants to and a weak one when he has to" (p. 73).

One of the most comprehensive theories of code switching is that of Myers-Scotton (1993). She explains code switching in terms of a theory of rights and obligations. She proposed a markedness model of code switching, which assumes that speakers in a multilingual

context have a sense of which code is the expected code to use in a particular situation. This is termed the *unmarked* code. However, speakers can also choose to use the *marked* code. Myers-Scotton suggests several reasons why a speaker might make this choice as, for example, to increase social distance, to avoid an overt display of ethnicity, or for an aesthetic effect. In multilingual communities in which English has an official status, English is often the unmarked code in formal educational contexts. When the other languages are used in the classroom, they are often the marked choice chosen to signal such things as anger or social intimacy.

Studies in language contact have several implications for the teaching and learning of another language. Research in creoles has demonstrated that such variants are highly patterned and inherently equal to other variants of a language. However, because they have less social prestige in contexts in which a more standardized version of the language exists, students will be at a disadvantage by not learning the prestige form.

Studies on code switching have illustrated the regularity of code-switching behavior and the purposes that code switching can serve for bilinguals. Given the many contexts today where English is used as one of the additional languages within a country, more research is needed regarding how individuals make use of English in reference to the other languages they speak. Such research will be valuable in establishing classroom objectives that complement the students' use of English within their own speech community. In addition, in classrooms in multilingual contexts where the teacher shares a first language with the students, teachers need to carefully consider how they can best make use of their students' first language to further their competency in a target language.

### *Language Change and Language Standards*

One common effect of language contact is language change. In such cases, the various languages used within a multilingual context may undergo phonological, lexical, and grammatical changes as bilinguals make use of two or more languages on a regular basis. This situation is occurring in many countries today where English has an official role in the society as in India or South Africa. It is also occurring in countries where English is widely studied and used such as in many Scandinavian countries.

Many studies have been undertaken to determine the types of grammatical changes that are occurring in various multilingual contexts in which English plays a significant role (see, e.g., Kachru, 2005). Frequently, researchers begin by examining a written corpus of English

of a particular multilingual context to determine what kinds of grammatical innovations exist and how acceptable these structures are to both native speakers of English and local speakers of English. In general, when investigations of language change use a written corpus of published English, only very minor grammatical differences are found (see, e.g., Parasher, 1994).

Often the kinds of grammatical changes that occur tend to be minor differences such as variation in what is considered to be a countable noun (e.g., the standard use of *luggages* in the use of English in the Philippines and the use of *furnitures* in Nigeria) and the creation of new phrasal verbs (e.g., the use of *dismissing off* in the use of English in India and *discuss about* in Nigeria). In contexts in which such features become codified and recognized as standard within that social context there arises what Kachru (1986) has termed a *nativized variety* of English.

What is perhaps most puzzling in the development of alternate grammatical standards in the use of English is the fact that whereas lexical innovation is often accepted as part of language change, this tolerance is generally not extended to grammatical innovation. In Widdowson's (1994) view, the reason for this lack of tolerance for grammatical variation is because grammar takes on another value, namely that of expressing a social identity. Hence, when grammatical standards are challenged they challenge the security of the community and institutions that support these standards.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

A good deal of current work in sociolinguistics falls under what was referred to in the opening of the chapter as an ethnomethodologically oriented approach to the field of sociolinguistics with linguistic interaction as the focal point. Work in linguistic interaction began as a reaction to Chomsky's (1957) focus on the language of an idealized speaker–listener in a homogeneous speech community with complete knowledge of the language. This notion was challenged by Hymes (1974) who insisted that studies on language use should strive to account for the communicative competence of a native speaker of a language. Gumperz (1982) also challenged Chomsky's notion of an idealized speaker in a homogeneous speech community arguing instead that language use in a speech community is influenced by social and cultural factors. Gumperz's studies on communication between Blacks and Whites in the USA and between Indians and British in England demonstrated how differences in language use among speech communities can cause misunderstandings leading to racial and ethnic stereotypes and inequalities in power.

The work of Rampton (1995, 1997) has taken the debate about linguistic diversity one step further. He maintains that globalization, as well as late/post modernity (a term he prefers to postmodernism), warrants a fresh look at the issues important to sociolinguistics and second language (L2) research. He contends that while current sociolinguistic research assumes that neither language nor societies are homogeneous, “when it meets diversity and variation, one of its strongest instincts is to root out what it supposes to be orderliness and uniformity beneath the surface, an orderliness laid down during early socialization” (Rampton, 1997, p. 330).

Rampton believes that the time has come for sociolinguists to challenge the notion that societies are compact and systematic entities and instead to recognize the heterogeneity and fluidity of modern states. In keeping with much of the discourse of postmodernism, he argues persuasively that sociolinguistics should give more attention to investigating issues related to fragmentation, marginality, and hybridity and recognize that “being marginal is actually a crucial experience of late modernity. Being neither on the inside nor the outside, being affiliated but not fully belonging, is said to be a normal condition . . .” (Rampton, 1997, p. 330).

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

### *Future Directions*

As a way of addressing Rampton’s claim that current applied linguistics research is out of touch with issues of late modernity, further research is needed that investigates linguistic diversity without preconceived ideas about native speakers and language standards. Such research should examine how particular varieties of language illustrate the fluidity of modern society. This type of research is presently underway in investigations of English as a lingua franca (ELF) negotiations, in which the speakers are neither insiders (i.e., so-called native speakers) nor outsiders in that they are users of English (see Seidlhofer, 2004, for a review of ELF research). It is exactly these kinds of interactions that exemplify the marginality of present-day interactions.

In its ongoing effort to add to existing knowledge on the relationship between sociolinguistics and language education, educational sociolinguistics will continue to face major methodological issues (e.g., gaining access to educational sites, obtaining naturally occurring data, and implementing human protocol guidelines) as well as sociopolitical issues (e.g., convincing policy makers to implement sociolinguistically sound educational programs even though they may not have popular support).

*Pedagogical Implications*

The previous discussion on language variation, language contact, and language change has several implications for second language classrooms. First, L2 pedagogy should be informed by sociolinguistic research on linguistic variation. As was demonstrated earlier, the manner in which individuals use a language will often vary based on geographical region, social class, and ethnicity. For L2 learners of any language, but particularly languages with wide geographical reach such as English and Spanish, it is important for teachers to develop materials that will raise students' awareness of such differences and to help them understand the manner in which these differences serve to indicate membership in a particular speech community.

Second, the teaching of standards should be based on sociolinguistic insights regarding language contact and language change. As was discussed previously, language contact will inevitably result in language change. Since today many individuals are using English in contact with other languages on a daily basis, their use of English is changing, and they are in the process of establishing their own standards of English grammar and pronunciation. In general, research on these emerging varieties of English indicates that the codified and accepted standard of English that exists in these communities has few differences with other standard varieties of English. The situation of multiple standards, however, is important not just for English but for many other widely used languages. Hence, it is important for L2 teachers to recognize the integrity of the varieties of the language they teach, to realize that they are important sources of personal identity and signs of the fluidity of late modernity, and to not promote negative attitudes toward such varieties.

**See Also:** *Rebecca Oxford: Conditions for Second Language (L2) Learning (Volume 4); Oleg Tarnopolsky: Nonnative Speaking Teachers of English as a Foreign Language (Volume 4)*

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## INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES IN SECOND AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING

### INTRODUCTION

This chapter is concerned with the role that individual differences play in second (or foreign) language learning, and focusses attention on four classes of variables that have received considerable research attention over the years. One reason for limiting it to four, other than space limitations, is that these variables can be linked theoretically as well as empirically to individual differences in second language achievement. The four classes of variables include language aptitude, attitudes and motivation, language anxiety and language-learning strategies. Clearly, other variables could be added to this list, but these seem to be among the most frequently investigated and discussed in the research literature. In preparation for an earlier edition of this encyclopaedia, a computer survey was conducted of three data bases, *Linguistics and Language Behavior Abstracts*, *ERIC* and *Psyclit* to determine the research conducted on a number of different factors that have been shown to correlate with measures of second language proficiency, and these four were the most popular (see Clément and Gardner, 2001, for a summary of these results).

In the following overview, each of the four categories of variables will be considered in terms of history, and major contributions and current research. In subsequent sections, problems and difficulties and future directions will be considered in general terms since the issues involved seem to be appropriate to all the categories.

### LANGUAGE APTITUDE

#### *History*

Language aptitude is a term that has been used to identify those ability characteristics that influence how well individuals can learn a second language. Initially, research was concerned with the role that intelligence played in second language learning, but in the early 1920s, researchers became dissatisfied with the prediction attainable with measures of intelligence, and instead focussed their attention on special prognosis tests. In this period, there were a number of such tests published, and these tests made use of sample language-learning tasks,

translation tests, measures of verbal ability, and the like in order to predict achievement, with little regard for explaining why these measures did predict achievement.

### *Major Contributions and Current Research*

The modern day era began in 1959 when Carroll and Sapon published the *Modern Language Aptitude Test* (MLAT), which attempted to measure abilities that seemed to be involved in language learning. This test developed from a series of studies that investigated the factor structure of verbal ability measures hypothesized to be related to achievement in a second language. Based on this research, Carroll and Sapon (1959) proposed that achievement in a second language was influenced by four different abilities, *phonetic coding*, *grammatical sensitivity*, *rote memory* and *inductive language-learning ability*, each of which was measured in the MLAT. There have been translations and adaptations of the MLAT or parts of it into French, Hungarian, Italian and Japanese, and we have also seen the development of other measures, identified with such interesting acronyms as EMLAT, PLAB, DLAB, VORD and CANAL-FT. A recent article by Kiss and Nikolov (2005) discusses much of this research, reviews conceptual issues in the area and presents research on the development of a language aptitude test for 12-year-old Hungarian children. The general rationale underlying all of these measures is not that different from what was used in the development of the MLAT or the earlier prognosis tests, and the major focus has been on the prediction of achievement in the language.

There is now a new wave underway, where it is proposed that interest should not be on the prediction of success, but rather the identification of underlying processes, and that attention should be directed towards cognitive factors linked to specific language-learning processes or phases. For example, Skehan (1998) proposed that the concept of language aptitude should be linked directly with psycholinguistic processes involved in language learning. Using his information processing model, he distinguished between three stages, input, central processing and output. This theme has been expanded in recent research, and it is now hypothesized that different cognitive abilities might play distinct roles in different stages and settings. That is, different cognitive abilities might be implicated in formal versus informal acquisition contexts, early versus later stages of language learning and regular versus immersion language-learning contexts and so on.

Much of the theoretical underpinning of this approach is provided in an edited book by Robinson (2001) with chapters on theoretical issues associated with cognition and second language learning and their implications for instruction. In a recent review of the literature, Robinson

(2005) identifies ten basic cognitive abilities that could play different roles, depending on the stage and context of language learning, and reviews many different studies focussing on these issues. The implications of this approach and this type of research are important because it might well open the possibility of developing language-teaching techniques that are appropriate for particular cognitive abilities at different stages of language learning and different contexts.

## ATTITUDES AND MOTIVATION

### *History*

Attitudes and motivation are often treated together, which is quite meaningful given that attitudes have motivational properties and motivation has attitudinal implications. Within this general area, it is possible to distinguish between two classes of attitude variables, *educational* and *social*, and two classes of motivational variables, *general* and *task-centred*.

Social attitudes were considered by Arsenian (1945) who raised questions about the role of attitudes towards the other language group and bilingual development, by Nida (1956) who hypothesized that one individual's difficulty with learning a second language originated in his strong own-culture identification, and by Lambert (1955) who proposed that extreme levels of proficiency could be due to favourable attitudes towards the other community. Educational attitudes were reflected in studies, such as that by Jordan (1941) who developed measures of attitudes towards five school subjects, including French, and found that attitudes towards the subject matter were related to achievement.

General motivation was discussed by Marckwardt (1948) in the first article in the inaugural issue of *Language Learning*. He proposed that there were five motives for learning a second language: (a) assimilation of an ethnic minority, (b) the promotion of trade and commerce, (c) scientific and technical usefulness, (d) self-cultural development, and (e) maintenance of ethnic identity of a linguistic minority. A more educationally relevant and task-centred motivation was proposed by Dunkel (1948) who focussed on reactions to the language-learning context, emphasizing the kind and the intensity of a student's motivation.

### *Major Contributions and Current Research*

The modern day era for this research began in 1959 when Gardner and Lambert demonstrated that two factors, linguistic (language) aptitude and motivation, were related to achievement in a second language. A

series of studies followed and led in turn to the development of the socio-educational model of second language acquisition and the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB) (see Gardner, 1985).

The socio-educational model of second language acquisition proposes that six classes of variables (language aptitude, motivation, attitudes towards the learning situation, integrativeness, language anxiety and an instrumental orientation) play roles in second language acquisition, but that motivation and language aptitude are the dominant variables. Research using the AMTB has demonstrated that attitudes, motivation and language anxiety were related to second language achievement, classroom behaviour, dropping out of language study and participation in bicultural excursion studies. It has also been shown that there are changes in these attributes as a function of bicultural excursion programmes, regular language programmes and intensive language programmes (see, e.g. Gardner, 1985).

A major assumption underlying the model is that learning another language involves adopting aspects of another language community, and thus the student's attitudes towards the target language community and other communities in general, as well as an interest in learning the language for integrative reasons will influence the individual's level of motivation. This openness to other cultures is referred to as integrativeness, and this construct distinguishes this model from more educationally based ones. Other models that incorporate integrativeness or something similar are the social context model, the intergroup model and acculturation theory (for descriptions, see Gardner, 1985).

The 'current era' began in 1991 when Crookes and Schmidt called for expanding the research horizon, making it more education-friendly. There followed a lively debate on the best way to characterize motivation that appeared in the 1994–1995 issues of the *Modern Language Journal*. One attempt to do so (Tremblay and Gardner, 1995) resulted in the conclusion that alternative ways of conceiving motivation could be incorporated into the socio-educational model of second language acquisition without any loss of generality. Current research based on this model has also demonstrated that many of the attributes assessed by the AMTB are not trait-like as claimed by some researchers, but can change over the year, and moreover, that these changes are moderated by the final grades in the course (Gardner, Masgoret, Tennant and Mihic, 2004).

Other research is more concerned with focussing on constructs closely related to general psychology and with studying features associated with motivation and its potential causes rather than with explaining differences in achievement in the language. For example,

MacIntyre, Dörnyei, Clément and Noels (1998) have proposed a model unifying constructs from many of these models. It comprises 12 variables arranged in six layers beginning with the social and individual context and culminating in communication behaviour. The ultimate goal in this model is willingness to communicate, not achievement in the language.

Dörnyei (2001) also reviews many past and current models, and proposes that more attention should be directed towards what goes on in the language classroom and in changes over time. He considers this a more educationally friendly approach to the issue of motivation and second language learning, and proposes ways for teachers to promote motivation. Some of these models also incorporate the concept of integrativeness, and Dörnyei considers that notion to be important, though in recent research he redefines it in terms of perceptions of the self and ideal self (see, e.g. Csizér and Dörnyei, 2005).

## LANGUAGE ANXIETY

### *History*

The concept of language anxiety is considered in many of the models of motivation and language learning. For example, it is viewed as one of the classes of variables in the socio-educational model of second language acquisition, and as a (negative) component of confidence in the language in the social context model. It has also been studied as a variable in its own right. Measures of audience anxiety were included in some of the earlier studies of individual differences in second language learning (e.g. Gardner and Lambert, 1959) whereas general measures such as test anxiety and manifest anxiety were the major focus in other research. In some instances, the results were equivocal, and for a time it was believed that anxiety might have both a facilitating and debilitating effect on second language acquisition. Subsequent research has indicated, however, that any effects that are obtained tend to be debilitating.

### *Major Contributions and Current Research*

A number of tests of language anxiety have been developed. Measures of French Class Anxiety and French Use Anxiety are subscales of the AMTB (Gardner, 1985). Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope (1986) developed the Foreign Language Class Anxiety scale (FLCAS), claiming that such anxiety is a composite of communication apprehension, social

evaluation and test anxiety. MacIntyre and Gardner (1994) developed three measures of French Anxiety that focussed on anxiety associated with input, processing and output, respectively. They demonstrated that anxiety aroused at any of these three stages could have an effect at that stage, and proposed that such findings had implications for any procedures concerned with reducing the effects of language anxiety. That is, input anxiety was negatively associated with performance associated with the learning of new language material, processing anxiety was negatively related to performance on language-processing tasks, and output anxiety was negatively related to language production. In addition, scores on each of the measures were highly related to measures of language classroom anxiety and language use anxiety from the AMTB, and the FLCAS.

In the social context model, Clément (1980) proposed that the antithesis of language anxiety, self-confidence with the language, developed from successful interactions with the second language and that achievement in a second language was dependent on the self-confidence that resulted. Clément and Kruidenier (1985) demonstrated that a measure of self-confidence with English (as a second language) was in fact linked directly with language anxiety. In other research, MacIntyre and Gardner (1989) found that language anxiety was relatively independent of general anxiety. Thus, it would seem that language anxiety develops from experiences in the acquisition of a second language, and once developed, this anxiety inhibits subsequent learning of the language. Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope (1986) note that language anxiety includes both negative affect that could impair learning, and beliefs and expectations about proficiency that could impair performance.

Recent research has tended to focus attention on the elements of the construct, language anxiety and its correlates more often than with the prediction of achievement. For example, Bailey, Onwuegbuzie and Daley (2000) found that students with high levels of input, processing and output anxiety tended to be older, to have high levels of academic achievement, and lowered expectations about their performance in the course, and they report that these findings were similar to another study they conducted where the FLCAS was the measure of anxiety. Other studies have investigated different forms of language anxiety, such as Foreign Language Reading Anxiety and Foreign Language Listening Anxiety. Still other studies have questioned whether language anxiety is language specific, or whether it might generalize to other languages. That is, an individual studying two languages would be expected to experience equal amounts of anxiety in both. Still other research has considered the possible link between language anxiety and perfectionism.

In short, there are many possible correlates of language anxiety that might provide an insight into its origins.

## LANGUAGE-LEARNING STRATEGIES

### *History*

Language-learning strategies can refer to techniques that researchers and teachers propose to promote successful language acquisition or to approaches and procedures that individuals use to help them learn a language. One example of the former is the keyword method (Atkinson and Raugh, 1975). These types of techniques involve specific and sometimes complex procedures that the student must learn in order to apply them properly. Examples of the latter are any number of techniques that students spontaneously report as ‘things’ they do to help them learn a language. Much of the early research focussed on the latter, studying strategies reported by successful and unsuccessful students, and making use of interviews, questionnaires or diaries to identify them (cf. Stern, 1975). Examples of the strategies identified included such diverse behaviours as willing to guess, desire to communicate, active participation, searching for meaning and so on. As can be seen, these cover a wide range of approaches.

### *Major Contributions and Current Research*

Recent research has directed attention to various techniques that are believed to be important by researchers and educators for either learning or communication. Thus, Reiss (1985) investigated seven strategies—guessing, motivation to communicate, attending to form, practising, monitoring, attending to meaning and using mnemonics, and developed multiple-choice items to measure their reported use. A test proposed by Oxford (1990) uses a slightly different procedure to assess strategies (see Oxford, *Conditions for Second Language (L2) Learning*, Volume 4). The Strategies Inventory for Language Learning (SILL) consists of 80 items for English-speaking students learning a new language, and 50 for speakers of other languages learning English, and request that students rate how frequently they make use of each item. Both versions provide scores on six different behaviours—remembering more effectively, using mental processes, compensating for missing knowledge, organizing and evaluating learning, managing emotions and learning with others. These are identified as memory, cognitive, compensation, metacognitive, affective and social strategies, respectively.

Much current research makes use of the SILL, or derivatives from it, including assessments of reading strategies and listening strategies. This research has often demonstrated substantial correlations between measures of achievement and amount of strategy use, though in some instances non-significant or negative correlations have been reported. Explanations for the inconsistencies could be that it is not the number of strategies used but the effectiveness of their use that is important, or that once a given degree of proficiency is achieved, the use of strategies decreases. In a heterogeneous class, where there are large differences in proficiency, this alone could account for non-significant or negative correlations.

Like the other topics discussed, there is also considerable interest devoted to understanding correlates of learning strategy use, as well as its relation to achievement. It is generally recognized that strategy use is a conscious process, raising the possibility that it is associated with various personality characteristics. Other research has demonstrated, furthermore, that it is related to gender, language-learning context (foreign vs. second), motivation to learn the language and language attitudes and beliefs.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Each of these individual difference variables, language aptitude, attitudes and motivation, language anxiety and learning strategies have been shown to relate to achievement in a second language, and there has been sufficient replication of the findings in various contexts to conclude that they are somehow implicated. The few studies that fail to replicate the major findings may indicate simply that other factors such as contextual considerations, measurement operations and errors and sampling errors are operating to overshadow relationships. These studies should not be ignored, of course, because a careful analysis of the factors responsible for the discrepant results will help to clarify the conditions under which such relationships exist. Attention must be paid, however, to the careful identification and measurement of the individual difference variables involved.

One difficulty with all of this research is that it deals with individual differences, and the basic data are the correlations of these variables with achievement or any other variable of interest. We often speak of the individual difference variables as independent variables and interpret the correlation as indicating that the variable is responsible for the achievement, but because individuals are not randomly assigned to the independent variable, this is only an interpretation (cf. Clément and Gardner, 2001). Correlation does not mean causation. As a consequence any 'causal statement' is arbitrary, and arguments about what

causes what are meaningless. The important point is that the association indicates that there is an association between the two variables in the population, and the association has meaning. If someone is high in aptitude, for example, a positive association indicates that there is a heightened probability (not a certainty) that he/she will have a higher level of achievement, and moreover, if someone has a high level of achievement, she/he will probably (not certainly) have a high level of aptitude. These are known as Bayesian probabilities. Searching for what is the cause in individual difference research is fruitless, and no amount of structural equation modelling (causal modelling), multiple regression analysis or hierarchical linear modelling will change that. The basic data are associations, and any causal interpretation represents a model, not reality.

This same limitation of correlational research applies to attempts to understand the causes of aptitude, attitudes, motivation, language anxiety and learning strategies. Individual differences in these variables may relate to individual differences in other variables but this is no indication that any one variable is responsible for the other. The explanations provided are simply models of possible interpretations.

This is not meant to denigrate the value of models. A model is valuable in its ability to organize data, generate testable hypotheses and suggest potential courses of action. Modelling can be improved moreover by recourse to analytic methods. For example, structural equation modelling (causal modelling) is a technique that permits a researcher to assess how well the relationships among a set of data conform to a model in which individual difference variables are hypothesized to be causes or effects of other variables. The paths are defined by regression coefficients. This procedure does not prove that any one variable causes another. Its value is that it requires careful attention to detail in defining the underlying constructs, evaluates the quality of their measurement and definition and permits the identification of correlated errors. It is a powerful methodology, but it should not be misused or misinterpreted!

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Future directions in research should be concerned with the assessment of attributes, and with identifying the major dimensions underlying the variables. Concern with assessment is required to ensure that the measures of the attributes are not confounded by other factors. Thus, there should be more research concerned with reliability and validity of assessments. Reliability should be assessed in terms of both internal consistency and stability. If internal consistency reliabilities are low, attention should be directed towards more careful analysis of the nature

of the concepts, and their relation to the items used to assess them. If test or retest reliabilities are low, it should be determined whether this is because of the difficulties with the assessment procedure or fluctuations in the attribute being assessed. Not all attributes associated with learning another language will necessarily be stable over time, given the intricacies and adjustments involved in learning another language.

Validity should be investigated from a number of perspectives. Presently, much of the research is concerned primarily with predictive and concurrent validity in that correlations are reported between measures of proficiency or related variables and the measures of the attributes of interest. More attention should be devoted, however, to construct validity. Understanding will profit from a clearer picture of the relationship between the attribute in question and other variables with which it should be related (convergent validity) as well as those with which it should not (discriminant validity).

The need for construct validity is particularly important now. There is a plethora of variables that have been hypothesized as being important for second language learning, and many of them appear to overlap to some extent. Rather than coming up with even more variants, it would seem more beneficial to investigate how they relate to, or differ from, each other. The key to scientific progress is parsimony. A valuable theory is one that can explain a phenomenon with minimum variables, that organizes existing data and that is open to empirical test.

In a related vein, more attention should be directed towards the dimensionality of the various individual difference variables involved, and their relations to each other. It is clear, for example, that the variables discussed here, language aptitude, attitudes and motivation, anxiety and language-learning strategies, are all implicated in language learning, but none of them operates in isolation. Moreover, from their description, it is clear that some of them have elements in common, and it would be beneficial to determine how the various variables relate to one another and how they operate in unison to influence individual differences in second language acquisition. Finally, the time is ripe for a meta-analysis of the roles played by the individual difference variables in acquiring a second language. Meta-analysis is a procedure that involves bringing together, in a formal manner, the findings from a number of related studies, and determining the consistency in the results. Such research should focus not only on the relationships of these variables to achievement, but also on the relationships of these variables to each other and to other variables associated with the acquisition of a second language. Such research is necessary to permit the more formal modelling that is now due.

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## CONDITIONS FOR SECOND LANGUAGE (L2) LEARNING

## INTRODUCTION

This chapter compares and critiques selected theories of conditions for second language (L2) learning. These theories are important because they greatly influence L2 teaching, design of curricula and materials, and learning, either for good or ill. Specific chapter goals are to: (1) explain and critically analyze chosen theories, including non-L2 theories that have influenced L2 research, theories originating in the L2 field, and very recent L2 theories; (2) present four overarching problems; and (3) propose future directions. To be included in this chapter, a theory has to address L2 development broadly, not just one or two aspects; has to be published or in press; and has to be potentially influential across the whole field or at least among a large number of researchers and practitioners. I selected theories from various perspectives, such as teacher-centered/structured, sociocultural, cognitive-psycholinguistic, natural, whole-person-focused, and technology-based. I intentionally included some hybrid theories that combine, for example, sociocultural and cognitive-psycholinguistic elements.

*Learning conditions* are defined as factors, either internal or external, that influence learning. These conditions may be either “typical” of learners or “essential” for learning (Spolsky, 1989), although most theorists do not make this distinction clear enough. I use the term *L2 learning* to refer to the learner’s development of a language once the native language has been learned. I avoid technical distinctions between *learning* and *acquisition*. These terms no longer simplistically imply, if they ever really did, “learning  $\approx$  instructed or formal” and “acquisition  $\approx$  natural or informal;” after all, “instructed L2 acquisition” is now a common term. To avoid confusion, here the generic term *L2 learning* (or L2 development) covers an array of modes for L2 growth, which can occur in myriad locations.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Early developments concerning conditions for learning outside the L2 field have influenced theorizing among L2 specialists. These developments include the work of Gagné, Vygotsky, and experts on situated

cognition and communities of practice, such as Lave and Wenger, as well as others.

### *Gagné's Conditions*

Gagné's (1965) ideas have affected L2 learning and teaching (Brown, 2002), multimedia learning (Gagné, 1993), and general instructional design (Gagné, Briggs, and Wagner, 1992). He presents a highly teacher-centered approach meant to influence the learner's internal cognitive processes. The following four conditions summarize his much larger set of conditions.

Condition 1. *Nine external instructional events* (what the teacher does) *are associated with internal cognitive processes* (what the learner does).

Condition 2. *Five types of learning are key*: verbal information, intellectual skills, motor skills, attitudes, and cognitive strategies (variations on these in L2 strategy instruction formats include Cohen, 1998; O'Malley and Chamot, 1990; Oxford, 1990, 1996).

Condition 3. *All five learning types involve some form of noticing or attention* on the part of the learner.

Condition 4. *Each learning type has its own sequence of instructional procedures*.

Gagné's theory has helped organize many aspects of learning, teaching, instructional design, and instructional technology. His highly structured, teacher-led framework of nine learning events was particularly influenced by Skinner's behaviorist concept of sequenced learning events. The value of his work lies in the simple but profound concept that different types of learning require different instructional sequences and learning conditions, although many L2 experts reject the very rigid principles of behaviorism. Some specific limitations can be noted in the theory: (1) Gagné calls for a (verbal) context for encoding, but there is little attention to the social context; (2) he recognizes the importance of cognitive strategies, but his strategy instruction does not explicitly present metacognitive strategies, a primary basis of learner self-regulation, as a separate knowledge type; and (3) although Gagné worked with specific conditions for attitude learning, he did not explore sociocultural aspects of attitudes, motivations, and beliefs.

In sum, Gagné's work focuses on highly structured, teacher-controlled, systematic, detailed, step-by-step, "micro" processes of learning and teaching. In contrast, Vygotsky, discussed next, presents a theory centered on sociocultural understandings.

### *Vygotsky's Theory of Dialogic Learning*

Vygotsky's (1962, 1978) theory is the foundation of sociocultural psychology. His work became known in the West only in the 1960s

and beyond, although it was known in Russia as early as the 1920s. Primarily in the 1990s and thereafter L2 theorists, including Lantolf and Appel (1994) and Lantolf (2000), started paying serious attention to possible applications of Vygotsky's work to L2 learning. Vygotsky's concepts are framed below as conditions for learning.

Condition 1. *Humans inherit sociocultural artifacts and knowledge that can add to their genetic inheritance (e.g., Wells, 2000).*

Condition 2. *Emotion, sensation, perception, and all human learning, including L2 learning, are suffused with social concepts and language.*

Condition 3. *Children, as well as older learners, learn by interacting with others (social mediation) through language.*

Condition 4. *Language is the most important semiotic (symbolic) tool humans possess.*

Condition 5. *The more experienced or capable person has dialogues with the learner, and the learner internalizes and transforms the key elements of these dialogues, turning them into higher mental functions, such as planning, organizing, evaluating, analyzing, and synthesizing (Kozulin, Gindis, Ageyev, and Miller, 2003; Vygotsky, 1962).*

Condition 6. *Three stages are required for this internalization and transformation: social speech (the interpsychological plane), egocentric speech, and inner speech (the intrapsychological plane) (Vygotsky, 1962). Thus, learning starts out as "other-regulation" but, through a series of dialogues with more capable people, becomes inner speech, which can become self-regulation (see e.g., Kozulin, Gindis, Ageyev, and Miller, 2003; Vygotsky, 1962).*

Condition 7. *The zone of proximal development (ZPD) is the difference between the individual's current level and the potential level that can be reached with assistance.*

Condition 8. *As a corollary, "dynamic assessment" is essential because it measures the area of potentiality, not just the present level (Wertsch, 1985), which is usually the only level measured by what Vygotsky disparages as "static assessment."*

The theory, when applied to the L2 field, awakens L2 teachers and researchers to crucial conditions for learning an additional language. For understanding L2 learning and teaching, many of Vygotsky's concepts are fundamental: the teacher's role in dialogues, the learner's role in moving stepwise from social to inner speech, social and semiotic mediation, higher order functions, increasing self-regulation, and the role of language in concept development, for example. The ZPD-based concept of dynamic performance assessment, as yet little understood or applied by Western L2-testing specialists, could become a major advance for L2 testing. Despite some limitations, such as an explanation of how the teacher can hold a dialogue with 20 or 30 students in

a class at the appropriate level of their individually differing ZPDs, Vygotsky's work is now viewed as seminal and extremely important in the L2 field. His theory is rooted in culture, history, and personal relationships. Thus, it is a theory of "situated cognition," a precursor to later theories dealing with situated cognition in communities of practice, discussed next.

### *Situated Cognition in Communities of Practice*

Situated cognition as viewed today has at least two different meanings (1) *learning that is based (anchored, situated) in a specific, real-life, interesting, challenging problem* to be solved by learners; and (2) *learning that is situated in a community of practice*, i.e., "a group of people who share an interest in a domain of human endeavor and engage in a process of collective learning that creates bonds between them" (Wenger, 1998, p. 1). This section concerns the second meaning of situated cognition.

Lave and Wenger (1991) are authors of the term "communities of practice," which they coined while studying apprenticeship as a model for learning. We all have experience as apprentices in various communities of practice: at home, at work, in educational institutions, and so on. Situated cognition in communities of practice can be described vis-à-vis the following learning conditions.

Condition 1. *Three elements characterize a community of practice: domain, community, and shared practice, the last of which is a repertoire of knowledge, skills, beliefs, artifacts, documents, and strategies* (Wenger, 1998).

Condition 2. *Apprenticeship is not just a relationship between a student and a master but instead a set of complex social relationships. Learning by the apprentice is an integral part of generative (creative) social practice in the lived-in world* (Lave and Wenger, 1991, p. 35).

Condition 3. *A person might be an expert ("old-timer") at the center in one community of practice, while being a novice ("newcomer" or "apprentice") at the edge or periphery of other communities of practice* (Lave and Wenger, 1991).

Condition 4. *Communities of practice are dynamic, with peripherally participating members moving toward the center as experts over time and with slightly more experienced apprentices teaching newer apprentices.*

Condition 5. *The whole community learns, because learning occurs not just in an individual mind; learning also occurs collectively, in a "distributed" way* (Hanks, 1991, pp. 15–16).

Condition 6. *In communities of practice, participants are constantly constructing and altering identities through interaction* (Norton,

2001). When identities are shaped, threatened, or reshaped in communities of practice, other learner factors—values, emotions, motivation, and performance—are naturally engaged in the process. Some concepts from the theory of situated cognition in communities of practice have been applied to L2 learning. For instance, Norton (2001) provides examples of situated cognition and identity regarding participation and nonparticipation in L2 learners' "imagined [desired] communities." Much more L2 research would be valuable in this exciting and important area. However, some criticisms can also be raised regarding the basic theory. The concept of distributed/collective learning requires more specificity in diverse communities of practice. In addition, the spatial metaphor of movement from the community's periphery to the center, while useful in many instances, might seem simplistic when we consider all the different trajectories, identity conflicts, emotions, desires, skills, and knowledge emerging in an L2 community of practice simultaneously or over time.

Unlike the theories above, the next theories first arose in the L2 field.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS WITHIN THE L2 FIELD

In this section, conditions for L2 learning are drawn from Krashen's hypotheses about L2 acquisition, Spolsky's detailed theory of L2 learning conditions, and H.D. Brown's principles of L2 learning and teaching. The numbering system for the conditions is my own.

##### *Krashen's Hypotheses*

Krashen's (1982, 1985) theory is founded on the distinction between L2 learning and acquisition. The following conditions are based on his hypotheses.

Condition 1. *L2 acquisition involves unconscious, creative communication.* L2 acquisition "... is a subconscious process identical in all important ways to the process children utilize in acquiring their first language ... " (Krashen, 1985, p. 1).

Condition 2. *Comprehensive input is required for L2 acquisition.* L2 acquisition develops only when the individual receives "comprehensible input," that is, input slightly above his or her current level of comprehension ("i+1").

Condition 3. *Affect is important.* For L2 acquisition, comprehensible input must occur in an atmosphere in which the student's "affective filter" is low, that is, a situation with as little anxiety as possible.

Condition 4. *Acquisition occurs without grammar instruction.*

Condition 5. *Acquisition involves natural order.* Acquisition of L2 grammatical structures occurs unconsciously in a natural order.

Condition 6. *Speaking must be allowed to emerge spontaneously.* Speaking production ability emerges spontaneously after learners have developed enough linguistic competence through comprehensible input. A silent period is expected.

Condition 7. *L1-L2 transfer errors occur.* When a person tries to produce the L2 beyond his or her acquisition level, he or she tends to employ L1 rules erroneously.

Condition 8. *In contrast to L2 acquisition, L2 learning is conscious and hence limited.* L2 learning is a conscious, declarative process that occurs in typical, formal classrooms.

Condition 9. *“Learned” knowledge involves the monitor.* Learned knowledge serves as an editor (monitor). To use the monitor, the individual must have sufficient time to think about and use conscious rules, must attend to form rather than meaning, and must know the rules (Krashen, 1982).

Condition 10. *Adults and children operate differently.* Acquisition is the single route possible for children to internalize the L2, just as they absorb the L1. However, adults have two possible routes: acquisition and learning (Krashen, 1985).

Krashen has had a significant effect on the L2 field over the last three decades. His theory describes a distinct classroom mode, the Natural Approach (Krashen and Terrell, 1983). However, the Natural Approach is in its own way prescriptive and narrow, exhorting teachers to provide a natural, informal setting for L2 acquisition and to abjure grammar instruction entirely. Contrary to Krashen’s view, Scarcella and Oxford (1992) note that comprehensible input is not sufficient for transforming input into usable “intake.” Moreover, Krashen provides no clear definition of “comprehensible input.” The “ $i+1$ ” formulation is a good heuristic or symbol but not a true explanation of a process. In addition, there is no special role for comprehensible output in the theory. McLaughlin (1987) challenges the theory for never adequately defining “acquisition,” “learning,” “conscious,” and “subconscious.” Krashen’s assertion that grammar study has no role is contradicted by examples of the utility of grammar study within a communicative methodology (e.g. Lightbown and Pienemann, 1993; McLaughlin, 1987). It is also questionable whether a single natural order of L2 acquisition exists given the variety of L1 backgrounds learners have, the effects of L1 on L2 development, and other factors. The theory provides no detailed explanation of how the “affective filter” develops.

Krashen attempts to revolutionize the way we look at L2 acquisition by painting a picture with broad brush strokes, while Spolsky, discussed next, is more like a calligrapher, codifying in great detail and precision the conditions of L2 learning.

*Spolsky's Conditions for L2 Learning*

Spolsky's (1989) goal is to create a general theory of L2 learning, which contains 74 conditions ("rules") for L2 learning. The book's central question is, "Who learns how much of what language under what conditions?" Spolsky (1989) asserts that the theory is based "firmly and clearly in a social context" (p. 14). "Language learning is individual but occurs in society, and while the social factors are not necessarily direct in their influence, they have strong and traceable indirect effects . . ." (p. 15). Compared with Spolsky, Norton (2001) and others give a more prominent place to sociocultural influences on L2 learning. The following paragraph briefly summarizes the conditions in Spolsky's theory.

Conditions 1–7 relate to the *nature of L2 knowledge*. The learner's L2 knowledge forms a systematic whole but is marked by variability. Analyzed L2 knowledge is recombinable and creative but can also be enriched with unanalyzed knowledge. Conditions 8–15 concern *language use*. Receptive skills (listening, reading) usually develop before productive language skills (speaking, writing) and to a higher level. Some L2 knowledge might be intuitive and implicit (rules not expressible by the learner). Learners vary in automaticity (fluency) of speaking, accuracy, and amount of control. Conditions 16–20 are focused on *testing and measurement* of L2 knowledge and skills. Knowing an L2 involves not only knowing discrete items but also controlling integrated functional skills. Conditions 22–31 and 50–56 focus on *individual learner factors*, while conditions 34–41 involve *linguistics*. *Social context* is the focus of Conditions 42–49, and conditions 57–62 concern *opportunities* for the learner to analyze the L2, recombine, embed, remember, practice, and match knowledge. Conditions for *natural learning* (63–73, odd numbers) are: communicative use, many fluent speakers, open space, and uncontrolled language but possibly modified for comprehensibility. Conditions for *formal learning* (64–74, even numbers) are: only one fluent speaker (the teacher), enclosed space, controlled language, simplified language, and much practice.

Spolsky deserves praise for this attempt to produce a comprehensive theory of conditions for L2 learning. Many areas are well represented in Spolsky's theory, e.g., multiple types of language knowledge, specific linguistic foundations, formal versus informal learning, and language use. However, considering the theory's massiveness, criticisms are bound to emerge. For example, in the context of world languages, many experts (see Davies, 2003; Singh, 1998) question whether learners outside of a certain geographic range have ever encountered "native speaker language," and those researchers ask whether a typical

“native speaker” can be said to exist. The theory lacks well-developed conditions for L2 learner autonomy/self-regulation. Finally, social and cultural aspects, while mentioned, are not adequately developed in the theory.

In comparison to Spolsky’s long list of L2 learning conditions, the theory of H.D. Brown (2001) is intentionally simpler. Obviously, the purposes differ.

### *Brown’s Theory*

Brown’s (2001) theory reflects a “whole-person” approach, not just a psycholinguistic approach. He presents 12 principles of language learning and teaching, which can be considered conditions, as I show below. According to Brown, L2 learning requires the following:

Condition 1. *Efficient L2 learning involves timely movement from control of a few language forms to automatic processing* of a relatively unlimited number of language forms. L2 teaching should not focus just on isolated items but should also give learners authentic, meaningful practice opportunities leading to automaticity.

Condition 2. Meaningful learning is by definition relevant to learners’ goals and interests.

Condition 3. *Learners’ actions are driven by anticipation of reward*, so teachers must understand learners’ motivations and purposes, and learners must be aware of the beneficial aims of the course.

Condition 4. *The most powerful rewards are intrinsic*, that is, internal to the learner, even without external rewards. Teacher praise and constructive feedback can be reinforcing, but intrinsic motivation is more powerful.

Condition 5. *L2 mastery depends largely on use of learning strategies*. Although the methods employed by the teacher are important, learning strategies are equally important.

Condition 6. *As one learns an L2, one develops a second identity or language ego*. Teachers should show sensitivity and support to learners who might feel inhibited or defenseless in the classroom.

Condition 7. Self-confidence influences L2 development. A self-confident learner can accomplish the task regardless of language ego.

Condition 8. *L2 learners must take risks for long-term retention*. To encourage risk-taking, teachers create an appropriate, encouraging classroom atmosphere and ensure that L2 tasks are at the right difficulty level.

Condition 9. L2 learning and culture learning are connected. L2 teaching involves teaching customs, values, and ways of thinking and feeling. Teachers should be sensitive to students’ culturally related L2 learning preferences.

Condition 10. *The L1 influences L2 learning*, either facilitating or interfering, depending on the closeness between the two languages and other factors.

Condition 11. *The learner's interlanguage is systematic or quasi-systematic*. Knowledge of how the interlanguage operates influences the feedback teachers give students.

Condition 12. *Learners need to develop communicative competence*, so the L2 classroom must be authentically communicative and relate to learners' future needs. It must attend to use and usage and to both fluency and accuracy.

This theory encapsulates currently predominant, research-based beliefs concerning a necessary balance between form and meaning and between accuracy and fluency. One of the strongest aspects of the theory is the inclusion of multiple affective or cognitive-affective factors, such as anticipation of reward, intrinsic motivation, language ego, self-confidence, and risk-taking. Some linguistic factors are also cited (L1 influences on L2 and interlanguage), as well as certain cognitive factors (learning strategies and the movement to automatic processing). The link between culture and language is made clear, as is the importance of meaningful learning and communicative competence. Brown is awake to the social aspects of learning, as seen in the emphasis on interaction and the role of culture, but his theory unfortunately does not explicitly provide depth about socioculturally mediated learning or communities of practice. He cites the importance of the learning environment, but a setting that seems encouraging and nonthreatening for one learner might not seem so for another. How the classroom atmosphere is experienced at a given time depends on the individual learner's personality, general anxiety level, and other factors.

Recent contributions are shown next in areas of conditions for instructed L2 acquisition and conditions for technology-related L2 learning.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

This section presents recent work on conditions for L2 learning, first without an emphasis on technology and then with technology. I review theories by Ellis (2005) and Zhao and Lai (2007).

##### *Ellis' Model of Instructed L2 Acquisition*

In this primarily psycholinguistic theory, Ellis (1999) uses the term "instructed L2 acquisition" for a specific purpose. For him, acquisition is indicated when an item or feature is truly internalized and entered into the learner's interlanguage for communicative use. Ellis (2005)

offers ten principles of instructed L2 acquisition that are expressed below as learning conditions. *L2 instruction needs to . . .*

Condition 1. . . . *ensure that learners develop both a rich repertoire of formulaic expressions and a rule-based competence.*

Condition 2. . . . *ensure that learners focus mainly on meaning.* Meaning includes both semantic meaning (L2 as a subject of study) and pragmatic meaning (L2 as a tool for communication).

Condition 3. . . . *ensure that learners also focus on form.* This can occur through either an intensive emphasis on specific forms or an incidental, extensive attention to larger numbers of forms.

Condition 4. . . . *be predominantly directed at developing implicit knowledge of the L2 while not neglecting explicit knowledge.* Implicit knowledge underlies fluency and explicit knowledge underlying accuracy.

Condition 5. . . . *take into account learners' "built-in" syllabus.* Order of acquisition is approximately the same for natural and instructed L2 learners, so any instruction must be compatible with natural processes.

Condition 6. . . . *provide extensive L2 input.* Input can occur in natural or instructed acquisition. This means using the L2 extensively in the classroom and having many outside opportunities for L2 input, including extensive reading.

Condition 7. . . . *provide opportunity for L2 output.* Interaction encourages acquisition when a communication problem occurs, students must negotiate meaning, and adequate scaffolding is present.

Condition 8. . . . *emphasize that the opportunity to interact in the L2 is central to developing proficiency.* Students must have a reason to attend to language, have opportunities to express personal meanings, be engaged in tasks beyond their current proficiency level, and interact in a large range of contexts.

Condition 9. . . . *take into account learners' individual differences.* These include, e.g., motivation and learner strategies. Strategy instruction should include both analytical and experiential modes.

Condition 10. . . . *assess both free and controlled L2 production.*

In this list of research-based conditions for effective instructed L2 acquisition, Ellis underscores the importance of implicit L2 knowledge while still giving explicit knowledge a role. He promotes a focus on meaning while not forgetting form or the learner's "built-in syllabus." He accurately emphasizes the crucial nature of interaction, which is related to multiple opportunities for input and output practice in varying contexts. He notes that strategy instruction is not only part of the teacher's role but should also occur in more than one modality

to meet the needs of diverse learners. One drawback is that this list contains nothing about key sociocultural factors, such as social mediation, identity, power struggles, or values. Nothing is stated about the effects of the nature of the classroom environment or other sociocultural environments on L2 learning.

The theory discussed next is about conditions for learning the L2 with technology. As would be hoped, there is some overlap with Ellis' concepts of instructed L2 acquisition.

### *Zhao and Lai's Theory of Technology-Enhanced Instructional Conditions*

Zhao and Lai's (2007) theory contains four instructional conditions, which relate to L2 instruction regardless of whether it is enriched by technology or not. However, they cite research showing that technology-enhanced L2 instruction is often better able to fulfill the four conditions. Technologies mentioned by the authors range from ordinary TVs, audiotapes, videos, and mobile phones to the most sophisticated computerized hardware and software, even artificial intelligence.

Condition 1. *Learners need high quality input.* Technologies offer authentic input of various types: comprehensible, simplified, and enhanced.

Condition 2. *Learners need ample opportunities to practice.* Technology provides practice via computer-mediated communication, mobile phones, and human-computer interaction.

Condition 3. *Learners need high quality feedback.* Technology contributes to feedback vis-à-vis error-tracking, speech recognition, adaptive feedback, and learner control of feedback (a form of self-regulation or autonomy).

Condition 4. *Learners need individualized content.* Technology allows greater customization and individualization.

The theory by Zhao and Lai is elegant in its simplicity and rich in its research foundation, based on studies with and without technology-enhanced instruction. It helpfully includes both the psycholinguistic perspective and the sociocultural approach, although the former is emphasized. There is little to criticize, but more could be added, for instance, regarding certain sociocultural factors. Though the theory mentions learner strategies in relation to individual differences, strategies could also be discussed in regard to their powerful role in communicative practice. It would be useful for the theory to explain in further detail how individualization can work, especially in the context of students' needing to meet learning standards at multiple educational levels (national, state, and local).

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Several problems and difficulties exist, including lack of understanding of the intellectual roots (cultural, historical, and personal) of many theories, lack of clarity of purposes, the sheer number of theories, and inconsistency in addressing some basic theoretical necessities.

Issue 1. *Theories of conditions for learning are often accepted (or rejected) at face value, i.e., superficially and without an exploration of their cultural, historical, and personal roots.* Each of the theories reflects cultural belief system(s), historical factors, and personal experiences. However, those who encounter these theories do not necessarily know or think about the cultural, historical, and personal underpinnings—the “intellectual history” of each theory, so to speak. No matter how objective a learning theory might seem, no learning theory is culture-free, ahistorical, or lacking in a personal imprint. It is unfortunate that researchers, teachers, and others do not always recognize or seek the background of a given theory. Such knowledge might help potential users understand why a given theorist frames the theory in particular ways, especially with regard to assumptions about purpose(s) for learning, role of the teacher, role of the learner, teacher–learner relationships, appropriate tasks, nature of input and feedback, implicit/explicit knowledge, emphasis on content or language, and learning environment.

Issue 2. *These theories have a mixture of purposes, which are not always made clear.* Perhaps there should be greater clarity in several of the theories regarding just what the theories hope to explain. Many theories contain a combination of conditions/principles of teaching, learning, and linguistic factors. Are they learning and teaching theories? Strictly learning theories? Linguistic theories?

Issue 3. *There is a plethora of theories.* More than 20 years ago, Long (1983) noted that the field of L2 acquisition or learning already possessed more than 60 different theories. These theories covered areas such as acculturation, affective variables, variation, and discourse. Theories tend to proliferate rather than consolidate, so there are likely more theories now than then. Few attempts have been made pull these theories into a full-scale, testable, comprehensive theory, although Spolsky certainly tries his best.

Issue 4. *Some key issues of theory-building have not been consistently addressed.* In the field of L2 development, many attempts at delineating conditions, hypotheses, conclusions, or principles have been made without regard to some important fundamentals of theory-development. Gregg (1999, applying the work of Cummins, 1983) points out two problems inherent in trying to understand L2 learning or acquisition: logical and developmental. The *logical*

*problem* involves explaining the nature of human competence to develop an L2. This problem requires a *property theory* of the system's components and their interrelationships. The *developmental problem* involves explaining processes whereby development occurs over time, calling for a *transition theory* of cause-and-effect. I classify the first problem-and-theory set as "static" (or synchronic/single-time) and the second as "dynamic" (or diachronic/across time). Both general types of theory, property and transition, are necessary for understanding L2 development. However, most theories tend to be only one or another—property or transition—or else include a somewhat unsatisfying or slightly unorganized mix of both. Theorists should explain whether they are presenting property theories, transition theories, or some combination and should indicate how they are doing this.

### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

New options for research and theory concerning L2 learning conditions can be associated with specific themes. One burgeoning theme is conditions for facing an L2 learning crisis and moving beyond it effectively (Oxford, Meng, Zhou, Sung, and Jain, 2007). My recent research has uncovered dozens of L2 learning crises associated with repeated failure in L2 classrooms; loss of L2 self-worth or self-efficacy when learners face dismissive, controlling, punitive, indifferent, power-hungry, or discriminatory L2 teachers or sarcastic and unwelcoming peers; and interrupted schooling and trauma among immigrants and refugees learning an L2. This work incorporates concepts from self-determination (e.g., Ryan and Deci, 2000), autonomy and strategies (Benson, 2006; Little, 1994; Oxford, in press), competence (Ryan and Deci, 2000), motivation and demotivation (Dörnyei, 2001; Oxford, 2003), sociocultural identity (Norton, 2000, 2001), trauma (Bracken, 2005), and resiliency (Masten, 2006). The factors of crisis, trauma, and resiliency expand our understanding of conditions for L2 learning.

A second theme involves emotions. MacIntyre (2002) complains that the only emotion L2 researchers have studied in depth anxiety. However, new L2-related work appears to be dramatically expanding the study of emotion, especially as related to identity. Recent contributions are by Pavlenko (2006) and Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004), who discuss emotions and identity not as merely individual, personal features but instead in sociocultural terms within multilingual settings. Future research along this line can be explicitly associated with socio-cultural issues of symbolic and actual power, "native-speakerism," the role of nonnative speakers in teaching and learning an L2, language prestige and discrimination, and post-colonialism in general.

A third theme comprises conditions for technology-enhanced learning. Technology can lead L2 learning out of the classroom and into almost any venue. The significant array of technologies presented by Zhao and Lai (2007), as well as found in CALL theories (Egbert, Chao, and Hanson-Smith, 1999; Pennington, 1996), offers new ways of thinking about conditions for L2 learning. It would be extremely interesting to find out more about the linguistic, cultural, cognitive, and affective aspects of L2 learning that can be facilitated via technology.

A fourth theme, hardly touched upon at all in the theories in this chapter, involves characteristics of the teacher. The teacher is not a faceless, nameless machine any more than is the learner. It is almost unbelievable that theories of conditions of L2 learning do not address features of teachers who facilitate L2 learning in particular types of contexts and varied geographic regions around the world. Some useful research exists on (a) L2 teacher beliefs and behaviors, often as related to L2 student beliefs and behaviors (e.g., Kalaja and Barcelos, 2003; Oxford, 2001), and (b) teacher characteristics outside of the L2 field (Brophy, 2002).

Much theoretical research and practical work needs to be done in the ongoing and important area of conditions for L2 learning. This area affects millions of learners throughout the world, as well as their teachers, families, and others. This chapter stands as a formal call for widespread, coordinated efforts to uncover conditions for L2 learning in varied sociocultural settings. Interdisciplinary efforts are very valuable, especially when researchers and theorists from diverse schools of thought work closely in teams. Such creative efforts will benefit everyone, particularly L2 learners and teachers.

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## **Section 2**

### **Current Approaches to Second and Foreign Language Education**

## CONTENT-BASED INSTRUCTION

### INTRODUCTION

Content-based instruction (CBI) is an umbrella term referring to instructional approaches that make a dual, though not necessarily equal, commitment to language and content-learning objectives. CBI has been translated into practice in diverse ways in response to student needs at primary, secondary, tertiary, and adult education levels, in foreign, second, and multiple language contexts. Unlike other language instruction approaches that define primary content in terms of grammatical structures, communicative language functions, or language skills, in CBI, content refers to the use of nonlanguage subject matter that is closely aligned with traditional school subjects, themes of interest to students, or vocational and occupational areas. Most content-based settings have strong academic orientations, emphasizing the linguistic, cognitive, and metacognitive skills as well as subject matter that students need to succeed in future educational endeavors. In highly diversified linguistic contexts, CBI can be used to promote plurilingualism as a social and political necessity (Wolff, 2002). Despite differences in emphases, what most content-based approaches share is the assumption that content and language create a symbiotic relationship; that is, the learning of content contributes to the learning of language and a mastery of language gives learners easier access to content (Stoller, 2004).

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Integrated language and content instruction, historically restricted to upper social classes, now reaches across social strata and educational levels. The more widespread use of CBI is partially a response to increased global communication, the need for competencies in languages of wider communication, efforts to maintain and revive minority languages (Cenoz and Genesse, 1998), attempts to preserve linguistic and cultural diversity (Wolff, 2002), and changes in student demographics.

CBI has been implemented in various ways, revealing different degrees of emphasis placed on language and content. These varied configurations lie on a continuum, bounded by content-driven curricula at one end and language-driven curricula at the other (Met, 1998). In immersion programs, at the content-driven end of the continuum, school

subject matter is taught primarily through the medium of the target language. The term immersion, oftentimes referred to as the prototypical content-based approach, was adopted in the 1960s to refer to Canadian programs in which children were taught traditional school subjects in their second language (Swain and Lapkin, 1982; see also Genesee and Lindholm-Leary, *Dual Language Education in Canada and the USA*, Volume 5). Since that time, the Canadian immersion model has been adapted worldwide to include full immersion, partial immersion, late immersion, and delayed immersion (Johnson and Swain, 1997).

At the other end of the continuum are theme-based courses and language programs with stronger commitments to language-learning objectives. Theme-based courses are typically designed around themes that provide the content for language-learning activities; in language programs with a weak content focus, subject matter is integrated into individual lessons as a means for assisting students in developing their language abilities.

In between the two end points on the continuum are other content-based prototypes. Two models in particular grant more equal weighting to content and language objectives. In sheltered instruction (Echevarria and Graves, 2007), nonnative speakers of the target language are deliberately separated from native speakers for the purpose of “sheltered” content instruction, characterized by the use of comprehensible language, the contextualization of subject matter, visual aids, modified texts and assignments, and explicit attention to students’ linguistic needs. In adjunct or linked courses, students are concurrently enrolled in a language class and a content class, the former designed to assist students with the content-learning demands of the latter.

A major source of early support for CBI, in its various forms, stemmed from second language acquisition research, in particular studies on the role of comprehensible input, output, and explicit attention to relevant and contextually appropriate language forms. Further support was provided by sociocultural approaches to second language acquisition that demonstrated that the Vygotskian-based concepts of negotiation in the Zone of Proximal Development, private speech, and student appropriation of learning tasks are important components in language learning and readily compatible with CBI. Moreover, the idea that students need Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) to succeed in academic second language-learning contexts provided an additional impetus for CBI (see Cummins, 2000).

Research in educational and cognitive psychology also provided compelling support for CBI. Of particular relevance was research on cognitive processes of learning, depth of processing, discourse comprehension processing, optimal experiences, expertise, motivation, attribution, and learner interest. Additional support for CBI stemmed from

classroom training studies on cooperative learning, metacognitive and learning strategy instruction, and extensive reading, all readily incorporated within CBI. The outcomes of actual CBI programs in foreign and second language settings (Brinton, Snow, and Wesche, 1989; Krueger and Ryan, 1993) offered support for CBI as well (see Grabe and Stoller, 1997, for a review of this early support).

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

In the 1980s, applied linguists exhibited substantial interest in instructional approaches that combined language and content-learning objectives. Mohan (1986) characterized academic discourse in terms of knowledge structures typical of school subject matter: description, sequence, choice, classification, principles, and evaluation. He proposed a model of integrated instruction that explicitly taught knowledge structures and corresponding graphic representations to assist students in mastery of content and academic discourse. Crandall (1987) showcased ways in which teachers could integrate instruction to help limited English-proficient students master mathematics, science, and social studies while at the same time learning academic English. Enright and McCloskey's (1988) Integrated Language Teaching Model emphasized the integration of language and subject matter learning, language skills, as well as home and school language and learning experiences. Brinton, Snow, and Wesche (1989) provided an oft-quoted rationale for CBI at postsecondary levels and showcased models of sheltered, adjunct, and theme-based approaches to CBI. Concurrent with these publications was the emergence of the Cognitive Academic Language Learning Approach (CALLA) (Chamot and O'Malley, 1987), an alternative to sheltered instruction that is noted for its three-way commitment to academic content, academic language skills, and strategy training.

Since the 1980s, numerous adaptations of integrated instruction prototypes have emerged. Some North American initiatives include the Language-Content-Task (LCT) framework (Short, 2002), which emphasizes the importance of and interactions among knowledge of the target language (L), the content area (C), and the tasks (T) required to succeed in academic settings. The six T's framework (Stoller and Grabe, 1997) endorses the use of themes, topics, texts, tasks, threads, and transitions as design criteria for more coherent content-based curricula. Sustained CBI and sustained content language teaching (Murphy and Stoller, 2001; Pally, 2000) promote the exploration of a single-carrier topic in the language classroom, with a complementary focus on language learning. The Content-based Language Teaching Through Technology initiative, launched by the University of Minnesota's Center for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition, assists foreign

language teachers, in kindergarten to tertiary level classes, in creating curricula that utilize technology to support CBI (<http://carla.acad.umn.edu/COBALTT.html>).

Models for foreign language education in North American contexts include content-enriched Foreign Language in the Elementary School (FLES) programs, in which content matter from other classes (e.g., math, science, geography) is integrated into foreign language classes; the foreign language serves as reinforcement for subject matter classes and the content serves as a stimulus for contextualized language learning. In tertiary level Foreign Language Across the Curriculum (FLAC) and Languages Across the Curriculum (LAC or LxC), institutions extend the reach of foreign languages by providing students with opportunities to use foreign languages in areas of academic interest (Krueger and Ryan, 1993; Stryker and Leaver, 1997). In FLAC programs, foreign languages are taught through the content of academic disciplines (e.g., history, social sciences, engineering) and the learning of various disciplines is augmented with foreign language content resources. Foreign Language Immersion Programs (FLIP) provide university level foreign language and content-area majors the opportunity to enroll in a full set of language and content courses taught in the target language. The Monterey Model (Jourdenais and Springer, 2005) integrates advanced foreign language study into programs such as International Business and International Policy Studies, thereby making a dual commitment to content and language learning.

In Europe, Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) has been formalized in response to the European Union's plurilingual education agenda, its commitment to the preservation of linguistic and cultural diversity, and its recognition of the political and economic necessity to increase multilingualism (Grenfell, 2002; see also Coyle, *CLIL—A Pedagogical Approach from the European Perspective*, Volume 4; Marsh, *Language Awareness and CLIL*, Volume 6). CLIL is typically adopted in contexts in which an additional language (i.e., not the most widely used language of the setting) is used for the teaching and learning of subject matter other than the language itself (Marsh and Langé, 1999), with the goal of "European competence" (Wolff, 2002). CLIL, sometimes referred to as Modern Languages Across the Curriculum (MLAC), has been translated into diverse configurations, within and across countries, reflected by differences in curricula, targeted content areas, designated languages, selection of students, methodology, materials, assessment, and teacher development. Despite these differences, five overarching dimensions are combined, though in different ways and to different degrees, in CLIL classrooms (Marsh, Maljers, and Hartiala, 2001); they include cultural, environmental (focused on internationalization and European Union integration),

language, content, and learning (focused on learning strategies and learner motivation) dimensions. Related to CLIL are the European Network for Content and Language Integrated Classrooms (EuroCLIC) ([www.euroclil.net](http://www.euroclil.net)), which promotes the exchange of information, experience, and materials among those involved in integrated instruction, and Translanguage in Europe-CLIL (TIE-CLIL) ([www.tieclil.org](http://www.tieclil.org)), a multinational effort to write CLIL teacher-education materials.

Other notable contributions to CBI focus more directly on the language of the content areas. The conceptual framework proposed by Snow, Met, and Genesee (1989) introduced the important notions of *content-obligatory language* and *content-compatible language*, the former referring to the specific language required for students to master and communicate about a particular content area and the latter referring to academic language that can be taught within the context of a given content area but that is not required for content mastery. Equally notable is the work of Short (1994), who focused on the characteristics of disciplinary language, specifically social studies and history, and the demands they place on target language learners. Short's work has resulted in teacher guidelines for integrated language and content instruction, with an emphasis on scaffolding, graphic organizers, and language and content-teacher collaboration. Short's work as well as others at the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington, DC ([www.cal.org](http://www.cal.org)) has contributed greatly to an understanding of the intricacies of the language of different disciplines, the tasks commonly associated with those disciplines, and the challenges faced by teachers and students in content-based classrooms.

In addition to examining the language of the disciplines, attention has been paid to the practices of content teachers. As an example, Project Learning English for Academic Purposes (LEAP; Snow, 1997) has focused on strategies that can be used by university faculty to make their content instruction more accessible to language minority students, while maintaining the academic rigor of their courses. Emphasis has been placed on instructional enhancements to improve lectures, make textbooks accessible, scaffold instruction, prepare students for exams, and involve students actively in learning.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Approaches to CBI continue to evolve internationally, in locations as distinct as Australia, Europe, Israel and the Middle East, Japan, North America, South Africa, Turkey, and West Africa (e.g., Fruhauf, Coyle, and Christ, 1996; Grenfell, 2002; Jourdenais and Springer, 2005; Kaufman and Crandall, 2005; Snow and Brinton, 1997; Wilkinson, 2004). While many programs have designated English as the language

of instruction, other languages are also the target of CBI, including Chinese, Dari and Pashto, French, German, Japanese, and Spanish. CBI is being adapted in these diverse settings for students at beginning, intermediate, and advanced proficiency levels. In an effort to meet the needs of such diverse student populations and educational settings, CBI professionals report efforts at collaborating across the disciplines, experimenting with problem and project-based learning, and refining mainstreaming efforts (Mohan, Leung, and Davison, 2001). Furthermore, CBI educators are working diligently to promote student autonomy, use technology to enhance content and language learning, and integrate new approaches into CBI that assist students' academic language development, grasp of content, and ability to engage in meaningful interactions.

Professionals interested in CBI are also exploring the relevance of empirically supported Concept-Oriented Reading Instruction (CORI) and Collaborative Strategic Reading (CSR) for their classrooms (see Stoller, 2004). CORI emphasizes thematic instruction, students' personal engagement with themes, wide reading and information gathering across multiple information sources, reading strategy instruction to assist with comprehension, and project work; it has been used and researched extensively in first language settings. CSR is an instructional framework that combines cooperative learning principles and reading comprehension strategy instruction to promote content learning, language mastery, and reading comprehension.

Current research on the effectiveness of integrated content and language learning has confirmed earlier findings and has provided new insights on CBI. Continuing a long-standing tradition, numerous Canadian studies focus on integrated content and language instruction at primary, secondary, and tertiary levels (Wesche, 2001). Researchers in Canada continue to explore the effects of (a) immersion models, (b) the proportion of instructional time in the target language and the mother tongue, and (c) the language of assessment. Of particular interest are findings that suggest that immersion programs have proven largely successful at helping learners develop fluency and comprehension of a second language, but are unsuccessful in assisting students in developing the accuracy of their native-speaking counterparts (see Swain, 2000). Ethnographic studies of secondary social studies classes have determined that students not only need to be able to succeed in a variety of speaking, reading, and writing tasks, but they also need (a) knowledge of popular culture, mass media, and newsworthy events, (b) skills to express critical perspectives on social issues, and (c) confidence. Other studies have examined the effectiveness of the adjunct model at university levels; results have revealed that students can make measurable gains in oral fluency and accuracy as a result of paired

classes, building upon earlier studies that demonstrated the effectiveness of linking content and language-support courses.

Research on teacher and learner-modified interactions, form-focused intervention, and form-focused instruction has led to recommendations that content-based teachers modify their responses to student contributions made during classroom discussions in ways that generate more input, feedback, and modified student output (Pica, 2002). The empirically validated Sheltered Instruction Observation Protocol model (SIOP) provides school personnel (including teachers and teacher supervisors) with an instrument for observing and quantifying teachers' implementation of quality sheltered instruction (Echevarria, Vogt, and Short, 2004). Essentially, the SIOP model operationalizes sheltered instruction by offering teachers a model for lesson planning and implementation.

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

The integration of content and language-learning objectives presents challenges for policy makers, program planners, curriculum designers, teachers, materials writers, teacher educators, teacher supervisors, test writers, and learners. A perennial problem is linked to the paucity of content materials in target languages and the time-consuming nature of creating suitable materials (Fruhauf, Coyle, and Christ, 1996). When faced with selecting from among available materials, CBI teachers struggle with determining levels of sufficient challenge to ensure student motivation and engagement and finding a good match with student ages, cognitive levels, and curricular expectations. Practitioners often report the difficulties associated with (a) the selection and sequencing of language items dictated by content sources rather than predetermined language syllabi and (b) the alignment of content with language structures and functions that emerge from the subject matter.

Another formidable obstacle in some settings concerns the institutionalization of CBI in light of available resources and the needs of faculty and students. In some centralized educational systems, securing official approval of a CBI approach has proven to be problematic. In most content-based settings, preoccupations about funding, beyond start-up costs, are pervasive.

Another commonly cited set of challenges concerns CBI teacher recruitment, qualifications (including target language proficiency), certification, training, and assessment. In some settings, debates center around the use of subject or language specialists in CBI. At times, what plague efforts to advance CBI are (a) the lack of expertise among language teachers in content areas and discipline-specific pedagogy and (b) the lack of experience among content teachers in addressing

learners' language needs. At the most foundational levels, language instructors need assistance in handling unfamiliar subject matter and content-area instructors need training in handling language issues (Perez-Vidal, 1999), yet all teachers involved in integrated instruction would benefit from training that prepares them for the language *and* content-learning demands of their classrooms (Esbcoar Urmeneta and Perez-Vidal, 2004). Little research or curriculum development, from within the disciplines, guides teachers in accommodating language learners as they strive to master content knowledge and improve their language skills (Kaufman and Crandall, 2005).

That teachers are not fully prepared for content-based classrooms has caught the attention of the international Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) association. TESOL has developed standards for teacher education, specifying the need for teacher candidates to have a grasp of linguistics, language acquisition, language pedagogy, content knowledge, and the specialized pedagogy of respective disciplines (<http://www.tesol.org>). For these TESOL standards to have a widespread effect, they must be endorsed by teacher-training institutions and supported by modifications in teacher-training curricula. What complicates matters is the fact that discipline-specific discourses, and the tasks commonly associated with them, limit the value of generic teacher training.

Attitudes toward CBI represent another challenge. In CLIL settings, as an example, many teachers view the simple adoption of CLIL as innovative; instead of striving to implement innovative teaching practices to achieve CLIL aims, these teachers typically turn to conventional teaching practices meant for more traditional classrooms (Wolff, 2002). In other settings, language teachers' knowledge and skills are perceived to have lower status than subject area teachers' knowledge and skills. In such settings, pedagogical approaches perceived as highly effective among language professionals (e.g., scaffolding, making form–function links, noticing gaps in input, providing opportunities for negotiation) are perceived as less important than the content teachers' pedagogical practices. The undermining of the language teachers' contributions to language and content teacher partnerships marginalizes not only the language teacher but also the students who are supposed to benefit from the language teachers' contributions (Creese, 2002). The attitudes of some learners and their parents regarding the use of CBI undercut the efforts of language and content teachers in some settings.

Assessment represents another formidable challenge for CBI practitioners. Because it is difficult to isolate language learning from content learning in the assessment process, teachers struggle to determine whether students' inability to demonstrate knowledge is because of

language barriers or a lack of understanding of content material (Gottlieb, 1999; Short, 1993). Dissatisfaction with current assessment practices has led to a call to move beyond standardized tests and toward more systematic assessment that monitors students' academic progress, language learning, and content learning. Moreover, there is a call for more systematic assessment of CBI program effectiveness in addition to educational and public policies and their influence on students' content and language learning (see Byrnes, *Assessing Content and Language*, Volume 7).

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

As CBI does not lend itself to a fixed method, the future is likely to bring with it a proliferation of content-based models customized for different instructional settings. Expansions into vocational sectors will likely require considerable adaptations. Case studies, anecdotal accounts, and research on adaptations of current models are likely to contribute to an understanding of the intricacies of the approach and its various configurations in a wide range of contexts. Qualitative and quantitative investigations of numerous aspects of CBI are sorely needed. Particularly fruitful would be research on (a) the selection, sequencing, and weighting of content and language in different CBI models; (b) the relationships among input, output, and feedback to ensure improved student mastery of content and language; (c) student engagement with information gathering, compiling, and reporting and the language demands at each point of the process; (d) strategy training and its influence on student learning; (e) the contextualization of grammar instruction; and (f) the relationship between tasks and texts. Equally valuable would be research on factors critical for academic success and specific career outcomes and on processes involved in, and interactions among, acquiring literacy competence, subject matter learning, and target language learning. Furthermore, investigations into how to sustain student motivation and engagement, by combining learner choice, autonomy, and challenge, could offer insights into more effective CBI frameworks.

The need for systematic research on assessment in CBI has been pointed out by many practitioners as critical (Gottlieb, 1999; Short, 1993). In the past, more emphasis has been placed on the design and implementation of CBI than on the assessment of content and language learning. Teachers, students, and the school systems in which they find themselves would benefit greatly from more attention to assessment of content and language learning for formative and summative purposes.

As in other areas of language teaching, CBI is likely to be influenced by computer technology, particularly in the areas of corpus linguistics

and computer-assisted language learning (see Granger, *Learner Corpora in Foreign Language Education*, Volume 4). Corpus linguists have the capability to analyze large corpora of authentic texts from different disciplines and genres; their findings have the potential for contributing valuable insights into discipline-specific language that can assist CBI teachers, curriculum designers, and materials writers. As corpus linguistics tools become more accessible, teachers and students themselves may develop the skills to analyze language and content resources, thereby contributing to their autonomy as teachers and learners. Innovations in computer-assisted language learning are likely to find a place in content-based classrooms as well.

Technology may contribute to CBI in other ways. CBI teachers are likely to bring in more interesting combinations of content resources, including the Internet, media, and other forms of content. These varied content resources, accompanied by stimulating tasks, will lead to interesting synthesis activities, thereby obliging students to use critical thinking abilities that are transferable to other learning situations.

Finally, as CBI, in its various configurations, takes on more predominant roles in educational settings, increased attention should be paid to pre and in-service teacher preparation. Opportunities for dual certification and specializations in CBI will prepare a new generation of teachers to enter the work force well-prepared for the challenges of CBI. Partnerships between teacher-training institutions and schools, between researchers and teachers, and across disciplines are likely to result in better prepared, more enthusiastic teachers, and more abundant classroom resources, the end result being students who learn subject matter and language more effectively.

**See Also:** *Do Coyle: CLIL—A Pedagogical Approach from the European Perspective (Volume 4); Sylviane Granger: Learner Corpora in Foreign Language Education (Volume 4); Fred Genesee and Kathryn Lindholm-Leary: Dual Language Education in Canada and the USA (Volume 5); David Marsh: Language Awareness and CLIL (Volume 6); Heidi Byrnes: Assessing Content and Language (Volume 7)*

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## TASK-BASED INSTRUCTION

### INTRODUCTION

Task-based instruction is characterized by activities that engage language learners in meaningful, goal-oriented communication to solve problems, complete projects, and reach decisions. Tasks have been used for a broad range of instructional purposes, serving, for example, as units of course syllabi, activities for structure or function practice, and language focusing enhancements to content-based curricula. Although the language used to carry out a task need not be prespecified, a task can be designed so that attaining its goal depends on linguistic and communicative precision, or requires the use of specific grammatical forms (e.g., Ellis, 2003; Loschky and Bley-Vroman, 1993). The communication strategies and learning processes that emerge during task goal attainment are consistent with those advanced in second language acquisition (SLA) theory and found in SLA research. Demands on the learners' attention, comprehension, and production as they carry out a task that can lead them to test L2 hypotheses, obtain feedback on their comprehensibility, draw inferences about L2 rules and features, and produce more accurate and developmentally advanced output.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Early developments in task-based instruction reflect principles and practices of communicative language teaching, many of which remain in effect to date. A role for tasks was implicit in communicative language teaching from its inception, revealed, for example, by Allwright (1979), who described ways in which instructional activities could promote development of language for authentic use rather than knowledge of language as an unapplied system. Most of the field of language education looks to Prabhu's work in Bangalore, India in the 1980s as the first large-scale project to use tasks as the foundation for instruction within a communicative curriculum (Beretta and Davies, 1985; Prabhu, 1987). Prabhu advanced the idea that task participation could facilitate L2 structure learning without a need to focus on structures themselves, as the need for task completion and goal attainment would create

linguistic demands and stimulate learning processes. He distinguished three task formats: an opinion gap format that invited exchange of preferences and attitudes on a topic or theme; an information gap format that required transfer and exchange of information for project completion; and a reasoning gap format that supported the application of information toward problem solving and decision making. A task could be characterized by a single format or an integration of two or three. For example, students could be asked to share opinions about travel destinations and exchange information about them, then locate departure times on a schedule and use them for trip decisions and plans.

Much of the early work on task-based instruction focused on defining tasks and explaining how they differed from other classroom activities. Although numerous definitions were advanced, tasks came to be characterized by objectives and outcomes that reflected authentic experiences of everyday life, and required use of language consistent with communicative practices outside the classroom context. Many noted scholars looked to tasks to develop student textbooks (e.g., Willis and Willis, 1987) and design learning activities (e.g., Brumfit and Johnson, 1979; Nunan, 1989).

A great deal of attention was given to ways to organize tasks into a course syllabus, as debate centered on the value of a procedural versus a process syllabus. The former, espoused by Johnson (1982) and Prabhu (1987), consisted of problems and activities that were largely teacher designed and directed, and free of explicit language features. It was believed that language-learning processes would be stimulated as students worked to meet task objectives such as deciding on ways to facilitate package shipments, planning itineraries from schedules, or constructing a floor plan from a house description. Alternatively, the more language focused, process syllabus (e.g., Breen, 1987; Candlin, 1987) encouraged the use of language-focused tasks, as long as they were warranted by learners' needs and wishes, and thus also included a role for learner contributions to syllabus and task design. Later, Long and Crookes (1992) would argue for a task-based syllabus that reflected principles of authenticity. Classroom tasks were based on a thorough analysis of learner needs, and corresponded to real world tasks that reflected those needs.

Tasks were introduced to the research context by Long (1981), to address questions on input and interaction in SLA. Many of the research tasks were adaptations of those found in language textbooks, and used in language classrooms. Throughout the 1980s, versions of tasks originally developed for instructional purposes thus came to serve as reliable instruments for gathering data on questions regarding instructional interventions, input adjustments, feedback strategies, and learning processes (reviewed in Pica, Kanagy, and Falodun, 1993).

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Task-based instruction has generated broad interest among educators and researchers, as its central construct, the task, has been used successfully in classroom and research contexts. Numerous single-author texts and edited volumes are available on task-based instruction. Most of them tend to emphasize task design, implementation, and research (e.g., Bygate, Skehan, and Swain, 2001; Crookes and Gass, 1993; Ellis, 2003; Nunan, 1989). Broader phenomena involving task-based curricula and pedagogical practices have also been addressed (e.g., Willis, 1996). Each of these volumes contains numerous extracts and samples of tasks from student textbooks and materials that can be easily accessed, purchased, and used by teachers in their classrooms. The vitality and versatility of the task as an instructional tool, a research instrument, and a learning activity become especially evident when tasks are viewed with respect to the psycholinguistic, sociocultural, and pedagogic processes that are believed to contribute to successful L2 learning.

Long has been at the forefront of efforts to develop tasks that promote psycholinguistic processes of SLA. For Long and others, the most effective tasks promote incidental learning of L2 form, by making message communication the principal activity needed for attaining task objectives. Such tasks are convergent and closed-ended, as they require participants to transfer or exchange uniquely held pieces of information to reach a single, incontrovertible outcome. The demand for comprehensibility of the information and completion of the task sets up conditions for participants to draw each other's attention to their linguistic and communicative shortcomings and needs, and engage in what Long calls "focus on form" (Long, 1991). A large and growing number of researchers have developed tasks that incorporate Long's design features, often extending them toward more specific form focus, and have tracked their accomplishments in empirical studies. A useful resource for these studies is Doughty and Williams (1998).

Long has emphasized ways in which tasks can draw learners' attention to language form incidentally, as the need arises during task implementation. Other psycholinguistically oriented researchers have developed tasks that draw learners' attention to specific linguistic forms more directly by requiring their use to attain task completion. Loschky and Bley-Vroman (1993), for example, suggest that the most helpful tasks for SLA are those in which L2 forms are "task essential," in that the tasks cannot be accomplished unless participants focus on a specific form. They offer the example of a comparison task, whose completion requires the use of *-er* and *more* comparison forms. Most tasks fall short of this ideal, however, and are more likely to provide contexts

for forms that Loschky and Bley-Vroman consider “useful” for their completion. An interview task, for example, could establish contexts for questions, and its implementation would thereby assist the learner’s development of question formation. Questions would be a useful choice, but would not be “essential,” since imperatives or statements of request could be used in their place. Interest in the role of form-focused tasks in L2 learning has led to the development of tasks for use in classroom and research contexts (e.g., Ellis, 2003; Pica, Kang, and Sauro, in press).

Psycholinguistically motivated research has also shown how learners’ familiarity with task-related information frees their attention to achieve production accuracy (Skehan and Foster, 1997). Allowances for task planning and task repetition have been shown to make a difference in the complexity and comprehensibility of learners’ use of language, as the increased allotment of time invites their attention to both language form and meaning (e.g., Bygate, 2001; Skehan 2003). Nunan (1989) and Ellis (2003) review these and other factors as they seek procedures for adjusting tasks for learners’ developmental levels. Examples of adjustments include decreasing or increasing the number of items or steps in the task, the amount of time allowed for its completion, and the extent of linguistic elaboration needed to reach its outcome. These adjustments make it possible for the same task to be used in a classroom of learners who present different developmental levels. Beginners might be given the task with its first few steps completed, and allowed to complete it over the course of two time periods. Advanced learners might be asked to go through all of the steps and might be given one period to do the task, with a follow-up task immediately thereafter. At the individual learner level, an increase in task reporting time could permit a dysfluent student to speak more slowly and precisely, or a student struggling with grammatical endings or sentence connectors to take notes and troubleshoot difficult items.

The selection and design of tasks that promote sociocultural processes is an area of growing interest and importance in the study of SLA. Although psycholinguistically grounded tasks are designed to be implemented through social interaction, this is done to promote processes of attention and cognition for L2 learning. Socioculturally oriented tasks are designed to promote collaborative interaction through which learners can support and guide each other’s L2 learning. The most productive work has been carried out by Swain and Lapkin (2001), who have designed and adapted tasks in ways that provide a basis for the process of “scaffolding,” whereby learners can support each other when confronted with task components that they cannot accomplish on their own. As such, this initial guidance provides support that that the assisted learner can apply to future experiences. One

of the most reliable tasks for stimulating sociocultural processes for L2 learning is the dictogloss (see again, Swain and Lapkin, 2001). Initially, learners are on their own, as they take notes while listening to a teacher-delivered text. During the remainder of the task, they work in pairs or small groups to coconstruct the text from their notes, and later present their versions to their classmates. Swain and Lapkin have studied the strategies learners use to support each other's L2 learning throughout their text coconstruction. Especially affected are areas of vocabulary, as learners supply and define new words and their meanings.

Finally, many tasks draw on classroom processes. Willis (1996) and Willis and Willis (1987), for example, provide a step-by-step procedure for carrying out tasks as part of the classroom curriculum. The first phase consists of topic-oriented, input-rich pretask activities, during which small groups of students get ready for their main task, with teacher's support. This is followed by a planning phase in which the groups carry out the task as well as draft and practice a report on their task work. In the third phase, the learners share their report with their classmates. Through each step, the teacher plays a major role as a reactor, who supplies forms to the students as needed, as well as a selector of L2 forms and features that require further study.

Samuda (2001) has developed a classroom program that uses tasks to guide learners through an input stage, an operation stage, and stage of consolidation and reflection. In so doing, she distinguishes tasks that engage learners in constructing knowledge and building awareness of new forms from those that push them to draw on their language resources to retrieve, activate, and use emerging forms. Samuda also looks to the teacher to provide language assistance and to create task conditions for students' 'need to mean' and to be able to respond to this need with form suppliance. In the final phase of Samuda's program, learners report on their work, often in a poster format, so that they can consolidate their learning and reflect on the language they have learned.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Task-based instruction continues to grow in interest as its central construct, the task, is both an object and an instrument of teaching and research. This is particularly evident in three ongoing projects. Task-based instruction has been a crucial part of the long-standing debate over the effectiveness of direct and indirect instructional approaches in meeting learners' linguistic needs. Ellis and his colleagues at the University of Auckland Institute of Language Teaching and Learning are addressing theoretical and pedagogical questions on this topic, and developing form-focused tasks to do so. As Ellis (2002) explains and summarizes, research has revealed that direct instruction on

specific forms is, in the short run, more likely to lead to L2 grammar learning than communicative experiences designed to gain the learner's attention to L2 form on an implicit or incidental basis. However, questions remain as to the scope, durability, and spontaneity of the linguistic knowledge acquired through direct approaches. It is argued that direct approaches are effective when forms are simple and criteria for their learning are kept to explicit knowledge and discrete point testing. For difficult and complex forms to be internalized and used automatically, however, implicit and inferential learning, albeit much slower, is required.

Ellis and his colleagues are looking at ways to make difficult forms accessible to learners through direct instruction, as well as to help them build implicit knowledge through task-based experiences. Among their instructional tools are focused tasks, which they have designed to direct the learner's attention to forms that are either necessary or useful for task implementation and goal attainment. The tasks also allow for the interface of explicit and implicit knowledge, through either practical application and use of forms that have been taught initially through direct instruction, or approached through problem solving, comprehension of enhanced input, metalinguistic discussion, and other consciousness-raising experiences. As Ellis and his colleagues compare the roles and contributions of focused and unfocused tasks, and other interventions in the learning of L2 forms, their project holds much promise for future task development and for answers to the explicit-implicit learning debate.

On the language classroom front, Pica and a team of co-researchers, teachers, administrators, and graduate students at the University of Pennsylvania have been working on a project which aims to enhance text-based content curricula with tasks that turn meaning-focused texts into form-focused tasks. The project addresses concerns about the missed opportunities for language learning observed in content-based thematic, sheltered, and specific purpose language classrooms, at elementary, secondary, tertiary, and community levels. Analysis of the discourse characteristics of the discussions and homework reviews, as the predominant activities in these classrooms, has revealed fluent, but linguistically inaccurate student production, with greater attention given to the meaning of their contributions than to their linguistic encodings (e.g., Pica, 2005).

Project members are working together to design form-focused information gap tasks that assist L2 learning and teaching, serve as tools for data collection on these processes, and maintain classroom authenticity and interest to allow for long-term usage and longitudinal study. The tasks are closed-ended and precision-oriented, and require the exchange of uniquely held information.

Working in pairs, learners carry out three types of information gap tasks, *Spot the Difference*, *Jigsaw*, and *Grammar Communication*, and do so during regular class meetings. They first read passages on familiar topics, whose sentences contain linguistic forms that are low in salience, difficult to master, and developmentally appropriate. Each pair is then given a version of the passage to read again. One phrase in each sentence of each version is encoded either with the same low salience form that appeared in the original passage or with a slightly different, but nonetheless grammatical, form. For example, one version might contain “a table” while the other had “the table.”

In the *Spot the Difference* tasks, pair members specify the form differences as they compare each sentence of their passage versions. In the *Jigsaw* tasks, they first reorder scrambled sentences of their versions and then specify the form differences. In the *Grammar Communication* tasks, they fill in blank lines in each sentence, by choosing among four differently encoded forms, including the form that appeared in the original passage.

Across all three types of tasks, the learners identify, recall, and compare forms, their functions, and meanings through text reading, form selection, decision making, and text reconstruction. Publications from the project thus far show how to develop form-focused tasks from any content curriculum that uses content-focused texts. They also present data on the ways in which learners' participation in the tasks works to facilitate their learning of L2 forms that are difficult to acquire through communication and content alone, and on the ways in which the tasks themselves operate simultaneously as an instructional activity and a research tool (e.g., Pica, 2005; Pica, Kang, and Sauro, in press).

Researchers at the National Foreign Language Center at the University of Maryland are engaged in basic and applied research on the design of task-based instructional programs for advanced learners. Their current emphasis is on critical languages such as Korean, Chinese, and Arabic. This large-scale, long-term project builds on its predecessor at the National Foreign Language Center, University of Hawaii. Its aim is to produce a task-based program that is consistent with principles of SLA theory and supported by research. The program has developed task-based instructional materials and instruments for assessing learner needs and learning outcomes and carrying out program evaluations. Task-based syllabi and task modules have been organized according to principles of grading and sequencing. Classroom approaches have been designed to promote enhancement of spoken and written input and provision of form-focused feedback. Data collection, which remains ongoing, has thus far revealed advances in L2 proficiency among students who have participated in various dimensions of the program. As majority of students are native speakers

of English, this project allows for the study of task-based learning of a foreign language. Applications of its findings address important areas of need in task-based learning and instruction from both research and practice perspectives.

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

One of the foremost criticisms of task-based instruction has been that its approach to task specification and selection fails to account for sequences and processes of language learning. This standard has not been used to judge other instructional approaches, perhaps because their ordered arrangement of linguistic structures, functions, and notions, gives the appearance that they reflect levels of language learning. Even though it has been widely accepted and well documented that SLA is a multidimensional process that does not follow a stagewise path, and occurs most efficiently in meaningful contexts, rich in comprehensible input, with opportunities for feedback, and production of modified output, skepticism remains about task-based instruction. There is an expectation that courses that are task based or even task enhanced should be able to organize their units of instruction according to principles of linguistics or L2 learning (Bruton, 2002).

Another concern lies in the area of assessment. This is an area where the label, "task," is applied to measures of L2 proficiency that are essentially communicative activities rather than tasks in the sense identified earlier. As such, narratives, interviews, even problem-solving discussions, used in proficiency testing are not tasks in the sense of being connected to a goal or outcome outside of language. To meet this criterion, a proficiency task might ask a language teacher to narrate a story to a classroom of youngsters; or to interview for an actual position in the workplace; or to solve a problem related to the teaching profession. Such objectives for L2 use are currently lacking in task-based assessments. However, much promise can be seen in assessments that engage L2 learners in problem-solving, goal-oriented interaction and information exchange that reflect their own needs and purposes.

A much discussed challenge has been to develop tasks that are consistent with learners' communicative needs and goals, and at the same time, draw their attention to complex or low-salience features easily overlooked in the course of task completion. Most tasks to date promote interaction and create opportunities for form focus, but do so unpredictably, without attention to specific forms. Form-focused and text-based tasks, as described in the project overviews earlier, are aiming to accomplish this end. To study interaction and SLA, they have adapted classroom tasks to study the impact of interventions, for example, recasts, metalinguistic correction, and other feedback moves.

Unfortunately, most of the tasks used in research have been implemented under controlled conditions rather than authentic classroom settings. Some studies have gathered data by implementing tasks in authentic classrooms, but as an extracurricular activity, added on to the regular classroom agenda. Such researcher-dominated practices have given rise to concerns as to their classroom authenticity and application, as the learners who provided the data are first and foremost subjects in a study, and only secondarily students in a classroom. An important need in the field of educational linguistics is for tasks that have authenticity for students and teachers and meet reliability and validity requirements for research. As noted earlier, current works in progress are attempting to address this need.

Whereas considerable strides have been made in the design of tasks for language learning, the development of instructional approaches for task implementation has been wanting. Ironically, a field that began with a large-scale, classroom-centered project (Prabhu, 1987) has over the years narrowed its focus on the development of a theoretically grounded battery of task types for laboratory-like use. Fortunately the practical, classroom implementation is of concern to the newer projects in progress and principled, task-based methods may be forthcoming.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Task-based instruction will continue to be of great interest throughout the field of educational linguistics, as it is one of the few instructional approaches that has had both a theoretical and an empirical grounding since its inception. The task, which has shown itself to be versatile and robust as a theoretical construct, a pedagogical unit, and a research tool, will continue to find a home in these areas. Questions about the role of tasks in classroom learning and practice provide a challenging research agenda: Can tasks shown to facilitate individual students' grammatical needs in controlled contexts be used to assist groups of students in the language classroom? Can language teachers extend language-learning tasks to address their students' content needs as well? Can programs be developed, designed, and evaluated with tasks as their central unit? Affirmative answers to these questions will promote follow-up questions about application and process.

Other fields will enrich these questions as well. As technology continues to grow in importance language education, teachers will be asked to develop language-learning experiences that involve students as media users, not only consumers. As Warschauer and Healey (1998) emphasize, task-based projects will be needed to integrate learners across networked environments as well as to integrate the skills of reading, writing, speaking, and listening in this effort. In order for such

an integrated approach to be effective, teachers will be called on to develop tasks whereby students can learn to use computers and other technological instruments as tools for their L2 learning and use.

As the responsibilities given to professional educators expand and evolve, teachers are being called on to broaden the scope of their work, and to be teachers of language as well as teachers of language learners. They find themselves responsible for meeting the subject content needs of their students, and their linguistic and communicative needs as well. World wide, teachers are confronted with the responsibility to teach classes of students who must acquire knowledge and skills in science, technology, business, and telecommunication, and do so through a language of which they know very little, or nothing at all. Translating their target needs into learning tasks is a major, but necessary effort in this area. Such tasks create a further demand for tests and assessments that reflect target performance in content applications and skill usage. The scale of this work is likely to increase as schools continue to move language learners into sheltered and regular classrooms, as university language courses adopt content-based curricula, and as theme-based and specific purpose classes increase in scope and popularity.

Debate will continue as to whether instruction should assist the purposes of communication, and therefore emphasize functions, notions, and their structural and lexical correlates, or orchestrate the processes of communication, and therefore develop language-rich experiences and arrange different student groupings. From the time of its inception, task-based instruction has been oriented toward the latter, but has never lost sight of the former. This has been evident in the use of needs and task analyses and the ever-present reliance upon the responsive and flexible teacher to draw students' attention to their linguistic and communicative needs. The movement toward focused tasks and needs-specified curricula, described in the previous section, portends further developments in this area.

Now that task design has become a central concern of SLA research, as tasks have come to serve as instruments for instructional treatment and contexts for data collection on theoretical questions, the influence of tasks and task development is likely to be felt beyond the classroom. Projects in progress reveal that teachers and researchers from diverse academic interests, cultural backgrounds, and professional persuasions are working together to develop tasks, and more importantly, they are working together to make a difference to the students whose needs and interests they serve.

*See Also:* Claire Kramsch: *Applied Linguistic Theory and Second/Foreign Language Education (Volume 4)*; Steven Thorne: *Computer-mediated Communication (Volume 4)*; Do Coyle: *CLIL—A Pedagogical*

*Approach from the European Perspective (Volume 4); Fredricka L. Stoller: Content-based Instruction (Volume 4); Olga Kagan and Kathleen Dillon: Issues in Heritage Language Learning in the United States (Volume 4); Linda von Hoene: The professional Development of Foreign Language Instructors in Postsecondary Education (Volume 4); Sandra Lee McKay: Sociolinguistics and Language Education (Volume 4); Janna Fox: Alternative Assessment (Volume 7); James E. Purpura: Assessing Communicative Language Ability: Models and their Components (Volume 7); Alison Mackey and Rebekha Abbuhl: Second Language Acquisition Research Methods (Volume 10)*

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PROFESSIONAL COMMUNICATION

INTRODUCTION

Language for special or specific purposes (LSP) was earlier the main term used for research on communication in professional settings. The history of this field reveals an early theoretical interest in the description of various *sublanguages*, which are assumed to exist within the general language system in response to specific professional needs. Early studies were concerned with the written products e.g. with specific terminology, text types and registers. Over time, however, there has been a growing interest in the communicative processes involved, and in their psychological and sociological dimensions, with a theoretical shift towards sociolinguistics, social constructivism, ethnography, conversation analysis and critical linguistics. Studies have dealt with spoken as well as written discourse and with the complex and diversified interplay between these media. The term *professional discourse* or *professional communication* is preferred to delineate this wider field.

The early LSP traditions developed mainly within foreign language departments, with their orientation towards analysis of the language system. Practical problems relating to translation, standardization of terminology and design of technical and commercial documents were dealt with. This connection between the study of foreign languages and professional communication still exists, though the problems focused on have shifted somewhat. The earlier interest in language differences has made way for an interest in problems relating to language-in-context, and a sociological approach has been used both for macro analysis of organization structure and for micro analysis of workplace interaction. This has meant a gradual acknowledgement of the complexity and multimodality of interaction at work and a broadened methodological frame. In a gradually more globalized professional world, we also find that the cross-cultural dimension, in all its social complexity, is becoming more and more central.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The use of language for special purposes is of ancient origin, stemming from the human need to moderate language to suit different types of activities. The systematic study of LSP and the establishment of LSP as a field of academic inquiry, however, has a much shorter history. The oldest branch is concerned with the study of terminology. In the early years of this century, German engineers elaborated lists of terms used within different fields, and the theoretical work of Eugen Wüster in the 1930s laid the foundations for international collaboration to standardize terminology (cf. Wüster, 1970).

It is not as easy, however, to determine when the study of texts for specific purposes began. We can find individual studies on business, legal and scientific languages, for example, quite early on. The 1960s, of course, saw an increase in such work, as with other types of linguistic research. Interest in readability and document design also emerged in the 1960s, leading to the creation of 'document design centres'. As regards the LSP field in a more organized form, we have to go to the 1970s to find its starting-point. In the late 1970s, various activities were in progress, which seem to indicate that LSP had become established as a field of its own. The first European symposium on LSP was held in 1977, the LSP journal *Fachsprache* was launched in 1979 and the journal *English for Specific Purposes* in 1981.

The early history of the LSP field is to a large extent connected with European scholars and European thinking. The study of language for specific purposes was undertaken in a language-based functionalist theoretical framework. The emphasis was on general characteristics at different levels (lexicon, syntax, style) of different sublanguages, such as the medical, economic, legal and technical sublanguages. The relevant knowledge base was fundamental to this differentiation into *sublanguages*, while functional aspects underlay a differentiation into *text types*.

Traditional, mainstream LSP research could thus be described as language-based and product-oriented, with the aim of describing and classifying different types of languages for specific purposes and different types of texts. From early on, translation of economic, technical and other professional texts was a key area of interest to LSP scholars, and special attention has been devoted to the linguistic basis for the translation of documents. In parallel with this Germanistic European LSP tradition, an Anglo-American tradition developed, following a largely different course. The ESP (English for Specific Purposes) field developed in the US and in Britain in English language departments, with their strong orientation towards literature and a more global and text-based analysis of different genres. It evolved within academic

communities concerned with educational problems relating to teaching students how to write different types of English texts in a socially acceptable and also a competitive way. The study of ESP therefore came to be combined with an interest in rhetoric, the art of persuasion, and in sociology, the art of socializing and conforming. This tradition, spread through a web of 'writing across the curriculum' courses in the English-speaking countries, focused on text patterns—argumentative and persuasive patterns—and the actual writing process, rather than on language structure and variation. The social dimension was also central. Writing was analysed as taking place within a *discourse community*, a sociorhetorical concept relating to the use of written texts for specialist professional purposes. There is a clear connection between the concepts of *discourse community* and *sublanguage*; those using a particular sublanguage for specific purposes are thus assumed to form a discourse community. Studies have been directed not only towards the *genre*, but also towards the individual writers and their relationship to the discourse community. The interest in the linguistic structure of various sublanguages was replaced by a wider interest in communication in professional settings and in research on both text and talk.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The following discussion of major contributions will be arranged around different professional settings.

#### *The Economic–Technical Setting*

The 1970s and 1980s were the decades of the *plain language movement*. The idea was to formulate strategies and rules for writers that would improve documents of different kinds. Perhaps the most widespread and enduring result of this movement was what were called 'readability formulae'. Based on a mechanistic view of reading and comprehension, formulae were developed, which could measure the difficulty—readability—of texts. Most of them were based on word and sentence length. The theoretical basis for these formulae is very weak, but they owe their popularity to their simplicity.

This movement, however, is much more than just readability formulae, and some work has been done under this umbrella, which is of a good theoretical standard. Basing their studies on psycholinguistics and cognitive psychology, Linda Flower and John Hayes managed to give their document design work a theoretical orientation. They conducted experiments with readers and writers, and came to develop their famous writing model (Hayes and Flower, 1980).

'Instructional science' was also used as a basis for document design work, for example in Europe. Instructional research focuses on the development of procedures for optimizing learning in specific situations. Its aim is to establish rules that specify the most effective way of attaining knowledge or mastering skills. Another field that has contributed to document design work is that of 'human factors'. Here, methods and techniques are developed for the application of experimental procedures in real-life situations.

The plain language movement has not ceased to exist, although its focus has shifted. Studies are oriented towards text linguistics and rhetoric with the goal of improving instructions, guidelines and technical reports, finding adequate strategies for the drafting of sales promotion letters and job applications, and also popularizing difficult documents. The development of *The Journal of Business Communication*, the first number of which appeared already in 1963, reflect this change, as does the newly merged journal *Information Design Journal+Document Design*. A good example of its broad application is also Shuy (1998), where a number of tools for communicating more clearly in government and business settings are given.

### *Legal and Bureaucratic Settings*

Much work of interest has been carried out within legal and bureaucratic settings. The more purely descriptive work done on the characteristics of legislative language in terms of vocabulary, syntax and textual patterns (Mellinkoff, 1963; Kurzon, 1986; Bhatia, 1987) can be seen as forming the foundation for the more process-oriented studies. Other work had a sociological foundation, analysing the functions of laws and other legal texts (Danet, 1980).

One legal problem area relates to the asymmetries in reading comprehension between lay people and professionals. Being undertaken with the aim of facilitating reading and comprehension for the ordinary man or woman, these studies have come to clearly reflect the theoretical situation within psycholinguistics. In the 1960s legislative texts were analysed and assessed in relation to their readability, which involved a mechanical way of analysing documents at a surface level. An analysis of jury instructions by Charrow and Charrow (1979) represented a step forward. Their ideas for reform derived from a number of linguistic factors, but they were not based on any theory of text comprehension or on a very searching analysis of the societal function of the texts.

Other studies have had a more theoretical foundation. On the basis of a critique of previous research, Gunnarsson (1984) rejected the concern with lexis or syntax, which went no further than memorization or ability

to paraphrase, and developed a theory of functional comprehensibility focusing on perspective and function orientation (implications for action). The reading of laws and text comprehension is here viewed in a societal framework.

Difficulties due to asymmetries have also interested scholars of spoken legal discourse. Courtroom proceedings and police encounters, have been analysed by linguists, sociologists and ethnographers. Studies have focused on different types of content and argumentative features, in order to reveal how utterances are part of a prior and anticipated context. Cross-examination, question–answer patterns, topic progression and recycling, argumentative structure and story patterns have been analysed (Atkinson and Drew, 1979; Drew, 1992). Other studies have focused on the understanding and interpretation of utterances. Within a sociolinguistic theoretical framework, experiments have been carried out with different versions of utterances, in order to test powerful and powerless speech, gender differences etc. in style, self-presentation and tone of voice, (Adelswärd, Aronsson, Jönsson, and Linell, 1987; Conley and O’Barr, 1998; O’Barr, 1982).

Important work has also been done on the pre-trial phase, which is police interrogation. Cicourel (1968) analysed the part played by police questioning in the long bureaucratic judicial process. In this pioneering work, he studied the social construction of ‘cases’, particularly the formation and transformation of the images of young delinquents as the cases pass through the legal system (police, social workers, probation officers, prosecutors, courts). Lynch (1982) studied argumentation in pre-trial versus trial situations, and Jönsson (1988) the interplay between police interrogation and the written police report. Other studies have examined the role and effectiveness of legal interpretation. As well in police interrogations as in the court room, interpreters play essential roles for the process (Berk-Seligson, 1990, 2000).

### *The Medical–Social Setting*

Medical discourse has also been studied from a variety of angles. The problems that arise between doctors and patients have been seen to a large extent as interactional, and it has been assumed that it is possible to do something about them. The asymmetries between doctor and patient have been analysed in various ways. Mishler (1984) talked about the two different voices in doctor–patient interaction, the voice of medicine and the voice of the lifeworld, which represent different ways of conceptualizing and understanding patients’ problems. The different perspectives in medical interaction have been the concern of Cicourel, one of the founders of doctor–patient research. By means of conversational

analysis of extracts from doctor–patient encounters, he was able to reveal important sources of miscommunication (Cicourel, 1981).

Among the different medical specialities, psychiatric treatment has been of particular interest to linguists. A well-known example is Labov and Fanshel's work on therapeutic discourse (1977). Analyses have also focused on neurotic and psychotic language, interaction with aphasia and dementia sufferers, and talk to and about old people. In Sarangi and Roberts (1999), several important analyses of discourse in medical settings are presented and placed in their theoretical and methodological framework. The new journal *Communication and Medicine* also shows the broad interest in this area of applied linguistics.

### *Science and the Academic Setting*

Writing at the college and university level and the different academic genres of writing have attracted the attention of many researchers. Much research has been steered by the practical need to improve the teaching of writing in the college classroom. The so called 'Freshman Writing Program' in the US, which involves all college students, has thus led to a large number of studies on genres and on the writing process. Many of these focus on the learner's adjustment to the academic discourse community from a sociological angle (e.g. Berkenkotter and Huckin, 1995; Swales, 1990), while other studies stress the negotiative character of writing in a truly Bakhtinian sense (e.g. Flower, 1994).

Academic genres have also been studied from a cross-cultural angle, with the aim of revealing differences and improving L2 writing. The contrastive rhetoric tradition, which has been influenced by the pioneering work of Kaplan in the 1960s, has led to many important studies on differences between the writing of scholars with different language backgrounds (e.g. Connor, 1996; Kaplan, 1966; Mauranen, 1993; Melander, Swales and Fredrickson, 1997).

Additionally, the Australian school, using a systemic functional approach, has been steered by the practical need to elaborate tools to use in the teaching of text writing at different levels (Halliday and Martin, 1993).

The complexity of the construction of knowledge and the historical development of scientific discourse has interested other scholars. In a pioneering study, Bazerman (1988) analysed the rise of modern forms of scientific communication, focusing on the historical emergence of the experimental article. The sociohistorical development of academic genres has also been studied using the technique of textlinguistics (Gunnarsson, 1998).

In Hyland (2003) a complex methodological framework is used to describe social interaction in academic writing, including praise and

criticism, citation and intertextuality, power and authority and the construction of expertise. Ethnographic methodology is used by Swales (1998) for the study of the textography in academic settings.

### WORK IN PROGRESS

The studies, which will be discussed, under this heading all relate to discourse in organizations, institutions or workplaces. With a theoretical orientation towards sociology and organization/network theory, social constructivism, critical linguistics, ethnography and conversation analysis, these studies try to grasp and understand problem areas relating to the complexity and diversity of communication in the professions (see Bazerman and Paradis, 1991; Gunnarsson, Linell and Nordberg, 1997). The aim is not mainly to describe differences relating to the various professions but to find macro and micro structures in professional discourse as such. In many ways these studies can be seen as pointing towards the future.

The relationship between organizational structure and culture, hierarchy and writing activities have earlier been elucidated in a variety of studies, using methods ranging from pure survey to ethnographic observation. What characterizes the work in progress in this area, however, is its close connection to sociolinguistics and to work on organizations within sociology.

Gunnarsson (2004) gives an account of research related to different types of organizations. In one study, the writing activities of a local government office were analysed in relation to its internal structure—hierarchies, clusters, role patterns—as well as to the external networks to which the actors/writers belong. Within this workplace, complexity was found to be related to the roles played by the writer, the network structure and also the intertwining of spoken and written discourse. Complexity was also found central within larger organizations, which were the focus of a contrastive study. Banks and structural engineering companies were studied in three countries: Germany, UK and Sweden. Based on interview data and analyses of texts, the relationship between discourse, organizations and national cultures were explored. The organizational ideas and communicative policies of each enterprise are found to matter for the structure of discourse at the same time as national cultural patterns can be distinguished.

Sarangi and Roberts (1999, pp. 1–57) give a valuable theoretical perspective on the dynamics of institutional and interactional orders in work-related discourse, which are likely to form a background for future studies on institutional discourse. Another methodology to describe the orders and disorders of discourse is found in Wodak (1997), which focuses on the complexity due to the institutional structure in a medical

setting, an out-patients' clinic at an Austrian hospital. The actual discourse between the medical actors—doctor, nurse, patient and relatives—is analysed in relation to a macro description of the institution as a working organization, comprising an analysis of roles, routines and events. The research team found a clear relationship between the setting, the physical and mental state of the professionals and the actual conversation. The doctors' behaviour towards the patients, for instance the length of the conversation, the tone and the degree of mutual understanding, varies with the degree of stress and tension caused by the events occurring. The Wodak study was carried out within the critical discourse analysis paradigm, and it has also found a direct application in that the research team have based courses for doctors on their results.

Micro-analysis of workplace interaction is another expanding research area, and also here a broad range of methodologies have been used for the analysis of talk at work: conversation analysis, critical discourse analysis, politeness theory and interactional sociolinguistics. The sociological approach is a common denominator for these studies, which aim at a description of the various *communities of practice* within professional life (Barton and Tusting, 2005). Holmes and Stubbe (2003) analyse power and politeness in the workplace. A particular focus in workplace studies has been on interaction involving immigrants with other mother tongue than the dominant language at work (Clyne, 1994).

Encounters in working life have also been focused on from the perspective of the complexity of the social and cultural dimensions involved. Considerable practical interest attaches to intercultural negotiations, and many studies have focused on negotiations between individuals from different cultures and with different mother tongues. Firth (1995) includes studies of negotiations in intraorganizational encounters, in commodity trading, and in professional-lay interactions. Negotiations are studied in the varied settings of the doctor's office, the welfare bureau, the travel agency, the consumer helpline, government, the university and business. Professional communication in international settings is also dealt with in Pan, Scollon and Scollon (2002), where the focus is on the communicative activities of telephone calls, resumés (or CV), presentations and meetings.

A current theme within studies of professional discourse is related to the communicative practices within transnational companies. In Gunnarsson (2004), a study on the multilingual practices of a transnational company with its head office in Sweden is also discussed. The term *parallel writing* is used to describe the practices established within the Electrolux group. This term relates to text writing in different languages based on a common raw material, which is sent out from the head office in Stockholm. The selling offices throughout the world receive this raw material, from which they can choose ideas and parts

for the writing of customer brochures in their respective language and for their respective group of customers. The role of translating is thus minimized and mainly reserved for official documents like annual reports. For the designing of courses for translators, results like this are indeed of great relevance.

In a globalized business world, many companies are forced to use English lingua franca, ELF, as their corporate language. Currently there are a great number of studies focusing on this practice. Nickersen (1998) analysed ELF in email writing within an international company in the Netherlands, and Kankaanranta (2005) analyses the use of ELF in email correspondence between Finns and Swedes. In addition, these studies are of great relevance for the teaching of language for specific purposes in the future.

Another subarea where there is much work in progress relates to the complexity due to new technology. Since the 1990s an increased number of studies have focused on the use of fax, e-mail and other computer-mediated genres for business purposes (Bargiela-Chiappini and Nickersen, 1999), and the multimodal character of discourse is explored in a variety of professional interactions (Le Vine and Scollon, 2004; Norris and Jones, 2005). Meetings and negotiations by means of video technique have been recorded and analysed as have interaction in call centres.

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

The first problem that should be considered is one touched on earlier. It relates to the historical disciplinary divide between studies of written discourse and work on spoken discourse. Studies of non-verbal communication and new technology, too, are often departmentally separated from studies of other types of discourse, as they are carried out in communication and technology departments, rather than in language and sociology departments. It should be said, however, that this problem can be solved, and that many steps have already been taken to bridge the gap, including conferences and joint volumes, and multiplex studies of real-life communication.

The second major problem in this field is the complexity of professional life and the variation from one environment to another. It is not always possible to generalize from one workplace to another, and even less from one culture to another. In addition, continuous—and often very rapid—changes take place in the various organizations and institutions, which means that painstaking studies, taking years to complete, are sometimes obsolete before they are finished and made known to the public.

A third and related problem has to do with establishing the right research contacts. It is not always easy for the researcher to gain access

to the authentic workplace situation he or she wishes to observe. Many situations are too sensitive, which means that the presence of an outsider could ruin the outcome. Much of what happens in the business world is cloaked in strict secrecy, and many professionals are afraid to reveal their strategies to outsiders and, of course, to competitors.

A fourth problem concerns the acceptance of one's results, on the one hand among fellow researchers and on the other among practitioners. The researcher studying communication in the professions has to balance between two worlds—the academic and the practical—a task that is most certainly very complicated. Most of the studies presented in this chapter are accepted as solid research. It is probably safe to say, however, that most of this work is little known among the practitioners concerned.

The dissemination of research results to practitioners and to teachers of communication in the professions is, of course, of vital importance. Much teaching of LSP and professional communication, for example in foreign languages, lack unnecessarily a solid theoretical foundation. The transfer of knowledge from studies on professional communication to the actual teaching of business Spanish, legal German, etc. does not always take place. Although far from impossible, it has to be said that bridging this gap is sometimes quite problematic.

Last but not least, I would like to focus on the problems arising from the dominance of the rich parts of the world and their special languages in relation to research and teaching. Though important work was done as early as the 1970s on the development of course materials and textbooks specifically for use on English for science and technology courses in the developing countries, the rich world bias still prevails in the great flood of books that have spread around the globe. It is also to be regretted that, here as elsewhere, we know so little about studies on the smaller and less known special languages, in particular those used in the developing world.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

To grasp the complexity and diversity of authentic situations in the professional world, theoretical and methodological integration must—and is likely to—take place within the field of professional discourse and communication. Such studies will need to adopt a holistic approach, that is, to include all kinds of communication—written, spoken and new technology. Analysis of the interplay between written and spoken discourse is already under way, but much more needs to be done in order to grasp what is really happening. A few studies have dealt with new technology—e-mail, fax, telephone and video conferences etc.—but future research will have to explore these types of communication

in greater detail. In particular, it will be necessary to analyse the new roles of and the interplay between traditional discourse types and this new technology in a changing professional world. What medium is used for what purpose, by whom and in what situation?

The use and function of different languages in the professions is another area that has been touched upon, but in which a lot more needs to be done. In a more and more internationally oriented professional world, language choice is a complex issue. In a multilingual professional community, the different languages are likely to serve different functions and also to have differing prestige. Translation issues are of course always central, but what is of growing importance in a rapid international interchange of information and ideas is the parallel production of discourse (spoken as well as written) in different languages.

In order to grasp the complexity of real life, it will be necessary to use a multiplex methodology, drawing on the traditional quantitative as well as qualitative traditions. It will also be necessary to analyse the practices in professional settings in different parts of the world, that is to study medical communication in China, Korea and Brazil, and the use of different languages and different language mixes for professional purposes.

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## CLIL—A PEDAGOGICAL APPROACH FROM THE EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVE

### INTRODUCTION

The advent of CLIL as an acronym for Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL/EMILE: Enseignement d'une Matière par l'Intégration d'une Langue Etrangère) in the mid-1990s brought to the fore significant developments in a trans-European movement focussing on integrating foreign language and subject/thematic content in a wide range of learning and teaching contexts. According to Marsh (2002, p. 15) CLIL/EMILE is an umbrella term which refers to 'any dual-focussed educational context in which an additional language, thus not usually the first foreign language of the learners involved, is used as a medium in the teaching and learning of non-language content'. This broad definition serves to differentiate CLIL from bilingual or immersion education and a host of alternatives and variations such as content-based language teaching, English for Special Purposes, plurilingual education, in two distinct ways: it is based on an integrated approach, where both language and content are conceptualised on a continuum without an implied preference for either; it has its roots in European contexts where socio-linguistic and political settings are very rich and diverse. CLIL relates to any language, age and stage—not only in the compulsory education sector but also inclusive of kindergarten, vocational and professional learning. It encapsulates lifelong learning.

After a historical overview of the developments of CLIL, the increasing momentum of CLIL is then described alongside new challenges and problems to be solved which provide a steer for future directions.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Although Europe has a history of 'variegated' forms of bilingual education dating back over several millennia (Glyn-Lewis, 1976), until recently, these developments were perceived as

*special, marginal, remedial, compensatory, peripheral, experimental or exotic. As such, alternative bilingual forms of education have simply got on with their business outside*

*the mainstream of consciousness, accumulating experience and expertise which have failed to reach out to the relevant research public or academic spheres* (Baetens-Beardsmore 1993, p. 1)

In the 1970s and beyond, while major initiatives in Canadian Immersion programmes were attracting worldwide attention, not least because of extensive and integrated pedagogical research evidence, pioneering work in European 'bilingual education' was struggling for a more cohesive and coordinated identity. Linguistic complexity across Europe and trans-national socio-political developments, within for example the European Union and Eastern European countries, were spawning different ideologies in attempts to build on, rationalise or dominate linguistic and cultural diversity. During this period, many different models of bilingual education were developing across Europe (Artigal, 1991; Coste, 1994; Wolff, 1997) involving:

*the maintenance and expansion of a threatened linguistic patrimony as in Wales, the revival and expansion of smaller regional languages as in Catalonia and the Basque country, the accommodation of cross-border minorities as in Schleswig, the promotion of neighbouring languages across national frontiers as in the German model, the provision of high-level multilingual proficiency as in Luxembourg and the European Schools, and the integration of immigrant populations into mainstream society.* (Baetens-Beardsmore 1993, p. 3)

Little emphasis was placed on collaboration to develop CLIL pedagogies. Theoretical principles underpinning CLIL classroom practice tended to rely heavily on second language acquisition theory (Coyle, 2005).

In the 1990s, the European Commission was instrumental in promoting a re-conceptualisation of these diverse models into the European phenomenon of CLIL—an evolution which has taken over 10 years and is continuing. In terms of European Language Policy, it was clear that the vision and rhetoric concerning complex language issues had to be addressed through promoting the learning of foreign languages especially in the compulsory education sector. In 1993, for example, the Council of Europe within their programme of Language Learning for European Citizenship organised pan-European Workshop 12A *Bilingual Education in Secondary Schools: Learning and Teaching non-language subjects through a Foreign Language*. This brought together key players in the bilingual field ranging from policy makers and theoreticians to teachers and learners to 'provide a survey of current models, materials and practices' and 'initiate a multi-faceted programme of international co-operation in the field of bilingual learning'

(Report on Workshop 12A, p5). This was followed in 1996 by Workshop 12B which set about making recommendations for the coordination of developments in bilingual education across Europe so that more teachers, learners and curricular programmes might benefit from offering learning opportunities, other than formal language lessons, in a foreign language. During this period, bilingual education was attaching itself to European language policy, seen by some as a possible response to the so-called failure of communicative approaches in language learning to motivate and produce a highly skilled plurilingual, pluricultural workforce.

Defining bilingual education remained a major issue for debate: the plethora of models with differing priorities, needs, aims and outcomes were united in the 1995 Commission of the European Communities White Paper *Teaching and Learning: Towards the Learning Society*, which argued strongly that all European citizens should be able to communicate in three languages—the local and/or national language and two other European languages. The greatest challenge then in the 1990s, was to create a channel for shared understandings and an acknowledgement that the diversity of European models demanded the revisioning of bilingual education according to national and regional contexts. The term CLIL was therefore adopted to indicate a

*generic umbrella term encompassing a wide range of initiatives, in which learning of second/foreign languages and other subjects, has a joint curricular role in education. Usage of this term allows us to consider the myriad variations. . .without imposing restrictions which might fail to take account of school or region-specific implementation characteristics. . .*

*It does not give emphasis to either language teaching or learning, or to content teaching and learning, but sees both as integral parts of the whole. (Marsh 2002, p. 59)*

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS: EXPANSION OF CLIL ACROSS EUROPE

CLIL is dual-focused encompassing both subject or thematic and language development although, depending on the context and variables within, there may be a predominance of one over the other but never to exclusion. However, it is the interpretation of the *integration* of content and language in CLIL which has major implications for and impact on the development of CLIL pedagogies. According to Nikula (1997) countries have very many ways of realising CLIL due to specific socio-cultural settings and educational policies. There is no single blueprint that can be applied in the same way in different countries.

*At the global level European communities both individually and collectively have had to address the complex specificities of linguistic and cultural diversity. CLIL is central to this diversity whilst remaining constant in its drive to integrate both subject and language learning. Integration is a powerful pedagogic tool which aims to safeguard the subject being taught whilst promoting language as a medium for learning as well as an objective of the learning process itself (Coyle 2002a, p. 27)*

### *Diverse CLIL Models*

The 2006 Eurydice Survey, *Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) at School in Europe*, which takes stock of CLIL provision and organisation in 30 European countries, concludes that while the acronym CLIL is used in research, different countries use different terminology which reflects the emphasis given to either the subject-based component or the language of CLIL. Grin (2005) notes that there are 216 types of CLIL programmes based on variables such as compulsory status, intensity, starting age, starting linguistic level and duration. Clegg (2003, p. 89) differentiates between language-led CLIL which ‘imports parts of subjects ... [and] highlights language development’ and subject-led projects which ‘may well exclude language teachers and explicit language teaching’. He goes on to identify 14 criteria for profiling CLIL including ownership, objectives and the degree of explicit language and/or subject teaching, before pointing out that ‘we need to examine CLIL projects according to these criteria before we can make judgements on them’ (2003, p. 109).

*CLIL models are by no means uniform. They are elaborated at a local level to respond to local conditions and desires. Indeed the characteristics of CLIL developments in Europe show a great variety of solutions ... it is the combination of the choices in respect to the variables that produce a particular CLIL model as well as also defining its effectiveness vis à vis the overall aims. (Coonan 2003, p. 27)*

According to the CLIL Compendium (Marsh and Maljers, 2001) different European models can be categorised according to where the CLIL programme is placed on a monolingual, bilingual or multilingual continuum. Inherent in positioning CLIL along this continuum are different societal and contextual variables such as language choice, age of learners, level of competence etc. The same study also identified five fundamental dimensions which determine the very nature of any CLIL: culture, environment, language, content and learning. These dimensions impact directly on CLIL programmes across Europe,

renowned for their diversity: from sections européennes using different languages in over 2,000 upper secondary schools in France, to primary school learners using English in Austria; from ‘European Schools’ to vocational and professional institutions; from pre-school youngsters in Finland learning through Swedish to thousands of secondary school students in Germany using English or French to learn mainstream curriculum subjects; from over 4,000 students in the Netherlands learning through English in all sectors of their schooling to primary school learners using Estonian and English in Estonia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy ... and so on. In effect, diverse models involve more than 30 European nations including those programmes targeting heritage languages and plurilingual contexts as in Wales, Catalonia, Luxembourg, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium (data from Marsh, 2002).

### *In Search of Pedagogical Coherence*

Unlike the general consensus among practitioners and researchers alike around communicative approaches to teaching foreign languages in the 1980s, there is a lack of cohesion around CLIL pedagogies. Pedagogy is embedded in a conception of the learning process and the desired social and cultural learning outcomes of CLIL. There is neither one CLIL approach nor one theory of CLIL. Instead, different models and their constituent dimensions have contributed to the emergence of a range of methods, materials and curriculum organisation which are often reactive to educational settings in different countries. Cummins (2000) remarked that in the early Canadian immersion programmes many of the classrooms tended to be highly teacher-centred or ‘transmission-oriented’. In similar vein, two general observations about European CLIL in the last two decades might be considered:

1. CLIL pedagogies have been highly influenced by language acquisition theories which favour language teaching perspectives. Since in European contexts English is the predominant CLIL language, this has reinforced a range of approaches which ‘guides language processing, supports language production, teaches language learning through use’ (Kelly, 2005) and sometimes resembles English for Special Purposes, TESOL or content-based language instruction. While all of these have a significant contribution to make, it seems that subject matter pedagogies are being systematically overlooked.
2. Transmission-oriented approaches in CLIL teaching have encouraged teachers to focus on content delivery and address potential tensions of time constraints and promises that progress in the subject matter would not lag behind similar courses taught in the mother tongue (InterTalk video, 1998). The more advanced the

students' level of foreign language, the less attention it seemed needed to be paid to linguistic development. Learner interaction in the foreign language has tended to be avoided with a marked preference for writing tasks instead (Eurydice, 2006).

In 1999, a publication by CILT (Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research, London) entitled *Learning Through a Foreign Language: Models, Methods and Outcomes* (Masih, 1999) explored different approaches to learning and teaching CLIL and marked a milestone in promoting CLIL models and pedagogies. It crucially demonstrated that whilst different models were giving rise to different practices that fundamental theoretical underpinnings were starting to emerge.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS: EVOLVING CLIL PEDAGOGIES

In 1986, Mohan proposed that subject matter, thinking and language should form the basis of effective language-medium teaching whatever the model. Swain (1991 in Mohan, Leung, and Davidson, 2000) supports this view '*good content teaching ... the integration of language, subject area knowledge, and thinking skills requires systematic monitoring and planning*'. Coyle (1999) argues that classroom practice must be built on theoretical principles which take account of the integration of content and foreign language learning to ensure that the linguistic level of the learners does not determine or reduce the cognitive processing of individual learners.

More recently there has been a shift to integrate not only language and content but to integrate learning theory (content and cognition) and language learning theory (communication and culture). The teaching team at the CIEP (Centro Integrado de Educação Primária) Vila Olímpica school in Barcelona (2003) provides a very clear explanation of how this works in practice:

*Language functions as a tool that enables and fosters the knowledge structuring process. Language helps us to organize what knowledge we have and to introduce in such knowledge the new acquisitions we regularly interiorize. It can be said then that as we teach and students learn the different contents of each area, we are also teaching and students are also learning the language items that belong to each area. It also works the other way: insofar as we teach and students learn language they learn the contents of curricular areas. This is precisely the way in which we consider language as a transverse axis for the work on each and every one of the school curriculum areas. (Ramirez and Serra, 2003)*

In addition, since ‘intercultural’ understanding is promoted in trans-European contexts, Wolff (2002) advocates that CLIL, which brings together elements of citizenship, plurilingual and pluricultural understanding, transcends national borders and linguistic barriers.

### *The 4Cs Framework*

Working towards a cohesive conceptual tool, and influenced by the early work of Mohan and his *Knowledge Framework* (1986), Coyle (1999) developed the 4Cs Framework (Figure 1). This Framework differs from the standards-based world languages education strategy *Standards for Foreign Language Learning in the 21st Century* (1999) published by ACTFL (American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages), which focuses on the language curriculum. Although some interesting links can be made (e.g. communication, cultures and connections), there is a difference in emphasis since the starting point is language education. The 4Cs framework for CLIL starts with content (such as subject matter, themes, cross-curricular approaches) and focuses on the interrelationship between content (subject matter), communication (language), cognition (thinking) and culture (awareness of self and ‘otherness’) to build on the synergies of integrating learning (content and cognition) and language learning (communication and cultures). It unites learning theories, language learning theories and intercultural understanding:

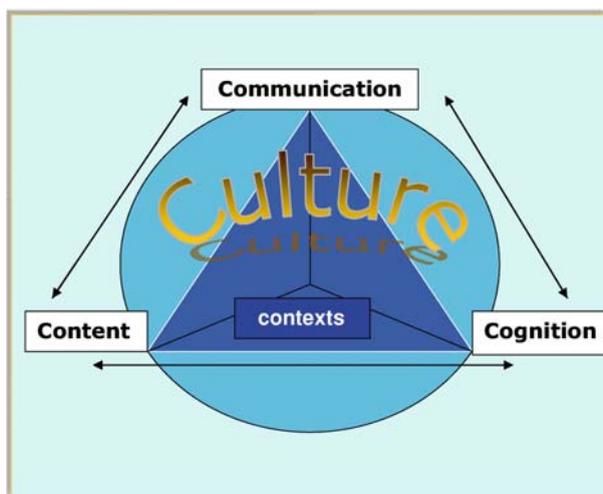


Figure 1 The 4Cs framework for CLIL (Coyle, 2005).

1. Subject matter is not only about acquiring knowledge and skills, it is about the learner constructing his/her own knowledge and developing skills (Lantolf, 2000; Vygotsky, 1978);
2. Acquiring subject knowledge, skills and understanding is related to learning and thinking (cognition). To enable the learner to construct an understanding of the subject matter, the linguistic demands of its content must be analysed and made accessible (Met, 1998);
3. Thinking processes (cognition) need to be analysed for their linguistic demands (Bloom, 1984; McGuinness, 1999);
4. Language needs to be learned in context, learning through the language, reconstructing the subject themes and their related cognitive processes e.g. language intake/output (Krashen, 1985; Swain, 2000);
5. Interaction in the learning context is fundamental to learning. This has implications when the learning context operates through L2 (Pica, 1991; van Lier, 1996);
6. The relationship between cultures and languages is complex. Intercultural awareness and learning is fundamental to CLIL (Byram, Nicols, and Stevens, 2001).

The 4Cs Framework holds that it is through progression in knowledge, skills and understanding of the subject matter, engagement in associated cognitive processing, interaction in a communicative context, developing appropriate language knowledge and skills as well as acquiring a deepening intercultural awareness through the positioning of self and ‘otherness’, that effective CLIL takes place whatever the model. From this perspective, CLIL involves learning to use language appropriately whilst using language to learn effectively. The 4Cs Framework is a tool for mapping out CLIL activities and for maximising potential in any model, at any level and any age.

### *Pedagogical Implications of CLIL*

As case studies from different CLIL contexts accrue, so too does an effective evidence base. Research shows that CLIL can for example:

- Raise learner linguistic competence and confidence;
- Raise teacher and learner expectations;
- Develop risk-taking and problem-solving skills in the learners;
- Increase vocabulary learning skills and grammatical awareness;
- Motivate and encourage student independence;
- Take students beyond ‘reductive’ foreign language topics;
- Improve L1 literacy;
- Encourage linguistic spontaneity (talk) if students are enabled to learn through the language rather than in the language;
- Develop study skills, concentration—learning how to learn through the foreign language is fundamental to CLIL;

- Generate positive attitudes and address gender issues in motivation;
- Embed cultural awareness and intercultural understanding into the curriculum. (Coyle, 2002b; Wolff, 1997)

Yet it is not CLIL *per se* which leads to spontaneous language use, learner talk and questioning, collaborative learning, grammatical understanding, improved study skills, positive attitudes and increased motivation, neither too the development of subject knowledge, skills and understanding. It could be argued that all the above are on the agenda for effective language learning and that CLIL concerns itself with appropriate pedagogic practice which is fit-for-purpose. In similar vein, it is an accepted maxim that bilingual education is not about becoming bilingual but about ‘getting’ education.

More recent opinion advocates that quality CLIL is dependent on understanding and operationalising approaches which will not be found solely in the traditional repertoires of either language or subject teachers. Gajo and Serra’s work (2000) explores the positive effects of ‘co-presence’ on learning that is where the subject teacher and the language teacher bring together different expertise and skills and through collaboration are able to reflect, discuss and evaluate the learning from two complementary perspectives ‘*un regard nouveau sur les frontières disciplinaires*’. De Bot (2002) similarly acknowledges that ‘teaching a subject in a foreign language is not the same as integrating language and content, and many schools are still to make that transition’. He calls for language and subject teachers to work together more in order to formulate ‘new didactics’.

The evolution of CLIL pedagogies whilst heavily influenced by immersion and language learning theories (SLA) and appropriately so, now looks set to build on the inclusion of learning theory and intercultural understanding in order to find its own identity in serving different European contexts.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES IN CLIL PRACTICES

It could be argued that the flexibility of CLIL is both its strength and weakness in terms of sharing appropriate classroom practice. The question remains concerning the feasibility of achieving pedagogical coherence to bind together and maximise the potential of such diversity.

##### *The Subject-Language Divide*

Although pedagogic tools (e.g. 4Cs Framework) can be adapted to support any CLIL model, other issues come into play. There remain tensions between the ‘subject experts’ and ‘language experts’—since it

only in few cases where these are the same person. Subject teachers are concerned that their subject might be 'diluted' by non-specialists whereas language teachers express concern about the quality of the linguistic environment when led by non-linguists. The fundamental issue remains concerning who should deliver the CLIL curriculum with important implications for both in-service and pre-service teacher training.

CLIL remains 'hybrid' straddling both subject teaching cultures and language cultures. While CLIL may lend itself to co-operative learning (Slavin, 1995) and indeed such classroom approaches might be common in some L1 science lessons and history lessons and so on, collaborative learning in language teaching contexts remains relatively uncharted territory. The Thinking Skills Movement (Leat, 1998) has a strong base in the humanities and sciences whereas in language classrooms, developing learner thinking skills has played a minor role. From a language teaching perspective CLIL might be seen as evolving from communicative language practice rooted in the 1970s and 80s, with an emphasis on developing four skills, communicative strategies and grammatical awareness. Subject classroom practice on the other hand has tended to concentrate on cognitive development, knowledge transfer and 'progression' of learner understanding. Wolff (1998) argues that discovery learning, using learning strategies and techniques, hypothesis-building and testing in subject learning could be applied to CLIL environments with potent transfer to language learning. But problems remain if subject teaching . . . .

*is highly conventional and teachers tend to transfer their subject teaching methodology into the content subject language classroom – the natural explorative potential inherent in the teaching/learning process is thus neglected.* (Wolff, 1998, p. 32)

### *CLIL Language Issues*

The most common CLIL language across Europe is English. It might be perceived that CLIL is encouraging the further expansion of English across Europe at the expense of other languages. Moreover, teaching English as a foreign or second language has a well-documented, widely disseminated practical and theoretical base. It has strong 'pedagogical identity' which in some instances is being transferred rather than being adapted to CLIL settings. Meanwhile, languages other than English continue to fight for CLIL recognition although language choice is dependent on a complex range of socio-political factors.

Within the CLIL classroom, the use of L1 and L2 including the choice of language, the place and role of monolingual or bilingual

interactions and the importance of code switching and ‘translanguaging’ by the learners is being researched (Williams, 2000).

### *Learning Cultures*

Different countries and regions have their own cultural approaches to learning and education in general which differ significantly according to societal values and beliefs. In the CLIL setting for example, importing materials or textbooks from the target language country does not necessarily respond to the needs of learners and teachers in CLIL classes. Neither does material exchange from mother tongue use to CLIL use automatically address the absence of ready-made effective CLIL materials.

### *Defining Good CLIL and Effective Teaching*

Effective CLIL practice is determined by pedagogical values shared or owned by key players. If, for example, CLIL teachers are not trained to integrate language and subject learning rigorously, then potential value may be lost. Gajo and Serra (2002) for example advocate that research in linguistics and in pedagogy should provide more instruments to develop teaching methods focussing on cognitive skills and on subject content *supporting constructivist and interactionist procedures of teaching and learning* (2002, p. 95). Effective classroom interaction and the construction of knowledge are dependent on pedagogical beliefs and approaches (Bruner, 1999). Although there is a wide research base on what makes a good language learner (e.g. Naimen, Frohlich, Stern, and Todesco, 1978), this has not been replicated for CLIL.

## FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Recent studies (Coyle, 2005) have shown that as CLIL extends its research base beyond the field of second language acquisition to embrace wider learning and intercultural perspectives, then reconceptualising the function of language within CLIL may illuminate alternative pedagogies. Coyle advocates a triptych approach by analysing the language of, for and through learning in CLIL classrooms. Language of learning embraces the language needed to access and understand the subject matter lexis. Language for learning explores the role of meta-cognitive skills, grammatical skills and language needed to operate successfully in a CLIL setting. Language through learning addresses cognitive processes which underpin the use of language to learn including articulation, thinking skills and scaffolded learning. Learning in and through a foreign language, can provide rich opportunities

for extending knowledge, skills and understanding especially connecting quality learning and thinking with linguistic and intercultural competences.

Exploring the role played by language in CLIL may allay fears that CLIL is only for highly skilled learners. In fact, in accordance with the Bullock Report (all teachers are teachers of language, 1975) there is evidence to suggest that CLIL can support the development of literacy in L1 (Nuffield, 2000) and therefore should become an entitlement for all learners.

There remain many challenges for CLIL in the next decade: developing quality assurance mechanisms, robust assessment and evaluation procedures, materials development and professional development/teacher education. However, as CLIL research expands and the evidence-base increases, so too does the confidence in evolving CLIL pedagogical identity.

Perhaps the greatest challenge focuses on sharing successful practice across diverse setting to arrive at guiding principles for CLIL. Weaving the threads of research findings in diverse but related fields such as motivation, constructivist learning, interaction and the development of oral skills, scaffolding, reading skills, code switching, input-intake-output, learner autonomy, pupil voice and so on—might appear to be an overwhelming task. However, as more institutions across Europe develop CLIL, effective classroom practice and the theories that inform it take on greater significance. According to van Lier (1996, p. 69)—‘such awareness-raising work, which turns the classroom from a field of activity into a field of inquiry, can promote deep and lasting changes in educational practice’.

A clear message thus far in the development of CLIL pedagogies is that CLIL is contextually bound and models are diverse. Rather than this being seen as a limitation it could instead be welcomed as a conduit for propelling CLIL learning communities towards constructing their own CLIL theories of practice shared and owned by the community (Lave and Wenger, 1991). In this way CLIL pedagogies will be developed through classroom praxis and professional collaboration to formulate ‘new didactics needed for [a] real integration’ (de Bot, 2002) ... shared within communities between communities and for communities (Holmes, 2001):

*To attain its maximum potential it must be integrated into an educational philosophy that goes beyond ... Applied Linguistics. Students must have opportunities to communicate powerfully in the target language if they are going to integrate their language and cognitive development with their growing personal identities. (Cummins, 2000)*

CLIL—‘a rapidly developing, high profile and continuously controversial educational approach’ (Marsh, Marsland, and Maljers, 1999), ‘a growth industry in educational linguistics’ (Baetens-Beardsmore,

1999)—is set to contribute to the European 2010 targets for ‘making European education and training systems world class’.

*Das eigentliche pädagogische Potenzial des bilingualen Sachfachunterrichts liegt deshalb nicht nur in der Förderung des fremdsprachlichen Lernens, sondern vor allem auch in der Veränderung unserer verkrusteten schulischen Strukturen.* (Wolff 2002, p. 46)

“Thus, the actual pedagogic potential of teaching subjects bilingually doesn’t only lie in the acquisition of foreign languages but—above all—in changing our encrusted educational structures.”

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## SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING IN A STUDY ABROAD CONTEXT

### INTRODUCTION

Within the last decade or so, the topic of language learning in a study abroad (SA) context has become a recognized subfield of research in second language acquisition (SLA). In part, this is related to a more general interest in context of learning as a variable in SLA research. Three general questions have motivated this research: (i) Is there empirical documentation for the long held beliefs that students who study abroad achieve greater L2 language skills than those who do not? (ii) What are the *specific* differences in the language of students who have studied abroad as compared to those whose learning has been limited to the language-learning classroom at home (AH)? (iii) What aspects of the SA context contribute to language gain abroad?

In 1995, Freed (1995a) first enumerated a detailed list of theoretical and practical questions on this topic. Efforts to respond to them by various scholars have provided the basis for a wide range of studies, all of which have sharpened our insight into the nature of gains made by SA students as well as into various aspects of the actual learning environment. These studies have documented many assumptions about the linguistic benefits to be accrued from a SA experience. At the same time, they have offered some disquieting findings about the nature of the SA environment and the impact it may, or may not, have on L2 learning. This chapter summarizes the history of work done to date, discusses work in progress, outlines related problems and sets forth directions for the future.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

A series of sporadic studies that explored the language-learning experiences of SA students were conducted between the mid 1960s and the early 1990s when the first major study of this type was completed. With few exceptions, the early projects used test scores exclusively to measure the linguistic gains made by students who studied abroad. Carroll's (1967) pioneering study of the language proficiency foreign language majors demonstrated for the first time that time spent abroad was one

of the major predictors of overall language proficiency. In subsequent years, a number of smaller studies, conducted in England, measured gains in speaking, listening and reading by British students who spent over a year working or studying in France or Germany. The scholars who summarized these studies reported test scores gains, which appeared to support the linguistic advantages of residence abroad (Willis, Doble, Sankarayya and Smithers, 1977).

Several small case studies (Möhle, 1984; Möhle and Raupach, 1983; Raupach, 1984) were among the first to focus on the acquisition of *fluency* by SA students, in this case French students studying in Germany and German students in France. Their results pointed to gains in global fluency for the exchange students. This fluency was manifested by increasing the rate of speech and/or decreasing the length of time between utterances, and by learning appropriate fillers, modifiers, formulae and compensation strategies. Their work was also the first to suggest that SA students do not appear to acquire improved grammatical skills as a result of time abroad. DeKeyser (1991) compared the language skills of a group of American students who spent a semester in Spain with an AH. He found that despite gains in fluency and vocabulary for the SA students, there were no significant differences with respect to improvements in grammar and oral proficiency. His findings emphasized the importance of individual differences in SA experiences, a theme which remained prominent in the SA literature.

In 1988, Dyson assessed the listening and speaking skills of 229 British students who spent a year studying in France, Germany, or Spain. The pre- to posttest scores indicated growth in both areas, particularly among the weaker students. Unfortunately, the lack of comparative data with students who had not been abroad, made it impossible to compare improvement in linguistic competence with any that might have resulted from an extra year of study spent at home.

The 1980s witnessed a number of studies in the USA which used the ACTFL/ILR oral proficiency interview (OPI) as a criterion measure for analyzing changes in oral proficiency for students who had been abroad. Among these, Viguez (1984) analyzed the language growth of a small group of students who studied in Spain, finding that they made substantial progress on the OPI. Liskin-Gasparro (1984), one of the first to use a control group of students who had not been abroad, found similar support for SA with higher OPI ratings for those who had been abroad. Similarly, Magnan (1986), again using the OPI, demonstrated that SA students of French made superior gains. Milleret (1990) followed a small group of students of Portuguese, using the Portuguese Speaking Test, demonstrating that students who participated in a 6-week summer program in Brazil made major gains on the OPI rating scale.

These studies supported assumptions regarding the general linguistic advantages that may be derived from an academic stay abroad. Although they contributed preliminary knowledge to the understanding of the benefits of SA, they were limited by the fact that many were of short duration, most lacked control groups and all relied exclusively on test scores to measure linguistic skills. These studies were unable to reveal specific qualitative changes in students' language proficiency nor were they able to capture distinctions in actual L2 usage among SA students. Nonetheless, this work stimulated interest in the topic and laid the groundwork for research which followed.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Beginning in the early 1990s several innovative projects expanded the focus, scope and promise of research on the linguistic impact of SA. The first of these was a multiyear study which combined quantitative and qualitative evaluation instruments to evaluate the learning of Russian in a SA setting (Brecht and Davidson, 1991; Brecht and Robinson, 1993; Brecht, Davidson and Ginsberg, 1990, 1993). The quantitative portions of this project supported the belief that SA experience promoted greater skills in speaking Russian, as measured by the OPI, than that offered by a 4-year AH program. From a qualitative perspective, their work introduced the first studies that relied upon student diaries and journals to provide students' own perceptions and descriptions of their actual field experiences.

Freed's (1995b) publication of the *Linguistic Impact of Study Abroad* presented the first multilinguistic group of studies that addressed different aspects of the SA experience. Most importantly, these studies addressed specific qualitative differences in the language use of SA versus non-SA students, as well as innovative work on communicative and sociolinguistic gains made while abroad. Among these studies was Regan's demonstration of the improved sociolinguistic competence, in French for advanced SA students in France. Regan also identified a lack of improvement in French grammar, a finding that has now been replicated in several later studies. Additional studies included Siegal's compelling description of the pragmatic conflict (between contemporary female American norms of behavior and expectations for native-like Japanese sociolinguistic behavior) encountered by advanced female students of Japanese studying in Japan; Lafford's report of the enriched communicative abilities (a broader repertoire of communicative strategies for initiating, maintaining, expanding and terminating communicative situations) for American L2 students who studied in Mexico and Spain, and Freed's analysis (1995c) of the improved fluency in French (more abundant and faster speech with fewer clusters of dysfluent

hesitations) for SA students. Polanyi, Miller and Ginsberg, and Brecht and Robinson, each working with students studying in Russia, provided evidence of the contrasting experiences and the interpretations (“folklinguistic theories”) students had of their own experiences, as well as the impact these experiences, both in and out-of-the classroom, had on their ultimate linguistic performance.

Coleman’s (1998) comprehensive review of SA research within the European context provided insight into the slightly different perspective on inter-European exchanges. Much of the reviewed research (based on [sometimes unreliable] self-assessment scores and/or discrete point tests), echoes American initiatives in their desire to measure linguistic gain as a result of these exchanges. European research has also placed a greater emphasis on assessing changes in intercultural competence as well as “attitudes, strategies and behaviors” which emanate from time spent living in another culture.

Wilkinson (1998) and Pellegrino’s (1998) work has brought considerable depth to the understanding of the SA language learning content, using both ethnographic and descriptive research, to garner insights into the actual nature of the so-called immersion setting, the diversity of encounter situations students confront and the description of the social relationships they form. Unexpected findings emerged from this work, identifying the unexpectedly limited linguistic (and social) nature of many homestay experiences, along with data which revealed that student’s interactions with native speakers are often less frequent and less intense than was once believed.

A multidimensional study of the acquisition of Spanish in a SA context and in the AH university language learning classroom, investigated gains in oral proficiency, fluency, communication strategies, vocabulary, grammatical control, pronunciation and the relationships between these gains and several related variables (cognitive readiness, time-on-task) for a group of university level students (Collentine, 2004; Collentine and Freed, 2004; Diaz-Campos, 2004; Freed, Segalowitz, and Dewey, 2004; Lafford, 2004; Lazar, 2004, Segalowitz and Freed, 2004). Each segment of this multipart project addressed a different aspect of L2 language use.

Collentine’s analysis of 17 measures of grammatical development yielded negative results with respect to superior gains for SA students. In fact, gains made by AH students on a number of discrete aspects of grammatical performance (e.g., accuracy in the use of prepositions, object-pronouns, use of the present and past tense, etc.) were greater than for the SA students. However, the SA students demonstrated significantly greater skills in narrative discourse than did the AH students. The SA students were better at concatenating subordinate clauses and using words that were informationally rich (nouns, attributive

adjectives and multisyllabic words). Segalowitz and Freed's study of the acquisition of fluency (measured by hesitation and temporal phenomena) confirmed prior studies suggesting the benefits of the SA context for helping students acquire increased fluidity and smoothness in their speech. A unique aspect of this study was the effort to relate cognitive processing abilities to oral fluency. The authors demonstrated that speed of visual word recognition (lexical access) and efficiency of visual word recognition (automaticity) correlated significantly with oral fluency in terms of mean run speech runs with no filled pauses. Most importantly, evidence of complex relationships involving some of the cognitive variables emerged as a significant aspect of the L2 learning experience. For example, students who made the greatest gains in oral proficiency began the semester with significantly faster and cognitively more efficient L2-specific word recognition abilities, which suggests a cognitive threshold for L2 learning readiness. Lafford's study of communication strategies elucidated another aspect of improved oral performance by SA students. Her analysis of 26 distinct techniques used by students to deal with communication gaps or breakdowns demonstrated that at the end of the semester the SA students used significantly fewer communication strategies (e.g., strategies requiring self-repair, accuracy checks on the learner's own speech, and restructuring) than did the AH group. Finally, from a statistician's perspective, with respect to the relationship of SLA and context of learning, Lazar's penetrating discussion of causal inference tools and their related assumptions highlights the need for caution by all SLA researchers in attributing causal relationships to findings based on correlational analyses alone.

The early work and contributions described above have provided the field with a well-documented perspective of the types of specific gains students in a SA context might make as compared to their counterparts at home. We can state with confidence that the SA experience promote gains in oral fluency, resulting in speech that has fewer dysfluent (individual and clustered) hesitations than that of their AH peers. Their speech is more abundant and delivered at a faster rate; they are likely to develop increased skills in narration and to utilize more semantically dense lexical items. In addition, SA students acquire a range of more native-like sociolinguistic skills and they decrease the number of communication strategies they need to call upon when interacting with native speakers. At the same time, there is ample evidence to conclude that, *as a rule*, the SA context does not promote superior gains in syntactic development nor in the *quantity* of lexical items per se.

Beyond specific descriptions as to the manner in which the speech of SA students may differ from that of students who have not studied abroad, this work has also provided emerging insights into unexpected

and complex relationships between language gain and cognitive and social variables in the SA context. For example, research suggests a cognitive threshold for L2 learning readiness, demonstrated by the fact that students who made the greatest gains in oral proficiency began the semester with significantly faster and cognitively more efficient L2-specific word recognition abilities. Equally important in understanding the SA context are the results of projects that have demonstrated that time-on-task (based on the reported number of out-of-class hours students spent per week in extracurricular activities) are not, *in and of themselves*, solely responsible for superior gains in oral proficiency and fluency by SA students. Thus, while increased interaction in the homestay setting indicated that the more students took advantage of exchanges in this setting, the less they had to rely on communication strategies to handle information gaps, it has also demonstrated that gains in speed of attention control (how fast learners shifted focus of attention) correlated *negatively* with the reported amount of contact with homestay families. Moreover, diary and journal reports have enriched our understanding of the value of student perceptions of the *quality* and not merely the *quantity* of their interactions with native speakers at home and in the larger speech community. These unanticipated findings support the ethnographic studies that uncovered a sometimes-surprising paucity of linguistically rich interaction in the homestay setting. Ample evidence now provides documentation that conversation in the homestay context may often be limited to brief and formulaic exchanges, which are less linguistically rich, challenging and motivating than was once assumed.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Research on the topic of language learning in the SA context has been enriched by the work of a number of scholars, working alone or in small groups, who have identified new directions and themes to be explored in expanding efforts to better grasp the complexities and results of SA experiences. Prominent among these is the on-going and pioneering project organized by Paige and his colleagues (2002) which promotes strategy learning for SA students. Their efforts have focused on introducing SA students to a wide range of individually utilized strategies (in reading, writing, speaking, listening), to help them maximize the potential linguistic benefits of their time abroad. In addition to materials, for instructor and student use prior to and during SA, this team is currently exploring the influence strategy use appears to have on linguistic gain while abroad.

Although the term “immersion” is typically reserved as a term to describe SA experiences, a small number of recent studies in French,

Spanish and Japanese have compared results of time spent in intensive domestic immersion programs as contrasted with immersion in the native speech community of the SA context. Dewey (2004), Freed Segalowitz, and Dewey (2004), and Liskin-Gasparro (1998), investigating respectively students of Japanese, French or Spanish, completed studies confirming superior gains by students in the intensive domestic immersion context.

Stimulated by the prior research on the nature of the SA context, the quantity and quality of interactions that students encounter, both in and out of the classroom, as well as long standing beliefs about the importance of the home stay experience, several recent and/or on-going studies are enriching our understanding with respect to these aspects of the SA experience. O'Donnell's (2004) analysis of the relationship between students' positive and negative perceptions of the homestay setting, as well as their attitudes toward their more general experiences in the SA context (all expressed in diaries and personal interviews) has yielded ambiguous results with respect to the influence that student perceptions have on the development of L2 fluency. Despite the lack of robust findings which would further elucidate the importance of student attitudes, this work has enhanced our understanding of the deeply held perceptions that students maintain about their experiences as well as the fact that time-on-task as a quantitative measure cannot account for language gain.

Two topics, one surprisingly the other more or less expected, have been traditionally neglected within the domain of research on SA. The first, the development of phonological accuracy, has been the subject of several recent studies (Díaz-Campos, 2004; Simões, 1996; Stevens, 2001) that have examined the acquisition of pronunciation (phonology, intonation, prosody). The findings were markedly inconsistent in terms of the advantages for pronunciation for study abroad, stressing once again the need to consider a range of individual differences when exploring linguistic development during SA. The second of these topics, the development of literacy skills, in reading and/or writing while abroad, first explored by Huebner (1995) and Kline (1998) are currently the focus of on-going work. Dewey (2004) continues to examine vocabulary development, processes and comprehension in reading for students who have studied in Japan while Freed, so, and Lazar (2003) have initiated work in native speaker perceptions of the written fluency of students who have studied in France. In both instances, there appears to be a lack of support for SA as a determining factor in the development of increased reading ability as quantitatively measured. However, some of this recent work continues to find support for the development of greater confidence in reading as well as an expression of interest and involvement in the social world of literacy.

The publication in 2006 of a second major volume (DuFon and Churchill, 2006) on the topic of L2 learning in the SA context underscores the growing interest in the field at the same time that it reflects newly emerging themes of interest and diverse methodological approaches. Exemplary of these trends are studies that investigate the development of pragmatic competence during SA, explorations of interaction and socialization in a homestay setting, as well as studies that deal with individual differences in SA.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Several of the major problems in conducting research of this type have been alluded to above. The most obvious of these has been the utilization of discrete point or even global tests of holistic languages use, many with built-in ceiling effects, and all of which preclude the identification of specific differences in the gains made by students in one context as compared to the other. As the field has evolved, we have witnessed the development and utilization of different types of assessment methods, some of which permit researchers to identify specific qualitative differences in the language developed by SA students compared to those who remain at home. The need remains, however, to develop more refined measurement procedures that permit us to distinguish gains made by lower level students from those made by advanced students and to specify precisely what linguistic benefits are accorded by time spent abroad. Although more recent studies have analyzed speech corpora based on actual student output, even these corpora have been based on interviews and have not necessarily captured students' natural and spontaneous linguistic performance. The difficulty in gathering data of this type pose a complex problem for future research.

Methods of data collection problems are coupled with access to a sufficiently varied population. To date, the vast majority of research has focused on beginning and intermediate students and the results have consistently pointed to greater growth by less proficient learners. However, we can safely assume that some strides made by advanced learners are in those areas where classroom based learning has the least to offer. Consequently the more subtle and nuanced gains (e.g., in pragmatics and sociocultural fluency) made by advanced level learners are yet to be uncovered. Here again we are confronted by both difficulties in gathering data which characterize the linguistic environment of the learners as well as in identifying the nature of the gains made.

Equally important in efforts to understand the linguistic impact of a SA experience is the need to adequately describe and characterize the nature of input that students receive. To date, no study has been comprehensive enough to gather a robust quantity of data that permits

either a functional or syntactic comparison of learner input (including features such as grammar, vocabulary, discourse, sociolinguistic usage and the like) with the language produced by students in the SA context. The financial and operational demands of organizing such a project are one of the major challenges before us.

Not unrelated to the problem posed by the need to relate native speaker input to student output, is the delicate issue of the interaction that transpires in the homestay environment. Coupled with the challenge of collecting sufficient data is the sensitivity of this privileged setting and the cultural obstacles by potential invasion of the home environment. Research to date, based primarily on qualitative case studies of student diaries, journals and occasional interviews, has led to counter intuitive findings that suggest that the home stay setting is frequently devoid of precisely the abundant linguistic experience that it was once assumed to provide. While the descriptive accuracy of these studies is not to be questioned, the difficult challenge is to be able to bolster such studies with larger empirical studies that provide detailed evidence of the precise nature of the linguistic input in wide variety of homestay settings.

Finally, statistical interpretation of research findings remains a complex and sometimes contentious issue in all aspects of SLA research. Comparative studies, those based on identifying differences between gains made in one learning context contrasted with another, are particularly sensitive to assumptions that may be made about the impact of contextual differences. In the case of comparisons between SA and at home learning (or SA, at home and domestic immersion learning contexts), which strive to answer questions of causality, difficult problems of interpretation are posed for the researcher. The combination of observational and experimental data and statistical measures of correlation are seductive in their suggestions of cause and effect. However tempting it may be to look for causation in the manipulation of contexts such conclusions are dangerous to make. The issue and the problem, as presented by Lazar (2004), is in encouraging SLA scholars to develop methods of causal inference rather than relying primarily on more standard analyses.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

In many respects, the problematic issues outlined above point to directions for the research agenda of the future. Fifteen or so years ago, the challenge was to document anecdotal beliefs about the power of SA experiences to transform learners into accomplished speakers of a second language. Today we are aware of some of the limitations of the SA context, sensitive to some of the myths long associated with the notion

of “immersion in the native speech community,” as well as knowledgeable about the nature of some of the specific gains made by those who participate in SA programs. That said, important challenges are still before us.

We need first to expand the range of languages that are studied. The vast majority of research has been based on Romance Languages with a small number of studies in Japanese and Russian. It is incumbent upon us to include more typologically different languages. It is equally important to diversify the type of students who form the basis of our research populations. We must strive to include more students of different racial backgrounds in our studies as well as those with different types and different amounts of pre SA experience.

Quantitative data will continue to be important in future research as we attempt to understand the specific nature of linguistic input in the SA context. However, in addition to attempting to describe this aspect of the learning puzzle, research of the future must expand its focus qualitative approaches to research that will provide insight into the nature of interactions that students encounter in different contexts of learning and in different settings within those contexts. Further, we will need to devise methods of collecting valid and reliable data (oral and written) that is not predicated on the use of a semi/structured interview with its own inherent limitations.

In conclusion, research of the future must of necessity incorporate both cognitive and social perspectives as an integral part of its research design. Therefore, we must consider the nature of the learner’s language learning readiness in terms of underlying processes that support L2 learning. As Segalowitz and Freed (2004, p. 19) have suggested, “We need to ask in what ways the learner is prepared for the special challenges presented by a specific learning context. We must also consider how the individual qualities a student brings to a learning environment change as a function of the experiences afforded by that learning environment.” While it can now be assumed that a direct relationship will not be established between linguistic input, context of learning, time-on-task and linguistic gain, research directions of the future must answer the question as to the precise and complex ways in which these variables interact. Sensitivity to this broad range of issues will ultimately provide a more fully developed picture of the contribution of SA experiences to the SLA.

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## **Section 3**

### **International Perspectives on Second and Foreign Language Learning**

## FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING IN K-12 CLASSROOMS IN THE UNITED STATES

### INTRODUCTION

Not since the post-Sputnik era has so much attention been given to the learning of languages other than English. The tragic events of September 11, combined with a globalized economy, and increasing linguistic and cultural diversity within communities across America have created a need for language competence that will ensure national security, a thriving economy, and a cohesive society.

The US has no language policy, nor a language education policy. Despite sporadic and unsuccessful attempts to mandate English as the official language of the US, and despite state-level referenda that have abolished bilingual education in a few states, there has been little effort at the national or state levels to shape which languages are taught in K-12 schools, which learners are allowed to study foreign languages,<sup>1</sup> how long they continue their study, and what the goals of such study should be.

Despite the lack of formal policy, a new landscape prevails. In June 2004, the Department of Defense hosted a national conference on language and language education, focused on how the US might better align the supply of Americans with language competence with the growing demand. The resulting White Paper called for national leadership to undertake a number of urgently needed actions:

- Implement policies, programs, and legislation that build the national language and cultural understanding capability
- Engage Federal, state, and local agencies and the private sector in solutions
- Develop language and cultural competency across public and private sectors
- Develop language skills in a wide range of critical languages
- Strengthen our education system, programs, and tools in foreign languages and cultures
- Integrate language training into career fields and increase the number of language professionals, especially in the less commonly taught languages (p. ii)

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<sup>1</sup> This chapter will use the term ‘foreign language’ to refer to languages other than English taught in schools.

Shortly thereafter, in January 2005, the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) convened a policy summit of business leaders, government officials, and academics to begin to formulate a language education policy and to identify action steps to be taken by each constituency. Throughout the fall and winter of 2005–2006, the media have been filled with reports of growing interest in the teaching and learning of Arabic and Chinese. This interest, no doubt, is in response to the ever greater prominence in global politics of speakers of these languages and their culture, as well as their significant roles in the global economy. In January 2006, President Bush announced the National Security Language Initiative (NSLI), aimed at promoting security and national prosperity, in part through expanding foreign language learning. The surging momentum for teaching and learning languages comes at a fortuitous moment in the evolution of language education in the USA, building on recent innovations and successes.

#### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

##### *Language Education in the Post-Sputnik Era*

September 11 has provided an impetus for defense-related needs for Americans to know the languages of the world, just as Sputnik provided in an earlier era. Subsequent to the launch of Sputnik, interest in languages was tied to national defense, the Cold War, and the related competition with the former Soviet Union, with the federal government playing a significant role in shaping language education policy. Substantial federal funding under the 1957 National Defense Education Act (NDEA) provided important support for the expansion of language offerings and increased enrollments at the elementary, secondary, and postsecondary levels, particularly for study of languages that were in the national interest; extensive funding for improving teacher knowledge and skills to produce a cadre of well-prepared teachers aware of current best practices (at that time, practices associated with the audio-lingual method); and the development of new materials aligned with prevailing theories of learning, primarily Skinnerian Behaviorism (Curtain and Dahlberg, 2004; Liskin-Gasparro, 1984; Omaggio-Hadley, 2001).

NDEA led to enthusiasm among schools and districts in offering languages in the elementary grades, which in turn led to numerous new programs taught face-to-face or through television. Language laboratories, thought to provide the kind of practice suggested by Skinner's Operant Conditioning were being installed in secondary schools. The primary methodology favored by language educators was the audio-lingual method in which language was seen as a habit to be formed

through a variety of drills designed according to notions of stimulus-response (Omaggio-Hadley, 2001).

A number of factors resulted in declining interest in language education. Early language learning programs did not produce better results by high school than those of students who delayed starting language learning until later. Lack of age-appropriate curriculum, ineffective and inappropriate instructional methodologies, and insufficient age-appropriate materials, along with a critical shortage of teachers prepared to work with young learners, all contributed to a lack of evidence supporting the efficacy of starting language study early (Curtain and Dahlberg, 2004). Similarly, language laboratories—among early powerful technology tools—were not found to enhance student achievement (Kelly, 1976). Again, a number of factors contributed to these findings, including inadequate training for teachers on how to use this technology and how it might best be integrated into their instructional programs.

*Language Education Policy Today: Who Decides Who Studies a Foreign Language and for How Long?*

Historically, language education policy is in the purview of the states, as is education in general. Most states determine whether foreign languages are required for high school graduation or not (almost none have such a requirement) and whether language study is acknowledged through special “merit” diplomas (many states award such recognition) (for an overview of language education policy in US elementary and secondary schools see Brown, 1994; Met, 1994). Since the mid-1980s a number of states have mandated that foreign language learning be required of all students during the elementary grades, with different states determining different age spans. For example, in Oklahoma K-3 all students must be provided with language “awareness,” while students in grades 4–8 are expected to attain Novice High proficiency on the ACTFL scale upon completion of grade 8; in Wyoming, effective 2003, every K-2 student must have the opportunity to learn a language; and in New Jersey, as of 1996, all public schools are required to provide foreign language instruction to students in grades K-8. In contrast, although there is legislation requiring foreign languages be taught in all Arizona and North Carolina elementary schools, the law is not accompanied by state funding, and numerous school districts have terminated their programs. As of 1997, nine states had established requirements for elementary school foreign language instruction for some or all students (Lewelling and Rennie, 1997).

In the absence of state requirements, decisions about language offerings and requirements are in the hands of local school boards. Traditionally, most school districts offered foreign languages to students at

the high school level and often only to the college bound. More recently, there has been an increase in the percentage of students attending middle schools studying foreign languages. In 2000<sup>2</sup>, 15% of students in grades 7–8 were enrolled in a foreign language course, as compared with 12% in 1994<sup>3</sup> (Draper and Hicks, 1994, 2002), as well as a broadening of the student population studying languages. As noted above, an increase in the number of elementary school aged children beginning foreign language learning early is also assumed to be increasing the numbers of secondary language learners, particularly in areas where the elementary mandate has applied to all students, not a select few. All told, approximately 34% of US public school students were enrolled in a foreign language course in the fall of 2000 (Draper and Hicks, 2002).

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The current interest in promoting learning languages other than English in the US comes as a welcome departure from the apathy and disdain for language learning that has prevailed for decades. Based on their own personal experiences—beginning language learning late in their academic career, finding pedagogical approaches limited in their effectiveness, and relative successes in the job market despite lacking proficiency in any language besides English—many Americans believe that language learning is unsuccessful in our schools, and not an essential for career advancement. As has been described, global changes have begun to change that view (for a fuller discussion, see Met, 2001).

Optimism for the future rests not only on the positive policy climate, but also on a series of initiatives taken within the foreign language field that are more likely than ever to contribute to K-12 learners becoming competent in additional languages. Born of the national standards movement of the mid-1990s, and supported by federal funds, a consortium of professional associations produced both generic and language-specific content standards for what all students should know and be able to do upon exiting high school: *Standards for Foreign Language Learning*. The five goals of the national standards and the eleven standards subsumed under them are shown in [Table 1](#).

The standards are a natural outgrowth of the “proficiency movement” emphasizing what students can do with language, rather than

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<sup>2</sup> Data collected in 2000 by ACTFL, and reported in 2002, are the most recent available on nationwide enrollments.

<sup>3</sup> These data are approximate. Some students in grades 7 and 8 attend schools housing grades 7–12, and those enrollment data are reported separately. Further, when state level enrollment data were not available, statistical extrapolations were used to estimate enrollments.

Table 1 Standards for foreign language learning

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>Communication</p> <p><i>Communicate in Languages Other Than English</i></p>                          | <p>Standard 1.1: Students engage in conversations, provide and obtain information, express feelings and emotions, and exchange opinions.</p> <p>Standard 1.2: Students understand and interpret written and spoken language on a variety of topics.</p> <p>Standard 1.3: Students present information, concepts, and ideas to an audience of listeners or readers on a variety of topics.</p> |
| <p>Cultures</p> <p><i>Gain Knowledge and Understanding of Other Cultures</i></p>                        | <p>Standard 2.1: Students demonstrate an understanding of the relationship between the practices and perspectives of the culture studied.</p> <p>Standard 2.2: Students demonstrate an understanding of the relationship between the products and perspectives of the culture studied.</p>  |
| <p>Connections</p> <p><i>Connect with Other Disciplines and Acquire Information</i></p>                 | <p>Standard 3.1: Students reinforce and further their knowledge of other disciplines through the foreign language.</p> <p>Standard 3.2: Students acquire information and recognize the distinctive viewpoints that are only available through the foreign language and its cultures.</p>  |
| <p>Comparisons</p> <p><i>Develop Insight into the Nature of Language and Culture</i></p>                | <p>Standard 4.1: Students demonstrate understanding of the nature of language through comparisons of the language studied and their own.</p> <p>Standard 4.2: Students demonstrate understanding of the concept of culture through comparisons of the cultures studied and their own.</p>   |
| <p>Communities</p> <p><i>Participate in Multilingual Communities at Home &amp; Around the World</i></p> | <p>Standard 5.1: Students use the language both within and beyond the school setting.</p> <p>Standard 5.2: Students show evidence of becoming life-long learners by using the language for personal enjoyment and enrichment.</p>   |

Source: Standards for Foreign Language Learning: Preparing for the Twenty-First Century.

what they know about it. The communication goal describes communicative performance in three modes: interpretive communication (listening and reading for meaning when there is no opportunity for direct negotiation of meaning with the speaker or writer); presentational communication (speaking or writing without possibility of negotiation of meaning); and interpersonal communication (oral or written interactions that permit speaker/listener or reader/writer to negotiate meaning).

Goal 2 of the national standards—Cultures—states that students are expected to learn about the products and practices of other cultures and understand how these relate to cultural perspectives—the values, attitudes, beliefs, and world views of the people who speak the language. Products may be anything from great works of literature and the arts to everyday products such as home furnishings or skateboards. Practices may be traditional festivals and holidays, customs, or everyday patterns such as mealtimes or dating patterns among teens. Most importantly, products and practices are to be tied to the underlying cultural belief systems that determine why people do what they do. Even when perspectives may not be known to the learner (or even to culture bearers themselves) there is an understanding that there are underlying cultural reasons for products and practices.

The three remaining goals of the national standards apply the Communication and Cultures standards to other aspects of language use. Goal 3—Connections—states that students use their new language to connect with subject matter found in other parts of the school curriculum or to use their new language to acquire new information or insights into the target culture—perhaps even accessing information that might not otherwise be accessible to them through English. Goal 4—Comparisons—aims at an outcome language educators have long believed an important part of learning another language: insights into one's own language and culture. Goal 5—Communities—asks students to use their language skills to connect with the world outside the schoolroom, either in the local community or abroad, whether directly through face-to-face interaction or indirectly through access to print and electronic communications (for a more detailed description of each of the goals and related standards see Phillips and Terry, 1996).

In a deliberate and focused effort at coherence, new standards for teachers have been developed and are aligned with standards for student learning. That is, programs of teacher preparation, as well as the performance of novice and accomplished teachers, are all expected to ensure that what happens in classrooms allows students to attain the outcomes described in the national standards. The National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) standards, revised in 2002, apply to teacher preparation programs seeking accreditation;

the Interstate New Teacher Assessment and Support Consortium (INTASC, 2002) standards describe what novice teachers should know and be able to do, while the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards (NBPTS, 2003) standards describe the competencies of accomplished teachers.

To further ensure congruence of content standards with student performance, a new set of guidelines—the ACTFL K-12 Performance Guidelines—were developed to describe how well students at given points in their language career can communicate (Swender and Duncan, 1998). These guidelines provide an understanding of how to map the new standards onto the older Oral Proficiency Guidelines, that were first developed in the 1980's and were based on an yet another set of guidelines produced by a consortium of US government agencies—Intergovernmental Language Roundtable (ILR) (Liskin-Gasparro, 1984). The ILR scale was and still is widely used by the US government to describe language proficiency using the educated native speaker as the point of comparison. The new K-12 guidelines describe what students within the K-12 setting might be expected to achieve, and how well they might perform, as a result of standards-based instruction.

Within a decade of their release, the national standards for students as well as those for teachers and teacher preparation have received widespread acceptance in the K-12 language education community. State standards and curriculum frameworks have been produced that align with the national standards. Since states, not the federal government, regulate education, national standards are voluntary. State standards may serve as frameworks, guidelines, or mandates, depending on state law and practice. At the local level, district curricula and professional development are helping to bring standards into the classroom.

## WORK IN PROGRESS

### *New Approaches to Assessment*

Traditional approaches to assessment measured what students knew about language, but rarely asked for evidence that students could use their knowledge into communicative performance. Tests were largely paper and pencil, and often tested discrete components of language, such as vocabulary and grammar. With the advent of the ACTFL oral proficiency guidelines and the move toward communicative language teaching came the recognition that discrete point testing and paper/pencil measures could not realistically capture students' ability to use language to communicate. The ACTFL oral proficiency interview (OPI) was developed to assess performance on the ACTFL rating scale, with resulting extensive training provided to ensure inter-rater reliability.

Interest in performance assessments went beyond the ACTFL oral proficiency interview (OPI). Classroom teachers considered the ACTFL OPI a valuable tool, but an impractical approach for assessing their own students. The OPI requires extensive (and costly) training, so that many classroom teachers were simply unable to become certified testers. The time required to administer the OPI is not feasible for teachers with 150 or more students to be tested several times a semester or year. Further, most schools require teachers to submit grades within a short time after administering final examinations, contributing to the impracticality of the OPI for end-of-course testing in secondary schools. In 2005, ACTFL received funding from the US Department of Education to develop a blueprint for assessing language proficiency, to create a framework that would be appropriate for a standards-based national language test, and to develop a prototype for such a test.

A variety of approaches to performance assessment suitable for classroom use have evolved. ACTFL took the lead in developing Integrated Performance Assessments (IPA) that model how classroom teachers might integrate assessment with instruction and focus on performance, rather than discrete point knowledge. The IPA is comprised of three tasks—Interpretive, Interpersonal and Presentational—integrated around a particular theme or content area and reflecting how language is actually used in the real world or the classroom. The three tasks are integrated so that “each task provides the information and elicits the linguistic interaction that is necessary for students to complete the subsequent task” (ACTFL, 2006).

Given the challenges of assessing the proficiency of large numbers of students, researchers turned to technology as a means of efficiently determining the ability of students to communicate in a foreign language. Beginning in 1999, the Center for Advanced Second Language Studies (CASLS) embarked on a project to develop the Standards-based Measurement of Proficiency (STAMP), online assessments of spoken and written language that align with the ACTFL Performance Guidelines and with national standards. At the time of this writing, those assessments have been developed in seven languages: Chinese, French, German, Hebrew, Japanese, Spanish, and Turkish.

Another interesting approach to assessment is being developed and piloted by a consortium of states, patterned after the European Language Portfolio (see also Broeder and Martyniuk, *Language Education in Europe: The Common European Framework of Reference, Volume 4*). *Linguafolio*, its US counterpart, is a document consisting of three parts: a language passport that describes students experiences and abilities with languages, including formal diplomas or certificates; a language biography in which students record their language learning history and reflect on their goals and experiences, and a dossier, in which students

selectively place evidence of their language skills and achievements (Linguafolio, 2005).

Throughout the education field, assessment has come to play a central role. In order to ensure that what students learn (curriculum) and how it is taught (instruction) are well aligned, educators have begun to plan curriculum and instruction using “backwards design,” based principally on the work of Wiggins and McTighe, *Understanding by Design* (1998). Backwards design begins with an analysis of goals and objectives, describing what students would do to demonstrate their learning. This demonstration is the core of the assessment, thus beginning the planning process with a detailed, clear understanding of acceptable evidence of student learning, followed by a gap analysis to determine the gap between current levels of student knowledge/performance and the desired level. Strategies for enabling students to gain the knowledge and skills required to meet expectation and provide the expected evidence of learning (instruction) are then aligned with best practices in the discipline. Using assessment to drive curriculum and instruction decision-making is gaining interest on the part of foreign language leaders.

### *New Approaches to Instruction*

A variety of approaches to the integration of content and language learning have blossomed over the last two decades (Christian and Rhodes, 1997; Curtain and Dahlberg, 2004; Met, 1998). Elementary school foreign language curricula reinforce and enrich other content areas of the curriculum; in middle schools, thematic units integrate language with other content; at the postsecondary level, Foreign Language Across the Curriculum models vary across institutions, but share the commonality of using languages other than English as a medium for content learning.

Continued interest in integrated approaches is evidenced by the growth of immersion programs, and in particular, dual language programs (Christian, Montone, Lindholm and Carranza, 1997; Lindholm-Leary, 2001). Also called two-way immersion, these programs bring together speakers of English with speakers of the target language in an immersion program. While program models vary, with some devoting 90% of the school day to the non-English and with others dividing the day between the two languages 50–50%, the primary characteristic of these innovative programs is that students are learning language from one another as well as from the teacher (Christian, Montone, Lindholm and Carranza, 1997; Lindholm-Leary, 2001). Spanish-English dual language programs are the most common, but programs in Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Navajo have also been

established. Immersion programs—whether foreign language immersion or two-way immersion—are recognized as providing high levels of language competence in both English and the non-English language while ensuring that students meet expectations for academic performance (Day and Shapson, 1996; Genesee, 1987; Lindholm-Leary, 2001; Swain and Lapkin, 1991).

Technology as a primary instructional delivery system is still in its infancy, although expanding rapidly. At the elementary school level, there have been a number of video programs produced that develop rudimentary language skills. In the late 1990s Georgia Public Television produced SALSA, one of the most widely used of these programs. SALSA is sometimes used by a regular classroom teacher who may or may not have received professional development on supporting the video series with in-class activities; in some schools, the video is supplemented with face-to-face instruction provided by a certified language professional or trained paraprofessional. Initial data suggests that students are making clear progress in the development of listening comprehension skills through its use, particularly in schools where video instruction is complemented by face-to-face instruction from a trained foreign language professional (National K-12 Foreign Language Resource Center, 2004).

Distance learning as the primary mode of instructional delivery has been an option at the secondary school level for over a decade. Interaction with the on-screen teacher or with conversation partners via telephone is included in many of these programs. Distance learning (which provides interactivity) and distributed learning (technology-delivered instruction without interactivity) are under development as many states (e.g., Kentucky) and local school districts (e.g., Fairfax County, VA) work to develop Virtual High School course offerings in foreign languages.

### *Building Infrastructure*

The continued successful expansion of language learning in the US depends on high-quality instruction and on well-articulated programs.

In response to a dramatic increase in demand for learning Chinese in K-12, the Asia Society convened leaders in the language education and Chinese teaching field to determine what would be required to increase current enrollments in Chinese by 5%. Their report highlights the critical need for infrastructure development, particularly for expanding the pool of highly qualified teachers and for instructional materials (Stewart and Wang, 2005). Although this report deals specifically with the expansion of Chinese language instruction, many of the findings would apply equally well to other languages that are also receiving new attention, such as Arabic.

Well-articulated programs allow students to make continuous progress in their language learning, from year to year and from school to school. Unfortunately, for many students, changing teachers or changing schools often means revisiting the same material previously taught. Some students report taking first-year language courses in the elementary grades, again in secondary school, and yet again in college. In order to demonstrate how articulation might be addressed, the National Security Education Program, a federal program, funded the first K-16 pipeline in the USA. This pipeline provides K-12 Portland (OR) Public Schools students who have been studying Chinese the opportunity to continue seamlessly with their language development at the University of Oregon. The key to success is anticipated to be a well-thought out linkage between the school and university based on shared agreements on standards accompanied by yearly assessment of student performance. Federal funding for replication of the K-16 pipeline at other sites is anticipated in coming years.

#### PROBLEMS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Although great progress has been made in reshaping policy and practices in K-12 language education, much work is still in progress.

Bringing the standards into classrooms requires vigorous continued efforts. The national *Standards for Foreign Language Learning*, and some state standards, are voluntary. As a result, in those K-12 settings where there is a lack of professional development, or a poor understanding of how standards are more powerful than previous (or previously nonexistent) expectations, or where there is a lack of funding to revise existing curricula and related materials, change will come very slowly.

Further, standards for student learning are only useful if students are enrolled in foreign language courses. Despite the upsurge in enrollments, most students do not begin language learning before grade 9 (approximately age 14) (Draper and Hicks, 2002). Opportunities to develop meaningful levels of language proficiency are limited in the elementary and middle grades (K-8). The majority of elementary school programs are limited in contact time and resulting objectives. Most classes meet for 60 minutes or less per week; many programs aim only for language and culture exposure and appreciation (Branaman and Rhodes, 1999). In the middle grades (anywhere from grades 4–8 depending on school configuration), approximately one-fourth of course offerings are ‘exploratory’: short-term courses that seek to give students a general idea of languages and language learning, rather than a start along the path to proficiency (Branaman and Rhodes, 1999).

As the landscape shifts, and language education becomes a priority, it is likely to exacerbate an existing teacher shortage. In some parts of

the USA, and particularly since enrollments in Spanish have jumped to almost 70% of the total foreign language enrollment, it is difficult to find Spanish teachers. As interest in languages less commonly taught gain momentum, the teacher shortage will be even more severe. There are already reports that the growing interest in learning Chinese is not accompanied by sufficient teachers to provide instruction. Further, for many of the less commonly taught languages, there are few institutions that prepare teachers of those languages and choices among materials for instruction are highly limited, and often outdated. Although forms of distance and distributed learning might be an effective way to address these shortages, there is still some resistance to the notion of technology as a primary delivery mode of teaching. Developing new distance and distributed learning programs requires significant amounts of funding, funding that has not yet been widely available within education.

### *Future Directions*

The changing landscape of language education policy reported in this chapter has been spurred in large part by issues of national security. On the one hand, there are concerns about our ability to promote peace, to understand the motivations of those who wish harm to the USA, and to interpret the intelligence that our government gathers. Clearly, these rest on language skills and cultural understanding. On the other hand, our national security also rests upon our ability to maintain a strong presence in the global economy. To do that, current and future generations of Americans will need to be able to communicate effectively across linguistic and cultural boundaries, or be left behind those who can. Although these needs are legitimate and important, and have energized language educators, it is also helpful to look back at other times in our history when languages were important for their instrumental value—whether for political or economic reasons—and be cognizant of the subsequent trajectory of support for foreign language learning.

As languages become a more integral part of American students' educations, it would be promising if the value of knowing other languages were acknowledged for its contribution to a well-rounded general education, for the academic and/or cognitive benefits it may provide, or simply, for the personal enjoyment that can derive from direct access to the people of other cultures, their arts, and their lives.

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ISSUES IN HERITAGE LANGUAGE LEARNING  
IN THE UNITED STATES

INTRODUCTION AND DEFINITION

In the language acquisition field, new pedagogical theories, methodologies, and assessment protocols appear periodically. However, no new area of research and development in language teaching has emerged as an independent field since Teaching English as a Second language (TESL). Heritage language learning has recently become such a new field of inquiry.

The term *heritage languages* is Canadian in origin; it was coined when the “Ontario Heritage Languages Programs” (Cummins, 2005, p. 585) were launched in 1977. The term entered the US vernacular in the late 1990s. As yet there is no single, universally accepted definition of the terms heritage speaker or heritage learner. For example, Spanish courses for what we would label “heritage speakers” are typically labeled “Spanish for Native Speakers.” By contrast, a recent advertisement for advanced proficiency training in English is aimed at “heritage speakers” who are, in fact, native speakers, individuals who have completed their undergraduate education in their country of origin.

Several definitions of heritage languages and speakers have been proposed by researchers in the USA. The best known definition belongs to Valdés (2000) who describes heritage learners as “individuals raised in homes where a language other than English is spoken and who are to some degree bilingual in English and the heritage language.” Polinsky [Brinton, Kagan, and Bauckus (in press)] defines heritage language as the “language which was first for an individual with respect to the order of acquisition but has not been completely acquired because of the switch to another dominant language.” Fishman (2001, p. 81) identifies a heritage language by its “particular family relevance to the learners,” and Van Deusen-Scholl (2003) refers to learners who “have been raised with a strong cultural connection to a particular language through family interaction” as learners “with a heritage motivation” (p. 222). For the purpose of discussing heritage language education, a description that emphasizes the dichotomy between foreign language acquisition that “is usually begun in a classroom setting” and heritage language acquisition that “begins in the

home” (UCLA Steering Committee, 2001, p. 8) can serve as a working definition. Collectively these definitions affirm the need for multidimensional approaches to teaching heritage learners.

Fishman (2001, p. 81) identifies three groups of heritage speakers: speakers of colonial, indigenous, and immigrant languages. The heritage language field has arisen in the United States as a consequence of the language profession’s recognition that heritage learners of immigrant languages now constitute a major demographic group for a large number of K-16 language programs. Over 28 million Americans identify Spanish as their home language (2000 US Census) and overall, 12% of Americans speak a language other than English in the home. [Table 1](#) lists ten languages other than English and Spanish most frequently spoken at home in the USA.

When heritage speakers pursue formal study of their heritage language, they present a challenge to language educators who are trained to teach foreign language learners, that is students without previous knowledge of the target language. Since the events of September 11, 2001 heritage students’ knowledge has become increasingly valued in the USA as the federal government has become mindful of the need for competent speakers of foreign languages, especially languages considered vital for national security.

Table 1 Ten most frequently spoken languages in the USA (excluding English and Spanish)

| Rank | Language   | N Speakers |
|------|------------|------------|
| 1    | Chinese    | 2,022,143  |
| 2    | French     | 1,643,838  |
| 3    | German     | 1,382,613  |
| 4    | Tagalog    | 1,224,241  |
| 5    | Vietnamese | 1,009,627  |
| 6    | Italian    | 1,008,370  |
| 7    | Korean     | 894,063    |
| 8    | Russian    | 706,242    |
| 9    | Polish     | 667,414    |
| 10   | Arabic     | 614,582    |

Source: Data from Census 2000 (US Census Bureau, n.d.), Summary File 3.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Scholarly interest in heritage language preservation can be traced back to the mid-1960s and early 1970s. Joshua Fishman's publications laid the foundation for what became known as a field of heritage language education, most notably his seminal work on the sociology of language, *Language Loyalty in the United States* (1966). Guadalupe Valdés has been involved in efforts to maintain and preserve heritage languages among minority populations since the mid-1970s. While much of her work has focused on the teaching of Spanish to Hispanophone students in the USA (she is the co-author of the first textbook for heritage speakers of Spanish, *Español Escrito* (2003), first published in 1978 and now in its fifth edition), Valdés prepared the groundwork for research and instruction in other heritage languages.

In the late 1990s interest in English–Spanish bilingualism broadened to include an effort to embrace and preserve all languages spoken in the USA. Russell Campbell (Campbell and Peyton, 1998) and Richard Brecht (Brecht and Ingold 1998; Brecht and Rivers, 2000) were among early advocates of providing instruction designed for heritage speakers. Even before national security became an issue of concern, Brecht and Ingold (1998) advocated drawing on the capabilities of heritage speakers to strengthen linguistic readiness, pointing out that foreign language instruction on the college level seldom results in the proficiency needed for professional-level work.

The first national conference dedicated to heritage language teaching, “Heritage Languages in America,” was convened in 1999 (Center for Applied Linguistics, 1999). Selected papers from the conference were published as “Heritage Languages in America: Preserving a National Resource” (Peyton, Ranard, and McGinnis, 2001). The conference focused on the need to create heritage programs in K-16 and in communities and demonstrated that the nascent heritage language field was in need both of foundational research and a research agenda. The research agenda was proposed in the UCLA Steering Committee Heritage Language Research Priorities Conference Report (2001). The report advocates multidisciplinary research with a focus on the heritage speaker; the family and the community; language specific issues; educational policies; programmatic priorities, and assessment.

The second national conference on heritage languages was held in 2002 (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2002). This conference's goals were to develop public awareness of the economic, personal, and social benefits of proficiency in heritage languages and promote the inclusion of heritage language issues in the national dialogue; to shape a national heritage language policy and share information on best practices; to

develop collaboration among all constituent groups; and to devise a plan for moving from rhetoric to action.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Several volumes dedicated to heritage education have been published since 2000. *Teaching Heritage Language Learners: Voices from the Classroom* (John Webb and Barbara Miller, 2000) resulted from the project “*Collaborative Teacher Education Program: A Model for Second Language Instruction for Inner City Schools*,” sponsored by the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) and Hunter College, NY, and designed to prepare teachers of Spanish, Haitian Créole, and French to work with heritage language learners.

Selected papers from the 1999 heritage language conference were published as *Heritage Languages in America: Preserving a National Resource* (Peyton, Ranard, and McGinnis, 2001), with contributions focused on establishing the field in the USA.

*Mi Lengua: Spanish as a Heritage Language in the United States* (2003) (Ana Roca and Cecilia Colombi, editors) examines theoretical issues involved in teaching Spanish to Spanish heritage learners and reports on classroom research studies at all levels of instruction. Although the volume’s focus is on Spanish, its offerings, which include an abundance of practical suggestions for heritage language educators, also apply to other heritage languages.

*Heritage Language Education: A New Field Emerging* (Brinton, Kagan, and Bauckus, in press) is a multidisciplinary collection of articles that positions heritage speaker education at the intersection of language policy, linguistics and applied linguistics, psychology and pedagogical practice. In addition to theoretical findings, this collection presents a range of case studies in such less commonly taught languages as Japanese, Russian, and Korean.

The online *Heritage Language Journal* (HLJ), the first and so far the only serial publication in the heritage field, is a joint project of the UCLA Center for World Languages and the UC Consortium for Language Learning and Teaching and has been publishing since 2003.

A special volume of the *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* (2005), based on a 2001 US–Australian conference, is dedicated to heritage/community language education. The conference discussed themes of community and identity; policy, language ecology, and teacher education; program and curriculum; and assessment (p. 102). A 2005 issue of the *Modern Language Journal* devoted its *Perspectives* section to heritage education in recognition of heritage learners who are now “foregrounded in professional discussions” (Byrnes, 2005, p. 582).

In recent years the teaching and preservation of heritage languages has become an increasingly popular topic at national conferences on language acquisition and teaching, including the American Association for Applied Linguistics, the Modern Language Association, the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, and language-specific conferences, which routinely have panels dedicated to heritage language research and practice.

Virtually all studies suggest that an understanding of heritage language learning and teaching requires attention to an array of issues including proficiency, identity, curriculum and assessment, ties with heritage communities, and questions of policy. Hornberger (2003) locates heritage speakers' proficiency on a continuum of bilingualism that suggests the difficulty of a single instructional approach. Learners may, for example, demonstrate high-level competence in speaking and listening while having no functional literacy skills. Moreover, because of the home-based nature of their language acquisition, even heritage speakers with high proficiency in speaking and listening generally lack the skills shaped by formal education that would allow them to function in an academic or professional setting. Heritage speakers also may display traits of nonstandard or émigré language and dialectic features, and their language may be marked by code switching, English borrowings and calques, all features that require tailored instruction if heritage speakers are to acquire standard professional level language skills.

Valdés (2001) classifies speakers of immigrant languages according to the time of arrival and their contact with the language. She proposes four categories of bilinguals, from incipient bilinguals of the first generation to English dominant bilinguals of the fourth generation (pp. 42–43). Basing her findings on Spanish speakers, Valdés finds that “by the fourth generation, most individuals of immigrant background will have become monolingual English speakers” (p. 43).

Studies of Russian heritage speakers by Kagan and Dillon (2001) and Kagan (2005) have identified four groups of Russian speakers based on the correlation between their education and their degree of competency in the language. Students in *Group 1* either graduated or nearly graduated from high school in a Russian-speaking country and are the closest to native speakers. *Group 2* students attended school in a Russian-speaking country for about 8 years. They have lexical and stylistic lacunae in academic or formal language. *Group 3* emigrated after starting elementary school. Their formal education has been primarily if not completely in English. *Group 4* students emigrated at a pre-school age or were born outside of the home country. These students, who are generation 1.5 or second generation, are typically already English dominant. While each language group has

its own characteristics, grouping students according to their level of education in the language, including in community schools, is beneficial for placement and curricular design.

Table 2 Comparison of heritage language and traditional language learners

| Knowledge and competencies | Typical heritage language learners  | Traditional foreign language learners  |
|----------------------------|---|--|
| Phonology                  | Pronunciation, stress, and intonation are close to native speaker level; may be dialect   | Have acquired most of the phonological system of a standard dialect; pronunciation is accented                     |
| Grammar                    | Use much of the grammatical system appropriately, not familiar with the rules   | Familiar with grammatical rules, but cannot use them fluently nor comprehend them fully in real-life communication |
| Vocabulary                 | Have acquired extensive vocabulary, but range is limited to home, community, and religious institutions; a large number of "borrowings" from the majority language are noted        | Vocabulary is extremely limited, but consistent with the prestige dialect  |
| Sociolinguistic rules      | Control registers relating to verbal interactions with family and community members; competence is limited by range of social interactions  | Have very limited knowledge and control of sociolinguistic rules except for those appropriate to the classroom     |
| Literacy skills            | Have not developed literacy skills beyond elementary levels. However, are capable of developing such skills quickly, can learn to process lengthy texts early on acquiring literacy | Have a good to very good foundation for development of literacy  |

For the purposes of designing courses for heritage-language learners the most important factor is understanding not only how heritage speakers differ from native speakers, but also the factors that distinguish differences between heritage and foreign language learners. [Table 2](#) offers a comparison of the abilities of heritage speakers with no schooling in the language and foreign language learners, based on the features identified in Campbell and Rosenthal (2000, pp. 169–170).

Because of heritage learners' prior and extensive exposure to language, approaches that take their global knowledge into account are considered to be most beneficial. Such approaches have been termed "macro-approaches" by Kagan and Dillon (2001). A macro-approach can be otherwise described as a global or top-down approach that builds on learners' initial abilities in speaking and listening. A micro-approach, by contrast, builds competency from the bottom up, by isolating the elements of the language and gradually increasing in complexity. Instructional needs of heritage learners can be best met by "macro-approaches" to curricular and material development, as illustrated in [Table 3](#).

Approaches that can be characterized as macro include discourse-based, content-based, genre-based, task-based, and experiential.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Valdés (2000) has argued repeatedly and convincingly that "the pedagogies and practices currently used for teaching heritage languages are essentially atheoretical" (p. 389). She has pointed out that in the case of heritage language courses, "classroom practices, effective as they may superficially appear, are not based on coherent theories about, for example, how second dialects are acquired, how proficiency in high-level registers is developed, how bilinguals are able to expand the range of a non-dominant language, and how skills (e.g., reading and writing abilities) transfer across languages" (pp. 389–390). Every issue relevant to the heritage language awaits foundational research. The most pressing issues include policy formulation and implementation, curriculum and materials development, the adaptation of foreign language methodology to heritage language teaching, placement, and assessment.

#### *Policy*

Fishman (1978, ix) wrote that "the 'unity' of mankind must be built upon a recognition and acceptance of mankind's diversity" that includes "societal multilingualism." We have come a long way since 1978 in recognizing the value of bi- or multilingualism in the form

Table 3 Pedagogical needs: nonheritage versus heritage learners

| Teaching domains             | Non-heritage learners  | Heritage learners  |
|------------------------------|--|--|
| Pronunciation and intonation | Instruction throughout course of study   | Typically none   |
| Vocabulary                   | Full range   | Age appropriate/<br>literary/academic/<br>formal   |
| Grammar                      | Micro-approach (e.g. case by case)   | Macro-approach (i.e., by concept)  |
| Reading                      | Small texts, gradually and slowly increasing in volume and complexity  | Fairly large and complex texts almost from the very beginning  |
| Writing                      | Sentence level, gradually advancing to paragraph level. The writing even at high levels of proficiency rarely approaches native ability. | High degree of internal grammar allows expansive writing assignments at early stages of instruction. Macro-approach to writing: concentrate on the content and gradually improve spelling, grammar, and stylistics |
| Speaking                     | Micro-approach: initially restricted to dialog, gradually progressing to monologue and discussion  | Macro-approach: emphasis on monologue and discussion   |
| Listening                    | Micro-approach: short simple texts, gradually increasing in volume and complexity  | Macro-approach: full range of native language input, that is movies, documentaries, lectures   |
| Culture                      | Micro-approach: initially isolated cultural items  | Macro-approach: full range of native language input, audio, visual, and print  |

Source: Kagan and Dillon (2001, p. 513). (Reprinted with permission.)

of heritage language competence in the United States, but an understanding of linguistic, psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic factors that is crucial for developing “a coherent heritage language education policy” (UCLA Steering Committee, 2001, p. 11) remains inadequate. “There has been, in recent years, increased interest and support to help linguistically diverse students acquire speaking, reading, and writing abilities in their home languages” (Wiley 2005, p. 208). There is still, however, no policy that would facilitate transforming the United States into a “language competent American society” (Tucker, 1991, p. 78).

### *Curriculum and Materials Development*

There is as yet no standard approach to teaching heritage languages. Some approaches have been suggested by various researchers and practitioners, but sufficient data have not been gathered to determine their efficacy. Among the commonly discussed issues are the applicability of foreign language methodology to heritage language curricular design, tracking heritage learners, and teaching them in mixed classes.

At the end of each chapter of *Mi Lengua: Spanish as a Heritage Language* (Roca and Colombi, 2003), the editors include a practical section titled “Pedagogical Implications for the Teaching of Spanish as a Heritage Language in the U.S.” Volume contributors propose the use of “challenging academic material (p. 141), providing students with “extensive experience in Spanish in all modes, registers, and a variety of dialects” (p. 192); and the value of “the content-based and genre-based approaches” (p. 230). In the same volume (Lynch, 2003, p. 37) recommends a discourse-based approach, suggesting that “HL pedagogy should emphasize grammatical and lexical development through discourse-level activities. Discrete-level activities, transformation exercises, grammar paradigms, metalinguistic rules, and long vocabulary lists will likely hinder HL learners more than help them.”

Researchers and practitioners alike debate the alternatives of teaching heritage learners in mixed classes or of tracking them (Pino and Pino, 2000). When heritage learners are tracked, separate instruction generally is limited to the first 1 or 2 years of instruction. The rationale is that after one or two years heritage learners can be taught together with foreign language learners. Experience indicates that this practice is deficient and that the needs of heritage learners remain different from the needs of foreign language learners. Kagan and Dillon’s matrix for heritage learner education includes a multi-year sequence together with components such as proper placement, time on task, and programmatic rigor; specific instructional materials; an uninterrupted, comprehensive curriculum; instructors trained in heritage language acquisition; consideration of the home/community native speaker environment, and

a metalinguistic framework that raises awareness of importance of grammatical accuracy and register (2003, p. 100).

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

The principal needs in the heritage language field include the development of the aforementioned theoretical base, curricular models, and instructional materials. In addition, research and observation have shown that heritage speakers require placement and assessment protocols and education abroad programs designed expressly for them.

#### *Placement and Assessment*

A current topic in the area of placement and assessment is the application of the Oral Proficiency Interviews (OPIs) and the ACTFL (1999) Guidelines to evaluate the oral proficiency of heritage learners. Objections to using the guidelines are largely based on the observation that because they have acquired their language in a naturalistic environment, heritage learners' competencies substantially differ from the competencies of traditional foreign language speakers for whom the ACTFL Guidelines were designed. Valdés argues that since the Guidelines compare students against the standard of the educated native speaker, and do not take native nonstandard varieties into account, they may not accurately measure the oral competency of speakers of these nonstandard varieties (Valdés, 1989). However, Kagan and Friedman (2004) found that the OPI can be an effective placement instrument for learners of Russian, since most heritage students come from families who were educated in a uniform educational system in the former Soviet Union. More research is necessary to determine whether the OPI and the ACTFL Guidelines could be revised to incorporate heritage learners of all languages.

Placement and assessment of heritage learners is complicated by attitudes that these students may encounter in the educational system. Terence Wiley, who is known for his work on the importance of language use in the community in making curricular decisions, is concerned that if "the school stigmatizes the varieties of home and community language, it may undercut the motivation to learn at school" (2005, p. 597). Addressing similar concerns, Valdés (2000) stresses that knowing which dialects are spoken in émigré communities, and how those dialects are regarded within the communities and by monolingual native speakers in the target country, is important, since effective heritage instruction is designed to "expand the bilingual range" (Valdés, 2000, p. 388), that is to build on existing knowledge rather than stigmatize it.

*Study Abroad for Heritage Learners*

Study abroad experiences and resulting gains for foreign language students have been the focus of several important research studies (Brecht, Davidson, and Ginsberg, 1993; Cohen, Paige, Kappler, Demmessie, Weaver, Chi, and Lessegard, 2003). As yet, however, no studies have examined in-country experience of heritage learners who are participating in study abroad programs in increasing numbers. Current understanding indicates two key areas of concern: (1) programs have not yet identified or adapted to heritage learners' instructional needs, and (2) successful articulation between home institutions and study abroad requires more information about how to prepare heritage students for study abroad.

## FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Future directions for the heritage field remain largely the same ones that have been identified at the seminal meetings and conferences held when the field was first emerging. It has been nearly 10 years since the Brecht and Ingold (1998) call for a national effort to supply what is absent in the field of heritage education, including the study of heritage communities, development of the principles of effective program design, curricula, materials, and the establishment of an infrastructure that will promote the sharing of knowledge and resources to provide appropriate heritage language instruction.

An understanding of the cultural, historical, and linguistic contexts that define heritage speakers must be at the center of continuing work in the heritage language field. For example, factors such as an immigrant community's density, relationship to the home country, rate of continuing immigration, average level of education, and the extent of commercial activity conducted in the immigrant language, may be anticipated to influence the character of language retention and language shift (UCLA Steering Committee, 2001) and thus must be central concerns of future development. Not enough is known about why some language groups are more likely to retain their languages, or retain them longer, than others. Similarly, insufficient research has been done on the conditions under which language shift occurs and whether these conditions are identical for each group. Cummins determined that in the Canadian population "there is massive attrition of students' heritage language competence over the course of schooling." (Cummins, 2005, p. 585). This loss of an enormously valuable resource, a factor in the United States as well, can be stemmed only through research-based curricular, pedagogical, and policy interventions.

Some studies dedicated to a specific language have begun to appear, such as a study of Chinese heritage schools by Wang (1996) or Korean

children's biliteracy by Shin (2005). Studies such as these are vitally needed in other languages as well in order to develop broad-scale understanding of the language-specific issues that should underpin curricular and programmatic development and design.

Recent research in sociology indicates that immigrants of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries no longer sense a contradiction between "an ethnic identity and an American identity" (Zhou, 2004, p. 153). This new sense of identity among heritage students needs to be explored to determine what role it might play in motivating them to study their heritage languages. As witnessed by recent submissions to the *Heritage Language Journal*, language educators are beginning to research the connection between motivation and identity. A large-scale cross-language research project could make a significant contribution to heritage language education.

The research agenda articulated by the UCLA Steering Committee Heritage Language Research Priorities Conference Report (2001) is still valid; every component of that comprehensive menu awaits contributions. The conference called for a multidisciplinary approach "to explore the diverse aspects of heritage language maintenance and development." It stated that researchers "from other fields, including economists, scientists and social scientists would . . . have important roles in measuring the effects of heritage language learning on the individual, the family, the community, and the nation." Such a large-scale multidisciplinary effort is fundamental to the maturation of the heritage field, redounding to the benefit of millions of heritage language learners in the USA, who need a comprehensive education in their first but no longer dominant language if they are to become truly bilingual, biliterate, and bicultural.

The funding of a new National Heritage Language Resource Center (Department of Education # P229A060008) in 2006 affirms the importance of the field. The Center at UCLA is dedicated to the development of research and the production of instructional materials pertaining to heritage language education.

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LEARNING AND TEACHING ENDANGERED  
INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES

INTRODUCTION

Most of the languages of the world are spoken by small numbers of people. Nettle and Romaine (2000), calculating from data on the *Ethnologue*, state that 90% of the languages of the world are spoken by only 10% of the people respectively. These are usually indigenous and minority languages in nations that do not support them, and over the last several hundred years their speakers have been under increasing pressure from the forces of industrialization and globalization to shift to a majority language. Typically, education, jobs, mass media, and literary materials are in the majority language, making it difficult for anyone who does not command the majority language to thrive. And in learning the majority language, the minority language is often abandoned. Thus we have a worldful of endangered languages—languages going out of use, no longer being learned at home by children, languages that seem to be disappearing from the face of the earth.

However, the small languages of the world still have great value to their speakers and to the descendants of speakers. The language may symbolize and even embody traditional values, religion and culture, rich oral literature, history, and a sense of rooted identity (Fishman, 1985). The wish for partial or full autonomy of indigenous groups trapped in a nation established by conquest or colonization also adds to the symbolic value of the languages. Therefore in much of the world we see the decline of indigenous minority languages accompanied by the counterforce of grass roots attempts to reverse language shift through the education of children and adults who have not learned their language at home. These efforts are followed with interest and support by many people outside the indigenous communities as well, since there is a growing sense that language diversity, and the knowledge systems that accompany the languages, are important to posterity in general. These languages are the carriers of unique environmental understanding, philosophies, and great oral literatures whose loss should be mourned by all. Thus the survival and revitalization of indigenous languages is supported by occasional reports in the press, by linguists lending their expertise, by foundations interested in indigenous welfare, and sometimes even by governments willing to shift

away from the older language eradication policies to support indigenous language survival.

#### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The USA is one of the countries where indigenous languages are the most deeply endangered. According to the *Ethnologue* (Gordon, 2005), there are 72 American Indian languages known to be extinct. Of 146 living American Indian languages, 67 have only a handful of elderly speakers; and only 20 languages have a sizable number of families where children are still learning the language at home (Krauss, 1992). Even those 20 languages are on the cusp of “tipping” to English as the primary language of communication (Dorian, 1986). This decline of indigenous languages is the result of a 500-year history of contact and discrimination. Starting from the first European settlers, there was a long period of conquest, warfare and massacre through the nineteenth century. The twentieth century saw a period of forced assimilation through boarding schools, where use of indigenous languages was a punishable offence. Finally in current times, work, school, television, and sheer force of numbers of English speakers is making the indigenous languages disappear faster than ever. While in some families decisions were made to abandon the heritage language in order to ensure that their children learned English, in most cases the shift is more unconscious than that. Marriages between people who speak different languages often crowd out the indigenous language. Even when two parents speak the same heritage language, they are often puzzled as to why their children fail to learn their language, not fully realizing that English is being used in the household more than the ancestral tongue. School is still a major factor in language shift: children starting school often begin using English at home, and the bilingual parents accommodate. This often means that the younger siblings are exposed to the heritage language much less than the older siblings, and may never learn to speak it at all. Incomplete language learning also plays a role in shift, as older relatives begin to criticize young people for not speaking correctly, thus making the young speakers decide to avoid criticism by abandoning the language altogether. The end result of all these factors is often precipitous: for example, Navajo, which has the most speakers of any American Indian language in the USA, is experiencing a very rapid decline. The Navajo community of Fort Defiance is a case in point: whereas in 1971 95% of the children in Fort Defiance were arriving at Kindergarten speaking Navajo, 15 years later less than a third of the children had even passive knowledge of Navajo (Arviso and Holm, 2001). Recent reports say that throughout the reservation in the last few years, less than 5% of the

children are coming to school knowing Navajo (Ted Fernald, personal communication).

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

### *Bilingual Education*

From the 1960s on, American Indians have tried to combat language loss with increasing energy. The first wave of resistance to language loss was through bilingual education, set up by the federal government (mainly with immigrants in mind) in 1968 through the Bilingual Education Act, and mandated by the Lau Remedies of 1975. Many American Indian communities established bilingual education programs in their schools, which resulted in a blossoming of new orthographies, reading materials and written genres for languages that had never before had a tradition of literacy. It also brought back the indigenous languages into the same educational system that had once forbade and reviled them, and in the process gave children and their parents a new sense that their languages were respectable.

However, bilingual education did not reverse language shift. Families continued to shift away from the use of their languages at home, and bilingual education was not designed to teach the language well to children who were not already fluent. The government was ambivalent about the value of bilingual education and always treated it as transitional; and with change of administrations, it became a politicized issue. Government funding and training for bilingual education was spotty, never sufficient. The current administration's views of bilingual education were made clear when a few years ago the Office of Bilingual Education was renamed the "Office of English Language Acquisition." Over the decades, bilingual education has declined in American Indian communities; even many of the best programs have lost their funding by now, in large part because many communities who once had children dominant in the indigenous language coming to school, no longer have a viable population of child speakers. This is not to say that no American Indian bilingual education exists any more; there are still excellent programs in some Native American communities—e.g., there are Navajo bilingual education programs ongoing at Leupp, Fort Defiance, and elsewhere, though with increasing emphasis on actually teaching Navajo to the children (Fillerup, 2002). But the impetus for language survival in most communities has shifted to other means.

## WORK IN PROGRESS

*Immersion Schools*

Some of the larger communities have successfully implemented a much more intensive kind of program: immersion schooling, where most or all instruction takes place in the indigenous languages. The oldest of these is the Akwesasne Freedom School of the Mohawks. The largest and most successful is the Punana Leo system of schools in Hawai'i (Warner, 2001; Wilson and Kamana, 2001); and the Ojibwes, the Blackfeet, Navajos, and others have all worked to develop such schools. The results are very promising—children emerge from the school system both well-educated and fluent in their heritage tongues. For example, Hawai'i now has a young generation of thousands of fluent speakers as a result of their large and successful system of Hawaiian-medium schools going all the way from preschool through high school (plus Hawaiian Studies majors at the University of Hawaii campuses which have excellent Hawaiian language instruction). We have yet to see if the younger generation will carry the language back to their homes when they marry and have children, but there is a great deal of hope that this will happen for a sizable number of people.

Immersion schooling is a tremendously exciting strategy for language survival, but it is also very difficult to implement, demanding great financial and human resources and an ability to battle against the bureaucratic and political hurdles that block the process. Such government policies as “No child left behind”, and state initiatives such as Arizona's proposition 203 that have outlawed teaching in any language except English, are pitted against tribal efforts to run their own schooling according to their own needs and goals. Smaller groups have very little in the way of the resources needed to run immersion schools. In California, for example, most of the languages are so moribund that there are only a few elderly speakers, way past retirement age, and none of whom have anything like a teaching credential. There is a missing generation or two of speakers—those generations who are of professional age or parenting age, who would, if they knew the heritage language, be able to transmit it to the children. Furthermore, many of the tribes are so small that there may not be a critical mass of children to teach. In many cases there is not even a physical community—kids are scattered in different public schools. In a state like Hawai'i where there is only one indigenous language, funding and educational and political assistance can be focused on it (for example, Hawaiian is now one of the two official languages of the state). In a place like California, where there are 50 liv-

ing indigenous languages, state and university assistance is scattered, funding is scarce, and with so few people who could possibly teach in an immersion school, burnout is a major issue. While a few immersion classes have sprouted in California, most of them have been small and short-lived.

*The Master-Apprentice Language Learning Program*

How, then, can any headway be made in reversing language shift in a place like California? This question was asked in 1992 at a gathering of California Indians at what has now become a biennial language revitalization conference attended by 250 or more Native Californians. At that first conference, a committee was formed, called the Advocates for Indigenous California Language Survival (AICLS), now a nonprofit organization with an all-native board (and this author as a consulting member). AICLS has developed a number of programs to enhance and support language survival. The most successful and best known of these programs is the Master-Apprentice Language Learning Program (MAP). The goal of MAP is to build new speakers in the missing generations described above, through informal immersion techniques in natural settings. The Master-Apprentice model focuses on the development of communicative competence; it borrows from various other models such as total physical response (see Asher, 1993) and situational learning (Holm, Silentman and Wallace, 2003) and also teaches the apprentice to utilize monolingual elicitation techniques as developed by linguistic fieldworkers (e.g., see Makkai, 1986; Everett, 2001).

Teams consisting of a speaker of a California language and a member of the community who wishes to learn the language apply to AICLS, who provides them with training, mentoring, and a small stipend. They are trained at weekend workshops (which they attend twice a year) in how to leave English behind and speak only in the target language, using gestures, actions, pictures, and props to make themselves understood. Since even the speakers of these moribund languages have generally lost the habit of using their language long ago in real communicative situations, one of the major tasks is to help them regain the habits of communicating in their native tongue. This task falls primarily to the apprentice. At the weekend workshops one of the first things the apprentice is assigned to learn is how to ask basic questions in the target language. The apprentice learns to ask such things as “What is this/that?,” “What are you (am I, is s/he) doing?,” and “How do you say \_\_ in our language?” Apprentices also learn reminders like “Please speak to me in our language,” or “Please say that in our

language,” and helpful phrases for beginning learners like “Say that again.”

People without training in language teaching tend to think that one teaches word lists first, and that it is necessary to write the words down. We try to discourage writing, especially because most California languages do not have standardized writing systems and people tend to use a “folk orthography” that they themselves cannot decipher later. Furthermore, the point of the Master-Apprentice program is to help people become conversationally proficient, and it is very clear that conversational proficiency only comes through oral and aural practice. We remind people of how children learn their first language, and try to get the teams to behave in some ways like parents and children in the first-language learning situation. We encourage the introduction of vocabulary in full sentences and in communicative contexts where the meaning of the word is made clear not through translation but through visual and contextual cues. At training sessions we emphasize sequences where a word might be introduced in sentential contexts (e.g., “This is my nose. That’s your nose.” (with appropriate gestures), and reinforced through commands: “Touch your nose,” and questions: “Is that your nose?,” etc.

We teach the teams to work together in real-life situations—drinking coffee together, making and eating meals, going on drives, looking at family picture albums, etc. We tell the master that s/he can get the apprentice to do housework, chop wood, cook a meal, wash laundry, paint the house, or whatever—so long as communication in the target language is taking place during it. Washing laundry, for example, can teach words for clothing and colors, along with commands to do the various associated tasks. The teams may also be involved in traditional activities such as making regalia or baskets, which become very natural situations in which communication in the target language can take place.

Activities that are less usual in adult daily life are also encouraged. We sometimes develop kits for the teams that include games, puppets, and children’s books without words, for the teams to play with together to vary their language-learning activities. There is also a published manual that can guide the teams through the language transmission process (Hinton, Vera, and Steele, 2002). The manual begins with a debunking of myths about language learning, gives an overview of the philosophy and method, describes a typical session and gives a sample sequence for beginning teams, talks about ways to develop vocabulary, grammar and connected speech, and how to overcome problems and plateaus in language learning. Since it is expected that the apprentice, possibly with the master, will go on to teach the language to others, there are also chapters on how to develop a language pro-

grams in one's community, and how to apply the Master-Apprentice principles to the classroom.

After the first training session, the teams go to their respective home communities and begin work. They are paid a small stipend for every 40 hours the team puts in together. The apprentice must keep a log of the sessions and what activities they did together, and send it in to the AICLS administrator before the checks are cut. Each team is also assigned a mentor, usually a member of the board or a graduate student in the UC Berkeley Linguistics Department, who calls them twice a month and sees how things are going, and helps the team solve problems they are coming up against. The mentor also suggests new activities and exercises the team can do. At least once a year, the mentor visits the team at their home site and observes them in their sessions. Quarterly reports about team progress are sent to AICLS by the mentors.

At every training, the apprentices' knowledge of the language is assessed by a set of simple tests. First the team is asked to converse together about any topic for a few minutes; and then the apprentice is given a complex picture of some sort—usually a painting with a California or Native American theme—and asked to talk about it. The assessors do not themselves generally know the language, and what is primarily listened for is the degree of fluency that is being exhibited by the apprentice—how long they can talk, whether they are using connected speech or just simple vocabulary items, whether they have to stop and search for words frequently, or can speak fluidly and confidently. After the first training, teams are challenged in various ways at subsequent workshops: apprentices are asked to give short talks in their language (longer talks as time goes on), or tell stories; teams are asked to prepare skits or puppet shows during the workshop; and activities are assigned such as picking a topic out of a hat that the apprentice must then develop a 2-minute talk on.

The Master-Apprentice program has gained popularity around the country: AICLS has done trainings in such places as Oklahoma, Washington, Alaska, British Columbia, and Ontario, and given invited presentations at indigenous conferences around North America and as far away as Japan and Finland. In California, AICLS has trained at least 70 teams since 1992, in at least 25 different languages. Not all teams are successful in transmitting conversational proficiency to the learner; much depends on the ability of master and apprentice to spend sufficient time together (10–20 hours per week), and to have faith in and be willing to employ the principles of immersion. But if those two requirements are fulfilled, after a 3-year program together the apprentice generally emerges with a high degree of conversational proficiency.

The apprentice is generally of professional or child-bearing age, and is selected in large part on their demonstrated commitment not only to learn the language but also to transmit it to others—either to their own relatives, or through the teaching of classes. In some communities the Master-Apprentice model is being used specifically to train teachers for school language programs (whether these are immersion programs or the less-ambitious language classes in an otherwise English-medium school). In California, apprentices are trained to use some of the same techniques for teaching that they use for learning—use no English, focus on real-life communicative situations rather than on isolated word-lists; make sure there is lots of repetition and review, but in different contexts so that students are not bored and are learning new language at the same time; use entertaining games and activities in the teaching process. Some of the apprentices have become skilled language teachers, and many are teaching their languages now to classes or to their own children.

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

### *Language Change*

There are two major ways in which any language revitalization program produces major changes in the language. One is in the development of new vocabulary, and the other is in the changes resulting from second-language learning in an environment where another language—in our case, English—is dominant.

The Master-Apprentice model is usually employed in a situation where even the speakers have not used the language for everyday communication for many years. Daily life nowadays is filled with objects and events that have never been talked about before in the endangered indigenous language. Teams can go to a grocery store or look at a city street and see a multitude of things for which no words exist in the target language. If English is not going to be used, strategies for developing new vocabulary must be used. Of course, borrowing English vocabulary is a possibility, but since English is the encroaching language that language revitalization programs are defending against, there is a strong desire to develop native vocabulary instead. For scientific vocabulary, the Hawaiians have chosen to borrow “international scientific vocabulary” and to “Hawaiianize” the pronunciation, rather than making completely new words (Wilson and Kamana, 2001). While in large programs such as the Hawaiian immersion schools it is essential to have a centralized authority to ratify new vocabulary (since otherwise each classroom would end up with different words for the same things!), in the small Master-Apprentice programs, a given

team may be the only people using the language, and find themselves having to develop vocabulary on their own. This is often a very entertaining activity which can bring a lot of humor into the situation, and by learning from the speaker traditional means of developing vocabulary through such processes as descriptive phrases and metaphors, the learner becomes well-educated in aspects of the grammar and semantics of the target language.

Second-language learning in adulthood and for anyone beyond the “critical age” will rarely result in speakers that can speak identically to a native speaker. The learners are likely to speak with an accent, and will probably exhibit a good deal of calquing and grammatical influence from English. Furthermore, it takes a very committed and skilled person to become truly fluent in an endangered language, since it is virtually never heard outside of the learning environment itself. Thus the learner’s language may be relatively limited and pidginized. Unlike the case with world languages, the learners of endangered languages represent the only hope for future survival and transmission of the language, meaning that whatever the learner knows is what will be passed on. If the learner’s language has an accent or different grammatical structuring from the last native speakers, it is the learner’s form of the language that will be transmitted. Thus going through the bottleneck of second-language learning is likely to result in major changes for the endangered languages. This fact is problematic for people trying to save their languages, and there is a good deal of debate over how much value there is in an imperfect language competency. At one extreme are some elders who stultify younger people by saying “If you can’t speak our language right, don’t speak it at all!” On the other side of the debate are some of the second-language learners who value communication in their heritage language over preservation of older grammatical systems (e.g., Terry Supahan, Karuk) who say “I’m interested in communication, not in preservation” (Hinton, 2001). We must not think that language revitalization will save all of a language in its full traditional form. Languages always change, of course; but endangered languages are changing in particular, extreme ways. While extreme change is probably inevitable, it is important for second-language learners of endangered languages to understand that so long as there are speakers or linguistic records to learn from, they have a lifetime project—language change is inevitable, but we can hope that learners will learn genres of speech, idioms, manners of speaking, and grammatical systems that are full and rich and not merely calques of English.

## FUTURE DIRECTIONS

When might we say that language revitalization is “successful”? We could look to Hebrew as an extreme example of success: a whole nation now uses Hebrew as its language of daily communication, whereas for close to 2000 years it survived only in written form and as a language of religious study. Most endangered languages cannot hope for that kind of final outcome (though who knows what might happen 2000 years from now?). For the indigenous languages of the USA, Hawaiian is the only one that has a status that is in some way analogous to Hebrew—it was the national language of independent Hawai’i until its forcible annexation to the USA; it is the only indigenous language of the state, and is now an official language of the state; and people of all races have some sense of identity with the language, so that many nonnative people wish to learn it. Due to the effective school programs, Hawaiian is already a language of daily communication among many people, and it is likely that this will increase. However, English will probably never lose dominance in Hawai’i.

Unlike Hawaiian, most endangered languages belong to very small minority populations and are endemic to small locales, so the thought of such languages becoming the language of a modern nation is not feasible. “Success” must be measured in other terms. We must look for smaller, stepwise goals. Daryl Baldwin, who learned his language (Miami) proficiently from written records (since there were no native speakers left at all) and is a leader of language revitalization in his community, thinks in terms of a 50-year plan. For now, language camps and usage at home by a small group of advocates represents the first major success. But Baldwin says that not much more can happen for language growth until social and geographic development occurs. The tribe needs to develop a bigger land base and economic base, to which members can then be attracted to live, at which point possibly an immersion school can be developed (Daryl Baldwin, personal communication). Smaller tribes, many of them not even federally recognized, may not even have the options that Baldwin foresees. Nor are all tribes interested in language revitalization—often it is only certain individuals who have the passion to learn their language. In these cases, it might be language learning itself that is the only criterion for success. If a person learns his language well, a goal has been met successfully. Each person and each community may see successes such as these as being part of a longer-term set of goals for language revitalization, but as a whole, they cannot see where the next generations will take the process—they can only say “this language will not die on my watch.”

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## COMMUNITY LANGUAGE LEARNING IN AUSTRALIA

### INTRODUCTION

The term ‘community languages’ was coined in the mid-1970s to denote languages other than English used in the Australian community. This is to stress that these are not really foreign languages. The term does not usually include indigenous languages as their communities wish to emphasize their uniqueness and special status. Within education, community languages are often subsumed under ‘languages other than English (LOTE)’ which is a key learning area in most parts of Australia.

School education is under the jurisdiction of the six states and two territories, all of whom have different language-in-education policies. There are three types of institutions which give instruction in community languages to school-aged children:

1. primary and secondary day schools,
2. Schools of Languages which are part of the state education department in some states and offer instruction on Saturdays in languages not available to the student at their regular school and
3. after-hours ethnic community schools.

We can distinguish between state schools, Catholic schools and independent schools. The latter are largely affiliated with Protestant denominations but there are also some run by other Christian and non-Christian religious and parent education bodies. Some such schools have links with a particular language to the teaching of which they give special weight—Arabic in Islamic, Coptic and Maronite schools, Hebrew in Jewish schools, Modern Greek in Greek Orthodox schools and to some extent German in Lutheran schools. Non-government schools charge fees. The student ratio in state to non-government schools is about 2 to 1, but less at the higher levels and this varies between states. Most of the languages taught in universities and adult education programs are spoken in the community.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Bilingual education was not uncommon in some of the British colonies that predated the federated nation of Australia (1901)—mostly German-English primary schools in rural areas settled by Germans but also a few German-English secondary schools in urban areas, some French-English girls' secondary schools in Melbourne and in the mid-19th century some Gaelic-English primary schools. Originally intended for children from the respective language background, some attracted pupils from English-speaking backgrounds and in the case of the French schools, they were in the majority (Clyne, 2005, p. 2). Bilingual schools fell victim to the homogenization tendencies of the education acts of the 1870s and 80s or to wartime legislation outlawing instruction through the medium of community languages (1916). Restrictions on bilingual education continued until well after World War II, by which time Australia had embarked on a large-scale immigration scheme bringing unskilled labour from Europe. The expectation was that immigrants would acquire English and rapidly abandon their first language (for a detailed discussion see Kipp, *The Language Ecology of Australia's Community Languages*, Volume 9).

After-hours ethnic community schools have existed in Australia since 1857. This model has been adopted by immigrant communities ever since. The peripheral nature of the schools was affirmed by the fact that for a long time they did not receive funding from Australian governments and many of the teachers were untrained, used outdated methods and lacked understanding of the Australian school system to which the pupils were becoming or had become acculturated. As most of the classes run on Saturdays, they compete against sporting and other extracurricular activities, making them difficult for or unpopular among the pupils.

In the 1950s and 1960s, LOTEs were generally not taught in primary schools and the main 'foreign language' taught in secondary schools was French, not the language of a large immigrant group. Where a community language was offered, usually German but sometimes Russian or Italian, such programs were clearly intended for those without a home background in the language, and there were subtle means of discriminating against such students in the matriculation examinations in some languages (Clyne, 2005, pp. 118–119).

By the mid-1960s, some interest began to be shown in offering 'migrant languages' in the normal school curriculum as a resource for language maintenance purposes and to promote balanced bilingualism, as can be gauged from a discussion in the modern language teachers' journal *Babel* (Clyne, 1964; McCormick, 1964). Some states were soon to extend the range of languages taught in government schools. This

had already happened in many non-government schools. In 1972, the new Victorian Universities and Schools Examinations Board liberalized the conditions for a language to be a matriculation subject. (Similar developments took place in South Australia and New South Wales). German, Italian and Dutch, which were significant community languages, had been introduced much earlier as 'foreign languages', to be joined more recently by Modern Greek. Now the introduction of Lithuanian and Latvian paved the way for a large number of community languages to become examination subjects.

The range of languages available at universities was generally wider than that available in secondary schools. French and German were taught in virtually all universities. Some institutions offered Italian, Greek, Indonesian and Russian and to a lesser extent Dutch, Swedish, Chinese and Japanese. Asian languages were not spoken much in Australia at the time due to racially based immigration restrictions. Languages were taught as intellectual exercises for cultural enrichment (Pauwels, 2007).

However, 1972 was to mark the beginning of a new era—with the election of a reformist Labour government, the rapid change from assimilation to multiculturalism as the dominant policy and the dismantling of the White Australia policy, which had already been weakened by the previous government. This would have profound effects on language-in-education policy and its delivery.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The above changes had been promoted by national and international political factors but also by the demands of ethnic communities and the critique of academics. Smolicz (1971), for instance, argued that the Australian school was acting as an assimilation agency. Rado (1977) and others argued for bilingual education, which was introduced in a number of state schools in Adelaide, Melbourne and Sydney in the mid-1970s. She produced bilingual materials in English and a range of community languages. This enabled children to learn together, whether in English, their first languages or bilingually. Migrant education conferences and lobbies in a number of state capital cities, which received considerable input from academics in relevant fields, produced sets of demands which included the teaching of community languages in primary and secondary schools. Ethnic schools started to receive funding from Australian federal and state governments. Descriptive studies of Greek, German and Japanese ethnic schools were undertaken, e.g. Tsounis (1974), Monheit (1975) and later Miyoshi (1994) respectively.

From the mid-1970s, a coalition of language interest groups including linguists, language teachers and ethnic communities and their organiza-

tions began to lobby for a national policy on languages. Ozolins (1993) shows how the mobilization of professional language organizations and ethnic communities on issues of language policy set the stage for a greater push for community language teaching.

An important milestone was the federal government's decision to commission a parliamentary committee with an inquiry into the need for a national languages policy. A contemporary account of needs, resources and policy development is Clyne (1982). It is based on the demographic analysis of community language use in the 1976 Census and the developments of the 1970s and up to 1982. The parliamentary committee, on the basis of submissions and public hearings, set the guiding principles of a national languages policy, including the maintenance and development of LOTES (both indigenous and community languages). Some states, especially South Australia and Victoria, were already working towards this and were starting to introduce LOTES into primary schools. As there was a simultaneous devolution of decision making to local school communities, many schools opted for community languages of significance in the local community. Italian, the most widely used community language, was the favourite, especially since the community had decided to direct its ethnic school funding in most states to Italian programs in Catholic and state schools, taught by teachers provided by the community. Bettoni (1985) projected learners of Italian background in Australia as trilinguals, between Italian, dialect and English.

There were also a considerable number of Greek programs, and German received a boost from the fact that it was, among other things, perceived to be a community language. Several other community languages, including Turkish and 'Serbo-Croatian' were introduced in a smaller number of schools, in districts where they had substantial numbers of speakers. New South Wales and Victoria began allocating supernumerary teachers to some community language programs. The early programs sometimes had model building character—the Greek and Macedonian bilingual programs at Lalor North Primary School and the German immersion program at Bayswater South Primary School (Fernandez, 1996), situated in areas of Melbourne where these languages were regularly spoken, were examples of this, as was the Italian-English bilingual program in Norwood, Adelaide (Rubichi, 1985). Innovative school programs were sometimes accompanied by research, for instance a study of the German language development of German-speaking background children participating in the Bayswater South program (Imberger, 1986). There was also an expansion of programs in community languages in state secondary schools. The federal government had already funded new university programs in Modern Greek and several Slavic languages in the late 1970s.

The National Policy on Languages (Lo Bianco, 1987) established the complementarity of English and the other languages used in Australia and provided social justice, cultural and economic arguments for multilingualism in Australia. It secured federal funding for innovations in language maintenance as well as second language acquisition programs in all states and territories and established a multi-centre National Languages Institute, which was based on areas of research strength in applied linguistics at universities. Among collaborative projects was a series on nine languages of wider teaching which, among other things, considered the community use of the language and issues in the teaching of the language in schools and universities. The languages were Arabic, Chinese, French, German, Indonesian/Malay, Italian, Japanese, Modern Greek and Spanish and a volume on each was published.

One of the research projects in the Institute was on 'background speakers' (Clyne, Fernandez, Chen and Summo-O'Connell, 1997). It includes a study of the language of first to third generation bilinguals in German, Italian and Chinese programs and works towards a taxonomy of children with a background in a language they are studying. There are also recommendations for teaching such pupils and for curriculum development. Rubino (2004) examines approaches to catering for background and non-background post-secondary learners of Italian in first year university. She emphasizes flexibility in both curriculum and assessment in order to provide learning opportunities that maximize the potential of all students.

These and other issues were taken up in a collaborative project between the University of Melbourne and the Victorian state and Catholic school systems on the role of secondary schools in the maintenance and sharing of community languages. It involved responses to student diversity in four schools, one of each teaching Arabic, Chinese (Mandarin), Greek and Spanish (Clyne, Rossi Hunt, Isaakidis and Liem, 2004). The above-mentioned taxonomy of 'background speakers' is refined in this study, models are discussed and developed to cater for student diversity, as are ways of utilizing community resources in the language for maintenance and acquisition purposes. This project also generated a study of the learning of a community language, Greek or Spanish, as a third language (Clyne, Isaakidis and Rossi Hunt, 2004). It showed that the L3 learners, because of their bilingualism, believed they had a better understanding of how language works than the L2 learners. The L3 learners were constantly comparing their languages and using one as a resource to learn another. In addition, learning a third language both attitudinally supported their home language maintenance and gave them a more general interest in languages.

In an increasing emphasis on languages for trade, and consequently a de-emphasizing of sociocultural issues, the subsequent Australian

Language and Literacy Policy (Dawkins, 1991) prioritized 14 languages, some of which did have significant communities in Australia, from which each state could choose eight priority languages for special federal funding. All eight states and territories included Italian and Mandarin among their priority languages, six Modern Greek, four Vietnamese and three Spanish. This slightly reduced what teaching was taking place of other community languages such as Macedonian, Turkish and Maltese in mainstream schools. The Rudd report, *Asian Languages and Australia's Economic Future* (1994), led to a large-scale concentration on four Asian languages and cultures—Chinese (Mandarin), Indonesian, Japanese and Korean—in a well-funded program which lasted for ten years. The teaching of Vietnamese, Filipino and Hindi, community languages of Asian origin, was not boosted by this and the expansion of Korean was not successful. Moreover, the presence of communities and schoolchildren using Mandarin, Korean, Indonesian and Japanese was not taken into account.

In an important overview of Australian language policy, Lo Bianco (2001) shows how governments since the early 1990s have distanced community involvement from policy, preferring a 'managed' top-down policy, marginalizing and disrupting professional networks of language advocates and the interests of community language groups. (See also Scarino and Papademetre, 2001; also Lo Bianco, *Language Policy and Education in Australia*, Volume 1)

Bradshaw and Truckenbrodt (2003) investigated attitudes to the teaching of Greek among stakeholders (teachers, parents, students, management) at a Melbourne Greek independent day school. They demonstrated diversity of opinions between the Greek consular staff, the school staff and parents on Greek linguistic norms, the status of students (L1 or L2), teaching methods, student motivation—concealed by an overall commitment to the teaching of Greek.

Papers from an American-Australian symposium on 'heritage/community language education' (*International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 8, 2 & 3, 2005) examine research priorities and make recommendations on developing, implementing and evaluating programs. Helen Borland reports on a case study of action-oriented research to raise the awareness and use of Maltese among second and third generation people of Maltese-background. Richard Baldauf examines language-in-education planning relating to ethnic schools. Catherine Elder considers the role of tests in evaluating the effectiveness of community languages in mainstream Australian schools (see also Kagan and Dillon, *Issues in Heritage Language Learning in the United States*, Volume 4).

Debski and his associates (Debski, 2004; Fitzgerald and Debski, 2006) have investigated how electronic communication is redefining

community language maintenance and learning. His study shows how Polish emigrants create their own websites and participate in online events involving people in their country of origin, and how such opportunities may generate the sense of increased participation in, and a feeling of greater influence on, social and cultural events in the former homeland.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Much of the research in progress is attempting to find ways of improving community language learning at all levels. Robert Debski is collaborating with Polish after hours community schools in the incorporation of new technologies into teaching models. This activity will enable them to develop a 'Participation Pedagogy' for language learning, drawing on project-oriented learning and emphasizing identity development. Young bilinguals tend to use their community language exclusively to older people and therefore lack peer group register and specialist registers in the language. This is changing because of the widespread use of the internet (and email), linking immigrants and their descendants with their countries of origin and with speakers of the language in other immigrant countries. Building on recent studies, Debski (see above) is researching the implications of new technologies to 'enable participation' in the community language and culture.

Margaret Gearon is coordinating a project which investigates the development of literacy and intercultural understanding in ethnic school students, focusing on Russian and Vietnamese programs. The study also seeks information from parents to indicate how, when and with whom they assist their children to maintain their background language, become literate in it and develop an understanding of key cultural elements.

Among other things, this reflects the changing role of ethnic schools, which under their umbrella organization Community Languages Australia have become a national lobby group for community language learning, the instigator of national conferences, and a partner of research institutes to promote and apply local applied linguistic research. Opportunities for teacher professional development funded by governments and provided by university staff are widely taken up. Ethnic schoolteachers are now generally qualified and often teach in regular schools during the week. Schools of languages similarly lobby for community languages and collaborate with universities on research.

Anne Pauwels is conducting a survey on innovative language programs in Australian universities, including collaborations on community languages. A team headed by Colin Nettelbeck is investigating

'beginners language courses' in universities, including ones taken by students with a limited home background in the language.

Catherine Elder is continuing her research on the testing of a population with diverse backgrounds and needs in the language they are studying. Her forthcoming monograph will give particular emphasis to assessment in school and university contexts, and will examine the challenges posed by the presence of minority group learners in the school population for the valid assessment of language ability. The monograph consists of a number of case studies, one of which examines the manner in which the Australian education system has dealt with the assessment of languages such as Chinese, Italian and Greek, which are studied by a range of background and non-background learners.

On the basis of interviews with teachers, students and other stakeholders, Yvette Slaughter is exploring the impact of exclusionary language planning in Australia, which has prioritized four Asian languages—Chinese, Japanese, Indonesian and Korean. This policy and its implementation disregard the needs and motivations of community language learners. It has devalued and impeded the practice and development of numerous Asian community languages in Australia such as Vietnamese, the most widely spoken community language in the 0–14-year age group. It ignores the needs and aspirations of some students who are motivated not just to maintain a language, but to develop complex identities, based on pan-Asian interests explored through local and global multilingual and multicultural interaction. It also ignores the complex reality of teaching languages, which are widely spoken by communities in Australia to students with and without a background in a language.

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

This section outlines five main problems and difficulties with the teaching and learning of community languages in Australia.

### *Grading*

Australia's linguistic diversity can be supported and strengthened by motivating those with a background in a language to develop it to the fullest and by utilizing community resources in a language. Because the assessment at the end of secondary school has gatekeeper function for entry to coveted courses of study, especially at prestigious universities, an elaborate system of score adjustment has been developed to balance out perceived inequalities between subjects. Certain language subjects have been targeted because it is perceived by some that parti-

cular students have an ‘unfair advantage’ and thus complete beginners are discouraged from taking up the language. In recent years, various discriminatory classification schemes have been devised to counter the perceived advantage, but they often demotivate either language maintenance or students benefiting from further study of the language. The schemes do not take into sufficient account that there are many different types and degrees of background in the language (e.g. receiving instruction in it in the country of origin for a differential period, speaking the language, understanding it, using a distantly related dialect) and that maintaining and developing the language to a high level is an achievement warranting credit (Clyne, 2005, pp. 110–134; Clyne Fernandez, Chen, and Summo-O’Connell, 1997; Elder, 2005). Much of the issue concerns Asian languages, especially Chinese. This is a complex matter because of the difficulty of learning characters and the fact that many of the ‘Chinese’ speakers in Australia use a variety such as Cantonese, which is mutually unintelligible with the target language, Mandarin. Also the shift to English from Cantonese or Mandarin between the first and second generations is usually substantial (Clyne, 2005, p. 72).

#### *National Co-operative System*

Several states have pooled assessment resources for a number of years, making it possible for 45 languages to be accredited for the examination at the end of secondary school. Recently languages with less than 15 candidates for three consecutive years have been suspended. Five languages were affected in this way in 2006. This development is out of keeping with the multicultural principle that all languages are equally worthwhile.

#### *Closure of University Programs*

Due to declining public funding, universities are unable to maintain some language programs that were previously cross-subsidized within the institution. Consequently some languages (Dutch, Khmer, Maltese, Polish, Slovenian, Turkish) are no longer taught at any Australian university or at any university in a particular state (Thai or Serbian/Croatian in Victoria, Vietnamese in South Australia; see also Pauwels, 2007). This is having an indirect impact on schools as universities have hitherto provided language teachers with advanced language skills (Clyne, 2005, p. 117). Baldauf (1995) and colleagues (e.g. Mühlhäusler, 1995, working with an ecological model) conducted research on the need for and offerings of low candidature languages in universities (many of

which are community languages). They include a national plan for university low candidature language programs, with incentives for their continuation, shared responsibility, the promotion of technologically based teaching, and the use of community resources.

### *Status of Languages*

Despite being a 'key learning area', languages tend to be regarded as less important than other curriculum areas. This is characteristic of the monolingual mindset which is so dominant in Australian society (Clyne, 2005), although there is some variation between states.

### *Demography and Delivery*

In a comparison of languages spoken at home and languages taken at school, Clyne, Fernandez and Grey (2004) show that the offerings of school language programs are not keeping up with Australia's language demography. This, too, varies from state to state. Apart from Italian, significant community languages are not taught widely in regular schools. This applies particularly to Vietnamese, Arabic and Greek and also to Spanish despite its international status.

Cantonese has large numbers of speakers, although Mandarin is the school language of choice for many from Cantonese-speaking backgrounds (hence its absence from public examinations and near-absence from university programs—Pauwels, 2007). Japanese and French gain their large numbers of school students for reasons other than communities of speakers in Australia. Diglossia in Arabic and the pluricentric nature of the language as well as affective factors have detracted from the teaching and learning of Arabic as a second language.

## FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Though multiculturalism in Australia is a fact of life, the future of community language learning depends on societal attitudes in Australia. The National Statement for Languages Education in Australian Schools, and the accompanying National Plan issued by the Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs (MCEETYA) sets out a commitment to 'quality languages education for all students, in all schools, in all parts of the country' (MCEETYA, p. 6). The initial four year Plan (2005–2008) focuses on six nationally agreed inter-dependent strategic areas, including teaching and learning, teacher supply and retention, and advocacy and promotion of languages learning. Funding has been made available for eight national

projects targeting these areas, with the aim of supporting and promoting languages education on a national scale.

However, prestige planning (Baldauf, 2004) requires a reversal of the dominant monolingual mindset, which is starting to redefine 'real Australianness' again in terms of xenophobia and anti-intellectualism. This mindset could lead to a sidelining of the teaching of all but the top six or so languages away from mainstream schools into ethnic schools and, in some states, schools of languages, though with official financial support. With continuing economic neo-liberalism driving the university curricula, the presence of community languages there may decrease further.

For some languages, discriminatory practices against those with a home background will have a demotivating effect on language maintenance (see above). Recognizing and dismantling the culture which propagates the notion of 'unfair advantage' is a major challenge for the future. A further challenge will be to ensure that students with and without a background in the community language they are studying at school will be supported to fully develop their language skills. Elder (1997) shows that, in Chinese, Italian and Greek, 'background speakers' are stronger on listening than on reading skills while 'non-background speakers' are better at strategic competence, such as gaining meaning from context. The advantage some 'background speakers' may have in oral skills may be far outweighed in the final years of schooling by their relatively underdeveloped literacy skills. Clyne (2005, p. 133) mentions that non-background speakers with a structural orientation often notice points that 'background speakers' take for granted and that the latter are often penalized for using non-standard forms which those without a home background would not know. Some steps towards curriculum approaches which cater for a range of backgrounds and prior experience with a language have been described in Clyne, Fernandez, Chen, and Summo-O'Connell (1997), Clyne, Rossi Hunt, Isaakidis, and Liem (2004), and in Rubino (2004). However, explicit recognition of the needs of various types of learners, together with appropriate materials development, remains severely underdeveloped.

The internet will provide exciting new opportunities and support for more effective community language learning. It could facilitate collaborative learning of low candidature language programs at both secondary and tertiary levels.

Future directions in community language learning will depend on positive attitudes and policies that recognize the value of Australia's multilingualism for the individual, the ethnic communities themselves and for the nation.

*See Also:* Joseph Lo Bianco: *Language Policy and Education in Australia (Volume 1)*; Olga Kagan and Kathleen Dillon: *Issues in Heritage*

*Language Learning in the United States (Volume 4); Sandra Kipp: The Language Ecology of Australia's Community Languages (Volume 9)*

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## SECOND AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING IN SOUTH AFRICA

### INTRODUCTION

It must be pointed out at the outset that in South Africa (SA) the terms foreign and second language are highly contested, particularly when used with reference to black learners of English. This article reviews pedagogical issues in second/foreign language learning in South Africa against the background of the sociopolitical changes, especially the end of apartheid, that have taken place in the country since 1994. More specifically, the article seeks to determine to what extent these changes have affected foreign/second learning in schools and universities in the country. The first section of this article reviews early developments in second/foreign language learning in South Africa. The second section discusses major contributions to second/foreign language in the country, with a focus on South Africa's past and current language-in-education policies. The third section looks at work in progress, especially the Curriculum 2005 and outcomes-based education (OBE), which has been designed to replace the educational system South Africa inherited from apartheid. This is followed by a brief look at some of the problems and difficulties that second/foreign language learners face in South Africa and the strategies that language teachers use to address these difficulties. The last section examines future directions that second/foreign language learning might take in the country's effort to provide equitable education to all.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS IN SECOND/FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING IN SA

South Africa is known to the rest of the world mostly because of its now defunct, divide-and-rule apartheid system, on the basis of which the country was ruled from 1948 to 1994 and whose legacy continues to haunt the country's educational system. In order to better appreciate the discussion of issues in second and foreign language learning in the post-apartheid state, one must understand South Africa's colonial history against which the issues themselves have evolved. This history is discussed in the next section. The present section reviews early developments in second/foreign language in South Africa. South

African schools at all levels including primary, secondary and tertiary institutions fall into two language-based categories, much as they were during the apartheid era: There are the English-medium schools on the one hand, and the Afrikaans-medium schools on the other. In regard to the English-medium schools, in the apartheid era non-English speaking background students were required to learn English as a second language (L2). However, and as already pointed out, in South Africa the distinction between “English as a first (L1) and/or second (L2) language” has been called into question. For instance, Young (1988, p. 8) associates terms such as L1 and L2 with apartheid and argues that they should be discarded because they imply that Blacks are not able to assimilate western language and culture. Policy makers have voiced a similar view, i.e., that the term second language implies a “deficit view of language competence” (African National Congress (ANC), 1992, p. 2) and that “the aim of a fully bilingual education system is rather to achieve a single level of language proficiency by the end of compulsory schooling” (Barkhuizen and Gough, 1996, p. 459). In 1993, a Core Syllabus Committee for English was set up to look into this issue. The Committee noted that the use of the terms English as a first- and/or second language is complicated by the fact that most second language learners, even those in rural areas for whom English can be described as a foreign language, use English as their medium of instruction. Therefore, the Committee proposed that:

... these terms [English-first and English-Second Language] be replaced with the term *English*. Nevertheless, the principle of equity demands some acceptable and brief way of acknowledging the verifiable differences ... between mother-tongue and non-mother-tongue learners of English. For this purpose then, it is proposed that a growing international practice of referring to all learners for whom English is not their mother-tongue as *bilingual* learners of English, be adopted (Murray and van der Mescht, 1996, p. 258).

Since then, there seems to be a trend (as yet to be documented) for everyone in English-medium schools, irrespective of home language, invariably to learn English as L1 and Afrikaans or an African language as L2. In Afrikaans-medium schools, everyone learns Afrikaans as L1 and at least one other language, in practice most commonly English, as L2. Unlike in English-medium schools, in Afrikaans-medium schools there seems to be no need to distinguish between Afrikaans as L1 and/or as L2 since these schools are attended mostly by native speakers of Afrikaans.

In predominantly black schools, especially those located in rural areas, African languages continue to be used as the medium of instruction for the first 4 years of primary school, much as they were in the

apartheid era. However, recent trends in language education suggest that, in these schools, even where no qualified English teachers are available, English is increasingly being used, in whatever form, as the medium of instruction from grade one onwards. A number of questions arise as a result: If the distinction between English as L1 and/or L2 is not maintained, how does one prevent the emergence of a society in which, as Peirce (1992, p. 6) warns, power is concentrated in a minority of speakers of standard English? Should the country reintroduce first language (or mother tongue) education despite its close association with apartheid, or should it promote English-medium education despite its elitist nature and the high failure- and dropout-rates, especially among black learners. Future language-in-education policies must address these issues if attempts to implement multilingualism in education in South Africa are to succeed.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

As pointed out earlier, issues in second/foreign language in South Africa cannot be discussed in a vacuum, for they are interwoven with the country's sociopolitical history and with its language-in-education policies in particular. This section offers a brief review of these policies and their colonial history. The colonial history of South Africa indicates that the country was first colonized by the Dutch, who ruled South Africa from 1652–1795. During the century and a half of the Dutch occupation of the country only knowledge of Dutch, hence Dutchification, served as a catalyst for access to education and employment in the civil service. The Dutchification of South Africa or what was then called the Cape colony came to an end in 1795 when the territory fell under British control. With the territory now in their hands, the British authorities introduced the policy of Anglicization, which sought to replace Dutch with English in all spheres of public life including the educational system (Davenport, 1991, p. 40). Like Dutchification, Anglicization required knowledge of English for access to education and to whatever resources were available in the colony. As the language of power and official language in the colony, English had to be learnt as a second/foreign language by all including the Africans and the Dutch. The policy of Anglicization lasted until 1948 when the Dutch, who by now identified themselves as Afrikaners, took the reign of the government. They, in turn, replaced Anglicization with Afrikanerization, a policy that saw the Afrikaans language, an offspring of Dutch, increase its power dramatically and take center stage in the administration of the state:

... All government-controlled institutions, the state administration, the radio and television, the education sector, the

defense force and semi-state institutions gradually [became] almost wholly Afrikaans. The [white] Afrikaans-population was in total control (Webb and Kriel, 2000, p. 22)

Knowledge of Afrikaans became a requirement for entry into the civil service, much as was that of Dutch and English in the eras of Dutchification and Anglicization, respectively. In an effort to further “Afrikanerize” the South African society, in 1953 the apartheid government adopted a controversial language policy commonly known as the Bantu Education Act. Briefly, the policy sought (a) to promote Afrikaans and reduce the influence of English in black schools; (b) to impose in these schools the use of both Afrikaans and English on an equal basis as media of instruction; and to extend mother tongue education in African languages from grade 4 to grade 8 (e.g., Cluver, 1992; Kamwangamalu, 1997, p. 237. For an elaborate discussion of other motives of the Bantu Education Act, see Kamwangamalu, 2001, pp. 390–395). This legislation had serious implications for languages of learning and teaching in black schools. In line with this policy of Bantu Education, black children had to receive education through three languages, Afrikaans, English, and the mother tongue; while for their white, colored (people of mixed race), and Indian counterparts education was dispensed exclusively in Afrikaans or in English, depending on whether one was Afrikaans- or English-speaking. The black pupils resisted mother tongue education, as promoted by the Bantu Education Act, because they recognized it for what it was: one of the strategies used by the apartheid government to deny the Blacks access to English and hence to higher education and thus restrict their social and economic mobility (Kamwangamalu, 1997, p. 243). The black pupils’ resistance to the Bantu Education Act, and the apartheid government’s determination to impose it, led to the bloody Soweto uprising of 16 June 1976, in which several pupils lost their lives (Alexander, 1989). The aftermath of the Soweto uprisings saw Afrikaans emerge, in the minds of black South Africans, as the language of oppression, and English as the language of advancement and of liberation against apartheid. As for the indigenous African languages, they became identified as inferior and unsuitable for use in the educational system. In other words, the Soweto uprisings reinforced black people’s hatred towards Afrikaans; they boosted the status of an already powerful language, English, over both Afrikaans and African languages in black schools and in black communities at large; and led the black South Africans to equate education in their own languages with inferior education. It is against this background that one must understand issues in second/foreign language learning and the development of the new language policy, to which I turn below, in the post-apartheid state.

*The New Language Policy*

When apartheid ended in 1994 and against the background of past language policies, the new government wasted no time in introducing a new language policy. The policy gives official recognition to eleven languages including English and Afrikaans, previously the only two official languages of the state, and nine African languages, among them Ndebele, Pedi, Sotho, Swati, Tsonga, Tswana, Xhosa, Zulu, and Venda. The key objective of the new language policy has been, understandably, to redress the imbalances of the past by promoting the use of previously marginalized languages, i.e. the indigenous African languages, in higher domains such as the media, education, the government and administration, etc. In 1997, the Minister of Education announced a language-in-education policy whose objectives are listed as follows:

1. to promote additive multilingualism, that is, to maintain home language(s) while providing access to and the effective acquisition of additional language(s);
2. to promote and develop all the official languages;
3. to counter disadvantages resulting from different kinds of mismatches between home languages and languages of learning and teaching;
4. to develop programs for the redress of previously disadvantaged languages. (Department of Education, *Government Gazette* no. 18546, December 19, 1997.)

One of the main objectives of the new multilingual language policy has been to promote the status of the nine official African languages against the backdrop of past discriminatory language policies. Accordingly, the new Constitution states that "... recognizing the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages" (The Constitution, 1996, Chapter 1, section 6 (2)). The Constitution also makes provision for the establishment of a Pan South African Language Board (PANSALB) with the responsibility to, *inter alia*: "... promote and create conditions for the development and use of these (African) and other languages" (The Constitution, 1996, Chapter 1, section 6 (5a)).

The question that needs to be raised at this juncture and which is at the core of this paper is this: To what extent have the recent political changes in South Africa, especially the country's new language-in-education policy, affected second/foreign language learning schools and universities? Recent studies (Kamwangamalu, 2000; Webb, 2002) indicate that not much has changed in terms of language practice in education. In other words, the status quo prevails: English and Afrikaans remain the chief media of learning in English-medium and

Afrikaans-medium schools respectively, much as they were in the apartheid era. If anything has changed at all in terms of the language practices, it is that English has gained more territory and political clout than Afrikaans in virtually all of the country's institutions including education. English has become the only language in which the majority of South African parents want their children educated: English is the language of business, commerce and international trade; it is the language of education, government and administration, international communication, diplomacy, science and technology; and it is seen not only as the language of power, prestige and status but also as an open sesame (Samuels, 1995) by means of which one can acquire unlimited vertical social mobility. It is therefore not surprising that except for historically Afrikaans-medium schools, the majority of schools in South Africa are English-medium. The demand for English-medium education, and not for education through the medium of other official languages, has to be understood against the background of the socio-economic power and international status of English on the one hand; and of the legacy of the Bantu Education Act on the other. Besides, in South Africa there seems to be no demand for multilingual skills for sociocultural, academic, and administrative purposes. Consequently, as Verhoef (1998) remarks, for African pupils there is no alternative to English-medium education. In a study of language attitudes in black schools in the North West Province, Verhoef (1998) found that constitutional demands for multilingualism are at odds with black pupils' demand for English as the sole language of learning and teaching. The demand for English is exacerbated by the fact that the pupils are only too well aware of the power of English to ask for education in any other language, and of the fact that their own languages have no economic cachet either locally or internationally. In the following section I discuss the new pedagogical framework, namely OBE, that South Africa has adopted to redress past inequities in education.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS: OUTCOMES-BASED CURRICULUM 2005

In order to provide equitable education to all South African learners, in 1998 the Minister of Education introduced a new national curriculum, dubbed Curriculum 2005, that is to gradually replace the curriculum the country has inherited from the apartheid-based education system. The new curriculum was initially scheduled to be implemented in grades 1–9 by the year 2005, hence the name “Curriculum 2005.” However, due to the difficulties it has encountered in its efforts to implement the OBE system (see below), the Department of Education has decided not to implement the plan by 2005 but to aim at a later

date. It is now projected that the revised curriculum will be implemented by 2008. The rationale for introducing the new curriculum is that, under the previous system, learners of different racial groups did not get the same quality education. Curriculum 2005 is based on the concept of OBE.

According to Spady (1995), who is regarded as the founder of OBE, outcomes are what learners can actually do with what they know and have learned; that is, the tangible application of what has been learned. An OBE is a learner-centered, results-orientated approach to education premised on the expectation that all learners can learn and succeed (*Government Gazette* no. 19640, 23 December 1998). One of the key characteristics of OBE is the acknowledgement of, and support for, the learners' use of their primary languages for acquiring knowledge, whether or not such languages are the formal languages of the school for learning and teaching. Other characteristic features of the OBE system include the following: Learning is considered an interactive process occurring between the teachers (educators) and the learners, with the latter playing a central role in the learning process, and the former serving as facilitators. The focus of learning is on what learners should know and do – the outcomes. A strong emphasis is put on co-operative learning, especially group work on common tasks or activities. The learner's progress is determined on the basis of continuous assessment, rather than on year-end examinations or on the accumulation of a series of traditional test results (Gultig, Lubisi, Parker, and Wedekind, 1998).

Since its announcement in 1997 and its subsequent launch in 1998, Curriculum 2005 has received a mixed reaction from the stakeholders. To my knowledge, and except for a lone 3-day conference on OBE organized by the Western Cape Department of Education in December 1999, there has been very little academic debate on OBE in South Africa (e.g. Gultig, Lubisi, Parker, and Wedekind, 1998). The argument for or against OBE has been aired mostly in the local newspapers. The opponents of OBE, among them a mix of journalists, members of opposition political parties and right-wingers, have said that OBE is a "... very dangerous experiment in social engineering" (*Sunday Times*, 22 June 1997). According to its critics, OBE has been a disaster in the first world countries where it has been implemented, including the USA, New Zealand, Australia, and the United Kingdom. The critics see it:

... as a system aimed at producing 'confident illiterates', a system which refutes the need for competition and its essential element: individual excellence. It is based on the group and seeks not so much to endow children with skills as to make them feel good and to raise their self-esteem (*Sunday Times*, June 1, 1997).

In contrast, the proponents of OBE, including the current ruling party (The African National Congress) and their associates, refer to the achievements of the OBE system in the very same first world countries where, according to the critics, OBE has been a failure. For instance, in a newspaper article, van der Horst and McDonald (1997) remark that:

... having studied the instructional systems of some states in the United States, Australia, South America, the United Kingdom (including the Scottish system), various European countries as well as Singapore and Japan, it became clear to us that outcomes-based education has a place and function in South Africa at this time (Sunday Times, June 22, 1997).

The proponents of OBE argue that those who oppose OBE have "... allegiance to the elitist, inequitable and fragmented status quo which protects their privileges while condemning millions to a life of poverty, illiteracy and ignorance" (Sunday Times, June 15, 1997). The latest input on Curriculum 2005 is that it will be streamlined according to the recommendations of a group of academics who reviewed it recently at the request of the Minister of Education (Sunday Times, August 20, 2000). As far as language is concerned, 70% of classroom time will now be allocated to language teaching/learning (and mathematics) in Grades 1 to 3 and 50% from Grade 4 onwards.

It must be pointed out that, in spite of the goals of OBE-Curriculum 2005, in South Africa there is a strong drive for English-medium education in OBE classrooms. It is not a coincidence that as a result of the demise of apartheid, and with it school segregation, the country has witnessed an influx of black students from the township schools to formerly white or Indian schools in their quest to be educated only through the medium of English. Recent newspaper reports bear testimony to this state of affairs. One report, titled "Township pupils go elsewhere," says that "schools in townships north of the city of Durban ... have experienced dwindling student enrolments in recent years [due] to the lack of qualified teachers and the absence of adequate facilities" (Daily News, 22 August 2002, p. 2). As a result, the report adds, the majority of advantaged schools in former white and Indian areas have witnessed an increased enrolment of African pupils. Another report, titled "Students shun African languages" (Sunday Times, 4 March 2001), indicates that enrolment in African languages at universities around the country has been declining by half each year since 1996. According to UNISA (the University of South Africa), the only institution that offers courses in all official African languages, the number of undergraduate students registered for these courses has dropped from 25,000 in 1997 to 3,000 in 2001. The number of postgraduate

students has also decreased, from 511 to 53 in the same period (1997–2001). Other tertiary institutions have confirmed an annual decline of 50%. However, how do learners from previously disadvantaged communities cope in English-medium classes? The next section is devoted to this issue, with a focus on the obstacles that learners face in their effort to learn English, and the teaching methods that teachers use in an attempt to overcome these obstacles.

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Learners of English as a second language or foreign language in South Africa face many problems in their quest to be educated through the medium of English only. Webb (2002, pp. 56–57) summarizes some of these problems as follows with reference to English second language learners at the University of Pretoria, a historically Afrikaans-medium University that now also offers courses in English to accommodate black students' demand for English-medium education:

1. An inadequate language proficiency (grammatical, textual, functional and sociolinguistic) in the Language of Learning/Teaching (LoL/T) among both many students and members of staff.
2. Linguistic alienation: second-language students, aware of their inadequate English language proficiency, could experience a serious degree of linguistic alienation, which possibly significantly restricts their participation in classroom interaction, so essential to educational development.
3. The use of learning materials which have not been designed to address the language problems faced by students.
4. Inadequate guidance to students about handling language matters (including advice on the selection of an appropriate LoL/T and an academic working language), which can guide students not to select an LoL/T they do not know well enough, thus performing below their potential, even to the extent of failing their courses.

Although Webb's study focuses on students at the University of Pretoria, the problems it highlights are arguably experienced by other South African universities as well. It is no coincidence that virtually all South African universities run programs that seek to help students improve their proficiency in English. The types of language problems that such programs are intended to address can be illustrated with the following passage, which was produced in June 2000 by a first-year student at the University of Pretoria in response to a formal examination on "The Verbal Communication Process" (Webb, 2002, p. 49)

*The first four components are fundamental content of the communication process because together they form the norms.*

*Out of these norms one make disions out of Linguistic means, text constructing and Genre and that then forms the text. . . . The situational context refers to Locality, where the verbal communication proses takes place. . . . The situation also determines the Roles of the descoursed partisipants The use of language and linguistic forms. Also languagevariets. . . . The tone and register of the text for example formal, informal ect. And also how the resefer will interpret the speakers communicative intent. . . . The situasion context places people in positions and they entisipate the next phase.*

Webb (2002, p. 49) remarks further that similar examples can be found in the formal written work of students registered for a course-work masters program in Applied Linguistics (despite being language teachers, and in possession of primary degrees), for example:

*English has more knowledge than all other languages is high but the Tswana are a bit medium not more than english. Zulu is the highest in knowledge is spoken by many South Africans.*

While universities have programs in place that seek to remedy the language problems evident in the above passages, teachers in the township schools in particular address these problems by using teaching strategies such as translation, codeswitching, and peer-tutoring. Translation from English into the learners' mother tongue does indeed benefit the learners since the mother tongue is the language best known to the learners. The problem with translation is that teachers do not use it in assessing the students. Instead, all assessment activities are carried out through the medium of the official medium of instruction, English, a language in which learners are not proficient. Codeswitching has been shown to fulfil pedagogical functions in an ESL classroom, such as classroom management, emphasis, reinforce understanding of what is taught, etc. (e.g. Moodley, 2003). However, like translation, codeswitching is not allowed in examination and test papers either, nor does it enhance English proficiency. Peer tutoring, also known as peer-teaching involves grouping together students who share the same native language, Zulu, but different levels of English proficiency so that the more proficient students can tutor the less proficient ones. In using peer tutoring the teacher subcontracts, as it were, some of his prerogatives to pairs or small groups of students headed by what Sionis (1990) has termed "surrogate teachers." It is not clear to what extent these methods have helped teachers improve learners' proficiency in English. What is evident, though, is that there is a mismatch between schools' language policy, which requires that teachers teach in English, and the teaching strategies that teachers use in the classroom, as highlighted earlier.

## FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Let me reiterate that because of past language-in-education policies, especially the Bantu Education Act, the majority of South Africa's black youth do not have the language skills they need to do well at school. According to the 1991 census figures, 49% of the black youth between 15 and 24 years of age do not speak, read, or write English (van Zyl Slabbert Malan, Marais, Oliver, and Riordan, 1994, p. 109). A recent report by the then Minister of Education, Professor Kader Asmal, indicates that 12 million South Africans are illiterate and that about 20 million others, mostly schoolchildren, are not fluent readers in any language (The Sunday Times, 16 April 2000). In the latest survey on literacy, the Pan South African Language Board (PANSALB) reports that about 50% of non-English-speaking South Africans (read mostly black South Africans) do not understand statements or speeches made in English by government officials (The Star, 8 September 2000). What then should be done to remedy this situation? I argue that the answer to this question lies in the implementation, as yet to materialize, of the new language-in-education policy. A commitment to linguistic pluralism (Cobarrubias, 1983) and thus to linguistic democracy means that the use of the mother tongue in education (and other higher domains) is, as many linguists have pointed out, a fundamental human right (e.g. Phillipson, 1992; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1988; Tollefson, 1991). Therefore, there is an urgent need for South Africa to take a hard look into its language-in-education policies, with a view to revitalizing mother tongue education as a means through which to empower the masses. Revalorizing the indigenous does not mean, and this is an important point, saying farewell to English and Afrikaans. Rather, it means bringing these two languages to equality with indigenous languages as required in the constitution. It entails, as Webb 1995, p. 103 correctly points out, "making the indigenous languages desirable and effective [tools] for educational development, economic opportunity, political participation, social mobility, and cultural practice." Whether or not the indigenous African languages are developed to function alongside English and Afrikaans as the medium of instruction, English will continue to be the language of choice in education for most learners and their parents. Given the difficulties that learners are currently encountering due to their lack of proficiency in English, they should not be allowed to register for courses in their subject areas until they become proficient in the language. For this purpose, current English (remedial) programs should be restructured and turned into intensive programs that extend over at least a full semester. Such programs would allow the students enough time to develop the skills they need to be able to perform to their full potential in English as L2-classrooms.

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## SECOND AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN CANADA

### INTRODUCTION

Canada, a vast country comprised of ten provinces and three territories, has a linguistically and culturally diverse population. Officially a bilingual country (English and French), in a recent consensus (Statistics Canada, 2001), 59% of the population reported English as their mother tongue, 23% French, and 18% a mother tongue other than English or French, about 1% of whom are aboriginal people.

Constitutionally, education is the responsibility of the provinces and territories, and each one has distinct policies and curricula. There is some communication across jurisdictions, through structures such as the Council of Ministers of Education, but there is no direct federal government connection to education in schools. There is, however, a sharing of expenditure for some aspects of public education (health and other welfare programs) between the provinces and the federal government and this includes federal funding to support *official* minority language vitality and development (i.e., English or French in a provincial, or regional, context where one of the other official languages dominates). In view of such diverse sociopolitical and economic factors, second and foreign language education has developed variously across geopolitical contexts and language program types. The following identifies some of the more significant trends and initiatives that have been undertaken.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Before the arrival of Europeans, Aboriginal peoples populated Canada. Since the sixteenth century, immigrants have been arriving from Northern and Western Europe, and increasingly from all over the world. European Canada was French until 1763, when it was ceded to Britain after the 7 Years War. Since the earliest days, struggles between Francophones and Anglophones for separate identities, including religious and linguistic rights, have been central threads throughout the country's social and political history.

Canada was created legally (Constitution Act, 1867) through the merger of four British Colonies. There was minimal constitutional provision

for language. Arguably, the concept of official languages as a symbol of Canadian identity came most forcibly to the fore from the 1960s to the present. In the 1960s, Francophones in Quebec took steps to gain more control, during a period of rapid social change known as the “quiet revolution.” As a response to a perceived crisis in national identity, in 1963, the federal government established, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism out of which resulted the Official Languages Act of 1969. This act gave French and English equal status as Canada’s official languages and created the position of Commissioner of Official Languages to oversee the implementation of the Act. In 1970–1971 the Government of Canada created programs known as the Official Languages in Education (OLE) program that put in place a funding system of subsidies to expand opportunities for minority Francophones and improve the teaching of French and English as a second language in provinces where the other official language is dominant. In 1982, a new constitution, and associated Charter of Rights and Freedoms, strengthened official language rights and promoted bilingualism. With respect to education, children of families with an official minority language background (e.g., French in British Columbia and English in Quebec) now had a right to schooling in their home language. In keeping with these official policies of bilingualism, since English is the dominant language in about three-quarters of the country, French is the official second language taught in the majority of schools. Likewise, English is the official second language taught in French language-dominant provinces and French-speaking regions within provinces. Foreign languages are also taught to a relatively small percentage of students. Traditionally, these were mainly European languages (most commonly Spanish, German, Italian) but increasingly other languages (e.g., Mandarin, Japanese, Korean, and Punjabi in British Columbia) are formally accredited courses. Provinces vary in the age at which foreign languages are offered in the schools, the foreign languages offered (this also varies considerably within provinces across schools and communities), and the mandated grades, where a foreign language course is no longer a requirement toward graduation.

The portrait of Canada’s linguistic and cultural landscape is, however, more complex than the *official languages* policies might suggest. Approximately 20% of the population speaks a language other than English or French in their families and local communities. Moreover, Canada has an active immigration policy with more than 200,000 immigrants arriving annually, 50% speaking a language other than French or English. Because the education of children is a provincial responsibility, no federal funding is available for language programs for children who enter school speaking a *nonofficial* language if they are educated in the dominant official language of their province

of residence. This leads to a curious anomaly wherein, for example, a school in Vancouver may receive federal funding to educate, in French, a student who enters school speaking a *nonofficial* language, but federal funds are not available to teach that same student in English, the medium of instruction in most schools in British Columbia. Provincial funding is available for English as a Second Language (ESL) programs, however, there is no coherent national profile of ESL policies, programs, and provisions across geopolitical contexts. An initial analysis suggests considerable variation across provinces with respect to: funding amounts per pupil per year, definition of ESL students, policies, time caps in ESL programs, presence of ESL curriculum, service delivery models, ESL teacher certification requirements, and credits for ESL courses. Canadian federal policy does promote the recognition of the value of languages other than English and French, as expressed in the Canadian Multiculturalism Act (1990), but funding for related programs is limited and generally directed to promoting tolerance, nondiscrimination, and cross-cultural awareness, rather than heritage language learning. Smaller linguistic groups have not fared as well, then, with respect to nationally coordinated efforts and provisions for second- or dual-language education programs. Provinces also vary considerably in the extent to which they support maintenance of heritage languages in schools. In the approximately 50% of the provinces where they exist, heritage language programs are generally added on at the end of the school day or offered on Saturday mornings. For a powerful critique of the problematic consequences of lack of a coherent policy, for heritage language teaching in schools, together with an argument for the potential benefit of such a policy, for foreign language teaching in schools, see Cummins (2005). (For related reviews, see Cumming 2006; for a review of policy and education with respect to First Nations languages, see Burnaby, *Language Policy and Education in Canada*, Volume 1).

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Canada is renowned for its innovative and widespread use of various language and content approaches to second language pedagogy, immersion education being the most prominent of these. This review does not touch upon the extensive research that has been done on immersion (see for review, Genesee and Lindholm-Leary, *Dual Language Education in Canada and the USA*, Volume 5). Rather, it provides an overview of the contributions that have been made in two other important aspects of second and foreign language education in Canada, aspects that impact on a high percentage of the school-age population; these are: (1) integrated language and content programs

for English Language Learner (ELL) students who are receiving their education through the medium of English and (2) Core French Programs.

The origins and growth of French Immersion, since its beginnings in a Montreal suburb in the mid-1960s, is well-documented. Systematic content-based approaches for ESL programs appeared about two decades later. In the first half of the 1980s, Canada received a steady flow of ELL students in schools. Influenced by Cummins' (1981) theory of social and academic language proficiency, a number of ESL teachers began to experiment with content-based language instruction in their classes. In this context, Mohan published his seminal book *Language and Content* (1986) and the British Columbia Ministry of Education published *An Integrated Language and Content Resource Book* (Early, Thew, and Wakefield, 1986) for use with teachers throughout the B.C. school system; both were based on Mohan's heuristic, "A Knowledge Framework." Working within a Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) perspective, this is a view of language as discourse in the context of social practice; it looks explicitly at the role of language and discourse within social practice in order to design tasks that intentionally address the language and subject matter requirements of both. Unlike immersion approaches of that period, this perspective explicitly and intentionally considered students' language needs and encouraged critical meta-discourses about language and subject matter knowledge. Research revealed that knowledge structures serve as a useful construct to consider transfer across: academic content-area discourses, modes of meaning making, and different languages, and to engage ELL students in critical meta-language discourses (see for review Mohan, Leung, and Davison, 2001).

Relatedly, in immersion programs, explicit attention to students' language needs through a "focus on form" (Swain, 1988) has also become an increasingly common focus of research (see Lyster, 2004, for a recent overview). As well, in the context of ESL instruction in Francophone communities, Lightbown and Spada have conducted an ongoing series of studies of "focus on form" on language learning outcomes (see Lightbown, 2000). Thus, various approaches to instructional language development by researchers working across different languages, theoretical perspectives, contexts, and program types have been an aspect within content-based instruction, where major Canadian contributions have been made (see Wesche, 2001, for more detailed examples).

Returning specifically to ESL content-based research, Duff (2004) conducted a two-year ethnographic study in a Vancouver high school with a high concentration of students from Asian backgrounds. Her work is revealing in illustrating the discourse and cultural challenges for ELL students in mainstream social studies classes. Toohey,

Waterstone, and Julé (2000), drawing on sociocultural theorists, examined classroom activities engaged in by more or less proficient speakers of English and how their interpersonal relationships are implicated in their speech activities. Findings revealed that certain kinds of adult participation might hinder or enhance opportunities for young ELL student's participation in learning. Roessingh and colleagues (see Roessingh, 2004, for review) have conducted a number of studies to report on their experiences of building an effective ESL program that focused primarily on results. Kouritzin (2004) conducted a year-long comparative study of four low-incidence (i.e., a small percentage of population) ESL schools in two provinces, with reputations for success. Her work revealed that school-wide programs and attitudes more than specific pedagogical practices correlated with school success. Recent work in Canada regarding identity construction, social contexts, and relations of power (e.g., Cummins, 2000; Heller, 1999; Norton, 2000; Schechter and Cummins, 2003) has also made major contributions (see Norton, *Identity, Language Learning, and Critical Pedagogies*, Volume 6).

Although immersion and content-based language programs have been prominent in research in second language education in Canada, 90% of English-speaking students are enrolled in Core French programs and these have gradually become more of a focus of research (for more detailed examples and extended literature reviews see Canadian Patents for French, 2000–2005; Lapkin, 1998; Lapkin and Turnbull, 1999).

Core French is French as a second language program, taught in periods that vary from 20 to 50 minutes per day, the object of which is to teach students basic conversation skills, language knowledge, and an appreciation of French culture in Canada and beyond (Turnbull, cited in the CPF report, 2004). Interest in variations on this program, particularly Intensive (Core) French formats, has grown significantly in recent years. This is due to the growing reports that students are frequently discouraged by their lack of progress in what has come to be known as the “drip feed” method of 20 minutes per day of French, together with high attrition rates, where students leave Core French programs, nationwide, at the earliest possible opportunity (MacFarlane, 2003). As an alternative format, intensive French increases the number of instructional hours in the second language. This varies from 450 hours in *le bain linguistique* in Ottawa, where the focus is on listening and speaking, rather than all four skills, to other Intensive French Language programs, for example a pilot program in Newfoundland and Labrador, where the amount varied between 180 and 360 instructional hours. A number of research and evaluations studies of these programs have been conducted and the results to date with respect to L2 outcomes are impressive. In addition, Intensive

French Language programs have also been found to have a positive effect on students' attitudes toward the L2 and increase students' confidence in their ability to communicate in French (see Germain and Nettan, 2004). Although these results are promising many questions remain concerning the nature of the program itself, for example use of L1, the role of time, of pedagogy used, of teachers' language competency, and whether or not the initial gains and positive attitudes are maintained on students' return to traditional Core French. In addition to the two areas mentioned earlier, see also Chappelle (2005), for a review of Canadian contributions to computer-assisted language learning.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Most of the developments reported in the preceding section on content-based ESL and Core French are currently being advanced.

Although linguistic and cultural diversity have long been characteristic of Canadian society, current work is being undertaken in rapidly changing times, wherein, the extent of local diversity and global connectedness is unprecedented. These "new times" are leading researchers to address how literacies and pedagogies in multilingual, multiethnic urban schools might be reconceptualized to consider the extent to which Canadian schools have taken into account and built on the multilingual competencies that students bring to school as resource. A large-scale Canada-wide project, entitled *From Literacy to Multiliteracies: Designing Learning Environments for Knowledge Generation within the New Economy* (Early, Cummins, and Willinsky, 2002), a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), funded, collaborative research alliance, is one example of such work. On the basis of case studies of multiliterate pedagogies carried out collaboratively by teachers and university-based researchers, the project is attempting to articulate the choices that school systems face with respect to *what forms of literacy* to teach and what *pedagogical options* are most appropriate for teaching different forms of literacy in diverse contexts. One question addressed by this project of particular relevance to this review is: How can we teach for cross-language and cultural transfer and literacy engagement when there are multiple languages represented in the classroom, none of which the teachers may know? A related question asks, how might technology help us realize such diversity as a resource for all? Various approaches have been implemented including: the creation of multimodal dual language texts; sister-class projects; the use of e-lective, a computer assisted, text-based ESL/EFL learning system; the use of the students' home languages in cross-modal and cross-language transfer to facilitate content and L2 language learning; and the design of multimodal pedagogical

activities and spaces that afforded ELL students opportunities and skills to access knowledge from multiple perspectives and to forge their own links between the discourses of school and family and community life (see [www.multiliteracies.ca](http://www.multiliteracies.ca)). One emerging factor from the Canadian Multiliteracies Project is teachers' reports that issues around assessment and accountability can constrain their innovative efforts. A complementary study (Early, Overgaard, and Willinsky, 2006) is investigating the viability of internet-based, teacher-authored accounts as an alternative accountability procedure in conveying to stakeholders students' multiliterate accomplishments and achievements and engaging them in democratic conversations around what we value in the development of literate citizens (for details on work in progress, see [www.multiliteracies.ca](http://www.multiliteracies.ca)).

Similarly, Mohan and colleagues are conducting ongoing work within a SFL perspective to investigate ELL students' development of academic discourses, particularly science discourse, for academic achievement. For example, Mohan and Slater (2005) provide a detailed account of how a teacher and her 6 to 7-year-old students were able to build up a simple theory of magnetism using scientific register, linking technical terms to their practical experience.

Reeder, Early, Kendrick, and Shapiro (2003) in an SSHRC-funded study, are investigating the effectiveness of a prototype-automated speech recognition software from Project Listen, Carnegie Mellon University, to improve ELL students' literacy development. The software is an automated Reading Tutor that displays stories on a computer screen, listens to children read aloud, and provides corrective feedback. An initial quasi-experimental study in Vancouver, of students from five language groups, showed gains by the Reading Tutor group matched gains by the human tutoring group on most reading measures, and interviews showed favorable affect impact by the Reading Tutor. Analysis is continuing. In Toronto, a 12-week study (Cunningham and Geva, 2005) involved 104 ESL students in grades 4–6 at 8 schools. The study compared three treatments: the Reading Tutor; Kurzweil 3,000, which reads aloud to the student and provides vocabulary support; and regular ESL classroom instruction. Analysis of data from the first 39 students shows promising trends for the Reading Tutor. Analysis is continuing.

With respect to official second language education in Canada, in the spring of 2003, the federal government released a comprehensive new plan for official languages, entitled: *The Next Act: New Momentum for Canada's Linguistic Duality* (2003), which articulated as the main objective, the doubling of the proportion of graduates from Canadian high schools with a functional knowledge of their second official language by 2013 (see <http://www.ocol-clo.gc.ca/symposium/documents/>

[lapkin/lapkin\\_e.html](#) for a research perspective, including work in progress, on how to rise to the challenge). Also, as a follow-up to the plan, Rehorick (2004) coordinated an expert team charged with outlining concrete steps to make the goals attainable. Based on document analysis and interviews, the team identified five priority areas outlined in *The Next Act*: improve Core French and Core English programs; increase the number of qualified teachers; give new life to French Immersion; offer bilingual graduates the opportunity to put their bilingual skills to use and improve bursary and monitor programs, and developed a set of recommendations with respect to each of the priority areas. Notably, recommendation 51, is to establish a Second Official Language Research Agency of Canada to support and oversee the research that accompanies all the initiatives to be funded by Plan 2013. This agency would amongst other functions identify key areas of research and act as a clearinghouse for information regarding the development of official second languages. In addition, Annual Reports by the Canadian Association of Second Language Teachers (CASLT [www.caslt.org](#)), including reports of commissioned position papers and new research underway, provide important reviews of work in progress regarding *official* second language education initiatives. The State of French Second Language Education Reports produced annually for the past 6 years by the Canadian Parents for French ([www.cpf.ca](#)), also provide up-to-date information annually on research and innovations taking place in immersion and Core French in each Canadian province.

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Second and foreign language education in Canada, while leading edge in many respects, is not without its problems. Four of these are addressed in this section: a shortage in trained FSL and ESL teachers; high attrition rates from Core French; disturbing trends in the drop out and/or disappearance rates of ELL students in high-school examinable subjects; and the marginalization of heritage language programs.

With respect to FSL, the Canadian Parents for French conducted a large-scale study in 2002 and concluded that "... shortages of Core French and French Immersion teachers were currently wide-spread" (p. 58). Follow-up studies have been conducted in 2003 and 2004, and though these studies note gains in supply and demand ratios, "... expectations about the availability of FSL teachers over the next five years remains pessimistic" (p. 59) ([www.cpf.ca](#)). The concerns regarding trained ESL teacher shortages are undocumented yet likely more far reaching. In school districts across Canada, the majority of ELL students receives their education in mainstream classrooms and

is withdrawn for additional English language support by a resource teacher. Personal communications with ESL professionals in major urban centers across the country suggest that ELL students more and more are being served in classrooms where the focus is on system-wide literacy and numeracy standards. To the extent that specialized resources are available to ELL students, The British Columbia Teachers Federation notes this disturbing trend:

The BCTF strongly supports the roles of specialist ESL, Language Assistance and Special Education teachers in an inclusionary education system. We do not endorse combining roles . . . . But roles are being combined and our members need support in those roles. (BCTF Teaching to Diversity Website)

The subsuming of ELL students' needs to broadband pedagogical concerns about mainstream literacy standards or about learning difficulties is not unique to B.C. Faculties of Education training programs and school systems' decisions regarding the organization of teachers and their work, including the kinds of professional conversations they have opportunities to engage in, more explicitly need to address students' need for teachers with pedagogical expertise in ESL.

A second problem area is the high attrition rates from Core French programs nationwide. MacFarlane (2003) reports that many students over the past decade have dropped out of French at the first opportunity, often at the end of grade 9 in most provinces, when it is no longer obligatory. As reported earlier, initiatives and research programs to reverse this trend, including addressing FSL teacher shortages, are currently being put in place.

Concerning ELL students receiving their education in the medium of English, several tracking studies conducted in Canada all conclude that, high-school graduation remains an elusive goal for a disturbingly high percentage young people. Gunderson (2006) provides a comprehensive literature review of tracking studies and has undertaken the most long-term and comprehensive of these. From an analysis of a sample of 5,000 ELL students drawn from data collected on 25,000 immigrant students who were enrolled in the Vancouver public schools between 1991 and 2001, and compared with a random sample of Canadian-born students, the investigation revealed important findings related to immigrants' academic achievement. Four provincially examinable subjects (English, Social, Studies, Science, and Math) were used as indicators of success. There were statistically significant differences across both grades and academic subjects. Most notably grades dipped in grade 11 and students fared better in math and science than in the humanities. There were also differences across ethnolinguistic groups, for example, Mandarin speakers consistently outperformed Canadian-born students,

Cantonese speakers also fared relatively well except in Grade 12 humanities. Spanish- and Vietnamese-speaking students did not fare nearly as well in the sample. A further disturbing finding is that the number of immigrant students enrolled in examinable courses (needed for graduation) decreased significantly from grade 8 to grade 12. The overall decrease was 60% of the population, but it varied dramatically from school to school, from 35% to nearly 100%. These results have a high correlation with socioeconomic status. Gunderson's findings are in line with similar studies, conducted in British Columbia, Alberta, and Ontario (see Gunderson, 2006, for a review). Addressing the educational needs of immigrant students to achieve their full potential remains a critical challenge, as well as an opportunity, for Canadian education systems nationally, particularly as immigration numbers are projected to increase over the next decade.

As has been pointed out earlier in this review and by others, notably Cummins (2005, p. 585), currently, "... the teaching of heritage languages is marginalized with respect to funding provisions, number of students involved and number of students who participate." Similarly, within mainstream classrooms, as discussed in the previous section, *de facto* "English Only" policies are in operation, resulting, not only in missed opportunities for students' development of academic knowledge, but also in the attrition of students' heritage language competence over the course of their schooling. Concurrently, foreign language teaching, too commonly, results in high attrition rates and limited success. As Cummins (2005) points out, we are faced with a bizarre situation, in which fluent speakers of foreign languages are turned into monolingual English speakers, while simultaneously, schools struggle, with limited success, to transform monolingual English students into foreign language speakers. These are current problems in language education that demand redress.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

With respect to official language programs, the 2013 plan mentioned earlier, and follow-up responses for implementation are positive moves in setting future directions and committing the necessary resources to meet the stated goals.

Regarding second language education for nonofficial language minority groups, schools, school districts, Ministries of Education, and national bodies such as the Council of Ministers, in partnership with universities and community organizations, need to consider the extent to which Canadian schools (and teacher development programs) have incorporated into their policies, curricula, and instruction the full implications of the linguistic diversity that exists in Canadian classrooms.

Currently, though “multiculturalism” is endorsed in our schools, very few educational systems have generated policies and pedagogies that bring into the classroom the heritage languages and cultures of the students. Available educational achievement data presents a complex picture of our limited success with “English Only” schooling. Future directions in second and foreign language education in Canada must consider ways that the full range of linguistic and cultural competencies that students bring to school can have greater instructional relevance, not only for individual student’s well being, but also for the collective Canadian good.

*See Also:* Barbara Burnaby: *Language Policy and Education in Canada (Volume 1)*; Fred Genesee and Kathryn Lindholm-Leary: *Dual Language Education in Canada and the USA (Volume 5)*; Bonny Norton: *Identity, Language Learning, and Critical Pedagogies (Volume 6)*; Agnes He: *Heritage Language Learning and Socialization (Volume 8)*; Olga Kagan and Kathleen Dillon: *Issues in Heritage Language Learning in the United States (Volume 4)*

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## LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN EUROPE: THE COMMON EUROPEAN FRAMEWORK OF REFERENCE

### INTRODUCTION

A large number of different languages are learned in Europe. Europeans often speak languages other than their mother tongue at home or in the street. Language learning not only occurs at school. Therefore, it is important to have insight into the way in which people learn languages within a European context. Moreover, it is important to know what levels of language skills are achieved when people learn languages in formal as well as in informal contexts. This contribution provides an overview of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) that has been proposed by the Council of Europe. In addition, the focus is on the European Language Portfolio and the Manual for relating language examinations to the CEFR.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The Council of Europe (based in Strasbourg, France) was founded in 1949. Today it serves 800 million people in 46 European member states subscribing to the principles of human rights, democracy and the rule of law. The main aim of the Council of Europe (CoE) is to achieve a greater unity between its members on a variety of social, political and legal domains. A specific aim is to promote and develop a European cultural identity, with special emphasis on education. The programs initiated in the area of modern languages are co-coordinated by two units of the CoE:

- The *Language Policy Division* ([www.coe.int/lang](http://www.coe.int/lang) and [www.coe.int/portfolio](http://www.coe.int/portfolio)) in Strasbourg (France) focuses on instruments and initiatives for the development and analysis of language education policies for the member states.
- The *European Centre for Modern Languages* ([www.ecml.at](http://www.ecml.at)) in Graz (Austria) was established in 1995 and deals with the implementation of language policies and the promotion of innovative approaches. Its strategic objectives include the practice of modern language learning and teaching and the training of multipliers.

The Council of Europe has been active in the area of language education for almost 50 years now (see CoE, 2005a for a historic overview).

*Early Initiatives: Threshold Level/Niveau-Seuil*

The first major CoE Project in Modern Languages (1963–1972) promoted international co-operation on audio–visual methods and the development of applied linguistics. In the 1970s, the feasibility of a unit-credit scheme for language learning in adult education was explored. A notional-functional model for specifying objectives was elaborated and exemplified in a *Threshold Level* for English (Van Ek, 1975) and a *Niveau-Seuil* for French (Coste, Courtillon and Ferenczi, 1981). The model specified in operational terms the knowledge and skills a language learner should have, and what a learner should be able to *do* when using the language independently. The basic model was adapted for over 30 other languages. It has been extremely influential and applied in a series of projects covering all sectors of education. Throughout the 1980s guiding principles in the notional-functional models provided the basis for a reform of national curricula, for better language teaching methods (textbooks, multimedia courses) and for forms of assessment. School interaction networks (Bergentoft, 1987) with teacher trainers as key agents played a major role in sharing expertise and experiences between member states and in bringing innovation to classroom materials and methods (cf. CoE 2005a).

*Language Learning for European Citizenship*

In the dynamic 1990s, some countries from Central and Eastern Europe joined a common Europe. In order to get a grip on the new language (learning) situation, the Modern Language Project on *Language Learning for European Citizenship* was carried out between 1989 and 1996 (CoE, 1996). The results and the recommendations of a concluding conference in 1997 in Strasbourg led to Recommendation No. R (98) 6 of the Committee of Ministers Concerning Modern Languages. It emphasised intercultural communication and plurilingualism as key policy goals and set out concrete measures for each educational sector in Europe. Two instruments were developed as an outcome of the project:

- A *Common European Framework of Reference* introducing a new Descriptive Scheme for language education and a system of Common Reference Levels. This language scale can be used to compare language skills and certificates. For example, pupils who studied French in a high school in Poland can, when applying for an apprenticeship in France, give a potential employer a good idea of what such a diploma in French means.
- A *European Language Portfolio*: a comprehensive document that not only covers formal certificates but can also document other language experiences, such as growing up in a multilingual home situation.

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

*Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching and Assessment*

The CEFR was officially published in 2001 (CoE, 2001), the European Year of Languages ([www.coe.int/edl](http://www.coe.int/edl)). It quickly turned out to be one of the most influential publications of the last decade in the field of language learning, teaching and especially language testing in Europe and elsewhere. The aim of the construction of the CEFR was to promote transparency and coherence for the three areas in a comprehensive way. It consists of two parts:

- The *Descriptive Scheme* is a tool for reflecting on what is involved not only in language use, but also in language learning and teaching. Parameters in the Descriptive scheme include: skills, competences, strategies, activities, domains and conditions and constraints that determine language use;
- The *Common Reference Level system* consist of scales of illustrative descriptors that provide global and detailed specifications of language proficiency levels for the different parameters of the Descriptive Scheme. The core of the Common Reference Level scales is a compendium of ‘can-do’ descriptors of language proficiency outcomes.

Through the CEFR learners, teachers, examiners, administrators, policy makers, educational institutions are stimulated to refer their efforts to a common European framework. The scales of illustrative descriptors can be used in the support of self-directed language learning (e.g. raising self-awareness of own language skills and strategic actions to be taken by the learner). The CEFR might also be used in the planning of language-learning programs (e.g. for establishing interfaces between different sectors of education, for developing curriculum guidelines and textbooks or for teacher training). In order to facilitate cooperation between educational institutions in Europe and to provide a basis for the mutual recognition of language qualifications, the CEFR can be used in the planning of content syllabus of examinations and the specification of assessment criteria. It is also meant to be used in policy making as a means of ensuring coherence and transparency through the different sectors or stages in language education. Many European countries have taken advantage of the appearance of the Framework to stimulate curriculum and examination reforms in different educational sectors.

**The Descriptive Scheme of the CEFR**

The CEFR adopts an action-oriented approach towards language use, embracing language learning. The Descriptive Scheme focuses on the

actions performed by persons who as individuals and as social agents develop a range of *general* and *communicative language competences*.

*General competences* of a language user/learner comprise four sub-categories:

- *Declarative knowledge* ('savoir') resulting from experience (i.e. empirical knowledge) or formal learning (i.e. academic knowledge);
- *Skills and know-how* ('savoir-faire'), implying the ability to carry out tasks and apply procedures;
- *Existential competence* ('savoir être') comprising individual characteristics, personality traits and attitudes towards oneself and others engaged in social interaction;
- *Ability to learn* ('savoir apprendre') is the ability to engage in new experiences and to integrate new knowledge into existing knowledge.

*Communicative language competences* of a user/learner involve knowledge, skills and know-how for each of the following three components:

- *Linguistic competence* deals with formal characteristics of a language such as the phonology, the morphology, the lexicon and the syntax;
- *Sociolinguistic competence* concerns the socio-cultural conditions of language use such as e.g. politeness rules or social group repertoires;
- *Pragmatic competence* covers the functional use of language, for example the use in specific scenarios of how to act in a restaurant or how to participate in a job interview.

On the basis of general and communicative language competences the language user/learner applies skills and strategies that are suitable to perform tasks in the following oral/written language activities:

- *Reception*
- *Production*
- *Interaction*
- *Mediation* (i.e. summarizing, paraphrasing, interpreting or translating)

The contextualization of these language activities in specific domains implies activating language processes of producing and receiving spoken/written discourse (so-called texts). The language activities happen within domains of language use such as:

- *Public domain*
- *Personal domain*
- *Educational domain*
- *Occupational domain*

Performing language activities the language user/learner needs to activate those strategies that seem most appropriate for carrying out the tasks to be accomplished in the pertinent domain. Ultimately the

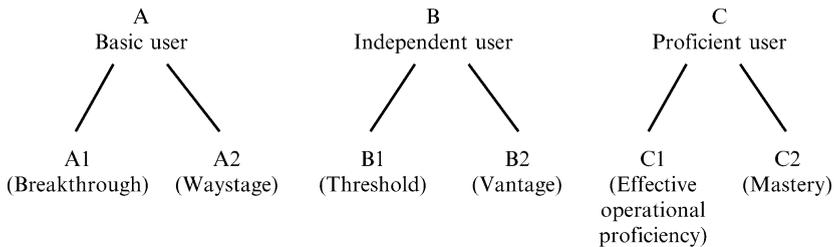
(self-)monitoring of the process of language use and language-learning results in the reinforcement or modifications of competences.

### Common Reference Levels of Language Proficiency

With a view to enhancing the usability of the CEFR a simple and global distinction is made into three main user levels:

- The *proficient user* has hardly any or no strains in the use of the target language—no consideration needs to be taken into account that it is not his/her native tongue;
- The *independent user* can handle the daily language practice, is mostly able to interact without too much effort and generally is able to follow a normal speech tempo—some consideration needs to be taken into account that it is not his/her native tongue;
- The *basic user* has the most elementary expressions, however in communication is dependent of the willingness on the interlocutor to adapt to the attained level—interlocutors assistance is necessary.

A ‘hypertext’ branching approach (see below) was proposed to define finer levels and categories to suit local needs and yet still relate back to a common system. It was determined that six levels would be adequate to show progression in different sectors, while allowing for reasonably consistent distinctions to be made.



The six ascending proficiency levels are couched in terms of ‘can-do’ statements which resulted from a project of the Swiss National Science Research Council which took place between 1993 and 1996 (North, 2000). The starting point of the project was a detailed analysis of 41 scales of language proficiency from the internationally available sources. Those ‘can-do’ descriptors were selected which would fit into the different parameters of the Descriptive Scheme. They were then scaled through a combination of intuitive, qualitative and quantitative methods. In the intuitive phase, this material was edited, new descriptors were formulated, and the set discussed by experts. Next, a variety of qualitative methods were used to check that teachers could relate to the descriptive categories selected, and that descriptors actually described the categories they were intended to describe. Finally, the best descriptors were scaled using quantitative methods (Rasch model).

And as a result the Descriptive Scheme of the CEFR could be enriched with two illustrative Reference Scales with varying degrees of specificity:

- A global scale for the Common Reference Levels.
- A self-assessment grid.

**Table 1** specifies the global scale for the Common Reference Levels. The Common Reference Levels were elaborated further through ‘can-do’ descriptors for understanding, speaking and writing, that is, for each of the following six language activities in the Descriptive Scheme:

- Listening
- Reading
- Spoken Interaction
- Written Interaction
- Spoken Production
- Written Production

Cross-tabulating these six language activities with the six proficiency levels results in a self-assessment grid with general descriptors of outcomes (see [Appendix 1](#)). For example, the general descriptor for listening comprehension on *Breakthrough Level* (or level A1) is formulated as follows:

*I can recognize familiar words and very basic phrases concerning myself, my family, and my immediate concrete surroundings, when people speak slowly and clearly.*

Below is an example of the general descriptor used for reading comprehension on *Mastery Level* (or level C2):

*I can read with ease virtually all forms of the written language, including abstract, structurally or linguistically complex texts such as manuals, specialized articles, and literary works.*

With the aid of general descriptors such as these, anyone, the teacher, the curriculum developer, but also the employer, the personnel officer, or the policy maker can easily attain information on an individual’s language proficiency. In terms of European and international affairs, this assessment of language proficiency levels may have great relevance.

The global Reference Scales are elaborated further through specific descriptors that provide detailed information and insight. Some examples of specific descriptors for listening comprehension skill of the *basic breakthrough* language user/learner (or level A1) are the following:

*I can understand simple directions for how to get from X to Y, on foot or by public transport.*

*I can understand numbers, prices, and times.*

The detailed specification of the Descriptive Scheme through the illustrative Reference Scales take the form of a descriptor bank that can be added to, updated and edited to meet present and future needs. Since 2001 the CEFR with its Descriptive Scheme and the Common Reference Levels have been translated into 25 languages (as of February 2006).

Table 1 Common reference levels: Global scale

|                  |    |   |
|------------------|----|---|
| Proficient user  | C2 | Can understand with ease virtually everything heard or read. Can summarise information from different spoken and written sources, reconstructing arguments and accounts in a coherent presentation. Can express him/herself spontaneously, very fluently and precisely, differentiating finer shades of meaning even in more complex situations.  |
|                  | C1 | Can understand a wide range of demanding, longer texts, and recognise implicit meaning. Can express him/herself fluently and spontaneously without much obvious searching for expressions. Can use language flexibly and effectively for social, academic and professional purposes. Can produce clear, well-structured, detailed text on complex subjects, showing controlled use of organisational patterns, connectors and cohesive devices.                                       |
| Independent user | B2 | Can understand the main ideas of complex text on both concrete and abstract topics, including technical discussions in his/her field of specialisation. Can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction with native speakers quite possible without strain for either party. Can produce clear, detailed text on a wide range of subjects and explain a viewpoint on a topical issue giving the advantages and disadvantages of various options. |
|                  | B1 | Can understand the main points of clear standard input on familiar matters regularly encountered in work, school, leisure, etc. Can deal with most situations likely to arise whilst travelling in an area where the language is spoken. Can produce simple connected text on topics, which are familiar, or of personal interest. Can describe experiences and events, dreams, hopes and ambitions and briefly give reasons and explanations for opinions and plans.                 |
| Basic user       | A2 | Can understand sentences and frequently used expressions related to areas of most immediate relevance (e.g. very basic personal and family information, shopping, local geography, employment). Can communicate in simple and routine tasks requiring a simple and direct exchange of information on familiar and routine matters. Can describe in simple terms aspects of his/her background, immediate environment and matters in areas of immediate need.                          |
|                  | A1 | Can understand and use familiar everyday expressions and very basic phrases aimed at the satisfaction of needs of a concrete type. Can introduce him/herself and others and can ask and answer questions about personal details such as where he/she lives, people he/she knows and things he/she has. Can interact in a simple way provided the other person talks slowly and clearly and is prepared to help.   |

Further language versions are in preparation. More detailed information on general and specific descriptors can be found in the studies of North and Schneider (1998) and North (2000).

### *A Language Portfolio for Europe*

The most successful implementation of the approach proposed in the CEFR is the European Language Portfolio (henceforth ELP)—the second instrument developed by the Council of Europe (CoE, 2000). It is a document, in which those who are learning or have learned a language—whether at school or outside school—can record and reflect on their plurilingual and pluricultural experiences. It was developed and piloted by the Language Policy Division of the Council of Europe, Strasbourg, from 1998 until 2000 (Schärer, 2000). In 2000 the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education of the Council of Europe adopted a Resolution recommending the implementation and widespread use of the ELP. It was launched on a pan-European level during the European Year of Languages (2001) as a tool to support the development of plurilingualism and pluriculturalism—the two fundamental ideas underlying the CoE language education approach. These two concepts are based on the observation that individual language learners/users may develop their linguistic and cultural ability in a range of languages and cultures, with a very diversified levels of proficiency (a ‘profile’) for the different skills within that repertoire. The ELP is a tool with which the CoE is attempting to stress the value of each new linguistic and cultural experience thus striving to preserve a linguistically and culturally diversified Europe—an ideal of ‘plurilingual and pluricultural people living in a multilingual and multicultural Europe’. In the interest of the quality and credibility of the ELP the education committee of the Council of Europe has adopted *Principles and Guidelines* (CoE, 2004a). With respect to form and content, it is recommended that each version of the ELP includes the following three components:

- *Language Passport*: This section is a regularly updated summary description of the linguistic and intercultural experiences of the owner, it provides ‘an overview of the individual’s proficiency in different languages at a given point in time; the overview is defined in terms of skills and the common reference levels in the Common European Framework’ (CoE, 2004a, p. 5);
- *Language Biography*: the second section of the ELP ‘facilitates the learner’s involvement in planning, reflecting upon and assessing his or her learning process and progress’ (CoE, 2004a, p. 7). It contains goal-setting and self-assessment checklists expanding on the ‘can-do’ descriptors in the CEFR;
- *Dossier*: this section ‘offers the learner the opportunity to select materials to document and illustrate achievements or experiences

recorded in the Language Biography or Passport' (CoE, 2004a, p. 8). The Dossier is a combination of personal documents consisting of, for example, certified documents showing the results the language user/learner has achieved in the course of his/her studies, the studies he/she made during a student exchange programme, if attended; and documents that present samples of language use originating from projects and presentations the user has participated in.

It is important to note that the ELP has two basic functions:

- The *pedagogic function* is to guide and support the user in the process of language learning. The focus is on development of learner autonomy in the process of life-long learning, on raising intercultural awareness, and on encouraging reflective learning;
- The *reporting function* of the ELP is to record proficiency in languages. The ELP user documents his/her own plurilingual background and intercultural experiences. Concrete evidence is provided of all languages that have been learnt at school or outside school, and an overview of official diplomas (such as exam documents and language course certificates).

Schärer (2004) is a consolidated report on the implementation of the ELP during the period 2001–2004. In 36 out of 46 CoE member states ELP's are in one way or another developed, piloted or implemented with country-specific characteristics. Since the introduction in 2001 over 1,250,000 learners worked with an ELP. A description of some examples of ELP's in use can be found in Little (2002). Several guides are made available for developers, teachers, teacher trainers and others who are interested in familiarizing themselves with the ELP (e.g. Little and Perclová, 2001; Schneider and Lenz, 2001). Developers can submit their language portfolios to an ELP Validation Committee that verifies the conformity of portfolio models with the *Principles and Guidelines* (CoE, 2004a). Submitted models that are conforming to the *Rules for Accreditation* (CoE, 2002) are granted a specific accreditation number. In 2004 more than 64 ELP models were validated, and more than 29 ELP models were piloted or under development in the near future (cf. Schärer, 2004). To date (February 2006) 71 different ELP models (online versions included) have been validated and put into use in 23 CoE member states.

## WORK IN PROGRESS

### *The Manual Project*

The growing acceptance of the standards presented in the CEFR has created a situation in which public bodies, examination institutes, language schools and university departments concerned with the teaching and testing of languages are increasingly interested in relating their

curricula and examinations to the Common Reference Levels. A pilot version of a Manual for relating language examinations to the CEFR (CoE, 2003) was developed in order to assist member states of the CoE, national and international providers of examinations in relating their certificates and diplomas to the CEFR in a reliable and proven manner.

In 2002, an authoring group of experts in the field of language assessment was nominated to draft, revise, and deliver a pilot version of the Manual. An initial set of illustrative reference material already calibrated to the CEFR has been made available (CD-ROM and DVD) for the piloting. Several international benchmarking events are underway to examine the procedures and eventually to produce further CEFR calibrated reference material for a variety of languages. A range of language examining bodies and institutions from different CoE member countries and diversified educational contexts has been approached to participate in the pilot phase. They are asked to provide feedback from the piloting and to prepare full-scale case study reports for selection of examples of good practice.

The preliminary draft of the Manual (CoE, 2005b) envisages the process of linking an examination to the CEFR in three stages:

Stage 1: *Specification*: define the coverage of the examination in categories of the CEFR;

Stage 2: *Standardisation*: ensure a consistent interpretation of the Common Reference Levels, using illustrative test items and samples of performances already calibrated to the CEFR elsewhere;

Stage 3: *Empirical Validation*: check that the results produced by the examination relate to the levels of the CEFR in the way foreseen.

The general aims of the Manual project are to improve the quality of language education and to achieve transparency and comparability in language assessment. The project is intended to assist ministries of education and examination bodies to plan and measure student progress and to facilitate transparency and comparability in language assessment.

The specific objective is to prepare illustrative reference material and to provide guidance (tools and procedures) for relating language examinations to the CEFR. The outcomes of the work in progress, expected for 2008, are:

- A final version of a Manual for relating language examinations to the CEFR;
- A standard setting reference supplement to the Manual;
- Sets of illustrative reference material for different languages (CEFR benchmarked test items and performance samples);
- Case study reports from the piloting phase, with examples of best practices.

As of January 2006 a number of materials are already developed to support the piloting: a reference supplement, a DVD with French

spoken performance sample, and a multilingual CD-ROM with listening/reading items.

### **Reference Supplement to the Preliminary Pilot Version of the Manual**

The Reference Supplement (CoE, 2004b) accompanies the Pilot Manual (CoE, 2003). Its aim is to provide the users of the Pilot Manual with additional information concerning standard setting and empirical validation procedures, which will help them in their efforts to relate their certificates and diplomas to the CEFR.

### **DVD with French Spoken Performance Samples Illustrating the CEFR Levels**

Users piloting the Manual have been encouraged to contribute towards collecting a set of videos and scripts of learner performances. Such performances should be graded and documented in relation to CEFR levels following the procedures outlined in the Manual. A representative selection from samples collected will be very useful in illustrating future editions of the Manual for different languages, in different educational sectors and including speakers of different mother-tongues. A *Guide* for the organisation of a seminar to calibrate examples of spoken performances in line with the scales of the CEFR is available (Lepage and North, 2005, p. 4). It is based on the experiences gathered during a seminar organised in Sèvres, France, by the Centre International d'Etudes Pédagogiques (CIEP) and Eurocentres aimed at calibrating samples of oral performances in French to the CEFR levels (North and Lepage, 2005, p. 1). A DVD resulting from this seminar is already available (CoE/CIEP/Eurocentres, 2005).

### **CD-ROM with Listening and Reading Items**

The materials made available on a CD-ROM (CoE, 2005c) are intended to facilitate the standardisation process for reading and listening described in the preliminary pilot version of the Manual. The illustrative items and tasks contained in this CD-ROM are for English, French, German, Italian, and Spanish. They have been kindly supplied by examination providers operating in different contexts and for different languages: Cambridge ESOL, Goethe-Institut, WBT, TestDaF, CIEP, a recent EU-funded project with a pan-European perspective (DIALANG), and a national examination system from a Ministry of Education (YKI, Finnish Matriculation Examination Board).

To facilitate the use of the CD-ROM, the institutions characterised their items and tasks according to an agreed framework—the summary page of the Grid developed by the Dutch CEFR Construct Project in order to analyse texts, items and tasks in terms of the CEFR descriptive scheme and levels. The Project aimed to help test developers and other

language professionals to construct or relate test items to the CEFR. Since the CEFR is not directly relevant for the construction of test specifications, or the evaluation of test items, it was necessary to supplement guidance provided in the CEFR itself with information from other sources on what reading and listening tests might contain. One major outcome of the Project was an Internet-based Grid which can be used to help characterise reading and listening texts, items and tasks, and this Grid has been used in this way with the samples on the CD-ROM. The Grid can be accessed at: [www.ling.lancs.ac.uk/cefgrid](http://www.ling.lancs.ac.uk/cefgrid).

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS: THE IMPACT OF THE CEFR

As a consequence of socio-economically or politically determined processes of migration and minorisation traditional patterns of language use and language learning have change considerably in Europe. More than 800 million Europeans provide a large variety of different ethnic, cultural and language backgrounds. The CEFR is a reference document that makes it possible to compare the language proficiencies of individuals/groups. However, its objectives go further than this. The CEFR indicates how a language is acquired, taught, learnt and can be assessed. Promoting consciousness of and reflection on the use of language are two other important objectives.

The CEFR is meant to be a transparent, flexible, and open instrument directed towards different forms of language use and language learning in formal or informal contexts (Trim 1997). The CEFR can provide a basis for the acknowledgement of the language qualifications that are used in the different European countries. Moreover, the implementation of the CEFR also implies the acknowledgement of the potential of the non-formal language knowledge of those Europeans who grow up in multilingual home situations.

#### *Citizen Level*

The European Language Portfolio (ELP), based on the CEFR, uses its communicative and actional approach making the Common Reference Levels available to all citizens for (self-)assessment, planning and reporting. The Ministers of Education of the Member States of the Council of Europe recommended in 2000 that governments, in keeping with their education policy, support the introduction of a European Language Portfolio (Resolution, 2000). Different models of the ELP are developed in Council of Europe member States according to the age of the learners and national/regional contexts.

### *National Level*

National institutes, language schools and textbook authors are using the CEFR. Publishers claim a relationship with the Common Reference Levels. The CEFR is also widely used by the national ministries of education for curriculum development and teacher training, and increasingly for the development of tests and examinations. Illustrative are the objectives set in France by the French Ministry of Education for the academic year 2007/2008 and onwards. The educational levels are expected to correspond with the CEFR levels as follows:

- *End of primary education: level A1 of the CEFR in the language studied;*
- *End of compulsory schooling: level B1 of the CEFR in the first language studied and A2 in the second language studied;*
- *Baccalaureate level: level B2 of the CEFR in the first language studied and B1 in the second language studied.*

Currently, the Common Reference Levels are being described in linguistic details for specific languages, referred to as *Reference level descriptions for national or regional languages*. Illustrative examples are *Profile Deutsch* (2002) or *Niveau B2 pour le Français* (Beacco, 2004). All these documents and tools are becoming part of the CEFR-toolkit being developed by the CoE.

### *European Level*

In addition to Council of Europe actions, the European Union (EU) promotes the CEFR in a European Action plan 2004–2006 '*Promoting Language Learning and Linguistic Diversity*'. The European Commission (COM, 2003) recommends the Common Reference Levels as an appropriate basis for schemes to describe the language skills of European citizens.

The 25 European Union member states have called for the establishment of a *European Indicator of Language Competence* on the basis of the CEFR (COM, 2005, p. 7). The purpose of the indicator is to measure overall foreign language competences in each member state. It is intended to have high levels of accuracy and reliability, with political acceptance to follow. The objective is to provide European Union member states with hard data on which any necessary adjustment in their approach to foreign language teaching and learning can be based.

Because of increasing mobility in Europe, old language borders are disappearing and new language borders are arising. Recently a so-called *Europass* was introduced in Europe. Europass is a scheme which aims to facilitate mobility for those wishing to work or study abroad. Europass includes the electronic Language Passport—one of the three

Appendix 1 Common reference levels: Self-assessment grid

|   |                    | A1  | A2  |
|---|--------------------|---|---|
| U<br>N<br>D<br>E<br>R<br>S<br>T<br>A<br>N<br>D<br>I<br>N<br>G | Listening          | I can recognise familiar words and very basic phrases concerning myself, my family and immediate concrete surroundings when people speak slowly and clearly.  | I can understand phrases and the highest frequency vocabulary related to areas of most immediate personal relevance (e.g. very basic personal and family information, shopping, local area, employment). I can catch the main point in short, clear, simple messages and announcements. |
|   | Reading            | I can understand familiar names, words and very simple sentences, for example on notices and posters or in catalogues.  | I can read very short, simple texts. I can find specific, predictable information in simple everyday material such as advertisements, prospectuses, menus and timetables and I can understand short simple personal letters.  |
| S<br>P<br>E<br>A<br>K<br>I<br>N<br>G                          | Spoken interaction | I can interact in a simple way provided the other person is prepared to repeat or rephrase things at a slower rate of speech and help me formulate what I'm trying to say. I can ask and answer simple questions in areas of immediate need or on very familiar topics. | I can communicate in simple and routine tasks requiring a simple and direct exchange of information on familiar topics and activities. I can handle very short social exchanges, even though I can't usually understand enough to keep the conversation going myself.                   |
|   | Spoken production  | I can use simple phrases and sentences to describe where I live and people I know.  | I can use a series of phrases and sentences to describe in simple terms my family and other people, living conditions, my educational background and my present or most recent job.   |
| W<br>R<br>I<br>T<br>I<br>N<br>G                               | Writing            | I can write a short, simple postcard, for example sending holiday greetings. I can fill in forms with personal details, for example entering my name, nationality and address on a hotel registration form.   | I can write short, simple notes and messages relating to matters in areas of immediate needs. I can write a very simple personal letter, for example thanking someone for something.  |

Appendix 1 Continued

|   |                    | B1  | B2  |
|---|--------------------|---|---|
| U<br>N<br>D<br>E<br>R<br>S<br>T<br>A<br>N<br>D<br>I<br>N<br>G | Listening          | I can understand the main points of clear standard speech on familiar matters regularly encountered in work, school, leisure, etc. I can understand the main point of many radio or TV programmes on current affairs or topics of personal or professional interest when the delivery is relatively slow and clear. | I can understand extended speech and lectures and follow even complex lines of argument provided the topic is reasonably familiar. I can understand most TV news and current affairs programmes. I can understand the majority of films in standard dialect.  |
|   | Reading            | I can understand texts that consist mainly of high frequency everyday or job-related language. I can understand the description of events, feelings and wishes in personal letters.   | I can read articles and reports concerned with contemporary problems in which the writers adopt particular attitudes or viewpoints. I can understand contemporary literary prose.   |
| S<br>P<br>E<br>A<br>K<br>I<br>N<br>G                          | Spoken interaction | I can deal with most situations likely to arise whilst travelling in an area where the language is spoken. I can enter unprepared into conversation on topics that are familiar, of personal interest or pertinent to everyday life (e.g. family, hobbies, work, travel and current events).                        | I can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction with native speakers quite possible. I can take an active part in discussion in familiar contexts, accounting for and sustaining my views.   |
|   | Spoken production  | I can connect phrases in a simple way in order to describe experiences and events, my dreams, hopes and ambitions. I can briefly give reasons and explanations for opinions and plans. I can narrate a story or relate the plot of a book or film and describe my reactions.  | I can present clear, detailed descriptions on a wide range of subjects related to my field of interest. I can explain a viewpoint on a topical issue giving the advantages and disadvantages of various options.  |
| W<br>R<br>I<br>T<br>I<br>N<br>G                               | Writing            | I can write simple connected text on topics which are familiar or of personal interest. I can write personal letters describing experiences and impressions.  | I can write clear, detailed text on a wide range of subjects related to my interests. I can write an essay or report, passing on information or giving reasons in support of or against a particular point of view. I can write letters highlighting the personal significance of events and experiences. |

Continued

## Appendix 1 Continued

|   |                    | C1   | C2   |
|---|--------------------|--|--|
| U<br>N<br>D<br>E<br>R<br>S<br>T<br>A<br>N<br>D<br>I<br>N<br>G | Listening          | I can understand extended speech even when it is not clearly structured and when relationships are only implied and not signalled explicitly. I can understand television programmes and films without too much effort.  | I have no difficulty in understanding any kind of spoken language, whether live or broadcast, even when delivered at fast native speed, provided. I have some time to get familiar with the accent.  |
|   | Reading            | I can understand long and complex factual and literary texts, appreciating distinctions of style. I can understand specialised articles and longer technical instructions, even when they do not relate to my field.   | I can read with ease virtually all forms of the written language, including abstract, structurally or linguistically complex texts such as manuals, specialised articles and literary works.   |
| S<br>P<br>E<br>A<br>K<br>I<br>N<br>G                          | Spoken interaction | I can express myself fluently and spontaneously without much obvious searching for expressions. I can use language flexibly and effectively for social and professional purposes. I can formulate ideas and opinions with precision and relate my contribution skilfully to those of other speakers. | I can take part effortlessly in any conversation or discussion and have a good familiarity with idiomatic expressions and colloquialisms. I can express myself fluently and convey finer shades of meaning precisely. If I do have a problem I can backtrack and restructure around the difficulty so smoothly that other people are hardly aware of it. |
|   | Spoken production  | I can present clear, detailed descriptions of complex subjects integrating sub-themes, developing particular points and rounding off with an appropriate conclusion.   | I can present a clear, smoothly-flowing description or argument in a style appropriate to the context and with an effective logical structure which helps the recipient to notice and remember significant points.   |
| W<br>R<br>I<br>T<br>I<br>N<br>G                               | Writing            | I can express myself in clear, well-structured text, expressing points of view at some length. I can write about complex subjects in a letter, an essay or a report, underlining what I consider to be the salient issues. I can select style appropriate to the reader in mind.                     | I can write clear, smoothly-flowing text in an appropriate style. I can write complex letters, reports or articles which present a case with an effective logical structure which helps the recipient to notice and remember significant points. I can write summaries and reviews of professional or literary works.                                    |

elements of the ELP—and uses the Common Reference Levels also in the Europass Curriculum Vitae—the only CV accepted for job applications at the EU, and increasingly adopted across Europe.

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#### USEFUL WEBSITES

- Council of Europe: <http://www.coe.int>  
 DIALANG: <http://www.dialang.org>  
 EAQUALS-ALTE ePortfolio: <http://www.eELP.org>  
 Europass: <http://europass.cedefop.europe.eu>  
 European Centre for Modern Languages: <http://www.ecml.at>  
 European Day of Languages: <http://www.coe.int/EDL>  
 European Language Portfolio: <http://www.coe.int/portfolio>  
 Language Policy Division: <http://www.coe.int/lang>

## INNOVATIVE SECOND AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

### INTRODUCTION

The Middle East and North Africa form a vast region stretching from the Atlantic Ocean in the West to Pakistan in the East and the Caucasus and/or Central Asia in the north. At present, the region comprises more than 23 independent countries, the majority of which are Arab states. With the exception of Turkey, Iran, and Israel where the predominant languages are Turkish, Farsi, and Hebrew respectively, the overwhelming majority of people in this region use Arabic.

The educational systems in the region vary from country to country. As Akkari (2004, p. 144) puts it “each country’s educational past and current experiences are different, but several important similarities exist.” He adds that since each country’s experiences, culture, and history are different, each country of the region will have to devise its own plan for educational reform. As far as second language education is concerned, it can be traced back to the early decades of the twentieth century, when different parts of the region came under the British and French mandates. It is never an easy task to handle the language situation in every single country of the area; therefore, an attempt is made in this article to consider the cases of a few representative countries.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The Middle East and North Africa are two regions that are often grouped together because they have many things in common. Historically, the region has attracted the attention of historians since early times because of its significant position. The area is believed to be inhabited by 6.3% of the world’s population. The modern history of the region has its origins in the events of the First World War and the postwar settlement (Kedouri, 1978; Longrigg, 1978). With the exception of Iran, Turkey, and Israel, the area is inhabited by the Arabs who are of Semitic origin, and who use Arabic as their native tongue. People inhabiting the Arab countries can be seen as a diglossic speech community, where two varieties of the same language are used side by

side; colloquial Arabic which exists as the vernacular varieties of the major Arab-speaking countries, and classical Arabic, the language of the Qur'an, which provides a common standard written form for all vernacular variants, and a common medium for affairs of state, religion, and education throughout the Arabic-speaking countries (Al-Khatib, 2006).

By the end of the nineteenth century, the whole of North Africa, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco, came in the grip of French colonization. France's harsh occupation of these countries was a reflection of its conception of that region as an extension of itself. Algeria is a case in point where French became the official language of the country and Arabic was forbidden to be used there. Even after independence in the 1950s and 1960s, countries in the Moroccan region continued to use French as a tool of modernization and development (Battenburg, 1997). At present, however, the case has been changed, as the French language is now replaced by Arabic in all public schools and indigenous history and culture are excluded from the curricula. Arabization continues its spread into society at large. Moreover, a competition between English and French in these countries began to take place in a later stage. Several early developments concerning English language teaching in Tunisia were to influence the growing competition between English and French in later years (for more information on this issue see Battenburg, 1997).

In the context of Jordan, Palestine, Iraq, Egypt, and Sudan, the case is rather different. English language teaching in these countries can be traced back to the 1920s when they came under the British mandate. All evidence suggests that English was gaining prominence in all aspects of the people's life. A few decades later (i.e., from the 1950s onward), most of these countries became the main supplier of skilful manpower (i.e., teachers, engineers, doctors, etc.) to the Arab oil-producing countries which witnessed major, rapid developments that affected all aspects of life, including language education in general and teaching English as a foreign language (EFL) in particular.

In Israel, the language situation is notable for its unique and distinctive complexity. The Israeli population is a linguistically and culturally diverse community. Three main languages—Hebrew, Standard Arabic, and English—are spoken in the country. Although, according to the Israeli law, the official languages of the country are Hebrew and Arabic, English is also spoken by a large percentage of the population. English has a semiofficial status, and is used mainly for foreign communication exchange. It is also mandatory as a second language in schools and universities. Since the early 1990s, due to the massive immigration to Israel from the former Soviet Union, Russian became also a widely spoken language in Israel. Additionally, many other

languages like Yiddish, Ladino, French, Romanian, Polish, and so on are known by large sectors of the Israeli population (cf. Spolsky, 1996).

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

We consider here a representative number of cases covering a wide geographical area of the region. We selected Jordan, Tunisia, and Turkey as representative of the Middle East and North Africa due to the fact that what is taking place at present in these countries illustrates themes and topics which characterize the latest developments in the fields of language teaching and language planning.

Just like many other countries in the region, in Jordan all students who finish public secondary school education must have had at least eight years of instruction in English as a school subject. This was the case until 2000, when a new curriculum for the basic stages of education was developed. This new curriculum introduced various reforms with respect to the teaching of English as a second language. Among these is the introduction of teaching English as a school subject to the first four grades. As part of the Ministry's scheme for improving English at the elementary school level, it was first tried in a representative number of Government elementary schools. After successful completion of the first Phase, the period of instruction in English as a school subject has become twelve instead of eight years. Thus, with the introduction of the new reforms, English has become compulsory in all elementary, preparatory, and secondary Jordanian private and public schooling. Certain objectives for each stage were drawn up for each linguistic skill: speaking, listening, reading, and writing. A number of private schools have very exacting standards where all other subjects are taught in English, though some of them are less restrictive about the type of material being taught or the background of their teaching staff.

As far as the objectives of the philosophy of education are concerned, they, as reported by Abu-Absi (1997, p. 199), remain the same, namely they are still to be both educational and instrumental, enabling students to acquire a level of competence which allows them to pursue their education or to use English as a medium of communication with the outside world.

Tunisia is a typical francophone country where French is predominant and used as a second language. The reason why this country has been chosen to be the subject of consideration is that although it is the smallest country in the region, it can be seen as the commercial, financial, and cultural centre as well as the most educationally advanced country in that particular region. All evidence suggests that English is gaining prominence in both academic and business circles.

This was first noted by Battenburg (1997) who points out that along with the progress in Arabization today, English is emerging as another linguistic option. After examining two periods in postprotectorate Tunisia, the introduction of English (1956–1980) and the spread of English (1980–present), he points out that “recent developments in Tunisia in English language policy and planning suggests that the decline in French linguistic influence may be accompanied by a future decrease in French political and economic status (p. 281).” In another report in which Battenburg (2006) speaks of his experience as a university professor in Tunisian universities, he contends that his students’ English language proficiency level is impressive, despite the fact that English is their fourth language after Tunisian Arabic, classical Arabic, and French. He adds that in spite of the fact that Tunisia has a level of linguistic homogeneity probably not found anywhere else in the world (an estimated 99% speak Tunisian Arabic), Tunisians have a remarkable ability to learn other languages. This predisposition for language acquisition, according to Battenburg, has been aided by two related factors: first, Tunisians have had a history of invasions and contact with neighboring countries due to its geographical position; second, as a small country with limited natural resources, Tunisians are obliged to communicate with speakers of other languages, particularly for purposes of trade and tourism.

However, among the main challenges encountered by the process of Anglicizing the country, he remarked that just like many of the other developing countries in the region, textbooks as well as other educational tools are in short supply in Tunisia. English Departments there are divided into three programs: literature, linguistics, and civilization. The challenge in Tunisian English departments is to offer a university degree in English within an Arab country using a French educational system (Battenburg, 2006).

In Turkey, which can be seen as a land bridge connecting Europe to Asia, the situation is not that different from other countries in the region, as it has been described by many authors and official resources (e.g., Brown, 2003; Kose, Canturk, and Ulsever, 2002; Tercanlioglu, 2004). All students entering university are supposed to have studied English in elementary and secondary school. However, in public schools much of that instruction has been by teachers who speak English as a second language themselves. For many students, English is not used outside the classroom, so they have little opportunity to practice their second language skills. However, the case of private schooling is different. The increasingly prosperous Turkish middle classes are more eager than ever to learn English. Dozens of private secondary schools and a few universities use English as the language of instruction. In discussing the heavy demand for English teaching

and learning activities in Turkey, Kose, Canturk, and Ulsever (2002, p. 1) note:

There is an ever-increasing demand for English teaching and learning activities in Turkey, with the implementation of new eight-year compulsory primary education in 1998. Eight-Yearly Development Plan (1999–2006) estimates the English teacher need of the Turkey as approximately 60,000. In order to meet this demand the Turkish Ministry of National Education (MNE) and Eskisehir Anadolu University signed a protocol in February 2000. Anadoul University is authorized to initiate a four-year Distance English Teacher Education program.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

The literature on foreign language education in various countries of the region has, in recent years, been overflowing with examples of highly critical self-examinations and with proposed solutions to the problems which these analyses have identified (see, e.g., Al-Khatib, 2005; Bataineh and Zghoul, 2006; Battenburg, 2006; Fay, 2006; Hasan, 2000, 2006; Kose, Canturk, and Ulsever, 2002; Mahmoud, 2000; Rababah, 2001, 2003; Spaven and Murphy, 2000; Talebinezhad and Aliakbari, 2001; Zughoul, 2003, among others). Some of the areas which have received special attention in the current research include: educational policy, language transference and interlanguage development, material preparation, teacher training, and pedagogical approaches.

In the context of Jordan, two collections of papers covering a wide range of issues relating to EFL teaching and bilingualism were edited by Al-Khatib (2000, 2006). These studies are the first serious attempts to tackle bilingual education and EFL learning from an Arab point of view, and introduce to the outside reader new literature on foreign language teaching across varied settings of the region.

Several studies were conducted in the region on second language pedagogy. Ruba Bataineh and Lamma Zghoul (2006) examine the critical thinking skills of 50 students enrolled at the Master's TEFL program at Yarmouk University, Jordan. They use the Cornell Critical Thinking Test, Level Z to test the students' use, or lack thereof, of the critical thinking skills of deduction, semantics, credibility, induction, definition, assumption, and identification. They observed that the respondents performed poorly on the test. They also noticed that gender, age, and grade point average are of great effect in the process. Hasan's (2006) article on 'Analyzing Bilingual Classroom Discourse', presents an analysis and discussion of spoken discourse in the EFL classroom at Damascus University. The study looks at the mechanism

of classroom interaction; e.g., the use of questions, initiations, repetitions, and expansions. The results show that classroom language is artificial and this can be exemplified by the teacher's simplified input, his/her use of display questions that restrict students' responses, and his/her great number of initiations. In another article, Hasan (2000) discusses the different types of listening problems encountered by the EFL classroom as reported by Syrian university students learning EFL.

In educational policy, Zughoul (2003) traces the effect of globalization on second language education. He outlines the impact the language of globalization has had on different societies/cultures and the kind of reactions this language has generated among various cultures. The author reached the conclusion that despite the hegemonic and imperialistic nature of English (as the language of globalization), it is still badly needed in the Arab World for the purposes of communicating with the outside world, education, acquisition of technology, and development at large. He adds that teaching English as a language of globalization necessitates changes in the older approaches and calls for changes in the curriculum to respond to the needs of the learner and society. Talebinezhad and Aliakbari (2001) make similar observations in the context of Iran, noting that the worldwide growing interest in English stresses the need for a new approach to English language teaching.

Concerning material preparation, Spaven and Murphy (2000) conducted a study in the context of the United Arab Emirates (UAE) on teaching information skills in English as a second language. In order to develop suitable curriculum for their students, they have had to re-examine their views on librarianship and lifelong learning. Based on the findings of their study, the authors concluded that teaching information skills in a second language need not be onerous if we bring the enthusiasm they have for their profession to their customers. The English Translation program in Iranian Universities was the subject of another study carried out by Razmjou (2001). The purpose of this study was to develop some guidelines to modify the present curriculum for a BA in English Translation in Iranian universities. Based on the results of the study, guidelines are suggested for skill development and content improvement for a translation curriculum.

A significant amount of work on language transference and interlanguage development has been carried out in different parts of the Middle East and North Africa. One important investigation was carried out by Mahmoud (2000) who tackled the problem of language transfer among Arabic-speaking students learning EFL. The author highlights the problem of using two main varieties of Arabic in each Arab country by Arab students and attempts to find an answer to the question of which variety of Arabic students transfer from. He discovered that there is no

significant difference between the means of the number of clauses produced in both cases and suggested that further research is still needed to determine which variety Arab students tend to transfer from in their writing. Some of these studies have tackled this issue from a translation point of view. In an article describing the English Language Translation Program (LTP) as implemented in Israeli high schools, Kozminsky, Weizman, and Horowitz (1998) found that the LTP students improved the metalanguage skills related to translation, and also gained 5 extra percentage points in the regular English matriculation exams at the end of grade 12, compared to the non-LTP controls. Administrative, pedagogical, and conceptual problems in implementing the program are discussed in detail in the article. Similarly, in another study of the difficulties encountered by EFL students in the UAE in translating Arabic 'fa' into English, Saeed and Fareh (2006) examined several types of tests to identify the salient functions that this marker has in Arabic discourse. The difficulties that Arab EFL learners encounter in translating this marker into English were identified and rank ordered in terms of difficulty. Sane Yagi (2000) from Sultan Qabus University in Oman, examines the progress made by EFL students when simultaneous interpretation (SI) tasks are used. He discovered that SI does significantly improve learners' competence in both grammar and vocabulary.

In an article on "Moods and Myths about speaking British English In Turkey", Fay (2006) attempts to draw attention to the predominance of British English in the ESL community in Turkey, and then look at some of the perceptions of teachers and students involved with this choice. Based on the findings of his study, a number of significant suggestions are made to apply the results of the analysis to curriculum and syllabus design in general and within the specific context of the Turkish second language education programs. Also in the context of Turkey, another study was carried out by Brown (2003) in an attempt to shed light on the Turkish Ozel Lisesi bilingual education program. He reached the conclusion that this model of bilingual education has been rather successful in developing a program that suits its context.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Not all languages have benefited equally from the efforts and resources invested in foreign/second language learning in the region. English and—to a lesser extent—French has received the most attention and support to date at the level of both formal and nonformal education. Teaching English in particular is gaining importance at an accelerated rate in the region, not only because the language has been regarded as a valuable resource for the people's modernization drive, but because

it has a great impact on all aspects of their daily life. Therefore, in what follows we confine ourselves to discussing the problems/difficulties encountered by teaching these two languages, though the teaching of other languages like German, Spanish, and Italian may experience the same problems.

Since the 1970s, English language education in several countries of the Middle East and North Africa has been declared by many to be in crisis. This crisis is characterized by high rates of failure, low student proficiency in English, and in some cases low rates of student retention. Many researchers attribute these problems to various reasons: the linguistic and cultural gaps between home and school (Al-Khatib, 2005; Rababah, 2001, 2003), shortage of teaching staff (Kose, Canturk, and Ulsever (2002, p. 1), shortage of textbooks (Abd El Rahman, 2006), inefficiency of language programs or in some cases resistance to innovative teaching methods in public schools and universities (Abd El Rahman, 2006; Akkari, 2004; Battaineh and Zghoul, 2006; Sarayrah, 2003). It appears, from the literature that most of the countries in the region have a lot of problems and difficulties in common.

Careful examination of the literature shows that the problems and difficulties facing foreign and second language education in the region can be summarized as follows:

- Inadequate national education policy/strategy
- Limited financial resources or—in some countries—financial resources which are not commensurate with the basic requirements for second language education programs.
- Insufficient moral or financial support from the government and collaboration with the private sector to develop new training programs for teachers.
- Lack of experience/expertise and limited technical capacity of local staff.
- Difficulties in recruiting or keeping qualified instructors; high turn-over of experts and well trained teachers.
- Decreasing number of highly qualified teachers (experts) because of the lack of research/training institutions in some countries.

However, due to the diversity of the region, the problems and difficulties facing second language education differ from country to country. While many challenges remain in the development of successful language teaching programs for the region, such problems merit more attention and energy on the part of program developers with regard to the type of materials (textbooks) to be used by the students. Textbooks can be made more rigorous or relevant by incorporating real-life material. Jordan's current school textbooks for English language teaching are a case in point, as they have drawn on the results of linguistic and pedagogic research, and are a great improvement over the English

language textbooks of the past. Petra's series of textbooks, which are used in Jordanian public schooling—published by Longman Group Limited in cooperation with the Ministry of Education in Jordan—is one example of such linguistic and cultural adaptation.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Having considered the history and development of second language education over the past few decades, we have seen that the process entails a wealth of problems and difficulties, and the nature of language teaching itself is still in need of more specific attention. It has been observed that until very recently, the focus of second language education has been on the nature of language acquisition and language learning. No remarkable effort has yet been made to carry out systematic empirical research into the way teachers actually go about doing this work in real-life situations and the effect of such situations on second language teaching practice. To appreciate how meanings are encoded in words, learners need to take a look at the actual sociocultural contexts in which these words are used. For improving the quality of second language teaching in the region, more effort, therefore, still needs to be applied to moving future research forward in the direction of using sociocultural theory as its framework.

Similarly, the development of study materials for communication education should receive a high priority in policy formation and planning. On a wider scale, education authorities can carry out language education programs by incorporating intercultural communication learning as one of the core components of the curriculum. Thus, future work on second language education should raise the awareness of policy makers and the public at large about this issue. In other words, researchers must strive to instill a deep awareness of the importance of studying the language in relation to its sociocultural background.

Insofar as the learners themselves are concerned, it has been noticed that EFL learners face significant problems in learning all language skills: listening, speaking, reading, and writing. The pedagogical implications cited in the great majority of previous studies indicate how serious the problem is, and that this situation requires a solution. One important solution is that instead of merely arguing that learners are in need of more practice in the various language skills, future research has to come up with a practical set of suggestions and recommendations on *how* students could build their language skills, and through *what* means.

Furthermore, with the emergence of multiple electronic modalities for communication, such as e-mails, voice mail, SMS, among others, language is expected to be one of the many aspects of life affected by

the new technological developments taking place around the world. Intercultural communication at present relies increasingly on e-mail, which is predominantly an English language medium. The language of electronically mediated communication is still a neglected research area. Therefore, future research on EFL and ESP is needed and must be directed toward the most effective ways in which the language can be taught to students using English for diverse scientific purposes. Among these is the use of English for electronically mediated communication.

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INNOVATIVE SECOND AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE  
EDUCATION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

INTRODUCTION

Southeast Asia, situated between India and China, represents approximately 9% of the world's population (580 million), and more than 15% of the world's languages. With a heritage of over 2,000 years, Southeast Asia contains all the religions and cultures of the world, giving it a distinctive character of cultural diversity and plurality. Modern Southeast Asia consists of ten countries belonging to the regional organization called the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) formed in 1967. With its population of more than half a billion, a total area of 4.5 million square kilometers, a combined gross domestic product of US\$737 billion, and a total trade of US\$720 billion, the ASEAN region cooperates on economic growth, social progress, and cultural development. Thumboo (1998) provides country studies of each ASEAN nation in terms of their rich cultures and the likely directions of their development.

Among the ten ASEAN countries comprising Brunei, Indonesia, Kampuchea (Cambodia), Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar (Burma), the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam, four will be examined in terms of the research on the status and role of the second language and on innovative teaching/learning strategies employed in the instruction of the second language. The four countries—Brunei, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Singapore—have had a long internal history with English, a natural second language because of an extended formal association with Britain (till 1984 in the case of Brunei), with British colonialism (till 1957 in the case of Malaysia; till 1963 in the case of Singapore), and with American colonialization (till 1946 in the case of the Philippines). The fifth, Indonesia, went through a Dutch colonization period (lasting till 1949) but in recent decades has turned increasingly to English as an additional language especially with independence in 1949. As for the rest of the ASEAN countries, Kampuchea (which was a protectorate of France till 1863, went through six different regimes thereafter, and did not have access to English until the Soviet Union collapsed in 1989), Lao People's Democratic Republic (Lao PDR) which had French influence and later Russian influence until 1995, Myanmar (which was a British colony till 1948), Thailand

(which was never colonized) and Vietnam (which attained national independence from France in 1954), English is considered a foreign language, albeit an important one. In fact, in some ASEAN countries (e.g., Myanmar, Thailand, and Vietnam), English is a compulsory foreign language taught in schools.

English is taken to be the “second language” in all of the four “English associated” nations, although its status and role will differ from country to country. The first point to note in this survey of innovative second language education in Southeast Asia is that all of the nations in focus here are multiracial, multilingual, and multicultural; the diversity of population in each and its geographical distribution affect the patterns of language acquisition and use among the young school-going populace. The second point is that these ASEAN countries have, in recent years, undergone impressive economic growth and rapid sociocultural transformation through the use of English, a language which enables these industrializing economies to continue plugging into the international grid of finance and industry but at the same time seems to threaten their national identity. This trend continues especially in this era where globalization is the new catchphrase. The experiences and practices of second language education in such multilingual communities provide new perspectives, whether one focuses on language policy and development, curriculum planning and practice, materials and media development, teacher training, or language learning.

Research on the topic of how English language education has been handled in the four ASEAN English-knowing countries, and some innovative practices are reviewed below. A statement at the end will highlight future developments for these member countries and the remaining ASEAN countries of Southeast Asia which are not covered in this review.

#### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS: RESEARCH IN THE 1980S

Preliminary discussion of the English language education in Southeast Asia started with a series of SEAMEO RELC publications (a well-recognized acronym in the region, which stands for Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO) Regional Language Centre (RELC)). The early editors of monographs and anthologies selected and published papers presented at the Regional Language Centre (RELC) annual seminars on themes such as language education in multilingual societies (Yap, 1978), language teaching issues in multilingual environments in Southeast Asia (Noss, 1982), and varieties of English in Southeast Asia (Noss, 1983). Most of the papers concentrated on the learner in the context of language learning in multilingual societies, and on the relationship between language and identity.

Halliday's (1978) paper looked at language largely as a resource (a "meaning potential" for serving a range of different functions) and the value that is placed on this resource in the educational process. Halliday argued that "If the context is a multilingual one, the principle of "learn language, learn through language" applies with no less force . . . Teachers and educators who recommend teaching school subjects in a second language are applying the same principle; they want to use that language as a window on new realities. This is what lies behind the view that if we want primary school children to learn a new language, we should use that language for teaching a school subject" (Halliday, 1978, p. 110). This suggestion has been followed in many Southeast Asian countries, where English is recognized as a valuable resource and used for teaching school subjects.

On a societal level, Llanzon (1978) presented the view that language education in Southeast Asian countries should have two crucial concerns: the learning and use of English and the national language in relation to their cultural underpinnings. In the same volume, Sibayan (1978, p. 23) posed the question "When can all subjects in the curriculum be taught in Pilipino?" expressing the hope that eventually Pilipino could replace English in practically all domains. Gonzalez (1982, p. 89) raised the issues connected with English, an official language of the Philippines, *vis-à-vis* "its association with a colonial past and its maintenance in Philippine society."

Although in these early deliberations there was a deep appreciation of the importance of national languages in building a cohesive society, by the time of the 1983 RELC publication, the focus had shifted to varieties of English in Southeast Asia. Already in 1980, Platt and Weber had discussed the sub-varieties of English in Singapore and Malaysia in terms of their features, functions, and status. Five papers on Southeast Asian varieties of English are found in the RELC volume. Three of the varieties described—from Malaysia (Wong, 1983), the Philippines (Gonzalez, 1983), and Singapore (Tay and Gupta, 1983)—fit the category of "new varieties" in that they were used for intranational communication and have some native speakers, who were usually bilingual. Two other papers, one on the Indonesian variety of English and the other on the Thai variety discussed the complexity of the description and interpretation of a foreign variety of English.

Such a discussion in the early 1980s soon gave rise to several publications on the developments in the roles, functions, status, and features of English in Southeast Asia and the possible pedagogical implications. Among the Malaysians working in this early period were Asmah Haji Omar (1982) and Asiah Abu Samah (1984). In Singapore, Mary Tay was active (see the volume published in 1993, a collection of ten essays from this period), and David Bloom (1986). Gonzalez

(1983) and Llamzon (1983) called attention to a new variety called Philippine English.

While most of these early developments were exciting, the next decade was to see significant contributions to innovative second language learning and teaching in some ASEAN contexts, based on their specific circumstances.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS IN THE 1990S

Seminal publications with chapters from leading scholars of Southeast Asia dealing with macro and micro issues of English language education, and its impact on other language education, were published in the 1990s: *English and Language Planning: a Southeast Asian Contribution* (Kandiah and Kwan-Terry, 1994); *Language, Society and Education in Singapore: Issues and Development* (Gopinathan, Pakir, Ho, and Vanithamani 1994, 1st edition, and 1998, 2nd edition); *Towards Global Multilingualism: European Models and Asian Realities* (Khoo, Kreher, and Wong, 1993), being a few examples.

Most of the research in the 1990s focused on understanding second language educational policies in multilingual settings, especially with regard to the status and function of English in the countries as well as the attitudes towards it; e.g., in Singapore, English is one of the four official languages, (the others being Mandarin, Malay, and Tamil) and the working language of the country. In the Philippines and more universally in Singapore, English is the medium of instruction in schools and universities. Where English is used so centrally in education, we would expect to find new research and theory that could inform educators coming from monolingual situations who view second language education from another perspective.

In the area of reading and writing, two important anthologies were published, both edited by Tickoo (1994, 1995). The 1994 Southeast Asian collection especially is informative. Attempts were made to explain patterns in bilingual reading among students in Singapore and reading comprehension ability of bilingual primary five and six children in Brunei. Reading initiative programs in Malaysia, Singapore, and Brunei took new directions. For example, the Singapore experience with a successful model called the Reading and English Acquisition Programme (REAP) employed a modified Language Experience Approach to reading in Singapore classroom. The implementation of REAP in 1985 resulted in effective teaching for lower primary classes in 183 schools (PI-P3) which prepared the way for effective teaching in the upper primary classes with a follow-up program called Active Communicative Teaching (ACT), introduced in 120 schools in 1986, the year when the first group of pupils in Phase I REAP reached the

ACT level (Mok, 1994). The results were encouraging: evaluated formatively and summatively each year, the program came under external scrutiny after a 3-year experimentation. The conclusion was that "there were clear differences between REAP and non-REAP pupils." For instance, REAP children were found to be ahead by over 7 months in their reading comprehension in P3. Attracted by the success of REAP in Singapore, the Brunei Ministry of Education commissioned an adaptation for local primary schools. The version developed by Ng (1994) was named RELA (for Reading and Language Acquisition) and introduced in 1989.

A preliminary gathering of material on composition research in Malaysia revealed that only two major endeavors had really been made: the Process Writing Project of the Curriculum Development Centre of the Ministry of Education and the University of Malaya Project on academic and professional writing. This was not surprising in light of the fact that Malaysian educators have taken the view that English is needed only as "a window on the world"; thus reading rather than writing has been emphasized (Chitravelu, 1994, p. 100).

On the other hand, in Singapore, much more experimentation had taken place in terms of the theory and practice of writing. Working with the centrally controlled English Language Syllabus, departmental handbooks, and textbooks, teachers were often requested to give feedback. Constant appraisals of textbooks, class instruction, and implementation records, all gave rise to a dynamic educational practice which emphasized reading and writing. The process paradigm of the 1980s had not yet given way fully to the meaning constructivist approach of the early 1990s in Singapore classrooms (see Varghese, 1995, p. 72, for a brief discussion of the different approaches in the teaching of writing). On the contrary, there seemed to have been some evidence of the necessity to see both as one integrated "cognitively oriented, process-based approach" (Varghese, 1994, p. 311). Varghese's later study of six top percentile students led her to conclude that good writers are reflective writers, who deliberate "metacognitively about the task and their goals in writing" (Varghese, 1995, p. 82).

In a sophisticated discussion on writing and the process of knowledge creation, Abraham (1995) looked at the effect of new technologies (e.g., the printing press and the word processor) on conceptualizations of writing, knowledge, and of education. The paper offered a theoretically coherent argument for equating writing with thinking, but ended with the perplexing question of whether it was pedagogically possible to teach writing/thinking as a skill.

In the middle of the 1990s, several books on language, society, and education in Singapore, Brunei, Malaysia, and the Philippines were published. Jones and Ozog's (1993) volume on bilingualism and

national development, and the Khoo, Kreher, and Wong (1993) volume on European models and Asian realities in the movement towards global multilingualism discussed the languages in contact phenomenon and its implications for teaching and learning.

Gopinathan, Pakir, Ho, and Vanithamani (1994) had seven chapters on language in education in Singapore. Three were on English, and among those, Ho (1994) examined at a macrolevel how much of English language teaching in Singapore drew on theories and practice of researchers from abroad. But, he noted that in the movement of such ideas from one culture system to another, modifications and adjustments take place naturally, fitting into the needs of the recipient country, its goals and targets in education, and the local institutional structures as well as existing infrastructure. Ho's excellent chapter argued persuasively that the English language curriculum in Singapore had maintained "a balance between extreme swings of the language pedagogy pendulum" keeping clearly within sight the core-periphery distinction and the necessary process of indigenization within the practice of curriculum planning.

Pakir (1992a, 1993a), and Pakir and Low (1995) highlighted the notion that English in Singapore was rapidly moving from a much used second language in the country to an institutionalized first school language, affecting changing language acquisition and use patterns. Pakir (1993b) suggested that the conceptual framework, the strands in pedagogy, curriculum planning, and syllabus design, must take cognizance of the fact that the English language had indigenized, and there had been a shift in orientation from language form to language use. It was further suggested that definitions of "first language," "second language," and "mother tongue" be re-examined in such a multilingual context as Singapore's. The sociolinguistic trends and prospects were deemed to be exciting as the dynamic language situation would give rise to different teaching strategies and processes unique to the country.

English and language planning in Southeast Asia (Kandiah and Kwan-Terry, 1994) are described in a volume designed to be of interest to those who are involved in planning for English for other countries of the world wherever the language, as an additional second language, interacts with other indigenous languages. Two papers dwell on the macro- and microperspectives in the language management of English and education. The country papers on the role and status of English in the Philippines, on visible and invisible second language planning in Singapore, and on the typology and roles of English in Malaysia, examine the basis upon which the whole enterprise of innovative second language education is based in each of these countries.

Gill (1995) published the proceedings of a conference which considered international English language education covering the internationalization of the language and its practical implications. Some focus was given to varieties of English and their appropriateness for international communication, as well as to English for cross-cultural communication. The development of language skills at various levels, the design and development of curriculum, teaching methods, texts, teaching aids, and innovations in testing and evaluation were discussed in the context of English as an international language and a language for cross-cultural communication. Some of the interesting presentations touch on sociopragmatic factors in learner discourse, semantic mapping in the teaching of reading and writing in Malaysian secondary English classrooms, cross-cultural differences in using English as an international language, designing materials with local color and feel, and giving reading support to weak readers in rural areas. The volume makes for an interesting foray into national and international responses to the challenge of international English language education.

Gopinathan, Pakir, Ho, and Vanithama (1998) published a second edition of the book that focused on language in education in Singapore presented in different perspectives. It surveys the questions of language and identity, language and culture, language and power, and also language and education. In a chapter that appeared in the book, James (1998) studied the relation of English and the pedagogy system in Singapore from a sociolinguistic perspective. In the same book, Varghese (1998) surveyed the instruction of reading and writing within the framework of CLT and the application of practices from this framework in the context of Singapore schools. A third edition of the book, also edited by Gopinathan, Pakir, Ho, and Vanithama was published in the year 2003, with new chapters to reflect the growing demand for new information and research in the field.

From these publications it was clear that second language contexts characteristic of these countries gave new perspectives on language learning as new language teaching situations obtained in the 1990s.

#### RECENT MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

With the advent of the twenty-first century, new perspectives and research on the status and role of English as the second language or most important foreign language in Southeast Asia have been presented. "English-knowing bilingualism" first described within the unique Singapore educational context (Pakir, 1991, 1992b) and arising from multilingual communities using English as a main medium of instruction is now observable in the rest of Southeast Asia, especially

the Philippines, Malaysia, and Brunei and also to countries where English has been traditionally viewed as a foreign language (e.g., in the rest of the ASEAN countries and in East Asia in general). Although the term “English-knowing bilingualism” was somewhat specific to Singapore when first introduced, where it described a situation in which English is the first school language in the country but used with a second school language which is ethnically defined (e.g., Mandarin for the Chinese, Malay for the Malays, and Tamil for the Indians), it is now used regularly in the literature on language and language-in-education in the Southeast Asian and general Pacific Basin (Kaplan and Baldauf, 2003).

The new millennium of globalization has ushered in a major rethinking in language policy and development, curriculum planning and practice, materials and media development, teacher training, and language learning. With this new era of nations coming together and working hand in hand, English as an international lingua franca has become a reality. The English language is widely recognized as the lingua franca especially among the ASEAN countries. Inevitably, this new status and role ascribed to the English language brings forth a change in how English is being taught and learnt. An up-to-date survey of language policies and language education in 16 countries in East Asia (Ho and Wong, 2003) describes current changes in the language education situation in each location. “East Asia” here refers to Southeast Asia (all ten countries) and Northeast Asia (China, Japan, Korea, Hong Kong SAR, Taiwan, Mongolia). The papers in this volume bear testimony to differing contexts and responses among East Asian nations to their language situation and pursuing varying educational thrusts. A theme of the book—the role of foreign languages in each country and the spread and status of English as a second or foreign language—is more fully developed in a subsequent publication, *English Language Teaching in East Asia Today: Changing Policies and Practices* (Ho and Wong, 2004). It gives an excellent country-by-country introduction to trends, developments, and limitations of English Language Teaching (ELT) in East Asia, including the ten ASEAN countries.

Although English continues to be considered a second language in the four ASEAN countries—Brunei, Malaysia, Philippines, and Singapore—which are in focus here, there is an even greater need for English to be acquired for reasons such as economic and access to information on Science and technology in this era of globalization, especially for the rest of the ASEAN nations and East Asian nations. The general shift from a “structuralist approach” to the Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) approach by the late 1990s in Southeast

Asia meant that the focus of ELT is currently towards communicative competence, skills-based learning, and the integration of language and real-life knowledge.

In Brunei, the Bilingual Education System (*Sistem Pendidikan Dwibahasa*) continues. The language of instruction in lower Primary (1–3) is Malay, and English is the language of instruction in Math, Science, and Geography from Primary 4. In terms of ELT, the English language syllabus for primary schools follows a CLT approach. In 1999, a primary school computer project, which uses computers to teach Information Communication Technology (ICT) and uses computers as teaching tools for individual subjects, was implemented. The project motivates the students to learn English as it is through the active use of English with information technology, the language becomes relevant to the students.

In terms of teacher training, Pieronek (2001) described the in-service project in Brunei where teachers kept journals and documented their language teaching strategies. This project created greater awareness among teachers as they teach and was deemed rather effective for language teaching. There is an apparent increase in the use of English by the younger generation in Brunei (Martin and Kamsiah, 2004). However, McLellan and Othman (2000) caution that in Brunei Darussalam, which is mainly a Muslim sultanate, English has to be careful not to become a tool for the propagation of Western ideas. Canagarajah (2002) also notes that language teaching models should take into account the cultural and social factors of a community before they are implemented.

The year 2003 saw a radical change in the language education policy of Malaysia (Pandian, 2004). English remains a second language in Malaysia, but has become a language of instruction for Mathematics and Science from grade 3. Hashim (2003) gives a good historical overview of language policy in Malaysia and surveys the possible problems of this new education policy. Gill (2002) provides a comprehensive discussion on language policy and language change in Malaysia, with a focus on English, from a sociolinguistic perspective.

In Malaysia, the CLT approach in language teaching brought about the self-access learning and Computer Assisted Language Learning (CALL) programs. The English Language Reader Program (ELRP) implemented in 1979 was phased out because it was deemed ineffective. An examinable literature program was introduced in Primary schools starting from the year 2000 in order to continue increasing the competence in the English language for students in Malaysia. An innovation in the Malaysian education system is the introduction of the Smart Schools which emphasize on learning to learn, and critical

and creative thinking (see Pandian, 2004 for an excellent introduction to the situation in Malaysia).

In comparison to other ASEAN countries, the Philippines continue to achieve high English competence due to their positive attitude towards the English language (Castillo, 2003). However, the alarm was raised when the general standard of English among Filipino teachers of English and the younger Filipino generation was deemed to be on the decline (Sunga, 2003). Although English remains the language of instruction in schools in the Philippines, the de facto language of instruction is the Filipino variety of English or Taglish, which includes a fusion of Tagalog (an indigenous language of the Philippines), English, and Spanish. The issues surrounding the use of this Filipino variety of English are often brought into discussion in language education. The focus for improving the teaching and learning of English in the Philippines has been in teacher training (Sunga, 2003). Many teacher training programs have been set up to improve the English of teachers for the teaching of the language, as well as the teaching of individual subjects in the language.

Singapore, like the Philippines, continues to use English as the main language of instruction in schools. In Singapore, English remains the language for acquiring and disseminating information, for social interaction, as well as for literary response and expression. There has been a multitude of changes in language education policy in Singapore since the late 1990s. An especially significant change would be the implementation of a new English curriculum referred to as Syllabus 2001. This new syllabus stresses language use and also the study of grammar. It promotes the “immersion in an English language environment as well as the explicit teaching of grammar items and structures” (Lim, 2003, p. 392). The focus is turned toward students, the process and contextualization of text, and on communication and literary skills. Excellent descriptions of Syllabus 2001 have been given by Cheah (2003) and Lim (2003). Cheah’s chapter is relevant as it explores the limitations and problems that have surfaced with the implementation.

Ho’s (2003) chapter focuses on ELT in Polytechnics and Universities in Singapore. According to Ho, ELT in tertiary education in Singapore has three purposes: (i) for academic purposes, (ii) to meet occupational needs, and (iii) to satisfy English language proficiency requirements in the tertiary institutions. Three innovative ELT computer learning initiatives were introduced, and they are the self-access center (SAC), the self-access interactive language learning laboratory (SAIL), and the computer-assisted training system (C.A.T.S). The aim for ELT in the tertiary level is to encourage learners to make meaning through language, to use language as a thinking tool, and to integrate language and concept learning.

Adam Brown (2000) edited a collection of proceedings from the “English in Southeast Asia” conference held in Singapore in 1999. In that collection, Kirkpatrick (2000) argues from a socio- and psycholinguistic perspective that native and second language (L2) speakers of English have different cultural schemas. The first language schema may very well be transferred to the L2 learning and the different logic in sentence/discourse structures between two cultures may cause misunderstandings. Since English is used as a lingua franca in the region by mainly L2 English speakers, he calls for the use of regional variety of English; although “it would be wrong to claim that all the languages of ASEAN share the same cultural conventions and schemata, there appears to be many similarities and these, when transferred into a regional variety, may make a regional variety the appropriate variety for ASEAN users to learn” (p. 66). The conference continues to report on current work in progress in the area of educational research and applications.

Lindsay and Tan’s (2003) edited book on language trends in Asia is a compilation of papers on the general theme of language, written by scholars from various disciplines for the Asia Research Institute (ARI) at the National University of Singapore in Singapore. Eleven case studies of the consequences of language policy and language-in-education planning in East and Southeast Asia are presented, within the traditional language-in-society paradigm of “who speaks what to whom?” and “when and why?” In the “Asian Babel” the function of English and the connections between nationalism and language are obvious candidates for scrutiny.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Intense concentration on the social contexts of second and foreign language learning has led to innovations in English language teaching in Southeast Asia. However, the diffusion of innovations in second language education can only depend on the change process itself. Implementation difficulties arise, for example, when the resistance to change is not overcome. It is well known that curriculum development does not automatically lead to program implementation. Many countries (e.g., Cambodia, Malaysia, and Singapore) continue to face the problem of implementing new approaches, for instance the CLT approach. Teachers and students encounter difficulties adjusting to new approaches as they are unable to depart from the habitual use of the structural approach. Culture is also a factor for this resistance to change. Language teaching approaches and materials have to take into account the culture, social, and political aspects of this diverse region.

Program implementation in English Language teaching in the ASEAN countries is not uniformly successful. However, as ASEAN countries open up more to economic and political ties to the rest of the world, incentives for the use of English are greater now than ever in this globalizing era. Where the incentives are especially great (for example in Singapore, Brunei, Malaysia, the Philippines) and where there are innovating persons or groups, or institutional support, fewer problems would be envisaged in implementing new targets, objectives, curricula, methodologies, material designs, and in using new technologies. But there are the inevitable clarion calls of falling standards in English, even as—ironically—more and more of the populations are gaining access to English, which by the end of the 1990s was clearly the established global language.

For innovation to spread there must be a framework for analyzing and applying the program for change. These are especially crucial in the other ASEAN nations where second language education lags behind.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The determination and implementation of language policy is observable in Brunei (*dwibahasa*, promoting Malay and English), Malaysia (the promotion of Bahasa Malaysia and English), Singapore (the promotion of English and one other official language), Indonesia (the promotion of Bahasa Indonesia and English as an additional language), and the Philippines (the promotion of Filipino and English). Because Singapore publicly acknowledges English as the working language of the country, it has invested heavily in the training and development of teachers of English; so has the Philippines, relatively speaking. In the former, theory is given less emphasis than practice. However, the implications for second language teaching and learning are carefully studied.

As increasingly more is known about the second language situation in the countries listed above, so will more light be shed on the situation in the other ASEAN countries. In recent years, conference papers and articles on the second language situation in Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Vietnam, Thailand, and Indonesia have been on the increase. However, data on Laos, Cambodia, and Myanmar in terms of second language education are not as easily available as those of Thailand and Indonesia.

ASEAN scholars who have been devoting their research and practice to English as an important second language in the English-associated ASEAN countries may well begin paying some attention to the less researched regions such as Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, and Vietnam.

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## INNOVATIVE SECOND AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC

### INTRODUCTION

The South Pacific is made up of numerous small island territories separated by large stretches of ocean, together with some bigger landmasses (Australia, New Guinea, and New Zealand). It is a very diverse region. Nineteenth century anthropologists saw the island communities in the region as forming two distinct ethno-cultural groups: Polynesia in the east and Melanesia in the west. However, these broad labels are no longer useful. In particular, they fail to recognise the ways in which British, European, Asian and other foreign influences over the past 200 years have had profound political, social, cultural and demographic effects on the region as a whole. In New Zealand, for example, the majority group is British-European in origin and the other main groups are Maori, Pacific Islander and Asian. Further evidence of the diversity that exists in the region is apparent in the number of languages spoken. Apart from English and French, the linguistic legacies of colonial involvement, the South Pacific is home to a third of the world's languages. In Papua New Guinea alone, over 800 languages are spoken and in Vanuatu more than 100. Such diversity makes for an extremely complex situation as far as language in education is concerned.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

In many of the South Pacific island communities, the first schools were established in the nineteenth century by Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries from England and Europe. Howe (1984) considers that one of the most significant missionary achievements was to turn island societies from a state of nonliteracy to literacy. Alphabets were developed, the Bible was translated into the vernacular and the local people were taught to read in their own language. During the course of the nineteenth century as colonial school systems developed, while vernacular education continued strongly in the more linguistically homogeneous eastern region of the South Pacific, in countries in the western region which had a multiplicity of languages, such as New Guinea and the New Hebrides (present day Vanuatu), the trend was towards providing

education through the medium of the language of the dominant colonial power (Baldauf, 1990).

A mission school for Maori children in New Zealand was established as early as 1816. Emphasis in the mission schools was placed initially on developing literacy in Maori. In the 1860s, government-run "native schools" were established. The use of Maori in these schools was actively discouraged and instruction was given in English. An important contribution to the development of elementary education for Maori students was made by James Pope, the first Inspector of Maori Schools. Pope is notable for introducing English readers based on situations familiar to Maori students. Pope may also be seen as ahead of his time in advocating in the 1880s a modified form of bilingual schooling (Benton, 1981).

The school system that evolved for the increasing number of settler children was modelled on traditional English patterns. For those who received instruction at the secondary school level French, Latin and Greek featured in the curriculum, taught with an emphasis on grammar and translation. George Hogben, the Inspector-General of Schools at the beginning of the twentieth century, attempted to modernise foreign language instruction by introducing more communicative "natural" methods. However, his influence was relatively short-lived and the "grammar grinding" that Hogben opposed was to prevail for more than half a century (Watts, 1974).

The development of language education in Australia has some parallels with the New Zealand experience. In the nineteenth century, vernacular programmes were introduced by missionaries in schools in aboriginal areas (Gale, 1990). In 1838, the Lutheran missionaries Teichelmann and Schuermann began to set up schools in South Australia that taught Aboriginal children reading and writing in their own languages. Much of the teaching in Aboriginal languages declined after the middle of the nineteenth century and the period up to World War II was marked by sporadic attempts to provide western-style education for aboriginal children through the medium of English.

In the secular and religious schools that developed during the course of the nineteenth century for the sons and daughters of the growing white population English was the dominant medium of instruction. However, there were some schools that made use of languages other than English. Clyne (1991) notes that bilingual approaches were followed in a number of Australian schools from the 1850s onwards. Most of these schools were in Victoria and South Australia where there were sizable pockets of immigrants who were not native speakers of English. The languages other than English used in these schools included German, Gaelic, Hebrew and French. Although most of these schools were for children from non-English speaking backgrounds,

some catered for the children of the English-speaking elite who saw value in their sons and daughters developing facility in another language.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

A number of innovative developments in foreign and second language education have occurred in the South Pacific region during the past half century. Many of these developments have occurred as part of moves to improve the overall range and quality of educational provision. In the case of many of the smaller South Pacific island nations that gained independence after World War II the priority has been to augment the numbers of students enrolled in classes beyond the basic education level with the aim of promoting social and economic development as well as affirming national identity. For these island states, the development of competence in an international language such as English or French has been an important goal in order to maintain political and economic links with the outside world. However, there has been increasing awareness that competence in languages of international importance should not be at the expense of indigenous languages.

Perhaps the most ambitious attempt to achieve this balance has been the reform of elementary education in Papua New Guinea in the mid-1990s. A developmental bilingual approach was advocated that was aimed at establishing initial literacy in the local language followed by the gradual introduction of English over succeeding years (Wroge, 2001). Due to the wide range of languages spoken in Papua New Guinea, this reform has had very considerable resource implications. (See also Lotherington, *Bilingual Education in the South Pacific*, Volume 5.)

A number of curriculum initiatives have also been put in place in South Pacific territories to enhance the literacy development of learners of English as a second language. Of note is the contribution of Clay (1985) whose work on whole-language reading approaches has had a major influence on educational programmes in Pacific countries as well as further afield. Other significant initiatives include the Book Flood project conducted in Fijian schools in the late 1970s (Elley and Mangubhai, 1983) which was based on the premise that language learners gain benefits from extensive reading in the target language. The success of this project led to the development of reading programmes using shared book methods in other South Pacific countries.

Since the 1970s, indigenous language maintenance has been a key theme in New Zealand education in response to concern that the majority of children of Maori descent were English speakers with little or no access to the Maori language. In 1976, a Maori/English bilingual

school was opened at Ruatoki. An even more significant initiative was the establishment of *kohanga reo* (language nests) by local communities to provide children of pre-school age with immersion experiences in Maori language and culture. The first *kohanga reo* opened in 1982 and the concept rapidly spread to other districts throughout New Zealand. A further development was the formation of *kura kaupapa* (primary and secondary schools based on Maori perspectives) to enable children emerging from *kohanga reo* to continue their Maori-medium education. This immersion model has also been adopted by Pacific Island communities resident in New Zealand leading to the setting up of language nests operating in languages such as Samoan and Tongan.

In Australia, there were moves in the 1970s to develop bilingual programmes for Aboriginal and Torres Islander people. The Northern Territory's bilingual education programme, in which Aboriginal languages and English were used side by side in Aboriginal primary schools, came into being in 1973. However, in 1998, following a government review, the bilingual programme was phased out. Its successor, two-way learning, is seen by Nicholls (2005) as a return to a more English-dominated approach to the education of Aboriginal children.

Whereas in New Zealand attention in bilingual or immersion programmes has mainly focused on Maori and, to a lesser extent, Pacific Island languages, Australian bilingual and immersion programmes have been developed in a wide range of LOTES (Languages other than English) including the languages spoken in immigrant communities, such as Italian and Modern Greek (see also Clyne and Fernandez, 'Community Language Learning in Australia', Volume 4). Australia's first immersion programme started in 1985 at Benowa State High School in Queensland, initially as an enrichment class for motivated students. The success of this experiment led to an extension of the school's programme and its adoption in other localities. Studies of successful immersion and bilingual programmes at different levels have been made, amongst others, by Rado (1991) and Berthold (1995).

The development of immersion and bilingual programmes in Australia was supported by the 1987 National Policy on Languages (Lo Bianco, 1987) and its successor the 1991 Australian Language and Literacy Policy. In response to the strong advocacy of foreign and second language education in these policy documents State governments initiated programmes designed to strengthen language learning. These included efforts to provide an early start to language learning in primary schools. For a study of foreign language developments in Australian primary schools consult Clyne, Jenkins, Chan, Tasokalidon, and Wallner (1995).

A further notable achievement in Australia has been establishment of the Australian Migrant Education Programme (AMEP). To cater

for the post-World War flow of immigrants from Europe the Federal Government initiated in 1948 a large-scale English language scheme that offered free tuition for those who were not native speakers of English. The AMEP developed its own methodology, known as the Australian Situational Method, which was widely employed until its replacement by a more communicative, theme-based approach in the 1980s. Issues surrounding English language support for immigrants in Australia are examined in Burnett (1998).

Part of the search for ways to improve the range and quality of language learning in the South Pacific region has involved investigating different modes of pedagogical delivery. Distance education has been embraced as a means of providing learning opportunities for students in remote areas. The Alice Springs School of the Air, which began broadcasting in 1951, was a pioneer in distance education in Australia as was the Correspondence School in New Zealand. In both of these countries, distance education at the tertiary level is well established through providers such as Massey University (New Zealand) and Deakin University (Australia). In a similar way, the University of Papua New Guinea and the University of the South Pacific have provided distance education programmes since the 1960s. In most of the institutions that offer distance education options a range of languages are taught using a mix of print, video, audio, CD-ROM and online resources. An overview of developments in distance education in the South Pacific is provided in Guy, Kosuge, and Hayakawa (2000).

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Work is progressing in most of the areas outlined in the preceding section. Initiatives concerning Maori-medium education in New Zealand continue to be advanced though as May and Hill (2005) suggest there are some matters to do with pedagogy, staffing and resourcing that should be addressed as the programmes enter the next stage of development. Progress is also being made in New Zealand to meet the language needs of students from other cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Languages such as Korean, Samoan, Tongan and Chinese have been added to the curriculum. Attempts are also being made to assist the English development of new arrivals from Asia and other countries where English is not the main language, through the provision of extra resources to schools in localities where there is a concentration of immigrant children and the appointment of special English language advisors. With respect to foreign language education the main emphasis has been on strengthening the teaching of languages in primary schools and developing a curriculum framework that encourages a more coherent approach to language learning across the different levels.

In Australia, encouraging results have been reported for immersion and bilingual programmes in the different LOTE areas. De Courcy (2002), for example, notes the favourable test scores of students who participate in foreign language immersion programmes in Queensland. A development of note in Australia as well as in New Zealand is the emphasis on an outcomes-based languages curriculum. In Western Australia, for example, an overarching curriculum framework has been developed that makes explicit the learning outcomes expected of students in the LOTE learning area. Progress maps to monitor student progress towards achieving these outcomes are being refined. Among the tools available to teachers to assess language proficiency are tests such as Ingram and Wylie's International Second Language Proficiency Ratings (ISLPR). The ISLPR is designed to assist teachers to assess in an authentic and naturalistic way the proficiency of learners of different foreign languages or English as a second language (Ingram, 2004). Intercultural language learning is also developing as a key direction in Australian language education. The main goal of this approach is to encourage students to explore and critically reflect on cultural differences. The Asian Languages Professional Learning Project initiated in 2004 by the Australian Department of Education, Science and Training, is intended to update the skills and understanding of teachers of Asian languages, with a particular focus on intercultural language learning (McLaughlin and Liddicoat, 2005).

In South Pacific Island countries, vernacular initiatives continue to be supported. Nako (2004) outlines the progress in implementing a vernacular language strategy as part of an overall transitional bilingual approach in Vanuatu. In 1999, the Vanuatu government approved a policy requiring the usage of vernacular languages in the lower levels of basic education of Ni-Vanuatu children with progressive introduction of English or French at the more advanced stages. Although a number of teething problems have been experienced stemming from lack of adequate planning, lack of resources and deficiencies in teacher training programmes, progress is being made to extend the programme and improve the quality of instruction.

Hand in hand with plans to provide children with early literacy development in their own language has been the move to increase the indigenous content of the curriculum. At the 2001 Re-thinking Pacific Education Colloquium, a number of educators expressed concern that the western-style educational system adopted by most South Pacific countries has not succeeded as expected as the values promulgated were not in tune with the traditions, customs and beliefs of the local people. A strong recommendation of the Colloquium was that educational programmes at all levels should more fully embed Pacific values, beliefs, knowledge systems, skills, attitudes and behaviours (Pene,

Taufe'ulungaki and Benson, 2002). The various ways in which countries such as Fiji, Samoa, Tonga, Cook Islands, Kiribati, Tuvalu and Vanuatu have attempted to increase the amount of local content in school programmes is well described by Siegel (1996) and Thaman (2003)

Further developments are underway in distance education in the foreign and second language-learning domain. White (2003) provides a comprehensive summary of distance education initiatives in Australia such as the SOFNet programme in Victoria. This latter initiative has included satellite transmitted interactive television language programmes as part of the Schools of the Future policy to equip schools with new technology. First developed in the mid 1990s the programme covers a range of foreign languages. Case studies of the use of technology in distance language learning programmes in the New Zealand context are found in Gibbs and Holt (2003). The initiatives that have been trialled include the Telecom Distance Learning Project (TDLP) targeting three languages in demand (Maori, Japanese and Spanish) and involving live weekly programmes via satellite from the New Zealand Correspondence School. The International Language Series (ILS) programme has been developed to help overcome some of the problems that arose in the TDLP programme, particularly the fact that many of the teachers involved were not language specialists. The ILS programme aims to facilitate the professional development of primary and secondary teachers who are responsible for language learning programmes.

A major development in recent years has been the increase in the number of self-access multimedia facilities for language learning in many institutions. These facilities combine computer technology with audiovisual and television facilities. A consequence of the increased use of educational technology has been a blurring of the distinction between students who attend classes in an institution and their peers who study at a distance. Thomas (2003), for example, describes the development of flexible modes of foreign language study at Monash University. These modes of study for on-campus as well as off-campus students combine interactive computer-assisted language learning tasks via CD-ROM as well as a website for tutorial assistance and communication among students and staff.

As far as research into different aspects of language learning is concerned, Kleinsasser (2004) notes a burgeoning literature in the applied linguistics field that informs language teaching by investigating the factors that impact on the success of language programmes. Kleinsasser's review of recent studies in the second and foreign language domain in Australia and New Zealand identifies a number of themes in contemporary research. These include studies of learning environments,

language teaching and learning cultures, teacher beliefs, learner perceptions and learner strategies.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Glynn (2003) points out that in New Zealand the focus on supporting Maori language may have diverted attention away from the language and cultural requirements of other ethnic groups. Although work is in progress to rectify this gap, still more needs to be done in view of the increasing diversity in the population as a result of high immigration flows from Asia and other non-traditional immigrant source regions. There is also a need for more resources to ensure that young immigrants from non-English speaking backgrounds are not disadvantaged in an English-dominant education system (Watts, White and Trlin, 2002). A particular area of need is the development of materials that more adequately reflect the New Zealand cultural and linguistic environment as many of the commercially available materials are designed to cater for short-stay international students rather than immigrants. With respect to foreign language education, the teaching of foreign languages in New Zealand remains handicapped by the fact that in most schools languages are included in the curriculum as optional rather than required subjects. In the national curriculum stocktake conducted amongst language teachers the respondents were sharply critical of the lack of priority accorded to foreign languages compared to other subjects that made it difficult for them to attract and retain students in language classes (McGee, Jones, Cowie, Hill, Miller, Harlow, and Mac Konzie, 2003). According to Kaplan and Baldauf (2003) many of the problems facing foreign language education in New Zealand may be attributed to the lack of overall direction. Unlike Australia New Zealand does not have an official language policy. To a large degree decisions on what languages should be taught and to what level are left to individual schools to decide.

As far as language education in Australia is concerned, while acknowledging the gains that had occurred in the 1990s as a result of the Australian Language and Literacy Policy, Kaplan and Baldauf (2003) consider that the momentum may be slipping and that it is time for Australia to again be policy active. One area of concern is that the expansion of language teaching downwards from secondary schools to primary schools has not been accompanied by the allocation of necessary resources. More attention needs to be paid to professional development programmes that target mainstream teachers and assist them to increase their competence in language instruction. A particular problem that has arisen is that of continuity at the critical juncture point

between primary and secondary education. In the view of Cunningham (2004), increased efforts need to be made to develop curricular structures and strategies that facilitate transition across the primary/secondary threshold.

The supply of competent language teachers is a recurring problem in many of the South Pacific Island territories, which have early childhood and elementary school vernacular education programmes. Countries with a multiplicity of indigenous languages such as Papua New Guinea and Vanuatu face major difficulties in recruiting, training and retaining teachers with the skills required to develop learner materials in the many different languages spoken by local communities. In Fiji, also the multi-ethnic nature of the population poses particular problems for educational provision (Fiji Islands Education Commission Panel, 2000). Although South Pacific countries such as Samoa, Tonga, Tokelau and Kiribati that have relatively homogeneous populations may not be confronted by problems of such magnitude, nevertheless the movement towards a more vernacular-oriented curriculum in the early years of schooling does present for them as well resource issues that are not easily resolved (Pene, Taufe'ulungaki and Benson, 2002).

While distance education has been embraced by many of the South Pacific countries as an important means of bringing educational opportunities to areas outside the main centres, it does have certain limitations. The successful use of distance learning modes of delivery of language instruction is dependent on the social and economic conditions that prevail. Although economically developed countries such as Australia and New Zealand are in a position to take advantage of new advances in distance learning, particularly those that involve the use of the internet, this does not apply to small Pacific nations that lack the basic infrastructure for such developments.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The future shape of foreign and second language education depends in large measure upon the willingness of the governments of the countries in the region to attempt to address the problems and difficulties that have been outlined in the preceding section. The extent to which different countries are likely to put additional resources into language education does relate closely to their social, cultural, political and economic priorities.

In the case of the smaller island nations of the South Pacific the desire to assert independence and affirm indigenous cultural and linguistic identities is likely to sustain the move towards vernacular education programmes at the early stages of schooling. However, the necessity

to maintain close political and trading links with the international community will ensure that these island territories continue to keep a focus on developing proficiency in languages of wider communication at the post-primary school levels.

Population movements will also have a major bearing on the future direction of language education in the South Pacific region. If the present relatively high migration flows into Australia and New Zealand from countries where English is not the main language are maintained, more attention will have to be given to assisting new arrivals to develop high levels of fluency in English and easing their transition into a different cultural setting. The demands from ethnic communities for further government assistance to help maintain their heritage languages and cultures are also likely to increase.

It must be understood that the successful implementation of curricular innovations in the language education area very much depends on the resources available. Many of the smaller island territories in the South Pacific region are not economically self-sufficient and are reliant on foreign aid for their educational development. Such dependence does pose problems if donor countries channel aid into support for programmes that match their own strategic objectives rather than ones designed to build capacity in the island countries and support local initiatives. Australia and New Zealand are better placed to support educational developments than most other countries in the region. However, proponents of foreign and second language education must be prepared to press for an equitable share of resources. In both Australia and New Zealand foreign language education is handicapped by the fact that English is overwhelmingly the dominant language in society. There is a pressing need in these two countries to promote greater public and political awareness of the benefits of language learning and to gain tangible official support for the implementation of plans and strategies designed to improve the range and quality of language education.

Finally, fruitful exchanges of ideas and experiences are essential to the advancement of foreign and second language education in the region. Such interaction requires effective partnerships between South Pacific foreign and second language professionals and their counterparts in the international community. In a globalising world, there should be greater opportunities for contact with others who work in the foreign and second language education field. One can expect, then, that it will become easier for language educators in the South Pacific to draw on overseas research and best practice. However, this does not mean that real innovation will not be encouraged in the region. There will always be a need to seek ways of teaching foreign and second languages that are in tune with the social, cultural and linguistic situation

of the different South Pacific countries and that match the needs and aspirations of the local students.

**See Also:** Heather Lotherington: *Bilingual Education in the South Pacific (Volume 5)*; Michael George Clyne and Sue Fernandez: *Community Language Learning in Australia (Volume 4)*; Sandra Kipp: *The Language Ecology of Australia's Community Languages (Volume 9)*

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# **Section 4**

## **Teacher Preparation and Professional Development**

## THE PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE INSTRUCTORS IN POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION

The teaching of foreign languages in postsecondary education is carried out by a heterogeneous group of instructors: tenure-track professors and graduate teaching assistants whose training is most frequently in literary and cultural studies; and non-tenure-track instructors, often native speakers, with Master's or Ph.D.'s in literature and cultural studies or linguistics. The initial professional development of these instructors takes place within the framework of graduate programs, when these instructors serve as teaching assistants and, in most cases, receive formal preparation in teaching undergraduate language courses. The ongoing professional development of these instructors once they have assumed faculty positions is usually left to the devices and initiative of the individual instructor. In isolated cases, ongoing professional development may be provided by a university-wide language center or through a centralized office of instructional development. Because of the foundational role played by teaching assistant professional development programs in the preparation of foreign language instructors, this review will focus primarily on research on graduate-level programs. Although to a lesser degree, the review will also address research on the professional development of language program directors, faculty who oversee the preparation of teaching assistants, and other faculty, in particular those in adjunct and non-tenure-track lecturer positions.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

As Schulz (2000) and Hagiwara (1976) observe, publications on foreign language teacher education before the 1950s focused primarily on secondary school instructors. With the postwar increase in undergraduate enrollments as a result of the GI bill and the dramatic increase in foreign language enrollments brought on by the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) in 1958, foreign language departments at research universities began to rely almost exclusively on the use of teaching assistants to conduct introductory foreign language courses. This use of teaching assistants, most of whom were fresh out of college and had never taught before, thus served as the catalyst for

research and discussion about the formal preparation of postsecondary foreign language instructors.

Publications from the mid-1950s to the early 1980s on the professional development of postsecondary instructors focus primarily on the need to establish systematic preparation for teaching assistants and provide recommendations for doing so. In this period, a number of articles discussing best practices emerge in journals such as the *Modern Language Journal* (e.g., Dalbor, 1967; Remak, 1957), *Foreign Language Annals* (e.g., Ervin and Muyskens, 1982) the *ADFL Bulletin* (e.g., DiDonato, 1983), and disciplinary journals such as the *French Review* (e.g., Gilbert and McArthur, 1975).

Initial recommendations for providing teaching assistant preparation first appear in the 1955 Modern Language Association (MLA) conference report (PMLA, 1955). The report, based on five meetings of 18 foreign language department chairs, identifies a number of in-service teacher preparation activities already underway at several of the represented institutions, including methods courses, class visitation, general supervision, and collaboration in the preparation and grading of exams, and calls for a formal certification program for foreign language graduate assistants that would consist of courses (e.g., in phonetics, applied linguistics, methods) and the passing of a nationally standardized exam that would be given under the auspices of the MLA.

From the early 1960s to the late 1970s several major surveys of foreign language, doctorate-granting departments were undertaken to assess more systematically the status of graduate teaching assistant preparation and to provide recommendations. MacAllister's 1964 report (MacAllister, 1964), based on a survey of foreign language departments undertaken by the MLA with support from the Carnegie Corporation and two subsequent conferences, revealed that almost 60% of the 52 responding departments (39 universities) provided no training whatsoever for their teaching assistants. Of those that did, preterm orientations, meetings with supervising faculty periodically throughout the semester, and classroom visits were the most common practices. Ten departments (approximately 20%) had semester-long courses on teaching foreign languages in college which were not, however, compulsory for graduate students who did not teach while pursuing their degree. The report compared the lack of systematic training for college-level teachers with the more substantial and methodical clinical preparation for doctors and called on the MLA to exert its influence with the 500 colleges it counted as members to improve the situation. The report identified qualities needed by language instructors and called for proficiency testing before the first assignment, a graduate level course on methods in foreign language teaching and learning, and the establishment

of summer institutes, similar to the NDEA institutes provided for secondary school teachers.

In 1969, another comprehensive survey of graduate programs in foreign languages was conducted by the American Council for the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) and the American Departments of Foreign Languages (ADFL). The findings of this report (Hagiwara, 1970) indicated improvements since the 1964 MacAllister report, but much more work was still needed. The most prevalent activities included course-wide departmental final evaluations, class visits by senior faculty, and regular meetings with old and new assistants. Approximately half of the departments provided demonstration classes, and half asked students to evaluate their teaching assistants. Though up from the 1964 MacAllister report, only 28% of the responding departments required a course in applied linguistics or methods. One of the most striking observations made by Hagiwara is the fact that a large majority of the supervisors of teaching assistants were in the rank of assistant professor or below, a sign he interprets as a devaluation of this activity. This topic will be picked up more substantially in publications during the 1980s.

In 1978–1979, two additional surveys were undertaken. Randomly sampling 90 universities, Nerenz, Herron, and Knop (1979) found that a full 91% of departments required a methods course of TAs. Another survey, conducted by Schulz (1980) who surveyed 370 foreign language, comparative literature, and linguistics departments representing 78 universities, showed less progress. (The discrepancy may have been due to the inclusion in Schulz's survey of linguistics and comparative literature departments, where TA preparation was established much later.) Sixty-nine percent of the reporting departments offered pre-service training, up from 38% in 1969; and almost 38% required a methods course, 10% more than the number offering required methods courses in Hagiwara's survey 10 years earlier. Twenty-eight percent of departments offered both pre-service and in-service training as compared to 11% in Hagiwara's research. Schulz notes that student evaluation of TAs had risen substantially, but she also highlights the fact that none of the programs she surveyed required proficiency testing of TAs before the first appointment. Schulz provides a checklist of recommendations for TA development programs. A similar list of recommendations was provided by DiDonato (1983).

One last survey was undertaken by Gibaldi and Mirollo in 1981. While this MLA-funded report did not provide statistical summaries, it gives 17 recommendations for the teaching assistant apprenticeship and presents case studies of current programs. Perhaps most importantly, the report called upon departments to commit themselves to excellence in preparing college-level instructors.

In addition to presenting particular programs that prepare teaching assistants for their instructional roles, publications in the 1980s concentrate on the emerging role of the language program coordinator. As the need to prepare TAs for teaching became more accepted, greater attention was given to the role of the supervisor, his or her status in the department, and the background qualifications that the person brought to the position. Picking up on concerns raised by Hagiwara (1970), Schulz (1980) states: "Relatively few departments seem to recognize the need for specialized training as a prerequisite for the duties of TA trainer and supervisor." Several articles that appear in the 1980s point to this concern, calling for the establishment of standards in hiring language program coordinators. Lee (1987), for example, reports on a 1985 resolution by the Committee on Institutional Cooperation that articulates standards for language program coordinators. The MLA articulates standards for this position in the 1986 volume of *Profession*. Reflecting this increased focus on the professional development of language program coordinators, in 1980 a professional organization is established, the American Association of University Supervisors, Coordinators, and Foreign Language Program Coordinators (AAUSC) whose mission is to "promote, improve, and strengthen foreign language and second language instruction in the US; to strengthen development programs for teaching assistants, teaching fellows, associate instructors, or their equivalents; to promote research in second language acquisition and on the preparation and supervision of teaching assistants; and to establish a forum for exchanging ideas, experiences, and materials among those concerned with language program direction." By the end of the 1980s this focus on the language program coordinator leads to the establishment of a journal devoted to the continued professional development of this group of individuals, *Issues in Language Program Direction*. The attention given to the language program coordinator dovetails with significant directions that begin to develop in the 1980s that have a profound effect both on the teaching of foreign languages and the preparation of instructors: the ACTFL proficiency standards and the reconceptualization of language learning through the fields of second language acquisition and applied linguistics. Articles published in the 1980s in the *ADFL Bulletin* (one entire volume devoted to standards, 1986; Kramsch, 1989) signal these new directions.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Central publications on the professional development of language instructors appear in the AAUSC series, *Issues in Language Program Direction*. In addition to isolated articles scattered throughout a number of these volumes, the series devotes two issues (Rifkin, 2001; Walz,

1992) to this topic. Of note in the first volume (Magnan, 1991) is an extensive bibliography by Benseler and Cronjaeger (1991) on teaching assistant development signaling that this topic has now become a formal area of research.

Publications that appear in the 1990s in this series and elsewhere reflect major shifts in the professional preparation of teaching assistants. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the new focus on standards and preparation for the assessment of proficiency is evidenced by articles such as Murphy (1991) and the publication in 1993 of Omaggio's *Teaching Language in Context: Proficiency Oriented Instruction*, a book that would become one of the standard texts in methods courses for teaching assistants at many universities in the 1990s. A second shift evidenced by the research in the 1990s picks up on concerns raised earlier by Hagiwara (1976) that calls on departments to move from the preparation of teaching assistants for the immediate instructional needs of the institution to the education and professional development of graduate students as future faculty (e.g., Azevedo, 1990; Chaput, 2001; Pons, 1993). This trend resonates with and is influenced by similar shifts in the field of TA development in higher education in general in the 1980s and 1990s (e.g., Nyquist, Abbott, Wulff, and Sprague, 1991) and the emergence of Preparing Future Faculty programs at many research universities through funding from the American Association of Universities and Colleges (AAUSC) and the Council of Graduate Schools (CGS) and later by the Pew Charitable Trusts. In addition to emphasizing this longer range view of professional development, research on TA development in the 1990s reveals a shift from a view of teaching as the application of methods to one that is predicated on reflective practice and classroom research (e.g., Kinginger, 1995; Mcdonough, 2006; Wildner-Basset, 1992). These directions are influenced by the work of Schön (1983) on the reflective practitioner, and that of Allright, Crookes, and others on action research. This movement beyond training and methods at all levels of foreign language teacher education is summed up by representative titles from this decade: *Training Foreign Language Teachers: A Reflective Approach* (Wallace, 1991) and *Beyond Training* (Richards, 1998). In the 1990s, the full maturation of the fields of applied linguistics and second language acquisition theory, the shift in foreign language departments from an exclusive focus on literature to one that included cultural studies, and the impact of poststructuralist theory on the humanities lead to publications that begin to challenge current, utilitarian approaches to foreign language study (e.g., Kramsch, 1995) and teaching assistant preparation. Fox (1992) and Rankin (1994) call for a revised model of TA training that will incorporate applied linguistics. Von Hoene (1995) uses feminist, postcolonial, and psychoanalytic theory to rethink the

preparation of graduate students for teaching and makes recommendations to break down the rigid divide (noted by many authors in the AAUSC series and elsewhere) that exists in foreign language departments between the study of language on the one hand and the study of literature on the other. Building on work done by Kramsch and Nolden (1994), Kern (1995) encourages the incorporation of literacy in the preparation of teaching assistants to enable them to guide students in developing critical literacy in a foreign language.

One novel application of a literacy approach to foreign language acquisition (Byrnes, 2001) has been undertaken in the German department at Georgetown University where the undergraduate curriculum has been substantially revised through the lens of narrativity and genre. These changes have led to significant changes in the manner in which teaching assistants are prepared for teaching. By rethinking the divide between language and literature through the concept of literacy, the responsibility for teaching assistant preparation is distributed among all faculty in the department. The language program coordinator in this model becomes less isolated, and the link between language and literature is once again restored.

In the late 1990s, research begins to appear on the professional development of lecturers (Bernhardt, 2001; Robin, 2001; Van Deusen-Scholl, von Hoene, and Moeller-Irving, 1999; von Hoene and Van Deusen-Scholl, 2001). While the increased use of lecturers and adjunct faculty in higher education reflects a structural change in university staffing over the last several decades and is not limited to foreign language departments, the percentage of lecturers at any one university is often concentrated in the teaching of languages. This is particularly true of the so-called less commonly taught languages (LCTLs) and at colleges and universities that do not offer Ph.D. programs. Van Deusen-Scholl, von Hoene, and Moeller-Irving (1999) report on research on the professional development needs of lecturers at a major research university. Following up on this work, von Hoene and Van Deusen-Scholl (2001) call into question models of lecturer "professionalization," which are often steeped in a colonialist, top-down discourse. They describe an alternate model developed at University of California, Berkeley that draws on the input of lecturers and provides support for their ongoing professional development. Bernhardt (2001) points to two generations of lecturers, one trained in second language acquisition theory and applied linguistics and an older generation whose teaching does not benefit from these more recent developments. Robin (2001) describes many of the difficulties involved in providing professional development support to adjuncts who often teach on more than one campus and may lack the time and incentive for ongoing professional development activities.

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

In spite of the strides that have been made in enhancing the professional development of foreign language instructors over the past five decades, significant problems remain.

First, substantial differences exist between the more commonly and less commonly taught languages in the professional development programs available to teaching assistants and lecturers (Rifkin, 1992; Robin, 2001). While a handful of centralized language programs that provide professional development opportunities for lecturers and teaching assistants exist (e.g., the language centers at University of California, Berkeley, the University of Pennsylvania, and Stanford), these are by no means universal. Departmental courses for graduate students teaching the LCTLs often do not have formal syllabi or are not available altogether. Rifkin (1992) makes recommendations for improving professional development for teaching assistants in the less commonly taught languages, but 14 years later, much work still remains to be done.

In addition, the full integration of applied linguistics into the curriculum of foreign language departments and the preparation of teaching assistants has not yet come to fruition. Because departments limit the preparation of teaching assistants to one semester, language program directors are faced with the unfortunate choice of having to prepare teaching assistants simply for their first assignment. This preparation generally focuses on practical strategies such as classroom management, lesson planning, and grading. While extremely important, this approach barely scratches the surface of the deeper field of applied linguistics. Instructors may include a bibliography of literature on applied linguistics on the course syllabus, but they do not have the time that would be needed to integrate that literature into the fabric of the course. Though some of the more commonly taught languages have a two-semester series, the standard practice at most research universities is one methods course. Lalande (1991) and von Hoene (1995) call for advanced or ongoing preparation of teaching assistants.

Given the structural shift in higher education to a more temporary, adjunct workforce, a cohesive approach to the professional development on adjunct faculty has become increasingly important. As Bernhardt (2001) and Robin (2001) note, many lecturers currently teaching languages in higher education have either outmoded training or no training at all in second language acquisition theory and applied linguistics. As a result, language programs vary widely in the degree to which they are informed by the most recent research findings in these fields.

The changing demographics of undergraduates, many of whom are heritage speakers of the language they are studying has led to increased research on the needs of this specific group of learners. Some language

programs have responded to the distinct needs of heritage speakers by creating separate tracks. However, the body of research on teaching heritage students has not been integrated into professional development programs for language instructors.

Departments of foreign languages and literatures have maintained a rigid divide between language teaching on the one hand and the study of literature and culture on the other. A more integrated approach to the notion of the foreign language department and its impact on instructor preparation appears in several works (Byrnes, 2001; von Hoene, 1995), but only limited movement has taken place. Although departments are more frequently hiring specialists in second language acquisition and applied linguistics to run their language programs, the ability of those individuals to impact other areas of the departmental culture are extremely limited.

Many language program coordinators in the United States, either through obligation or choice, adhere to a communicative approach to language learning that is primarily utilitarian in nature (Kramersch, 1995). As a result, applied linguistics and related disciplines such as discourse analysis, stylistics, sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, semiotics, among others, have not been included in the preparation of graduate students for teaching. This has helped to maintain the divide between language on the one hand and literature and culture on the other.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Future directions in research in foreign language instructor development may include the following:

1. Given the increased enrollments in many of the LCTLs which are taught primarily by lecturers, more research is needed on how best to support and enhance the professional development needs of these instructors. This research should survey current models used in the professional development of lecturers and should explore the philosophies and beliefs that guide them. Based on this research, best practices should be identified so that they can be adapted by other colleges and universities. As lecturers at many universities become unionized, research should be conducted on the impact of unionization on contract provisions that support professional development. Where these provisions exist, research should evaluate their effectiveness in fostering professional development. Research in this area should also involve direct input from lecturers so that they may have a voice in their own professional development.
2. As a result of the increase in heritage speakers in college classrooms, research on the needs of heritage learners should include

recommendations for incorporating research findings into classroom practice and into the professional development of language instructors.

3. More research needs to be conducted on the degree to which the preparation graduate students receive in teaching fits the needs of their future careers. Research of this sort would give a basis upon which to make recommendations for courses on the graduate level in areas such as cross-cultural literacy, stylistics, language and identity, language and power, and semiotics.
4. Most colleges and universities have a centralized unit that provides professional development for faculty. Research is needed on how these units currently support the professional development of instructors in foreign languages and how these units can work together to supplement each other's work.
5. The AAUSC, which has had a very low profile up to now, could collaborate with other organizations such as the MLA, AAAL, and discipline-specific organizations such as the German Studies Association to develop an integrated approach to language, literature, and culture on all levels of undergraduate and graduate curriculum. The professional trajectory of Ph.D.'s from alternative programs such as the one based on literacy at Georgetown's German department should be carefully followed to chart the impact that a revised approach to language, literature and culture may have on departments in which these Ph.D.'s are employed.
6. As part of graduate student professional development, research seminars should be offered on a regular basis that bring together language acquisition and theoretical discourses commonly studied in literature and culture programs such as postcolonialism, post-structuralism, transnationalism, psychoanalysis, and feminism. Such seminars would enable graduate students to explore how language reflects and constitutes individual and collective identities and how subjectivity is constructed and revised in the cross-cultural, cross-linguistic encounter with difference (von Hoene, 1995). Such seminars would also enable graduate students to consider the nature and goals of foreign language acquisition in respect to the colonialist insistence on assimilation or the postcolonial attentiveness to difference. Such seminars could be used by departments to consider their contributions to the university as "departments of cross-cultural difference" (von Hoene, 1999).

**See Also:** *Terrence Wiley: Language Policy and Teacher Education (Volume 1); Virginia Zavala: Teacher Training in Bilingual Education in Peru (Volume 4); Ofelia Garcia: Multilingual Language Awareness and Teacher Education (Volume 6)*

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## NETWORK-BASED LANGUAGE TEACHING

### INTRODUCTION

Over the past 20 years, computer networks have introduced unprecedented opportunities for language learners to access and publish texts and multimedia materials and to communicate in new ways within and beyond the classroom. Whereas computer-assisted language learning (CALL) refers broadly to a wide range of applications (e.g., tutorials, drills, simulations, instructional games, tests, concordancers, etc.), network-based language teaching (NBLT) refers specifically to the pedagogical use of computers connected in either local or global networks, allowing one-to-one, one-to-many, and many-to-many communication. NBLT research explores what happens when learners are brought together with texts, media, and other speakers of the language in computer-mediated contexts of interaction.

NBLT arose at the confluence of both technological and educational change. In the 1980s and 1990s, networking technologies and infrastructure developed with dramatic rapidity in many industrialized countries, making low-cost connections possible. At the same time, educational theory and practice were increasingly influenced by social constructivism, which emphasized the social and cultural construction of knowledge, the importance of collaboration among individuals and groups, and a learner- and problem-based approach to pedagogy.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Although computer networks have been used for interpersonal communication since the 1960s, it was not until the 1980s that they began to serve language teaching. One of the first pedagogical uses of local area networks was to teach writing to deaf students via synchronous conferencing at Gallaudet University. The University of Texas at Austin was another early adopter institution, where synchronous conferencing was incorporated into English literature and writing courses as well as foreign language teaching (in Portuguese, German, and French). These early studies (for reviews, see Ortega, 1997, and Warschauer, 1997) pointed to a number of potential benefits of synchronous conferencing compared with face-to-face class discussions: (i) increased and more democratically distributed student participation; (ii) more time to

develop and refine comments—possibly leading to greater precision and sophistication of expression; (iii) encouragement of a collaborative spirit among students; (iv) enhanced motivation for language practice and, in particular, greater involvement of students who rarely participated in oral discussions; (v) reduction of anxiety related to oral communication in a foreign language; and (vi) positive effects on students' writing ability and perhaps speaking ability as well.

There soon followed a number of studies that systematically compared the dynamics of synchronous conferencing with face-to-face classroom interaction (reviewed in Ortega, 1997, and Warschauer, 1997). These studies confirmed the expected benefits of synchronous conferencing, with the exception of its effects on general writing and speaking abilities—an area that has been taken up more recently (see Major Contributions later). They also revealed an overall greater level of sophistication of students' language use (in terms of the range of morphosyntactic features and discourse functions). However, synchronous conferencing was also found to introduce a number of unsettling changes. For example, Kern (1995) noted that teacher control over class discussions was compromised, that the rapid pace of written discussion sometimes taxed students' comprehension abilities, and that although participation was more equitably distributed than in normal classroom discussion, the coherence and continuity of discussions often suffered. Kern concluded that effectiveness had to be evaluated in relation to instructional goals. Synchronous conferencing fostered free expression, student responsiveness, and the voicing of multiple perspectives on issues, but it did not improve grammar or reinforce standard discourse norms.

Noticeable in early NBLT studies was a tendency to test the technology to see what effects it might have on language use. In the next section, we see a gradual shift toward testing theories of second language acquisition (SLA) within the context of computer-mediated communication.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Two general trends characterize the bulk of current research on NBLT. The first emphasizes SLA theory and interactionist models of learning. Data analysis typically consists of quantitative counts of the occurrence of morphological, lexical, and syntactical features in online discourse.

The second trend, described by Kern and Warschauer (2000) in the introduction to their key collection of research articles on NBLT, is informed by sociocultural and sociocognitive theories and draws on a mixture of quantitative, qualitative, ethnographic, and discourse analytic methods. At issue here is not only quantifying language development,

but also understanding how learners interpret and construct meaning online across culturally situated contexts.

Although the primary research emphasis of each trend differs, the studies typically share a focus on discourse written by postsecondary foreign language learners in asynchronous and synchronous environments.

### *SLA-Grounded Research*

Most studies grounded in SLA theories of networked classroom instruction are either (i) comparison studies that examine the effectiveness of online vs. face-to-face interaction in promoting negotiation of meaning, noticing, comprehensible output, and form-focused learning (for a review see Kern, Ware, and Warschauer, 2004), or (ii) transfer studies that explore the degree to which language use online transfers to language proficiency more generally, particularly to speaking and listening.

*Promoting negotiation of meaning.* A major benefit for SLA-based research is the ease of collecting interactional data online. In contrast to face-to-face conversation, online negotiation of meaning takes place in writing, which provides a readily usable database of transcripts for classroom and research use. In classrooms, this database of interactions has been used to facilitate the development of students' metacognitive and metalinguistic awareness (Sengupta, 2001). A significant number of studies have examined task type in promoting negotiation of meaning in the network-based classroom. In a synchronous chat study of intermediate level Spanish learners in a university course, Pellettieri (2000) found abundant evidence of form-focused modifications and corrective feedback among ten dyads of English-speaking adult participants, leading her to conclude that online chatting can improve learners' grammatical competence (cf. Kern, 1995). Additionally, she found that closed, goal-oriented tasks promoted greater frequency of meaning negotiation than open-ended tasks. A recent study by Smith (2003) supports Pellettieri's finding, except that he found that decision tasks promoted more negotiation of meaning than jigsaw tasks.

*Transfer studies.* Implicit in this line of research is the expectation that the linguistic and metalinguistic awareness developed online will transfer to other domains of language learning. Students who can converse in spontaneous online chat discussions, for example, should have an easier time contributing to the ongoing flow of a face-to-face conversation. Not surprisingly, a wave of research has put this hypothesis to the test, with differing methods and outcomes. For example, using rigorous quasi-experimental methods to examine the question of transfer into oral proficiency, Payne and Whitney (2002) provide strong

evidence that the intermediate-level Spanish learners in the synchronous chat group outperformed the face-to-face control group on a pre-test/posttest oral proficiency measure. In another quasi-experimental study, Abrams (2003) considers language in a third-semester German course. Although the students in the synchronous group produced higher quantities of output in subsequent face-to-face discussions than their counterparts in either the asynchronous or control groups, she found no statistically significant differences in terms of lexical richness and diversity or syntactic complexity.

To summarize, much of the research grounded in SLA theory and in cross-modality transfer builds off the premise that language itself remains a relatively stable target, and the overarching goals, outcomes, and processes of language learning are generally considered similar whether conducted in physical or virtual space. Research is aimed at determining whether and to what extent technology-mediated interaction can support language acquisition at least as well as face-to-face interaction.

### *Sociocognitive and Sociocultural Approaches*

Researchers who question the assumed stability and neutrality of linguistic forms and functions in virtual discourse have turned their focus to two main areas: genre differentiation and culture learning in networked classrooms.

*Genre differentiation.* Online communication is not a single uniform genre, but rather a range of genres generated situationally for different media (e.g., blogs, e-mail, instant messaging, wikis, online forums, MOOs, chat groups) and according to the particular needs and purposes of participants. For example, synchronous online language is typically characterized by the fragmentary nature of conversation flow, the multiplicity of discussion threads, the difficulty of back channeling to clarify one's message, the lack of paralinguistic and contextual cues, and the tendency to emphasize phatic communication. Asynchronous modes such as threaded discussion, however, tend to be less fragmentary, more informationally dense and complete, and focused on a single discussion topic. Variability in both technology and purpose leads to a range of online language that can resemble hybrid forms of standard and nonstandard language. Herring (2001) maintains that the fragmented, nonstandard language found in some online interactions is not the result of errors, but rather the result of deliberate choices by users to save typing time or to be creative with language. Warner's (2004) work on language play corroborates this view by showing how learners of German created hybrid language forms with code-mixing in their

synchronous chat sessions. From a critical pedagogical perspective, however, such tendencies in online discourse create tensions for teachers intent on assisting their students in developing, if not proficiency in standard forms of language, at least the ability to discern among standard, nonstandard, and hybrid uses.

*Culture in NBLT.* A significant shift in NBLT in the last 5 years is the growing emphasis on cultural aspects of language learning. In part, the result of theoretical trends toward sociocultural and social constructivist frameworks, and in part an outgrowth of the increasing popularity of online collaborative partnerships, many researchers are turning to a broader conception of language learning that insists on its inextricable cultural layering. Often referred to as telecollaboration, these international partnerships link language learners in online discussions to promote language use and intercultural learning. Within the key pedagogical and discourse analytical work on culture and NBLT (for an extended analysis see Kern, Ware, and Warschauer, 2004), the most significant trends have been the move from monolithic to multidimensional presentations of culture (Furstenberg, Levet, English, and Maillet, 2001); the notion of authenticity in online cultural texts (Kramsch, A’Ness, and Lam, 2000); the potential for communication breakdown (Ware, 2005); and the development of intercultural competence (Belz, 2003).

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

New studies investigating the viability of technology-integrated teaching for supporting SLA and intercultural learning continue to appear each month at a rate that shows little sign of slowing. The goals, content, and structure of NBLT are changing rapidly. Traditional definitions of language learning, as measured by demonstrated proficiency and control of the target language, no longer suffice as the primary knowledge base for teachers in online contexts (see discussion in Ware and Kramsch, 2005). In contrast to the primarily task- and product-oriented, classroom-controlled online interactions that characterized early research in NBLT, recent work examines online learning in two new areas: nonclassroom contexts and multimodality.

##### *Nonclassroom Contexts*

Ethnographic work has provided a unique lens on the kinds of language practices that shape linguistic socialization outside of the traditional classroom. Lam’s (2000, 2004) extensive research on Chinese-American adolescents documents how students develop textual

identities and hybrid language forms through their participation in multilingual online communities. Such studies of how learners' identities mediate (and are mediated by) their language practices *outside* educational contexts offer an important perspective for classroom teachers. In Thorne's (2003) study of the "cultures of use" of online learning, for example, he notes the generational shift in college-level students' preference for conversing via instant messaging outside of class and their professors' requirement that they communicate over e-mail for in-class work, resulting in a potentially derailing mismatch of tools and purposes. Research by Black (2005) documents the experiences of adolescent English language learners on *fan fiction* writing sites, and the ways learners on these sites construct their identities as writers solicit and make use of peer feedback. By exploring the affiliations, preferences, and practices of learners in their chosen environments, researchers can provide powerful insights into how we might change the shape of classroom-based teaching.

Unlike the nonclassroom communities Lam documented, which typically form around common interests without an explicit focus on language, tandem partnerships form online for the explicit purpose of improving proficiency in standard forms of the target language. These bilingual partnerships, grounded in two basic principles of learner autonomy and reciprocity, are goal-directed toward improving traditional markers of language proficiency such as syntactic complexity, lexical precision, and morphosyntactic accuracy. Two recent studies have integrated the tandem model of learner autonomy and reciprocity, mostly used in voluntary contexts, into classroom-based MOO environments (Kötter, 2003; Schwienhorst, 2002). Although the focus of both studies was primarily on the development of linguistic and metalinguistic awareness, Schwienhorst also found that students became more autonomous in their regulation of native and nonnative discourse in their chatting.

### *Multimodality*

The environments of technology-mediated teaching and learning are changing to keep pace with innovations in technology tools. A major shift in recent years has been toward the expansion of semiotic modes beyond text. Increasingly, researchers are exploring the flexibility and interactivity of multimodal venues for communication. Thorne and Payne (2005) provide a detailed inventory of cutting-edge research in communication media such as blogs, wikis, podcasting, personal digital assistants, and cell phones. They emphasize the importance of these personalized, portable multimedia tools, not merely for fostering learners' linguistic proficiency in a conventional sense, but also for

challenging them to use the technologies as a springboard for thinking deeply and engaging with content in the ways promoted in classroom language instruction.

Multimodal learning also includes bimodal chat rooms (Blake, 2005) and multimedia authoring tools (Nelson, 2006). Blake (2005) examines a bimodal (oral and written) chat room, in which learners studying Spanish as part of a distance learning course can write and speak to one another and their professor. Although he reports on a case study of only a single learner, his analysis indicates that such bimodal CMC classrooms offer important new venues for student participation and negotiation of meaning. Nelson takes a different approach to multimodality in his examination of postsecondary ESL writing students who, in addition to writing traditional print-based essays, authored multimodal projects. His analysis shifts the focus away from usual concerns of fluency and accuracy in foreign languages and suggests that instructors attend more broadly to students' developing awareness of language as just one aspect of a larger system of semiotics.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

As NBLT expands its early focus on linguistic features to include cultural, communicative, and social aspects of online teaching and learning, a number of problematic areas arise. Differences in medium (Thorne, 2003), linguistic style (Belz, 2003), and levels of engagement (Ware, 2005) complicate online language learning.

In order to grapple with these issues, researchers have adopted a number of theoretical perspectives. Reeder, Macfadyen, Roche, and Chase (2004), for example, take an intercultural perspective on online communication and suggest that significant cultural gaps and differences in *cyberculture values* strongly impact the success or failure of online communication. Ess (2005) takes a postcolonial position and argues that because current CMC technologies favor Westernized values and communicative preferences, researchers need to work toward "middle grounds" (p. 162) that better connect global trends with local traditions. Warschauer (2003), drawing on his ethnographic case studies of postsecondary writing instruction (Warschauer, 1999), has pushed for a more integrated, nuanced conception of electronic literacy. He elaborates the plural construct of *electronic literacies*, including computer literacy, information literacy, multimedia literacy, and computer-mediated literacy, to investigate the relationship between the sociocultural contexts of networked classrooms and the particular ways that literacy is valued and practiced by teachers, learners, and members of the larger society.

Another issue has to do with technocentrism, which can draw us toward testing the technology to the point where we risk becoming

stagnated in terms of developing better theories of online language use. Related to technocentrism is the concern that technology-mediated language learning is becoming more and more commercialized, that is, packaged into convenient software programs and marketed to mass audiences. If the technology is attractive, it will tend to woo customers, regardless of the quality of its content or empirical base. In this regard, educators need to become critical consumers, just as their students need to evaluate online sources critically.

Finally, a number of methodological and ethical issues arise as well. Due to the short-term duration of most NBLT studies, a great deal more longitudinal research is needed to examine the effects of NBLT across time. Tracking language learning through year-long or multiyear studies helps mitigate, for example, concerns about how the novelty of technology might affect learner outcomes. Furthermore, longitudinal studies provide a more adequate basis for understanding how language learning might transfer across skill areas, as researchers are better poised to track students across multiple contexts of use.

Ethically, a key methodological issue has to do with subjects' informed consent to participate in research (and the real difficulty of maintaining student privacy in the virtual world.) It is easy to collect data on the Internet without subjects' knowledge or consent, and because boundaries between what is private and public are often unclear, it is essential that researchers follow procedures for obtaining informed consent of subjects. Other ethical issues involve copyright/intellectual property issues, which are especially thorny in multimodality projects in which students download images, sounds, text, and video off the Internet. This is of course also tied to issues of plagiarism that tend to coincide with the easy access of technology-mediated learning.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

As the field of NBLT develops in the coming years, research is needed that continues many of the strands discussed earlier. In addition, we anticipate that research will grow in a number of other areas.

First, more work is needed that explores multimodal learning contexts. Computers have had an impact on the ways we communicate. To date, the research conducted on computer-mediated communication has been mostly text-based, but now image and voice are becoming integral parts of how we interact and represent ourselves online. As digital media become more readily available to wide audiences of users, teachers and students are increasingly able to develop novel ways of integrating multiple modes of learning into the language classroom. In some cases, such integration will certainly take the form

of more conventional approaches, such as the use of audio or video clips to reinforce standard uses of the target language, but we also anticipate innovation in NBLT driven by newer technologies such as podcasting and wikis, as documented by Thorne and Payne (2005).

A second area of future research will likely be directed toward critical explorations of how culture functions in NBLT. Until now, terms such as cross-cultural and intercultural have been used rather interchangeably, and the task of researchers will be to refine the terms and develop viable methodologies and theories for examining issues of (pluri)cultural representation, identification, and contact in online contexts. Work in this area will not only influence how we define language learning in general, but also how we define key concepts such as communicative competence, and how we frame online pragmatics and sociolinguistics.

Third, expanded research will be needed on the relationship between form-focused in-class activities and online collaborations whose primary goals are social interaction and the representation of identity and knowledge. Crucial to this research will be attention to changes in the roles of teachers and students and how the classroom is imagined accordingly.

Fourth, as ethnographic work on language use and learning outside of educational contexts continues to grow, we anticipate that researchers will turn to the issue of curricular integration. As discussed earlier, much of the work on NBLT has taken place in postsecondary contexts. However, K-12 educators are increasingly interested in integrating technology into language classrooms, so researchers will need to explore ways to support such curricular initiatives. With an emphasis in many K-12 educational contexts on high-stakes testing, such work will undoubtedly facilitate the development of assessment tools and feedback loops for learners and teachers.

Finally, as more learning resources of all kinds become available via the Internet rather than as stand-alone applications, the distinctions between CALL and NBLT will increasingly fade. New forms of research will be required to investigate the learning processes and outcomes that occur when traditional CALL activities are carried out in networked environments and combined with computer-mediated communication.

## CONCLUSION

Over the past 20 years, a rich body of research has been conducted on NBLT. The accelerating diffusion of digital media and wireless networks, together with the increased naturalization of computer-mediated communication, promises that NBLT will remain a critical area for teaching and research. We note, for example, that the first

generation of *digital natives* who have grown up using the Internet and view it as an entirely ordinary environment of interaction is now entering higher education. What's more, the Internet itself has changed dramatically in recent years, with the rapid spread of participatory tools and sites facilitating social networking, interactive game playing, collaborative writing and editing, and multimodal production. These tools provide opportunities for students in read, write, communicate, and construct knowledge in a second or foreign language in ways that are both new and unexplored.

Although the potential role of NBLT is thus greater than ever before, research has also shown that sound pedagogy and not computers or networks per se is what really counts in NBLT. Future success will thus require teachers' continued attention to the close integration of project goals, activity/task design, and technology interface within often complex logistical realities. Teachers also need to know how NBLT can constrain as well as enhance their students' language use and know when it is better not to computerize a particular activity. The growing complexity of decisions involved in NBLT highlights the importance of technology integration in both preservice and inservice teacher education.

Finally, given the rapid evolution of technologies and the fluidity of communicative environments, flexibility will be a prime requirement for teachers and researchers as they continue to explore language teaching and learning in new networked contexts. By adopting the same habits of mind that we seek to inspire in our students—autonomous learning; inventive thinking; and critical perspectives on the intersection of language, technology, and culture—teachers and researchers can help ensure that the impressive potential of network-based teaching to transform language learning is achieved.

**See Also:** *Kevin Leander and Cynthia Lewis: Literacy and Internet Technologies (Volume 2); Steven Thorne: Computer-mediated Communication (Volume 4); Robert Blake: Distance Learning for Second and Foreign Language Teaching (Volume 4); Ilana Snyder: Research Approaches to the Study of Literacy, Technology and Learning (Volume 10); Joan Kelly Hall: Language Education and Culture (Volume 1); David Block: Language Education and Globalization (Volume 1); Mary Kalantzis and Bill Cope: Language Education and Multiliteracies (Volume 1); Alan Rogers: Informal Learning and Literacy (Volume 2); Brian Street: New Literacies, New Times: Developments In Literacy Studies (Volume 2); Kathy Schultz and Glynda Hull: Literacies in and Out of School in the United States (Volume 2); Carey Jewitt: Multimodal Discourses across the Curriculum (Volume 3)*

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TEACHER TRAINING IN BILINGUAL  
EDUCATION IN PERU

INTRODUCTION

Peru is a multilingual society in which around 40 different indigenous languages struggle to survive. In an attempt to come to grips with this linguistic diversity and to offer a high quality education to its population, different experiments with bilingual education involving Spanish and indigenous languages have been implemented in the country. Although since the decade of the 1920s some concern was aroused regarding the education of the indigenous population (Vich, 2000) and later on some experiments were implemented in the Amazonian region (Citarella, 1990), it was not until the educational reform of 1972—and the official recognition of Quechua in 1975—that the first National Policy on bilingual education was proposed and this type of education started taking place in primary schools. For a long time, teachers who were involved in the bilingual framework had not been formally trained in this educational approach. In the best cases, the ones who were already working in bilingual schools received a whole week's training twice a year but this was clearly not enough for them to understand the program and to be able to respond to the challenges posed by this type of schooling. In the case of the Andean region specifically, this type of specialization in most institutions of higher education approximately started only five to ten years ago, although in the Amazonian region it had started earlier. Due to the fact that these two regions constitute very different realities in terms of linguistic and cultural dynamics and that this type of education has followed distinct paths in both of them, this review will describe both experiences separately.

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Some universities in Peru offer a specialization in Bilingual Education for the indigenous population. Since 1985 the University of Altiplano in Puno and the National University of the Amazonia have offered—respectively—the Masters in Andean Linguistics and Bilingual Education and an undergraduate specialization in Bilingual Education in its Faculty of Education. Both universities could be considered pioneers in teacher training in Intercultural Bilingual Education (hereafter, IBE)

in Peru. Nevertheless, other universities have started to offer specializations in IBE only a few years ago (since 2000) and have not had much sustainability. Some of them have even tried to open a Masters program in IBE but have not reached the amount of students needed.

Training in this kind of education is imparted mostly by what are known as the “Institutos Superiores Pedagógicos” (hereafter, ISP), institutions—with a non-university status—that report directly to the Ministry of Education, in which people study to be teachers during five years. This pre-service teacher training in bilingual education is complemented by an in-service teacher training. The latter is carried out by way of courses for teachers who are already working in bilingual schools and which not only do not satisfy their real demands and needs but also are imparted within a perspective that focuses on repairing or correcting the gaps of the basic training (López, 1996). This review will only consider the pre-service teacher training in bilingual education (from now on, teacher education) that takes place within the ISPs. Teacher education has had a higher achievement during the last decade than its in-service counterpart (Burga, 2004).

In the 1970s, the educational initiative for the indigenous people only addressed the bilingual aspect of the situation. In the 1980s its range was extended to include cultural problems in order to build a more pertinent educational alternative for those groups. Hence, the ISPs train teachers not only in Bilingual Education, but also in IBE with the aim of framing bilingual education in a wider cultural proposal. Nevertheless, educators still hold different notions of what BI and IBE are and, for example, some of them do not conceive an intercultural education that is not at the same time bilingual. This review concentrates on the bilingual aspect of teacher education within IBE.

At the end of the 1980s, there were five institutions of higher education—two in the Andes and three in the Amazonian area—in which primary school teachers specialized in IBE. However, national or international private entities had to finance these institutions, since the initiative from the Peruvian State only started in the 1990s. With the goal of homogenizing basic criteria for the construction of a diversified curriculum, between 1992 and 1993 the Ministry of Education’s entity in charge of IBE organized three participative workshops in order to create a curricular model for teacher education in this type of specialization. The design of this curricular model constituted the first attempt to incorporate linguistic and cultural aspects into the new proposal and allowed teacher educators from the Andes and the Amazonian regions to question the orientation of the curriculum that was used in Peru (Trapnell, Burga, Domínguez and Neira, 2004). Although this curriculum ought to have been experimentally applied in ten educational institutions as from 1994 (in eight ISPs and two universities),

only three of them started to apply it. This was mainly due to the removal of the entity in charge of this type of education within the Ministry. The new curriculum was revised after a few years in order to adapt it to the innovations introduced in the new official curriculum of teacher education in 1996, and from this revision a new diversified curriculum of teacher education in IBE was produced for the Andean region. While the ISPs from this region had felt pressure from the Ministry of Education to *adapt* its curriculum to the official one, one ISP from the Amazonian region (FORMABIAP) had the opportunity to build a more experimental proposal and to *redesign* the official curriculum. It is important to mention that it was in 1997, with the restructuring of some of the departments of the Ministry of Education, when teacher education in IBE officially began.

Currently there are 14 ISPs (eight in the Andes, one on the coast and five in the Amazonian region) that offer specialization in IBE throughout the country (Burga, 2004). If we consider that the total number of public ISPs is 119, the percentage of institutions with this specialization is quite low, in comparison for example to the situation in Bolivia. It is also important to point out that although these 14 institutions are known as ISP IBE, they implement this specialization only on the level of grade school and, in a very few cases, on the first level education. There are no cases of teacher education in secondary education with a specialization in IBE, although it must be pointed out as well that neither is there a proposal for implementing bilingual education at the secondary level.

Another important aspect to consider at this point is the position that teacher education in IBE currently occupies within the structure of the Ministry of Education. There is an entity that administers IBE directly in schools and another that is responsible for teacher education throughout the country—including teacher training in IBE. The latter does not have any experts in IBE and it does not work in coordination with the former. Furthermore, since the ISPs started to implement this kind of specialization, the entity in charge of teacher education transferred advisory functions to the International Cooperation sector, which assumed the responsibility of teacher training in IBE. The lack of coordination between international entities and those of the Ministry of Education in relation to teacher training in IBE has not promoted sustainability of this specialization within the ISPs and has hindered the creation of long term policies for teacher training in this type of education (Zavala, 2007). At the end of 2007, the German Technical Cooperation (GTZ), which has worked for IBE in the Peruvian Andean area since the 1980s and specifically for teacher training in IBE during the last seven years, will withdraw its educational program from the country. This will definitely produce a drawback for teacher training

in IBE in Peru, especially since the Ministry of Education does not offer clear orientations for developing this type of specialization in the ISPs. There are many ISPs that do not receive any support in IBE, neither from the Ministry of Education nor from other entities with experience in this type of education.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS: PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

##### *The Amazonian Region*

In the Amazonian region there are a total of 42 indigenous peoples that speak 38 or 40 languages (Pozzi-Escot, 1998). The largest indigenous group is the Asháninka (with a total of 52,461 speakers), next, the Awajun (with a total of 45,137 speakers) and the Shipibo-konibo (with a total of 20,178 speakers). However, in comparison to Peru's major languages, Quechua and Aimara, the speakers of these Amazonian languages represent less than 1% of the total population (Chirinos, 2001). In this area there are five ISPs that offer pre-service teacher education in IBE. Only the case of FORMABIAP will be reviewed in this section.

The Teacher Training Programme for IBE in the Amazon Basin (FORMABIAP) started in 1988 by way of an agreement between an ISP and the Interethnic Association for the Development of the Peruvian Rainforest (AIDSEP), thanks to the initiatives of indigenous organizations who demanded an education that respected their language and their culture. After 16 years of existence, this program has received prizes from both inside and outside the country, and today it represents a beacon for IBE in Peru and Latin America. According to the agreement, the indigenous organization is responsible for selecting the students to join the program, the teacher educators who will participate in it and the curricular contents, while the ISP guarantees pedagogic quality and is in charge of providing the official title from the Ministry of Education (Gashé, 2002).

Similar to what happened with the National University of the Amazonia, the proposal for training teachers in IBE in FORMABIAP emerged as a response to the work of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, due to the fact that this institution, which had been working in the Amazonian region since 1945, did not really seek to maintain the languages and cultures of indigenous people, but to convert them to the protestant religion (Montoya, 1990). Hence, while the Summer Institute of Linguistics proposed a transitional model of bilingual education, where the indigenous languages served as a medium to acquire certain religious beliefs, FORMABIAP opted for a maintenance model, since the goal was to reconcile students with their origins so that they would be

empowered to accept their identity and their language as indigenous people (Trapnell, 2003). In comparison to the Andean experience, since the beginning this program defined itself more as an intercultural program than as a bilingual one.

In fact, as is the case with Bolivia and Ecuador, in the Peruvian Amazonian region indigenous peoples conceive IBE as an education that goes beyond the classroom and that does not only seek to improve children's academic achievements. In that sense, it constitutes a political project that involves alternative representations of both school and society and challenges hegemonic concepts of development, equity and educational quality. Within the right to determine what type of education, society and development indigenous peoples want for themselves, FORMABIAP has done a lot of work incorporating knowledge, techniques, history and learning strategies from indigenous peoples as curricular content (Burga, 2004).

In 1988, the program started to implement its proposal with seven indigenous peoples (Ashaninka, Aguaruna, Huambisa, Shipibo, Kukama, Huitoto, and Bora) although along the years others have been incorporated (Nomatsiguenga, Achuar, Chayahuita, Candoshi, Tikuna, Quichua, and Shiwilu). The students who were accepted into the program had to speak the indigenous language and needed to be supported by authorities from their original communities who had to guarantee that as soon as they graduated they would return to their communities to work as teachers in the local schools.

Starting with seven languages was a difficult task, mainly because at the time there were no national linguists with expertise in any of them. In the case of some languages the program decided to hire international linguists, who visited the program on a regular basis. Peruvian linguists, most of them from Lima, joined the program but had to learn the indigenous languages from indigenous elders ("sabios"). In order for the program to be sustainable, the ultimate goal was to hire local people as language teachers. Therefore, from the beginning, these linguists worked with indigenous teachers in order to make them aware of how their language worked. Initially, the program design itself did not consider the possibility of courses given in indigenous languages. Hence, during the first years of the program the linguists coming from Lima worked as teacher educators and, although they discussed examples in the indigenous languages, their classes were taught in Spanish. However, today most of the teacher educators in the ISP are indigenous and they are the ones who teach their language to the future teachers belonging to their indigenous groups. Moreover, while at the beginning only the language workshops were taught in the indigenous languages, today some courses from other areas of the curriculum are also taught entirely in these languages (Trapnell, personal communication, 2006).

Spanish constitutes a second language (L2) for the majority of the students, although for Kukama and Shiwilu speakers Spanish is their first language (L1). With the aim of retrieving these indigenous languages, these speakers learn them as L2 in workshops with teachers who use the indigenous languages during the entire class. This constitutes an important achievement of FORMABIAP, considering that the State and the ISPs from the Andean area still deal with a static L1/indigenous language - L2/Spanish language model (see below). Nevertheless, although the students make significant progress in learning their indigenous language, at the end of their training they still do not reach high levels of competence (Domínguez and Monroe, 2005).

For the rest of the students, there are Spanish workshops in which educators apply a second language methodology. Nevertheless, following a content based approach, educators take for granted that the students will process the information as if they were native speakers of Spanish when working in other areas of the curriculum. In other words, although students complain about the difficulty of both technical words and the structure of certain academic texts, educators neither state different goals for them nor do they evaluate them differently according to their competence in the language (Domínguez and Monroe, 2005). Teacher educators have to deal with a great diversity in relation to the Spanish competence of their students and they do not know how to handle this. Students improve their Spanish throughout the five years of their basic teacher training but the competence that they acquire upon graduating is still not satisfactory for being school teachers.

The program has always emphasized two issues: the grammatical analysis of the indigenous languages and the development of indigenous literacy. Today, the emphasis given to grammatical analysis of the indigenous languages has been criticized by the teacher educators themselves, since they now acknowledge that the importance given to it was overvalued in order to demonstrate that indigenous languages and Spanish are on an equal footing regarding their grammatical structure. Not only are there other strategies that could be implemented in order to demonstrate that all languages should be valued (and to value them), but there are some other topics of metalinguistic awareness that are not present in the curriculum and that need to be discussed in a bilingual program, such as the cognitive processes that individuals who learn a second language undergo (Baker, 2001). The emphasis on grammatical analysis has also shown that when students teach in schools they use grammar as a methodological strategy, ignoring that grammatical analysis only contributes indirectly to the teaching of a second language (Domínguez and Monroe, 2005; Vigil, 2005).

In addition, it has been argued that the way the program deals with indigenous literacy is not conducive to the revitalization and maintenance of the indigenous languages involved (Domínguez and Monroe, 2005; Vigil, 2005). One objection is that, based on the implicit belief that languages that are not written are inferior and that all of them have to reach this literate point, orality has been conceived as subordinated to literacy and only as a necessary medium to reach the written mode. A second shortcoming is that indigenous literacy constitutes a topic that is not reflected upon enough. That is, students have developed a kind of inertia, believing that indigenous languages need to be written in order to be revitalized or maintained, but not really knowing how or why. In addition, this association between literacy and revitalization and maintenance impedes a clear perception of language shift processes that are underway in oral and informal domains (Luykx, 2004a). A third criticism is that literacy is not seen as a social practice immersed in power issues, but as a neutral and technical mechanism equivalent to school literacy. This is why most of the issues discussed around indigenous literacy concern the alphabet or the creation of neologisms rather than the need, for example, to augment the number of *real* writers in *real* contexts (Barton, 1994; Street, 1984).

### *The Andean Region*

According to the census of 1993, 16.6% of the population have Quechua as their mother tongue and 2.1% have Aimara as their mother tongue. Although the ISP from Puno imparted teacher preparation in IBE with both Quechua and Aimara from 1986 to 1993 (complementing the master's degree offered by the University of Puno), currently there is no teacher preparation in IBE involving Aimara. In the Andes there are eight ISPs that offer this type of specialization in areas where Quechua is spoken by more of 50% of the population (Apurímac, 76.6%, Ayacucho, 70.6%, Huancavelica, 66.5%, Cuzco, 63.2%, and Puno, 43.2%). Besides the University of Puno, the pioneer in pre-service teacher training in IBE in this area was the Urubamba state teacher training and technical college in Cusco, which was sponsored by the Catholic University of Lima and Canada's McGill University at the end of the 1980's. In this review, I will detail the case of the ISP of "Huancavelica," although this ISP shares its problematic with the other ISPs in the Andean region that also started to impart this type of teacher preparation at the end of the 1990s and that were also technically advised by the GTZ.

In terms of indigenous identity, there are important differences not only between the Amazonian and the Andean region, but also between the Peruvian Andean region and the Ecuadorian and Bolivian ones

(Degregori, 1993, 1998). In Peru, the Amazonian indigenous organization is sizeable and robust, its members define themselves as indigenous and they struggle to be acknowledged as different from the dominant culture. But in the Andes the situation is totally different, since people do not want to define themselves as indigenous and, on the contrary, struggle to be incorporated in the mainstream culture. For instance, in this region teacher educators' main goals are to overcome poverty, learn Spanish and continue on to professional training, and none of them are members of indigenous organizations in the region. Based on this discourse, they sometimes show pejorative attitudes towards indigenous peasants and conceive Quechua as linked to poor and illiterate people and only useful for rural areas. After all, in the Andes there is a strong association between schooling (and being successful in life) and abandoning one's indigenous language and culture. However, due to the pressure felt by the IBE discourse, people simultaneously maintain an argument about valuing and preserving Andean culture and the importance of IBE (Zavala, 2004). Within this framework, in most of the Peruvian Andes IBE does not constitute a political project that goes beyond school, nor does it engage the community in its proposal; it is only seen as a better educational alternative that contributes to improve the students' academic outcomes.

In spite of the fact that in the ISP of Huancavelica almost all of the educators are bilingual, for the majority their dominant tongue is Spanish. The same is true for the students. Since the percentages cited above are much higher in rural areas than in urban ones, it seems that most teacher educators and students from this ISP come from urban backgrounds. In fact, in the urban areas of Huancavelica and in other cities from the southern Andes a process of language shift towards Spanish is underway because most children are no longer learning Quechua from their parents as their mother tongue. As a consequence, some students who do not speak Quechua are admitted to the program, due to the fact that the ISP needs to cover the amount of students required by the Ministry of Education. Nevertheless, this admission policy does not fit in with the policy for language teaching in the ISP, since the ISP do not implement strategies that would help them learn it as a second language. Different cases have shown that students who study in the ISPs without knowing the indigenous language do not learn it during the five years of training in order to be capable of teaching classes in a bilingual school (Luis Enrique López, personal conversation, 2004). Moreover, neither does the ISP of Huancavelica design activities with L2 methodology in order to develop the Quechua of the students who speak it as their L2, since

it is expected that they will make progress only by having contact with their peers (Zúñiga, 2001).

Within recent years, this ISP has started to discuss cultural aspects of the curriculum in order to adapt it to different realities. However, in comparison to the case of FORMABIAP, the intercultural perspective applied in this institution reflects a folkloric conception of culture and the discussion around the topic is far from dealing with epistemological issues (Burga, 2004). Due to specific socio-historical processes developed in the Southern Andes, students and teacher educators from the ISPs in this area have been products of “civilizatory schooling” to a greater extent than in Amazonia. Hence, discussing the curriculum as a social construct framed within schooling as a Western cultural project is sometimes problematic.

Regarding linguistic issues, most of the teacher educators in the ISP of Huancavelica have gained more confidence in using the official alphabet and the orthographic rules for writing Quechua (Córdova, Zariquiey and Zavala, 2005). Furthermore, five of the ISPs in the Andean area have developed technical and academic terminology for linguistic and educational topics. For instance, in 2003 educators from these ISPs (including Huancavelica) developed a bilingual dictionary of mathematical terms, which they use in their classes (Córdova and Zavala, 2004). In comparison to the situation of a decade ago, nowadays in the ISP of Huancavelica there is much more acceptance of Quechua and a better attitude towards this language, and educators and students who speak Quechua fluently have prestige among their peers (Córdova, Zariquiey and Zavala, 2005).

Nevertheless, in this ISP the specialization in IBE has been imparted during many years almost exclusively in Spanish. Paradoxically, after receiving their education in Spanish the new teachers go to work to the bilingual schools and have to use both Quechua and Spanish systematically with the children in class. Today there is more motivation to conduct classes in Quechua within the different curricular areas, but this still reflects the initiative of some educators who make an effort to prepare a class in this language and not a clear institutional policy concerning the use of both languages in the structure of teacher education. Thus, teacher educators do not know what to teach in Quechua and what not, when to do it and with what purpose. This reveals confusion between how to use Quechua and Spanish as instrumental languages in higher education, and a belief that all contents from the curriculum should be developed in both languages. Obviously, educators feel that they are not capable of doing the latter (Córdova, Zariquiey and Zavala, 2005; Zúñiga, 2001).

The area of language is organized along three thematic axes; (i) language teaching pedagogy, (ii) workshops and (iii) linguistic theories.

One of the problems is that, for most curricular topics on these axes, it is mentioned that they should be “in first and second language,” as if all of them had to be developed in both. This produces absurd redundancies and obviates the link between linguistic and cultural aspects, since the discursive styles and the communicative functions developed in each language are not the same (Zavala, 2007). In addition, this also reveals the incorrect assumption that the learning process in the first language is the same as in the second language, and that the methods need not be different (Zúñiga, 2001). For instance—as also occurs with FORMABIAP—Spanish is taught as if it were the mother tongue of the students, in spite of the fact that it constitutes the second language of a significant percentage of them. Educators do not employ strategies to develop the students’ Spanish with second language teaching methodologies.

Since the start of IBE in the schools, Quechua has been equated with the dominant or native tongue (L1) and Spanish with the second language (L2). In the ISP of Huancavelica this model has been replicated, despite the fact that Quechua is neither the dominant tongue of the majority of its educators nor of its students. It is clear that expressions such as *mother tongue* and *second language* are insufficient to encompass the wide spectrum of bilingualism that characterizes the situation of the country and ISP students in particular, who are mostly bilinguals but with different types of oral and written abilities in both languages. In addition, this model does not consider the numerous cases of people who develop two L1 from birth and who shift towards Spanish due to the social pressure that favors using this language, since it is taken for granted that the students’ mother tongue in the ISP is Quechua, and that this language is still the language that they mostly use. It seems that insufficient consideration is given to the difference between IBE in primary schools and in higher education, and that the labels “L1” and “L2” in the curriculum really refer to the indigenous children from bilingual schools (Zúñiga, 2001). Indeed, the use of this static IBE model—still anchored within a paradigm of monolingual communities—only contributes to a false impression in the students’ minds about their sociolinguistic scenario (Trapnell, Burga, Domínguez, and Neira, 2004).

The issues discussed above for FORMABIAP, regarding the lack of a critical perspective for addressing indigenous literacy, also apply to teacher education in the Andean region. In addition, a belief in the importance of speaking a “pure” language, one without interferences from another tongue, has influenced discriminatory practices towards those who speak an Andean Spanish with Quechua interferences, on the one hand, and those who speak Quechua with Spanish interferences, on the other. Thus, the use of Quechua has also turned into a

powerful mechanism that marginalizes some teacher educators and students, and which not only does not allow more presence of the language in the public sphere, but also restricts the initiative of some educators who are willing to use it in the classroom (Zavala, 2007). This ideology of language purism has also led to rejection of neologisms, since many educators believe that it is better to resurrect the “original Quechua” (Niño-Murcia, 1997). It is well-known that in most situations of linguistic revitalization people reject neologisms, and the case of Quechua in Peru is not an exception (King, 2001). Therefore, more discussion on sociolinguistic issues such as variation, language change, language contact, among others, would be worth introducing in the curriculum.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Teacher preparation in IBE with Amazonian languages is going through important changes due to the fact that the preparation in some languages has been decentralized. Hence, FORMABIAP is now working with fewer languages since four of them, belonging to big indigenous groups (Ashaninka, Aguaruna, Huambisa, and Shipibo), are being incorporated into proposals from universities in other regions of the country, which are closer to where these groups live. This will definitely contribute to a better training of this population. Although the initial financial aid from international entities has greatly diminished, the program has gained sustainability through out all these years with the support of the indigenous organizations.

Regarding the proposal’s cultural aspect—and given the experimental status of the program—FORMABIAP now acknowledges the scientific bias of its teacher education by arguing that, although indigenous content was systematically taken into account, the break with the western conceptual categories was insufficient; this could be seen, for instance, in the division between “nature” and “society” that was established in the area-based curriculum. After noticing that in the schools a scientific ideology was replicated, and that the indigenous teachers were associating knowledge only with book knowledge, the people involved in the program have been working on a new proposal since 2005. Within a postcolonial framework, they are trying to overcome the process of “colonization of knowledge,” through which hegemonic knowledge is positioned over other types of knowledge within a hierarchical order (Mignolo, 2000; Quijano, 2000; Walsh, 2002; see also von Hoene, *The Professional Development of Foreign Language Instructors in Postsecondary Education*, Volume 4). Nevertheless, tension remains between the concern for academic education and a more alternative agenda. Furthermore, in relation to linguistic training, the

program is considering maintaining grammatical analysis, but is thinking about incorporating more sociolinguistic topics, specifically ones regarding linguistic socialization and literacy within a social perspective (Trapnell, personal communication, 2006).

Regarding the Andean region, since the year 2000 the GTZ has been advising five of the ISPs that impart IBE since the 1990's. During the last two years, it has advised the ISP of Huancavelica in designing and implementing a policy of language use for the institution and in training educators in linguistic topics. However, since the end of 2007, these Andean ISPs will no longer be technically advised by this international entity. Due to the problematic issues mentioned above about the structure within the Ministry of Education, the situation of these ISP—and more so in the case of the new ones that are offering specialization in IBE since the year 2000—will go through a very difficult stage. These ISPs need to be technically advised within long-term policies for teacher education in order to gain sustainability. In addition, these ISPs need to better define the goals of teacher education in IBE since it is not clear enough what is the political, social, and linguistic project sought with this type of training.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

From the above discussion it is clear that teacher preparation in IBE still has a long way to go, and that without the support of the Ministry of Education the changes are both slow and fragile. It is crucial for the Ministry of Education to formulate policies for teacher training in IBE, framed within those stated for IBE in general. In addition, it is fundamental for the different programs to produce more written material about their work, so that they can guide other teacher education processes in IBE in the country. Taking this as a priority, below I suggest some general recommendations—for both research and action—with the aim of improving IBE teacher preparation in both regions.

Research on the aims of IBE should be conducted in different regions since this kind of education is not always conceived as immersed in the same type of social and political expectations. As Aikman (1999) puts it, while some of these programmes' main aim is to strengthen indigenous language and culture (although they vary in the degree of indigenous control and self-determination) others' implicit main goal is to facilitate the integration of these people into the national society. Based on information about the aims of IBE, each region should develop a proposal for teacher education in this type of education according to its own reality. This means redefining the classical IBE model (intended for an indigenous population with very little contact with the hegemonic culture) in relation to how identity issues and cultural contacts are developing in different contexts. In the ISPs

specifically, more reflection on the goals of teacher preparation in IBE, and IBE in general, needs to be developed because both educators and students (especially from the Andean region) repeat definitions of IBE without being clear on where they are heading. Therefore, more reflection is needed around cultural issues and the significance of an intercultural education. Although the national curriculum does not need to be redesigned the same way in every region, it is important to discuss the scientific type of knowledge as a social construction and the power issues involved in its supposed superiority in order to view school education from a more critical approach.

It is also important to conduct research on the demand and supply of teacher training in IBE in different areas, since in some of them there are not enough people interested in studying this type of specialization in the ISPs, mainly because teacher education in IBE constitutes the most devalued specialization within the educational career. In addition, the ones who graduate from these institutions are not trained enough to work in the bilingual schools, especially in relation to their competence in the vernacular language. Hence, it is fundamental to reflect on what type of student population is getting into the ISP for this type of program through the admission process and what type of student population is needed in order to cover teacher positions in bilingual schools. It may be the case that young people from rural areas are not accessing this type of institution. To complement this, research on the processes of language shift in the areas of the ISPs (especially in the Andes) is needed since, although in some of the provinces the majority of people supposedly speak the vernacular language, this is not true for the urban contexts. After establishing the demand and supply issue and the language shift situation, the ISPs should design a systematic but realistic institutional policy for the use of languages in teacher preparation in order to improve the students' competence in both Spanish and the indigenous language.

Research on language ideologies within the ISPs will help to reveal the implicit beliefs about Spanish and the vernacular language that legitimate language use of both teacher educators and students. Based on this it is fundamental for the curriculum to incorporate a perspective of critical language awareness throughout the teacher training (López, 2007) and for teacher educators and students in the ISPs to reflect upon and struggle against linguistic discriminatory practices in the institution. In addition, a social perspective of literacy—within a framework of language policy and planning—is needed in order for the ISPs to deal with the literacy issue in a more critical way. Within this, it is important to address how teacher and students cope with developing an academic literacy/voice required in the ISPs and what clashes teachers and students encounter with respect to epistemological, power, and identity issues in practicing this type of literacy (Ivanic, 1998; Turner,

2003). For instance, clashes between academic/scientific knowledge, personal/experiential knowledge, and indigenous mythic/cosmological knowledge have already been documented in higher education with indigenous populations (Luykx, 2004b). Finally, second language teaching methodologies need to have more presence in the curriculum. However, in order to make teachers autonomous when dealing with diverse teaching situations, it is important to construct the methodologies with the teachers themselves. Some experiences have found that, through a participative research-action technique with both teacher educators and school teachers, better results are achieved. Teachers observe and analyse their own practice in order to detect real problems and then elaborate and implement practical proposals to overcome these (Sainz and Ruiz, 2004). It is in this reflective process that they familiarize themselves with theoretical frameworks from different linguistic areas such as grammar, sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics.

*See Also:* Linda von Hoene: *The Professional Development of Foreign Language Instructors in Postsecondary Education (Volume 4)*; Leanne Hinton: *Learning and Teaching Endangered Indigenous Languages (Volume 4)*

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## NONNATIVE SPEAKING TEACHERS OF ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

### INTRODUCTION

With the global expansion of English as an international language (see Block, *Language Education and Globalization*, Volume 1), another expansion is taking place, that of teaching and learning English as a foreign language (EFL). In terms of the numbers of both students and teachers, EFL may well be the most widespread form of teaching and learning English because it embraces all those cases where English is taught and learned outside the inner circle countries where it is an ordinary means of communication and taught as a second language (Kachru and Nelson, 1996).

EFL is taught in both outer circle countries such as India where English has a long history of institutionalized functions, and in expanding circle countries such as China where it is widely studied for specific purposes (Kachru and Nelson, 1996).

In both of these latter kinds of contexts, the demand for EFL teaching is ever growing. The expansion of EFL raises two questions: (i) what are the differences between the contexts in which English is taught as a foreign language (EFL) and as a second language (ESL)? and (ii) since the number of native-speaker professional EFL teachers is insufficient to meet the demand the world over, in what ways can nonnative-speaker (NNS) EFL teachers (sharing the L1 of their students) contribute most meaningfully to the profession and be as effective as their native-speaker colleagues? In this chapter, I will compare EFL and ESL contexts and evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of nonnative EFL teachers.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS: DEFINING AND DIFFERENTIATING ESL AND EFL CONTEXTS

The answer to the second question in this chapter—how NNS EFL teachers can be most effective—largely depends on the answer to the first question, in which ways ESL and EFL teaching are different. Some people would argue that a qualified NS EFL teacher will always be in a better position than his/her NNS colleague of equal qualification—simply because the language and culture that s/he teaches to his/her students will

always be, or at least “look”, more “authentically native”. However, it is useful to explore the NNS EFL teachers’ strengths and weaknesses.

It should be noted that EFL (or ESL) teaching is not always monolithic and requiring one approach. A lot of “mixed” cases are quite common. For instance, some speakers of Chinese who live and work in a Chinese community in a big US city may not need communication in English on everyday basis. So when such a group of Chinese-speakers start classes of English within their own community, teaching should be closer to EFL than to ESL since it takes place in a single-language subculture. On the contrary, teaching English in Germany to a linguistically diverse classroom including speakers of German, Turkish, Greek, etc. makes it somewhat akin to ESL, but such “mixed” cases are not going to be considered in this chapter. Only clear-cut EFL situations will be analyzed, that is, the “classical” situations of monolingual classes with students learning English in their own country within their own single-language culture where their L1 is spoken and English has no internal communicative function or socio-political status.

It is taking into account just such unambiguous EFL situations that the issue of similarities and differences in EFL/ESL teaching was discussed in the 1980s and 1990s. Those discussions can be considered as early contributions to what is analyzed in this chapter—early not in the chronological sense but in the sense of laying the groundwork for answering the major question, concerning the role of EFL teachers, and especially NNS EFL teachers, in the global expansion of English. Some authors, following Krashen’s ideas (1982, 1985), did not see the need to differentiate between EFL and ESL teaching, asserting that second language acquisition (SLA) data were fully applicable to foreign language learning (Savignon, 1990; VanPatten, 1990). Yet, many other authors supported the idea that the two processes should not be considered as identical or even similar. For instance, Seliger (1988, p. 27) stressed that, despite the universality of manner and order of acquiring an L2, nothing can disprove the possibility of different effects for an L1 transfer in contexts where students have little or no exposure to the L2 outside the classroom, and where all the other students speak the same L1. Wildner-Bassett (1990) drew an important distinction between students’ real communication in second language settings and their artificial communication in foreign language settings. Due to such reasons, Kramsch (1990) considered a separate agenda for a foreign language learning research as distinct from SLA research.

In general, three principal differences between EFL/ESL teaching and learning emerge based on an analysis of the assumptions on this issue made in the professional literature. The first difference is that

EFL learners inevitably lack rich and varied comprehensible input and opportunities for communication in the target language as compared to ESL learners (Tarnopolsky, 2000). This is due to the fact that EFL has reference to the speech community outside the country where it is being learned (Berns, 1990b; Paulston, 1992), and that in that country it is not one of the primary means of communication. The result is that for EFL students, particularly expanding circle countries, unlike their ESL counterparts, the sources of comprehensible or any other input in English are more or less limited and can be found mostly inside the EFL classroom. (In recent years, the situation in this respect has been much improved thanks to the internet, its resources and possibilities, but that does not change the fact that for EFL students live, face-to-face communication in English is limited to the classroom.) Such limitations in comprehensible input and scarcity of live face-to-face communication in English require, as a sort of compensation, greater focus on language form, grammar, and formal instruction (Bley-Vroman, 1990; Doughty, 1991; Herron and Tomasello, 1992; VanPatten and Cadierno, 1993) than the SLA theory and ESL teaching practice advocate (see also Oxford, *Conditions for Second Language (L2) Learning*, Volume 4).

The second difference is the limited use of learners' L1 as a support in EFL learning. If paying greater attention to focus on language form activities is required (see above), students will get much clearer ideas about the target language structures by way of comparing some of them to their mother tongue structures. It was widely recognized in the 1990s that even if such comparisons were not done explicitly, they would inevitably be done by adolescent and adult students themselves because "whether we like it or not, the new language is learned on the basis of a previous language" (Stern, 1992, p. 282). So it is more rational to do the comparisons explicitly when and where they can facilitate understanding of L2 structures. When done explicitly, they enhance students' interlingual awareness, and such awareness, in turn, fosters the use of transfer strategies (Adjemian, 1983; Deignan, Gabrys, and Solska, 1997; Schweers, 1997). Some authors (e.g., Auerbach, 1993) admit that the use of L1 in this function is advisable, even for ESL classrooms. However, in that context its supporting properties cannot readily be utilized in teaching practice since the students in ESL classes are usually speakers of different L1s, while the teachers in such classes are mostly native speakers of English who do not share the L1 of any of their students. As mentioned earlier, EFL classes are mostly monolingual with the NNS EFL teachers sharing the L1 of the learners. That is why, unlike ESL, the supporting properties of learners' L1 can and must be regularly used in EFL situations and become a valuable instrument in presenting meaning (Cook, 1999, p. 201) (see also *Cots, Knowledge*

about Language in the Mother Tongue and Foreign Language Curricula, Volume 6).

The third difference between ESL and EFL teaching is akin to the second one. It can be formulated as a need for much broader use of intercultural (home culture vs. target culture) comparisons in EFL classrooms with the aim of enhancing EFL learners' cross-cultural awareness. This is due to the fact that, unlike ESL students, EFL students are not immersed in the target language cultural and speech community. They may never come across what Hymes (1986, pp. 63–64) called its norms of interaction and norms of interpretation in real communication practice. That is why they will inevitably tend to transfer behavior characteristics of the L1 speech community into interaction with native speakers of their L2 (cf. Chick, 1996), which may result in intercultural miscommunication. It is in constant contacts with native speakers that ESL students mostly acquire the rules of speaking appropriate to the target culture—those rules that define target “language behavior during social interaction” (McGroarty, 1996, p. 11). EFL learners have very few such contacts, if any at all. Therefore, one important way to make them understand and learn the culture of interaction appropriate to the target speech community is to explicitly and systematically make comparisons and emphasize differences. Those differences to be explicitly compared, explained, and emphasized are differences in patterns of sociolinguistic behaviors characteristic of target culture communication in the students' L2 versus home culture communication in their L1 (Tarnopolsky, 2000; Tarnopolsky and Sklyarenko, 2003). Without such explicit intercultural comparisons and explanations, it may be difficult for EFL teaching to achieve what Hornberger (1996) considers to be an integral and fundamental part of L2 teaching—acquiring the target speech community's culture of interaction (see also Hall, *Language Education and Culture*, Volume 1).

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

This section addresses the second and major question in this chapter regarding NNS/NS EFL teachers, concerning their relative strengths and weaknesses.

##### *Some Advantages of NNS EFL Teachers over Their NS Colleagues*

The three major differences between ESL and EFL teaching discussed above allowed Tarnopolsky (2000, p. 35) to point out three major advantages of NNS EFL teachers over NS EFL teachers in EFL situations when the group of learners is monolingual and when NNS EFL teachers share the mother tongue of their students:

1. Assuming a learning environment with homogenous groups of learners, it is possible for NNS EFL teachers to use their students' mother tongue whenever and wherever it can facilitate and accelerate the process of learning English.
2. They are much better equipped for developing their students' interlingual awareness by making comparisons and letting them clearly see the similarities and differences in the structures of their L1 and target language. Thus, they are better prepared to foster the learners' acquisition of those transfer strategies (transfer from the L1 into the L2) that are an important prerequisite for target language learning. (It should be noted that in this context transfer is opposed to interference; the former is considered as a positive factor while the latter is definitely negative leading to inclusion of irrelevant structures, forms of expression, etc. from learner's L1 into his or her communication in L2).
3. They are better equipped for developing their students' intercultural awareness by making comparisons of similarities and differences between the L1 and target culture, which is the only way of developing the learners' target culture sociolinguistic behaviors in the conditions where students have no or very little direct contact with target culture communities. Of course, this advantage is manifest when a NNS EFL teacher is well aware of the target speech communities' cultural characteristics. This is not always the case but if they are not aware of such characteristics, it may be due to a lack of training. Understanding cultural and sociolinguistic differences should be among the teachers' professional requirements—just as understanding the linguistic characteristics of the language that they teach.

Two other advantages of NNS EFL teachers were also defined. The first of them is the fact that NNS EFL teachers, who share the mother tongue of their students and who may have worked through similar problems in learning English, are better prepared to cope with those specific learners' problems originating from incompatibilities or differences in the target and native languages (Medgyes, 1983; Tang, 1997). They may better understand the essence of students' difficulties while for a NS EFL teacher these may not be so clear.

A final, purely psychological advantage was pointed out by Cook (1999, p. 200) who wrote that

... students may feel overwhelmed by native-speaker teachers who have achieved a perfection that is out of students' reach ... Students may prefer the fallible nonnative-speaker teacher who presents a more achievable model.

These advantages point to some of the strengths of nonnative speaking EFL teachers compared to native speakers (cf. O'Dwyer, 1996).

Widdowson (1994) strongly objected to the assumption that a native speaker is always better as a teacher of English than a teacher whose mother tongue is not English. This view found support in the current opinion that different kinds of teaching materials are needed in different countries—in Germany they cannot be the same as in Japan, and there cannot be one and the same teaching method for all countries (Berns, 1990a, pp. 104–105). This means that participation of NNS EFL teachers and specialists in organizing and carrying out EFL teaching becomes very important.

The sketch of the NNS EFL teacher above represents an idealized situation, assuming highly qualified teachers meeting all professional requirements. Real teachers of English (both NNS and NS) are never ideal and may be placed along a continuum of expertise (Rampton, 1990), but this chapter will focus its analysis on the somewhat idealized cases of highly qualified teachers to make its general conclusions. However, all the listed advantages of NNS EFL teachers should not lead to adopting a view opposite to the long established perspective that NS EFL teachers should have no say in EFL teaching situations and that only their NNS colleagues can be the absolute authorities on all related issues. Such a view is unacceptable due to a number of challenges that NNS EFL teachers face—even those with the highest qualifications.

### *Challenges for NNS EFL Teachers and Their Positioning in Relation to Their NS EFL Colleagues*

The challenges for NNS EFL teachers are fairly obvious and can be summarized as five principal points:

1. NNS EFL teachers as a rule have a foreign accent and might have other more or less serious imperfections in their English that the best of them often cannot overcome during their career—even if their visits to English-speaking countries are lengthy. The reason is that if an L2 is first learned in adolescence and adulthood (which is very often the case with future NNS EFL teachers), native-like pronunciation is rarely achieved, despite years of practice (Walsh and Diller, 1981). In general, stopping short of native-like success in a number of areas is quite a common occurrence (Towell and Hawkins, 1994, pp. 14–15).
2. For NNS EFL teachers, however competent they are, it is very difficult to be aware of the most recent developments in the English language that, as every other living language, is constantly changing. As a rule, their visits to English-speaking countries are not frequent and lengthy enough to keep track of all such changes.

3. The same can be said about the NNS EFL teachers' cultural awareness—that is, the awareness of the most recent developments in the English-speaking nations' cultures, including the developments in patterns of sociolinguistic behaviors. A significant number of the NNS EFL teachers, who have never been to English-speaking countries, may not even be aware of essential differences in such patterns as compared to their home cultures because they are not sufficiently focused on in EFL teaching and teacher training in many regions of the world.
4. Another challenge is the limited availability of the latest and most advanced teaching materials and methods developed in English-speaking countries—that is, those that are better known to their NS EFL colleagues and are much more accessible to them. Organizations such as the British Council do a lot to disseminate materials and provide updated information about methodology, but their efforts cannot reach all NNS EFL teachers. There are a number of other limitations (for instance, financial) that affect access to these sources as well.
5. The last and perhaps most serious challenge is the fact that in many parts of the world both students and school and university authorities believe that a native speaker is *always* the best teacher of English and thus prefer to be taught or to employ NS EFL instructors to the detriment of their NNS colleagues who, not infrequently, may be better qualified (Kubota, 2004). This is one of the visible manifestations of what is now often termed as *linguistic imperialism* (Canagarajah, 1999; Phillipson, 1992).

Thus, NNS EFL teachers have many strengths but may face some significant challenges as well. This leads to quite an interesting conclusion concerning the mutual positioning of NNS and NS EFL teachers in EFL teaching. Taking into account everything said above, it becomes clear that NNS EFL teachers face limitations where the NS EFL teachers have their greatest advantages: authentic native English, full awareness of its most recent linguistic and cultural developments, and better awareness of the most advanced and recent developments in the ways of teaching the language. On the other hand, NS EFL teachers must face challenges as well: no or little command of their students' L1 and home culture, lack of ability to develop their interlingual and intercultural awareness, lack of understanding the learners' L1 related language problems, and presenting a model that learners may believe unachievable. This means that, in some respects, the positions of NNS and NS EFL teachers in EFL teaching are *complementary*, and this *complementarity* has to be taken into account when discussing the ways of improving such teaching.

## WORK IN PROGRESS

In view of the significance of EFL teaching and learning in the context of the global expansion of English (an absolute majority of students the world over learn English as EFL, not as ESL, that is, in monolingual groups and in their own, not in English-speaking countries), it is quite surprising how little work on EFL is in progress in comparison with ESL. As to the subject matter of this chapter, still less, if any at all, work is in progress concerning the role that NNS EFL teachers play in the global context nor has much research been done on the challenges that they face. Given the complementary positions of both categories of EFL teachers, as discussed above, the time has come to find practical ways to solve their problems to improve the level of EFL teaching.

The Council of Europe, within the framework of the so-called Bologna process, made the most interesting and far-reaching attempt in this respect. The Bologna process is focused on unifying the educational systems in all the European countries so that diplomas and certificates received in one country could become valid for all the others, as well as the relevant levels of education itself that should become easily compatible throughout the European continent. The Council of Europe developed the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching and Assessment* (2001) that is a part of the set of documents related to the implementation of *the Bologna process* (see Broeder and Martyniuk, *Language Education in Europe: The Common European Framework of Reference, Volume 4*). The *Common European Framework* provides the guidelines for all foreign language teachers and administrators as to: (i) how foreign languages have to be taught and learned in Europe; (ii) what intermediate levels students have to reach in their progress from the beginner level to the highest level of proficiency; (iii) what the characteristics of skills developed by students have to be at each separate level; (iv) what methods and approaches should be used by teachers and learners at each study level and what specific aims have to be set for such levels and the course in general; (v) how assessment should be organized and results evaluated. This sets quite specific requirements to the level of teachers' qualifications making no distinctions between NS and NNS teachers.

Indeed, these distinctions appear to gradually vanish. It gave Canagarajah (citing Howatt, 2004) grounds to point out that “‘non-native’ English teachers are regaining the agency they had in the formative period of the 14th-century Europe” (Canagarajah, 2006, p. 28), that is, a position of equality with NS teachers, if not supremacy in EFL teaching. That is why the last of the five disadvantages of NNS EFL teachers listed above may be regarded as temporary and to perhaps disappear soon.

In the last two sections of this chapter, I will discuss the problems and difficulties in the field of EFL teaching as well as future directions.

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Both NNS and NS EFL teachers face a number of challenges that cannot be eliminated, or at least not completely. For instance, the number of NS EFL teachers is growing the world over. Their greatest disadvantage is not knowing (or having very little knowledge) of their students' L1 and culture. These difficulties could disappear if they learned both thoroughly. A recent study by Ellis (2006) convincingly proves the greatest professional advantages that NS English teachers can get if they undertake learning an L2. It allows them to understand and cope much better with the problems of their students learning English. But can this be expected of average, even highly qualified, NS EFL teachers who most frequently are free-lancers teaching and living in one and the same country for a couple of years and then moving on to a different country? They would not be able to do some thorough learning and use the acquired proficiency during a comparatively short period of their stay. Most often, they would not even want to spend much time and effort on that, understanding that the acquired skills could be of little use after going to a different country. Even "long timers" in one and the same country not infrequently know very little about its language and culture. Therefore, the difficulties of NS EFL teachers that result from their insufficient command of the local language and culture are probably here to stay in the majority of cases.

The same can be said about the difficulties of NNS EFL teachers. Their disadvantages—the causes of those difficulties—are not all of equal importance. For instance, the practically ineradicable foreign accent is a comparatively minor disadvantage. This is due to the current attitudes towards World Englishes with their enormous varieties of accents (Kachru, 1986; Kachru and Nelson, 1996), as well as to the requirement of teaching *International English* as the language of global communication (McKay, 2002). The norms of pronunciation in this international *lingua franca* are far from being as strict as when one of the inner circle varieties of English is taught (e.g., Jenkins, 2000, 2004). But other challenges listed above theoretically can and should be taken care of. Ideally, NNS EFL teachers should visit English-speaking countries for professional purposes often and for relatively long periods of time, which is practically impossible for a vast majority (great numbers of NNS EFL teachers do not enjoy the opportunity of visiting an English-speaking country even once in their lifetime). This does not mean that no attempts should be made at all to address the specific issues that NNS EFL teachers face, but it is doubtful that a

satisfactory solution can be found easily. There are, however, some ways to address the problems of both NS and NNS EFL teachers and to compensate for the disadvantage that they might encounter. I will outline two suggestions for achieving this in the next section.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

First, one can try to *reduce the disadvantages* by giving opportunities to NS EFL teachers to learn as much as possible about the country where they are going to teach EFL or where they are already teaching (learning the language, culture, traditions of the country, the peculiarities and mentality of its population, etc.). Such learning done prior to the arrival and during their period of stay in the country will not fully eliminate all disadvantages or solve all the problems and difficulties, but it will somewhat reduce these, and NNS EFL teachers can be of great help to their NS EFL colleagues in that respect. That requires broad cooperation between these two categories of EFL teachers.

NNS EFL teachers can also, if not eliminate, at least reduce their disadvantages, problems, and difficulties in a similar way by constantly practicing and improving their command of the language they teach, the cultures of the English-speaking nations, the latest developments in methods and materials for teaching English. There are different ways to accomplish that, including regular work with professional literature, using internet sources, watching movies and listening to the radio in English, contacting native-speakers whenever and wherever possible, visiting English-speaking countries when there is an opportunity, etc. Of even greater value are different forms of pre-service and in-service training. Broad cooperation among all EFL teachers—whether NS or NNS—working in the same country, city, or educational institution is most productive since it can be constant, or at least quite regular. NS EFL teachers, for example, can become more involved in teacher training. Another suggestion would be to build on the complementary strengths of *NNS and NS EFL teachers* by adopting a team teaching approach, which would allow the NS EFL teacher to focus on specific topics, such as conversational English, patterns of sociolinguistic behavior, rhetoric in writing academic essays in English, etc. There is some experience in using such an approach in countries like Ukraine, and the results are very promising.

In view of everything said above, it can be concluded *that the future for the EFL teaching profession in the conditions of global expansion of English lies in building on the strengths of EFL teaching professionals working collaboratively within the same country.*

*See Also:* David Block: *Language Education and Globalization (Volume 1)*; Joan Kelly Hall: *Language Education and Culture (Volume 1)*; Rebecca Oxford: *Conditions for Second Language (L2) Learning (Volume 4)*; Peter Broeder and Waldemar Martyniuk: *Language Education in Europe: The Common European Framework of Reference (Volume 4)*; Josep M. Cots: *Knowledge about Language in the Mother Tongue and Foreign Language Curricula (Volume 6)*

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## **Section 5**

### **The Role of Technology in Second and Foreign Language Education**

## COMPUTER-MEDIATED COMMUNICATION

## INTRODUCTION

This essay provides an overview of computer-mediated communication (CMC), defined here as multimodal, often (but not exclusively) Internet-mediated communication. Globally, the Internet has qualitatively transformed the activities of everyday communication in professional, educational, and interpersonal realms (Castells, 2004). While Internet access remains unequally distributed across social classes and geopolitical regions (see van Dijk, 2005), user populations continue to expand around the world as life becomes increasingly mediated by ubiquitous computing. After a brief description of the development of the Internet and early CMC communication research, attention is given to CMC language educational issues and contexts of use. As research on the use of synchronous CMC tools (real-time chat style communication) forms a significant strand of second language (L2) education research, this literature receives considerable attention. Subsequently, the growing research literature on Internet-mediated intercultural communication is reviewed, followed by a discussion of emerging technologies that includes blogs, wikis, podcasting, and gaming environments.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

*Global Context*

Computer-mediated communication begins with the Internet, but also emerges from a long line of mediated communication technologies such as the printing press, the telegraph, radio, the telephone, and television. The Soviet launch of Sputnik catalyzed the idea of building a global network for information sharing. Under the auspices of the Advanced Research Projects Agency, the first group of networked computers, called ARPANET, was developed and functional by 1969. ARPANET utilized a novel technology infrastructure that separated holistic information into “packets” that could be addressed separately and sent along potentially independent routes. Designed at the height of the cold war, this was a system engineered to function even when component parts were disabled. The initial ARPANET purposes were to share computing power, enable collaborative research projects, and

provide remote access to distant computers. In addition to mediating scientific, military, and professional activity, however, ARPANET rapidly evolved as a social technology that included interpersonal email communication and precipitated large-scale email listservs, the first of which, foreshadowing the evolution of the Internet as a general purpose and educationally relevant communication tool, was devoted to the discussion of science fiction literature.

Through the 1970s into the early 1990s, Internet users were predominantly members of academic, scientific, and computer science communities. The primary communication tool was email, though the synchronous tool Unix *TALK* was also popular. A wave of widespread Internet adoption extended from the early 1990s up through the late 1990s as university-supported email accounts were made available for faculty and students, many K-12 institutions became networked, and private sector Internet Service Providers offered connectivity to general population consumers. It was during this period that North American language educators in particular began using CMC in significant numbers. Globally, Internet access increased rapidly, particularly in northern Europe. Primary communication tools included email and Internet Relay Chat. MUDs and MOOs (text-based virtual environments, often used for role-playing and theme-based socializing), *ICQ*, and a variety of Instant Messaging tools (enabling real-time text and video chat) became popular among more sophisticated users, but email remained the dominant market share tool for everyday social, educational, professional, and commercial purposes. In the current era, and especially for people born after the mid-1980s, email is no longer the primary digital conduit for everyday social, school, and work interaction. Newer tools, particularly instant messaging, have become dominant for social and age-peer interaction. Additionally, text messaging over cell phones, coupled with an escalating reliance on Internet communication tools for social and professional purposes, has resulted in the emergence of ubiquitous computing, the expectation of being able to remain in perpetual contact over a suite of wired and wireless communication devices.

As of December 31st, 2005, there are estimated to be over 1 billion Internet users globally. Among world regions, North America has the greatest percentage of Internet penetration (68.1% of total population), followed by Oceania/Australia (52.9%) and Europe (35.9%). The greatest absolute number of Internet users currently reside in Asia (364,270,713) (from Internet Use Stats, [www.internetworldstats.com/stats.htm](http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats.htm)). Against this backdrop of global Internet growth, to paraphrase Internet pioneer Tim Berners-Lee, the Internet is less a technological fact than a social fact. Noting that the majority of Internet use is linguistic in nature, Crystal is likely correct that “we are on the brink of the biggest language revolution ever” (2001, p. 241).

*Linguistic and Communication Theory CMC Research*

An early pioneer in linguistic analysis of CMC, Herring has authored research and edited volumes examining how CMC affects language use, message structure, and interactional dynamics (e.g. 1996). These issues have been at the forefront of linguistic, communication, and education research focused on CMC. Communication theorists and experimental researchers have analyzed CMC since the early 1980s. An early line of CMC research described the medium as inadequate for many task-related needs (Daft and Lengel, 1984) and ineffective for interpersonal exchanges due to the limited social information available within text-only environments, a framework described as the “reduced cues perspective” (see Parks and Floyd, 1996). This view has been reassessed in current research. Spears and Lea (1994), for example, note that while interpersonal cues are reduced in text-only communication, the cues that remain or are inferred can be highly important. Based on principals of social cognition and interpersonal relationship development, Walther (1996) argues that CMC relationships can be as, and in some cases more deeply relational, than those that occur in face-to-face settings. Walther’s central claim is that in comparison to face-to-face communication, CMC interaction is not different in kind, but typically involves a slower rate of social information exchange. In cases of what Walther terms hyperpersonal interaction, the limited information available in interactive textual communication may precipitate cycles of selective self-presentation and over-attribution of idealized perceptions. This analysis helps to explain the quick intimacy and interpersonal intensity reported by many Internet users. In contrast to the reduced cues perspective, Walther’s research suggests that CMC is a viable medium for educational, interpersonal, and informational functions.

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

*Synchronous CMC in Intra class Second Language Education*

From the early through mid 1990s, the use of synchronous CMC (SCMC), commonly referred to as *chat*, formed the basis for a number of second language acquisition (SLA) studies. This research produced anecdotal and empirical evidence suggesting a number of pedagogical benefits from CMC use (Kelm, 1992). The research of Kern (1995) and Chun (1994) are widely regarded as some of the most influential from this early period. Kern (1995) quantitatively assessed the impression that foreign language students produce more language output in SCMC environments than they do in large group face-to-face classroom settings. Using a quasi-experimental methodology, Kern analyzed

a 50-minute second-semester French foreign language SCMC session and compared it to an oral discussion by the same language students on the same topic. The SCMC treatment produced between two and three times more turns per student and a higher total number of sentences and words compared to the large-group oral discussion (see also Abrams, 2003). Kern also examined the linguistic quality of the discussions and found that students' SCMC language output was more sophisticated in terms of the range of morphosyntactic features and variety of discourse functions expressed (1995, p. 470). These findings are supported by Chun's (1994) study of fourth-semester German students. Her research suggested that SCMC use promoted increased morphological complexity and a greater ratio of complex sentences in written coursework over the course of one semester. More recent research has also suggested that SCMC language use is more accurate than that of face-to-face interaction (Salaberry, 2000). While Kern and Chun's research on L2 uses of large-group SCMC are seminal studies, Ortega (1997) has noted limitations to comparisons of computer-mediated classroom and whole-class oral discussions. Her critique is that the variables of group size and communicative task were not accounted for in early SCMC research (e.g. Beauvois, 1992; Chun, 1994; Kelm, 1992; Kern, 1995), an observation that has encouraged closer attention to pedagogical and group size variables.

A number of studies have adopted the interactionist SLA model designed for analysis of negotiation of meaning in oral interaction (e.g. Varonis and Gass, 1985) and applied it to CMC learner data and task configurations. Pellettieri's (2000) research on Spanish L2 learners found that dyadic groupings promoted an increase in corrective feedback and negotiation at all levels of discourse, a condition that prompted learners to produce form-focused modifications to their turns. Additionally, task type, specifically goal-oriented closed tasks, was positively correlated to the quantity and type of negotiations produced. In a similar study from the same period, Blake (2000) assessed the SCMC interactions of 50 intermediate learners of Spanish. Participants were arranged in dyads and asked to carry out three task types: decision-making, information gap, and jigsaw. Like Pellettieri, Blake found that jigsaw tasks produced the greatest number of negotiations, but nearly all negotiations were lexical in focus, with very few addressing problems in syntax or larger units of discourse. Building on this earlier research, Smith (2003) confirmed that task type affected the extent to which learners' engaged in negotiation, but also expanded the Varonis and Gass (1985) four-part model of face-to-face negotiated interaction—(i) trigger > (ii) indicator > (iii) response > (iv) optional reaction to response—by explicitly incorporating two additional phases to represent delayed reactions to response turns that are so frequent in

SCMC discourse. Smith terms these *confirmation* and *reconfirmation* phases, elements that explicitly conclude a given negotiation routine and which act as discourse markers suggesting the possibility of resuming nonnegotiation interaction (2003). Smith's expansion of the interactionist model provides a medium specific and more powerful analytic framework for research on computer-mediated negotiated interaction.

Although much of the research from the 1990s focused on comparing SCMC and face-to-face instructional treatments, a growing number of L2 SCMC investigations explore cross-modality transfer between spontaneous SCMC and oral L2 language production (e.g. Abrams, 2003). Payne and Whitney (2002) applied psycholinguistic models of language production and working memory to cross-modality transfer and found a significant difference in the oral proficiency gains between experimental (+SCMC) and control (-SCMC) groups. In a follow-up study, Payne and Ross (2005) augmented this psycholinguistic approach with discourse and corpus analytic techniques to explore how individual differences in working memory capacity may affect language use in SCMC. A principal finding was that learners testing at lower levels of measured phonological working memory were able to use the scrolling on-screen messages from other students as they generated their own contributions. Payne and Ross hypothesize that SCMC creates a "bootstrapping effect" that reduces the cognitive demand of L2 language production and may enable students with measured low-span working memory to produce more complex language than would otherwise be the case. New possibilities in cross-modality research include emerging CMC tools that support bimodal chat (i.e. a combination of both text and voice communication) that may prove promising as an environment that supports a variety of learning styles and cognitive attributes.

### *Internet-Mediated Intercultural L2 Education*

With greater Internet access across more of the world, there has been the suggestion that Internet-mediated intercultural communication constitutes a "second wave" of L2 pedagogy (Kern, Ware, and Warschauer, 2004, p. 243). Internet-mediated intercultural L2 education involves interaction between learners interested in one another's expert language. This approach extends the context of language learning from the local classroom to intercommunity and international interaction and emphasizes the acquisition of discrete linguistic accuracy, but in the service of developing intercultural communicative competence (see Belz and Thorne, 2006).

There exist numerous models of Internet-mediated intercultural L2 education (for a review, see Thorne, 2006). One approach, termed

telecollaboration (Belz, 2003; Warschauer, 1996), describes international class-to-class partnerships within institutionalized settings. Telecollaboration practitioners tend to formally align their courses and often utilize parallel texts (e.g. translations of written material and remakes of films) to structure dialogue, form the basis of cross-cultural analyses, and encourage critical reflection on language-culture relations. Telecollaboration models are administratively intensive to initiate and maintain due the high level of coordination between partner classes (e.g. Belz and Müller-Hartmann, 2003). However, class-to-class partnerships arguably provide the strongest support for developing sophisticated understandings of intercultural communication through careful design of student-initiated investigations and the explicitly designated role of the instructor as critical mediator and resource. A variant of the telecollaboration model involves connecting language students with heritage speakers on the same campus, a format that Blake and Zyzik's (2003) research indicates to hold significant promise. While many institutions and regions include populations possessing heterogeneous linguistic and cultural backgrounds, intracommunity linguistic resources remain largely untapped in instructed L2 education. Tandem learning, used extensively in Europe, involves the pairing of individuals in complementary dyads where each is interested in learning the other's language (Kötter, 2002; O'Rourke, 2005). Tandem learning is most associated with noninstitutional learning configurations and typically requires partners to negotiate discussion topics and the balance between overt pedagogical and conversational activity. A final approach to L2 education that utilizes the Internet to access expert speakers is to encourage learners to participate in established and noneducationally oriented Internet communities, such as discussion fora associated with newspapers such as *Le Monde* (Hanna and de Nooy, 2003).

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

##### *Wikis, Blogs, Podcasting, and Gaming*

Blogs and wikis are considered second-generation web applications and represent relatively modest technological advancements over their static webpage predecessor (for a review of these technologies, see Thorne and Payne, 2005). Wiki (from the Hawai'ian *wiki wiki* meaning "quick") describes a web-based environment that supports collaborative writing. The "WikiWiki concept" was invented by Ward Cunningham in 1995 with a project called the Portland Pattern Repository, a computer programming site. Wikis are intensely collaborative and allow multiple users to edit content and contribute to the writing process. The radical dimension to wiki use is its challenge of the notion

of authorship. In the archetypal wiki, there is no distinction between “author” and “audience” per se since readers of a wiki page can spontaneously opt to become a collaborating author. Individual wiki pages can be password limited to one or a group of users using an access control list, but wiki technology is premised on the idea of universal write access. Within the context of group and educational uses, wikis obviate the need to laboriously merge individual contributions in order to avoid deleting one another’s work. Most wiki engines track each addition, deletion, and modification so that changes can be assessed against earlier versions of the text. Furthermore, determining the amount of individual participation in a group project for assessment purposes need not rely exclusively on self- and peer-assessments by group members or observational hunches by the teacher. Like an archaeological tell, a wiki’s current content is but the top layer of temporally stratified laminations of text that record the history of the writing process (Thorne and Payne, 2005).

Blogs and blogging are terms describing use of a web application that displays serial entries with date and time stamps. Most blogs include a comments feature that allows visitors to post responses. In its short history—the first use of the term blog (from “web log”) is variably reported to have occurred in either 1996 or 1997 and blogging as a populist movement dates only from the turn of the millennium—the rise of blogging as a form of communicative and informational expression has been mercurial. To take one example, LiveJournal (<http://livejournal.com>) reports over 7 million blogs created, approximately 5 million of which have been updated at least once. LiveJournal reports that female-presenting bloggers outnumber users presenting as males by approximately two to one (67.3% vs. 32.7%, respectively). The ages of LiveJournal users span from 13 (35,856 blogs created by this age group) to 55 (1,229). The 15–20-year age group produces the majority of the blogs on this site which suggests that the everyday digital literacy practices of current high school and college students differ significantly from those of earlier generations. Within L2 education contexts, blogging provides an alternative to writing assignments that would normally be presented only to the instructor. The chronological ordering of blog entries creates for each student an archive of their personal work that they can revisit and reflect upon. In addition to its intraclass use as a journaling tool, blogging is also being used to link together study abroad students and those still at their home universities. While still in the exploratory phase, such uses of blogs serve a number of functions, such as providing predeparture cultural exposure for students still at their home university, helping students currently abroad to synthesize and put into narrative form their cultural and linguistic experiences, and for creating predeparture orientation materials that

represent student specific experiences and points of view. It should be noted that in addition to blogs, a large number of additional mediated social networks exist, such as facebook ([www.facebook.com](http://www.facebook.com)), myspace ([www.myspace.com](http://www.myspace.com)), and friendster ([www.friendster.com](http://www.friendster.com)). To date, however, their potential as sites for language learning remains largely unexplored.

One of the principal critiques of textual CMC in language education has been that oral production and aural comprehension are not explicitly exercised. A number of technologies now support the broad distribution of sound, video, and compilations of media that are proving useful for language education. One of the most popular is “podcasting,” the practice of sharing mp3 audio content on the Internet that takes its name from Apple’s popular mp3 player the iPod. Students can (and already do) download podcasts representing a diverse array of current authentic audio texts. Additionally, podcasts and mp3 files are being used distribute more conventional foreign language audio materials. Podcasts can also be included within blog sites, forming what are called audio blogs. Similarly, “vlogs,” describing blogs embedded with video, provide the benefit of visually contextualized audio data. More broadly, the availability of Internet data and technologies in ever smaller footprint devices, such as cell phones and video-capable ipods, will continue to open up possibilities for mobile, anyplace-anytime access to and production of Internet-distributed text, video, and audio resources.

A final genre of digital environment that will likely emerge as the premier L2 educational technology in the immediate future is virtual environment games (Gee, 2003), which provide the opportunity for what might be termed virtual immersion. One variety of gaming involves interaction within preprogrammed (but sometimes customizable) environments, the best selling example of which is *The Sims*. A game that simulates the activities and responsibilities of everyday life, *The Sims* is now produced in a number of languages. In an informal assessment of *The Sims* as a foreign language-learning tool, Purushotma (2005) found that the vocabulary and tasks comprising the game were highly aligned with conventional foreign language course content. The difference between instructed foreign language learning and a game like *The Sims*, suggests Purushotma, is that exposure to the target language is always linked to carrying out tasks and social actions, which concomitantly embeds vocabulary and constructions in rich associative contexts.

A second variety of virtual immersion is massively multiplayer online games (MMOGs). These Internet-mediated environments are immensely popular among young adults and are already “educational” in the sense players must learn to negotiate complex game rules as well as negotiate play in realtime with other online players. Many MMOGs

are multilingual and involve thousands of players from around the world (e.g. Worlds of Warcraft and Second Life). For the growing number of students participating in MMOG cultures, the international, multilingual, and task-based qualities of these social spaces, where language use is literally social action, may one day make them *de rigueur* sites for language learning (or perhaps, somewhat ironically, students will study foreign languages to enhance their gaming skills and interactional capacity in these language-driven action-scapes).

While research on wikis, blogs, podcasting, and gaming environments is nascent in language education, these multimodal technologies show potential to support the performance of a diversity of linguistically mediated social identities—something most instructed language educational contexts are not oriented to provide. Additionally, including use of these technologies in second language education may potentially forge linkages between students' often highly developed everyday digital literacy practices and linguistic expression in additional languages.

#### PROBLEMS AND OUTSTANDING CHALLENGES

This section addresses two challenges to CMC use in education. The first begins with the assertion that the Internet does not exist generically as a neutral medium. Rather, Internet communication tools, like all human creations, are cultural tools that carry interactional and relational associations, preferred uses (and correspondingly, inappropriate uses), and expectations of genre-specific communicative activity. Kramsch and Anderson note that information and communication “has become more mediated than ever, with a mediation that ever more diffuses and conceals its authority. The role of education, and [foreign language] education in particular, is precisely to make this mediation process visible” (1999, p. 39). Cultures-of-use of Internet communication tools develop over time in relationship to use in particular discursive settings and to mediate specific social and informational functions (Thorne, 2003). The suggestion is that Internet technologies, *as culture*, will have variable meanings and uses for different communities, a perspective that makes educational uses of technology a more complex, but ultimately more vibrant, undertaking.

A second challenge precipitated by the Internet is that there now exists an amplification of the conventional generation gap between top-down processes and pedagogies that operate in formal learning environments, and bottom-up life experiences of students in secondary and university environments. This gap has been confirmed by recent research by the Pew Internet and American Life Project (2002) based on focus groups (136 students in gender-balanced and racially diverse

clusters) and voluntary participation data (200 students who submitted online essays describing their use of the Internet for school). The 2002 Pew report revealed that while nearly all students used the Internet as a regular part of their educational activities, little is known about how the Internet is actually used for schoolwork, nor has there been adequate consideration of Internet use as it might substantively inform school policies, practices, and pedagogies. Increases in mediated communication suggest that for many students, performing competent identities in second and additional language(s) may now involve Internet-mediation as frequently as face-to-face and nondigital forms of communication. As Internet users expand numerically and geographically, and as Internet information and communication tools continue to evolve, research and pedagogical innovation in the area of CMC and language education will need to continually adapt in response to new populations, communication tools, and the communicative activities of the present and near future.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Unlike the CMC L2 research of the 1990s, where the use of the Internet was often treated as a proxy or a heuristic to assist with the development of communicative performance within the primary foci of L2 instruction (i.e. face-to-face communication, aural comprehension, and nondigital epistolary conventions such as letter and essay writing), Internet-mediated communication is now a high-stakes environment in its own right. Business and work activity is conducted via asynchronous and synchronous channels. Interviews occur via instant messaging. Moreover, appropriately, educational activity is now often mediated by email, threaded discussion, and chat, while blogs and wikis, among other technologies, also are increasingly incorporated into general education and L2 course activities. Furthermore, with the proliferation of small footprint technologies, such as cell phones that support text messaging, Internet connectivity, and image, audio, and video display and recording, “computer”-generated and “computer”-mediated communication now include a multiplicity of devices and media that extend far beyond the apparatus conventionally referred to as a computer. This acknowledgement of the seemingly inevitable shift toward mediated forms of communication is not intended to valorize Internet use as universally positive or superior to earlier forms of communication. Rather, the hope is that the availability of new communication and information technologies will provide opportunities to make transformational decisions at the level of classroom practice, curricular innovation, and the larger goals and purposes of language education.

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LEARNER CORPORA IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE  
EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

Analysing learner language is a key component of second and foreign language education research and serves two main purposes: it helps researchers better understand the process of second language acquisition (SLA) and the factors that influence it, and it is a useful source of data for practitioners who are keen to design teaching and learning tools that target learners' attested difficulties.

Learner data types can be ranged along a continuum that reflects the degree of control exerted on language production. According to Ellis and Barkhuizen (2005), the less constrained types of production should be favoured as 'they demonstrate how learners use the L2 when they are primarily engaged in message construction', unlike experimental data, which must be treated with circumspection as they may contain artificial interlanguage forms. Researchers have traditionally shied away from the more natural data types however, opting instead for experimentally elicited samples precisely because they are more constrained. This allows for tighter control of the many variables affecting learner output and thereby facilitates interpretation of the results. In addition, as it is difficult to subject a large number of learners to experimentation, SLA research has tended to be based on a relatively narrow empirical basis, which raises questions about the generalizability of the results. Looking at the situation from a more pedagogical perspective, Mark (1998) deplores the relative lack of focus on the description of learner language, which contrasts sharply with the increased attention devoted to other aspects of mainstream language teaching such as learner variables (motivation, learning styles, etc.) and the description of the target language.

The computer learner corpus (CLC) is a new resource, which is currently bringing learner language back into focus and enjoying growing interest from the language education community at large. It first emerged as a branch of corpus linguistics in the late 1980s but it is only now that it is beginning to attract significant interest from L2 theoreticians and practitioners. This chapter aims to highlight the relevance of learner corpora to the field of language education. Major Contributions gives an overview of the main defining features of this new resource

and some of the dimensions along which they can be classified. *Work in Progress* is devoted to methods of analysis: contrastive interlanguage analysis (CIA) and automated analysis. *Problems and Difficulties: Pedagogical Applications* presents some of the main pedagogical applications of learner corpus research and *Future Directions* outlines some avenues for future research.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Computer learner corpora are electronic collections of (near-) natural foreign or second language learner texts assembled according to explicit design criteria. Several aspects of this definition require some clarification. The term *near-natural* is used to highlight the ‘need for data that reflects as closely as possible ‘natural’ language use (i.e. language that is situationally and interactionally authentic) while recognizing that the limitations facing the collection of such data often obligate researchers to resort to clinically elicited data for example, by using pedagogic tasks’ (Ellis and Barkhuizen, 2005, p. 7). In principle, learner corpora can contain data from both *foreign language (FL) learners*, who learn a language in a country where they get little exposure outside the classroom (e.g. learning English in Germany or Japan) and *second language (SL) learners*, who acquire a language in a country where the language is the predominant language of communication or has the status of official language (e.g. learning English in USA or India). In practice, however, even if one of the earliest learner corpora, the European Science Foundation European Database (ESF), focused on spontaneous SLA (Perdue, 1993), learner corpus collection has tended to focus more on FL varieties. The term *texts* highlights the fact that learner corpora contain continuous stretches of oral or written discourse rather than decontextualized sentences. This makes it possible to study a much wider range of interlanguage features than in previous SLA studies, which have tended to focus on more local features like grammatical morphemes. The requirement of *explicit design criteria* stems from the necessity to control the wide range of variables that affect learner language. As appears from [Table 1](#), which lists the criteria governing the collection of the *International Corpus of Learner English (ICLE)* (Granger, 2002, 2003a; Granger, Dagneaux and Meunier, 2002), some of these variables pertain to the language situation or task, whereas others pertain to the learner.

It is this requirement that makes learner corpus collection such a laborious undertaking and yet it is a crucial requirement: the usefulness of a learner corpus is directly proportional to the care that has been exerted in designing it and compromising the design stage inevitably leads to less solid results. If the variables are recorded and stored in a

Table 1 *ICLE* design criteria

| Learner Variables                    | Task variables         |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------|
| Age                                  | Medium                 |
| Learning context                     | Field                  |
| Proficiency level                    | Genre                  |
| Gender                               | Length                 |
| Mother tongue background             | Topic                  |
| Region                               | Timing                 |
| Knowledge of other foreign languages | Exam                   |
| Amount of L2 exposure                | Use of reference tools |

database, they can be used to compile homogeneous subcorpora. The interface on the *ICLE* CD-ROM makes it possible, for instance, to study gender differences, topic effects, the influence of timing, even to compare FL learners who have never spent any time in an English-speaking country with those who have done so for extended periods of time.

Learner corpora can be classified on the basis of the following features:

- *Target languages*: while English still has the lion's share, learner corpus collection is now active in a wide range of languages (Dutch, French, German, Italian, Norwegian, Spanish, Swedish, inter alia) (for a survey of major corpora including learner corpora, see Xiao, forthcoming). Most learner corpora cover only one target language, the ESF database being a notable exception in this respect. Bilingual learner corpora like the German–English *Telekorp* corpus (Belz and Vyatkina, 2005) are a promising new development resulting from the growing use of telecollaborative communication in language education.
- *Mother tongue backgrounds*: learner corpora can contain data from learners of one and the same mother tongue background or from several mother tongue backgrounds. The latter are necessary if the purpose of the data collection is to produce generic pedagogical tools such as monolingual learners' dictionaries (see Problems and Difficulties: Pedagogical Applications). Most academic learner corpora contain data from only one language background, for example, Japanese learners of English in the case of the *NICT JLE Corpus* (Izumi, Uchimoto and Isahara, 2004), Chinese learners for the *Chinese Learner English Corpus* (Gui and Yang, 2002) or Swedish learners of French for the *Interfra*

*Corpus* (Bartning and Schlyter, 2004). The *International Corpus of Learner English*, which covers 11 different mother tongue backgrounds, is a notable exception in this respect.

- *Medium*: corpora of learner writing were the first to be collected and are still the dominant type today. The supremacy of written corpora is primarily due to the difficulty of collecting and transcribing learner oral data. In spite of this difficulty, some oral learner corpora have been collected. These include the *College English Learners' Spoken English Corpus*, which contains data from Chinese learners of English (Yang and Wei, 2005) and the *Louvain International Database of Spoken Language Interlanguage*, which contains data from learners from a wide range of mother tongue backgrounds (cf. De Cock, Granger and Petch-Tyson, 2002). A new learner corpus type, the multimedia learner corpus, which contains learners' texts linked to audio–video recordings, is a recent and welcome addition (Reder, Harris and Setzler, 2003).
- *Genre*: while some genres are well represented in current learner corpora, particularly essay writing and informal interviews, many genres are hardly covered at all, which makes it difficult to assess the influence of task on learner production. The 1-million word *NICT JLE Corpus* (Izumi, Uchimoto and Isahara, *ibid*), which comprises three types of task—picture description, role-playing and story telling, is exceptional in this respect. The collection of large multi-task learner corpora is clearly one of the major desiderata for the future.
- *Time of collection*: learner corpora can be collected at a single point in time or at successive points over a period of time. Only the latter, which are much more difficult to collect and are therefore in a minority, allow for longitudinal studies of learner language and are a highly rich resource to describe stages of acquisition (for L2 French, see Bartning and Schlyter, 2004).
- *Pedagogical use*: corpora for delayed pedagogical use sample a given learner population and are used to produce pedagogical tools that will subsequently benefit similar-type learners. The large majority of learner corpora collected so far have been of that type. More recently, however, learner corpus collection has begun to be integrated into normal classroom activities: learner data are collected from a given learner population to inform pedagogical activities which involve in the first instance those same learners, while also allowing for subsequent use with similar-type learners. Learner corpora for immediate pedagogical use thus involve learners as both producers and users of the data.

Learner corpora differ in their degree of accessibility. Many are unfortunately not available outside the arena where they have been

collected. However, a growing number is available for scientific research and/or can be consulted online.

## WORK IN PROGRESS

### *Contrastive Interlanguage Analysis*

A learner corpus is a solid empirical basis from which to uncover the linguistic features that characterize the interlanguage of foreign and second language learners at different stages of proficiency and/or in a range of language situations. The method that has mainly been used for that purpose is CIA (Gilquin, 2000/2001; Granger, 1996). Unlike classic contrastive analysis, which compares different languages, CIA compares varieties of one and the same language and involves the following two types of comparison:

1. comparisons of learner language and one or more native speaker reference corpora (L2 vs. L1) and
2. comparisons of different varieties of learner language (L2 vs. L2).

The first type of comparison plays an important role in uncovering the distinguishing features of learner language, while the second makes it possible to assess the degree of generalizability of interlanguage features across learner populations and language situations. The latter type has never aroused any criticism from SLA specialists unlike the former which has been criticized for being guilty of the ‘comparative fallacy’ (Bley-Vroman, 1983), i.e. for comparing learner language to a native speaker norm and thus failing to analyse interlanguage in its own right. Although it is important to stress the need to view interlanguage on its own terms, there are several arguments that can be invoked in defence of L1–L2 comparisons. First, the native speaker norm that is used in learner corpus research is explicit and corpus-based (Mukherjee, 2005) rather than implicit and intuition-based as has usually been the case in SLA studies. Second, there is not one reference corpus but several reference corpora to choose from. In the case of English, for instance, the analyst can choose between the many geographical varieties of English covered in the *International Corpus of English* (Greenbaum, 1996), several of which are available in electronic format, or may opt for a corpus of expert L2 user data instead (Seidlhofer, 2004). From a pedagogical point of view, the interest of L1–L2 comparisons is even more obvious as they help teachers identify the lexical, grammatical and discourse features that differentiate learners’ production from the targeted norm and may therefore be usefully integrated into the teaching programme.

Learner corpora have already generated a very rich and diversified body of research. The learner corpus bibliography stored on the

Louvain website (<http://cecl.fltr.ucl.ac.be>) is a good starting point for any researcher wishing to embark on learner corpus analysis.

### *Automated Analysis*

One important feature that distinguishes learner corpus data from traditional learner data is the fact that the texts are stored in electronic format. Once computerized, learner data can be examined with a variety of software tools which can radically change the way foreign/second language researchers set about analyzing learner language (for a survey of those tools, see Meunier, 1998). Some degree of automation is arguably essential as several learner corpora contain millions rather than hundreds or thousands of words. Automation contributes to a better analysis of learner language in three major ways: (1) it makes it possible to quantify learner language; (2) it helps uncover interlanguage patterns of use; and (3) it makes it possible to enrich learner data with a wide range of linguistic annotations.

### **Frequency**

One of the major contributions of automation is that it brings forth a wealth of quantitative information on learner language that had hitherto been unavailable. Text retrieval software tools like *WordSmith Tools (WST)* (Scott, 1996) or *MonoConc* (Barlow, 1999) are language-independent programs that enable researchers to count and sort words in text samples automatically. Using these tools, researchers have immediate access to frequency lists of all the single words or sequences of words in their corpora. [Table 2](#), for example, lists the top 20 word forms in the 2.5 million word *ICLE corpus* of writing by intermediate to advanced EFL learners and presents by way of comparison the top 20 words in a comparable native academic corpus (*ACAD*).

One particularly useful tool in *WST* allows researchers to compare lists such as those presented in [Table 2](#), highlight the significant differences between them and draw up lists of words that are significantly over- or underused by learners. This option plays an important role in uncovering cases of over- and under-representation which, as already pointed by Levenston in 1971, characterize learner language just as much as downright errors, especially at the more advanced proficiency levels. As appears from [Table 3](#), an automatic comparison of the top 20 words in *ICLE* and *ACAD* shows that EFL learners tend to significantly overuse some forms of the verb *be* (*is, are, be*) and personal pronouns (*it, they, we, I*) and underuse a range of prepositions and/or particles (*of, in, as, with, by, on*).

[Table 4](#) presents similar results for EAP (English for academic purposes) nouns in the French subcorpus of *ICLE* (cf. Paquot, in press).

Table 2 Top 20 word forms in *ICLE* and *ACAD*

| ICLE |               |      | ACAD |              |      |
|------|---------------|------|------|--------------|------|
| Rank | Word          | %    | Rank | Word         | %    |
| 1    | <i>the</i>    | 5.60 | 1    | <i>The</i>   | 6.76 |
| 2    | <i>of</i>     | 3.30 | 2    | <i>Of</i>    | 4.05 |
| 3    | <i>to</i>     | 3.23 | 3    | <i>To</i>    | 2.69 |
| 4    | <i>and</i>    | 2.82 | 4    | <i>and</i>   | 2.66 |
| 5    | <i>a</i>      | 2.30 | 5    | <i>in</i>    | 2.30 |
| 6    | <i>is</i>     | 2.07 | 6    | <i>a</i>     | 2.28 |
| 7    | <i>in</i>     | 2.03 | 7    | <i>is</i>    | 1.64 |
| 8    | <i>that</i>   | 1.49 | 8    | <i>that</i>  | 1.30 |
| 9    | <i>it</i>     | 1.25 | 9    | <i>it</i>    | 0.90 |
| 10   | <i>are</i>    | 1.03 | 10   | <i>for</i>   | 0.88 |
| 11   | <i>be</i>     | 0.93 | 11   | <i>as</i>    | 0.84 |
| 12   | <i>for</i>    | 0.92 | 12   | <i>be</i>    | 0.82 |
| 13   | <i>not</i>    | 0.91 | 13   | <i>this</i>  | 0.70 |
| 14   | <i>they</i>   | 0.84 | 14   | <i>are</i>   | 0.68 |
| 15   | <i>as</i>     | 0.74 | 15   | <i>with</i>  | 0.68 |
| 16   | <i>have</i>   | 0.73 | 16   | <i>by</i>    | 0.67 |
| 17   | <i>this</i>   | 0.69 | 17   | <i>on</i>    | 0.59 |
| 18   | <i>we</i>     | 0.68 | 18   | <i>was</i>   | 0.59 |
| 19   | <i>people</i> | 0.63 | 19   | <i>not</i>   | 0.56 |
| 20   | <i>I</i>      | 0.61 | 20   | <i>which</i> | 0.52 |

These lists are useful prompts for further research and potential candidates for pedagogical activities.

### Patterns of use

The quantitative benefits of computerized learner data should not obscure the equally impressive qualitative insights afforded by computer-aided methods. Corpus methods, in particular *phrase* (or *chunk*) *extraction* and *concordancing*, are a very powerful heuristic device for uncovering recurrent patterns of use, or put another way, words' preferred lexical and grammatical company. Recurrent sequences of

Table 3 Sample of significantly over- and underused word forms in *ICLE*

| Overuse | Underuse |
|---------|----------|
| to      | the      |
| and     | of       |
| is      | in       |
| that    | as       |
| it      | with     |
| are     | by       |
| be      | on       |
| for     | was      |
| not     | which    |
| they    |          |
| have    |          |
| we      |          |
| people  |          |
| I       |          |
| not     |          |

Table 4 Sample of significantly over- and underused EAP nouns in *ICLE-FR*

| Overuse     | Underuse    |
|-------------|-------------|
| action      | argument    |
| difficulty  | claim       |
| conclusion  | consequence |
| example     | effect      |
| importance  | emphasis    |
| possibility | evidence    |
| problem     | reason      |
| question    | support     |

two or more words can easily be extracted and shed light on the routine aspects of learner writing or speech. Applying this method to a corpus of EFL speech and a comparable native speaker corpus, De Cock

(2004) shows that EFL learners significantly underuse discourse markers like *you know* or *I mean* and vagueness markers like *sort of* or *and things* and therefore prove to be lacking in routinized ways of interacting and building rapport with their interlocutors and weaving the right amount of imprecision and vagueness, both typical features of informal interactions. On the other hand, concordancers make it possible to extract all occurrences of a given lexical item (single word or phrase) in a corpus and sort them in a variety of ways, thereby allowing typical patterns to emerge. Table 5 displays some of the striking differences emerging from the concordance of the word *as* in a corpus of essays written by native American English students (*LOCNESS*) and EFL learners of Spanish, French and German mother tongue backgrounds (*ICLE*).

The striking predilection of the French-speaking learners for the phrase ‘as far as x is concerned’ (modelled on the French phrase *en ce qui concerne*) appears clearly from the concordance excerpt in Figure 1.

### Annotation

A learner corpus can also be annotated. In corpus linguistics terms, the term ‘annotation’ refers to ‘the practice of adding interpretative (especially linguistic) information to an existing corpus of spoken and/or written language by some kind of coding attached to, or interspersed with, the electronic representation of the language material’ (Leech, 1993, p. 275). In learner corpus terms, this means that any information about the learner samples that the researcher wants to code can be inserted in the text. In a learner corpus, it is therefore not only words that are contextualized but also information about the words.

Although there is in principle no limit to the type of annotation that can be used to enrich a learner corpus, there are two which are by far

Table 5 Patterning of the word ‘as’ in native and learner corpora (/100,000 words)

| Patterning of ‘as’          | <i>LOCNESS</i> | <i>ICLE-SP</i> | <i>ICLE-FR</i> | <i>ICLE-GE</i> |
|-----------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| As a conclusion             | 0              | 8              | 17             | 0              |
| As far as                   | 5              | 7              | 48             | 17             |
| As far as X is concerned    | 1              | 5              | 45             | 7              |
| As we can see/have seen/see | 0              | 10             | 0              | 0              |

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <i>could be repeated in other countries.</i>  | <i>&gt;As far as animals are concerned, another</i>     |
| <i>The consequences are more important</i>    | <i>&gt;as far as children are concerned, seeing</i>     |
| <i>throughout the history of Europe.</i>      | <i>&gt;As far as culture is concerned,</i>              |
| <i>unification may appear as a drawback</i>   | <i>&gt;as far as culture is concerned. Indeed,</i>      |
| <i>and an indispensable key to happiness.</i> | <i>&gt;As far as dreams are concerned, the same and</i> |
| <i>cooperation are needed</i>                 | <i>&gt;as far as economy is concerned.</i>              |
| <i>today's situation of television.</i>       | <i>&gt;As far as Europe is concerned, what we</i>       |
| <i>our behaviour would be cowardly.</i>       | <i>&gt;Yet as far as I am concerned, I consider</i>     |
| <i>what everybody wants you to be.</i>        | <i>&gt;As far as I am concerned, I think at the</i>     |
| <i>remaining independent</i>                  | <i>&gt;as far as inland problems are concerned.</i>     |
| <i>exist between men and women.</i>           | <i>&gt;As far as jobs are concerned, it is quite</i>    |

Figure 1 Concordance excerpt of 'as' in *ICLE-FR*.

the most commonly used: morpho-syntactic annotation and error annotation. Part-of-speech (POS) taggers automatically attach a tag to each word in a corpus, indicating its word-class membership. These programs are particularly useful as they help disambiguate the many words that belong to more than one part of speech. Only a POS-tagged learner corpus would allow researchers to interpret the overuse of the word *to* highlighted in Table 3 as being solely due to an over-representation of the infinitive particle *to*, the preposition *to* being significantly under-used. It is important to bear in mind, however, that morpho-syntactic annotation programs—whether lemmatizers, POS taggers, or parsers—have been trained on the basis of native speaker corpora and there is no guarantee that they will perform as accurately on learner data. Although the success rate of POS-taggers has been found to be quite good with advanced learner data (Meunier, 1998, p. 21), it has proved to be very sensitive to morpho-syntactic and orthographic errors (Van Rooy and Schäfer, 2003) and success rate will therefore tend to decrease as the number of these errors increases. To counter this weakness, a number of researchers have preferred to use CHILDES (MacWhinney, 1999), a suite of software tools that gives researchers a high degree of flexibility in the annotating process. Initially designed for L1 acquisition research, it has recently been adapted for L2 data analysis (Myles and Mitchell, 2004).

Although error analysis has fallen into disfavour in SLA, it remains a crucial aspect of learner language and one which in fact still lies at the heart of many SLA studies hidden under labels such as negative transfer, fossilization, corrective feedback, measures of linguistic accuracy and developmental sequences. Two methodologies are used in learner corpus research to chart attested learner errors: computer-aided detection and error annotation. In the former case, it is the analyst who chooses the linguistic items to focus on, using his/her intuition, pedagogical experience or previous SLA studies. Once selected, the linguistic forms can be searched automatically in the learner corpus,

counted and sorted as described in Patterns of Use. The study of Cowan, Choi and Kim (2003) of over-passivization errors is a good illustration of this method. The problem is that this method presupposes that one knows what errors to look for, which is far from always being the case.

The only method that can ensure comprehensive error detection is error annotation, which in spite of its difficulty and time-costliness, is enjoying growing popularity and several systems of error annotation have been developed (Dagneaux, Denness and Granger, 1998; Granger, 2003b; Izumi, Uchimoto and Isahara, 2004; Milton and Chowdhury, 1994; Nicholls, 2003). In most systems the error is coded for error type (number, gender, tense, etc.), word category (noun, verb, etc.) and in some cases, error domain (spelling, grammar, lexis, etc.). When applied to a learner corpus that has been carefully compiled on the basis of strict design criteria (mother tongue background, level of proficiency, etc.), error annotation is a valuable resource which makes it possible to tailor-make pedagogical materials for the needs of a given learner population (cf. Granger, 2003b). However, error annotation will always contain an element of subjectivity as the very notion of error is far from clear-cut. As rightly pointed out by Milton and Chowdhury (1994, p. 129), "Tagging a learner corpus allows us, at least and at most, to systematize our intuitions." It is therefore essential that annotators be provided with a comprehensive error-tagging manual and undergo rigorous training. In addition, it is important to bear in mind that error annotation is a very time-consuming, hence costly, process. Limitations in manpower and/or budget may lead researchers to tag only part of their corpus or to limit the tagging to some specific error categories (morphological errors, preposition errors, article errors, etc.).

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES: PEDAGOGICAL APPLICATIONS

Among the many pedagogical applications that could potentially benefit from learner-corpus-informed insights, only a few can boast a number of concrete achievements: pedagogical lexicography, courseware and language assessment.

The field in which advances have been quickest is *pedagogical lexicography*. The latest editions of the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (LDOCE)* (2003) and the *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary (CALD)* (2003) both contain error notes based on their respective learner corpora, which are intended to help learners to avoid making common mistakes. These notes are a clear added value for dictionary users as they draw their attention to very frequent errors, which in the case of advanced learners have often become fossilized

(*accept* + infinitive, *persons* instead of *people*, *news* + plural, etc.). Although the selection of the errors is not yet optimal (cf. De Cock and Granger, 2005), this is a major first step, which will undoubtedly be followed by others. Although learner corpus data have begun to have a marked impact on EFL dictionaries, they have yet to find their way into EFL grammars. When one considers that even native corpus data were only integrated into grammars as recently as 1999, with the publication of the very first corpus-based grammar of English, *the Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (Biber, Johansson, Leech, Conrad and Finegan, 1999), this fact may seem less surprising. But it seems both inevitable and highly desirable that learner corpus data will become an essential component of grammar design in years to come. Pedagogical grammars would clearly benefit from corpus-attested information on the difficulty of grammatical categories and structures for learners in general or some L1-specific learner population.

While there may still be relatively little CLC-informed courseware on the market, quite a number of teachers have used learner corpora to develop their own in-house teaching materials, which share a number of characteristics: (1) they tend to be based on learner corpora for immediate pedagogical use; (2) they are often L1-specific rather than generic; (3) they are designed with a clear teaching objective in a well-defined teaching context; and (4) they tend to be electronic rather than paper tools. This latter characteristic results from the fact that new technologies—web-based platforms, CALL authoring tools, email—have brought the design of electronic pedagogical material within the reach of any computer-literate teacher/researcher and provide an ideal platform for the production and use of learner corpus data. The web-based writing environment of Wible, Kuo, Chien, Liu and Tsao (2001) is the perfect example of a tool, which allows for the generation, annotation and pedagogical exploitation of learner corpora. The environment contains a learner interface, where learners write their essays, send them to their teacher over the Internet and revise them when they have been corrected by the teacher, as well as a teacher interface, where teachers correct the essays using their favourite comments (comma splice, article use, etc.) stored in a personal Comment Bank. This environment is extremely attractive both for learners, who get immediate feedback on their writing and have access to lists of errors they are prone to produce, and for teachers, who progressively and painlessly build a large database of learner data from which they can draw to develop targeted exercises. Other researchers are using data resulting from computer-mediated written communication (Kung, 2004; Suzuki, Jung, Watanabe, Min and Yoshihara, 2004) or oral tasks (Kindt and Wright, 2001; Perez-Paredes, 2003).

A third field to which “research from learner corpora has much to offer” (Purpura, 2004, p. 272) is language assessment. Carefully analyzed, learner corpora can help practitioners select and rank testing material at a particular proficiency level (Barker, 2004). Combined with Natural Language Processing techniques, they can also be used to draw up automatic profiles of learner proficiency. The *Direkt Profil* analyzer, for example, provides a grammatical profile for L2 French and can be used to assess learners’ grammatical level (Granfeldt, Nugues, Persson, Kostadinov, Agren and Schlyter, 2005).

All these applications show the tremendous potential of learner corpus data to inform pedagogical tools and methods. At this stage, however, CLC-informed materials are still the exception rather than the rule and there is scope for the development of a much wider range of applications in future.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Although learner corpora are still in their infancy, the buzzing activity in the field and the number of learner-corpus informed reference and teaching tools that have already been produced are a clear indication that they are here to stay. Efforts in the future should go towards collecting data representing a wider range of target languages. At this stage, most learner corpora are corpora of English as a foreign or second language. Other target languages are clearly lagging behind. Future learner corpus compilation should also sample more diversified learner populations in a wider range of language situations and tasks. Over and above data collection, the focus should be on interpreting the data in the light of SLA theory and incorporating the results in innovative pedagogical applications. Prime among these are electronic applications and in particular web-based environments, which allow researchers to collect and exploit learner data within the same environment.

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## COMPUTER-ASSISTED LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT

### INTRODUCTION

Computer-based tests with streaming video, feedback mechanisms, and enhanced or enriched input (such as hyperlinked text, answer choices, or objects that, when clicked on or selected, provide glosses, help, or feedback that aid comprehension or test completion) have expanded the testing field and have triggered washback effects that have influenced the second and foreign language classroom. In addition, alternative computer-based assessment formats (see Volume 7), including electronic portfolios (E-portfolios), are used by teachers to develop and implement more qualitative and longitudinal summaries of learning and proficiency as the students' second language (L2) develops over time. Advantages of computerized language assessment include the ease that comes with test delivery and automatic, objective scoring possibilities.

Three circumstances are driving the spur in computer-assisted language assessment. First, advances in technology are making it possible to have more sophisticated computerized testing programs. For example, automatic scoring mechanisms for written essays and oral response items are developing quickly, and commercial software packages for making adaptive tests are readily available. With such advances, the cost benefits in assessing via a computer increase. Second, the generation of language learners typically found in the classroom has grown up with computers. Earlier impediments that centered around computer access and familiarity, albeit not entirely overcome, are breaking down. Third, the development of computer-assisted language learning (CALL) materials has expanded greatly in recent years, and this has had an articulation effect on testing. Teachers are exploring ways to test learners through the same computerized mediums (such as through computer-mediated communication or CMC). Thus, the field of computer-assisted language testing (CALT) continues to expand.

### EARLY AND RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

Early on, computer-based tests of foreign language learning involved item types that were easily scored by a computer. Item types included multiple-choice, multiple-select, drag-and-drop, and short-answer

response and were presented linearly as they were on their paper-and-pencil counterparts. This led to many comparison studies between computerized and paper-and-pencil versions of the same test, and this research still continues today. Eventually, this format changed. Instead of relying solely on discrete item types, test takers were asked to respond to tasks that were more like real-world tasks. In addition, they were asked to produce more open-ended responses. The challenge has been in scoring such items, both in terms of developing the criteria for scoring and in developing programs to help with scoring, and research along this line continues to flourish, especially in the area of computerized tests of writing ability (Goodfellow, Lamy, and Jones, 2002; Li, 2000). In addition, the field quickly incorporated the adaptive functions of computerized testing. These three areas of CALT (research on pencil-and-paper versus computerized tests; CATs (Computer Adaptive Tests); and the development of more open-ended, automatically-scored item types) are discussed later.

### *Comparison Studies*

When computerized tests were first introduced, it was important to establish that they were comparable to, or improvements over, their paper-and-pencil counterparts. Research has focused on whether paper-and computer-administered tests are equivalent in terms of scores (Choi, Kim, and Boo, 2003; Russell and Haney, 1997), test-taker attitude (Hémard and Cushion, 2003; Kenyon and Malabonga, 2001), and motivation (García and Arias, 2000). Investigations along this line have also explored other features of computerized tests, such as the feedback types involved in paper-and-pencil versus computer-administered tests (Delmonte, 2002) and the ways in which raters may differentially assign scores based on the mode of the response item (i.e., typed or handwritten) (Breland, Lee, and Murake, 2005; Lee, 2004; Russell and Haney, 1997). Results have generally found differences, but overall the reports have found that computer-based tests shorten administration time, have high validity, and are in some cases more motivating than paper-and-pencil based tests.

### *Computer Adaptive Tests*

Computer-adaptive tests (CATs) are technologically advanced assessment measures (Dunkel, 1999) that have been used in L2 testing since the 1980s. They use sophisticated algorithms to move examinees from one item to the next based on the examinee's performance on the last item. (Sets or blocks of items used for adaptive purposes are called

testlets, and CATs that use them are called semi-adaptive tests). Brown outlined CAT advantages as such: “(a) the items are selected and fitted to the individual students involved, (b) the test is ended when the student’s ability level is located, and, as a consequence, (c) computer-adaptive tests are usually relatively short in terms of the number of items involved and the time needed” (1997, p. 46). These advantages help with large-scale administrations and keep test takers from being overburdened by items that are too easy or difficult. On the other hand, CATs are time consuming and costly. Even with semiadaptive tests, large databanks of items are needed, and test developers need to (a) understand how to use guidelines and blueprints in designing CATs, (b) use the appropriate IRT model and algorithm for item or testlet selection and for test completion rules, and (c) field test the items to obtain statistical information on each item’s calibration and performance (Dunkel, 1999). Thus, CATs are generally produced and administered by large testing organizations that have resources to support them. However, commercially available test software, such as QuestionMark, or Perception for Web, which can be integrated into classroom management software such as Blackboard and WebCT, offer adaptive functions and templates that are easy to use and do not require sophisticated computer-programming knowledge. Such programs are helping smaller institutions afford the development of CATs for smaller test-taker populations.

### *Open-Ended Item Types*

In contrast to the rapid incorporation of adaptive functions in language tests, the development of authentic, open-ended essay items and extended oral response has been slower. Historically, the problem has been in scoring such items reliably. For example, electronic scoring (E-scoring) is rather controversial, but recently has become a well-developed issue in assessing writing. Kelly (2001) argued that in scoring writing, a computerized tool should mimic the rating processes that expert human raters employ. Other researchers have found that computers can perform as well as, if not better than, human counterparts in scoring writing (Shermis, Koch, Page, Keith, and Sharrington, 2002) and suggest that computer-obtained scores may be more valid since humans often cannot explain why certain essays are “good” or “bad.” One commercially available computerized writing scoring tool is *E-Rater*, produced by Educational Testing Service (ETS, [www.ets.org](http://www.ets.org)), which is based on natural language processing (NLP) ([www.ets.org/criterion](http://www.ets.org/criterion)). Other programs include *IntelliMetric* by Vantage Laboratories ([www.vantage.com](http://www.vantage.com)), *Project Essay Grade* (PEG), introduced in the 1960s by Ellis Page (<http://134.68.49.185/pegdemo>),

*Intelligent Essay Assessor* (IEA), available through Pearson Knowledge Technologies ([www.knowledge-technologies.com](http://www.knowledge-technologies.com)), and RANGE (downloadable from [www.vuw.ac.nz/lals/staff/paul-nation/nation.aspx](http://www.vuw.ac.nz/lals/staff/paul-nation/nation.aspx)), a program that assesses lexical frequency that was developed by Paul Nation. A program based on Nation's work was used in research conducted by Goodfellow, Lamy, and Jones (2002), who found that the writing produced by learners of French could be similarly analyzed by both the computer and human raters when vocabulary use was assessed. However, they observed that the feedback mechanisms from the computerized rating was limited, and thus suggested that the E-scoring approach is best used for self-assessment at this time. However, because studies have shown that ETS's *E-Rater*-generated scores have a high agreement with scores produced on the same essays by expert raters (Burstein, 2003), research into E-scoring will likely continue and become more accurate, and, eventually, be able to provide more meaningful feedback.

There have been advances in the computerized scoring of speaking ability as well. For example, Delmonte (2002) has shown how computerized language tutors, programmed to respond immediately to learners' recordings of short, oral input, can assist L1 and L2 learners with vocabulary acquisition and oral production in non-face threatening, innovative ways. L2 test developers can be encouraged by these successes and can build upon the foundations such studies have developed.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Several books have been published on the specific issues in computerized L2 testing (Chalhoub-Deville, 1999; Chapelle, 2001; Chapelle and Douglas, 2006; Dunkel, 1990); other books have contributed to the development of computerized L2 testing by reporting developments within education and educational measurement that concern online testing and CATs (Howell and Hricko, 2006; Wainer, 2000). Several books in the Cambridge Language Assessment Series have sections which address computerized testing issues, particularly the books on assessing languages for specific purposes (Douglas, 2000), reading (Alderson, 2000), and writing (Weigle, 2002), which discuss the future of computers in the testing of these subfields. Read's (2000) book in the same series on assessing vocabulary also delves into computerized testing but from a different perspective: Read focuses on how computer analyses of vocabulary and lexical units can help testers design appropriate measures of vocabulary size, depth, and use.

Weigle (2002) noted that one of the major contributions to the computerized language testing field is one of the major English as a Second

Language (ESL) university admissions tests, the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL), which rolled out its first online, integrated speaking test component in the fall of 2005. Weigle stated that the advantages of the computerized TOEFL (there are currently paper-based, computer-based, and Internet-based versions of the test available) include its computer-adaptive format, its timely test score reporting, and, for the written portion of the test, its increased authenticity for those who produce most of their academic writing on computers. Other large-scale, available-by-computer, ESL admissions tests shaping the research agenda of computerized language testing and fostering computerized test development are the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) tests and the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (UCLES) tests, which are also used internationally for proficiency testing and university admissions. Taylor wrote that both washback (the effect the test has on classroom curriculum) and impact (the consequences the test may have on test takers, test score recipients, and society) from such high-stakes tests as the IELTS tests must be measured and monitored, and stated that “interest in this area is likely to grow as the range and use of high-stakes tests increase worldwide and the consequences of test use, especially the valid and ethical use of test scores, come under greater scrutiny in the public domain” (2004, p. 143). Taylor noted that computer-based tests promise flexible delivery but also that they raise issues of test security and washback and warns that comparability across CATs needs to be carefully considered, as does the comparability of any test delivered under both paper-and-pencil and computer-based conditions.

Chapelle, Jamieson, and Hegelheimer (2003) addressed the issue of validating low-stakes, Web-based tests. They explained that low-stakes tests, which have minimal effects on decision-making, are often perceived as needing less rigorous validation than high-stakes tests; however, they countered, “when low-stakes assessments are published on the web with the intention that thousands of examinees will spend their time taking them, validation is essential even though the examinees may be the only recipients of the test results” (Chapelle, Jamieson, and Hegelheimer, 2003, p. 410). Many Web-based tests, such as the extremely successful and often studied DIALANG tests (DIALANG is a European project that offers free, Web-based, diagnostic language tests in 14 European languages; see [www.dialang.org](http://www.dialang.org) for more information) are intended to provide feedback to learners and to give them suggestions for strategy use and/or ways in which to improve their L2 ability. Such tests, because they are readily available and up on the Web, are seen by test takers as having high face-validity, yet tests such as these still need to be tested for validity and reliability to assure

quality and to ensure that they are testing what they propose to be testing. Indeed, searching the Web, teachers and researchers can easily find many L2 tests online—teachers and researchers readily use applications such as Hot Potatoes (<http://hotpot.uvic.ca>) or Weinburg's *Alysse7* (for a demo, see <http://aix1.uottawa.ca/~weinberg/alyse7/>) for L2 testing, and many tests created with these tools are available for use on the WWW. However, it must be noted that not all teachers who create and upload such tests for public use are aware of many of the issues in language testing; thus, wholesale adoption of any language test must be pursued with caution, even if the test is being used for low-stakes purposes.

Although many research articles and books on computerized language testing have advanced the field and have discussed what works and what may not, operational, computerized test programs being produced and maintained by educational institutions (such as the Title VI National Language Resource Centers funded by the US Department of Education) and other language testing organizations (such as the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington, DC, Second Language Testing in Rockville, Maryland, Educational Testing Services in Princeton, NJ, and Lidget Green in Mammoth Lakes, California) have demonstrated what theoretical applications actually work when applied to operational test programs. Test programs currently in development are discussed in the following section.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Several CALT projects currently underway demonstrate the field's direction, depth and show how CALT is changing the way in which we test foreign and second languages. For example, Second Language Testing in Rockville, Maryland, is developing a computerized version of the Modern Language Aptitude Test ([www.2lti.com](http://www.2lti.com)). The Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL, [www.cal.org](http://www.cal.org)) is finalizing online listening and reading tests of Arabic and Russian, designed with the software Questionmark, Perception for Web ([www.questionmark.com](http://www.questionmark.com)). These tests, funded by the US Department of Education and based on the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL, [www.actfl.org](http://www.actfl.org)) Proficiency Guidelines, are available for use by both public and private institutions for the testing of learners (for placement testing, proficiency testing, and/or for selection purposes) at the Novice through Superior level. What is interesting about these tests is that they are for less-commonly-taught languages (LCTLs) and are not expected to be taken by more than a few hundred test takers a year; the tests were put online to facilitate remote administration—paper-and-pencil versions were found to be cumbersome and expensive to deliver to the

small clusters of learners at disparate locations, and online administration allows for faster delivery and score turn-around. The semi-adaptive functions of the tests also allow for a single user to take the test more than once throughout his or her foreign language learning process—the items the test taker is presented with when he or she is a Novice learner are different from those at the Intermediate or Advanced level.

Similarly, a Computer-Assisted Screening Tool (CAST), whose framework is the result of a five-institution collaboration (ACTFL, Brigham Young University, CAL, the Defense Language Institute, and San Diego State University), is currently being developed for assessments in Modern Standard Arabic and Spanish. A follow-up grant project, “Diagnostic Testing and Materials Creation” will add CASTs in Persian, Mandarin, and two Arabic dialects, Iraqi and Egyptian. All CASTs are stored on the Language Acquisition Resource Center (LARC) server at San Diego State University (<http://larcnet.sdsu.edu>)—like the online Arabic and Russian listening and readings tests being developed at CAL, the CASTs can be registered for and completed online.

CAL has also had much success with its computerized version of its Basic English Skills Test (BEST), the BEST Plus ([www.cal.org/bestplus](http://www.cal.org/bestplus)). The test assesses basic oral skills in English as a Second Language (ESL) and is administered one-on-one via a CD-ROM. CAL has developed BEST Plus administration training materials and is working on adapting those for Web delivery.

The Center for Applied Second Language Studies (CASLS, <http://casls.uoregon.edu>) at the University of Oregon has developed a CAT called the Standards-based Measurement of Proficiency (STAMP, <http://casls.uoregon.edu/stamp2.php>), which assesses the reading, writing, and speaking of Novice-low to Intermediate-Mid learners (based on the ACTFL scale) of Chinese, French, German, Hebrew, Japanese, Spanish, and Turkish. STAMP is used by institutions for program evaluation and placement, as well as for general proficiency testing. Hindi, Italian, Swahili, and Yoruba versions are currently being developed and will add significantly to the small cadre of criterion-referenced LCTL tests for grades 7 through 12 and at postsecondary levels.

As evidenced by CALT works-in-progress, CALT does not only encompass the direct testing of learners. The field of CALT now extends to other areas of the assessment realm, such as rater-training. Recently, at the University of Auckland, a trial of an online training program for experienced essay raters was conducted as part of the Diagnostic English Language Needs Assessment (DELNA) project, whose purposes are to identify the academic language needs of undergraduate students and to direct them toward appropriate language

support (Elder, Barkhuizen, Knoch, and von Randow, in press). The test battery consists of listening, reading, and academic writing; the writing component is scored by raters. DELNA test developers felt the need to expand the continuing, experienced rater-training program to an online format because the scheduling of regular training sessions to suit all experienced raters was becoming increasingly difficult as the number of raters expanded. The program was developed to reduce the number of recalibration sessions; the program, however, was not intended to replace initial face-to-face training. Results of the pilot program showed slightly higher levels of overall inter-rater agreement and reduced levels of inconsistency and bias in some instances. The researchers also found that the participants responded positively to the program. Other computerized rater training programs currently in existence include CAL's Multimedia Rater Training Programs (MRTP, [www.cal.org/mrtp/index.html](http://www.cal.org/mrtp/index.html)), which are CD-ROM-based rater training programs that train raters how to score the CAL Simulated Oral Proficiency Instruments (SOPIs) and Computerized Oral Proficiency Instruments (COPIs) for Arabic and Spanish.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Many of the problems and difficulties with computer-assisted language assessment are the same as those that plague traditional paper-and-pencil tests: validity, reliability, and washback. That is, do the tests assess what they are intended to, do they consistently and reliably assign scores regardless of the test time or place, and, when the tests influence classroom practice, do they do so in a positive manner? Developers of computer-based tests essentially have the same responsibilities as other test developers; however, the developers of computer-based tests face other challenges relating specifically to the computer or online domain of test security, copy-right issues, and scoring difficulties. Additional burdens placed on the CALT developer relate to significant monetary requirements related to computer equipment, technology turnover, and test maintenance.

Another concern is the construct validity underlying computerized tests and scoring tools. Commercially available server software systems that allow for audio recordings over the Web (such as Wimba) and advanced CAT software (such as Questionmark, Perception for Web) are now available for integration with classroom management systems such as WebCT and Blackboard (see [www.questionmark.com/uk/connectors](http://www.questionmark.com/uk/connectors)), making computerized test technology for language assessment, especially oral assessment, available and ready for use sometimes even before teachers themselves have had time to fully understand how to use the software or even why they should use it.

This is similar to a result found by Hémard and Cushion (2003), who wrote that students and teachers often need to be convinced of the added value of computerizing materials. In addition, it must be noted that articles on CALT still report that some test takers have difficulties in adapting to technology-dependent testing methods, and warn that test developers must consider the test takers' abilities to use computers and the Internet as potential mediating factors influencing test outcomes (Myers, 2002).

Other issues pertaining to CALT concern the specific testing of listening, speaking, and writing. It can be argued that listening comprehension tests can be made infinitely more authentic in a computerized environment where the incorporation of streaming video is possible; however, a common problem is the delivery of high-quality video to a large number of test takers (Buck, 2005). The necessary bandwidth for delivery can be costly, and smaller language testing programs may not have adequate resources to fund projects with the latest technology. Many multimedia players used by basic, computerized L2 listening tests allow for the test takers to play the video or audio files more than once, to rewind, or to fast forward. There has not been much research on how this capability affects scoring or how it may alter the test construct. More sophisticated test environments can track this information; thus much research in this area is expected.

Expense is one of the major setbacks for computer-administered tests of speaking ability. Many universities have developed their own online audio programs that teachers can use to assess their students' speaking abilities. Audioportfolios (<http://www.audioportfolios.com>), developed by Dennie Hoopingarner at Michigan State University, is one such application available to the public that incorporates audio, video, and teacher-feedback mechanisms. Students can use Audioportfolios to record their voices with or without video on a Mac or PC in a computer laboratory or on home computers. Meanwhile, their teachers can listen to the audio files over the Web, provide feedback, and can track their students' speaking development over time. However, many K-12 schools and universities lack computers with audio recording equipment, and this has been a major block to the proliferation of online or computer-based speaking tests.

The major challenge for computerized L2 writing tests is not just how to score them efficiently—Weigle wrote that “while writing in a first language is a challenging, complex task, it is even more so in a second language” (2002, p. 38), thus, part of the challenge is the cognitive aspect of writing itself—Weigle, referring to Bereiter and Scardamalia's (1987) model of writing, described the writing process as *knowledge transformation*, which includes the difficult and labor-intensive processes of “putting one's thoughts to paper as they occur”

along with “using writing to create new knowledge” (Weigle, 2002, pp. 32–33). Without a doubt, writing on the computer is a cognitive process that differs greatly from the cognitive process of writing on paper, and this distinction has been a major concern among CALT researchers for some time. This issue is compounded when considering the different modes of writing (paper-and-pencil versus computer-based) that are involved in writing logographic languages such as Chinese. On paper, Chinese character production is a process that is as much of a memorized motor skill as it is a complex cognitive skill. On the other hand, the process of writing Chinese on a computer is indeed very different and involves a step that uses the Romanized alphabet system to locate and select the appropriate characters. How this changes the writing process cognitively for the learner is not quite known, but that the two systems of writing are vastly different is not debated. Thus, it is up to language testing researchers to discover how different modes of writing during second language testing affects the content validity and construct of the tests themselves.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

It will soon be hard to find a college student who has not taken at least one major standardized test online, and many institutions at the college level have integrated classroom management systems, such as Blackboard or WebCT, that incorporate testing capabilities and make computerized testing a possibility for teachers with access to computer classrooms. The world of CALT will continue to develop, and this is seen “as a natural evolution in assessment practice” (Dunkel, 1999, p. 77). Testing via the computer is a logical step, in that resources are available and because computerized testing can be more motivating, streamlined, and can incorporate automatic scoring. But a system of checks and balances is needed to assure that computerized tests are increasing our ability to efficiently make valid inferences about language learners’ abilities and weaknesses. We must be sure computerized tests contribute overall to L2 programs and L2 learning. Computerized tests should not just increase the efficiency of test administration and scoring, but should also accurately reflect the ways in which L2s are learned and should appropriately take advantage of advances in technology to make for better testing conditions, not just different ones (Chapelle and Douglas, 2006).

The scoring of essays will continue to be an issue in the CALT environment for some time; human raters are still needed for the scoring of extended essays, which adds a considerable expense to the otherwise monetarily efficient scoring process. However, as mentioned earlier, research has shown promise in the use of computers for rating essays,

and in the future we should see computers that are able to score essays not only based on syntactic complexity, lexical complexity, and grammatical accuracy (Li, 2000), but also on discourse coherence, syntactic variety, and on-topic content. Additionally, online systems that directly or indirectly support computerized language testing, such as rater training programs, item development training sessions, and programs for uploading, revising, and finalizing items for item bank completion and maintenance, are becoming more common and should flourish in coming years.

*See Also:* Liying Cheng: *Washback, Impact and Consequences (Volume 7)*; Janna Fox: *Alternative Assessment (Volume 7)*; Carol A. Chapelle: *Utilizing Technology in Language Assessment (Volume 7)*; Teresa Pica: *Task-based Instruction (Volume 4)*; Antony Kunnan: *Large Scale Language Assessments (Volume 7)*; Xiaoming Xi: *Methods of Test Validation (Volume 7)*; Margaret E. Malone: *Training in Language Assessment (Volume 7)*

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## DISTANCE LEARNING FOR SECOND AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING

### INTRODUCTION

Distance learning (DL) or online courses for teaching second and foreign languages (L2) has only recently attracted the field's attention (Blake and Delforge, 2006), primarily in response to student demand for: (i) greater scheduling flexibility unconstrained by time and place, and (ii) increased access to the less commonly taught languages (LCTLs). The profile of today's student increasingly points to someone who has already entered the work force, but still needs continuing education. This type of student is simultaneously juggling school, work, and maybe a family. While work and family needs tend to be relatively inflexible, school schedules constitute the only component that can be readily modified. Likewise, students are becoming increasingly aware of the importance of world languages such as Arabic, Persian, Hindi/Urdu, and Punjabi, to name only a few. Ironically, these languages are infrequently taught on the typical college campus. In the face of scarce resources for LCTL instruction, administrators and students alike have been drawn to the DL format. However, many in the language profession remain skeptical as to whether or not the DL environment can support the same type of linguistic interactions found in the classroom. Research in computer-mediated communication (CMC) has answered this concern by demonstrating that electronic interactions offer benefits much like face-to-face classroom exchanges.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

A DL format for the L2 curriculum typically includes one or more of the following components: multimedia programs delivered by CD or DVD disks, Internet materials and activities, and Chat (Unicode text exchange and often sound interactions, too). Most activities in this format take place asynchronously—usually via a course management system like *Blackboard*, *WebCT*, or an open source system such as *Moodle*—but CMC programs increasingly provide synchronous interactions as well. Teleconferencing courses are commonly treated as a separate type of instructional medium because of the rigid demands for students to be physically present at a specific place and time

(although the instructor may broadcast from a different location) and will not be addressed in this review (but see Belz and Thorne, 2005).

The L2 field has produced relatively little empirical research relating to the effectiveness of online language learning and/or comparisons with performance from traditional classrooms. Early studies have concentrated on evaluating *hybrid* courses, where only part of the curriculum is delivered in class while other tasks occur online. Research on hybrid courses suggests that students who learn language with an online component may develop their literacy skills to higher level than students just working in a classroom environment (Warschauer, 1996).

Adair-Hauck and group (1999) and Green and Earnest Youngs (2001) compared the achievement test scores of students enrolled in standard elementary French and German classes that met 4 days per week with the scores of other learners who attended class 3 days a week and participated in technologically enhanced learning activities in lieu of a fourth hour of in-class contact. Adair-Hauck and group found that students participating in the treatment group did as well as those in the control group on tests of listening, speaking, and cultural knowledge, but performed significantly better than the control group on measures of reading and writing ability. The authors speculated that online students were more motivated to write, which might explain the differences, but they offered no explanation with respect to the reading results. In contrast, Green and Earnest Youngs (2001) found no significant difference between the treatment and control classes' scores on the same type of tests used in the Adair-Hauck and group study but adapted for the Web. It is not immediately clear why the results diverged so much in these two studies and whether or not the authors sufficiently controlled for individual class differences.

Chenoweth and Murday (2003) examined the outcomes of an elementary French course, *French Online*, conducted mostly online that included an hour-long, face-to-face class meeting once per week as well as weekly 20-min individual or small-group meetings with a native speaker tutor. The progress of students in the online group was compared to that of others who attended a traditional class 4 h per week on tests of oral production, listening comprehension, reading comprehension, grammar knowledge, and written production. Scores for the treatment and control groups differed significantly only in the case of the writing samples: essays by students in the online learning group were judged superior to those of the control group on a variety of measures including grammatical accuracy, syntactic complexity, use of transitions, and cohesive devices and organization. It was also found that the online students spent approximately 1 hour per week less studying than did those in the traditional class. Thus, these findings suggest that the online course was more efficient as students achieved results

similar to those attained by learners in the conventional class with less time expenditure.

These studies appear to make the case that online learning can contribute to the student's L2 learning, but much depends on the learning environment, pedagogical materials, Web-based task design, and individual learner differences. However, since these studies combine online instruction with face-to-face class meetings, it is difficult to generalize their results to language courses conducted entirely online.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

To date, only three major studies (Blake and Delforge, 2006; Cahill and Catanzaro, 1997; Soo and Ngeow, 1998) have evaluated entirely online language courses on the basis of empirical data. In all cases, online learners were found to outperform students from conventional courses on the grammar output measures administered.

Cahill and Catanzaro (1997) reported on an introductory online Spanish class that relies on materials from *Dos Mundos*, a popular introductory Spanish text, along with the accompanying audiocassettes and lab manual. Online activities included synchronous chat sessions, open-ended Web assignments, practice tests, and a substantial number of *pen-pal* letter writing assignments. Responses to two essay questions were used to compare the progress of students participating in the experimental group with that of students enrolled in conventional Spanish classes. Based on ratings of global quality and percentage error scores, the writing samples of students in the online course were judged to be significantly better than those from the traditional classes. Although not discussed by the authors, it seems clear that more writing was demanded of the online students, a fact that clouds to some degree the ability to isolate what effect the online format by itself had on performance.

Soo and Ngeow (1998) compared the performance of 77 students enrolled in conventional English classes with 111 students who studied English exclusively through use of a multimedia computer-assisted language-learning (CALL) program. A comparison of pre- and post-Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) scores revealed that the students in the online group made significantly greater gains with respect to those who took part in conventional classes. In addition, given that the experimental group started studying 5 weeks later than students in the control group due to technical difficulties, it might be said that the online students not only made more progress than learners in the control group but also that their language skills improved more rapidly.

Blake and Delforge (2006) compared 21 continuing students enrolled in *Spanish Without Walls* (SWW) using both quantitative output data

(i.e., grammar tests and compositions) and qualitative measures (i.e., student surveys). SWW is a totally virtual, first-year Spanish course that combines a first-year CD-ROM packet (i.e., *Tesoros*, McGraw-Hill, 2001), Web readings with online content-based activities, and bimodal CMC (i.e., sound and text) in both a synchronous and asynchronous format. The data showed that students enrolled in the SWW course fared statistically better than the undergraduates enrolled in conventional introductory Spanish classes at UC Davis in terms of grammatical accuracy. The authors speculated that the DL format with its primary focus on textual input forced students to pay more attention to their textual output and, therefore, heightened their metalinguistic awareness (Schmidt, 1990) of discrete grammatical contrasts. The results suggest that well-designed distance language instruction can offer a viable option for learners without access to the traditional classroom setting or for those who prefer the online learning environment to the conventional sit-down class format. However, again, the question of whether or not the SWW students developed the same oral proficiency as classroom students has been left unanswered.

As was the case for the hybrid courses reviewed earlier, the outcome data from these three studies lend support for the notion that online language learning can be effective, at least as a means of improving writing, reading, and listening comprehension abilities. Nevertheless, it remains hard to determine which aspects of the online learning environment were responsible for these results. Perhaps the online students had a higher engagement level with the texts themselves. More research is clearly necessary to substantiate these initial observations.

Student attitudes are also of interest in pursuit of an overall evaluation of the DL format. Adair-Hauck and group (1999) used a self-report questionnaire to compare the attitudes and opinions of students in their hybrid French course with those of students taking a conventional class. They found that a greater percentage of students in the hybrid class reported meeting their personal language-learning goals over the course of the semester. A number of students in the technology enhanced class also indicated that the flexibility of the multimedia materials contributed to their progress in the class, noting the advantage of being able to spend more time on activities they found particularly difficult—in short, more student-centered learning.

Blake and Delforge (2006) also found that completely DL students appreciated their ability to work at their own pace and focus on their own learning difficulties. Many students felt that working independently with the CD-ROM materials and the chat program created much less anxiety than the face-to-face format of the conventional language class (Liontas, 2002). Lee (2005) encountered similar findings in another college-level Spanish course that included essay writing assignments and

chat sessions conducted in *Blackboard*. Once again, students appreciated the self-directed nature of the web-based tasks. In oral interviews at the end of the semester, a number of participants in class indicated that they learned to improve their organizational skills and take more responsibility for their own language learning as a result of the *Blackboard* activities. These findings should not be taken to suggest that student-driven materials cannot be incorporated into the regular classroom, but rather that students often perceive that the classroom is primarily teacher-driven in most cases as opposed to the necessarily student-driven environment of the online format.

However, Green and Earnest-Youngs (2001) also found that some Web activities were too difficult or insufficiently organized. Likewise, the mostly online French course evaluated by Chenoweth and Murday (2003) received a lower overall rating on student evaluations than did a conventional class taken by learners in the control group. The authors note that, since students' principal complaints were related to the organization of the online course and to grading standards, this rating may be due to the fact that the course was being offered for the first time rather than to its technological component.

Given the limited amount of research available at this time, student reactions to the experience of L2 learning online the DL format cannot be unconditionally characterized as positive. However, the DL approach appears promising in that many students respond favorably to the flexibility afforded by either CALL or online materials and to their potential for self-directed learning. But this potential can also be a double-edged sword: students learning language online have more freedom to be self-directed, but those students unable to direct their own learning are more liable to do poorly or simply drop out, as evidenced by the relatively low retention rates registered for DL courses in general (Carr, 2000).

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

The major complaint voiced against learning languages through a DL format is that students fail to receive enough oral practice with face-to-face speaking. This claim is indisputably true; such is the nature of learning any subject at a distance. However, the more pertinent question should focus on whether or not the use of chat software can compensate in any meaningful way for the absence of face-to-face interactions. A growing body of research on CMC seeks to address this issue (for further references, see Thorne and Payne, 2005a; see also Thorne, *Computer-mediated Communication*, Volume 4). In order to make the learning experience engaging, successful online language courses make use of an array of technological tools ranging from asynchronous

e-mails, bulletin boards, blogs, and wikis to synchronous keyboard chatting with or without audio conferencing (Thorne and Payne, 2005b).

Recent CMC research tends to be theoretically grounded within an interactionist framework that prominently features notions such as the proximal zone of development, focus-on-form, negotiation of meaning, task-based learning, pair work—all constructs that rely on harnessing the power of human interactions to stimulate the process of second language acquisition (SLA). Although cooperative exchanges among L2 learners or between native speakers and L2 learners cannot be said to directly cause L2 acquisition, they appear to, at least, *prime the pump* (Gass, 1997; Gass, Mackey, and Pica, 1998) by focusing the learner's attention on unfamiliar structures (i.e., *noticing* in Schmidt's (1990) terms) and by providing the necessary scaffolding in the learning environment.

Accordingly, most L2 instructors in today's classroom strive to provide opportunities in the classroom for collaborative interactions. The desire to maintain or replicate this part of the classroom experience, no doubt, accounts for some of the profession's resistance to accept DL language courses as a valid alternative. Nevertheless, non-traditional learning environments such as CMC appear to afford ample opportunities for collaborative work with the concomitant SLA benefits (Blake, 2000, 2005; Blake and Zyzik, 2003; Smith, 2003). At present, only the weight of tradition seems to privilege the classroom over these other learning environments, although each format clearly offers a different set of affordances. The potential benefits of collaborative exchanges, whether set in the classroom or managed online, depend more on sound pedagogical design of the tasks the participants are asked to accomplish rather than on the actual locus of the learning event (Doughty and Long, 2003; Kern, Ware, and Warschauer, 2004; Salaberry, 2000; Van Deusen-Scholl, Frei, and Dixon, 2005). In other words, people working together perform better whether in a face-to-face or CMC environment, provided that the activities have been well thought out so as to stimulate maximum interaction among the participants.

This is not to say that the tools themselves have no effect on successful interactions. Kern (1995) was among the first to look closely at the role CMC tools play in facilitating L2 development. He analyzed large-group textual exchanges among L2 French students using *Daedalus InterChange*. He reported that the chat room reduced the role of the teacher in contrast to classroom where the teacher's role dominated the control of the discourse. His data revealed that students produced more total L2 language, crafted more sophisticated structures, and took more turns in this type of an open chat room than during face-to-face discussions. Chun's (1994) study of fourth semester German students yielded similar results.

Recent examinations of CMC have concentrated more on pair or small-group work rather than the discourse found in large chat rooms. A variety of Instant Messenger tools are currently available that support synchronous text exchange (Lafford and Lafford, 2005). More recently, researchers have turned to tools that have the capacity to support audio conferencing as well as keyboard chat (Blake, 2005; Hampel and Hauck, 2004; Jepson, 2005; Levy and Kennedy, 2004): for example, *Wimba*, *Lyceum*, or *PalTalk*, which are based on *Java* applets; or *Breeze* and other home-grown applications based on *Flash Communication Server*.) All of these tools provide Voice-over Internet Protocol (VoIP) that allows students to use the computer much like a telephone.

These bimodal (i.e., text and sound) CMC tools provide L2 students with multiple communication channels that can be used for different purposes (Jepson, 2005). For instance, if someone in the group begins to monopolize the conversation through the sound channel, the other participants still have recourse to express themselves through keyboard chat. Given this flexibility, it is hard to silence partners and even shy personalities participate actively in the flow of the conversation.

Only a handful of studies have addressed the possible transfer effects that keyboard chatting might exert on oral proficiency (Abrams, 2003; Payne and Ross, 2005; Payne and Whitney, 2002). Payne, Whitney and Ross have found that individual differences come into play as well. L2 students with low-span working memories seem to benefit more from CMC because the reduced cognitive burden introduced by textual chatting allows them to produce more extensive and elaborate constructions, an activity these less verbally gifted students may have found difficult in face-to-face exchanges.

Other researchers are more interested in CMC as a way to link native and nonnative speakers in a growing variety of exchange projects. In this context, CMC takes on new meaning as a medium of socialization. This line of inquiry has been dubbed Internet-mediated intercultural communication in foreign language education (Belz and Thorne, 2005). From this perspective, researchers concentrate on the importance of having online L2 learners develop sensitivity to another's cultural identities and communicative styles. Proponents of this approach want their L2 students to reflect upon the fact that their own identity is culturally contingent on certain patterns of interactions (Kern, Ware, and Warschauer, 2004). Researchers caution the field against viewing CMC as a simple tool-using activity in service of linguistic practice. They argue that participating in online interactions is not a culturally neutral endeavor, but embedded in specific cultural and social norms that may or may not be familiar to all participants, L2 and native speaker alike. Accordingly, this more sociocultural approach seeks to examine the concept of *digital literacy* in a way that goes beyond the

ability to read and write online: How do L2 learners coconstruct their own online roles and identities? The end result is that L2 students are increasingly responsible for diverse representations of knowledge and learning (Van Deusen-Scholl, Frei, and Dixon, 2005) but, in many cases, participants will need training in how to do this if the CMC exchanges are to be successful (Belz and Kinginger, 2002).

Despite the different research interests, the overall tone of the CMC research findings treat CMC—and synchronous bimodal chatting, in particular—as an essential component of a modern L2 curriculum in either the hybrid or DL format. For the DL course, CMC crucially becomes the curricular glue necessary to maintain student interest in lieu of any other form of face-to-face daily contact (Blake, 2005).

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Implementing and evaluating DL language courses represent two separate issues, each with its respective challenges. To implement a language course in a DL format, L2 teachers cannot simply clone existing print materials for the Web. Careful attention must be paid to making the online activities as stimulating as possible as a function of the strengths of this particular medium. For this reason, the creation of an online curriculum is both expensive (i.e., the Open University spends around two million per course on an 8-year cycle) and time-consuming—two facts largely ignored by administrators and departments. By and large, a content-based approach (i.e., learning language through the study of subject matter) to producing Web activities with the main focus on the exploration of meaning first, and linguistic forms second, will render better results than the more traditional focus-on-forms (i.e., grammatical) methods. Some form of initial pilot testing of DL materials is also highly recommended.

Likewise, administrators tend to see the DL format as a solution to oversubscribed language classes. Large enrollments taught in the DL format are just as difficult to manage, if not more so, as in classroom formats. Teachers of DL language classes need to resist attempts by administrators to accept more students than is the norm for language classroom (i.e., around 25 students).

On the practical side of delivery, extensive user support is key to maintaining student interest and avoiding the frustrations that commonly occur with the use of new technologies (Simpson, 2000). It is wise to remember that roughly half of the enrolled DL students are predicted to give up and drop the course (Carr, 2000). It must be realized that not all students are ready to work independently and take responsibility for the direction their own learning. However, this is the only *modus operandi* within the DL format and should not be blamed when

students are not ready for the challenge. Fortunately, LCTL students tend to already possess solid skills in working independently, a fact which would favor the outcome of using a DL format for LCTL instruction.

The process of evaluating DL courses encounters its own difficulties beginning with the obvious fact that the students have only a virtual presence—they never see their instructor in person. Getting virtual L2 students to take special pre-/posttests or fill out questionnaires not related to the computation of their grade—something that teachers regularly cajole their students into doing through the classroom format—can be a daunting task (Blake and Delforge, 2006).

Perhaps the greatest hurdle to generalizing findings about DL language courses is a characteristic shared with realities of doing SLA research itself: individual differences account for a major portion of the outcome variability and are hard to control for. With technology involved, individual differences are just exacerbated since L2 learners perform from their own respective home environments, which are all different. At the same time, and ironically for research purposes, allowing L2 learners to self-direct their own learning activities constitutes one of the major attractions of this learning environment. Similarly, longitudinal studies—which, again, are relatively rare even in mainstream SLA studies—are almost impossible to carry out in the DL context.

Finally, as mentioned earlier, isolating the effects of the DL format as opposed to those of the learning materials or individual differences is exceedingly hard to operationalize. Not surprisingly, the field has not made much progress on teasing these factors apart.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Demonstrating to the profession at large that the DL format has a significant contribution to make to the L2 curriculum will persist as a research priority, especially given many teachers' entrenched resistance to technology or even their fears that computers might replace them. Higher education is beginning to reconfigure its delivery mechanisms in the face of growing costs and instructor shortages (as in the case of LCTL offerings) and the L2 curriculum will not be exempt from these trends. The field must experiment and plan for alternate delivery mechanisms if it is to have a significant say in how the L2 curriculum will be organized.

Further research is needed to demonstrate how synchronous CMC can help maintain high levels of conversational interactivity in the DL format. Similarly, more data should be gathered on how best to use new advances in audio conferencing so as to formulate guidelines

of best practices for prospective DL instructors who must learn how and when to alternate text messaging with audio exchanges.

In the same vein, the initial inquiries regarding the effect of keyboarding on the development of oral proficiency show considerable promise for the field and should receive more serious attention (see Abrams, 2003; Payne and Ross, 2005; Payne and Whitney, 2002). In pursuit of this goal, researchers should control for working memory, an important individual variable.

Finally, the field must provide DL instructors and curriculum developers with more insights on how the CMC medium can be used most productively to foster intercultural contexts. Students and instructors alike should not assume that everyone uses chat in the same way and with the same cultural understandings and conventions. This realization opens the door to using CMC to construct and reflect upon one's own identity in a new L2 space.

In technological terms, the DL format for L2 instruction will continue to evolve rapidly. General availability of increased bandwidth will, no doubt, push teachers to high-quality video streaming and video exchanges, as well. Voice recognition and similar technologies are probably not too far off on the horizon for the micro-computing platforms. If the DL language field retains an emphasis on collaborative exchanges and co-construction of learning (i.e., the interactionist perspective), these new or yet-to-be imagined technical advances have the potential of being smoothly absorbed into an educational medium that is here to stay.

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# **Section 1**

**21<sup>st</sup> Century Bilingual Education: Advances in Understanding and Emerging Issues**

KEY CONCEPTS IN BILINGUAL EDUCATION:  
IDEOLOGICAL, HISTORICAL, EPISTEMOLOGICAL, AND  
EMPIRICAL FOUNDATIONS

INTRODUCTION: WHY DO WE NEED TO DEFINE  
CONCEPTS?

The concepts we use are almost never neutral. In contested arenas such as bilingual education, words and concepts frame and construct the phenomena under discussion, making some persons and groups visible, others invisible; some the unmarked norm, others marked and negative. Choice of language can minoritise or distort some individuals, groups, phenomena and relations while majoritising and glorifying others. Concepts also can be defined in ways that hide, expose, rationalise or question power relations.

Because concepts and terms develop historically, the same concept may have several definitions. For example, 'language immersion' has historically been associated with French–Canadian immersion for middle-class Anglophones (Cummins and Swain, 1986; Lambert and Tucker, 1971). The term was misleadingly appropriated by US policymakers to describe submersion programmes (called 'structured immersion'), despite protest from the concept's originator (Lambert, 1984, pp. 26–27). Recently the term has taken on new meaning in Indigenous-language immersion programmes to revitalise endangered Indigenous languages (Bear Nicholas, 2005; Hinton and Hale, 2001; Hinton and Vera, Steel, and Advocates for Indigenous California Language Survival, 2002). The ideological, historical, epistemic and empirical bases for these varied uses of 'immersion' are distinct, as are program practices.

A further reason for interrogating concepts is the presence of multiple paradigms. For example, literacy can be defined as the ability to read and write. Yet this definition masks two different paradigms informing literacy research and practice. *Autonomous* views characterise literacy as abstract, neutral and independent from the social context and language users (Ong, 1982). *Ideological* views characterise literacy as 'socially and historically situated, fluid, multiple, and power-linked' (McCarty, 2005, pp. xvii–xviii; Street, 1984, 2001). Educationally, an autonomous view emphasises discrete language skills often taught through direct instruction and scripted phonics programs. An ideological

view binds reading and writing to oracy, emphasising the development of different literacies (and multi-literacies) for different purposes through meaningful social interaction and critical examination of authentic texts.

In this chapter, we define and ‘unpack’ key concepts in bilingual education, focusing on those encountered most frequently in the research and pedagogical literature. We then examine one illustrative case—the term ‘limited English proficient’ (LEP) in US language policy—to illustrate the ideological, historical and empirical underpinnings of such concepts. We conclude by considering the implications of this work for bilingual education practice and linguistic human rights (LHRs).

## KEY CONCEPTS AND TERMS

**Additive language learning.** A new language is learnt *in addition to* the mother tongue, which continues to be developed. The learner’s total linguistic repertoire is extended.

**Assimilation.** Process by which minoritised people are brought into conformity with the dominant language and culture, often through coercive practices to replace heritage languages and cultures with those of the majority.

**Bi-/multilingual education.** Use of two or more languages as media of instruction in subjects other than the languages themselves (Andersson and Boyer, 1978). *Non-forms* of bi-/multilingual education lead to monolingualism, and include: (i) mainstream monolingual programmes with foreign language teaching for dominant language speakers; (ii) monolingual dominant-language medium programmes in which Indigenous/minority children learn the mother tongue/heritage language as a subject, often outside regular school hours; (iii) submersion (‘sink-or-swim’) programmes; and (iv) segregation programmes; *Weak forms* aim for strong dominance in the majority language, and include transitional (i) early-exit and (ii) late-exit programmes. *Strong forms* include: (i) mother-tongue maintenance or language shelter programmes; (ii) two-way bilingual (dual language) programmes; and (iii) plural multi-lingual programmes such as the special European Union schools. Only strong forms lead to high levels of bi-/multilingualism and are associated with greater academic success for language minority students (Thomas and Collier, 2002). These programmes also respect LHRs.

**Bi-/multilingualism.** This includes: (i) *individual bi-/multilingualism*, sometimes called plurilingualism, involving proficiency in and use of

two or more languages by an individual; the term does not always imply an equally high level of proficiency in all the relevant languages; (ii) *societal bi-/multilingualism*, when two or more languages are widely used in a community or state; the term does not always assume official status for the languages; (iii) *bilingualism as an educational goal*, a bilingual speaker who is able to function in two or more languages in monolingual or multilingual communities at the same level as native speakers and in accordance with the socio-cultural demands for communicative and cognitive competence by these communities and the individual, and who identifies positively with both (or all) language groups and cultures, or parts of them (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984, p. 90).

**Content- and language-integrated learning (CLIL)/Cognitive academic language learning (CALLA).** The teaching of some subjects through the target language; an approach to language learning through content-area study ([www.clilcompendium.com/brief.htm](http://www.clilcompendium.com/brief.htm); Chamot and O'Malley, 1994).

**Ecology of languages.** The study of languages in their ecological and socio-cultural context; a perspective on the relationship between languages guiding language policy strategies, with the goal of achieving a harmonious balance between all languages in a given environment (Fill and Mühlhäusler, 2001; Haugen, 1972; Hornberger, 2003; Mühlhäusler, 2003; Skutnabb-Kangas, Maffi and Harmon, 2003).

**English-as-a-second-language (ESL).** English can be a second language: (i) in terms of the order of learning (as opposed to a first language) and/or (ii) when used in the environment outside the classroom (as opposed to English-as-a-foreign language (EFL), which involves primarily classroom learning). ESL contexts include those in which English is learnt by those for whom it is not the mother tongue (e.g. Indigenous peoples and immigrants in Australia), and post-colonial settings in which English remains the language of power (e.g. Nigeria, Singapore). English is also a second language in European countries in which English proficiency is required for key functions such as in higher education or commerce (e.g. the Netherlands, Sweden), and where there is considerable exposure to English in the wider society (e.g. in the media).

**English-only.** Also called US English and Official English (<http://www.us-english.org/inc>), this US-based political movement seeks to ban instruction and public discourse in languages other than English (Crawford, 1992; González and Melis, 2000, 2001). English-only policies exist in 23 US states.

**Ethnicity/ethnic identity.** Historical, geographical, cultural, linguistic, sociolinguistic and/or national associations that bind individuals together as a distinct, self-identified group. Group-defining characteristics may include common descent ('factual' or 'mythical'), religion and social organisation. Although language is not a defining characteristic of ethnicity for all people, it has been accorded priority by many (Fishman, 1989, 1999; Smolicz, 1979). All people, not only minorities, possess ethnic identities.

**European Union schools.** Special EU schools with sections for various languages in which each language (mostly students' mother tongue) is the primary medium of education. The first foreign language is taught as a subject from grade 1; a few context-embedded subjects (e.g. physical education, arts, etc.) are taught in mixed groups through this language from grade 3, preferably with no mother tongue speakers; a few additional subjects are taught through it in later grades, but decontextualised verbally and intellectually demanding subjects (e.g. history) are taught through the medium of the first foreign language only from grade 8, when students have studied the language as a subject for seven years and have had some less demanding subjects taught in it for five years. There is more teaching through the mother tongue in grades 10–12, especially in demanding subjects. Instruction in a second foreign language (one of the languages of other sections) begins in grade 7. All teachers are minimally bilingual. For each subject, students choose the language in which they take their final exams. Everyone becomes minimally bilingual at a high level, and many become trilingual.

**First language (L1).** Often a synonym for mother tongue, or in contrast to a second language (L2); the language first learnt, best known, and/or most used.

**Foreign language (FL).** A language learnt mainly in the classroom, for reading texts and/or communication with its speakers (e.g. Arabic in Korea, English in Mongolia, French in Russia).

**Immersion programmes for dominant language speakers.** Parents of linguistic majority children with a high-status mother tongue (e.g. Anglophones in Ontario, Canada) choose voluntarily to enrol their children in a programme in which instruction is conducted through the medium of a foreign/minority language. Most of the children in these classes are majority language children with the same mother tongue. Teachers in these programmes are bilingual so that children can initially use their own language and still be understood. These programmes are implemented in additive language learning contexts in which children's mother tongue is not in danger of being replaced by the language

of instruction. Although children enrolled in French immersion programmes in Canada initially represented a largely homogenous Anglophone population, increasingly, children whose mother tongue is neither English nor French are enrolling in these programs.

**Immersion programmes for Indigenous peoples or minorities.**

Dominated-group children who have partially or completely lost their ancestral language choose voluntarily, among existing alternatives, to be instructed through the medium of the Indigenous/minority language, in classes with children with the same goal and target language, in which the teacher is bilingual so that children can initially use their dominant language, and in contexts in which that language is not in danger of being replaced by the Indigenous/minority language; an additive language learning context.

**Indigenous education.** There are at least three senses of this concept: (i) natural systems ('formal' and 'informal') of child socialisation developed by Indigenous peoples in accordance with local norms, to teach Indigenous knowledge and skills through the Indigenous language; (ii) imposed colonial and post-colonial schooling, usually through the dominant language, with assimilation as a goal and (iii) contemporary Indigenous self-determinant schooling, usually based on culturally relevant content and pedagogy, and including instruction in and through the Indigenous language.

**Indigenous peoples.** Communities, peoples and nations, which, having a historical continuity within pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed within their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the society(ies) now prevailing in those territories. They form non-dominant sectors of society determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, identity and often, their language as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their cultural practices and social and legal systems (Cobo, 1987, p. 4). The International Labour Organisation's (ILO's) 1989 definition may be the strongest legally: '... peoples in independent countries who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonisation or the establishment of present state boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions.' Self-identification is included within the ILO definition 'as a fundamental criterion for determining the groups to which the provisions of this Convention apply' (<http://www.unhcr.ch/html/menu3/b/62.htm>).

**Language.** The system of sounds, words, signs, grammar and rules for (i) communication in a given speech community for spoken, written, or signed interaction; (ii) storing, acting out and developing cultural knowledge and values and (iii) displaying, analysing, structuring and creating the world and personal and social identity. Theoretically, language also can be seen as existing only in practice, when being used, created and enacted. The existence of discrete languages (rather than continua of mutually intelligible dialects) has also been called a Western myth (e.g. Mühlhäusler, 2003).

**Language endangerment.** Situation in which intergenerational transmission is proceeding negatively, with fewer children in each generation acquiring the language in childhood. Other criteria include low number of speakers, reduced number of communicative domains and low status. About 50%–90% of the world's spoken languages may be extinct or seriously endangered by 2100 (Krauss, 1992; UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages, 2003; [http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/file\\_download.php/947ee963052abf0293b22e0bfba319cc-languagevitalityendangerment.pdf](http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/file_download.php/947ee963052abf0293b22e0bfba319cc-languagevitalityendangerment.pdf); [http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL\\_ID=8270&URL\\_DO=DO\\_TOPIC&URL\\_SECTION=201.html](http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=8270&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html)).

**Language maintenance or language shelter programmes.** Linguistic minority children (often with a low-status mother tongue) choose voluntarily, among existing alternatives, to be instructed through the medium of their mother tongue, in classes with minority children with the same mother tongue, in which the teacher is bilingual and there is a pedagogically sound instructional programme in the majority language as a second or foreign language, also provided by a bilingual teacher.

**Language planning.** Socio-cultural process undertaken by an authorising body (e.g. government, schools), communities and/or families to promote language change through (i) *status planning*, decisions and activities specifying how languages will be used, by whom, in what contexts, and for what purposes; (ii) *corpus planning*, including language codification, elaboration, standardisation and development of print materials; and (iii) *acquisition planning*, language programme development (Cooper, 1989; Haugen, 1983; Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997). Language planning may be guided by one or more orientations: (i) *language-as-a-problem*, in which linguistic diversity is viewed as a problem to be overcome; (ii) *language-as-a-right*, the negotiation of language rights, often in contested contexts; and (iii) *language-as-a-resource*, the promotion of linguistic democracy and pluralism (Ruiz, 1984). (See also Grin, 2006 on economic considerations in language planning and policy.)

**Language policy.** Socio-cultural process that includes official acts and documents as well as everyday language practices that express normative claims about legitimate and illegitimate language forms and uses, and have implications for status, rights, roles, functions and access to languages and varieties within a given polity, organisation or institution; the scholarly study of how decisions about language are formulated and implemented, often considered a subset of language planning (see, e.g. Lo Bianco, 1987).

**Language regeneration.** For an endangered language, deliberate language planning and policy activities aimed at (i) *language revival*, restoring oral and/or written functions for a language no longer spoken, and for which little or no literary tradition exists; (ii) *language revitalisation*, giving new vitality to endangered-language domains and functions; and/or (iii) *reversing language shift*, producing new generations of speakers (Amery, 2000; Fishman 1991, 2001; Huss, Camilleri and King, 2003; Paulston, 1993; Romero-Little and McCarty, 2006).

**Language rights.** *Negative language rights* concern the right to non-discrimination in the enjoyment of human rights; *positive language rights* involve the freedom to practice or use distinctive aspects of a group's culture, including language and religion. Positive language rights typically require a state obligation to support minority languages.

Limited English proficient/Non-English proficient (NEP): A definition in US language policy in which minority students are identified negatively, in terms of what they do not yet know fully; revised in 2001 to *English language learner* (ELL), a more positive term but one that nonetheless emphasises what linguistic minority students do not know and invisibilises what they do know (e.g. their own or their parents' language and culture).

**Linguicism.** Beliefs, attitudes and actions whereby differences of language serve to structure inequality between linguistic groups; ideologies, structures and practices used to legitimate, effectuate, regulate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources between groups defined on the basis of language (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1988, p. 13).

**Linguistic human rights.** Individual and collective language rights that every individual has because of being human, to be able to fulfill her/his basic needs and live a dignified life. In theory, LHRs are so inalienable that no state or person may violate them (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 1994).

**Linguistic imperialism.** A form of linguicism in which one community or collectivity dominates another, as in colonialism, imperialism

and corporate globalisation, and in which the language of the dominant power is privileged structurally in the allocation of resources and ideologically in beliefs and attitudes towards languages (Phillipson, 1992).

**Linguicide/linguistic genocide.** The deliberate elimination of a language, without killing its speakers; forcing speakers to give up a mother tongue through ‘forcibly transferring children of the group to another group’; ‘causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group’ (United Nations International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide 1948, E 793, Articles 2e and 2b); or ‘prohibiting the use of the [mother tongue] in daily intercourse, or in schools, or the printing and circulation of publications in the language of the group’ (from the 1948 Final Draft of the earlier version, not part of the Convention).

**Majority language.** Language of a dominant group, in terms of numbers and/or power.

**Minorities.** Defined similarly to ethnic groups (numbers, dominance, characteristics), and by a desire to maintain distinctive characteristics; there is often no common descent (e.g. women; gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgendered persons; Deaf persons). Ethnic minorities can have national/autochthonous or immigrant origins. Few countries state how long an immigrated minority must reside in a country before becoming a ‘national’ minority (Hungary: 100 years); some countries are unwilling to accept that they have immigrants (‘guest workers’). ‘Being’ a minority in the sense of having less power than some other group(s) (i.e. being minoritised) is a relationship rather than a characteristic; it pre-supposes that (an)other group(s) has/have been majoritised. Human agency can transform these relations in a more equal direction. In international law, the existence of a minority does not depend on a decision by the state but must be established by objective criteria. Minorities have some rights in education that are not accorded in international law to children under other labels (e.g. ‘linguistically diverse students’, ‘ELLs’). In international law, minorities do not have a right to self-determination (e.g. independence), whereas Indigenous peoples do.

**Minority language.** Language that is not the dominant language of a territorial unit such as a state, because the speakers of the language have less power (they have been minoritised), and the language is generally spoken by a smaller number of people. Power relations—not numbers—constitute the defining characteristic of ‘minority’ languages (e.g. Navajo speakers are numerically dominant within the Navajo nation yet their language is minoritised within and outside their lands; many African languages are minority languages from a power point of

view although they have more speakers than those of official languages). In many countries, all groups are minorities.

**Monolingual ideology.** False belief that monolingualism at both the individual and societal levels is normal, desirable, sufficient for most purposes and unavoidable; monolingual fallacy/habitus/reductionism/naivety.

**Monolingualism.** Functioning in a single language (includes dialectal variation; one may be bidialectal but monolingual).

**Mother tongue.** Language(s) one learns first, identifies with, and/or is identified by others as a native speaker of; sometimes also the language that one is most competent in or uses most. There may be a change of mother tongue during a person's lifetime according to all other criteria except the first. A person may have two or more mother tongues (bilingualism/multilingualism as a mother tongue). Indigenous or minority mother tongues are sometimes called *heritage languages* (often when children do not know them well), *home languages* (implying that they are/should not be used for official purposes) or *community languages* (falsely implying that majority populations do not form a community). The last three terms can (but need not) contribute to the minoritisation of the language(s). Even if they do not yet know (much of) a language, Deaf persons and Indigenous peoples have the right to claim a Sign language or an ancestral language as their mother tongue on the basis of identifying with it.

**Native speaker.** Individual whose competence in a language almost always derives from the language being the mother tongue and first language learnt.

**Non-native speaker.** Label that defines a person's language competence negatively, vis-à-vis others for whom the language is a mother tongue, rather than positively as a user of the language as a second or foreign language.

**Oracy.** High levels of spoken language proficiency; to be a competent speaker or storyteller. An *orate* is an individual who communicates through listening and speaking but not reading and writing; orates often have superb memory strategies in comparison with persons considered literate because orates carry their entire 'library' in their heads. *Orature* is oral literature.

**Oralism.** Teaching Deaf people to 'lip-read' and speak only; discouraging or prohibiting them from using a natural Sign language.

**Second language (L2).** Language learnt after acquiring the mother tongue (as opposed to first language), or learnt and used in the environment, often in addition to school (as opposed to foreign language).

**Segregation programme.** Linguistic minority children with a low-status mother tongue are forced to accept instruction through the medium of their mother tongue in classes with minority children with the same mother tongue, where the teacher may be monolingual or bilingual but is often poorly trained, the class/school has poorer facilities and fewer resources than classes/schools for dominant group children, and teaching of the dominant language as a second/foreign language is poor or non-existent. Later integration is not a goal in these programmes.

**Sign languages.** Natural languages that developed in Deaf communities similarly to the way in which spoken languages developed in hearing communities. Examples are AUSLAN (Australian Sign Language), ASL (American Sign Language) and Swedish Sign Language. Sign languages are complex, abstract linguistic systems with their own grammars. They have a small closed set of distinctive features, meaningless in themselves, that combine in ways peculiar to each language to form morphemes, which are then combined into meaningful signs. In analysing a sign, the equivalent of the phoneme is the chereme. Cheremic variation in individual signs plays the same role in differentiating one sign from another as does phonological variation in distinguishing words. There are five parameters within which cheremic variations occur in natural Sign languages: (i) handshape(s), (ii) location of sign, (iii) palm orientation, (iv) movement(s) and (v) non-manual features (e.g. facial expressions, use of shoulders and body). By changing the chereme in any one of these five areas, the meaning of a sign is altered.

**Structured immersion.** An approach in the USA in which linguistic minority students are submersed in the dominant language with little or no support for their mother tongue; combines aspects of ESL and submersion/sink-or-swim, with the goal of replacing the mother tongue with English.

**Submersion/sink-or-swim programme.** Linguistic minority children with a low-status mother tongue are forced to accept instruction through a foreign majority/official/dominant language, in classes in which the teacher does not understand the minoritised mother tongue, and in which the dominant language constitutes a threat to that language, which runs the risk of being replaced; a *subtractive* language learning situation. In another variant, stigmatised majority children (or groups of minority children in a country with no decisive numerical and/or power majorities) are forced to accept instruction through the

medium of a foreign (often former colonial) high-status language (because mother tongue-medium education does not exist). This often occurs in mixed mother tongue classes, mostly without native speakers of the language of instruction, but also in linguistically homogenous classes, sometimes because mother tongue education does not exist or because the school or teachers hesitate to implement a mother tongue-medium programme. The teacher may not understand children's mother tongue(s). The foreign language is not learnt at a high level at the same time as children's mother tongues are displaced and not learnt in formal domains (e.g. mother tongue literacy is not achieved). Often the children are made to feel ashamed of their mother tongues, or to believe in the superiority of the language of instruction.

**Subtractive language learning.** A new, dominant/majority language is learnt at the cost of the mother tongue, which is replaced or displaced, with a resulting diglossic situation. The individual's total linguistic repertoire does not grow.

**Transitional early-exit and late-exit programmes.** Linguistic minority children with a low-status mother tongue are initially instructed through the medium of their mother tongue for a few years; the mother tongue is used as an instrument for acquisition of the dominant language and content. In *early-exit* programmes, children are transferred to a majority-language medium programme as soon as they develop (some) oral communicative competence in the majority language, in most cases after one to three years. In *late-exit* programmes, children may receive some instruction through L1 up to the fifth or sixth grade; sometimes the mother tongue is taught as a subject thereafter. For both programme types, the primary goal is proficiency in the dominant language.

**Two-way bilingual (dual language) programmes (sometimes erroneously called double or dual immersion in the USA).** Approximately 50% majority and 50% minority students (with the same mother tongue) choose voluntarily to be instructed by a bilingual teacher, initially mainly through a minority language (the 90/10 model) or through both languages (the 50/50 model), with the dominant language taught as a subject (at the beginning separately to both groups, e.g. mother tongue English to native English-speakers and ESL to minority language speakers in the USA). The percentage of instruction in the dominant language increases in all 90/10 models, in some to 40% to 60% by grade 6, whereas it stays the same in the 50/50 model. In cases where there is no follow-up through the medium of the minority language after grade 6 when many children move to another school, two-way models can be placed in the transitional model category when considering the child's full educational (K to 12) career. Two-way

models thus combine in one classroom a maintenance model for minorities (especially in the 90/10 model) and an immersion model for the majority, while maximising peer-group contact in the other language for both groups. In some cases two-way immersion may include instruction in two minoritised languages (e.g. Navajo and Spanish in the USA), coupled with ESL instruction for both groups.

AN ILLUSTRATIVE CASE: HISTORICAL,  
IDEOLOGICAL AND EMPIRICAL UNDERPINNINGS  
OF 'LIMITED ENGLISH PROFICIENCY' IN US  
LANGUAGE POLICY

In the USA, a child's identification as LEP has been the primary criterion for participation in state and federal bilingual education programmes. As defined by federal law, LEP refers to (i) persons not born in the USA or whose native language is other than English and who come from an environment in which a language other than English is dominant; (ii) Native Americans or Alaska Natives who come from an environment in which a language other than English has had a significant impact on her or his English proficiency; and (iii) persons classified as 'migratory', with a native language other than English and who come from an environment in which a language other than English is dominant. In all cases, individuals so identified must demonstrate 'sufficient difficulties' speaking, reading, writing or understanding English as to deny them opportunities to learn successfully in English-language classrooms and participate fully in society ([http://www.helpforschools.com/ELLKBase/legal/Definition\\_LEP.shtml](http://www.helpforschools.com/ELLKBase/legal/Definition_LEP.shtml)).

Emphasising what individuals lack rather than the proficiencies they possess, the term LEP reveals the 'language-as-a-problem' orientation in US language policy (Ruiz, 1984). The centrepiece of this policy was historically the Bilingual Education Act of 1968, the purpose of which was, according to its legislative sponsor, not 'to create pockets of different languages throughout the country', nor to 'stamp out the mother tongue', nor to make [minorities'] mother tongue the dominant language', but rather to 'make those children fully literate in English' (cited in Crawford, 2004, p. 107). The compensatory and transitional nature of the policy is underscored by the fact that it gave preference to children from low-income homes and did not require instruction in children's native language (Crawford, 2004, p. 117).

In 1973, the policy was modified to direct schools to use students' native language 'to the extent necessary to allow a child to progress effectively through the education system' (Crawford, 2004, p. 114). Five

years later, a one-word qualifier reaffirmed the policy's transitional approach: LEP students' primary language could be used *only* to the extent necessary to further their English-language development. Subsequent reauthorisations reserved funding for 'special alternative' (English-only) programmes. In 2001, the legislation was re-titled the English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement and Academic Achievement Act, with the sole purpose of ensuring that LEP children 'attain English proficiency, develop high levels of academic attainment in English, and meet the same challenging State academic content . . . standards as all children' (English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement and Academic Achievement Act, Part A, Sec. 3102[1]). The term LEP has been replaced by 'ELL', a term that appears benign but is consistent with the dismantling of a 'bilingual education' policy discourse. These changes in terminology have been coterminous with policies to regulate immigration, particularly along the US–Mexico border. As such, the terminology contributes to a larger discourse of containment aimed at regulating diversity deemed threatening to national interests (McCarty, 2005).

#### IMPLICATIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

In this chapter we have shown how terminological choices shape and are shaped by broader ideological, historical and socio-political forces. These choices have far-reaching consequences for language learners and their communities. In the USA example cited earlier, language choice serves to delegitimise minority students' mother tongues as languages for academic development, while linking those languages and their speakers to poverty and low social status. Other examples (e.g. immersion programmes for Indigenous peoples or minorities) illustrate the ways in which concepts and terms can frame and support democratising educational goals.

As researchers and educators, our first charge is to carefully and critically examine the terms and concepts that constitute the 'toolkit' for our work. How do they describe and frame the characteristics of language learners and their communities? To what extent do they circumscribe or expand learners' opportunities and potentials? What language planning orientations underpin particular terminologies and concepts? Whose interests do they serve? We can then employ these tools strategically towards social justice ends. While changes in terminology alone cannot reverse educational inequities, they are nonetheless essential to the development of a counter-hegemonic discourse that respects and promotes LHRs.

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## BILINGUAL/IMMERSION EDUCATION: WHAT THE RESEARCH TELLS US

### INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores key research findings about bilingual/immersion education and the related efficacy of various approaches to teaching bilingual students. When this research is examined, and taken seriously, the picture of what constitutes an effective educational approach for bilingual students can be clearly ascertained. However, this clarity is not yet reflected in wider public and policy debates, where strongly polarised positions both for and against bilingual/immersion education remain commonplace.

A key reason why wider public and policy debates on bilingual/immersion education continue to be so contested rests with the widely different understandings among commentators of what such an education actually constitutes. At one end of the continuum are those who would classify as bilingual *any* educational approach adopted for, or directed at bilingual students, *irrespective* of their educational aims (fostering bilingualism or monolingualism) or the role (if any) of first language (L1) and second language (L2) as languages of instruction. In other words, simply the presence of bilingual students in the classroom is deemed sufficient to classify a program as bilingual (see, e.g. Baker and de Kanter, 1981). At the other end of the continuum are those who distinguish clearly between non-bilingual, weak and strong bilingual programs (e.g. Baker, 2006; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981, 2000). It is the latter approach that I will adopt in this analysis.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS: DEFINING BILINGUAL/IMMERSION EDUCATION

There are a plethora of existing typologies with respect to bilingual/immersion education in the research literature, although, as one might expect, they do not always correspond or overlap, depending on the initial starting point, and position of the researcher. Some of the most accessible and informed can be found in Hornberger (1991), Baker (2006), Cummins (2003), and Skutnabb-Kangas (2000); for a useful overview, see May, Hill and Tiakiwai (2004) and Genesee, Lindholm-Leary, Saunders and Christian (2006).

Before unpacking the characteristics of bilingual/immersion education further in light of these typologies, however, it is useful to begin with a classic definition of bilingual education, first posited by Andersson and Boyer:

Bilingual education is instruction in *two languages* and the use of those two languages as mediums of instruction for any part, or all, of the school curriculum. (1970, p. 12; their emphasis)

Put simply, bilingual education involves instruction *in* two languages (see also Baker and Prys Jones, 1998; Cummins, 2003; Freeman, 1998; Hamers and Blanc, 2000). This immediately excludes programs that include bilingual students but do not involve bilingual instruction, most notably submersion majority language programs, where students are taught only in the majority language, irrespective of their language background. It also excludes programs where an L2 is taught as a subject only. English as a second language (ESL) classes, which include the Sheltered Instruction approach increasingly popular in the USA, are examples of this, as are foreign language classes. Along with submersion programs, they can also clearly be described as non-bilingual programs.

For a program to be deemed to be bilingual, the key is that both languages must be used as media of instruction and thus to deliver curriculum content. As Baker and Prys-Jones (1998, p. 466) conclude: 'If there is a useful demarcation, then bilingual education may be said to start when more than one language is used to teach content (e.g. Science, Mathematics, Social Sciences, or Humanities) rather than just being taught as a subject by itself'. On this basis, immersion models that teach majority language students predominantly through a minority language, such as French-immersion programs in Canada or Maori immersion programs in New Zealand, are also clearly bilingual programs, since some curricular instruction in the majority language (English, in both cases) almost always occurs at some point prior to the end of the program, even in those programs with very high levels of immersion in the minority language.

An additional key point addressed by many commentators in defining bilingual education relates to the *philosophy* and related educational *goals* of any given program. In short, does the program in question aim to achieve, foster and/or maintain longer-term student bilingualism and biliteracy, adding another language to the student's existing language repertoire, which has come to be termed in the research literature as an *additive* approach to bilingualism? Or does it aim eventually to shift students from bilingualism to monolingualism in the dominant language, losing or replacing one language with another, a process that has been described as *subtractive* bilingualism?

First postulated by Lambert in Canada in 1974, the additive–subtractive distinction is also useful for another reason. Research over the last 30 years has consistently demonstrated that those programs which are most likely to achieve bilingualism and biliteracy for their students—that is additive bilingual programs—are also the most likely to see those students succeed educationally. In contrast, subtractive programs not only atrophy their students’ existing bilingualism, but also exhibit far lower levels of educational success for these students, particularly over time (see Baker, 2006; Cummins, 2000; Genesee, Lindholm-Leary, Saunders and Christian, 2006; May, Hill, and Tiakiwai, 2004; Thomas and Collier, 2002; see also later).

With this broad distinction between additive and subtractive bilingualism clearly outlined, the next level of classification of bilingual programs can now be made in terms of the specific linguistic and/or educational aims of particular bilingual education *models*. According to Freeman (1998, p. 3), models are defined in terms of ‘their language-planning goals and ideological orientations towards linguistic and cultural diversity in society’. They can be understood as broad categories that help us to understand on a very general level what bilingual education means, although there is inevitably a degree of arbitrariness in distinguishing among them.

Despite the welter of different classifications of bilingual education in the research literature, there are three broad models of bilingualism that are consistently included in these various typologies. These are *transitional* models, *maintenance* models and *enrichment* models of bilingual education. In addition to these three broad models, there are also what have come to be known as *heritage* models. These are most often associated with indigenous language education initiatives, such as Maori-medium education in New Zealand, Navajo language education in the USA, Quechua language education programs in Peru, and Sámi language education in Norway, among many (see, e.g. Hinton and Hale, 2001).

A *transitional* model of bilingual education uses the L1 of minority language students in the early stages of schooling but aims to shift students away from the use of their L1 as quickly as possible towards the greater use of the dominant language, in order to ‘cope’ academically in ‘mainstream’ or general education (de Mejia, 2002; Freeman, 1998). In other words, the L1 is used only to the extent that it facilitates the transition of the minority language (L1) speaker to the majority language (L2). Accordingly, most transitional programs are also ‘early-exit’ programs, where the L1 is used for only 1–2 years, before being replaced by the L2, and can thus be regarded as both a subtractive and weak bilingual model. In assuming that the (minority) L1 will eventually be replaced by a (majority) L2, bilingualism is not in itself

regarded as necessarily beneficial, either to the individual or to society as a whole. This in turn suggests that the eventual atrophy of minority languages, or the aim of moving eventually *from* bilingualism *to* monolingualism in the majority language, remains a central objective of transitional bilingualism programs. Until their recent demise in a political climate largely antithetical to *any* kind of bilingual program, a transitional bilingual approach was most prominent in the USA, where transitional bilingual programs were developed widely for Spanish (L1) speakers from the 1970s onwards.

A *maintenance* approach to bilingual education, on the other hand, differs fundamentally from a transitional approach because it aims to *maintain* the minority language of the student, *strengthen* the student's sense of cultural and linguistic identity, and *affirm* their individual and collective ethnolinguistic rights. As such, it is clearly an additive and strong bilingual model. There are many types of bilingual program that can be said to fit into this model and these will be discussed more fully below. However, the typical participant in a maintenance bilingual program will be a national minority group member (e.g. Welsh in Britain, Catalan in Spain, French Canadian in Canada, Latinos in the USA) whose L1 is already developed to an age-appropriate level (although they do not need to be literate yet in the language). The language of instruction of the program will either be predominantly in the L1 or, if both L1 and L2 are used as mediums of instruction, at least 50% in the L1. This is because the aim of such programs, as their designation suggests, is to maintain the L1 for a sufficient amount of time so that academic language proficiency in the L1 is achieved. This in turn facilitates the acquisition of literacy in an L2, on the basis of the developmental interdependence principle (see Cummins, 1979, 2000). Consequently, the most common programs in a maintenance bilingual model are late-exit programs—that is the use of L1 as an instructional language continues *for at least* 4 years, often longer.

Closely related to maintenance bilingual programs are *enrichment* programs, a term first coined by Fishman (1976). If the former are geared towards maintaining the L1 of minority language students, the latter are generally (but not exclusively) associated with teaching majority language students (such as L1 English speakers) *through* a minority target language. French immersion in Canada, where many of the students come from middle-class L1 English-speaking homes, is perhaps the most often cited example of an enrichment bilingual program. Welsh-medium schools, which also include many middle-class L1 English speakers, are another example. Elite bilingual programs such as the European Schools movement are also widely regarded as enrichment programs (see Baetens Beardsmore, 1993).

As with maintenance programs, the emphasis in enrichment programs is not just on achieving bilingualism and biliteracy for individual students but also on the ongoing maintenance of the minority language(s) in the wider community. As Hornberger argues, the enrichment model ‘encompasses all those bilingual education program types which aim towards not only maintenance but development and extension of the minority languages, cultural pluralism, and an integrated national society based on autonomy of cultural groups’ (1991, p. 222). Accordingly, Hornberger asserts that this type of program has the greatest potential to educate students successfully, given its strong additive bilingual basis. It is also the program most likely to reduce the educational and wider social and linguistic inequalities experienced by minority language speakers.

This broad L1/L2 distinction between maintenance and enrichment approaches is a useful one, or at least a useful form of shorthand, in the research literature. However, it does not necessarily help us to identify clearly where a *heritage* language model of bilingual education might fit in. As indicated earlier, this model is most commonly associated with indigenous language revitalisation efforts, along with a wide range of other indigenous language education initiatives, although in its wider sense, it can also include other established and immigrant groups (Valdés, Fishman, Chávez and Pérez, 2006; Wiley, 2001). The latter tend to be focused on the reclamation of a heritage language no longer spoken as an L1—that is the students are second language learners of the heritage language. The former include a combination of student language backgrounds. Some indigenous language programs are aimed at students who still speak the indigenous language as an L1 (e.g. Navajo; Hualapai in the USA; Inuit in Nunavut, Canada; Sámi in Finnmark, Norway) and may therefore be regarded as L1 maintenance bilingual programs. But many also cater for students with a mix of L1/L2 speakers of the language (Maori in New Zealand, Hawaiian), and some have only L2 speakers (or, rather, learners) of the language (the Master/Apprentice program developed for the now largely moribund indigenous languages of California) and are therefore closer to the enrichment end of the continuum.

As such, heritage programs can also clearly be regarded as an additive and strong bilingual approach, but tend to be situated somewhere in between maintenance and enrichment models in terms of the L1/L2 status of their students (May and Hill, 2005). That said, increasingly, the majority of students in such programs tend to be second language speakers of the target language, the result in turn of previous patterns of language shift and loss of the heritage language. For example, McCarty (2002) notes that in the Navajo heritage language program at Rough Rock in Arizona—one of the strongest and longest established in the

USA—only 50% of Navajo now speak their own language and their numbers are declining each year. And in Maori-medium education in New Zealand, the overwhelming majority of students are first language English speakers (May and Hill, 2005).

The final level at which bilingual/immersion education can be examined is the *program* level, which is also, necessarily, the most complex and diffuse. According to Hornberger (1991), bilingual programs are more concrete categorisations than models, and can be differentiated from one another by an analysis of specific contextual and structural characteristics. For Hornberger, contextual characteristics include: characteristics of the student population (numbers, stability/mobility in the school, SES, minority status, language background) and characteristics of the teacher population (ethnic background, degree of bilingualism, training, roles). Structural characteristics include: ‘program in school’ (whether school-wide or targeted), ‘languages in curriculum’ (sequencing, oral/literate development, and subject allocation of the languages), and ‘classroom language use’ (patterns and functions).

There is not space here to discuss the complexity of programs involved here (for an exemplary extended analysis, see Baker, 2006), except to highlight—in light of the preceding discussion—the most common types of program. Non-bilingual programs include Submersion, ESL and Sheltered Instruction programs (all subtractive programs). Bilingual programs include weak (and subtractive) bilingual programs, such as Transitional Bilingual Education, where use of the students’ L1 is limited usually only to the first years of schooling. Strong (and additive) bilingual programs include L1 Maintenance Bilingual Programs, Immersion and Heritage programs. These programs, which have also been termed one-way programs (Thomas and Collier, 2002), tend to vary in terms of both their level of immersion in the minority or target language and the related timing and balance of instruction in the majority language. However, most of these programs will use the minority or target language as the medium of instruction for between 50% and 90% of the time. For example, the program may begin as a 90:10 program in the early years (with 90% in the minority or target language) and change gradually to a 50:50 program by year 4 of the student’s schooling.

A variation of this one-way approach, increasingly popular in the USA with respect most often to Spanish-English bilingual instruction, has come to be termed two-way immersion or dual language immersion. The aims of two-way immersion are the same as other strong, additive programs—bilingualism and biliteracy for their students. However, unlike other forms of immersion, two-way programs include native speakers as well as non-native speakers of the target or minority language in the same classroom, wherever possible, in roughly equal

proportion. These programs thus specifically integrate English L1 students and target-language (e.g. Spanish) L1 students with the goals of developing the bilingual and biliterate skills of both groups (Cloud, Genesee, and Hamayan, 2000; Lindholm-Leary, 2001; Pérez, 2003).

The discussion thus far can be summarised, albeit somewhat simplistically, via Figure 1, where the left-hand side can be equated with subtractive approaches and the right-hand side with additive approaches to bilingual students. As we shall see, addressing these various dimensions of bilingual/immersion education is a necessary prerequisite for understanding what research has subsequently found in relation to the relative efficacy of the various approaches just described. It is to this research that I now turn.

MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The complexity of the types of bilingual programs available, along with the widely different understandings of bilingual education adopted in the research literature, have significant implications for how one might proceed to assess fairly and accurately the effectiveness of such

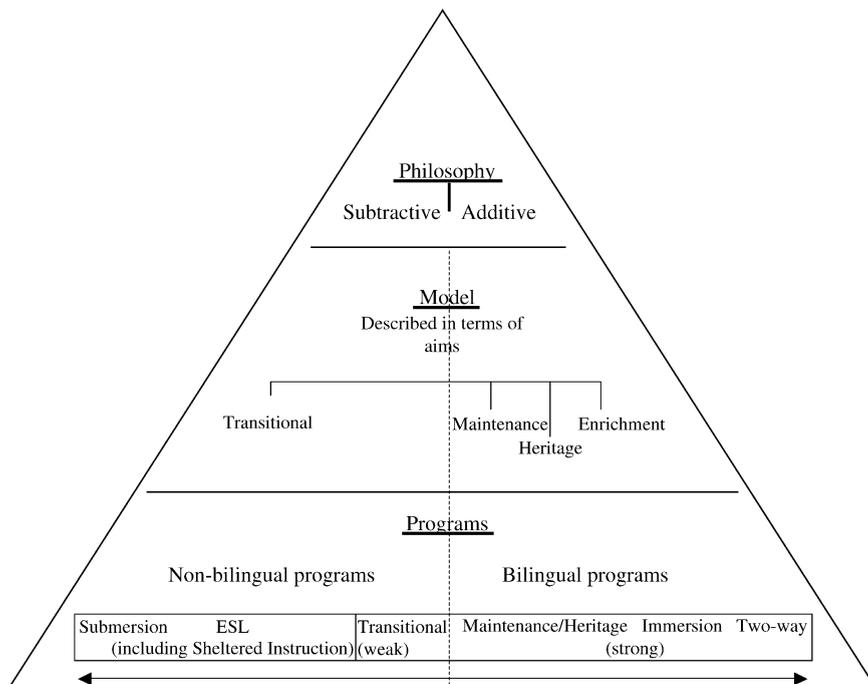


Figure 1 This figure was developed in conjunction with my colleague, Richard Hill, and is loosely based on an earlier figure by Hornberger (1991).

programs. This is crucial because the veracity of the research evidence gathered will, in turn, determine how informed subsequent educational policy and practice is likely to be on bilingual education. Accordingly, even where research is drawn upon as a basis for policy and practice it needs to be carefully examined and evaluated. For example, the recent dismantling of many bilingual education programs in the USA (see Crawford, 2000; Cummins, 2000; Dicker, 2003; May, 2005) has largely been based on a highly effective anti-bilingual education campaign that promoted a combination of popular misunderstandings about bilingualism and highly selective, often directly misleading, 'research evidence' to support its (erroneous) claims. The latter can be most clearly seen in the effective political mobilisation by bilingual education opponents of two deeply flawed US government sponsored research studies which cast (some) doubt on the effectiveness of bilingual education.

The first of these, the American Institutes for Research's (AIR) evaluation of bilingual education programs, was commissioned in the 1970s by the United States Office of Education (Danoff, Coles, McLaughlin, and Reynolds, 1978). It provided an overview of US federally funded bilingual programs operating at the time and found that such programs had no significant impact on educational achievement in English, although they did enhance native-like proficiency. It furthermore suggested that pupils were being kept in bilingual programs longer than necessary, thus contributing to the segregation of such students from 'mainstream' classes.

Despite concerns about its methodology (see later), the conclusions of the AIR study were seemingly replicated by a second piece of US federally commissioned research by Baker and de Kanter (1981, 1983; see also Rossell and Baker, 1996). They reviewed the literature and likewise concluded that bilingual education was not advancing the English language skills and academic achievements of minority language students, predominantly Spanish-speaking L1 students. In short, Baker and de Kanter argued that students in bilingual programs demonstrated no clear educational advantages over those in English-only programs.

Given the increasingly sceptical political climate of the time, this research generated enormous publicity and exerted even more influence on subsequent federal US policy. However, as Crawford (1989) observes, while the Baker and de Kanter (1983) report is easily the most quoted US federal pronouncement on bilingual education, it is probably the most criticised as well. As with its predecessor, much of this criticism had to do with the methodology that was employed. For example, as with the AIR study, Baker and de Kanter specifically rejected the use of data gathered through students' first languages. They also failed to account for the fact that two thirds of the comparison

group in English-only education programs *had previously been in bilingual programs* where, presumably, they had benefited from first language instruction.

Moreover, neither report distinguished between the wide variety of educational approaches to bilingual education, particularly in relation to the degree to which the first language (L1) was used as the medium of instruction, and whether the programs were based on an additive or subtractive bilingual approach. By simply aggregating all results, these reports thus singularly failed to differentiate meaningfully between different bilingual education programs. We can see this, for example, in the related failure of both reports to differentiate between early- and late-exit bilingual programs in their analysis, the former being largely subtractive, the latter largely additive. Consequently, the somewhat lesser educational effectiveness of early-exit bilingual programs, which constituted the majority of the programs under review, inevitably subsumed the better educational results of the late exit programs (Cummins, 1996).

Overall, the inadequacy of Baker and de Kanter's findings has been confirmed by Willig's (1985, 1987) subsequent meta-analyses of their data. Willig controlled for 183 variables that they had failed to take into account. She found, as a result, small to moderate differences in favour of bilingual education, even when these were predominantly early-exit programs. Willig's conclusions are also replicated in two subsequent major longitudinal bilingual education research studies in the USA, those of Ramírez, Yuen and Ramey (1991), and Thomas and Collier (2002; see also 1997). By specifically differentiating among the widely different approaches to bilingual education, and controlling for their variable effectiveness, the findings of each of these major studies (see also Hakuta, Butler and Witt, 2000) clearly and consistently support the efficacy of bilingual education in *additive bilingual* contexts.

Ramírez et al. (1991) compared English-only programs with early-exit (1–2 years) and late-exit (4–6 years) bilingual programs, following 2,352 Spanish-speaking students over 4 years. Their findings clearly demonstrated that the greatest growth in mathematics, English language skills and English reading was among students in late-exit bilingual programs where students had been taught predominantly in Spanish (the students' L1)—equivalent to one-way maintenance bilingual programs. For example, students in two late-exit sites that continued L1 instruction through to grade 6 made significantly better academic progress than those who were transferred early into all-English instruction. Ramírez et al. conclude that:

Students who were provided with a substantial and consistent primary language development program learned mathematics, English language, and English reading skills as fast or faster

than the norming population in this study. As their growth in these academic skills is atypical of disadvantaged youth, it provides support for the efficacy of primary language development facilitating the acquisition of English language skills. (1992, p. 38–43)

In contrast, the Ramírez study also confirmed that minority language students who receive most of their education in English rather than their first language are *more* likely to fall behind and drop out of school. In fact, it is important to note here that the English-only programs used for comparison in the Ramírez study were not typical to the extent that while the teachers taught in English, they nonetheless understood Spanish. This suggests that in the far more common situation where the teacher does not understand the students' L1, the trends described here are likely to be further accentuated.

In the largest and most recent study conducted to date, Thomas and Collier (2002) came to broadly the same conclusions. Thomas and Collier analysed the education services provided for over 210,000 language minority students in US public schools and the resulting long-term academic achievement of these students. They did so by examining in depth five urban and rural sites from throughout the USA over 5 years, from 1996 to 2001. The school bilingual program types examined within these contexts varied widely—they included full immersion programs in a minority language, dual-medium or two-way programs, where both minority and majority languages (usually, Spanish and English) were used as mediums of instruction, transitional bilingual education programs, ESL (English as a second language) programs, and mainstream submersion (English-only) programs.

As with the Ramírez study, one of Thomas and Collier's principal research findings was that the most effective programs—'feature rich' programs as they called them—resulted in achievement gains for bilingual students that were above the level of their monolingual peers in mainstream classes. Another key conclusion was that these gains, in both L1 *and* L2, were most evident in those programs where the child's L1 was a language of instruction for an extended period of time. In other words, Thomas and Collier found that *the strongest predictor of student achievement in L2 was the amount of formal L1 schooling they experienced*. As they state, 'the strongest predictor of L2 student achievement is the amount of formal L1 schooling. The more L1 grade-level schooling, the higher L2 achievement' (2002, p. 7). Only one-way and two-way or dual immersion programs—strong bilingual/immersion programs in effect—achieved these results. As Thomas and Collier conclude:

[These] are the only programs we have found to date that assist students to fully reach the 50th percentile in both L1

and L2 in all subjects and to maintain that level of high achievement, or reach even higher levels through the end of schooling. The fewest dropouts come from these programs. (2002, p. 7)

As with Ramírez et al., Thomas and Collier also found that students in English submersion classes performed far less well than their peers in strong bilingual programs, as well as dropping out of school in greater numbers. Students in transitional bilingual programs demonstrated better academic performance over time, but not to the extent of strong bilingual programs. In both these major large-scale studies, then, length of L1 education turned out to be more influential than *any* other factor in predicting the educational success of bilingual students, *including* socioeconomic status.

I have concentrated on these US-based research findings because they provide us with the most comprehensive analysis to date from the research findings on the effectiveness of bilingual/immersion education. They also include the only major longitudinal studies undertaken thus far with respect to these issues. Of course, there are a wide range of other studies, both from the USA and from other national contexts, that also broadly corroborate these findings. Of the wider, book-length, research-based literature, Baker (2006) and Baker and Prys Jones (1998) provide magisterial overviews of the field of bilingual/immersion education. Cummins (2000), May et al. (2004) and Genesee et al. (2006) provide useful overviews of the key research findings with respect to the academic success of students in bilingual programs. Baetens Beardsmore (1993) discusses various European models of bilingual education, while Barnard and Glynn (2003) explore developments in bilingual/immersion education in New Zealand (see also *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 8, 5; 2005). Tollefson and Tsui (2004), Johnson and Swain (1997) and Jones and Ghuman (1995) provide a wide range of international examples of effective bilingual and immersion education programs. All these contributions add to the growing research literature confirming the efficacy of strong forms of bilingual/immersion education.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

The chapters in this volume clearly demonstrate the breadth of work currently being undertaken internationally in bilingual/immersion education. There are also a number of key journals where research findings on bilingual/immersion education are regularly published. These include, most prominently, the *International Journal of Bilingual Education and*

*Bilingualism, Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, Bilingual Research Journal* (until its untimely demise in 2006), *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*, and the new *International Multilingual Research Journal*.

Key websites that are worth exploring in relation to bilingual/immersion education research include the Center for Research on Education, Diversity and Excellence (CREDE) <http://crede.berkeley.edu/index.html>. Also useful is the first comprehensive web-based resource specifically for teachers working with bilingual students, *Language Enhancing the Achievement of Pasifika* (LEAP). This was developed in New Zealand between 2004–2006 in relation to working with Pasifika bilingual students in mainstream (English-medium) contexts. However, it draws extensively on best practice in bilingual/immersion education and the general principles can be applied to all bilingual students. It can be found at [www.tki.org.nz/e/community/pasifika](http://www.tki.org.nz/e/community/pasifika).

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

The problems and difficulties associated with this area have already largely been discussed. They include the plethora of, sometimes conflicting, definitions of bilingual/immersion education, along with the often-markedly different positions taken upon the educational effectiveness of bilingual/immersion education. In this chapter, I have tried to untangle this often-bewilderingly complex range of positions—highlighting, first, the clear educational differences among programs for bilingual students and, from that, providing a means by which those programs can be accurately assessed. When this is achieved, the research on the efficacy of bilingual/immersion education becomes much clearer, starkly clear in fact—with strong additive bilingual/immersion programs consistently outperforming other program options.

Conveying these research results to educational policy makers and the wider public—particularly in monolingual (often English-dominant) countries—remains, however, a significant challenge, particularly, given ongoing misperceptions about, and often-vociferous opposition to, bilingual/immersion education. As Ricento observes of the US context, in spite of an impressive amount of both qualitative and quantitative research now available on the merits of bilingual education, ‘the public debate (to the extent that there is one) [still] tends to focus on perceptions and not on facts’ (1996, p.142; see also Ricento and Wright, *Language Policy and Education in the United States*, Volume 1). Or as Fishman despairingly asks of the same context, ‘why are facts so useless in this discussion?’ (1992, p. 167).

This reminds us that in any discussion of bilingual/immersion education, we must always take account of the wider social and political context in which it is situated, along with the positions and wider agendas of the commentators themselves (see Crawford, 2000; May 2001, 2005 for further discussion). It also highlights the responsibility of those well versed in the research literature to articulate clearly and consistently the benefits of bilingual/immersion education in the academic as well as wider public domains. As Mary McGroarty argues: 'it is the job of [those] interested in policies that include attention to bilingualism to keep the value of bilingualism in the public consciousness, to continue to demonstrate that bilingual approaches to education are not only feasible but, in fact, actually exist' (2006, p. 5; see also 2002). In order to achieve this, McGroarty continues: 'advocates for positive language and education policies must constantly articulate the value of bilingualism, and to be able to do so in varied terms that respond to a protean environment of public discussion' (2006, pp. 5–6). A failure to do so will mean that the clearly attested educational effectiveness of bilingual/immersion programs will continue to be (conveniently) overlooked in these wider public debates, to the inevitable cost of bilingual students.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

As well as making the educational efficacy of bilingual/immersion programs clearer to a wider policy and public audience, research on bilingual/immersion education could also expand its base with more ethnographic studies of effective bilingual/immersion education—thus providing a basis of thick description for the more comparative and evaluative studies discussed here.

To date, there have been surprisingly few extended ethnographic accounts along these lines. Hornberger (1988), exploring Quechua language education programs in Peru, was one of the first and still one of the most influential. King (2001) has explored Quichua programs in the Ecuadorian Andes, while McCarty (2002) provides a fascinating ethnographic account of Navajo language education. May (1994) provides an extended ethnographic account of Richmond Road School in Auckland New Zealand, which became internationally renowned for its critical approach to bilingualism and multiculturalism, while Freeman (1998) provides a comparable ethnographic account of Oyster Bilingual School in Washington DC. Both May and Freeman concentrate, in particular, on the program characteristics of these two schools. Heller (1999), in her ethnographic account of a bilingual francophone school in Canada, focuses more on students and their use of language. There have also been a few accounts of bilingual/immersion schooling at the local or regional level,

including de Courcy (2002) in relation to French/Chinese programs in Australia, Pérez (2003) in relation to two-way bilingual programs in San Antonio, Texas, and Freeman (2004) in relation to a range of community based programs in Philadelphia.

These ethnographic accounts provide us with a useful starting point, but there is still much that can be done in unpacking not only the characteristics and efficacy of particular bilingual/immersion education programs, as discussed in this chapter, but also the complex, lived experiences of all those involved in them.

**See Also:** *Tove Skutnabb-Kangas: Human Rights and Language Policy in Education (Volume 1)*; *Teresa L. McCarty: Language Education Planning and Policies by and for Indigenous Peoples (Volume 1)*; *Stephen May: Language Education, Pluralism and Citizenship (Volume 1)*; *Thomas Ricento and Wayne Wright: Language Policy and Education in the United States (Volume 1)*; *Joseph Lo Bianco: Bilingual Education and Socio-political Issues (Volume 5)*

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## BILINGUAL EDUCATION AND SOCIO-POLITICAL ISSUES

### INTRODUCTION

The term ‘*socio-political issues*’ is a superordinate category in applied linguistics collecting together discussions of power within the discipline. *Socio* invokes the setting, including culture; *political* introduces considerations of power, interests and conflict, while *issues* casts a wide net of applications and problems.

Recently, theorists of *realpolitik* have introduced the term *soft power* into their descriptions of world affairs and global conflict. In contrast to the more easily recognised *hard power*, which suggests coercion (revealing its origins in economic might or military force), *soft power* operates through persuasion to attract the neutral and neutralise the hostile (Nye, 2004). Because language in society performs multiple functions socio-political issues involve applied linguists in the complex ‘*discourses of power*’ (Hindess, 1996) that have occupied political philosophy from ancient times. Bilingual education involves both soft and hard power consequences.

This paper addresses some intersections among bilingual education, power and politics, discussing both theoretical advances and some actual case studies. Bilingual education arises mostly in multilingual societies in which various languages are ranked sociopolitically and economically. However, immersion education and foreign language teaching, even in essentially monolingual societies, can also be subject to socio-political critique since elite investment in prestigious foreign language competence can entrench asymmetrical social status in society. Monolingual and multilingual societies can also give rise to ‘*socio-political issues*’ not related to different languages at all. In such cases intra-language issues can produce conflict, e.g. over privileging particular dialects in language standardisation (Haugen, 1966) or selections of orthographic conventions (Chen, 2001). However, the present discussion mostly addresses bilingual education in multilingual contexts. The language ecologies in which most bilingual education occurs involve relations between minority and majority groups. The minorities can be speakers of regional, immigrant or indigenous (autochthonous) languages, contrasted with majorities speaking and identifying with socially dominant or officially designated languages.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Many streams of thought and action have contributed to debates and understandings of bilingual education today. In the decolonising context of the 1950s and 1960s new African and Asian countries were guided by an influential United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO, 1953) declaration supporting vernacular languages over inherited colonial languages as media of instruction, claiming that it was 'axiomatic' that the best teaching language is a child's mother tongue (MT).

Research findings from evaluations of bilingual education have long been linked with socio-political debates. During the late 1960s controversy erupted concerning the appropriate staging of instructional language for immigrant children in Scandinavia. In a 1976 report to the Finnish National Commission for UNESCO on the educational prospects of Finnish immigrant children in Sweden, Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukoma (1976) pointed out that immigrant children's verbal fluency in their MT was related to their rate of acquisition of Swedish, suggesting that such children's 'semilingualism' denied them educational equality. The writers recommended that the MT should be bolstered in the interests of both the languages of the child, and his or her general academic development.

The issue had arisen from a paper (Hansegard, 1975, cited in Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981), which had described some children from dual-language backgrounds as having deficient competencies in school-appropriate intellectual functioning compared with monolingual counterparts. These 'deficiencies' seemed to hold back bilingual children because they were seen to command a smaller lexical range, to take time translating between their languages and therefore to be slow in giving replies in class, and to possess a limited expressive range. Skutnabb-Kangas (1981) described this as 'double' semilingualism provoking extensive discussion about the importance of MT literacy and language capability beyond domestic domains and settings. For Skutnabb-Kangas '*double semilingualism is one of the ways in which the shortcomings of the school system are projected on to the individual child*' (1981, p. 249).

A commonly recommended response to this problem was for extended schooling in the MT, provoking intense opposition from interests hostile to continuous and long-term use of minority languages in mainstream education, especially prominently in the USA (Crawford, 2002). The Scandinavian reports also provoked criticism of the semilingualism notion from sociolinguists. In a robust critique Martin-Jones and Romaine (1986) described semilingualism as sociolinguistically untenable, arguing that even when a child does not speak

the code and use the norms of a standardised formal school-approved language they are never without a fully fledged language system. Although rebutting the idea of semilingualism in this way the authors supported bilingual education for ethnic minority children, acknowledging that public education systems assume and inculcate formal and standardised language.

The discussion of semilingualism describes only one aspect of what has been a long and sometimes bitterly contested history of debating and researching connections between bilingualism and cognitive functioning characteristic of early developments. Research evidence and reasoning traversed three main stages in considering the relation of thought and bilingualism. In the first, early bilingualism was seen to have predictably negative effects on intellectual functioning. This was followed by a period of doubt, discussing bilingualism mostly as having no distinctive impact on intellectual functioning. Today there appears to be a broad consensus that bilingualism, especially precocious and high-level bilingualism, correlates with high intellectual functioning and makes distinctive positive contributions to intellectual functioning.

Using what would today be judged weak methods of research design and analysis, studies up to the middle of the twentieth century found negative cognitive effects and entrenched in the scholarly literature and among professionals a view of precocious bilingualism as an intellectual handicap. Research by Saer in the 1920s was critical in this respect. In 1923, Saer compared the performance of some 1,400 7–11-year-old bi- and multilingual Welsh children on IQ and other tests, concluding that the bilinguals had significant disadvantages compared with monolinguals, and that the negative differential increased with age. Methodological deficiencies were later found in the sampling and the confounding of variables of class and language used by Saer, such that middle class better-educated monolinguals were compared with working-class bilinguals. There were also inadequate controls for language proficiency levels. However, some research at this time was finding positive benefits of early bilingualism. The apparent contradiction stimulated reflection on research instruments, apparent biases in research design and deficiencies in variable control. As research came to be more tightly controlled for intelligence, differences previously attributed to bilingualism were found to be more readily accounted for by other criteria. The early studies paved the way for more careful and systematic research designs, which, in turn, found positive correlations between bilingualism and intellectual functioning.

A watershed in this change was Peal and Lambert's (1962) French-English Canadian study, notable for strictly controlling the socio-economic status and language backgrounds of its 364 bilingual and monolingual subjects. By matching for economic and social position,

age, sex and language proficiency, Peal and Lambert set new standards for research design in relation to bilingualism and cognition. Peal and Lambert's bilinguals outperformed the monolingual subjects on IQ, but also showed more positive attitudes to French speakers than the English-only subjects. Hakuta and Diaz (1985, p. 322) describe Peal and Lambert as '*the punctuation point in research*' on the relation between bilingualism and intellectual functioning. Their own survey of the first four decades of research on this topic is a prelude for a further watershed. Hakuta and Diaz state that what differentiates Peal and Lambert from much other research was '*the care with which (they) exercised control over sample selection*' (p. 319), distinguishing carefully between 'balanced' and 'pseudo' bilinguals.

However, although Peal and Lambert resolved key issues of methodology it was itself open to criticism that its research design overcompensated past bias *against* bilinguals by bias in their favour, essentially by including among them more intelligent subjects. In effect, this bias left unresolved what distinctive contribution bilingualism itself makes to intellectual functioning. This latter issue was the distinctive contribution of Hakuta and Diaz, who adopted a longitudinal approach to isolate what bilingualism independently contributes to cognitive functioning, in effect exposing a causal relationship between intelligence and bilingualism.

Since these two key pieces of research, study design principles that appropriately control language proficiency and intelligence variables, as well as class and education, repeatedly find positive correlations, and in longitudinal examinations, causal effects, of bilingualism on intellectual performance. Non-verbal tests contain components requiring spatial and perceptual processes and components requiring symbolic manipulation. In Hakuta and Diaz's study bilinguals outperformed monolinguals on symbolic manipulation tasks and were found to be neither better nor worse in relation to spatial and perceptual processes. The researchers called this superior ability 'mental or cognitive flexibility'. As Hakuta and Diaz note their research '*makes more plausible the claim about the positive effects of bilingualism*' (p. 340). In recent decades many studies support the claim that bilinguals outperform matched monolingual counterparts on tests of academic achievement, cognitive flexibility and creativity.

In educational settings a key hypothesis proposed to explain such results is *linguistic interdependence*, most closely associated with Cummins (2000) for which substantial confirmatory evidence is now available. Linguistic interdependence builds on longstanding awareness of differences between mundane and academic language uses and a sense of implausibility that the two languages of a bilingual would be neurologically compartmentalised. The most common practical

assumption encountered about second language learning is maximum exposure, i.e. that the more time spent studying the language the greater will be the level of proficiency attained. By contrast linguistic interdependence posits an '*additive bilingual enrichment principle*' (Cummins, 2001, p. 175), meaning essentially that bilingual children's academic achievements are tied to the cognitive relations between first language skill and second language performance.

Today few question links between precocious bilingualism and cognitive functioning but due to the vast differences of sociolinguistic context current research still leaves unresolved some questions, such as which should be the *initial language* of reading instruction in bilingual programmes; the *amount of time* that should be spent through each language in early grades, except that academic knowledge and skills in each language need to be nurtured; *when to introduce* the dominant language; whether there is a *threshold level* that students need to acquire before formal reading instruction is introduced in the dominant language. However, even these questions, were they satisfactorily answered by research would not deplete bilingual education of its socio-political implications.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

In this section, four national experiences of two-language education are discussed to highlight three ways that bilingual education is immersed in socio-political issues:

1. Differential educational outcomes valued differently;
2. Nationalist politicisation of languages or disputed social relationships; and
3. The role of languages in struggles over material opportunity and symbolic capital.

To understand the socio-political implications of bilingual education it is necessary to move away from methodological, programming or pedagogical abstractions and examine how bilingual education is tied to local realities of disputed history and conflicting interests. Language planning for bilingual education should therefore be understood as a situated practice, meaning that what counts as the appropriate balance of educational effectiveness, social justice, opportunity or intellectual commitment often makes sense only in the context of specific circumstances rather than being portable across settings and contexts.

#### *United States*

The Bilingual Education Act is an excellent example of disputation about symbolic and material claims in the socio-political realm. Schneider's

(1976) study of the Congressional debates for the inauguration of the BEA in 1968 reveals its conception as a poverty amelioration measure. Motivated by the unequal educational attainments of Mexican American children the framers of the original legislation rejected overt links to ethnic, linguistic or cultural meanings or consequences for bilingual education.

Intending bilingual education to provide a strictly transitional first language bridge to English, however, did not preclude the BEA from becoming mired in a continuous and often acrimonious debate over the 33 years of its life (it was abolished as part of the *No Child Left Behind Act* of 2001). For Crawford (2002) the dispute about bilingual education was the focal point of a '*war against diversity*' in which the sociocultural loyalties of immigrant Americans were key points of disputation. For example, Bernstein (1994) treats the idea that Cherokee might be taught in public schools to incredulous ridicule (p. 244) as '*multicultural animus against European culture and its derivatives*' (p. 245).

While there is a much longer history of official language activism in the USA, bilingual education as sanctioned by this legislation became the lightning rod of moves to bring about a constitutional amendment declaring English the official language (Crawford, 1989). Anti-bilingual education advocacy, with the goal of banning teaching in languages other than English, coalesced most successfully in a movement called *English for the Children* (Lo Bianco, 2007b). *English for the Children* achieved major electoral successes, such as the June 2 1998 61% to 39% vote in California to approve Proposition 227, an English-only instruction to the State Legislature with the effect of banning much bilingual education in that state (Crawford, 2002).

Importantly, other kinds of two-language education are far less controversial, such as Two-Way Immersion which '*integrates language minority and language majority students in the same classroom with the goal of academic excellence and bilingual proficiency for both*' (Christian, Montone, Lindholm, and Carranza, 1997). Even more revealing, some two-language education that also aims at bilingual competence can actually be constituted as serving national interests, or an economically useful skill. For example, the 1979 President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies described US foreign language study as '*nothing short of scandalous*' (Perkins, 1979, p. 5) but it is inconceivable that minority language attrition would be described this way. Today a sense of national need for foreign language competence in the wake of the 9/11 terrorist attacks has made many US government agencies invest heavily in languages (Brecht and Rivers, 2002).

The associations of some languages with national states, proximate or rival states, or key interests and the presumed loyalties that

proficiency in these languages implies can overwhelm scholarly evidence of cognitive benefits from bilingualism. This reflects a long pattern in language education planning captured in the following paraphrase of Kloss's (1971) statement of the symbolic barter that appears to be assumed in requiring immigrant adaptation to new countries:

1. Immigrant minority language rights should be surrendered as a kind of payment to the host society for being admitted into the receiving nation;
2. Immigrants prosper in a new country more than they would have in their country of origin and this constitutes a contract in exchange for which they should waive any language claims;
3. The maintenance intergenerationally of minority languages and cultures is a kind of self-imposed social isolation and therefore it imposes a lag on the ineluctable eventual assimilation. This is undesirable;
4. Languages are potentially divisive and in its self-interest the host nation has a right to require linguistic assimilation.

However, not all minority languages appear subject to this kind of socio-political contracting. By dramatic contrast, in 1990, the US Congress approved possibly the most explicit and bilingualism-promoting language declaration in its history, the *Native American Languages Act* (NALA). Its preamble states: '*It is the policy of the United States to preserve, protect, and promote the rights and freedom of Native Americans . . . to use, practice and develop Native American languages*' (Congr. Rcd, 1990). The apparent conflict between the minority-language affirming ethos of the NALA and relentless opposition to the BEA suggest that socio-political issues such as language vitality, residential settlement patterns, the associations that languages have with states and nations and the relative strength or weakness of intergenerational transmission of languages account for the discrepancy in policy treatment.

### *Australia*

More briefly here a similar history of apparent double standards in bilingual education characterises Australia. Middle class learning of elite or prestigious languages, bilingualism via enrichment, is invariably socially rewarded and recognised, while for immigrant languages, but much more sharply for indigenous languages, there is either little support or opprobrium.

Public sympathy for and political discourse in favour of two-language competence is most ambivalent and sometimes hostile when Indigenous languages are involved, sometimes hostile or at least ambivalent when particular immigrant origin languages are involved

and most favourable when languages associated with trade, foreign relations or prestige cultures are involved (Lo Bianco, 2004a). Children's bilingualism is similarly differently evaluated.

Two-language teaching is sometimes an educational practice associated with progressivist acknowledgement of minority language rights, or with cultural enrichment, (Clyne, 2005) but when indigenous languages are involved different values are sometimes invoked so that bilingualism in English and Australian languages is characterised by criticism that it is a cultural palliative, or a teaching mode whose only serious purpose could be to impart English literacy to indigenous children (Nicholls, 2001).

The effectiveness of bilingual education delivered to indigenous Australian children is mostly assessed in relation to its contribution to English language literacy, whereas the effectiveness of bilingual education in other settings tends to give more value to both of the languages involved.

### *Sri Lanka*

Bilingual education and socio-political issues are in few places as inextricably connected as in Sri Lanka. The reasons for the deep and abiding politicisation of languages in the Sri Lankan context has been the tight association of language (along with religion) with rival claims to statehood, and therefore to making the languages of national groups synonymous with the languages of states. As a result language planning around languages has been deeply implicated in the massive rupture of social relations that has led to an ongoing and bloody civil war (De Silva, 1998).

Before independence from Britain in 1946 'fee levying' schools taught in English while 'vernacular' medium schools were free. In 1943, the Report of the Special Committee on Education recommended universal 'free education' and proposed the adoption of *swabhasha* (Sinhala and Tamil) medium commencing with the primary level (Dharmadasa, 1996).

Only about 12% of the school population at the time were educated in English. This proposal was progressively implemented such that in the 1960s from preschool to university education was in *swabhasha* medium. Education historian J.E. Jayasuriya has written: '*Even after nearly a century and a half of British rule, only about 6 per cent of the population was literate in English but they constituted an elite*'. English was both 'socially disruptive' and 'partly integrative'. The partial acquisition of English divided Sri Lanka (then Ceylon) into two nations (a privileged Anglophone minority and a second class

swabhasha majority) while English facilitated communication between Sinhalese and Tamil elites. This benefit for elites proved a longer-term crisis in majority to majority communication (Jayasuriya, 1981, p. 81). This began with the pursuit of exclusive nationalism via the Official Sinhala Act of 1956 in which Sinhala (and Theravada Buddhism) were constituted as necessary for independent nationality-based statehood provoking a contesting nationalism in which Tamil was seen to be indispensable (De Silva, 1998).

In this context, language education contributed to 'division between ethnic and class groups (rather than a contribution to) national unity' (ICES, 1990, p. 1).

Today, the entire public education and training systems are structured around giving effect to the principle of education in the MT. In the vast majority of cases the principle of MT education results in language-specific schools, Colleges and Universities. Examinations, certification and assessment procedures and school participation and socialisation procedures operate separately in the two languages.

A small number of institutions enrol children from both language communities teaching separate language streams and in some private schools English is the language medium. Moves to teach the two main ethnic groups the other group's language have been sporadic, occurring at three key points: 1953, 1987 and 1997, each responding to crises of relations between the main groups and when nationalism conflicts were elevated. The first was 1953, in the aftermath of independence when idealism about forging a united post-colonial nation was uppermost; the second occasion was in 1987, following the perceived loss of sovereignty that accompanied the Indian Peace Keeping Mission that entered Sri Lanka to curtail the secessionist fighting, and the third, in 1997, followed World Bank investment and other global economic pressures for direct foreign investment which were conditional on a resolution of the inter-ethnic conflict. At every point, but in different ways, bilingual education was irremovably implicated in socio-political strategising.

It is significant that from the early 2000s, the re-institution in many public schools of English medium science and mathematics teaching, in a new bilingual education initiative enrolling children from all ethnic groups, called *Amity Schools*, again foregrounds how bilingual education serves wider agendas of society, politics, power and nation building.

### *South Africa*

Language policy had been a central plank of Apartheid with the aim of '*breaking up the black people into a large number of conflicting and*

*competing so called ethnic groups*' (Alexander, 1989, p. 21). This overt connection between socio-political issues and language education took a more overly educational turn on 16 June 1976 when violently suppressed student protests broke out. Provoked by the policy of using Afrikaans, alongside English, as a medium of instruction for arithmetic and social studies in public schools, hundreds of students condemned this kind of bilingual education as 'gutter education', or as 'domestication', unequal Bantu schooling for oppression. As '*the immediate cause of the . . . Soweto uprising*' (Juckes, 1995, pp. 147–149) compulsory bilingual instruction was the spark that resulted in the deaths of many dozens, by some estimates hundreds, of students. Since 1995 South Africa marks 16 June as Youth Day, a key date in the growth of political consciousness for ultimate change.

Today, in the post-Apartheid reality, a progressive national constitution recognises 11 official languages, including Afrikaans and English, and debates about bilingual education centre more on delivery methods, learning effectiveness or levels of resourcing (Webb, 2002).

These four different instances of language planning around bilingual education highlight the importance of understanding two-language teaching in the concrete historicised settings in which it arises and the purposes it aims to achieve. Languages invoke ancient associations with place, and with identity, and therefore the symbolic realm of ideas and attachments, sentiments and loyalties, but also with actual, material consequences in specific settings. Nationality constituted states demand loyalties, and languages and language behaviours frequently invoke and index such loyalties. Essentially, what distinguishes bilingual from immersion education is the socio-political matrix within which bilingual education arises and which it marks. Since immersion education is intended most often for dominant sections of a society to acquire prestige or utilitarian second languages, implying no threat to the dominant language, immersion education raises few and mostly non-serious dilemmas of a socio-political nature. Bilingual education, on the other hand, may often involve a perceived or actual linguistic concession to minorities. These may be unassimilated indigenous populations, or regional populations, or newly arrived immigrants. This concession is made infrequently and grudgingly, evident in the various ways in which bilingual education's operations are constrained. When the risk of provoking divided loyalties, stoking secessionist fires, or sustaining cultural autonomy is low, bilingual education for minorities garners greater support. The situated and specific historical settings in which bilingual education is implemented are essential to their interpretation from ethical standpoints, but the connection to contested politics is clear.

Multilingualism creates specific kinds of challenges for national states based on assumptions that unilingualism is more efficient and that nationality, itself often defined linguistically, is essential to independent statehood. New nation building in multilingual contexts struggles against a primary forming assumption of nationality-based statehood residing deep in the sense of what constitutes efficiency, overarching state loyalty and ideas of common citizenship (Mansour, 1993; Hailemariam, Kroon, and Walters, 2000). It is relevant in this light to notice the discrepancy in the concessions to minority language rights in the European Union. Despite the overarching context of globalisation, the European Union's supra-national institutional architecture has produced more concessions for regional or sub-national language minorities than for immigrant minority languages. Immigrant language demographics suggest why—these are often larger, urban-based populations with a more recent association with other, sometimes rival, national states than their new host nations.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Much of the literature on bilingual education derives from first world settings and refers to three types of target audiences: (i) immigrant populations whose languages differ from the language of public education; (ii) indigenous minorities in New World settings or regional minorities (autochthonous populations) in Old World settings; and (iii) immersion language education for majority populations, usually in prestige foreign languages. Since many of these settings have been Western, or Westernised, the dominant literacy practice that has been researched has concerned reading in shared alphabetic roman orthographies. However, the research literature is presently expanding beyond this paradigm. First, case studies are being described and documented across a broader range of sociolinguistic settings. Second, more documentation of multiple orthographic systems is emerging, so that the reading and general intellectual consequences of literacy gained in different writing systems and their interaction are beginning to be felt.

Hornberger's (2003) continua of biliteracy is a response to the more complex linguistic ecologies that are being researched at present and epitomises the more sophisticated taxonomies that will be required to account for much more diverse settings than have so far prevailed in the literature.

A case in point is Singapore which combines four languages each from a different language family and three orthographic systems. The Chinese languages are Sino-Tibetan, English is Indo-European, Malay is Austronesian and Tamil Dravidian. Expressed in binary pairs,

according to the type of literacy coding-decoding demanded of bilitrates, the most straightforward pairing is Malay><English both of which are alphabetic roman systems, with minor differences between them. The dominant pairing, however, is Mandarin><English which involves two logographic systems (Traditional and Simplified) with alphabetic roman. The Tamil><English pairing involves the syllabic system Brahmi (but with a marked diglossia between spoken and written forms), with the alphabetic non-diglossic roman for English.

In practice no student is expected to be engaged in gaining high literate capability in logographic, alphabetic and syllabic modes; instead most are expected to gain academic-cognitive literacy only in alphabetic roman, large numbers in this plus logographic script and very small numbers in syllabic writing. The content and order of the literacy expectation of schooling is therefore highly stratified. English delivers high and de-contextualised academic demands, Mandarin elevated demands in academic work but not to the level of English, and Tamil and Malay deliver largely ethnicity-affirming or culturally oriented content. Each of these connects directly with a sociopolitical and economic issue, based on the language management practices of an education system devoted to a commitment to human capital principles (Pakir, *Bilingual Education in Singapore*, Volume 5; Lo Bianco, 2007a; Pakir, 2003; Wee, 2004).

A further example of the new perspectives that would result from addressing bilingual education from more diverse perspectives includes the Han pinyin/biliteracy issues in China and the Chinese diaspora. There has been a shift from teaching character writing to use of romanised writing. For some (Chen, 2001), this has been a quiet and remarkable large-scale literacy education development—rarely acknowledged in Western literature. According to Chen, China has achieved high levels of biliteracy—with large segments of the population writing in both characters and pinyin, without ‘*ostensive losses in overall pedagogic or curricular outcomes*’ (p. 77). These approaches are spreading to Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore, with large populations of Mandarin speakers.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

The essential challenge for research on bilingual education and discussions of the socio-political issues that this raises is accounting for the multiple functions and roles of languages, specifying the situated and therefore often non-transferable historically grounded reality of language education. The relations among the languages involved in bilingual education are a crucial challenge.

The challenge this raises for bilingual education research is that while studies of cognitive attainments, and program delivery modes, are undertaken most effectively by scholars trained in applied linguistics and pedagogy, accounting for socio-political realities requires input from political sciences, policy studies, economics and history.

Although research plays some role in debates and contest around bilingual education, Krashen's (1999) examination of the politicisation, and misuse, of research findings in the US context of bilingual education is instructive. Carefully controlled and systematically defined examinations of two-language teaching in many countries, consistently find evidence of positive educational and linguistic outcomes for learners. But where bilingual education is controversial, it is rarely because of issues that are researched or even researchable.

The disparity between the high academic outcomes often attained by immersion-taught majority language children and the persisting educational disadvantages facing immigrant children and, in New World countries, the indigenous counterparts, has tended to be resolved by recourse to sociocultural context. For immigrant and indigenous children, bilingual education was often instituted as remediation. The intention has classically been to use the first language only as a temporary bridge to more effective mastery of the socially and educationally dominant language in order to facilitate improved educational attainment. Unlike immersion programs for majority children, specific language objectives related to the immigrant or indigenous language were secondary or non-existent.

Immersion is strongly associated with Canada, where it was conceived as contributing to national cohesion between the often mutually uncomprehending English and French components of the society. While the majority children in Canadian immersion education were found to be performing well in standardised achievement tests, and in general learning, despite being taught in the early grades primarily through the medium of a second language, i.e. not their MT, immigrant and indigenous children who were similarly educated in a second language, the socially dominant language, appeared to be consistently under-achieving educationally. Explaining this paradox required consideration of essentially socio-political issues.

Like all educational practice, *bilingual education* is inextricably bound up with the socio-political context in which it arises and the purposes it serves. Specifically here bilingual education and immersion education are distinguished from the many modes of foreign language instruction, essentially language as subject teaching, because immersion, like bilingual methods, uses two languages to impart mainstream subject matter.

However, bilingual education can in turn be distinguished from immersion on principally socio-political grounds; in four main ways, viz:

1. *The existing language and its fate.* This addresses the learner's likelihood of gaining literate intellectualised competency in their primary or first language, usually a minority immigrant or indigenous language;
2. *The target language and its fate.* This addresses the learner's likelihood of gaining literate intellectualised competency in the target language, usually the learners second and the society's dominant, official or national language;
3. *The content and prestige carried by the languages.* This addresses the curriculum components that are delivered in the target and the existing languages; and
4. *Social status, esteem and rewards.* This addresses the material and symbolic rewards and recognition that accrue to learners, the existing language, the target language and for speakers of the two languages. All these in turn reflect the social esteem in which the bilingual program itself is held and the social status of the speaker community.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Ultimately, at least in ostensibly liberal-democratic states, power involves how we conceive and advance interests, especially how rival interests collide and compatible interests collaborate. In the broad field of language and education, language policy and planning represents the clearest subfield addressing socio-political issues. 'Policy' is the domain of management and the policy sciences which study policy making, are '*a union of political science and economics*' (Nagel, 1994, p. viii). In the formal policy literature 'socio-political issues' tend to be seen in different ways from the perspective of applied linguistics, and especially from the sub-discipline of language planning. The latter carries into its analysis of policy making and language assumptions a descriptivism derived from linguistics, rather than the sciences that theorise power and interests (Lo Bianco, 2004b). Nevertheless, many aspects of applied linguistics, from trying to account for the spread/dispersion of English, to second language teaching, bilingual education or aspects of translation and interpreting are immersed in '*socio-political issues*'.

The continuing disputation caused by Phillipson's (1992) claim that imperialism lies behind the global expansion of English shows that soft, if not hard, power debates are prominent in applied linguistics and a wide range of questions of teaching practice, curriculum development, modes of delivery and policy settings characterise the socio-politics of English teaching today (Kelly Hall and Eggington, 2000).

Ultimately studying the socio-political consequences of bilingual education will require a new kind of language policy and planning theory that adds insight and concepts from economics, political theory and critical studies to its stock of concepts and theories from applied linguistics.

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## CONCEPTUALIZING BILITERACY WITHIN BILINGUAL PROGRAMS

### INTRODUCTION

One explicit goal of most bilingual education is for students to become biliterate. For the purposes of this review, biliteracy will be defined as “any and all instances in which communication occurs in two (or more) languages in or around writing” (Hornberger, 1990, p. 213). The development of biliteracy will be conceptualized as occurring in a broad social context. Thus, this review will focus on the development of biliteracy in multilingual educational environments and the conditions of the learning context and interaction that aid the acquisition of literacy in two or more languages. This conceptualization of biliteracy is based on a sociocultural view of literacy, a model that assumes literacies are multiple and situated in a social context. As a result, most of the research cited draws from work in areas such as the ethnography of communication, sociolinguistics, and anthropology that have developed methodologies to study communities and their local practices (Wei, *Research Perspectives on Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*, Volume 10; Toohey, *Ethnography and Language Education*, Volume 10).

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Early research in the development of biliteracy in educational environments focused primarily on the impact of the way that participation is organized within a classroom setting, and the variety of ways in which multiple languages can be acquired and used as a resource for personal expression and instruction within bilingual classrooms. In the early 1980s key research was done in a variety of cultural settings that showed that different communities had varying oral and written participation styles, and instructional effectiveness could be improved by drawing on participation styles that were congruent with minority students’ cultural background. For example, in Hawaii, the staff of the Kamehameha Elementary Education Program showed that reading lessons that were organized in a way that was similar to the traditional Hawaiian “talkstory” discourse structure increased student participation and reading scores (Au, 1980). Research on classroom participation structure on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation showed that

students were more likely to be viewed as competent at tasks when they were able to participate in ways that were congruent with their community ways of interacting such as working cooperatively, learning through completing activities physically and through observation, and minimizing oral corrections (Philips, 1983). These early research studies of the variety of participation patterns among minority communities in English speaking environments influenced similar studies of students acquiring biliteracy in bilingual education programs.

While bilingualism is often viewed by schools as a problem, in the 1980s a number of key studies showed that bilingualism and biliteracy could also be viewed as a resource to aid classroom learning. In one groundbreaking microethnographic study, Moll and Diaz (1985) discovered that students in different level reading groups in Spanish were all placed in the same low-level English reading group. The researchers decided to change the teaching methods that were used in the English reading class to see if the students could understand the fourth grade reading book in English. First, they initially read the story to the students orally rather than having the students read the story independently. They also occasionally discussed the English stories with the students in Spanish or translated key vocabulary words for the students. Their work showed that these students were able to understand the fourth grade reading texts when their native language was used to support their English literacy skills. In another foundational study, Edelsky (1986) conducted research into first through third grade students' writing development in an English/Spanish bilingual program. Her work challenged the myth that bilingual students become confused when developing biliteracy in two languages. Instead, she found that there was considerable transfer of writing skills between languages and the use of two languages increased the students' options for communicating in an expanded range of texts to multiple audiences. Similarly, in a study of bilingual Spanish/Quechua schools in rural Peru, Hornberger (1988) found that the use of the students' indigenous language in schools had several advantages. Students in bilingual schools were able to participate more and write original sentences in class, instead of merely copying from the board as was characteristic of Spanish-only classrooms. In addition, in content area studies such as math, teachers in the bilingual classroom were more likely to explain to students how to do cognitively difficult problems. These early studies of biliteracy in bilingual classrooms were important in dispelling the myth that learning two languages would cause students difficulties in learning to read and write (Graff and Duffy, *Literacy Myths*, Volume 2). These studies were the beginning of what has been an ongoing exploration into the possibilities that are available when two languages are used for classroom instruction.

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

This section describes several major contributions to our understanding of the conceptualization of biliteracy within bilingual programs. First, some research has focused on adapting major concepts from the social sciences to the analysis and formulation of effective literacy events in bilingual classrooms. Some studies have examined how local funds of knowledge can be used as a basis of literacy learning in schools. Other studies show how the principled use of hybrid linguistic codes, multiple semiotic modalities, and varying participation structures can aid bilingual students' development of biliteracy and content knowledge. A second major contribution to the field is the creation of a general framework for analyzing biliteracy that can be used as a model for analyzing teaching, research, and language planning in multilingual settings. A third contribution has been research that has been conducted on linguistic transfer as a cognitive dimension of biliteracy. A fourth significant contribution has been made by researchers who have written texts that give extensive examples of the types of practical teaching techniques that can be used in a classroom setting to help students develop biliteracy.

*Local Funds of Knowledge*

Traditionally, schooling has primarily drawn upon a restricted body of academic knowledge and literacies, but research has suggested that the knowledge that students gain from participation in families and communities can also be successfully used as a basis of literacy learning in school. Moll, Amanti, Neff, and Gonzalez (1992) call the knowledge that is utilized in order to maintain functioning households and communities "household (local) funds of knowledge". This knowledge includes information about a variety of topics including agriculture, economics, household management, medicine, scientific knowledge, and religion (González et al., 1995). Research suggests that utilizing community knowledge allowed students to participate in activities and produce written products that they would be unable to produce if they were forced to utilize only traditional academic knowledge in completing their assignments. Second, drawing on local funds of knowledge allows parents to participate more fully in their children's education. Third, when the students observe that the local funds of knowledge in their community are drawn upon in a formal setting such as the school classroom, it can help students to develop a more positive self-image and to value the languages and knowledge that are taught to them in their homes and communities.

Funds of knowledge research has now been carried out in a variety of different cultural and linguistic settings, and this type of research has added to our knowledge of the wide variety of vernacular and home literacy practices that can be linked to school learning. One interesting addition to the research in this area is an ethnographic project that was conducted in classes in North West England on how classroom bilingual teaching assistants drew on their knowledge of the students' home languages and cultures to conduct a variety of culturally appropriate literacy events (Martin-Jones and Saxena, 2003). In addition to describing the importance of the use of code-switching, nonverbal and multisemiotic cues, this work also shows how a variety of culturally appropriate activities such as cooking chapattis and telling stories about the Sikh New Year can be used to teach students academic content knowledge and literacy skills (Moje, *Everyday Funds of Knowledge and School Discourses*, Volume 3).

### *Hybridity*

Another major concept in the development of biliteracy is that while it may be considered the norm in most classrooms to draw upon one linguistic code, semiotic modality, or participation structure at a time, it is also possible for these ways of making meaning to be combined and mixed in a single literacy event. This mixing can be referred to as "hybridization" or "hybrid literacy practices." Research suggests that this mixing in bilingual classrooms is typically principled, purposeful, and organized. Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, Alvarez, and Chiu (1999b) give an example of hybrid literacy practices in their analysis of an after school program. Their research describes how elementary school students describe their activities and learning in daily e-mails to a fictional bilingual character, "El Maga." The undergraduate students who answer these e-mails purposefully use both Spanish and English in a strategic way to help the bilingual students develop their literacy skills in both languages, and develop a strong bond with "El Maga." The analysis of hybridization has also been applied to classroom instructional units (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, and Tejada, 1999a).

### *Continua of Biliteracy*

Another major contribution to the conceptualization of biliteracy is the creation of a general framework for analyzing biliteracy that can be used across contexts. The continua of biliteracy is a framework that can be used as a model for analyzing teaching, research, and language planning in multilingual settings. The framework has been described in great detail and applied to many different educational situations in a

recent edited volume (Hornberger, 2003). The framework is composed of four nested set of continua, each of which captures a significant aspect of the learning contexts that are essential for developing biliteracy including the media, context, development, and content of biliteracy. Each continuum consists of weaker and more powerful ends, and the continua thus recognize that all modes of expression and types of knowledge are not viewed as equally powerful by society. However, the model suggests that the more the learning context allows learners to draw from across the whole of every continuum, the greater the chances for the full development of biliteracy (Hornberger, *Continua of Biliteracy*, Volume 9). The framework has been utilized to analyze a number of different learning situations. For example, Schwinge (2003) shows how the continua can be used to analyze how two bilingual elementary school teachers made adaptations to their mandated literacy curriculum to help ensure that their classroom instruction is comprehensible and draws on the many special resources available in a bilingual, bicultural environment.

### *Linguistic Transfer*

Another major contribution to our understanding of biliterate development has been research findings that have focused on how the cognitive effects of biliteracy and linguistic transfer can be utilized to speed the acquisition of literacy skills in bilingual educational environments. A number of recent studies have shown that a wide variety of linguistic skills such as phonemic awareness, reading comprehension, spelling, and an understanding of discourse organization can be transferred. However, these studies also show that there are specific limits on the transfer of literacy skills. For example, in a notable study of four groups of first grade students (English monolinguals, Spanish–English bilinguals, Hebrew–English bilinguals, and Cantonese–English bilinguals) it was shown that while biliteracy in all languages conferred an advantage in acquiring early literacy skills by giving students a greater general understanding of how print worked, there was a greater advantage in literacy acquisition for students whose two languages used a similar writing system, in this case an alphabetic writing system (Bialystok, Luk, and Kwan, 2005). Studies have also shown that there are individual differences in patterns of linguistic transfer (Gort, 2006), and that the extent of transfer of specific skills can relate to linguistic proficiency (Proctor et al. 2006). In addition, since the transfer of specific literacy skills varies depending on the languages that have been acquired, significant contributions have been made by researchers who have focused on languages in which transfer has yet to be studied extensively such as the transfer between Chinese and English (Wang, Perfeti, and

Liu, 2005) and Samoan or Tongan and English (Tagoilelagi-Leota, McNaughton, MacDonald, and Farry, 2005).

### *Classroom Practices*

In addition to the major theoretical contributions that have added to our understanding of biliteracy, contributions have also been made in creating an integrated approach to the teaching of biliteracy in bilingual classrooms. One important addition to the understanding of biliteracy is the introductory text *Learning in Two Worlds: An Integrated Spanish/English Biliteracy Approach* (Pérez and Torres-Guzmán, 1996). This text provides a clear explanation of the most important concepts in biliteracy and also gives extensive examples of the types of practical teaching techniques that can be used to enhance bilingual students' development of emergent biliteracy, advanced proficiency in reading and writing, content area literacy, and assessment of bilingual proficiency. Throughout the text are many examples of student work. While the text focuses primarily on acquisition of literacy in English and Spanish, most of the techniques suggested could be easily adapted for use with students developing biliteracy in other languages.

## WORK IN PROGRESS

The use of children's literature in whole language classrooms and balanced literacy programs has created an increased desire to explore how learning to respond to literature in two languages can be an important part of the development of biliteracy in the classroom context.

The conceptualization of biliteracy in bilingual education has been aided by recent research in new educational contexts. This summary highlights important research in three areas where substantial progress has been made. First, the large number of new two-way immersion programs has led to research in how they can aid students in developing biliteracy. Second, the large growth of early childhood programs has resulted in an additional interest in emergent biliteracy and the impact of bilingual education in preschool. Third, the use of children's literature in the classroom and balanced literacy programs has created an increase in studies that demonstrate how learning to respond to literature in two languages can be an important part of the development of biliteracy in the classroom context.

### *Two-way Immersion Programs*

One area of special interest in recent years is the development of biliteracy in students enrolled in two-way immersion programs. As these programs have expanded in number, there has been a focus on how

these programs assist students in attaining biliteracy and in the policy issues that are related to their implementation. Freeman (1998, 2004) has published two ethnographic discourse analytic studies that examine dual language programs. The first analyzes the established English/Spanish dual language program at Oyster School in Washington DC, and the second text examines the creation and implementation of a number of new dual language programs in Philadelphia. In the texts, discourse studies, ethnographic research, and language policy research helps to give a rich description of the literacy events used to develop biliteracy among the students, and also the challenges that the schools faced when attempting to elevate the status of Spanish and promoting a language policy that embraces bilingualism. Pérez (2004) presents another study of a two-way immersion program in San Antonio that she studied for six years using ethnographic methods. This research presents a detailed view of the ways in which the teachers and the learning environment aided students in becoming bilingual and especially the ways in which code-switching and linguistic transfer were used productively. This account is also notable for its discussions of how the pressure from the Texas state exams, the TAAS, affected the implementation of the dual language program (Brindley, Educational Reform and Language Testing, Volume 7; Menken, High-Stakes Tests as de facto Language Education Policies, Volume 7).

While much of the research on dual language programs describes the positive effects on the children enrolled in successful programs, it is also important to consider the implementation challenges that some programs have encountered. Wiese (2004) has written of her experiences working with the implementation of a dual language program in a second grade classroom in a diverse school environment. Her study focuses on the tensions and conflicts that occurred when trying to assist students in becoming biliterate. These included the difficulties in meeting the needs of English-speaking low-income students who came to school with little background in reading and writing, the time constraints in implementing balanced literacy instruction in two languages, and the ongoing process of deciding what type of language distribution would be best for the students at the school. The type of study adds to our understanding of biliteracy by acknowledging the complexity of meeting the language and literacy needs of diverse students (Genesee and Lindholm-Leary, Dual Language Education in Canada and the USA, Volume 5).

### *Emergent Biliteracy*

Recent studies carried out on emergent biliteracy in early childhood education have also contributed to our theoretical understanding of

the development of biliteracy. For example, research in a preschool class attended by students of Haitian origin (Ballenger, 1999) illustrates how culture influences students' responses to storybook read-alouds and creative play; Schwarzer (2001) has described a first grade student's acquisition of three linguistic codes with different writing systems both at home and in a bilingual program at school, while Reyes (2001) has documented how primary grade students transferred literacy skills from their first to second language and developed spontaneous biliteracy in English and Spanish, despite the fact that they had not received substantial formal literacy instruction in their second language. Some studies contrast the incipient biliteracy of children just starting their education who have not yet mastered the written conventions of their two languages with the instructed biliteracy of students in third grade or higher who engage with reading and writing texts in two languages to obtain information and gain access to the core curriculum (Moll, Saez, and Dworin, 2001). While there are many differences in the activities and the written products in these classes for young bilingual learners, a bilingual classroom environment in early childhood appears to lead students to naturally attempt to read and write in both languages. Research on young learners provides interesting information about biliteracy because early childhood students are often unconstrained with prior ideas about code-switching, and they frequently use both languages in flexible and innovative ways to accomplish literacy tasks.

### *Responding to Literature in Bilingual Classes*

There are also a number of studies that have made major contributions to the understanding of biliterate development within bilingual programs by providing detailed analysis of how children's literature can be incorporated into literacy instruction in two languages. One aspect of developing biliteracy is learning how to respond to literature. Cox and Boyd-Batstone (1997) provide a detailed account of how literature and various types of reading responses are used in an upper elementary bilingual class. Their work is also notable for providing longitudinal case studies of three children's biliterate development between first and fifth grade, and an analysis of how their different home environments and experiences acquiring English and Spanish have influenced the students' literature response styles. Martínez-Roldán and López-Robertson (2000) also discuss how they used literature circles in a bilingual first grade classroom. Their work explains the process of how they initiated Spanish and English literature circles in López-Robertson's classroom and the types of responses that were made by the children such as storytelling and intertextual responses. Ada and Campoy (2003) describe how they have used bilingual children's

literature and a variety of creative writing activities to help students draw on their cultural knowledge and their authentic life experiences to write in the various genres that are required in school. In addition to a theoretical summary of creative writing by bilingual individuals, the text also provides ten thematic units that each focus on a different genre of writing. One of the key features of this text is the engaging examples of creative writing by teachers, parents, and students that are included in the text. Many of these are pictures of homemade books with illustrations that give the reader a positive view of the high quality of writing that can be produced by young biliterate authors. Overall, these three texts provide the reader with a variety of suggestions on how to encourage culturally and linguistically appropriate verbal and written responses to bilingual literature.

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

While recent research provides strong support for the development of bilingual programs that would aid students in acquiring biliteracy, there is still a major difficulty in actually implementing more extensive bilingual education. Some recent work examines how opportunities for the acquisition of biliteracy in the classroom environment are related to patterns in social institutions and power relationships, and how individuals such as school administrators, teacher trainers, teachers, parents, and students can transform specific learning situations to aid in the acquisition of biliteracy.

One major difficulty is that many teachers are not fully biliterate themselves in the languages of their students. Thus, one area in which more research is needed is how teachers who are monolingual can promote biliteracy successfully. Skilton-Sylvester (2003) gives descriptions of the beliefs and teaching practices of four teachers of Khmer students who vary in their encouragement of the use of the students' first language in the classroom and their willingness to include the incorporation of elements of Khmer culture in their instruction. This research shows that the beliefs that the teachers hold about language acquisition and cultural identity strongly influence their teaching practices. Studies such as this one that examine the possibilities for preventing language shift and encouraging biliteracy need to be done in a large number of linguistic environments, especially where there are large numbers of students who speak lesser-known languages that may not be easily incorporated in existing school bilingual programs.

In the context of schooling in the USA, the policies enacted by the federal and state governments are having an increasing influence on the education of bilingual learners, and these policies are often making the continuation and implementation of bilingual programs more

difficult. Federal mandates have changed the context of schooling in bilingual programs by encouraging the use of certain literacy programs in comprehensive school reform and requiring students to take yearly English language exams as part of the mandates of the No Child Left Behind legislation. Some states in the USA such as California, Arizona, and Massachusetts have held referenda where voters approved propositions to mandate English-only instruction for English language learners and these measures have limited access to bilingual education. In addition, some states have high school exit exams that also have an influence on the context in which students are acquiring biliteracy. Clearly, more research needs to be done to document the effects that these federal and state restrictions are having on biliteracy development in bilingual programs (Ricento and Wright, *Language Policy and Education in the United States*, Volume 1; Lo Bianco, *Bilingual Education and Socio-Political Issues*, Volume 5).

While it may be true that the instructional practices of bilingual teachers in the USA are being constrained by these federal and state mandates and programs, bilingual teachers may also be able to work within the constraints to successfully encourage their students' acquisition of biliteracy. Knowledge of the ways in which these programs are actually successfully implementing sustainable bilingual education is crucial to expanding the number of students who are able to attain biliteracy in bilingual education programs in the USA. One area where some research has already been conducted is how teachers implement the Spanish language version of the Success for All literacy program that is being used in thousands of classrooms across the USA as part of the comprehensive school reform demonstration legislation. Ethnographic research has shown that while teachers follow a set of procedures for implementing classroom literacy activities, they also are able to find ways to individualize or personalize the mandated reading program to better fit the students' and the teachers' preferred instructional styles and cultural and linguistic background (Prado-Olmos and Marquez, 2001). Literacy and language policy are intertwined, and it is essential that more research is done to determine the effects of new language policies on teachers' and schools' attempts to aid their students in developing biliteracy.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

While there is a rapidly increasing research literature on the development of biliteracy in bilingual programs, there are still a number of questions that are in need of further research. More research is particularly needed in three areas: (a) the acquisition of biliteracy in lesser-known languages, (b) biliteracy development in home and school

among students in bilingual special education classes, and (c) the impact of new technologies on biliteracy development both with respect to pedagogical applications and opportunities for documenting biliteracy events and practices more precisely.

One area that is in need of additional research is how best to help children's simultaneous acquisition of multiple writing systems. Recent research done in England that asked students who were in Saturday supplemental programs in Chinese, Arabic, and Spanish to teach their classmates additional writing systems showed that five- and six-year-old students understood key differences between the writing systems they were acquiring, and they were able to share this information with other children (Kenner, Kress, Al-Khatib, Kam, and Tsai, 2004). These differences included the ability to distinguish between alphabetic and logographic writing systems and the differing directionality in various writing systems. This research showed that students were able to transfer knowledge between different writing systems, and children who were biliterate tended to show a heightened metalinguistic awareness. More research on this topic could help us to understand how to explain the differing features of writing systems to students who were becoming biliterate and to explain how to maximize transfer of writing skills between languages.

In addition, it would be helpful to have a greater understanding of the development of biliteracy in bilingual special education classes. Overall, there is little research that addresses this topic directly through ethnographic research, especially in a way that would examine how to best use the strengths of students in bilingual special education. One notable addition to the research literature is recent work by Rodríguez (2005) that examines the home biliteracy activities of four bilingual Dominican families in New York City who have a special needs child, and suggests that the diverse language and socialization practices of these households could be used in effective ways in bilingual special education classrooms.

Also, an additional future direction for research in biliteracy in bilingual programs is to make better use of video and digital technology to capture biliterate literacy events more completely. Newer technology holds promise in helping researchers to more easily follow bilingual students longitudinally across learning contexts and time in order to better understand the multitude of factors that aid students in developing biliteracy both inside and outside of the bilingual classroom.

**See also:** *Li Wei: Research Perspectives on Bilingualism and Bilingual Education (Volume 10); Kelleen Toohey: Ethnography and Language Education (Volume 10); Harvey J. Graff and John Duffy: Literacy Myths (Volume 2); Elizabeth Birr Moje: Everyday Funds of Knowledge*

*and School Discourses (Volume 3); Nancy H. Hornberger: Continua of Biliteracy (Volume 9); Geoff Brindley: Educational Reform and Language Testing (Volume 7); Kate Menken: High-Stakes Tests as de facto Language Policies (Volume 7); Fred Genesee and Kathryn Lindholm-Leary: Dual Language Education in Canada and the USA (Volume 5); Thomas Ricento and Wayne Wright: Language Policy and Education in the United States (Volume 1); Joseph Lo Bianco: Bilingual Education and Socio-political Issues (Volume 5)*

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## TEACHING FOR TRANSFER: CHALLENGING THE TWO SOLITUDES ASSUMPTION IN BILINGUAL EDUCATION

### INTRODUCTION

Two related assumptions regarding medium of instruction dominate second language teaching and bilingual education programs. Both of these assumptions reflect what Howatt (1984) terms “the monolingual principle.” In the case of second and foreign language teaching it is assumed that instruction should be carried out, as far as possible, exclusively in the target language without recourse to students’ first language (L1). In the case of bilingual and second language immersion programs, it has become axiomatic that the two languages should be kept rigidly separate. In this paper, I discuss the research and theoretical literature relevant to this “two solitudes” assumption and argue that it has minimal research basis. When we free ourselves from exclusive reliance on monolingual instructional approaches, a wide variety of opportunities arise for teaching bilingual students by means of bilingual instructional strategies that acknowledge the reality of, and strongly promote, cross-language transfer.

Some of these instructional strategies involve encouraging students to use translation as a tool for promoting transfer across languages. The use of bilingual in addition to monolingual (target language) dictionaries is also seen as a legitimate and useful tool within a bilingual pedagogical orientation that focuses on teaching for two-way transfer across languages. Advocacy of translation as a pedagogical tool is unusual in today’s era of communicative language teaching and it is important to emphasize at the outset that I am not suggesting a return to the stultifying world of grammar-translation instruction where the focus was on teaching grammar in isolation from communication and using translation as an end in itself. Rather the argument is that translation has a role to play within a broadly defined communicative approach as a means of enabling students to create multimedia texts that communicate in powerful and authentic ways with multiple audiences in both L1 and L2.

The roots of the two solitudes assumption lie in the *direct method* that became popular in the context of second and foreign language teaching more than 100 years ago and has continued to exert a strong influence on various language-teaching approaches since that time

(Cook, 2001; Howatt, 1984; Yu, 2001). In the next section, I sketch the evolution of the direct method and its mutation into the two solitudes assumption in the context of bilingual/immersion education.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Yu (2001) points out that the direct method developed in opposition to the grammar-translation method during the late 1880s, mainly in France and Germany. The essence of this approach is that “[t]he direct method imitated the way that children learn their first language, emphasizing the avoidance of translation and the direct use of the foreign language as the medium of instruction in all situations” (p. 176). The primary focus is on the development of listening comprehension and speaking ability (rather than reading and writing skills) and “correct pronunciation and inductively acquired grammatical knowledge are insisted upon” (p. 176).

These principles were reflected in the audiolingual and audiovisual approaches that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s and are also apparent in the implementation of communicative language teaching approaches in many contemporary contexts. Cook (2001) points out that:

Recent methods do not so much forbid the L1 as ignore its existence altogether. Communicative language teaching and task-based learning methods have no necessary relationship with the L1, yet . . . the only times the L1 is mentioned is when advice is given on how to minimize its use. The main theoretical treatments of task-based learning do not, for example, have any locatable mentions of the classroom use of the L1. . . . Most descriptions of methods portray the ideal classroom as having as little of the L1 as possible, essentially by omitting reference to it. (p. 404)

Cook goes on to argue for principled use of the L1 in the second or foreign language classroom based on four criteria:

- *Efficiency*: Can some content or instructional routines be communicated more effectively through L1?
- *Learning*: Will the use of L1 alongside the L2 result in better L2 learning?
- *Naturalness*: Do learners feel more comfortable about using L1 rather than L2 to discuss some functions or topics?
- *External relevance*: Will the use of L1 help learners to acquire some L2 functions or skills that they may need in the world outside the classroom.

The weighting of these four criteria must be set against the potential loss of L2 experience due to the use of L1. Cook concludes that despite the legitimacy of using the L1 under certain conditions, “it is clearly

useful to employ large quantities of the L2, everything else being equal” (p. 413).

Turnbull (2001) responded to Cook by acknowledging that while there is a place for teachers to use students’ L1 in second and foreign language teaching, there are major disadvantages when teachers rely too extensively on the L1. Specifically, when teachers who may not be highly fluent in L2 are given the “green light” to use students’ L1, then L2 use in the classroom may decline significantly on the part of both teachers and students. The differences between Cook and Turnbull are clearly a matter of emphasis but their exchange highlights the importance of establishing the empirical and theoretical basis for choice of medium of instruction in L2 teaching.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The theoretical rationale and empirical basis for teaching for cross-linguistic transfer derive from two sources: (a) the role of pre-existing knowledge as a foundation for learning (Bransford, Brown, and Cocking, 2000); and (b) the interdependence of proficiency across languages (Cummins, 1981, 2001).

#### *Engaging Prior Understandings*

The volume written by Bransford, Brown, and Cocking (2000) entitled *How People Learn* synthesizes research evidence regarding how learning occurs and the optimal conditions to foster learning. A follow-up volume edited by Donovan and Bransford (2005) examines the application of these learning principles to the teaching of History, Mathematics, and Science. The relevance in the present context is that any instructional intervention that claims scientific credibility should reflect these basic principles of learning. Bransford and his colleagues emphasize three major conditions for effective learning: (a) *engaging prior understandings*, (b) *integrating factual knowledge with conceptual frameworks*, and (c) *taking active control over the learning process through metacognitive strategies*. The role of prior knowledge is particularly relevant to the issue of teaching for transfer in the education of bilingual students because if students’ prior knowledge is encoded in their L1, then their L1 is inevitably implicated in the learning of L2.

Donovan and Bransford (2005, p. 4) point out that “*new understandings are constructed on a foundation of existing understandings and experiences*” (emphasis original). Prior knowledge, skills, beliefs, and concepts significantly influence what learners notice about their

environment, and how they organize and interpret their observations. Prior knowledge refers not just to information or skills previously acquired in a transmission-oriented instructional sequence but also to the totality of the experiences that have shaped the learner's identity and cognitive functioning.

This principle implies that when students are being educated through a second language (either in second/foreign language instruction or in bilingual/immersion programs) instruction should explicitly attempt to activate students' prior knowledge and build relevant background knowledge as necessary. However, monolingual instructional approaches appear at variance with this fundamental principle of learning because they regard students' L1 (and, by implication, the knowledge encoded therein) as an impediment to the learning of L2. As a result, these approaches are unlikely to focus on activation of students' prior knowledge. In cases where monolingual approaches do acknowledge the role of prior knowledge, they are likely to limit its expression to what students can express through their L2.

### *Interdependence across Languages*

The interdependence hypothesis was formally expressed as follows (Cummins, 1981):

To the extent that instruction in L<sub>x</sub> is effective in promoting proficiency in L<sub>x</sub>, transfer of this proficiency to L<sub>y</sub> will occur provided there is adequate exposure to L<sub>y</sub> (either in school or environment) and adequate motivation to learn L<sub>y</sub>.

In concrete terms, what this principle means is that in, for example, a dual language Spanish–English bilingual program in the USA, Spanish instruction that develops Spanish reading and writing skills is not just developing *Spanish* skills, it is also developing a deeper conceptual and linguistic proficiency that is strongly related to the development of literacy in the majority language (English). In other words, although the surface aspects (e.g., pronunciation, fluency, etc.) of different languages are clearly separate, there is an underlying cognitive/academic proficiency that is common across languages. This common underlying proficiency makes possible the transfer of cognitive/academic or literacy-related proficiency from one language to another.

There is extensive empirical research that supports the interdependence of literacy-related skills and knowledge across languages (see reviews by Baker, 2001; Cummins, 2001; Genesee, Lindholm-Leary, Saunders, and Christian, 2006). Thomas and Collier (2002), for example, found that immigrant students' L1 proficiency at the time of their arrival in the USA is the strongest predictor of English

academic development. The research trends can also be illustrated by the findings of Verhoeven (1991) in the context of two experimental transitional bilingual programs involving Turkish-background students in the Netherlands. These programs promoted L1 literacy over several elementary school grades. Verhoeven summarized the results as follows:

With respect to linguistic measures, it was found that a strong emphasis on instruction in L1 does lead to better literacy results in L1 with no retardation of literacy results in L2. On the contrary, there was a tendency for L2 literacy results in the transitional classes to be better than in the regular submersion [Dutch-only] classes. Moreover, it was found that the transitional approach tended to develop a more positive orientation toward literacy in both L1 and L2 . . . Finally, there was positive evidence for . . . [the] interdependence hypothesis. From the study on biliteracy development it was found that literacy skills being developed in one language strongly predict corresponding skills in another language acquired later in time (1991a, p. 72).

Depending on the sociolinguistic situation, five types of transfer are possible:

- Transfer of conceptual elements (e.g., understanding the concept of photosynthesis);
- Transfer of metacognitive and metalinguistic strategies (e.g., strategies of visualizing, use of graphic organizers, mnemonic devices, vocabulary acquisition strategies, etc.);
- Transfer of pragmatic aspects of language use (willingness to take risks in communication through L2, ability to use paralinguistic features such as gestures to aid communication, etc.);
- Transfer of specific linguistic elements (knowledge of the meaning of *photo* in *photosynthesis*);
- Transfer of phonological awareness—the knowledge that words are composed of distinct sounds.

The question sometimes arises as to whether we are talking about *transfer* or the existence of *underlying attributes* based on cognitive and personality attributes of the individual. In reality, these dimensions are not separate. The presence of the underlying attribute makes possible transfer across languages. Attributes develop through experience; in other words, they are learned. Once they exist within the individual's cognitive apparatus or operating system (Baker, 2001), they are potentially available for two-way transfer across languages (from L<sub>x</sub> to L<sub>y</sub> or from L<sub>y</sub> to L<sub>x</sub>) if the sociolinguistic and educational context is conducive to, or supports, such transfer.

## WORK IN PROGRESS

An example from a research study conducted in the greater Toronto area (Cummins et al., 2006) illustrates the instructional possibilities that emerge when bilingual students' L1 and prior knowledge are acknowledged as important resources for learning. Several months after her arrival in Canada from Pakistan, grade 7 student, Madiha Bajwa, authored with two of her friends, Kanta Khalid and Sulmana Hanif, a bilingual Urdu–English book entitled *The New Country*. The 20-page book “describes how hard it was to leave our country and come to a new country.” Both Kanta and Sulmana had arrived in Toronto in grade 4 and were reasonably fluent in English but Madiha was in the very early stages of English acquisition.

The three girls collaborated in writing *The New Country* in their “mainstream” grade 7/8 classroom in the context of a unit on the theme of migration that integrated social studies, language, and ESL curriculum expectations. They researched and wrote the story over several weeks, sharing their experiences and language skills. Madiha’s English was minimal but her Urdu was fluent, Sulmana and Kanta were fluent and reasonably literate in both Urdu and English. In composing the story, the three girls discussed their ideas primarily in Urdu but wrote the initial draft in English with feedback and support from their teacher (Lisa Leoni). When the English draft was finalized, they translated it into Urdu.

In a “normal” classroom, Madiha’s ability to participate in a grade 7 social studies unit would have been severely limited by her minimal knowledge of English. She certainly would not have been in a position to write extensively in English about her experiences, ideas, and insights. However, when the social structure of the classroom was changed in very simple ways that permitted her to draw on her L1 concepts and literacy, Madiha was enabled to express *herself* in ways that few second language learners experience. Her home language, in which all her experience prior to immigration was encoded, became once again a tool for learning. She contributed her ideas and experiences to the story, participated in discussions about how to translate vocabulary and expressions from Urdu to English and from English to Urdu, and shared in the affirmation that all three students experienced with the publication of their story as a (hard copy) book and on the world wide web. The fact that instruction was conducted in English and the teacher did not know Urdu or the other home languages of students in her multilingual classroom was not an impediment to the implementation of bilingual instructional strategies.

The fusion of affective, cognitive, and linguistic processes in the creation of dual language texts is reflected in the label *identity texts* that we have used to refer to students' bilingual writing (Cummins et al., 2005). This term describes the products of students' creative work or performances carried out within the pedagogical space orchestrated by the classroom teacher. Students invest their identities in the creation of these texts which can be written, spoken, visual, musical, dramatic, or combinations in multimodal form. The identity text then holds a mirror up to students in which their identities are reflected back in a positive light. When students share identity texts with multiple audiences (peers, teachers, parents, grandparents, sister classes, the media, etc.) they are likely to receive positive feedback and affirmation of self in interaction with these audiences. Although not always an essential component, technology acts as an amplifier to enhance the process of identity investment and affirmation. It facilitates the production of these texts, makes them look more accomplished, and expands the audiences and potential for affirmative feedback.

Translation is an integral part of creating dual language identity texts. Translation also plays an important role in enabling bilingual and newcomer students to participate actively in instruction. Students who engaged in creating dual language identity texts were asked how they felt about using their L1 in the classroom and the extent to which they felt L1 use might help with reading and writing in English (Bismilla, Cummins, Leoni, and Sandhu, 2006). The following written comments reflect newcomer students' insights into both the role of prior knowledge and cross-lingual transfer in L2 learning (spelling and punctuation original):

When I allowed to use Hebrew it helps me understand English I thinking in Hebrew and write in English. If I read in English I think in Hebrew and understand more.

When I am allowed to use my first language in class it helps me with my writing and reading of english because if I translation in english to urdu then urdu give me help for english language. I also think better and write more in english when I use urdu because I can see in urdu what I want to say in english.

When I am allowed to use Urdu in class it helps me because when I write in Urdu and then I look at Urdu words and English comes in my mind. So, its help me a lot. When I write in English, Urdu comes in my mind. When I read in English I say it in Urdu in my mind. When I read in Urdu I feel very comfortable because I can understand it.

Despite their still limited English, these newcomer students insightfully describe what happens inside their heads as they grapple with the learning of English. Their responses accurately reflect the quantitative research on cross-lingual interdependence. They highlight the transfer of concepts and strategies across languages and forcefully call into question the prevalence of monolingual instructional assumptions that essentially deny students access to their L1 as a resource for learning.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Researchers have observed for many years that many students in bilingual and second language immersion programs spontaneously focus on similarities and differences in their two languages. Lambert and Tucker (1972), for example, noted that students in the French immersion program they evaluated engaged in a form of contrastive linguistics where they compared aspects of French and English despite the fact that in this program (and in virtually all Canadian French immersion programs) the two languages were kept rigidly separate. If students in bilingual/immersion programs spontaneously focus on similarities and differences in their two (or more) languages, and we believe that this increases their language awareness in positive ways, then why not systematically encourage and support them in focusing on language and relating their L1 knowledge to L2?

Teaching for transfer has not been pursued in the vast majority of bilingual/immersion programs, nor in the teaching of the dominant language to newcomer students, because of the uncritical acceptance of monolingual instructional assumptions by many policy-makers, practitioners, and researchers.

Among the bilingual strategies that can be employed to promote literacy engagement in both L1 and L2 are the following:

- *Creation of dual language multimedia books or projects.* Students write creatively in L1 and L2 and amplify these identity texts through technology (see, for example, the Dual Language Showcase <http://thornwood.peelschools.org/Dual/> and the Multiliteracies web site [www.multiliteracies.ca](http://www.multiliteracies.ca)).
- *Sister class exchanges.* Students engage in technology-mediated sister class exchanges using L1 and L2 to create literature and art and/or to explore issues of social relevance to them and their communities (e.g., Social History of Our Community, Voices of our Elders, etc.). Students can also create movies, audio CDs, and/or multilingual web pages in collaboration with their sister classes (Cummins, Brown, and Sayers, 2007).

Many other strategies for enabling bilingual students to use both their languages as tools for learning are outlined in Coelho (2006), DeFazio (1997), Lucas and Katz (1995), and Jessner (Jessner, *Multicompetence Approaches to Language Proficiency in Multilingual Education*, Volume 5). Among the instructional options are the following:

- Focus on cognates in contexts where the languages share common linguistic origins. In Spanish–English and French–English bilingual programs in the USA and Canada, respectively, monolingual instructional assumptions dictate that cognate relationships are only minimally explored despite the fact that the low-frequency academic language of English derives from the same Latin and Greek roots as Spanish and French. Explicit focus on this cross-lingual strategy is required if students are to use it effectively (Nagy, Garcia, Durgunoglu, and Hancin-Bhatt, 1993).
- From kindergarten on, students bring in words (in L1, L2, or L3) to class to explore with peers and teacher and they incorporate these words into technology-supported bilingual/multilingual dictionaries (Cummins, Brown, and Sayers, 2007).
- Provide opportunities for students to develop ideas in their stronger language and then work collaboratively towards expression of these ideas in their less proficient language. For example, English learners could write initially in their L1, discuss and clarify concepts, plan group tasks, write notes and outlines, etc. Coelho (2006) points out that this L1 work “will be a preliminary step toward producing work in English, and it will ensure a better product in the end” (p. 30).
- Students in bilingual or L2 immersion programs can develop critical literacy and language awareness by examining media reports on contemporary issues and comparing the way events and controversies are reported in different languages.

In summary, if bilingual and second language immersion programs are to reach their full potential, it is important that we revisit the monolingual instructional orientation that dominates the implementation of many of these programs and in some cases has assumed the status of dogma. There is simply no research basis for either the direct method or the two solitudes assumption. Similarly, there is no research evidence that translation, used appropriately, is in any way an impediment to effective language learning. On the contrary, research suggests that translation can serve useful pedagogical purposes. Orleana, Reynolds, Dorner, and Meza (2003), for example, highlight the relevance of Latino/a students’ translation practices and abilities for in-school literacy instruction. While extensive use of the target language within foreign/second language and bilingual/immersion programs is clearly a useful and important instructional strategy, it should not be

implemented in a rigid or exclusionary manner. As the examples in this paper illustrate, students' L1 can be a powerful intellectual resource, and bilingual instructional strategies can usefully complement monolingual strategies to promote more cognitively engaged learning.

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## IDENTITY, COMMUNITY AND POWER IN BILINGUAL EDUCATION

### INTRODUCTION

Bilingual education is about much more than language. Identity and power relationships figure prominently, although the dynamics of these relationships vary across contexts. Bilingual education planners, policymakers, and practitioners have choices in how they respond to the kinds of language education challenges they face in their school, community, and society contexts. The choices they make about language education policies, programs, and practices reflect ideological assumptions about languages, speakers of languages, and the role of schools in society. These choices can have important implications for students, their families, and the communities and societies in which they live.

Student identities are constantly being negotiated and shaped within all forms of schooling. Within bilingual education this negotiation takes place in two or more languages and reflects the material and symbolic resources of the different social groups. Bilingual education researchers investigate and document how power relations among local and global communities influence the forms of bilingual education that are implemented and the teacher–student interactions that occur within particular bilingual programs. Practitioners use their understanding of power relationships between social identity groups in their communities to develop bilingual education policies, programs, and practices that may elevate the status of minority languages and speakers of those languages, provide more access to opportunities for language minority students, and challenge dominant identity and power relations on the local level.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Sociolinguistic research conducted in the 1960s, 70s and 80s contributes to our understanding of societal multilingualism, language planning, and the social reproduction of the status of minority language students through schooling. This research provides an important foundation for those concerned with the relationships between identity, community, and power in bilingual education.

Early sociology of language research demonstrates that language use in multilingual societies is never neutral. The historical, social, political, and economic circumstances leading to a particular multilingual situation (e.g., migration, imperialism, federation, border-area phenomena, globalization) influence relations between the different linguistic groups in that context, which in turn influence the ways that languages are used and evaluated by speakers of those languages (see Fasold, 1984 for review of this literature). Haugen (1972) introduced the notion of language ecology to focus attention on the interactions between language and its environment, including how the language interacts with other languages socially as a medium of communication and psychologically in the minds of community members. Power relations structure the functional allocation of languages in multilingual societies, with the prestige language variety (or varieties) used for the higher-status functions of government and education and the less-powerful language varieties used for private or symbolic functions (Ferguson, 1959; Fishman, 1967).

Speakers in multilingual communities manage the complex and at times contradictory pragmatic and symbolic demands for language use in different domains of life (e.g., at home, church, school, work). Sometimes individual minority language speakers or communities make efforts to maintain and develop minority languages, and sometimes majority language speakers or communities assist in these language maintenance efforts. Other times minority language populations experience societal pressure to assimilate to majority language norms, leading to language shift, language loss, or language death (see Fasold, 1984; McKay and Hornberger, 1996 for reviews of this literature).

Fishman (1973) defines language planning as the organized pursuit of solutions to language problems typically on the national level. Much of the early language planning research was problem-oriented (Mühlhäusler, 1996). Ruíz (1984) provides alternatives to the dominant problem orientation in bilingual education language planning, and distinguishes three ideological orientations toward minority languages in society: (1) the language-as-problem orientation underlying transitional bilingual programs for language minority populations; (2) the language-as-right orientation underlying maintenance bilingual programs for language minority populations and (3) the language-as-resource orientation underlying enrichment bilingual programs for language minority and language majority populations. These ideological orientations toward the languages used in the multilingual society reflect power relations between the language planners and the target populations. These ideologies have implications in terms of language use and identity development for students, their families, local communities,

and the larger society. While there are examples of these ideologies in bilingual education programs worldwide, the predominant assumption in research and practice to date has seen linguistic diversity as a problem (Hornberger, 2002; Mühlhäusler, 1996).

The 1980s also yielded an important body of ethnography of communication research illustrating how the microlevel organization of classroom interaction can reflect and reproduce the macrolevel social processes that discriminate against students who speak minority languages (see Heath, 1983; Philips, 1983 for detailed discussion of speakers of vernacular varieties of English in mainstream English speaking schools in the USA). This research identifies cross-cultural differences in the ways that children from different speech communities are socialized through language to use language correctly and appropriately in their everyday lives (see also Schieffelin and Ochs, 1990 for cross-cultural examples). The “mismatch” or cross-cultural miscommunication that can occur between the ways that language minority students use language outside of school and the mainstream teachers’ cultural expectations for appropriate language use in school can negatively position language minority students relative to their language majority peers. Such subordinate positioning can restrict language minority students’ opportunities to demonstrate what they know and/or can do, which can in turn block their access to equal educational opportunities.

Early work in the sociology of language, language planning, and ethnography of communication contributes to our understanding of how the stratification of minority languages relative to majority languages on the macrosocietal level is reflected in the ways that language planners organize bilingual education programs for language minority students, and in the ways that teachers position language minority students in the classroom interaction. These programs and practices can, in turn, contribute to the social reproduction of the subordinate role of minority languages and speakers of those languages. However, as we see in more recent research, social reproduction through schooling is not the only possibility.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Interdisciplinary research in literacy studies, linguistic anthropology, critical discourse analysis, and language planning in the 1990s contributes to our understanding of the dynamic nature of identity and power relations. This work highlights the social and ideological nature of discourse. Bilingual education researchers can draw theoretically and methodologically on this work in their investigation of how identity and power relations are constructed and contested through bilingual

education in particular community contexts. An interdisciplinary ethnographic and discourse analytic approach allows us to understand how bilingual education policies, programs, and practices can *either* reflect and reproduce dominant identity and power relations, *or* challenge and potentially transform those relations (Freeman, 1998, 2004).

Recent research on language and identity provides evidence of the dynamic, multifaceted, negotiated, and negotiable nature of social identity construction through discourse in particular communities of practice (e.g., Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992; Gee, 1990). This work focuses on language and literacy or discourse practices, which can be understood as the ways of believing, thinking, valuing, speaking, and writing that are shared by community members and that constitute social identities (e.g., gender, racial, ethnic, religious, professional) within those communities. Discourse practices are never neutral; they are always structured by power relations. Power may be understood as symbolic domination, and the strongest form of power may be the ability to define social reality and to impose visions of the world through language (Fairclough, 1992; Foucault, 1979; Gal, 1995).

How do members of a community come to value certain languages and speakers of those languages? Bourdieu (1993) argues that language can be understood as a form of cultural or symbolic capital whose value is negotiated in a metaphorical linguistic marketplace. Speakers use language, like other forms of cultural capital, to pursue their interests. The dominant language in a specific linguistic market is assigned more value than other languages in that market. Proficiency in the dominant or majority language can thus be understood as a form of cultural capital which is unequally distributed throughout society. Proficiency in the minority (immigrant or indigenous) language may not be valued, or it may be valued in different ways by members of the discourse communities within that larger society. Martin-Jones and Heller (1996) apply Bourdieu's economic metaphor to the study of education in multilingual settings in a wide range of contexts to illustrate the fundamental role of education in the production and reproduction of unequal power relations in different multilingual communities.

Recent sociolinguistic research, however, emphasizes the need to develop Bourdieu's concept of symbolic domination through language to allow for the possibility of contestation or resistance to the existing power relationships. Examining resistance tells us about where and how power is exerted, and knowing how institutions of power work tells us where to look for possible signs of resistance (Gal, 1995; Heller, 1994; Martin-Jones and Heller, 1996). Schieffelin, Woolard, and Kroskrity (1998) analyze language ideologies, or "common sense" assumptions about languages and speakers of languages that are reflected in what people say and write, enacted in everyday activities,

and structured by power relations. Norton (2000) focuses on minority language speakers' resistance to assimilation to language majority norms in what she calls identity investment. Her ethnographic research shows that when speakers are invested in a minority identity, they are more likely to make efforts to maintain and develop the minority language and identity.

Recent research in language planning has also taken an ideological turn (Wiley, 1996), and researchers emphasize the need to investigate how language plans are interpreted and implemented in particular sociopolitical contexts. Language planning research is no longer primarily focused on the top-down problem-solving activities of governmental policymakers. Both the notions of who the language planners are and what counts as language planning have expanded. Cooper (1989), for example, defines language planning as deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their languages. He emphasizes that language planning activities can be undertaken by a wide range of groups including local, regional, and national agencies, community-based organizations, professional organizations, churches, schools, and families. Language planning is now understood as dynamic, ideological processes that can be initiated from the top and/or from the bottom. These processes are shaped by multiple levels of institutional authority (see also Bamgbose, 1989).

Freeman's (1998) two year ethnographic and discourse analytic study of dual language planning and implementation at a successful bilingual school in Washington DC (Oyster Bilingual School) offers an example of this approach, and it provides empirical evidence of the transformative potential of bilingual education on the local school level. Freeman argues that the Oyster educators have constructed an alternative to mainstream US educational discourse for their student population, which is reflected in their dual language policy, multicultural curriculum content, student-centered classroom interaction, and culturally sensitive assessment practices. A primary goal of Oyster's bilingual education policy, program, and practices is to elevate the status of Spanish and Spanish speakers. The result is that Spanish speakers and English speakers are positioned more or less equally at school. Oyster's dual language program challenges the symbolic domination of English and English speakers on the local level.

Hornberger's (2003) continua of biliteracy model is a promising framework for action-oriented ethnographic and discourse analytic research in particular bilingual education contexts and for comparative research and practice across contexts. It is a comprehensive model that is premised on a view of multilingualism as a resource. Hornberger defines biliteracy as any and all instances in which communication

occurs in two or more languages in or around writing, and she describes biliteracy in terms of four nested sets of intersecting continua. Using the continua of biliteracy framework as a guide, bilingual education researchers and practitioners can ask questions about the contexts, media, content, and development of biliteracy to see if there is ideological space in the community, school, classroom, or home for biliteracy development. When they identify policies, programs, and practices that do not promote multilingualism and cultural pluralism, they can devise creative ways to challenge dominant identity and power relations in that context. Hornberger's continua of biliteracy framework has been applied to bilingual education research and practice in a wide range of multilingual communities worldwide (see Hornberger, 2003 for detailed discussion and examples).

### WORK IN PROGRESS

According to Hornberger (2002), the one language-one nation ideology of language policy and national identity is no longer the only available ideology worldwide (if it ever was). She describes language policies in postapartheid South Africa's new Constitution of 1993 and Bolivia's National Education Reform of 1994 as examples of transformative policies, and writes,

multilingual language policies which recognize ethnic and linguistic pluralism as resources for nation-building are increasingly in evidence. These policies, many of which envision implementation through bilingual intercultural education, open up new worlds of possibility for oppressed indigenous and immigrant languages and their speakers, transforming former homogenizing and assimilationist policy discourses into discourses about diversity and emancipation (Hornberger, 2002).

An important aspect of the work in progress is to identify how dominant and alternative language ideologies structure identity and power relations in bilingual education contexts, and to find creative, context-appropriate ways to open ideological and implementation space for policies, programs, and practices that promote multilingualism and cultural pluralism.

Ethnographers often focus on contested terms as an important area of inquiry because they point to power struggles in the community. The term *bilingual education*, for example, technically means using two languages for instructional purposes. Bilingual education researchers have identified different types of bilingual education programs with different target populations, different goals, different program structures, and different outcomes (transitional bilingual programs for

minority language speakers which generally lead to subtractive bilingualism; maintenance or one-way developmental bilingual programs for minority language speakers, two-way or dual immersion programs for majority language and minority language speakers and foreign or second language immersion programs for majority language speakers—which all generally lead to additive bilingualism). However, ethnographers find that in practice the term *bilingual education* often takes on different meanings in different communities. Analysis of these ideological meanings can reveal power and identity relations within those communities.

In New Zealand, for example, Maori immersion education targets Maori (minority) students, many of whom speak more English (the majority language) than Maori (the minority language) in their everyday lives. According to Hornberger (2004), Maori immersion schools ban English from the school premises and provide instruction exclusively through Maori with the goal of additive bilingualism (i.e., the addition of the Maori language) for the Maori students. In the context of Maori revitalization efforts, Maori immersion education is not seen as a type of bilingual education; it is seen as in opposition to bilingual education programs which use English and Maori for instructional purposes. In this context, the term *bilingual education* is negatively evaluated because the use of English, the majority language, is seen as a threat to Maori, the minority language. Efforts to make any changes to language education policies, programs, and practices (e.g., to encourage the use of any English in Maori immersion schools so that Maori students develop the multilingual literacies they need to participate in the global economy) must take seriously insider understandings of the relationships between language, identity, and power relations on the local and national levels in New Zealand.

In the USA *bilingual education* is also a contested term, reflecting power and identity struggles between English speakers and (primarily) Spanish speakers. Bilingual education is often understood in practice as a synonym for transitional bilingual education which exclusively targets English language learners (ELLs), most of whom are low-income Spanish speakers. In the context of increasing English-only and anti-immigrant activity in the USA today, the use of Spanish (a minority language in the USA) is often described as a threat to English (the majority language) and to national unity. Several states (California, Arizona, and Massachusetts) have legislated against bilingual education, despite research that documents the effectiveness of well-implemented bilingual education and the ineffectiveness of English-only approaches. Many more states have passed English-only legislation, and at the time of this writing English-only legislation is under serious consideration on the national level.

At the same time, dual language programs which target English (language majority) speakers are increasingly positively evaluated and funded in the USA.

The most common form of dual language education in the USA is two-way immersion (TWI) which targets English (language majority) speakers and speakers of another (minority) language—most commonly Spanish. We saw strong ideological and financial support for dual language education at the federal level in the mid to late 1990s, including former Secretary of Education Richard W. Riley's March 2000 challenge for the nation to increase the number of dual language programs to 1,000 over the next five years. Top-down ideological and financial support for dual language education was complemented by bottom-up TWI program development across the country, with the number of TWI programs growing to 321 programs in 28 states (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2005). It is interesting to note that the English-only laws that passed in California, Arizona, and Massachusetts allow waivers for dual language programs that target English speakers.

Although dual language programs may have the potential to challenge the symbolic domination of English in the USA by promoting bilingualism and cultural pluralism for English speakers and speakers of other languages, Valdés (1997) makes a strong cautionary note about these programs. Since white middle class students tend to outperform their low-income Spanish speaking counterparts academically in most US schools today, Valdés urges educators to ensure that dual language programs provide Spanish speakers with opportunities to reach equally high standards in both languages in content area classes. Otherwise, Valdés argues, Spanish speakers are exploited for the Spanish language resource that they offer to English speaking students. In this case, instead of challenging dominant power relations that discriminate against low-income Latinos, dual language programs would contribute to the social reproduction of the subordinate status of this population. Clearly, this is not the intention of the language-as-resource ideological orientation advocated by Ruíz (1984) and others.

Competing ideologies about bilingual education in different communities over time begin to illustrate ways that dynamic identity and power relations structure bilingual education policies, programs, and practices at different points in time in those communities. In many contexts, we see conflict and controversy about what bilingual education means and who bilingual education programs are intended to serve. The ideological and implementation spaces change across contexts over time, which requires changing actions by researchers and practitioners.

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Researchers and practitioners who focus their attention on issues of identity and power in bilingual education agree that multilingual language policies implemented through bilingual intercultural education can enhance children's learning by building on the linguistic and cultural resources those children bring with them to school, and by challenging dominant power relations that contribute to the subordination of minority identities and languages. They also agree that one of the major challenges is ideological. Language ideologies within any bilingual education context are likely to be complex and contradictory, and the contradictions reflect and shape identity and power relations in that context. Although ethnographic and discourse analytic research allows for an understanding of the particular nature of these relations, and although practitioners can devise creative ways to open and spread ideological and implementation spaces, this kind of work takes considerable time and effort.

One of the most challenging decisions facing educators in many multilingual communities concerns what language (or languages) to use for instructional purposes. As Hornberger (2006) emphasizes, the challenge of popular demand for the societal language(s) of power is a very real one in contexts all over the world, one not to be lightly dismissed. Hornberger draws on her continua model of biliteracy development to explain the arguments against Quechua (an indigenous language which was considered not appropriate to be used as the medium of instruction) in favor of Spanish (the majority language) in Peru in 1987–1989 and again against Quechua and Aymara in favor of Spanish in Bolivia twenty years later. Hornberger cites Banda (2000) who identifies a similar set of language ideologies in Black African communities in South Africa, with black and colored parents increasingly demanding English medium instruction even while academics and researchers agree that English medium instruction is largely responsible for the general lack of academic skills and intellectual growth at high school for language minority students in these communities. Freeman (2004) describes contradictory language ideologies in the predominantly Puerto Rican community in North Philadelphia in the USA, leading many parents and educators to think in terms of *either English or Spanish*, or *first English then Spanish*, rather than *both Spanish and English*. The Foundation for Endangered Languages (2006) expresses concern that the multilingual language policy stance endorsed by the Government of India in response to increasing globalization may contribute to imbalances and instability in the language ecology and threaten the viability of less common languages and the communities

in which these languages are spoken. This concern can be extended to other countries whose multilingual language policies support the development of some minority languages at the expense of other less common languages and communities.

The language ideologies of different constituents (e.g., policymakers, members of language majority communities, members of language minority communities) in a particular context are often in conflict with each other. Moreover, the language ideologies held by the different constituents are often in conflict with research that demonstrates the effectiveness of well-implemented bilingual programs that promote the maintenance and development of minority languages for minority language speakers and communities. These language ideologies, however, reflect and shape the types of bilingual education implemented in a particular community context. They also complicate efforts to promote bilingual education policies, programs, and practices that seek to transform dominant identity and power relations on the local level.

A tremendous challenge for practitioners is determining how to address the competing discourses that we identify through ethnographic/discourse analytic research. For example, how should practitioners address conflict and controversy about whether the home language(s) of the language minority students are problems to be overcome or resources to develop? How should they respond to confusion about the role of the child's first or home language(s) in education, or to political questions about the role of language in national unity? Practitioners who are working to challenge dominant social relations through bilingual education need to find creative ways to move from conflict and controversy to a coherent enrichment orientation that sees linguistic and cultural diversity as resources to be developed and not as problems to be overcome. In order for additive bilingual education programs to be effective, the language-as-resource orientation must be reflected in the bilingual education policies, program structure, curriculum content, materials, organization of classroom interaction, and assessment practices. This resource orientation must also be supported by parents and community members outside of school. This kind of educational and social change is neither simple nor straightforward.

The nature of the work in progress in a particular bilingual education context is shaped by the historical and contemporary sociopolitical relations that characterize the multilingual situation, the local language ecology, the ideological and material resources and constraints that one finds in that context, and the role of the person doing the work. Practitioners (policymakers, language educators, parents, community members) can look for creative ways to work the ideological and implementation spaces that they find at a given point in time in their

context. Researchers can describe, interpret, and explain identity and power relations and struggles in particular bilingual education contexts. Researchers and practitioners together contribute to our understanding of symbolic domination and effective resistance through language.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Although we have developed a theoretical and practical understanding of how identity and power relations influence the ways that bilingual education policies, programs, and practices are interpreted and implemented in particular communities and societies, we need much more research across a wider range of contexts. There is so much variation from one bilingual education context to another, and we need careful ethnographic/discourse analytic studies that document (1) how broader sociopolitical relations among specific local and global communities influence the forms of bilingual education that are planned and implemented, (2) the implications of the different forms of bilingual education for identity construction at school, and (3) the ways that dominant identity and power relations are reflected and reproduced or contested and potentially transformed through bilingual education. Detailed ethnographic and discourse analytic studies of the complex interrelationships between identity and power within and across particular bilingual education contexts will provide considerable insight for practitioners who are working to open and spread ideological spaces that promote multilingualism and cultural pluralism.

Conceptualizing context as made up of three interrelated levels can advance this project. Context can be understood as dynamic relationships among the situational, institutional, and societal levels that relate to each other in important ways (Fairclough, 1989). In most cases, macrolevel identity and power relations are reflected and reproduced in the microlevel situation (e.g., classroom) and/or institution (e.g., school), and in most cases minority languages and speakers of those languages continue to be discriminated against at school and in society. However, we have also seen that the microlevel situation and/or institution can resist, challenge, and potentially transform discriminatory power relations. Bilingual education researchers need to describe, interpret, and explain how bilingual education planning and implementation activities interact with the dynamics of particular multilingual situations within and across the multiple levels of context over time (see Freeman, 1998, 2004 for detailed discussions and examples).

An ideological approach to investigating existing language, identity, and power relations in the community and how the bilingual education policy, program or practice is intended to interact within that context is critical. Grounded longitudinal research can help policymakers and

practitioners understand how the dynamics of the context influence the way that bilingual education is interpreted and implemented on the local level. A critical understanding of context is essential to any discussion about the effectiveness of different types of bilingual education policies, programs, and practices for different target populations.

People have choices in how they define themselves, each other, the languages that they speak, and the educational policies, programs, and practices that they develop. Although the ways that people use and evaluate languages in any given situation may be powerfully influenced by larger historical, sociocultural, political, and economic processes, these processes do not necessarily determine what happens in the face-to-face interaction. Policymakers, community members, and/or educators can choose to open and spread ideological and implementation spaces that promote multilingualism, and to provide opportunities to populations that have been traditionally denied access to those opportunities.

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## MULTICOMPETENCE APPROACHES TO LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY DEVELOPMENT IN MULTILINGUAL EDUCATION

### INTRODUCTION

Due to a significant increase in interest in the phenomenon of multilingualism, research on multilingualism and multilingual education has grown over the last two decades. Some influential developments in research on second language acquisition and bilingualism have begun to exert an impact on second language teaching and bi- and multilingual education. These concerns include the symbiosis of the hitherto isolated fields of second language learning and bilingualism, the introduction of the concept of multicompetence, reflecting a *bilingual* view of bilingualism, and the application of dynamic systems theory to second language acquisition and multilingualism.

After an outline of the Chomskyan concept of language competence, these new developments will be described in more detail and the most important areas of research which have provided contributions to the development of multicompetence approaches to language proficiency will be examined. A central theme of the paper is that multilingual education can only be successful if the cognitive potential of multilingualism is explicitly acknowledged on the societal level.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The concept of language competence was introduced into linguistics by Chomsky (1965), who was one of the first linguists to develop an explicit theory of competence. His theory of competence can be seen as marked by two characteristics, that is, first, the distinction between native-speaker competence and native-speaker performance, and second, the assumption that competence is not immediately accessible to the native speaker. Chomsky (1965, p. 3) stated that ‘[l]inguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance.’ Furthermore he noted that ‘[l]inguistic

competence is understood as concerned with the tacit knowledge of language structure, that is, knowledge that is commonly not conscious or available for spontaneous report, but necessarily implicit in what the (ideal) native speaker-listener can say.' (Chomsky, 1965, p. 19). Although it was never explicitly stated by Chomsky, it can be assumed '[...] that the native speaker and her/his innate faculties are necessarily monolingual', as pointed out by Herdina and Jessner (2002, p. 31).

Hymes (1972) as one of Chomsky's critics found that Chomsky's theory lacked the aspect of appropriacy and therefore suggested an extension of the theory of competence to include a theory of performance competence or proficiency. Consequently, Hymes introduced the notion of communicative competence, thereby adding a stronger sociolinguistic dimension to the psycholinguistic notion of competence in which verbal repertoire, linguistic routines and domains of language behaviour play crucial roles. This contrasts with the Chomskyan point of view, which posits linguistic competence in isolation from general cognitive conditions or sociolinguistic aspects. Chomsky's approach is complemented by the principle of modularity of mind, which assumes both that the various faculties of the mind are to be thought of separately and that the components of language competence, that is the lexical system, syntactic system, phonetic system, and so on, can also be interpreted as separate modules. Other tenets that Universal Grammar implicitly or explicitly holds are a linear theory of language development, a resetting model of second language acquisition, a critical age hypothesis and invariable competence (for details see Herdina and Jessner, 2002, p. 30–51). In an attempt to define 'competence', Chomsky (1980, p. 59) draws a distinction between knowing the forms of a language, the ability to use the language one knows, and actually using it. In contrast, Bachman (1991) perceived language ability as consisting of language knowledge, which is sometimes referred to as language competence and cognitive processes or procedures implementing this knowledge in language use.

The historical development of the concept of language proficiency is usually described as having two phases. The first phase, lasting from 1920 to 1980, is dominated by Oller's (1976) work who discussed language proficiency as a single, global ability. The second phase is strongly connected to Bachman and Palmer's communicative model of language ability (1982), which views language proficiency as multi-componential, with areas of knowledge that are unique to language use and general metacognitive strategies (see also Canale and Swain, 1980).

Until very recently the concept of language competence was seen as applicable to both first and second language contexts. The reasons for

such an approach have to be seen in relation to the prolonged isolated development of the fields of second language learning and bilingualism. Only when scholars such as Harley and colleagues (1990) started to develop common frameworks for both research fields, a turn—which we might want to call a multilingual turn—in research on how to define the competence of individuals who know more than one language was observed. It should be noted that such a view implies that formal and informal second language acquisition can lead to bilingualism.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Current work on multilingualism and multicompetence, in particular, has mainly been influenced by holistic ideas of bi- and multilingualism. Grosjean's work (1985) on the bilingual as a competent but specific bilingual speaker-hearer strongly influenced both Cook's concept of multicompetence (e.g. 1991) and Herdina and Jessner's (2002) dynamic view of multilingual development and multilingual proficiency, as discussed in the following sections.

#### *Bilingual View of Bilingualism*

Grosjean (1982, 1985) was the first linguist to introduce a bilingual or holistic view of bilingualism. His approach opposes the monolingual norm assumption that interprets bilingualism as a kind of double monolingualism. This viewpoint has dominated most research on bilingualism and has given rise to portraying bilinguals as deficient monolinguals in each of their languages. Such an attitude has also been accepted by a large number of bilinguals who, although they function in both languages on a daily basis, criticize their own language competences and therefore are hesitant about referring to themselves as really bilingual. The strong belief that a person can only be called truly bilingual if s/he is ambilingual, that is, is fully competent and therefore comparable to a monolingual native speaker in both languages, still prevails. Among other reasons, such an approach to bilingualism reflects the focus of researchers on the so-called negative effects of the contact between two languages, be they of either linguistic or social nature. And this attitude is also reflected in language tests used for the assessment of the language skills of bilingual children in minority contexts since traditional tests do not take positive consequences of bi- and multilingualism or characteristic features of bilingual speech, such as codeswitching, into consideration. Grosjean (1985) compared the bilingual speaker to a high hurdler who combines his or her competences, jumping and sprinting, in one person, although

s/he is neither a sprinter nor a high hurdler. In this sense the bilingual speaker is a human communicator who has developed communicative competence in two languages in order to be able to cope with the communicative needs of everyday life.

In his recent work Grosjean (e.g. 2001) concentrated on language mode as a crucial control variable to be taken into account in research on bi- and multilingualism. Language mode which has to be seen on a continuum from monolingual to multilingual mode describes the state of activation of the multilingual person's linguistic repertoire, that is, when and why a speaker uses or activates one, two or three of her/his languages.

### *The Concept of Multicompetence*

Over the past 15 years Cook has developed the notion of multicompetence understood as the knowledge of more than one language in the same mind, or in other words, the knowledge of the first language (L1) in addition to the interlanguage. Cook's concept has been discussed and used in several areas of (applied) linguistics, mainly in second language research and teaching (<http://homepage.ntlworld.com/vivian.c/SLA/Multicompetence/MCrefsList.htm>).

By drawing on Grosjean's ideas of the bilingual as a person in her/his own right, Cook (2001) separated someone who knows more than one language from the native monolingual speaker by emphasizing that the monolingual mind differs from the mind of the second language learner. This also implies that the relationship between the L1 and the interlanguage within one mind is different from that between the interlanguage in one mind and the L2, when the L2 has the status of an L1 in another mind. Additionally, the term *L2 user* became preferred over the L2 (or bilingual) learner by Cook to imply that the user is different from a learner who is always learning and never achieving (e.g. Cook, 2003a).

Cook states that the second language user has a different perspective compared to the monolingual on the L1 and the L2, and also develops a different kind of metalinguistic awareness and engages in different forms of language processing. The research that has derived from this concept has been concerned in particular with the effect of the L2 on the L1 (Cook, 2003) and with the relationships between the language systems in the L2 user's mind, as discussed in Cook et al. (2006). As pointed out by Cook (2006, p. 15) himself, in order to capture the multilingual learner's mind we need a holistic approach such as taken by Herdina and Jessner (2002) who introduced dynamic systems theory as a metaphor for discussing multilingual phenomena.

*Dynamic View of Multilingualism*

As one of the first to apply dynamic systems theory to applied linguistics, Herdina and Jessner (2002) developed a dynamic model of multilingualism (henceforth DMM). They emphasize that dynamic systems theory provides a useful metaphor for discussing multilingual development. A multilingual system is an adaptive complex system which possesses the property of *elasticity*, the ability to adapt to temporary changes in the systems environment, and *plasticity*, the ability to develop new systems properties in response to altered conditions. In DMM, perceived communicative needs, which are psychologically and sociologically determined, are identified as the driving force of language learning and use. Such a holistic view is a necessary presupposition of a dynamic view of multilingualism assuming that the presence of one or more language systems influences the development not only of the second language but also the development of the overall multilingual system. Research on third language acquisition has been able to show the complexity of a multilingual system by focusing in particular on the differences between second and third language acquisition (e.g. Cenoz, Hufeisen and Jessner, 2003).

In DMM, multilingual proficiency is defined as a cumulative measure of psycholinguistic systems in contact. These systems are not identical to language systems as a result of their crosslinguistic interaction, which also integrates synergetic and interferential effects, and the influence that the development of a multilingual system exerts on the learner and the learning process such as greater expertise in learning skills and qualities distinguishing the experienced from the inexperienced learner. As emphasized by Herdina and Jessner (2002), Cummins' interdependence hypothesis (1991), which is based on the assumption of a common underlying proficiency due to the contact between two languages, presents a related concept in a similar way to Kecskes and Papp's (2000) notion of a common underlying conceptual base, they both describe an overlap between L1 and L2 and not a complete metamorphosis of the systems involved as is the case with DMM.

A heightened level of metalinguistic awareness is defined as part of the M(ultilingualism)-factor which also relates to cognitive aspects of multilingual learning such as an enhanced multilingual monitor and/or the catalytic effects of third language learning (see Cenoz, 2003 on the effects of bilingualism on third language learning). Metalinguistic knowledge and awareness of that knowledge play a key role in multilingual learning and use, as discussed in detail in Jessner (2006). Changes of quality between second and third language learning are based on the differences in norms that the language learners relate to, that is, a bilingual norm in third language learning as opposed to a monolingual norm

in second language learning. In addition, in most contexts, third language learning assumes that the learner has already gained experience in learning a first foreign language (Hufeisen, 1997).

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Although the notion of multicompetence has not yet exerted a major impact on discussions of the multilingual mind in learning and teaching contexts, a tendency to incorporate the main conceptual ideas of multicompetence into new ways of thinking in research studies of bi- and multilingualism can be detected. Many of these new tendencies are associated with efforts in multilingual education contexts to raise metalinguistic awareness or to promote broader cognitive benefits from a heightened level of metalinguistic awareness in experienced learners.

The number of third language studies, mainly focusing on the differences between second and third language learning, has been increasing over the last ten years (e.g. Cenoz, Hufeisen and Jessner, 2001, 2003). Many of these studies, which have been concerned with lexical transfer phenomena in third language learning, evidenced the activation of other languages than the target language in crosslinguistic consultation (for an overview see Jessner, 2006: 74ff.; see also Green, 1998). In other words, these links between the languages in a multilingual's repertoire can be used as a counterargument against the traditional attitudes of both teachers and educationalists to keep the languages in the classroom apart in order to avoid confusion through the activation of prior language knowledge. Recently a number of cross-language approaches to language education have been suggested to foster synergy effects and cross-fertilization through cooperation between the languages and the language subjects in a classroom.

Such an approach also reintroduces L1 to the classroom. Until recently due to the influence of traditional Contrastive Analysis, the intrusion of L1 in the classroom was viewed as interference or negative transfer on second and further language learning. But since transfer has been attested a facilitative role in second language learning (e.g. Lewis, 1990; Schweers, 1993), the L1 or prior linguistic knowledge has been used as a cognitive basis for further language learning. From a holistic perspective this fairly new development is related to the L1 maintenance programs in migration contexts (e.g. Krumm, 2005; see also below).

As part of a cross-linguistic approach to language awareness, James (1996, 145ff) suggested reintroducing contrastive analysis for consciousness-raising purposes, namely to put a special focus on the cognitive dimension of contrastive analysis by gearing it towards the learner. Such an approach also implies that metalinguistic aspects

of in-class contrastive analysis are focused on, as happens in the case of translation. Similarly, Hawkins (1999) referred to language learning as language apprenticeship by emphasizing that the main aspects of language learning concern the process of how to learn to learn a language and to engage in cross-language comparisons with particular reference to the role of L1 in second language learning. Cummins (2001) suggested transformative pedagogy using collaborative critical inquiry to develop critical language awareness. Students should be made aware of language forms and uses, part of which can be done through cross-lingual comparison of European languages deriving from Latin and Greek such as cognates and proverbs. This activity can be complemented by the comparison of similarity across languages in the way abstract nouns are formed from verbs. Wandruszka's pioneering work on how to exploit the common linguistic core, that is the Latin and Greek origins, of the main European languages English, French, Spanish and German as a basis for language learning has to be recalled here (e.g. Wandruszka, 1986).

The development of metalinguistic abilities, i.e. the development of skills distinguishing between form and meaning in order to be able to manipulate languages, and the awareness of this ability formation, constitute part of a language learning strategy training which ideally should be combined with a cross-language approach. The experienced learner who has become aware of the structural similarities and differences between the languages of his/her repertoire has also learnt how to expand the repertoire as well as how to weigh the strategies, as already discussed by McLaughlin (1990). The number of language learning strategies are related to prior linguistic knowledge and the levels of proficiency in the respective languages of the speaker (Mißler, 1999; Ó'Laoire, 2001). Recently Wrembel (2003) has developed a metacompetence-oriented model of phonological acquisition for second language learning and teaching.

Based on the aim of the European Union to have citizens who are able to use their mother tongue plus two other languages, a number of European projects have developed new approaches to language proficiency in multilingual education. For example, the EuroCom (European Comprehension) project ([www.eurocom-frankfurt.de](http://www.eurocom-frankfurt.de)) has concentrated on how to provide European citizens with a solid linguistic basis for understanding each other, at least within their own language family. Such an approach includes optimal inferencing techniques in typologically related languages in order to develop at least receptive skills in the new language and has so far been applied to Romance, German and Slavic language families (Klein and Rutke, 2004). In other projects, funded by the European Centre of Modern Languages, the creation of synergy in language learning by learning

and teaching beyond language borders has been at the centre of interest (e.g. Hufeisen and Neuner, 2003, on learning German as L3). Candelier (2003) coordinated a European project to foster language awareness in school children. The ultimate goal of all these efforts is to arrive at a common curriculum for teaching languages in institutional contexts as discussed in Hufeisen and Lutjeharms (2005). A good example is Innsbruck University (Austria) where a model of teaching language didactics across language departments has been introduced (Hinger, Kofler, Skinner, and Stadler, 2005). An integrated approach to language teaching requires the cooperation of all the language teachers in an institution as well as teacher training that focuses on developing language and language learning awareness among the teachers, students, and teachers as learners since language learning is a life-time process.

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

As discussed above, Cook's concept of multicompetence suggests a holistic view of the L2 user. This fairly new perspective implies the introduction of multilingual norms instead of monolingual or traditional norms in linguistics. Although in a number of studies in second and third language learning, well-trodden paths have already been left, it is clear that a number of problems still need to be solved in order to arrive at a holistic perspective of the multilingual learner or user (see also Jessner and Cenoz, 2007). Some of these will be discussed shortly in the following. They concern the status of the native speaker in language research and teaching, the range and order of languages to be taught in a curriculum, as well as teaching material.

#### *Status of the Native Speaker*

Recently the native speaker has come under strong attack in discussions of norms in multilingual research and teaching. Cook (1999) suggested that multicompetence should replace the native speaker norm as the goal of language teaching (compare Herdina and Jessner, 2002 on multilingual proficiency).

The native versus non-native teacher discussions mainly concern teachers of English. Due to the rapid increase of English as lingua franca, Seidlhofer (2000) called for a redefinition of the ideal non-native teacher of English. She argues that although English nowadays predominantly serves as a medium of communication between speakers with different primary languages, control over the norms of the language still rests with the monolingual minority of its speakers. Recent studies have focused on the dilemmas of non-native teachers of ESL and whether nativeness matters to students who are taught

English by non-native speakers (for an overview see Llurda, 2005). Ellis (2005) points out that the non-native teacher is able to pinpoint linguistic problems and offer metacognitive learning strategies that the native teacher without foreign language experience is unable to detect.

### *Range and Order of Languages to be Taught in a Curriculum*

As already indicated above, research on third language acquisition has shown that learning a second language differs from learning a third one. For the teaching context this has implications with regard to the level of proficiency to be reached in each of the languages in the curriculum, the starting age for each of the languages and the nature of cross-linguistic contact between the languages of the curriculum, with a special focus on prior language knowledge and language learning experience in multilingual learners (Jessner and Cenoz, 2007).

The typology of the languages offered in a curriculum also plays an important role in the order of acquisition, as was shown by Griebler (2001) in her comparative study of level of proficiency in English in three Austrian schools. She found that those pupils who were introduced to French in parallel to English at an early stage outperformed pupils from regular school types where French is taught some years later than English.

Finally it has to be noted that the choice of languages in curriculum planning has to be considered a difficult task since a successful language curriculum should be able to integrate minority and/or heritage languages as well as a number of foreign languages which are of interest to the social community (Krumm, 2005). Besides, problems concerning the choice of languages for heritage language programs might occur as found in an Austrian study by Brizic (2006) who detected a mismatch between the linguistic background that the parents of Turkish migrant children were assumed to have and their actual language background.

Additionally, in reaction to the rapid increase of English as a lingua franca, the role that English should play in a multilingual classroom has received considerable attention in scientific debate. One of the most frequently asked questions is whether English should take a prominent role in education as the first foreign language in those countries where English is not used as a first or second language or whether it would make more sense to focus mainly on other languages than English in instruction since English would be learned anyway due to daily contact with the language outside the classroom (e.g. Vollmer, 2001)? Only very recently it has been suggested to focus on multilingualism with English in order to capitalize on the positive cognitive effects of

multilingual learning which will necessarily show a washback effect on English language learning (Jessner, 2006).

### *Teaching Material*

Comparative grammars and other reference material are necessary requirements for successful instruction. But unfortunately multilingual teaching material is still rather scarce. Glinz's (1994) learner grammar for German-French-English-Latin was followed by Müller (1999) on German-English-French. Apart from a few attempts to develop material used to raise language awareness in children (Candelier, 2003; Feichtinger, Lanzmaier-Ugri, Farnault and Pornon, 2000), textbooks still need to be developed for multilingual education. Ideally, multi-competence approaches to teacher material development have to consider developing common grammatical terminology as one of the prerequisites for multilingual learning.

As pointed out by Oomen-Welke (2006) a great deal of multilingual learning happens through comparisons and promotion of metalinguistic awareness and awareness of language learning strategies can build on the constructive potential of comparing languages. Open material is needed to incorporate new languages, even if they are only known by the pupils who can act as experts, which strengthens the role of the learners, particularly in migration contexts. Ideally, the development of multiliteracies presents an integral part of multilingual education (Cummins, 2006).

## FUTURE DIRECTIONS

As is clear from the previous discussion, much work on how to develop multicompetence approaches to language proficiency development in bi- and multilingual programs needs to be done. One of the main domains which need further development is multilingual testing. If we want to understand the multilingual person as an individual in his/her own right we need to put an emphasis on empirical investigation of constructs of multilingualism in language testing. To understand a multilingual person as somebody who has a different way of using and knowing her or his languages in contrast to the native speakers of the respective languages, means that we acknowledge the cognitive chances that a life with multilingualism can offer and profit from the benefits of the contact with two or more languages. Such a perspective requires that we accredit a less prominent role to the linguistic deficits of second language learners and users in exchange for the cognitive benefits that the life with more than one language can offer so that we will be able to understand that multilingualism is not just additive

monolingualism in several languages. Consequently a reorientation towards the dynamics of multilingualism should replace a conventional monolingual norm. Only by applying multilingual norms to applied linguistics will we be able to understand the requirements of successful multilingual education. Multilingual assessment will have to take holistic constructions of bi- and multilingualism into account, thereby facing tensions between linguistic homogenization imposed by nation states and real-life multilingualism (García, Skuttnab-Kangas and Torres-Guzmán, 2006).

In recent years many attempts have been made to reconcile Universal Grammar with other research concepts of language acquisition (e.g. Plaza-Hurst, 2006). Chomsky's ideas of a speaker-oriented, rather than a system-oriented, theory, certainly helped to provide a theoretical framework needed for language acquisition research in general. Nevertheless his research focus on the ideal, implying monolingual, speaker-hearer has turned out to be a hindrance rather than a support in a world where monolingualism is the exception rather than the rule. If we want to guarantee multilingualism for all, and not elite multilingualism for some (Mejía, 2002), the application of multicompetence perspectives on language proficiency development offers a promising way of how to approach the multifaceted challenges of multilingual education.

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MODULARITY IN BILINGUALISM AS AN OPPORTUNITY  
FOR CROSS-DISCIPLINE DISCUSSION

INTRODUCTION

As a first approximation, modular approaches to the study of bilingualism attempt to analyze the relevant cognitive components that make up a person's knowledge of two languages and his or her ability to use them. The objective would be to describe in what way, in fact, these components might be characterized as autonomous domains and how they interact with other components. Far from a unified approach to the problem of modeling linguistic competence and language proficiency, modularity is a concept that has given rise to a great diversity of views. Perhaps, as a blessing in disguise, this divergence could favor the coming together of new lines of discussion, especially in applied linguistics where major theoretical differences can often be temporarily set aside. Why this is true is an interesting question in its own right, I suspect, having something to do with the modularity concept itself. Be that as it may, the study of bilingualism will serve to provide us with some limited common ground to explore the possibilities.

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS AND MAJOR  
CONTRIBUTIONS

The best known early formulation of the basic concept of a modular mental architecture is Fodor (1983). Subsequently, the idea was introduced to the study of bilingualism; Bialystok and Cummins (1991) proposed the discussion of a research program, based on Jackendoff's (1987) Representation-based modularity thesis, for the purpose of orienting work toward a more "differentiated conception" of bilingual development. Since then, researchers have found it useful for working on a wide range of theoretical and applied problems, the ensuing dispersion of modular hypotheses and proposals offering an interesting framework for mutual exchanges that at first might seem unpromising (Carruthers, 2002; Coltheart, 1999; Garfield, Peterson, and Perry, 2001; Marcus, 2004). Specifically within the field of second language learning and bilingualism, a new interest in modular approaches has clearly emerged (Foster-Cohen, 2001; Herschensohn, 2000; Paradis, 2004; Sharwood-Smith, 2004, to mention only a few). Following Jackendoff's

(2002) most recent update of a modular Tripartite Parallel Architecture (TPA), Francis (2004) has proposed a Bilingual TPA, an elaboration, at the same time, of Cummins' (2000) Common Underlying Proficiency model.

For our purposes, the concept of modularity might be most easily understood from the point of view of analyzing a given ability, examining the different aspects of a bilingual ability, for example. If by "aspects" we simply mean the various ways that a single undifferentiated and internally homogenous bundle of behavior patterns can be studied, this approach might be characterized as integrativist or holistic. A similar view would conceive of language ability (as a cognitive entity) as uniformly structured through and through, internally equidimensional in all respects (e.g., in some versions, the distinction between conceptual domains and grammatical knowledge would be questioned). Strong holistic theories, then, almost by definition, would be antimodularist. For instance, in the field of literacy, including bilingual/second language literacy, a strong holistic approach would reject the idea that reading ability should, or even can, be analyzed into interacting component parts (e.g., subskills related to phonological knowledge, processing of phoneme-grapheme correspondence patterns, other aspects of word identification, sentence processing, text comprehension, etc.). If, on the other hand, the "aspects" of an ability correspond to actual cognitive components and networks of mental structure, autonomous in some way one from the other, and interconnected by specialized interfaces, then we are considering a modular-type approach. The idea of component then would imply a degree of autonomy, the constituent, or module in question being domain-specific in some way. What characterizes this kind of componential mental architecture is internal heterogeneity and specialization. An ability, then, could be broken down analytically into dedicated knowledge structures and specialized processing mechanisms. In contrast to total holistic integration, modularity conceives of interactivity within a network of component structures. In a modular system (when it is engaged, in language use), interaction among components is not unconstrained; not all components and structures are open, in the sense of "penetrable," in an unrestricted way to other knowledge domains and processing interfaces. For example, what are commonly known as "top-down" influences on lower level processes (e.g., decoding) are held in check or confined to some degree, depending on the nature of the interaction in question.

A few informal examples might help to make the notion of modularity more concrete. We could compare the abilities of two bilingual high school students in a hypothetical tenth grade dual language immersion class, both of whom arrived from their native country three years ago, but from very different kinds of educational system. Student A demonstrates exceptionally high levels of mastery in tasks related to

academic-type discourse ability. For example, in his second language (L2) he can produce, coherently and skillfully, a complex narrative with multiple characters and embedded story lines; but at the “sentence level” it is evident that his knowledge of the L2 grammar is rudimentary. Comparing this same ability in Student B’s first language (L1), exactly the converse profile is apparent: flawless grammar and rudimentary mastery of narrative ability. University students sometimes comment on this kind of “double dissociation” in comparing their favorite professor, a non-native speaker of the language of instruction, and the native-speaking professor whose lectures are hard to follow (not because of faulty grammar or difficult pronunciation).

Let us compare student A again, but now to a native speaker of his L2. Since he had studied the L2 during the primary and secondary school years, previous to intensive L2 learning in an academic setting in the new country, he has built up a sizeable “vocabulary,” more extensive in fact than what is typical of native speakers of the language. However, while the absolute number of lexical entries is large, at the “word level” he still experiences persistent difficulties with inflectional affixes and other aspects of grammar related to the structure of words. Student C, a native-speaker of A’s L2, commands error-free mastery of L1 inflectional morphology, as we would expect, but for reasons that are also easy to explain has access to a “smaller vocabulary.” But independent of the absolute number of entries, and in contrast to the L2 learner, each entry in the native speaker’s lexicon is more complete and well-formed; see van de Craats (2003) for a discussion of what “lexical knowledge” consists of in L1 and L2.

A general model of bilingual competence and bilingual proficiency should be able to account for the many ways in which its components appear both autonomous each one from the others and closely interconnected, from three points of view: how knowledge of language and how ability are represented, developmentally in language acquisition, and in regard to how language is processed:

1. How do aspects of the strictly linguistic components of proficiency reveal themselves to be independent of general conceptual knowledge, and at the same time how do aspects of language and general cognition appear to be interdependent? A modular perspective on bilingualism could conceive of two dimensions of differentiation/autonomy: one between the linguistic (grammatical) representations of each language system, and the other between a shared conceptual system (which is hypothesized to be non-linguistic in nature) and the linguistic systems.
2. In child development we need to account for why in some circumstances and in regard to some aspects one linguistic system does not appear to affect the other, and why in other circumstances there seems to be a prolific interaction, influences of  $L_a$  on  $L_b$ ,  $L_b$  on  $L_a$ . Why under

similar conditions is there evidence for both balanced development of  $L_a$  and  $L_b$ , and unbalanced development (in reference to both acquisition and erosion)? In child bilingualism especially, it is necessary to distinguish between the kind of relationship between a primary L1 and a nonprimary L2, on the one hand, and the possibility that neither language that the bilingual knows is “first,” “primary,” or “dominant.” Thus,  $L_a$  and  $L_b$  refer to the language systems of the bilingual in situations where “first” or “second” either cannot be determined (e.g., because both are “L1”), or where the distinction between “L1” and “L2” is not relevant to a given analysis (sometimes it is).

3. In processing and normal language use, how are bilinguals able to keep their languages separate, and how are they able to allow for the two systems to combine and interact? How, when combining and mixing, is this accomplished in a grammatically systematic way? And how do general cognitive operations intervene in different ways in language use that sometimes reveals separation and at other times a close interaction? It is important to keep in mind that a number of proposed properties of modular systems are still the subject of ongoing research:
  - The extent to which they are innately specified
  - The degree to which they are informationally encapsulated
  - How they are represented neurologically and subject to selective breakdown, and
  - What accounts for the fast and automatic processing in some domains and controlled processing in others

As was suggested earlier, the fact that there are many empirical questions still to be resolved is a good thing for continued dialog in the language sciences.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS: BILINGUALISM IN EXCEPTIONAL CIRCUMSTANCES

When complex systems suffer breakdowns or respond to external pressures, what before appeared to function as a completely integrated unit reveals itself to be internally structured in a different way, unnoticed when all subsystems operate in relative equilibrium. Compared to monolingual competence and performance, bilingualism affords more opportunities for examining the components of language because aside from simply being a more complex system, during development and use it seems to be more susceptible to different kinds of imbalance and tension. Two remarkable and celebrated cases of exceptional bilingualism give us a glimpse into how language development proceeds under circumstances in which processing must be shifted to another modality, and in which development is abnormal.

Out of a peculiar multilingual environment in Nicaragua, including spoken languages, homesign systems and sign pidgins, a generation of previously isolated deaf children gave birth to a fully-formed creole, Idioma de Signos Nicaragüense (ISN) (Nicaragua Sign Language). Apparently without access to a complete language acquisition model, ISN came forward in a rapid two stage development: (Stage 1) consolidation of a peer-group pidgin, more advanced than the primitive home-sign gestural system that children had attained prior to enrollment in boarding school. (Stage 2) From the system of shared signs and rudimentary grammar, a distinct, fully formed sign language emerged. Significantly, the qualitative leap toward the creole ISN occurred when the peer-group pidgin became the input to young children. Investigators concluded that with a community of homesigners (pre-pidgin stage), favorable conditions are created that give rise to a new system that is sufficiently rich to support the emergence of a full-fledged creole if sufficient exposure is available during the critical period of language acquisition. The most significant finding, however, was that among the boarding school students. Among those who received Stage 1 input, it was the youngest group (immersion before age 7) that was the most successful in surpassing the impoverished model. Older children (8–14 years at exposure) made considerable progress, but consistently attained levels of mastery that were less native-like. Late immersion students (after 15) showed permanent deficits typical of early language deprivation (Kegl, Senghas, and Coppola, 1999).

Consistent with previous findings of strong critical period effects among deaf children, this line of research points to the operation of specialized language acquisition mechanisms. Here we would have an example of domain-specificity: how “structure-seeking” or “structure-sensitive” modules, dedicated to processing input specific to natural language, build linguistic competence under restricted maturational conditions, in a different way than general learning proceeds. Specialized acquisition components are programmed for ensuring acquisition even under severe conditions of “stimulus poverty” (within certain limits) and within a preset developmental window; see Newport, Bavelier, and Neville (2001) and Senghas and Coppola (2001) for more discussion. Mayberry and Lock (2003) make the important connection between the failure to develop grammatical competence within the critical period and subsequent degraded language acquisition capacity, crucially for deaf children who typically must attain mastery of a spoken language system in addition to sign language. Unlike other kinds of knowledge, normal attainment of linguistic knowledge appears to be dependent on domain-specific acquisition processors that both

obey special restrictions (maturationally) and are specially designed to impose complex structure on seemingly incomplete input.

The second case of exceptional bilingualism involves a single individual as opposed to an entire speech community. Smith and Tsimpli (1995) detail an extensive assessment of polyglot savant Christopher's language abilities. Our interest here is to try to account for sharp imbalances and atypical dissociations. But ultimately, as in the case of the atypical development of ISN among Nicaraguan deaf children, findings from these kinds of case study should help us better understand normal language development. After all, every child, monolingual or bilingual, must overcome the Poverty of Stimulus problem (on a different scale perhaps), and all second language learners, polyglots included, reveal interesting performance imbalances. The "savant" side of Christopher's language ability profile included 16 second languages (in a number of which he had attained intermediate to advanced proficiency). In stark contrast, serious deficits were apparent from performance on tasks related to the use of language for elementary problem solving and communicative tasks that involve increased processing demands: resolving contradictions, discourse level comprehension and expression (e.g., simple translation), and Theory of Mind tests typically passed by young children. According to the researchers, how some components of language ability come to be super-endowed, and others either irremediably deficient or spared from impairment is impossible to explain from a holistic perspective. In what sense can we speak of an adolescent who in such a short time has mastered one native language and 16 second languages (at last count) as suffering from defective intellectual capacity? Only from a modular point of view would the question even make sense at all. While we might admit that this case is certainly highly exceptional, the pattern of imbalances is consistent with a number of studies that have described how linguistic knowledge can develop normally even when general cognitive development is radically impaired (Rondal, 1995). Studies of Specific Language Impairment (SLI), on the other hand, provide evidence for completing the double dissociation: normal intelligence and defective grammar.

#### PROBLEMS OF ANALYSIS: TWO DIMENSIONS OF MODULARITY

Returning to an earlier observation about how bilingual competence and bilingual ability might be structured, the presence of two language systems in the mind allows us to portray modularity along two dimensions more clearly. This is one of the main features of the Bilingual Tripartite Parallel Architecture.

*The Cross Linguistic Dimension ( $L_a \leftrightarrow L_b$  or  $L1 \leftrightarrow L2$ )*

Strong evidence from childhood bilingual studies favors a model in which  $L_a$  and  $L_b$  undergo a separation early in development, in response to only partial positive evidence, that is, with exposure to a minimal threshold level from both languages (Genesee, 2002). There is still dispute on some of the details (how early, from which stage of development), but at least one consensus is that autonomy of each linguistic system is achieved spontaneously without the benefit of awareness on the part of the child of structural differences between the languages, and again based only on examples from each language, without the differences being clearly marked in any way in the input. Evidence of interaction between  $L_a$  and  $L_b$  in imbalanced bilingual development—from cases of systematic interference of one system upon the other (Sánchez, 2003), and from studies of early L1 attrition (Francis, 2005)—does not call into question cross-linguistic modularity (i.e., autonomy). Research findings from the field of neurolinguistics (specifically related to the different patterns of deficit and recovery from bilingual aphasia) are consistent with this version, calling attention also to the internal modular differentiation within each linguistic system (Paradis, 2004).

An important application of this aspect of cross-linguistic separation and interaction is to the study of language mixing. Even the mixed utterances of young bilinguals at an early stage of acquisition, and of language attriters in which one language system comes to dominate grammatical patterns, tend to show a strong tendency toward switching and inserting that is systematic and rule-governed. One explanation would emphasize the autonomy of each language representation such that mutual influences operate between systems, not within an undifferentiated network (Meisel, 2001). And a modular approach would perhaps help explain why some aspects of mixing are open to the effects of extra-linguistic factors (metacognition, motivation, general world knowledge), and other aspects are more encapsulated and “sealed off from the outside,” and not subject to awareness and monitoring.

*The Linguistic System-Conceptual Structures Dimension ( $L_{a+b} \leftrightarrow CS$ )*

The proposal that a Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP) (Cummins, 1991) is not “language-bound” introduced the idea of this dimension to the field of bilingual education. Conceptual structures (CS) are nonlinguistic; however it is that semantic relations are computed, and whatever the conceptual formation rules that determine meaning turn out to be, they are likely to be independent of the formation rules of

phonology and morphosyntax (Jackendoff, 2002). How meaning is mapped onto Syntactic Structures (SS), how the parallel structures are correlated and linked up, requires an extensive array of interface mechanisms. The many specific instances of congruence between meaning and phrase and sentence syntax (e.g., all words for concrete objects are nouns), and the prominence and centrality of the CS-SS interface, suggest sometimes that the linguistic domains of phonology, syntax and morphology are really integratively subsumed into a single undifferentiated holistic network along with all aspects of meaning.

But the nature of bilingual ability in particular prompts us to consider seriously the proposal that a central core of conceptual structure is shared between  $L_a$  and  $L_b$  (or L1 and L2). The CUP model, for example, assumes that concepts and non-linguistic skills are stored in such a way that they are accessible to the bilingual when they need to be deployed through the medium of one language or the other. The idea would be that concepts and nonlinguistic skills need only be stored once, not “belonging” to either linguistic system. For example, the entire set of academic proficiencies, including non-language specific literacy skills, mathematical ability, and scientific principles need not be represented redundantly within the domain of each language that a bilingual or multilingual knows (in the manner of “L1 academic proficiencies,” “L2 academic proficiencies,” “L3 academic proficiencies” and so forth). In a similar way, other models of bilingual ability that hypothesize this kind of “three component, two level” architecture (Kroll and Tokowicz, 2001), portray lexical and grammatical links communicating between L1 and L2 systems within a larger inter-linguistic system and linguistic-conceptual interfaces connecting each separate linguistic representation to a shared conceptual level. This idea, formulated differently perhaps, has been one of the basic learning-principle justifications for first language instruction in bilingual education for many years now.

Another important practical application of this kind of componential approach to language ability is to the area of assessment of bilingual children. Specifically, what aspect of “language” is an evaluation meant to measure? This is a question that is typically asked as a part of considering the “validity” of interpretations that can be made from test results. If we think about “abilities” as composed, in each case, of different constellations of knowledge structure and processing mechanism, it should make it easier not to confound one type of performance outcome with another. For example, a common error in school language assessment of bilingual children is to attribute deficient language development to “both languages” (a SLI-type impairment) based on the evaluation of tasks strongly dependent on academic-related

competencies and skills that are non-linguistic. In this case low performance in “both languages” would not necessarily imply (typically, it would not) a language development deficit.

In the domain of informal classroom assessment, a better understanding of the components of language knowledge and language ability should help teachers respond more consistently to second language learners. In fact, the reliability of teacher corrective feedback has been pointed out as a persistent problem for language learners. Students may produce a text or utterance that is syntactically well-formed but may violate a semantic constraint (e.g., the L1 optionally allows for one or two arguments for a verb depending on the intended meaning, while the L2 only allows for one). For sure, syntactic and semantic patterns, together, form what are considered grammatical sentences, but being able to specify the learner’s difficulty helps teachers be more selective and systematic. And depending on the circumstances, no corrective feedback may be the most appropriate response, for example, in the case of syntactic well-formedness, and local semantic acceptability that happens to violate a pragmatic injunction or subtle collocation restriction. In this case, what clearly sounds non-native to the teacher (and in fact is) may require a different kind of observation, or none at all, than an error related to malformed morphology and syntax. All or most of these examples may fall under the broad category of “ungrammatical,” but distinguishing among the components of grammar allows for providing more helpful corrective feedback to learners. Simply indicating incorrect “usage,” for example, sometimes provides confusing and inconsistent information about the target language grammar. Differentiating feedback and being selective in calling attention to errors in this way is also another way to give second language learners credit for what they have mastered.

At this stage, it would be fair to say that the proposal of a  $L_{a+b} \leftrightarrow$  CS modularity dimension is still more of an empirical question, in comparison to the stronger evidence for the  $L_a \leftrightarrow L_b$  dimension. Future research will have to sort out a number of difficult methodological problems and clarify how the different analytical categories should be understood.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

In a broad attempt to make contact with the cognitive sciences and other theoretical models in linguistics, recent proposals from a current within Universal Grammar (Culicover and Jackendoff, 2005; Newmeyer, 2003) have laid out an attractive program of research. From the point of view of the present discussion, this important opening should also

be able to make contact with the growing diversity of perspectives on modularity that also have evolved in some interesting ways. This would include lines of investigation that have, until now, eschewed consideration of standard versions of modularity because of their historical association with mainstream generative grammar and strong innatist positions. The old manner in which debates have lined up (now largely stagnant) might be in for a major realignment in the coming years. One direction around which new lines of cross-discipline sharing of findings might emerge is related to a shift among a number of UG-oriented linguists toward the idea that more of language acquisition can be explained by the concurrence of general learning strategies. According to this view, generative approaches, by and large, have tried to account for too much by positing tightly encapsulated, very specific hardwired constraints that are highly determinate in the way they automatically trigger different components of the child's grammar. The new approach should allow for a broader range of acquisition mechanisms, thus reducing the burden on a single genetically pre-programmed Language Acquisition Device.

This is all related to the  $L_{a+b} <-> CS$  modularity dimension that we proposed for bilingualism. Modularity should also imply that not all cognitive domains are equally encapsulated and autonomous, nor that they carry out computations in the same mandatory way. There is also no reason that they have to interface with other components with the same highly constrained degree of interactivity (Pinker and Ullman, 2002). Another way of considering this possibility is that we should allow for "degrees of modularity." Thus, some aspects of language development might unfold in a highly modular way (closed-ended, bottom-up, and "vertical"), and others to a lesser degree or in a way that is highly interactive (more open-ended), and more dependent on cognitive domains associated with conceptual structure. Inductive learning and hypothesis testing, for example, would fall under the latter category. These domains would be more "central" in the sense (among other senses) that they are in fact more global, "horizontal" and integrated—properties that strong integrativist models apply indistinctly to all aspects of language ability. The proposal for this kind of internal cognitive diversity, different kinds of subsystem for different kinds of computation, should be especially useful for studying the greater degree of diversity that reveals itself in bilingualism, of the many different kinds. It should also lend itself to opening up the discussion, to some degree, hopefully, among researchers working from different theoretical perspectives, because different models of language and cognition might be right about different kinds of knowledge and ability.

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## LANGUAGE RIGHTS AND BILINGUAL EDUCATION

## INTRODUCTION

To what extent are indigenous and minority children guaranteed a right to learn both their own languages and at least a/the dominant language in the country where they live, up to a high formal level, through bilingual education of various kinds, most importantly including a right to mother tongue medium (MTM) maintenance education (see Skutnabb-Kangas and McCarty, *Key Concepts in Bilingual Education: Ideological, Historical, Epistemological, and Empirical Foundations*, Volume 5, for definitions)? Do all children have the right to access high quality education, regardless of what their mother tongue is? Do schools support indigenous/minority communities' right to reproduce themselves as indigenous peoples/minorities (hereafter LMs, Linguistic Minorities) through enabling and encouraging intergenerational transfer of their languages? In other words, do indigenous and minority children enjoy linguistic human rights (LHRs) in education?

The chapter attempts to answer the questions by analysing how bilingual education intersects with issues of language rights, by presenting some of the important international and regional legal provisions and discussing their implications. The entry Human Rights and Language Policy in Education in Volume 1 of this Encyclopedia gives a general presentation of educational Language Rights (LRs). The reader is encouraged to read the two articles as complementary—overlaps have been eliminated as much as possible. Neither models of bilingual education nor Deaf education will be discussed here since they are elaborated in other articles in this volume. There is some unfortunate western bias in the instruments and examples presented; however, the comments on indigenous peoples have global coverage.

Research on educational performance indicates that LM children taught through the medium of a dominant language in submersion programmes often perform considerably less well than native dominant language speaking children in the same class, in general and on tests of both (dominant) language and school achievement. They suffer from higher levels of push-out rates, stay in school fewer years, have higher unemployment and, for some groups, drugs use, criminality and suicide figures, and so forth. There would appear to be a strong argument that such children do not benefit from the right to education to the same

extent as children whose mother tongue is the teaching language of the school, and that this distinction is based on language.

Given what we know about the educational benefits of MTM education and, as importantly, the educational harm, with resulting impact on employment prospects, mental and physical health, and life chances generally, of education of LM children mainly through another language, it can be forcefully argued that only MTM education, at least in primary school, is consistent with the provisions of several human rights documents (see Magga, Nicolaisen, Trask, Dunbar and Skutnabb-Kangas, 2005, for an elaboration). No other form of education seems to guarantee the full development of the human personality and the sense of its dignity, nor does it enable children who are subject to non-MTM education to participate as effectively in society. Those research findings are thus taken for granted in this article which state that maintenance-oriented MTM education (with good teaching of a dominant language as a second language, with bilingual teachers) is often the best way to enhance LM children's high-level bilingualism, school achievement, a positive development of identity, and self-confidence.

#### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Particularly in the case of higher formal education, instruction has for millennia been in languages other than the students' mother tongues, often in classical languages used for religious purposes (e.g. Sanskrit or Latin), but both the teachers and the students were usually multilingual. The "rules" for the diglossic/multiglossic division of labour between languages were in practice flexible. The learning of both languages and content was often life-long, for instance in monasteries, east and west. The education could be called bi- or multilingual in the sense that several languages were used in instructional situations, at least orally.

In contrast to deciding the religion ("*cuius regio, eius religio*"), feudal landlords globally were in most cases not interested in what languages their underlings spoke, as long as their labour could be exploited ("exchanged for protection"). Whatever education there was, was in most cases informal and through the medium of the various mother tongues. This was also the case with indigenous peoples worldwide before colonisation, even if many learned neighbouring and other languages through peaceful contacts or sometimes conflict.

Colonisation and creation of state borders had a decisive role in formally minorising certain languages and, correspondingly, majorising others. Religion has played a major role in denying LMs educational LRs. Indigenous peoples were to be "civilised" through assimilation into the colonisers' "superior" cultures and languages (see. e.g. Crawford,

1995; Churchill, 1997; Del Valle, 2003; Fesl, 1993; Milloy, 1999; Richardson, 1993, Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). But some missionary work has ironically also “saved” some forms of indigenous languages (in Africa, Australia, Canada, Latin America, the USA, etc.) because missionaries learned and wrote down (some of) these languages, to be more efficient in capturing the souls of the “pagans”. Initially, indigenous peoples had the land and their own religions; when they woke up, they had the bible but the states that the missionaries came from had the land. Often missionaries not only used distorted and reduced versions of indigenous languages in their “bilingual education”; they created new “languages” and divisions between “languages”, thereby further minorising them. In colonies, several different models of language regimes coexisted in education, with colonial languages and local languages used as languages of instruction. The patterns and motivations varied hugely; they have still not been properly clarified globally (see, e.g. Pennycook, 1998; Phillipson, 1992), and are being vigorously debated.

In general, multilingualism and to a large extent MTM education have been accepted and normalised phenomena among citizens outside the western world; colonisation was mainly responsible for the new negative linguistic inequalities. But even in the west, until the mid-1800s attitudes towards multilingualism and multilingual education were more relaxed or at least more indifferent and even tolerant than during the last 150 years. This was true more for national and sometimes immigrant minorities (who could be majorities in their own regions) than indigenous peoples. Some “national” or “traditional” minorities (see Skutnabb-Kangas and McCarty, *Key Concepts in Bilingual Education: Ideological, Historical, Epistemological, and Empirical Foundations*, Volume 5, for definitions) did and still do have some language rights in Europe (see EBLUL’s publications at [www.eblul.org](http://www.eblul.org)). These rights were also recognised in education already in the late 1800s, in both constitutions and in bi- and multilateral treaties, even if in many cases they were granted because the LMs were religious minorities, i.e. a religion different from the dominant one often coincided with speaking another language. Laws were published in German and English in Ohio and Pennsylvania, in Spanish and English in California and New Mexico, and in French and English in Louisiana, while children had a right to minority language medium or bilingual education as a self-evident part of the system (Del Valle, 2003, pp. 10–17). But even some indigenous peoples controlled their own education, e.g. the Cherokee, Cree, Choctaw, Chickasaw and Seminole between 1830 and 1898 in the USA (*ibid.*, 282).

During the last decades of the 1800s, with the labour and disciplining needs of industrialization, more children started to come into the

realm of formal education, concurrently with the spread of nation-state ideologies (one nation—one state—one language). In the western world, “pernicious” boarding schools for indigenous children arose “whose overt purpose was cultural genocide, including most prominently the eradication of Indian languages use”, writes James Fife about the USA (2005, p. 365, quoting Allison Dussias, 1999). These residential schools have been “arguably, the most damaging of the many elements of Canada’s colonization of this land’s original peoples and, as their consequences still affect the lives of Aboriginal people today, they remain so” (Milloy, 1999, p. xiv).

Indigenous peoples often knew themselves the disastrous consequences of the “white” education from very early on. Handsome Lake, a Seneca born in 1735, a Confederacy Chief of Six Nations, “created a code to strengthen his people against the effects of white society. The code helped to unify the Iroquoian community”. Chief Jacob Thomas’s 1994 book contains *The Code of Handsome Lake* (“The Good Message”). According to Thomas (1994, p. 41–42), Handsome Lake told his people:

We feel that the white race will take away the culture, traditions, and language of the red race. When your people’s children become educated in the way of white people, they will no longer speak their own language and will not understand their own culture. Your people will suffer great misery and not be able to understand their elders anymore. We feel that when they become educated, not a single child will come back and stand at your side because they will no longer speak your language or have any knowledge of their culture.

Chief Thomas noted that the actual results of education imposed by the “white race” were as destructive as Handsome Lake had predicted:

Two children were selected from each tribe to receive the white race’s education. The chiefs at the time believed that this education might benefit the native people. By following the Good Message, the chiefs discovered that the education received from the white race robbed their children of their language and culture. They realized the importance of educating their own children.

States and educational authorities (including churches) in many parts of the world (including the Nordic countries) have also at the latest since the end of the 1800s had the knowledge about the negative results of submersion education and the superior results of even transitional bilingual education. For instance, the USA Board of Indian Commissioners wrote in their 1880 report (quoted in Francis and Reyhner, 2002):

... first teaching the children to read and write in their own language enables them to master English with more ease when they take up that study. [...] A child beginning a four years' course with the study of Dakota would be further advanced in English at the end of the term than one who had not been instructed in Dakota (p. 77). [...] It is true that by beginning in the Indian tongue and then putting the students into English studies our missionaries say that after three or four years their English is better than it would have been if they had begun entirely with English (p. 98).

The earliest formal descriptions of various LRs (or, in many cases, lack of them), even in education, were mainly written by lawyers, often for administrative purposes. The time after the First World War produced, often inspired directly or indirectly by the League of Nations, a large number of language rights documents and research and other accounts about them. The LRs situation in Europe was then on paper better than it is internationally today: in the Minorities Treaties concluded with the Peace Treaties in Paris, many minorities were granted LRs in education. The problem then—as to a large extent today too—was lack of implementation and enforcement.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

During the first three decades after the Second “World” War, various United Nations bodies, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and academic institutions engaged in lively discussions on the lack of language rights in (monolingual and bilingual) education. A variety of historical descriptions and analyses were written by sociolinguists, educationists and lawyers. New demands started to come forward, and there were many court cases with direct or indirect bearing on language rights in education, especially in the USA (see Del Valle, 2003).

The UN Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities did suggest some positive measures, especially in a 1967 report (see Gromacki, 1992, p. 544). But it was not until the UN Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Minorities, Francesco Capotorti, published his 1979 report that international and regional (human rights) law in the area of language rights and education started to develop. And despite some early discussions (e.g. Tabor, 1980), it is only during the last 10–15 years that some language rights have started to be accepted as LHRs (see de Varennes, 1996; 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 1994). There are many useful overview articles about LRs that include education (see, e.g. Dunbar, 2001; references to Thornberry and de Varennes), also on the web (e.g. Higgins, 2003, or

de Varennes at [www.eumap.org/journal/features/2004/minority\\_education/edminlang/](http://www.eumap.org/journal/features/2004/minority_education/edminlang/)).

Indigenous peoples and minorities are provided with some general protections under various United Nations and regional charters and conventions. The *UN Convention on the Rights of the Child* of 1989 (CRC) has been ratified by more countries than any other United Nations human rights document—the only two countries that have failed to ratify it are Somalia and the USA. But while Art. 17, paragraph 1 of the *African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights* of 1981 provides that every individual shall have the right to education, the USA Constitution does not grant such a right. Paragraph 1(c) of Art. 29 in CRC provides that the education of the child shall be directed “to the development of respect for the child’s parents, *his or her own cultural identity, language and values*, for the national values of the country in which the child is living, the country from which he or she may originate, and for civilizations different from his or her own.” Art. 13, paragraph 1 of the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* (ICESCR) of 1966 (in force 1976) provides that the States Party to the Convention recognise the right of *everyone* to *education*. Similarly, Art. 28, paragraph 1 of the CRC provides that States Parties recognise the right of *the child* to *education* and specifies that States Parties shall “take measures to encourage regular attendance at schools and the reduction of drop-out rates” (subparagraph (e)). Given what we know about the effects of enforced dominant language medium educational policies, which tend to result not only in considerably poorer performance results but also higher levels of non-completion, and so on, the pursuit of such policies could be said to be contrary to subparagraph 1(e) of Art. 28. Combined with the comments made with respect to Art. 13, paragraph 1 of the ICESCR, it would seem clear that an education in a language other than the child’s mother tongue and which contains no recognition of that mother tongue is unlikely to contribute to respect for the child’s own cultural identity, language and values.

Art. 30 of the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* provides that “in those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities or persons of indigenous origin exist, a child belonging to such a minority or who is indigenous shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of his or her group, to enjoy his or her own culture, to profess and practise his or her own religion, or to use his or her own language.” This provision echoes Art. 27 of the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* of 1966 (in force, 1976). The precise implications of both provisions are, however, far from clear. The Human Rights Committee has noted in its General Comment No. 23 of 1994 on Art. 27 of the ICCPR that, although phrased in the negative,

the Article requires States to take positive measures in support of minorities. Unfortunately, the Human Rights Committee has not spelled out what those measures are, or whether they include measures relating to MTM education.

LMS are also protected by specific language rights regulations in some countries and regions. In contrast, other countries (e.g. Denmark, France) are even contemplating violations of parents' right to speak their own languages to their infants in their own homes.

The provisions which more specifically address minority language education rights—the teaching both of and through the medium of one's mother tongue—are generally most developed in certain minority instruments. Binding treaty commitments have been established in two Council of Europe instruments to which only members of the Council have thus far become party, the *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*, and the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*. Other very influential non-treaty standards have been set within the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), the most significant of which is the 1990 *Document of the Copenhagen Meeting on the Human Dimension*. Influential principles have been developed through the office of the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities, the most relevant of which in the context of education is *The Hague Recommendations Regarding the Education Rights of National Minorities* of October, 1996, [www.osce.org/hcnm/documents/recommendations/hague/index.php](http://www.osce.org/hcnm/documents/recommendations/hague/index.php). More particular guidance is provided in minorities-specific instruments. All of these standards apply mainly in Europe (loosely defined; Canada and the USA are also members of the OSCE).

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

There are still relatively few binding *positive* rights to MTM education or bilingual education in present international law, including case law. Today most language-related human rights are *negative* rights, only prohibiting discrimination on the basis of language, as a prerequisite for the promotion of equality. Both various explanations and interpretations of human rights law and many court cases (see, e.g. de Varennes, 1996, Dunbar, 2001, Higgins, 2003, references to Thornberry, Leitch, 2005) have made it clear that treating citizens *de jure* equally, i.e. identically (for instance, using an official language as the only medium of education for *all* children, regardless of their linguistic background and competencies), does not lead to *de facto* equality, and may often constitute discrimination. Identical treatment is not always equal treatment; therefore, “positive discrimination” or “affirmative action” is necessary for substantive *de facto* equality. Substantive equality also includes a positive

obligation on the state to protect conditions, which enable a LM to maintain their special features, including their languages. Still, many court cases and UN Human Rights Committee's General Comments and Communications have been satisfied with formal equality, even if there are also positive exceptions (most of the legal references above detail these), both in relation to LRs in general and also educational LHRs. At this point there are still many contradictions in and confusion about how to handle educational LRs legally and de facto. Today's "free market" approach has also many really negative consequences for these rights (e.g. Devidal, 2004).

UNESCO is mapping today's situation in relation to which LMs do in fact have MTM education. Africa and Europe have been "finished" so far (see Languages of instruction at [http://portal.unesco.org/education/en/ev.php-URL\\_ID=43143&URL\\_DO=DO\\_TOPIC&URL\\_SECTION=201.html](http://portal.unesco.org/education/en/ev.php-URL_ID=43143&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html)). The very real threats to endangered mostly indigenous languages have also alerted many people, NGOs and international organizations like UNESCO (see UNESCO's portal on endangered languages, [http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL\\_ID=8270&URL\\_DO=DO\\_TOPIC&URL\\_SECTION=201.html](http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=8270&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html) and their Expert Group Report on these languages [http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/file\\_download.php/947ee963052abf0293b22e0bfba319cclanguagevitalityendangerment.pdf](http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/file_download.php/947ee963052abf0293b22e0bfba319cclanguagevitalityendangerment.pdf)). In contrast to earlier, there seems today to be more understanding, on paper, for the demands of indigenous peoples' educational LRs—presumably because most of them are numerically so small that *their* educational LRs (as opposed to those of minorities) do not seem to threaten the states—whereas their land rights demands do.

One example of the language used about indigenous peoples versus "national" linguistic minorities follows. The *Committee on the Rights of the Child* recommended at their 34th Session 2003 (see E/C.19/2004/5/Add.11, Annex, p. 10.) "that States parties ensure access for indigenous children to appropriate and high quality education". Interpreting this access, they ask States parties, "with the active participation of indigenous communities and children", to

- (b) implement indigenous children's right to be taught to read and write in their own indigenous language or in the language most commonly used by the group to which they belong, as well as the national language(s) of the country in which they live;
  - (c) undertake measures to effectively address the comparatively higher drop out rates among indigenous youth and ensure that indigenous children are adequately prepared for higher education, vocational training and their further economic, social and cultural aspirations;
- Recommendation (b) clearly indicates that if the States are to "ensure access for indigenous children to *appropriate* and high quality

education” (emphasis added), bilingual education systems should be created by States.

Aspects of these recommendations bear some similarity to the educational provisions of the United Nations General Assembly *Declaration of the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities* of 1992 (UNGA Minorities Resolution). Art. 4, paragraph 3 of it provides that “States *should* take *appropriate* measures so that, *wherever possible*, persons belonging to minorities have *adequate* opportunities to learn their mother tongue *or* to have instruction in their mother tongue.” (emphases added).

Despite the positive tone of these recommendations, opt-outs and claw-backs in educational minority provisions are significant, as detailed in the next section.

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

There are many positive recommendations, draft declarations and initiatives of various kinds, by international organizations, NGOs, LM communities and researchers. LMs are themselves, also through web-based information and networking, much more aware of the lack of LRs and their consequences than at any earlier time. But basic problems persist. In order for children to have human rights in education, they must in the first place have a *right to free compulsory education*. This right is far from guaranteed in all countries to all children. Not even primary education is free in 91 countries (Tomaševski, 2004, p. 23; see the list of these countries in *ibid.*, paragraph 23 and at <http://www.right-to-education.org/home/index.html>), and immigrant or refugee children face threats of exclusion from schools in many countries (see the Texas court case, *In Re Alien Children Education Litigation* in Del Valle, 2003, p. 331; see also the list of European countries where children whose residence status is “irregular” may be excluded, in Eurydice, 2004, p. 33–34).

Secondly, however, as Katarina Tomaševski, the former UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Education, states, “mere access to educational institutions, difficult as it may be to achieve in practice, does not amount to the right to education” (Tomaševski, 2004: paragraph 57). Educational State obligations in international law contain four elements, *availability, accessibility, acceptability and adaptability* (Tomaševski, 2001; also at [www.right-to-education.org/content/primers/\\_rte03.pdf](http://www.right-to-education.org/content/primers/_rte03.pdf)). Her 4-A model has also been adopted by the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, in General Comment No. 13 (Wilson, 2004, p. 165.). Tomaševski discusses “language of instruction” under “*acceptability*” (2001, pp. 12–15, 29–30), mentioning the *Belgian Linguistic Case*, in which parents’ rights to state-financed education in a language of their

choice was denied. We also discuss language of instruction under “*accessibility*” (see Magga, Nicolaisen, Trask, Dunbar and Skutnabb-Kangas, 2005 for details), where one of the points is Tomaševski’s (2001, p. 12) “identification and elimination of discriminatory denials of access”. Barriers to “access” can be interpreted as *physical* (e.g. distance to school), *financial* (e.g. school fees, already mentioned, or the labour of girls being needed at home), *administrative* (e.g. requirements of birth registration or residence certificate for school enrolment, *ibid.* paragraph 4b; or, e.g. school schedules, 2001, p. 12); or *legal*. If the educational model chosen for a school (legally or administratively) does not mandate or even allow indigenous or minority children to be educated mainly through the medium of a language that the child understands, then the child is effectively being denied access to education. If the teaching language is foreign to the child and the teacher is not properly trained to make input comprehensible in the foreign language, the child does not have access to education. The U.S. Supreme Court acknowledged this in 1974 in the *Lau vs. Nichols* case (414 US 563). Likewise, if the language of instruction is neither the mother tongue/first language or minimally an extremely well known second language of the child and the teaching is planned and directed towards children who have the language of instruction as their mother tongue (i.e. the norm is a child who knows the teaching language), the LM child does not have equal access to education. We see this as a combination of *linguistic, pedagogical and psychological* barriers to “access” to education.

Under the subtitle “Schooling can be deadly”, Katarina Tomaševski claims that translating what rights-based education means from vision to reality “requires the identification and abolition of contrary practices” (Tomaševski, 2004: paragraph 50). This is rendered difficult by two assumptions: “One important reason is the assumption that getting children into schools is the end rather than a means of education, and an even more dangerous assumption that any schooling is good for children”.

The present practices of educating LM children through the medium of dominant national/state languages are completely contrary to solid theories and research results about how best to achieve the goals for good education. In addition, they also violate the parents’ right to inter-generational transmission of their values, including their languages. In Tomaševski’s views (2004, paragraph 5), the impact of a rights-based education should be “assessed by the contribution it makes to the enjoyment of all human rights. International human rights law demands substitution of the previous requirement upon children to adapt themselves to whatever education was available by adapting education to the best interests of each child” (Tomaševski, 2004: paragraph 54; see also Tomaševski, 2006 for a brilliant critical summary of the right

to education). The human right to use one's own language is made impossible if the children lose it during the educational process.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Comparing the various developments in how human rights instruments, courts, and various regulations have handled educational LHRs during the last many decades, there seems to be a constant tension in how the place, function and future of LMs (seen as Other) has been envisaged. States seem to strive towards some kind of unity, wholeness, integration, but ideas about how this can be achieved vary. Segregation versus integration and bilingual versus monolingual are some of the main polarities here.

The Other has often been feared, despised, marginalised and excluded, and a separate physically segregated development has been seen as necessary and preferable. At the same time the Other has been strictly controlled and disciplined. South African (SA) apartheid Bantu education or USA (especially South) black and white schools are examples. The only positive aspect of this kind of education in SA was that LMs often had MTM education. But the quality and financing of the education in both SA and USA, including buildings, materials, teacher training, and so on, were mostly dismal and the content often racist. Legally mandated (the *Brown v. Board of Education* 1953 case in the USA) or allowed (SA 1990s Constitution and education regulations) desegregation brought the Other into schools which were earlier reserved only for Self, the "whites". Physically it may have meant permission for integration, but housing patterns interacting with class ensure that those of the dominant "race" or "ethnicity" still keep most quality education for children of Self. And medium of education interacts with it; Kathleen Heugh's (2000) countrywide longitudinal statistical study of final exam results for "Black" students in South Africa showed that the percentage of "Black" students who passed their exams went down every time the number of years spent through the medium of their mother tongues decreased.

In the other polarity, a reproduction of minorities through MTM or proper bilingual education has been seen as a threat towards the unity of a state. Linguistic reproduction of minority mother tongues has been seen as a beginning of a conflict where states have feared that the existence of minorities can lead to a disintegration of the state. The Turkish oppression of Kurds is perhaps the worst example of this today but in Europe both France and Greece violate LHRs for similar reasons, and the same reason has been frequently invoked in the USA, pointing at the possibility of Quebec separation from the rest of Canada as a threatening example. Many Asian and African conflicts also have elements

of state elites connecting LMs to disintegration threats and therefore denying them basic language rights. This seems to be one of the main reasons in state resistance against proper bilingual education in many countries. Even if the scientific evidence for bilingual education is compelling, assimilationist mainstreaming mostly wins because MTM maintenance-oriented education can reproduce minorities as minorities. Likewise, content in bilingual education is seen as possibly ideologically threatening because it cannot (for linguistic reasons) be completely controlled by the dominant group.

All this can lead to interesting contradictions—and their solution is a major future challenge. Just two examples:

In San Francisco, USA, Chinese-American students wanted to retain their already existing bilingual programmes. The court noted: “Bilingual classes are not proscribed. They may be provided in any manner which does not create, maintain or foster segregation” (*Guey Heung Lee v. Johnson*, 404 US 1215, 1971; <http://caselaw.lp.findlaw.com/scripts/getcase.pl?court=us&vol=404&invol=4215>). How do you do it?

Each State which has ratified Council of Europe’s *Framework Convention of the Protection of National Minorities* has to report every three years how they have fulfilled their obligations. In several opinions, the Advisory Committee scrutinising the reports urges the state to place the minority in “regular” (meaning dominant-language-medium) classes where they are “integrated” with (i.e. physically integrated with but often psychologically segregated from) dominant group children. But at the same time, the Committee urges the State to “ensure [that] adequate opportunities exist to be taught the [minority] language or to receive instruction in this language” (e.g. opinions on Romania, Croatia and Slovakia); they also see “separate classes” as risky for integration (e.g. in the opinion on Sweden) (see Skutnabb-Kangas, 2004; Wilson, 2004).

But one cannot teach LM children through the medium of a minority language in an “integrated” classroom where children from the linguistic majority are also present—unless these are also to become bilingual (as in two-way programmes), and there is no indication of this in the Committee’s opinions, or in the USA court case.

Majority/dominant group children do not have any right to become high level bi- or multilingual through education either (even if many states are in practice organising programmes for them to achieve this goal, e.g. immersion or CLIL—content and language integrated learning—programmes).

Thus, accepting temporary physical segregation as a means for achieving educational, psychological, societal and political integration of minorities and majorities later on is an absolute necessity for a human-rights-oriented education.

Despite many peace researchers having shown that it is often precisely lack of language rights that leads to conflict, and that LHRs, also in education, may be part of the solution, most states continue the schizophrenic and counterproductive policies of denying indigenous, and national and immigrant minority children basic LHRs, including proper maintenance-oriented bilingual education. States can also expect to have to pay huge reparations if this is continued—the first court cases have already been won by LMs. One example comes from Australia where the Federal Court of Australia ruled in 2005 that the Queensland government discriminated against a 12-year old boy by not providing him with a sign language interpreter at school. The boy was awarded \$64,000 in compensation for future economic losses as a result of his inadequate education. According to Deaf Children Australia, his academic skills were at the level of a six-year old. This decision establishes firmly deaf children's right to an AUSLAN [Australian Sign Language] interpreter in school and has implications beyond the Australian context (see Small, and Mason, *American Sign Language (ASL) Bilingual Bicultural Education*, Volume 5, for discussion of the struggle for deaf children's linguistic rights in Ontario, Canada).

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## AMERICAN SIGN LANGUAGE (ASL) BILINGUAL BICULTURAL EDUCATION

### INTRODUCTION

Since the publication of this article in the first edition of the *Encyclopedia of Language and Education*, the title has been intentionally changed from *Deaf Bilingual Bicultural Education* to *ASL Bilingual Bicultural Education* for four compelling reasons.

1. Emphasis ought not to be on being Deaf as it most often solicits a medical/audist view of Deaf children as “audiologically handicapped” regardless of the intentions of the authors. Instead we offer a cultural linguistic perspective of a minority linguistic group deserving of Sign Language as their birthright.
2. We cannot suppose to make recommendations regarding the education of children who use *Langue des Signes de Québec (LSQ)* or other sign languages across Canada or elsewhere as we do not operate in these communities or education systems. Thus, our focus is on ASL bilingual bicultural education in the Ontario context. It is worth noting, however, that both ASL and LSQ are recognized languages in Canada, the country of both authors of this article. The LSQ community and educators will determine their own language planning needs.
3. In *Deaf bilingual education* discussions, emphasis tends to be placed on majority language development, namely, English. We intend to focus on the neglected minority language development of bilingual children, in other words on the development of their ASL proficiency.
4. While both *bilingual* and *bicultural* have been maintained in the title, the authors recognize that culture is inherent in language. As such, it can be argued that culture need not be delineated as a separate entity each time ASL is mentioned in the article as it is inherent in the language (Bahan, 2002).

This article outlines how language planning impacts ASL bilingual bicultural education. To do so we focus on early developments, major contributions and progress in academic institutions and in the community that have positive future educational ramifications. We also examine the constraints that have significantly limited progress. We provide

recommendations for future directions in breaking through the language planning status quo for ASL bilingual bicultural education.

All educators must believe that they “wish only what is best for ASL children.” With that assumption, we are immediately reminded of an African story. It tells about a group of monkeys swinging up in branches overlooking a river in the midst of the jungle. They see a storm brewing and the fish being tossed about in the river below as its current grows swifter and waves grow large. The monkeys, concerned for the welfare of the fish, quickly swoop down and scoop up as many fish as they can and rest them safely on the dry shore at the edge of the river (Rose, 1992). We all know what surely becomes of this unfortunate “school of fish.”

This story must teach us to be humble; to step back and re-examine what we value and what we are doing when we make a decision that affects a child’s life so profoundly. Our roles in the education of ASL bilingual children have an enormous impact on their lives. Many governments and groups engage in conscious language planning in order to control the process of language change and use among different social groups and populations in the interests of maintaining national, societal, and linguistic cohesion. In the name of cohesion, language planning can have devastating effects on minority languages—namely, the death of the language (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). In contrast, governments can engage in language planning for language preservation, language maintenance, and language spread. Language planning can serve to enrich their population with the knowledge of a variety of languages and the cultural richness that comes with it. As such, minority languages are viewed as resources to be nurtured (Ruiz, 1984). Language planning touches every aspect of society—business, politics, social life, health, and education. In its elaborate form, language planning is conducted in four arenas, namely, attitude planning, status planning, corpus planning, and acquisition planning. In the following sections we examine each of these dimensions of language planning with specific reference to ASL in Ontario.

### *Attitude Planning*

While this area is the least studied and written about it has the most profound impact on all other areas of language planning. According to *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*, language planning as a field of study dates only to the 1960s (Crystal, 1987). However, language planning has been active for more than two centuries in Deaf education. Nover (1992) has illustrated the evidence of language planning, starting with implementation of manually-coded French by De l’Epee in the 1760s and initiation of several signing systems—SEE 1, LOVE, and SEE 2 that were put in place in North America during the 1970s.

We propose that the development of these systems in the 1970s should be called “method of communication” planning, rather than language planning, since such systems *are not* languages, per se. During that decade, the provincial schools for Deaf students in Ontario experienced the introduction of the Rochester Method (fingerspelling), followed by Total Communication, on the faulty assumption that these methods would enable Deaf students to acquire English skills the way hearing and speaking enable hearing counterparts to acquire English skills. Although there is *no* evidence that emphasis on one or another variation of such methods, including SEE 2, is even a partial factor in contributing to basic language proficiency, the focus of language planning in Ontario continues to be on the acquisition of English rather than the acquisition of a signed language with its own integrity, structure, and knowledge base.

The stranglehold of imposing one or another variation of these “communication methods” on future teachers and their deaf and hard of hearing students interferes with students’ opportunity and ability to become lingually empowered and linguistically adaptable and versatile with one or more languages such as ASL and English. Despite the fact that research carried out during the past decade shows clearly that children who develop strong ASL proficiency develop better English literacy skills than those whose ASL abilities are weaker or nonexistent (Strong and Prinz, 1997), government policies in Ontario continue to provide only minimal support for the development of ASL proficiency in the early years and for the implementation of bilingual bicultural education for Deaf students. For example, government policies discourage children who receive cochlear implants from developing fluency in ASL based on the empirically unsupported assumption that ASL will interfere with the acquisition of oral English.

Attitude planning is carried, consciously or unconsciously, into all other arenas of language planning (refer to [Figure 1](#)). It is therefore powerful and insidious, and exerts the greatest influence over either maintaining the status quo or creating destructive or constructive change in bilingual education.



Figure 1 Attitude planning impacts all other language planning arenas.

Nover (1992) states that Deaf education has been assimilationist and dominating, with the goal of “hearizing” ASL children. Audism is a set of practices that elevates English and other spoken languages and devalues ASL and other sign languages. “It is the corporate and social institution that makes statements about Deaf people, governing where they go to school, teaching about them, authorizing views about them; audism is the hearing way of dominating, restructuring, and exercising authority over the Deaf community (Lane, 1999, p. 43).

Language planning has characterized the history of Deaf education for three centuries although it may not have been explored earnestly from this perspective except by a few scholars such as Nover (1992), Mason (1994), and Lane, Hoffmeister and Bahan (1996). Various attempts have been made to teach ASL bilingual children the language of the speaking majority. Despite the nearly unchallenged recognition that ASL meets the criteria of a language, many educators continue to resist use of ASL in a bilingual bicultural setting. Despite its long and rich history in North America, and the fact that scholarly research on ASL is in its fourth decade, ASL has been slow to gain status in the academic community (Wilcox and Wilcox, 1992). Such resistance to ASL in the academic community more likely has a basis in sectarian dogmatism that English is superior and ASL is inferior even though both are equally sophisticated. The negative attitudes to ASL and other sign languages can be attributed to the incessant audist nature of our society. It is perpetuated by language planning efforts in the areas of acquisition planning, corpus planning, and status planning when those responsible for language planning are unaware of their own audist views or the profound negative impact of those attitudes. In many parts of Europe, language-planning efforts encourage multilingual language use just as hearing children are encouraged to use many spoken languages (Mahshie, 1995). This contrasts with Canada and the USA which tend only to value English above all other languages; this implies that North America is highly sectarian relative to Europe. The majority of Deaf children in Canada and the USA are raised without ASL because of the false assumption that intelligence is not possible without spoken language and that spoken and human communication are one and the same. This attitude impacts all areas of language planning for Deaf children including educational systems, such as Ontario’s, that have accepted ASL bilingual education to some extent. These issues are discussed below in the context of status planning.

### *Status Planning*

An example of status planning is the recognition of two official languages in Canada—English and French. For the educational system in Ontario, English and French are required to be languages used for

purposes of instruction and as subjects of study. In 1993, Bill 4 was passed by the Ontario Parliament to recognize ASL and LSQ as languages of instruction, with the efforts of the Deaf Ontario Community and Gary Malkowski, then a first-ever ASL-Deaf member of Parliament. The passage of Bill 4 has already resulted in changes to Ontario's Education Act. This Act includes "ASL" and "LSQ" in various clauses; however, there are no regulations that dictate how such law applies.

Influential ASL antagonists have interfered with efforts to draft regulations to define how and when ASL is to be used in classrooms. This interference results in exempting future teachers from having to be ASL proficient while allowing them to profess that they are qualified to meet the children's needs. This seriously compromises the integrity of the field. The term used in Bill 4 "may" is interpreted as a suggestion but not an expectation or requirement that ASL or LSQ be used as languages of instruction. For the last 15 years, the Ontario Association of the Deaf (OAD), under the leadership of the OAD Presidents, community leaders, and members have frequently asked the Ministry of Education to include four requirements in the proposed regulation. These requirements address staff ASL competency including evaluation and accompanying training; teacher training programs including in-service training and additional qualifications in the ASL curriculum and Bilingual Education; recognizing ASL as the language of instruction for all subjects; and mandating ASL curriculum as a policy document to implement ASL as a language of study and use fostering high levels of ASL literacy. The clauses in the Education Act remain dormant because of the absence of regulations needed to define how ASL and LSQ are expected to be used in classrooms.

### *Corpus Planning*

Corpus planning is referred to by Cooper (1989) as "the creation of new forms, the modification of old ones, or the selection from alternative forms in a spoken [signed] or written code." In the educational system, English is used as an academic language. To support standardization of this language, ample resources such as dictionaries, curriculum documents, and different forms of technology are provided.

In 1999, the Ontario Provincial Schools ASL Curriculum Team was established to support the bilingual-bicultural educational approach in the Provincial Schools for ASL Students. The curriculum was intended to describe learning benchmarks for students to develop and demonstrate academic ASL skills and academic ASL literacy skills. It has been developed for nursery to grade 12 in the Provincial Schools for ASL Students.

Prior to 1998, Canada had a dearth of its own ASL published resources to draw upon. With the establishment of the Deaf Heritage Project through the Canadian Cultural Society of the Deaf (CCSD), Canada is now beginning to enjoy its own ASL published resources including *deafplanet.com*, an ASL children's TV series, DVD and ASL/LSQ/English/French interactive website, nominated for several Gemini Awards in 2004 and 2005, grand finalist for the prestigious International Japan Prize in 2005, and winner of the UN World Summit Award in 2005 for best e-content and creativity.

CCSD, the only national organization representing the cultural interests of ASL and LSQ Canadians and DawnSignPress an American publisher, as well as a few other publishers have now published a variety of ASL literature on videotape and DVD format. Only a few of these products meet the academic requirements defined by the ASL curriculum. Some are important examples of community-based language providing the rich heritage and critical link for students to their community while others are academically based. Literary analysis must delineate the variety of literature produced so they can be appreciated for the richness they provide.

### *Acquisition Planning*

Acquisition planning involves efforts to influence the number of users and to increase distribution of languages, literatures, and literacies. Its intent is to improve opportunities and incentive to learn a language. Examples are use of English in commerce, revitalization of Gaelic in Scotland, and re-emergence of Hebrew after the founding of Israel. Acquisition planning encourages both language maintenance and language spread.

In respect to the classroom, any language arts curriculum is not sufficient by itself to extend the language and literacy knowledge and skills. The Ontario Curriculum employs strands to integrate learning of language structure and literacy. These strands were not previously addressed in the Ontario public education system.

The ASL Curriculum also uses strands. Its four main strands are American Sign Language, ASL Literature, ASL Texts, and ASL Media Arts and Technologies. ASL teachers in the Provincial Schools for the Deaf use the ASL curriculum to teach ASL Bilingual-Bicultural students. Through the curriculum, ASL-using students gain knowledge of the language's semantics, lexicon, and syntax which enables them to use the language correctly and eloquently. The curriculum also provides exposure to, analysis of, and production experience of ASL literary works. Thus students are exposed to a variety of expressive, creative, and playful aspects of ASL. They learn and acquire the cultural value of ASL literary works and literary works in general.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The early history of the education of Deaf students begins in France in the 1760s and then travels to North America in the early 1800s when Thomas Hopkin Gallaudet, an English-speaking educator from the USA went to Paris, France to learn from Abbé Sicard, a hearing follower of De l'Eppée. Gallaudet returned to the USA with Laurent Clerc, a Deaf French Sign language (FSL) master teacher and together they founded the first school for Deaf students in the USA in 1817 in Hartford Connecticut, now known as the American School for the Deaf. As French Sign Language merged with sign language used by local Deaf people, ASL evolved. Clerc trained Deaf and hearing individuals, many of whom gained prominence, including Ronald McDonald who opened the first Canadian School for Deaf children in Quebec City in 1831 (Carbin, 1996). Over the next several decades, many Deaf schools were established, many teachers and administrators were Deaf, and ASL and ASL literature flourished in the classrooms and Deaf community. This "Golden Age" presided until oral language was adopted officially in 1880 at the International Congress of Educators of the Deaf in Milan, Italy when sign language went underground and ASL teachers were no longer hired. By 1970, some educators recognized the disastrous effects of monolingual oral education and began to introduce signs to support spoken English (refer to Attitudes section in this chapter). Still the focus was on monolingual oral education. Not until the 1980s in the USA and in western and central Canada, did ASL bilingual bicultural education begin to take hold. The Gallaudet protest in 1988 calling for a Deaf president of the only university for ASL students in the USA and the publication of a working document at Gallaudet University, *Unlocking the Curriculum* in 1989 calling for bilingual bicultural education for Deaf students sparked a shift back to ASL education for Deaf students in the USA and Canada.

The "Deaf Ontario Now" rallies led by the Deaf community resulted in the *Deaf Education Review Report*, commissioned in 1989, a research review of the impact of native sign language on majority language acquisition (Israelite, Ewoldt, and Hoffmeister, 1992) and establishment of the pilot bilingual program in Ontario. By 1993 the three provincial schools in Ontario adopted an ASL bilingual bicultural policy and Bill 4 was accepted in provincial parliament. Resolutions were approved in Alberta and Manitoba recognizing the merits of ASL as a language of instruction but have not been passed into law.

Thus the history begins with promise, displays a backlash against ASL, and then gradual progress towards it once again. This repetitive cycle of growth, oppression, and re-emergence of the language can be seen right up to current educational developments in North America and can be traced to the impact of attitude planning on the status, corpus, and acquisition of the language.

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

David Mason had a pivotal role in introducing and eventually expanding on Bilingual Bicultural Education as an integral part of the Teacher Preparation Program in the Education of Deaf and Hard-of-Hearing Students at York University in 1991.

In 1996, the first teacher research in Bilingual Deaf Education was published (Small et al., 1996). This monograph was the first in Canada to highlight the insights of educators working in the field and to provide a forum for reflection on bilingual practice. Another monograph highlighting ASL research in classrooms, home, and residence is expected to be published in 2007.

In 1998, the Ontario Provincial ASL Curriculum Development Team with two representatives from each Provincial School for ASL Students, under the direction of Heather Gibson, developed an ASL Curriculum that outlined expectations for ASL-using students' academic and conversational ASL competencies. The curriculum was designed to describe the knowledge and skills required at each grade level, providing administrators, teachers, parents, and students clear expectations and norms for ASL, ASL literacy, and ASL media.

The curriculum continues to be refined, piloted, and field-tested. This process involved ongoing briefings and consultation regarding curriculum issues with the Ontario Ministry of Education Curriculum Branch, Special Education Branch, and the Provincial Schools Curriculum Co-ordinator. The ASL curriculum includes general and specific expectations that outline the knowledge and skills students must complete at each grade level. It is intended to describe learning benchmarks for students to develop and demonstrate ASL skills and literacy skills at an academic level. This will ensure continuity in language development and acquisition.

ASL Literature Week is held by the three provincial schools for ASL bilingual students in Ontario every two years. It hosts a rich variety of ASL poetry, ASL stories, and other ASL literary works presented by well-known Canadian and American ASL professionals. Its purpose is to introduce students to successful ASL masters in the field such as ASL story-tellers and ASL poets. Supported in part by the Ontario Cultural Society of the Deaf, the festival activities create a place for students to take part in expressions of common experiences, history, cultural traditions, politics, and controversial issues in the ASL-Deaf community. The festival enables students to apply the knowledge and skills they have learned in a classroom setting.

A most significant educational contribution is the establishment of a private bilingual school in Toronto, Ontario. Yeshivas Nefesh Dovid is a new model international Yeshiva High School for Deaf male students (<http://www.nefeshdovid.com>). Established in Ontario, with ASL used

as the language of instruction, major emphasis is placed on Hebrew reading and writing skills. All teachers are ASL users. Yeshivas Nefesh Dovid offers a superior state-of-the-art general studies curriculum including an English curriculum as well as Hebrew language and Jewish Studies curriculum. The Nefesh Dovid trilingual curriculum follows all required courses approved by the Ontario Ministry of Education and is a provincially and internationally recognized High School diploma program.

Other significant educational contributions come from within the Deaf community. The Ontario Cultural Society of the Deaf established an ASL Parent-Infant Consultant Program, trained over 100 Deaf ASL Literacy consultants, established an ASL Parent-Child Mother Goose Program, running programs for parents of infants encouraging them to be comfortable, knowledgeable and playful, sharing early ASL literature poetry and stories with their infants and toddlers. They also published *A Parent Guidebook: ASL and Early Literacy* (McLaughlin, Small, Spink-Mitchell and Cripps, 2004), *American Sign Language and Early Literacy* (OCSD, 2004), and *The ASL Parent-Child Mother Goose Program: American Sign Language Rhymes, Rhythms and Stories for Parents and the Children* (OCSD, 2004), videotapes and DVDs used widely across Canada and in Gallaudet University training programs in the USA. They have published *ASL Developmental Milestones* (Small, 2003), finally gathering the research to establish norms for infants using ASL ages 0–24 months. These contributions lay an early foundation for language acquisition planning in the school systems.

A 20-year-project of the Canadian Cultural Society of the Deaf (CCSD) culminated in the publication of the Canadian Dictionary of ASL (Bailey and Dolby, 2002). This seminal work which has received four academic awards, standardizes ASL in this country, documents regional variations across the country, and is a significant contribution to ASL corpus planning. An LSQ dictionary is the next corpus planning contribution being tackled by the CCSD.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Development and implementation of the American Sign Language Curriculum in Ontario is one of the most significant works in progress in an educational academic program in North America. Two ASL teachers were hired specifically to teach the ASL curriculum, an accomplishment unprecedented at the Provincial School for the Deaf. Growth strands, instructional strategies, ASL assessment, expectations, student activities, and teaching techniques are taking shape as the curriculum is implemented in the provincial schools. Mini-workshops and training are regularly provided to build a common vision, knowledge,

and understanding of the ASL curriculum among staff. Sample workshops include *Conversational and Academic Languages (BICS and CALP)*; *ASL Poetry Structures*; and *Metaphors and Similes Used in ASL*.

Intensive in-service training must be provided to focus on pedagogical approaches for using ASL as the language of instruction and for the study of language (on conversational and academic levels). Training includes the study and analysis of ASL curriculum design, research perspectives, and language acquisition evaluation.

Data on student learning has been gathered regularly, with ASL Proficiency Assessment used to establish measurable first language progress. The ASL curriculum provides learning benchmarks for students' development, ASL, and ASL literacy skills expectations. To date, results indicate that the ASL curriculum has been on track, as its expectations align well with ASL grade-level learning skills.

The most significant community work in progress is the establishment of the Deaf Culture Centre under the auspices of the Canadian Cultural Society of the Deaf which opened at the historic culture, arts, and entertainment Distillery District in the heart of Old Town Toronto, Ontario in May 2006 ([www.ccsdeaf.com](http://www.ccsdeaf.com)). It features a museum, art gallery, gift shop, research and archives, state-of-the-art visually rich technology highlighting Deaf historical artifacts, sports, ASL/LSQ literature, ASL/LSQ interactive website, television, and multimedia production studio.

The Deaf Culture Centre is an international symbol of the Deaf community celebrating Deaf life. A public forum both historical and forward-looking, it is open to the public and rooted in the Deaf community. It provides education, language, literature, culture, and visual and performing arts. It holds summer and winter institutes, ongoing workshops, school tours, classes, performances, permanent exhibits, special and traveling exhibits. The centre houses treasured historical, literary, and linguistic documents, De'VIA (Deaf View Image Art created by Deaf individuals that incorporates Deaf experience and language), and ASL literary experts who serve as mentors for students and adults learning ASL. The centre promises to play a significant role in attitude planning as it is rooted in the Deaf community, fosters new creative expression in the Deaf community, and is open to different spoken language individuals and to different sign language individuals around the world to be enriched by the beauty, language, and sense of place created by the Deaf community in this country and internationally.

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Across Canada, the cycle of growth, oppression, and re-emergence is evident. In Ontario, for example, the Ministry of Education has resisted mandating ASL and LSQ skill requirements to obtain certification as a

teacher of the Deaf. Currently, the Teacher Preparation Program for Deaf and Hard of Hearing Students in the Faculty of Education at York University requires only two courses in ASL for entry and “candidates with lesser qualifications may be considered” ([www.yorku.ca](http://www.yorku.ca)).

Lack of strong government commitment to supporting ASL is also evident in other provinces. In Manitoba, the ASL Bilingual Sign Talk Community Centre has closed. In Alberta, the bilingual Alberta School for the Deaf is no longer a government school; it is now under the Edmonton Public School Board that recognizes the merits of the bilingual education model, having been a leader in the implementation of bilingual programs in multiple languages since the 1970s. The Saskatchewan School for the Deaf has closed. Saskatchewan held a court case in 2005 dealing with a 9-year-old boy with a cochlear implant who could not read or write and had virtually no language since ASL ceased to be an option in that province. The judge stated that “in my eighteen years on the bench, I have seldom if ever heard of a situation which engaged my concern more than this one” (ORR, P.C.J., 2005). The judge concluded that it would be of great benefit for those “outside the legal system including educators, civil servants, politicians, and other citizens” to read the judgment in response to the disastrous consequences when a child is denied full access to a strong first language. The court ordered the province to provide a massive commitment to teach the boy, and his single mother, ASL with a qualified instructor, that he be placed in a signing school for Deaf students outside of the province or that he be provided with a full time ASL interpreter at a school within Saskatchewan. At the heart of these dire circumstances is the need for a shift in all areas of language planning that does not tolerate the suppression of language.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The Education Act in Ontario allows the use of ASL and LSQ as languages of instruction in schools. However, this permissive legislation does not *require* schools serving Deaf students to use ASL nor does it require teachers to have ASL proficiency. In recent years, the Deaf community has been putting pressure on the Ontario Ministry of Education to authorize a process to develop regulations on where, how, and when the use of ASL as a language of instruction will happen. This same authorization should take into consideration an obligation for teachers of ASL students to have higher standards of ASL proficiency.

On the positive side, the Deaf Culture Centre is a community initiative that promises to enhance widespread awareness of the merits of ASL among all people, including those who use it and those who deserve to appreciate ASL better.

We challenge people of all walks of life including ASL antagonists and professionals associated with education to learn about and appreciate the many merits of ASL and how important it is for any ASL user. This means that everyone should examine their own attitudes and appreciate that linguistic minorities are integral to society as a whole. The future depends on how such attitudes change and how these translate into changes in educational policies. We stress that educators should not be audists serving in part as gatekeepers of languages; they should be professionals who support what each child, teenager, and youth has and who nurture them without devaluing their languages, including ASL.

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## USEFUL WEBSITES

- <http://www.ccsdeaf.com>  
<http://www.deafplanet.com>  
<http://www.nefeshdovid.com>  
<http://www.yorku.ca>

## **Section 2**

### **Illustrative Bilingual Education Programs and Policies**

**Africa**

## BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN AFRICA: AN OVERVIEW

## INTRODUCTION

Bilingual education, the use of two or more languages of instruction at some point in a student's school career, is practised variably in many African countries. In reviewing the issues, therefore, it is only possible to examine some general characteristics and trends. What I propose to do in this review is (i) to give an exposition of some historical background factors that have influenced bilingual education in Africa, (ii) to comment on the policies and practices adopted in selected bilingual programs, where attempts were made to use indigenous languages as the media of instruction, (iii) to give some suggestions for future practices. My focus, unless otherwise specified, is on sub-Saharan Africa.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The current language policies in education in postcolonial African states provide the best illustration of what Bamgbose (1991), has called *inheritance situation* i.e., how the colonial experience continues to influence and define postcolonial issues and practices. In other words, the attitude of the colonial authorities that ruled the respective countries has shaped postcolonial educational language policies and the current practices in schools (Bokomba, 1995; Obondo, 1997). According to Ansre (1978), we can divide these authorities into two groups: the "pro-users" and "anti-users" depending on whether or not they allowed some use of the indigenous languages or rejected them. Belgium, Germany, and Britain were pro-users, while anti-users were France and Portugal.

The anti-users forbade the teaching of indigenous languages in their colonies because of their colonial policy of assimilation which encouraged their own languages and discouraged African languages. Togo, for example, which had started as a German colony and subsequently was ceded to France, experienced different policies under the two colonial powers. The Germans had earlier promoted the use of Ewe, one of the indigenous languages in the elementary schools, but when the French took over the colony after the Second World War, Ewe

was completely banned from all government schools. Similarly, the Belgians had allowed the use of African languages in their former colony of the Congo but when France took over the colony the indigenous languages were abandoned. French continues to be the medium of instruction in the Congo Republic today (Bamgbose, 1991).

The pro-users led by Britain allowed the use of indigenous languages in the school system at the lower level of primary education. Education in the British colonies was initially left in the hands of the missionaries who were allowed the option of using the indigenous languages in their evangelical work including education. The missionaries were quick to realize that the vernacular languages were the most effective media to lodge the word of God right into the hearts of their speakers. The English language was also taught but it was limited to a small number of schools and to very few Africans. The British did not find it necessary that everyone in the colonies should learn to speak English. The assumption was that a colony's needs could be well served by training a rather small cadre of "natives" in English and allowing these to mediate between the colonial power and the local population. This was in line with the British colonial policy of indirect rule. This system led to creation of a new African class or elites, separating those who could speak the colonial languages from those who could not. These local elites functioning in their European languages and manning privileged positions became the new leaders and took over the affairs of the postcolonial African states.

At independence, when these leaders (read the elites) were faced with the task of formulating the educational language policies for their liberated nations, their colonial linguistic inheritance had significant influence on their decisions (Alexander, 2000). The debate about educational language policy was centered on whether the former colonial languages or one or more indigenous languages could serve as languages of education.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Fafunwa (1990), in a report on linguistic profile of Africa notes that 22 out of 34 countries use African languages as media of instruction at primary (first) level: of these 22 only 3 countries have extended their use to secondary school. The use of indigenous languages in formal education in most sub-Saharan African countries is usually limited to the first 3 or 4 years of primary education. For example, the policies in Kenya, Ghana, and Malawi stipulate that mother tongue or the language of the school's surrounding community be used as the medium of instruction for the first 3 years of school. In Uganda, Namibia, and Eastern States of Nigeria, mother tongue is to be used for the first four

years of primary school (Obondo, 1996). These language practices have survived more or less unchanged from the colonial period. In fact, the major innovation that has taken place in the postindependence period has been a move to extend the use of indigenous languages as media of instruction beyond the third or fourth year of primary school. Tanzania provides an example of such an extension where Kiswahili is used as medium of instruction for the entire primary education (Rubagumya, 1990). Somalia (before the 1990s civil war) provides another example of innovation in mother tongue education. Having inherited two systems of education (English in the north and Italian in the south) the country was able to break away from the inherited practices and embark on the use of Somali as a medium of instruction. Somali became the medium of instruction not only in primary but also secondary school.

Examples of the other innovations are experimental projects in the use of indigenous languages. One project that has become famous in the literature of bilingual education in Africa is the Six Year Primary Project in Yoruba commonly known as the Ile-Ife Project in Nigeria. The objective of this project was to compare the traditional system of mixed media (mother tongue initially then English) with a new system where Yoruba (one of the three major languages of a total 400 Nigerian languages) was used for the full 6 years of primary education. The experimental classes were taught all subjects in Yoruba and the control group was taught in Yoruba for 3 years and later in English. When the two groups were evaluated, the results showed very clearly the superiority of the experimental groups in all areas: English, Yoruba, science, social studies, and mathematics (Bamgbose, 1991). The project proved that the experimental groups lost nothing cognitively and linguistically by this exposure to 6 years of primary school education through the medium of Yoruba.

The other project which was in effect complimentary to the Ile-Ife project was the Rivers Readers Project based in the River State of Nigeria which is a highly multilingual state having several minority languages. The project was designed to introduce initial literacy in 20 languages and to replace the practice of using only Igbo, a dominant language in parts of the River states. This project demonstrated that the policy of using mother tongue or the language of the immediate community is possible in a multilingual state and that the cost of producing the materials need not be prohibitively expensive.

A similar innovation in mother tongue education is the Operational Research Project for Language Education in Cameroon (with acronym PROPELCA derived from the title in French). Cameroon is a unique country in Africa with two foreign languages-English (south) and French (north)-as official languages. This division follows the split of the country after the Second World War into a British and a French

territory. PROPELCA is designed to experiment with introduction of Cameroon languages into primary education (Tadajeu, 1995) in the context where the use of indigenous languages was prohibited during colonial period (Tadajeu, 1995). Guinea is another francophone country that has attempted to introduce indigenous languages in education. At independence, Guinea named 8 of its 25 indigenous languages as national languages. In the late 1970s up to 1980s, a mother tongue project was instituted. Guinean languages were introduced as media of instruction in the first 4 years of primary school and were taught as subjects from the third year. Substantial progress was made in implementing the project and there was some advance in using the national languages beyond the fourth year (Ridge, 1999). However, the project foundered through lack of funds to provide books and teachers and through growing parent and pupil resistance to the use of indigenous languages. In the late 1980s, the government restored French as the only medium of instruction.

On the surface, these innovative projects give an indication that some effort has been made to use indigenous languages in education. This is particularly significant in the case of countries like Guinea and Cameroon moving from French as an initial primary medium to African languages. However, as the case of Guinea illustrates, any policy that seems to deny the people access to a language which they perceive as important for their advancement is likely to fail. Moreover, the majority of these projects were funded by foreign agencies. For example, the Ile-Ife project was funded by the Ford Foundation after a proposal by the Institute of Education at the University of Ife. Like other foreign funded projects in Africa, the experiment ended when the flow of funds dried up. Hence, despite more than 30 years of independence for most African states, the situation of indigenous languages in education has remained as it was in the colonial period.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

The disastrous consequences of the use of ex-colonial languages for the education of the majority of African nations has led to a growing demand for an alternative concept for language and education in Africa, based on multilingualism. There is a gradual realization by an increasing number of African scholars that educational language policy based on multilingualism is the key to social and economic development of the African nations (see e.g., Mansour, 1993; Obanya, 2002). One of the attempts to provide a framework for a multilingual policy in Africa is associated with the projects currently being carried out by the African Academy of Languages (ACALAN). The ACALAN was

commissioned by the African Union in the year 2001 to address the issues of language and development in Africa (ACALAN, 2002). One of the main tasks set out for ACALAN is to put into effect the processes of revalorization of indigenous languages so that they can increasingly serve as instruments of value, instruments with which important tasks can be performed such as their use at all levels of education. These ideals echo many of the sentiments expressed by African sociolinguists (e.g., Bamgbose, 1991; Bokomba, 1995; Fardon and Furniss, 1994; Mansour, 1993; Webb, 1998) whose works have generally supported the greater use of indigenous languages (and therefore multilingualism) as a meaningful factor in economic, educational, and political development. These scholars argue in support of a multilingual approach to education on the grounds that meaningful educational development can, in practice, only occur in languages which learners know very well (see also Cummins, 2000; Thomas and Collier, 1997, for perspectives on the education of minority language students). Conversely, pupils perform poorly if a language that is not well known is used as a medium of learning and teaching, as is shown by the cases of Tanzania and Zambia discussed below. ACALAN goals for language policy in education, for example, are to define criteria for member states to formulate language policies in which the mother tongue/s or the language/s of primary socialization of the child is/are used for as long as possible in the child's educational career while the child is acquiring the other languages.

Until now, only a few countries have made practical attempts to formulate a language policy based on multilingualism or "additive multilingualism" as Alexander (2000) refers to it. South Africa and Eritrea are two of the few countries in the subcontinent that have declared multilingualism as the official policy in their national education system. Like South Africa, Eritrea has declared nine indigenous languages as the official languages (Languages and Education in the Mother Tongue. The EFA 2000 Assessment: Country Reports, Eritrea). The Eritrean educational policy is officially understood to call for additive multilingualism so that languages complement one another in the experience of the learners. The most important achievement reported by the Minister of Education, Mr. Osman Saleh Mohammed with respect to the use of indigenous languages as media of instruction is the unshakable psychological confidence and self esteem it has given the learners (Mohammed, 2001). According to the Minister, the opportunity to use the different languages of the learners has brought the users of these languages together and induced them to love, to learn, and tolerate each other. It has also enabled the learners to appreciate each others' languages as equally important to their own.

Consequently, it has fostered unity in diversity through genuine and deep seated cultural tolerance.

These observations by the Minister reflect the qualitative consequences of adopting a multilingual attitude or what Webb (1998) calls “the spirit of multilingualism” characterized by the following sets of values and norms:

- An acceptance of the equal value of all languages and their speakers and a feeling of respect and tolerance toward them
- A positive attitude toward people who know more than two languages
- An acceptance of multilingualism as a national resource rather than as a problem
- A conscious rejection of linguistic and cultural imperialism and an acceptance that political stability is possible in non-European languages
- An understanding of the difficulties people may have in acquiring and using foreign languages and a tolerance (by teachers especially) of people who have an imperfect language knowledge and make mistakes e.g., use interlanguages (thus also an acceptance of the legitimacy of local standards) (Adapted from Webb 1998, p. 143.)

The antithesis of the spirit of multilingualism is the colonial attitude reflected in the bulk of colonial and postcolonial language policies presented in the earlier sections of this review. The belief that some languages are better or more effective than others, an attitude typical of communities and individuals that are dominated by single languages is inappropriate in a multilingual and multicultural Africa. What are the problems and implications of adopting a multilingual language approach to educational development?

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

As noted above, adopting a multilingual approach to educational development entails expanding the domains in which the indigenous languages are used so that they can become instruments with which important tasks can be performed such as their use at all levels of education. From the examples cited in the previous discussion, it is obvious that there continues to be a strong rejection of the African languages as languages of education by the elites and policy makers in many African countries (see the case of Guinea earlier). One of the arguments used by the opponents of bilingual education in Africa and elsewhere (see Cummins, 1996), is that bilingual programs do not provide children with sufficient exposure to the second language/s. It is important to address this issue because it has been a source of anxiety

for many educational policy-makers throughout the world when issues of bilingual education are raised (see Cummins, 1996 for details). The question of exposure is even more daunting to policy makers in Africa because of the overrating of the foreign languages in these countries where the elite, as the product of colonialism, have really never been enthusiastic about the inclusion of indigenous languages in the education system (Ansre, 1978, p. 291). Granted, exposure is an important prerequisite for language acquisition, but it is not sufficient in itself. The failure of this theory has been adequately proved by the very fact that despite the use of the foreign languages as media of instruction in many countries in Africa, the standard of these languages has consistently gone down.

Take the case of Zambia, for example, which adopted an English-only policy after independence. Researchers (Kashoki, 1990, for example) analyzing the effects of this policy have concluded that it has been unsuccessful in terms of opening up the education system, access to jobs, and participation in either political or social arenas in Zambia. In fact, it has exacerbated the high drop out rate from school and illiteracy in both English and mother tongue. It has also been reported that there is a shrinking minority of people who can speak English competently enough to participate as empowered members of that society. In other words, like in the colonial times, Zambian English-only language policy continues to ensure that only a small elite is empowered. As early as 1973, the Minister of Education of Zambia at the time, commenting on the impact of the English medium on the children's learning, warned that 9 years after the introduction of English as a medium of instruction in Zambian schools, there was still no evidence that learning had been made easier. In fact in the light of surveys published in 1973, it seemed clear that reading and mathematics in grade 3 were poorly developed (Obondo, 1994). The education situation in Zambia has not become any better despite the use of English as a medium of instruction for over three decades. The lack of empirical support for English-only education is further reinforced by Williams' (1996) research which examined the impact of language of instruction on reading ability in L1 and L2 in Malawi and Zambia. In Malawi, Chichewa is the language of instruction for years 1-4 of primary school with English taught as a subject. In Zambia, English is the medium of instruction with one of seven local languages taught as a subject. Williams compared year 5 students in each country on measures of reading ability and reported no significant difference in English reading ability between students in each country, despite the huge difference in amount of English instruction, but large differences in favor of Malawi in local language reading ability.

This scenario is not unique to Zambia. Tanzania which has often been cited as a good example of a country in which an indigenous

language has been promoted is today facing major pedagogical problems (Rubagumya, 2001). Tanzanian children receive 7 years of primary education in Kiswahili, which is not the mother tongue of all, but the second language of most (an estimated 90% in 1971; Abdulaziz, 1971). Children begin learning English in third year, for about 4 hours per week. In the secondary school, there is almost a complete and a sudden switch to teaching entirely in English throughout the tertiary level, except for primary teacher education where there is a switch back to Kiswahili as a medium of instruction. The difficult situation in Tanzania is captured by an observation by one secondary school teacher who is credited with the following statement: "We have 105 pupils in Form 1 this year. Out of this only 12 can count up to 20 in English. Hardly anyone of them can form and understand a sentence in English. And this situation is said to be typical" (Criper and Dodd, 1984). Not only is students' English suffering in this situation but also their Kiswahili. According to Othman-Yahya (1990), the use of English in secondary school has meant that students do not have sufficient time to devote to the development of academic or literacy skills in Kiswahili. Othman-Yahya further notes that the use of no Kiswahili in secondary school and the switch to it later in teacher education, for example, constitutes a leap upward, skipping the immediate stage. Kiswahili medium in teacher education in Tanzania constitutes a grafting of a tertiary level experience on to a primary level literacy (p. 61). The deleterious effects of this practice on Tanzanian education have given rise to many profound questions about the future of the country and its youth (cf. Höjlund, Mtana, and Mhando, 2001).

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

What are the future directions for multilingual educational development in Africa?

First, if multilingualism is to play an important role in educational development in Africa, then decision makers must be sensitive to the real needs of the communities. Until now, educational language policy and planning has been almost invariably a top-down political process. The categories of people that have been involved in language policy decisions have been specialists in the colonial languages (e.g., expatriate linguistics). As a consequence there has been very little involvement or input from the people at the grassroots level (e.g., teachers, applied linguistics, researchers etc.). In the absence of such input, teachers and applied linguists are normally put in the awkward position of trying to sort out the mess created by the legislatures or "bodies of well-intentioned men and women acting in a vacuum . . ." as Kaplan refers to them (Kaplan, 2001, p. 9).

Secondly, for a multilingual policy to succeed in Africa, the decisions about educational language policy can no longer be the exclusive concern of big governments or the elite manning the influential positions. It is increasingly being understood that the success of education in Africa is dependent on initiatives from the local communities and institutions (e.g., nongovernmental agencies linguistically heterogeneous groups, small organizations, local departments of education, and other local institutions). In South Africa for example, Heugh (2003) reports several examples where small communities have mobilized themselves to initiate language development activities and pressurize the governments to make provision for the teaching of the languages in school. One example she cites is a school close to the Namibia border that serves two small San and Khoe communities, where as a result of the community lobbying, the local language Khoekhoegowab (Nama) is now taught in the school. Another example Heugh cites is a Northern Ndebele community that has initiated a number of language development activities after they realized that their language was not given the official status in the constitution. The community has commissioned a linguist to write orthography for the language and has lobbied the provincial government to make provision for the teaching of the language in schools. Primary school books are also being developed in the language. According to Heugh, all these activities have been accomplished with a minimal grant cost, demonstrating that language development and materials production do not have to be prohibitively expensive.

Finally, if local initiatives like the ones cited here for South Africa (such initiatives also exist in other countries in Africa) are to succeed, then we must invest in them not only in terms of economic resources but also by researching and documenting the practices. The reason is that since the national governments have failed in correcting the errors of history, initiatives by the civil society, such as those reported above, hold the promise for the future of education of the African nations and the future of African Renaissance (see Alexander, 2003 for views on African Renaissance).

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**Asia**

## MULTILINGUAL EDUCATION IN INDIA

## INTRODUCTION

Multilingualism is a social reality in India. Oral and literacy skills in multiple languages are necessary for meaningful participation in the larger democratic sociopolitical and economic system of the country. Starting with the mother tongue (MT) for family and community level communication, people need languages for regional communication, national level communication and wider communication. Thus, promotion of multilingual competence is widely accepted as one of the goals of Indian education. In a very broad sense, reflecting the fundamentally multilingual character of the society, education in India has been multilingual at different points in history continuing into the present times. But, at the same time, the relationships between different languages and their roles in education have continuously evolved both with micro-level socio-historical processes and also with the dynamics of power structures at the macro-level. These processes have continuously affected the positioning and repositioning of languages in the power hierarchy often leading to marginalization and endangerment of languages. One can perhaps use Hornberger's (2002) 'ecology metaphor' to appreciate how different Indian and Indianized languages and their places in society and education have been constantly negotiated through complex socio-historical processes of *language evolution in changing language environments* leading to *endangerment of languages*.

The purpose of this chapter is to show that education in India has actively contributed to perpetuation of social and linguistic inequalities in seeking to accommodate to the dynamics of power relationships between languages and the social groups who speak these languages. At different points in history, it can be shown that language education policy has been implemented without any critical engagement with the social history of languages and education. Current educational policy and practices are examined to show that education in modern and post-independence India has reflected the uncertainties arising out of the underlying tensions and ambiguities in respect of sociopolitical and economic positioning of languages and their role in the larger multilingual mosaic. Such uncertainties and tentativeness, it will be argued, have contributed to the failure of language education policy to move from a language-as-problem to language-as-resource orientation (Ruiz, 1984).

From a historical perspective, it is useful to note a recurrent pattern of relationships in India between the role of languages in the broader society and their position in education. At different points in history, despite its widespread and grassroots level multilingualism, Indian society has been characterized by a double divide between the language of the dominant power structure and elites and the languages of the masses, on one hand, and between the languages of the masses and those of the marginalized, on the other. This has resulted in a recurrent pattern of a three-tiered hierarchy of languages. At the top of this hierarchy, at different points in history, Sanskrit, Persian and English have exerted significant, stable, long-term and enduring impact on the languages of the masses in addition to playing a dominant role in education, which during major periods of history was multilingual in a loose sense since knowledge and scholarship in languages was always considered distinctive. These languages derived their power and dominance from the patronage of the rulers—the Hindu kings, the Persian invaders and Moguls, and the British—whose powers were reflected in the preeminence and influences of Sanskrit, Persian and English languages, respectively. The privileged elites not only actively learned, cultivated and propagated these languages but also derived their power and privileges from them. The languages of the majority of the population were influenced by these dominant and powerful languages through several processes of linguistic convergence, borrowing and change. These languages of the majority existed in the middle rungs of the multilingual hierarchy. Lowest in the three-tiered hierarchy were the minority, low-caste, indigenous or folk varieties or dialects of the disadvantaged groups, which had little or no presence in education and scholarship. With very little access or claims to education, most of these languages did not develop a writing system or orthography.

Before British rule, education in India was loosely multilingual, as has been indicated earlier. Early education of children started in the mother tongues, which were the majority languages of the masses. Higher levels of scholarship usually involved learning the more powerful ruling language such as Sanskrit or Persian, which were also the medium of instruction (MI) in religious texts and philosophical discourses. The distinction between language as a medium of teaching and as a school subject started during the British period with the promotion of English in Indian education along with the need to balance learning of the mother tongues (called vernaculars) as well as classical languages like Sanskrit. Multilingual education in pre-independence India involved use of one language as MI and two to three languages as school subjects. The choice of these languages in education was often influenced by the dominant power structure and the elites. At the same time, the majority languages exercised their regional or local

primacy although the tension between the dominant and the regional languages continues till today. The folk and indigenous languages in the lowest strata of the society were generally kept out of education and other domains of economy and power. They survived through some form of social segregation in earlier periods of history and do so now through marginalization, if not active segregation. Thus, as a common and recurrent pattern, languages in India and their place in education continue to be characterized by the great divides between the elite languages of the dominant, the vernacular languages of the majority and the marginalized languages of the disadvantaged minority groups. The hierarchical relationships between languages and their respective places in Indian education have always been fraught with ambiguities and ambivalence of resistance and accommodation, as has been said of the “English-vernacular divide” (Ramanathan, 2005a, b). In fact, it can be argued that the current uncertainties and confusion in educational policies and practices can be attributed to simultaneous forces of dominance, resistance and accommodation at various levels and dimensions of educational practices in India. It is necessary to briefly look at the nature of multilingualism in India before examining its role in education.

India has 22 constitutionally recognized official languages (*Constitution of India*, VIII schedule, after the 100th constitutional amendment, December 2003). English is an associate official language. Actual mother tongue (MT) returns in the Census surveys are much larger. In the 1991 Census of India more than 10,000 MTs were named by the people. The MT returns were rationalized and categorized into 3372 MTs out of which 1,576 were listed and the remaining 1,796 were categorized under the ‘other’ MT category. These MTs are variously classified into 300–400 languages belonging to five language families. Indian society uses a large number of languages in different domains of activities. For example, 104 languages are used for radio broadcasting as well as adult literacy programmes, 87 for print media and 67 in primary education. Widespread use of two or more languages in different domains of daily life makes it possible for individuals and communities at the grass-root levels to communicate among themselves and with members of different speech communities.

#### MULTILINGUALISM AND EDUCATION IN INDIA: POLICY AND PRACTICE

After independence, the principle of MT education was enshrined in the Indian Constitution (Article 350A), which calls for provision of “adequate facilities for instruction in the mother tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to minority groups”. This

constitutional provision still remains to be implemented in practice. Issues relating to the use of languages as MI and as subjects of study in different levels of education continue to be debated.

### THE THREE-LANGUAGE FORMULA

In 1957, the government of India proclaimed an official policy regarding the role of languages in education. This is popularly known as the three-language formula, which recommended use of

1. Regional language or mother tongue as the first teaching language for 5 years
2. Hindi in non-Hindi areas and any other Indian language in Hindi areas as the second language for 3 years (i.e. from the sixth to eighth year in school)
3. English as third language from the third year onwards

This policy envisaged a regional language or mother tongue being used as a medium of instruction in school. Evidently, the distinction between regional languages and mother tongues was not clear. This led to forced imposition of the majority regional languages on the minority and indigenous (tribal) language groups in a subtractive form of bilingual/multilingual education. Further, while the three-language formula is applicable only for the Government sponsored education, the private educational institutions (called Public Schools, as in UK) are free to introduce their own system in respect of languages.

The three-language formula was modified in 1964. This modified formula specified the following three languages to be studied as school subjects (regardless of the MI): (1) mother tongue or regional language, (2) Hindi or English and (3) one Modern Indian language or foreign language not covered under (1) and (2) and not used as medium of instruction. Hindi was no longer compulsory for schools in non-Hindi areas and English could replace Hindi or be taught as a foreign language. Besides, for tribal (indigenous) children, the 1964 modification proposed transitional bilingual/multilingual education—use of tribal language as medium for first 2 years and oral instruction in regional language and use of regional language as medium of instruction from third year onwards.

The three-language formula has evolved through several modifications and interpretations in various states and school systems. Gradually, through divergent applications of the formula, the majority language of each state has become the first language (and the MI) in the state-sponsored schools with English as the most common second language subject followed by either Hindi or Sanskrit as a third language subject. The three language formula was never intended to be

a language-in-education policy and it did not provide any such framework. Different interpretations and applications of this formula in different states and union territories in India were the result of pressure and negotiation between the forces in support of the dominant language of power, English, and the majority regional languages, on the one hand, and between the different regional languages, on the other. While Hindi was acceptable to states with the dominant presence of the fluid Hindi–Urdu–Punjabi languages, the states in the South India rejected Hindi in favour of English. This resulted in strengthening the position of English in India. This process of dominance and resistance resulted in several anomalous situations in respect of the three-language formula and its application. For Hindi states, it meant presence of two languages—Hindi and English—in schools with Sanskrit as a third language subject. In South Indian states, this resulted in relegation of Hindi to a peripheral role and a more prominent place for English. More importantly, for the linguistic minorities, such as the tribal children, the language formula and subsequent emphasis on mother tongue education were rejected or treated with indifference since it meant the use of four languages in education—MT, state majority language, Hindi and English.

In respect of minority languages, the Ministry of Human Resource Development (1990), Government of India, recommended setting up minority language MI primary schools in areas with at least 10% minority language speakers and dual medium instruction in the same schools to avoid segregation of minority children. Further, appointment of minority language teachers was recommended for teaching the minority children in the areas with less than 10% minority language speakers. These recommendations, however, have mostly remained unimplemented.

#### MULTILINGUAL PRACTICES IN INDIAN EDUCATION

The *Sixth All India Educational Survey* (NCERT, 1999) shows that only 41 languages are now used in schools (either as MI or as a school subject) and, out of these, 33 languages are used as MI in primary school (years 1–5) 25 in upper primary (years 6–7), 21 in secondary (years 8–10) and 18 in higher secondary (years 11–12) levels, respectively. The number of languages in school education in India has been declining over the last three decades (Mohanty, 2006).

Most forms of education in India seek to develop multilingual competence by having multiple languages as part of the curriculum but they do not formally use multiple languages for teaching school subjects

other than the languages themselves. However, since most classrooms have pupils from diverse linguistic backgrounds, multiple languages are informally used for interaction. Different patterns of educational use of multiple languages for teaching are described below.

1. *Informal Forms of Multilingual Education*
  - 1a. *Support Bilingual Education*: In some schools, the MI is supplemented or supported by another language. Lessons may be read in the MI and explained in another language particularly when the MI is not the MT of some or all of the students.
  - 1b. *Partial Bilingual Education*: Students use their MT for their classroom responses but interaction between the teacher and the students is conducted in a majority local language MI. Sometimes, when the teacher is not familiar with the students' MT (as when tribal children are taught by a non-tribal teacher who does not know the tribal language), a simplified register may be informally used for classroom communication and the majority language is used as formal MI.
2. *Formal Multilingual Education with a Single MI*
  - 2a. *Majority Language Mother Tongue Programmes*: A majority language MT is the MI and other languages are taught as school subjects. These programmes usually follow the three-language policy. But, their implementation differs particularly across Hindi and non-Hindi states. These programmes can be characterized as forced submersion programmes for minority and indigenous language children whose MT is not the MI.
  - 2b. *Non-MT Medium Programme*: These programmes use a second language as MI with other languages taught as school subjects. All English medium schools (sometimes also Hindi medium schools) teach children whose MT is not English (or Hindi).
3. *Formal Multilingual Education with Multiple Languages as MI*  
In these programmes usually two languages are used as MI either simultaneously or successively.
  - 3a. *Simultaneous Dual Language MI Programmes*: In some Government sponsored schools (e.g. *Kendriya Vidyalaya* or Central Schools) two languages are used simultaneously as MI. In these schools, English is used as MI for mathematics, science and English subjects and Hindi for teaching social studies and Hindi. The *Kendriya Vidyalaya* programmes, however, do not take children's MT into consideration.
  - 3b. *Successive Dual Language MI Programmes*: Up to a certain level of education these programmes use a majority language

MT as the MI and other languages are taught as school subjects (as in *2a* above). At a higher level of education, the students are taught in a second language MI. Sometimes primary and/or secondary level education are in MT medium with English and/or Hindi and other languages taught as subjects. At a higher level, that is, secondary education or university level, the students switch to English (or Hindi) as the MI.

- 3c. *Transitional Programmes for Language Minority Children:* These programmes begin with use of a minority MT (usually a tribal language) as MI in the initial year(s) of schooling along with oral communication in the regional language. Instructional time for the regional language is progressively increased while instructional time for the minority MT is reduced so that by the beginning of the fourth year of schooling, the child is ready for instruction in regional language MI only. Usually, the tribal languages do not have a writing system. In such cases, the script of the regional language is modified and adapted for the tribal language for the special transfer text and for early reading instruction. There are several variations of these programmes, called bilingual transfer models, being implemented on an experimental basis in several tribal areas.

### CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

The core of Indian multilingualism lies in the relationship among the different languages and the need to reconcile the interests of the minority and tribal languages, the regional and state level languages, and the languages of wider communication—Hindi and English. Multilingual education is central to language planning for a resourceful and equitable multilingualism. It seems the Indian educational system has not responded adequately to the challenges of its multilingual ethos. The existing educational programmes mentioned above hardly meet the criteria of multilingual education. The simultaneous dual language programmes, such as the *Kendriya Vidyalaya* or the Central Schools, use two languages for teaching of different school subjects and appear to be bilingual at the surface level only. As mentioned earlier, the students in these schools, regardless of their linguistic background, are forced to the two languages—English and Hindi—as instructional media. Further, use of English in teaching school subjects like Mathematics and Science reinforces the popular belief regarding English as the language of science and technology. The transitional programmes of bilingual transfer for tribal children discussed earlier offer weak

forms of bilingual education, which lead to soft assimilation, subtractive language learning and eventual loss of mother tongues (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984). In the context of Indian society, it is necessary to assess the extent to which the existing educational systems really support multilingualism. Unfortunately, the existing programmes do not support the weaker languages, nor do they promote a high level of multilingual proficiency. They are more focused on languages being used as subjects rather than as media of instruction. More significantly, even when two or more languages are used as media of instruction, the programmes clearly lack any systematic theoretical framework. Use of languages, in most cases, is incidental to the nature of the programmes and, as such, programme outcomes cannot be linked to bilingual or multilingual education.

On the whole, education in India is multilingual only in a surface form. The relationship between societal multilingualism and the communicative objectives of education has not been seriously attended to. The official three-language formula is not only erratic in its various applications but also has failed to address the basic issues of multilingual education. The prevailing policy formulations in India are not well informed by research and theory and, as a result, education has failed to respond coherently to the demands of societal multilingualism and sociopolitical and economic processes underlying use of languages in a multilingual society.

Two issues that are currently getting substantial attention from policy makers and actively debated in public spheres are the questions of medium of instruction and education for the minority linguistic groups. The debate over English is related to its status as a colonial language and its role in pushing other languages like Hindi and regional majority languages out of use. In view of the wider acceptance of English as a language of power and global economy and also, considering that English is also being recognized as an Indian language, it is difficult to refute its claim for a prominent place in Indian multilingualism and multilingual education. As Vaidehi Ramanathan (2005a) shows, Indian English is not only hybridized and nativized; it is also decolonized in many respects—in the way it is transacted, negotiated and transmitted both for English medium (EM) and Vernacular medium (VM) students. Thus, as the place of English is resisted and contested, there are also various processes through which its prominent role is being negotiated and accepted. What is, however, alarming is the manner in which English has played a subtractive or limiting role for other languages in Indian education. In a majority of the states in India, English is now taught as a second language in grade 1 in Government schools where the state majority language is used as the medium of

instruction. This is a result of the fact that English is seen as the language of access to power and dominance. Unfortunately, two basic principles of multilingual education are ignored in this process. The mother tongues are not allowed to develop sufficiently before introducing a second language like English which is quite likely to have a subtractive effect on the first language. Further, such early introduction of English without adequate development of the first language also does not lead to proficient development of English. The basic differences between private English-medium schools for the middle class and upper class children taught in English from grade 1 for the whole of the school day and teaching of English as a language subject from grade 1 to children who mostly come from the lower social strata are ignored. Thus, education in India has not been able to harness the place of English in a true multilingual education framework.

A second issue which is now being taken up with some concern, particularly with the objective of providing education for all, is education of the tribal and linguistic minority children. With the realization that the forced submersion of children of the linguistic minorities in majority language medium schools results in subtractive learning outcomes as well as high 'push out' and failure rates, there are now several efforts to introduce multilingual and multiliteracy education for tribal children. The Multilingual Education (MLE) programmes are now being tried or initiated as experimental programmes in several states with a high percentage of tribal language children such as Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, Chhatisgarh, Jharkhand and several states in the northeast regions of India. These MLE programmes seek to promote and develop the mother tongues for early literacy and classroom education and gradually introduce education in the regional majority language after 2–3 years of instruction in the mother tongue as the medium of instruction. While the goal is to develop oral language proficiency in the second language by grade 2, second language literacy instruction does not begin at least until grade 3. Even after the introduction of literacy instruction in the second language, students' mother tongue continues to be taught and used as the medium of instruction. Gradually, both languages come to be used as the languages of instruction and a third language is introduced by grade 5. Thus, the MLE programmes for the tribal children are designed to promote high levels of multilingual and multiliteracy skills in a strong form of multilingual education focused on mother tongue maintenance. These are, however, early phases of development of MLE programmes for tribal children, which are still in the experimental stage and, in the absence of systematic evaluation of these programmes, it is difficult to make any definite statement on their success. But through these efforts, the system of

education in India has shown positive indications of seriously launching theoretically sound multilingual education with the objective of promoting high levels of multilingual proficiency and multiliteracy skills. These new MLE initiatives, it is hoped, will lead to quality education for the linguistic minorities and, in the process, inform and improve the general system of education with the goal of multilingual education for ALL.

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## ENGLISH–CHINESE BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN CHINA

## INTRODUCTION

China<sup>1</sup> has 56 ethnic nationalities, but the overwhelming majority of its 1.3 billion population are Han nationality. The other 55 ethnic minorities have a combined population of slightly more than 100 million, or less than 10% of the total ([http://news.xinhuanet.com/ziliao/2003-01/18/content\\_695284.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/ziliao/2003-01/18/content_695284.htm)). There are more than 80 languages and over 30 of them have written forms. The language of Han, which is generally known as “*Chinese*”<sup>2</sup>, is the only official language in China.

English education took roots in China as early as the mid-nineteenth century and in 1902 English was stipulated as a required course in high schools (Fu, 1986). Although China has undergone tremendous political and social changes in the following hundred years and more, having transformed itself from a monarchy into a republic, the status of English as a required course in the Chinese educational system has basically remained unchanged. Technically speaking, however, English is a foreign language in China and is taught as such. But in the wake of China’s accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO) at the turn of the century, the Chinese Ministry of Education called for the use of foreign languages as the medium of instruction in non-language classrooms for the first time since the founding of the People’s Republic of China in 1949 (Ministry of Education, 2001). Since English achieves the same status as Chinese in the school setting, the term “*Shuangyu Jiaoxue*” (two language/bilingual teaching) has gained currency.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the government of Qing Dynasty (1644–1911) initiated the so-called Westernization Movement with a view to bringing in techniques of capitalist production already operating in the west. A feature of this movement was the

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<sup>1</sup> The English-Chinese bilingual education under review in this chapter applies to all the provinces and regions in China excepting Hong Kong Special Administration Region, Macao, and Taiwan, Hence “China” as used in this chapter refers to Mainland China.

<sup>2</sup> Traditionally, Han language has been translated as Mandarin or Mandarin Chinese.

establishment of western-style modern schools to boost “Western Learning” in feudal China. *Jingshi Tongwen Guan* (Imperial *Tung Wen* College) founded in Beijing in 1862 was the first bilingual type of school in modern China and its founding marked the inception of Chinese-foreign language bilingual education (Li, 1987). The English department was the first department, which was followed by the departments of French, Russian, Mathematics, Chemistry, German, Astronomy and Sciences and Japanese. By 1896, the school started to implement its revised 8-year programme, with a focus on foreign languages in the first three years and science and technology in the remaining 5 years of the programme.

*Jingshi Tongwen Guan* was, however, to all intents and purposes, only a transitional type of university. The first modern university in China was *Jingshi* Imperial University founded in 1898, which was renamed Beijing University in 1912 after the overthrow of the Imperial Qing Dynasty and the founding of the Nationalist Republic (Fu, 1986). *Jingshi Tongwenguan* was incorporated into *Jingshi* Imperial University in 1902 as the Translation College. The college adopted a 5-year schooling system with a curriculum focused on foreign languages and literature. As well as the most important institution of higher learning, Beijing University under the leadership of President Cai Yuan Pei was most influential for its bilingual education (Zhang, 2001). Owing to its influence, other major universities such as Beiyang University (now Tianjin University) and Nankai University became bases for training and fostering bilingual talents in liberal arts and in natural sciences and engineering. All this shows that the emergence and development of modern higher education in China was closely bound up with Chinese-foreign language bilingual education.

Foreigner-run missionary schools operated parallel to this bilingual education type of Chinese-run modern university. The Yali Middle School set up by Yale Foreign Missionary Society in 1910 was one of the best-known English-Chinese bilingual schools (<http://www.sina.com.cn>). At the urging of the home office in New Haven as well as other missionaries in China, the Yale Mission early on assumed more of an educational than evangelical function. The educational compound that began with a medical clinic eventually grew to comprise a preparatory school, the Yali Middle School. Other well-known English-Chinese bilingual education schools included St. John’s University in Shanghai with its affiliated middle school and primary school, and Jingling University (also known as Nanking University or University of Nanking) in Nanjing. Jingling University originated from *Huiwen Shuyuan*, which, founded in 1888, was one of the earliest schools of the US Christian missionaries in China. St. John’s University was originally designed and opened as a secondary school. Gradually, more college

courses were added. In 1905, it gained university status and was allowed to confer Bachelor of Arts degrees. It became the most influential university in China between the 1920s and the 1940s. In the early years, St. John's University gave first priority to teaching English, but later also began teaching courses in Chinese literature.

Therefore English–Chinese bilingual education, with one language which is spoken most widely throughout the world and the other which has the largest number of native speakers, had its roots in modern higher education in China and grew as modern higher education grew. However, at that time bilingual education was practiced basically for the social elite. For example, the students of *Jingshi Tongwenguan* were all from aristocratic families. At its inception, each department enrolled approximately ten students each year, and by the time the school ceased operating the annual enrollment came to no more than 120 students. Likewise, St. John's University started with two colleges with a total number of 39 registered students in 1878 and was attended by students from the wealthiest families.

It must be pointed out that Chinese–foreign language bilingual education in its early years was not approached as a subject of inquiry in its own right. There was no research or academic discussions on the nature or underlying philosophy of bilingual education, nor was there any policy or guidelines for bilingual education.

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

### *Definition and Goals of English–Chinese Bilingual Education*

An important document issued by the Chinese Ministry of Education in 2001 (Ministry of Education, 2001) ushered in a new area for English–Chinese bilingual education. In this document English–Chinese bilingual education is listed as one of the 12 recommendations for the purpose of improving the overall quality of universities and colleges. Although this document is concerned with higher education, it has also brought about an upsurge of English–Chinese bilingual education in secondary and primary schools.

Bilingual education is defined as teaching subject matter such as math, physics, chemistry, history, geography and so on using English as the medium of instruction (Wang Benhua, 2003). Thus, it is an approach that is based on teaching subject area content through the medium of a foreign language. While “*Shuangyu*” could refer to Chinese and any foreign language, the term “*Shuangyu Jiaoxue*” is generally understood as English–Chinese bilingual education. In Chinese educational discourse a point is made of distinguishing between “education” and “teaching”, and English–Chinese bilingual education

is persistently referred to as “*Shuangyu Jiaoxue* (two language teaching)” which suggests that this type of English–Chinese bilingual education is confined to instructional activities designed to convey subject area content in the classroom, but it is not supposed to address general moral, intellectual and physical development which come within the jurisdiction of “education”. Apparently, English–Chinese bilingual education has set the improvement of students’ English proficiency as its goal. Therefore, this goal is somewhat different from what bilingual education or language immersion in many countries pursues: promotion of social harmony in a multicultural society in addition to promoting language proficiency. In China, bilingual education with these types of cultural or political goals of the above is found only in minority regions such as Inner Mongolia, Tibet, Xinjiang, where promoting harmony between minority and majority peoples tops the educational agenda.

The vigorous expansion of English–Chinese bilingual education is the outcome of the policy of economic reform and opening up to the outside world that the Chinese government has been vigorously pursuing since the late 1970s. In the context of economic globalization, foreign language skills of Chinese citizens are regarded as an integral part of the comprehensive strength of the nation, but the existing model of English education cannot meet the challenge to train professionals who are highly competent both in their own professions and in English communication. Two major causes have been identified: first, English is presently taught as a foreign language. But in the post-WTO era, China needs large numbers of professionals who should be at home with English just as they are with Chinese. As Wang Xudong (<http://www.edu.cn/20020315/3022744.shtml>) claimed, acquisition of English has three distinctive levels: English is acquired as a foreign language, or as a second language, or as one of the languages of a bilingual person. The present model of EFL teaching cannot train English–Chinese bilinguals who can “think in Chinese and English simultaneously and switch between the two languages freely depending on who the addressees are or what the needs of the working environment are” (Wang, Xudong (<http://www.edu.cn/20020315/3022744.shtml>)). Secondly, the present examination-oriented English teaching is time-consuming and of low efficiency, imposing the boredom of rote memorization on students. Former vice-premier Li (1996) complained that what is taught and learned is “dumb English” as it is often the case that a person who has learned English for a dozen years or so cannot communicate in that language. Bilingual teaching is seen as a remedy. Zhang (2002), director of China’s Higher Education Office, pointed out: when language is not taught as an abstract subject, but as the medium of communication, it is much more likely than other methods to create the desire and the necessity to communicate in the target language.

As far as university education is concerned, the ultimate goal of English–Chinese bilingual education is to meet “the challenge of economic globalization and technological revolution” (Ministry of Education, 2001). The 2001 Ministry of Education document points out that the teaching quality and the research level of a university are manifested in, and contingent upon, the use of teaching materials. Hence, with the incorporation of English–Chinese bilingual education, Chinese universities are expected to gain access to teaching materials reflecting the cutting edge of science and technology which are presently used in major universities in the English-speaking countries of the west and, in this way, bring their teaching and research up to the international advanced standard.

In this regard, mention should be made of a special type of English–Chinese bilingual programme: institutes jointly sponsored by major Chinese and English-speaking western universities, which feature the wholesale adoption of the teaching syllabus, textbooks, evaluation systems of the western partner universities. The courses are conducted partly by Chinese university faculty members but largely by the partner university professors. Most of the courses, whether their instructors are Chinese or westerners, are conducted in English.

To sum up, English–Chinese bilingual education in universities is seen as an important and effective measure to integrate Chinese educational institutions into the international community and bridge the gap between the educational level in China and that of developed nations in the world.

### *Initial Achievements*

In line with the goals of English–Chinese bilingual education stated above, the 2001 document of the Ministry of Education required that, within 3 years, at least 5–10% of all the courses on a university curriculum should be taught in English. It has turned out that many universities, especially key universities, have met this demand. For example, 54 courses out of 1440 are taught in English (including assignments and examinations) at Tsinghua University and about 500 kernel courses use textbooks from famous universities abroad as teaching reference materials (China Reading Gazette, 2001). More than 30 courses at Beijing University (Peking University) and 8 at Zhongshan (Sun Yat-Sen) University follow this pattern (Peng, 2003). By the end of 2004, a national seminar on bilingual teaching in higher education was held, where a resolution was announced that every university shall set up 100 undergraduate bilingual courses every year (Cai, 2005).

Bilingual teaching in primary and high schools has also made substantial progress. Take Shanghai for example. As of 2003, 260 secondary

and primary schools started to carry out bilingual teaching. A contingent of bilingual teachers was taking shape, involving 2,100 teachers, or 5% of the total. As many as 45,000 students were involved in bilingual instruction (Huang, 2004). Prof. Wang (2003) described five successful cases of bilingual teaching (three in Shanghai, one in Guangdong Province and one in Qingdao) in his book *Bilingual Education and Bilingual Teaching*. For example, Qingdao Sifang Experimental Primary School administered the English proficiency comparison test to the experimental class students and the grade 3 students of two key junior high schools in Qingdao. The results showed that the scores of the experimental class students in speaking, listening and writing tests were all significantly higher than those of comparison group students. The comparison of scores in all subjects in the final examination between the two experimental classes of grade 6 and the non-experimental classes showed that the achievement rates of the experimental classes in Chinese, maths, natural science and computer science were all higher than those of the non-experimental classes. The questionnaire given to 156 students and parents showed that bilingual teaching increased the interest of most students in English and most students were willing to receive bilingual teaching and hoped to enlarge the range of bilingual teaching; most students made significant gains in English proficiency and their vocabulary, listening and speaking skills, and cross-cultural knowledge improved; the majority of the students felt that bilingual teaching had not affected their subject area learning and most of them thought that bilingual teaching had advanced their subject learning; in sum, according to the survey, the majority of the students and parents in these schools were satisfied with bilingual teaching.

The First National Conference on Bilingual Teaching was held from April 26 to April 29 2003 at East China Normal University in Shanghai. As many as 258 delegates including university professors, school teachers and administrators from 24 provinces attended this conference. The conference received 238 academic papers, reports of empirical experiments, teaching plans and so on. It was decided at the conference that a national conference shall be held every three years to provide leadership for bilingual education (Huang 2003). In line with this decision, the Second National Conference on Bilingual Teaching was held from April 26 to 28 with over 250 delegates participating (The Organizing Committee of the Second National Conference on Bilingual Teaching, 2006). From June 10–11, 2006, the International Forum on Canadian Immersion Education and Bilingual Instruction in China was convened in Shanghai Jiao Tong University. Over 120 scholars, researchers and postgraduate students from Mainland

China, the Hong Kong Special Administration Region, Malaysia and Japan attended the conference (Han, 2006). This conference reflects the efforts and commitment on the part of the Chinese language education community to seek co-operation with and integration into the international bilingual education community in order to further increase the effectiveness of English–Chinese bilingual education.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Efforts have been made to improve English–Chinese bilingual education in the following four key areas: exploration of a suitable bilingual teaching model; training of qualified bilingual instructors; control of English proficiency range of the students; and building up of high-quality teaching materials.

##### *Bilingual Teaching Model*

According to Guo, Chen, Ke and Li (2005), there are basically three types of bilingual teaching models in universities, namely, purely-foreign-language type, the mixed type and the semi-foreign-language type. The same is basically true of primary and secondary schools, where the first type is known as the Immersion Model, the second type is called the Transitional Bilingual Model and the third is referred to as the Maintenance Model. In the first type, most of the teaching activities (including assignments and examinations) are conducted through the medium of English to immerse students in the environment of English. In the mixed type, English teaching materials are adopted while the language of instruction is a mixture of English and Chinese. The native language is used to ensure the students' comprehension of the subject matter while efforts are made to improve students' English proficiency. In the third type, the teaching materials are in English but the language of instruction basically is Chinese. The English used in this model is confined to classroom expressions, rules, concepts, definitions or formulae in the text. While many Chinese researchers and educators (Guo, Chen, Ke and Li, 2005; Li, 2004) concede that the first model is the desired one, they also maintain that in light of the actual conditions in China, all the three models are acceptable. Li (2004) found that in most universities the Maintenance Model is used to conduct bilingual teaching as the students lack adequate English communication skills.

##### *Bilingual Instructor Training*

The qualifications of teachers are a key factor in successful English–Chinese bilingual education. They take on double tasks, that is, to deliver

the subject area content of physics, chemistry, music and so on and to improve the students' proficiency in their second language. To encourage faculty to conduct English-medium courses, universities have taken favourable measures such as offering financial compensation for the extra time devoted to bilingual courses (Guo, Chen, Ke and Li, 2005).

However, it is common for language teachers to be unfamiliar with subject area content and subject area teachers to lack competence in language teaching. The approaches to this problem of bilingual teaching in China are: (i) choose subject teachers whose English proficiency is high enough to teach the bilingual courses and let the English teachers participate in the preparation of teaching plans. (ii) Send some teachers abroad to receive bilingual training if possible (Wang Benhua, 2003). According to the statistics provided by Shanghai Teaching Research Institute (Zhu, 2003), in the basic education sector in Shanghai, over 2,500 secondary and primary bilingual teachers have been sent to English-speaking countries for advanced training. At the same time, over 2,000 native-speaking teachers of English have been invited to Shanghai to train Chinese bilingual teachers. In addition, approximately 500 teachers have attended bilingual training at universities.

Yu and Yuan (2005) pointed out that while it is important to improve the English proficiency of subject teachers through training on the job and engaging in advanced studies abroad is also important, the bilingual teachers should also be trained as language teachers, or, at least, given some degree of awareness of language teaching issues and methods. They should know that they are not only subject teachers but also language teachers and should master the corresponding teaching strategies. Teacher training based on this philosophy conducted in Shanghai Jiaotong University was reported as very successful (Yuan and Yu, 2005). From October 2002 to July 2003 Shanghai Jiaotong University organized a number of 6-week-long bilingual instructor training courses. As trainees found the training exciting and useful, even veteran professors, deans and scholars who did their doctoral studies abroad enrolled.

### *Students' English Proficiency*

Students' English proficiency level is an important consideration in the successful implementation of English-medium education. In view of the fact that "mixed" (or "transitional") type and "semi-foreign-language" (or "maintenance") type of teaching models are frequently adopted to cope with the inadequacy of students' English proficiency, the appropriate English proficiency range for bilingual programmes has not

received serious attention. This is especially true in secondary and primary schools. However, over-dependence on students' native language may cause the bilingual classroom to slip into what Swain called the "mixing approach" (Cummins and Swain, 1986) which would negate the potential benefits associated with bilingual education.

At the university level, empirical studies have been undertaken to determine the appropriate English proficiency range for immersion type of teaching model (Han and Yu, 2007; Yu and Han, 2003). Researchers at the University of Ottawa (Burger, 1989; Burger, Wesche and Migneron, 1997; Edwards et al., 1984; Hauptman, Wesche and Ready, 1988; Wesche and Ready, 1985) have shown that francophone students who had attained the required proficiency in English, as measured by the English Proficiency Test (EPT), were able to learn subject content as well as their counterparts in regular (French-medium) classes as well as make progress in attaining second language proficiency and enhancing their self-confidence in using the second language. Yu and Han (2003) assumed that the required proficiency level as identified on Ottawa's EPT should be taken as the language threshold level for Chinese college students attending Immersion Type of bilingual teaching. A concurrent validity study of the EPT of the University of Ottawa and the College English Test (CET), the national standardized test used in China (see Yang and Weir, 1998), was undertaken in which 301 students from three different universities were randomly selected to take the CET and the EPT within one week (Han and Yu, in press). Their scores on the two tests were compared by descriptive analysis and correlational analysis. The findings show that there exists a significant relationship between the EPT and the CET. Han and Yu argued that the EPT could be used to control the students' English proficiency level for successful English-Chinese bilingual education.

### *Teaching Materials*

Universities have adopted the most authoritative textbooks in the original versions as course books. In this respect, priority is given to the use of English textbooks in the fields of biotechnology, information technology, finance, law, and so on (Ministry of Education, 2001). Fudan University in Shanghai has brought in as many as 7,000 textbooks from Harvard University. Besides, university professors and school teachers are encouraged to compile textbooks. For example, Oxford University Press and Shanghai East China Publishing House have joined hands in publishing course books for bilingual courses in physics, chemistry, biology and so on for secondary school teachers.

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Remarkable achievements notwithstanding, English–Chinese bilingual education as it is unfolding in China is still at an experimental stage. It seems that English–Chinese bilingual education was launched mainly as an administrative response to the new situation of economic globalization rather than an academic recommendation based on extensive research. This means that English–Chinese bilingual education lacks adequate academic preparation. Consequently, both administrators and teachers lack a good understanding of the nature and tasks of bilingual education. In his investigation of bilingual education in secondary and primary schools in Shanghai, Shu (2004) found that government documents have failed to address such vital issues as the theoretical underpinnings of bilingual education, the rationale of bilingual courses, the impact of bilingual courses on the improvement of the quality of English teaching, valid criteria and means for the assessment of bilingual teaching, and so on. The bilingual programmes in secondary and primary schools in Shanghai do not have their own curriculum and teachers engaged in English-medium teaching are left with only the curriculum for the regular programmes. As the goal of bilingual teaching to improve English proficiency is not covered in the regular curriculum, the teachers are at a loss as to how to achieve this goal through their bilingual content classes.

Compared with research on English teaching and learning, empirical studies on English–Chinese bilingual education are far from adequate. Besides, quite a number of studies have methodological weaknesses. For instance, the studies reported in Zhu (2003) which have produced very positive results of English–Chinese bilingual programmes in primary schools in Shanghai are extensively quoted; however, these studies did not provide the background information of the students involved in these bilingual programmes. This is a methodological weakness discussed in Canadian immersion studies as leading to conflicting research findings (Cummins and Swain, 1986).

On the practical side, a significant problem relates to the qualifications of bilingual teachers. Chinese educators are sharply aware that the shortage of bilingual teachers has been a “bottleneck” restricting the implementation of bilingual teaching in China. The various approaches to bilingual teacher training discussed above are not adequate to address the practical needs of bilingual teaching. Therefore, to have a team of high-quality specialized bilingual teachers is both the key and the challenge to carrying out bilingual teaching in China.

A second concern regarding the implementation of bilingual teaching in China is teaching materials. These are the basic materials of bilingual teaching; they embody teaching objectives and they are directly related

to the success of bilingual teaching whether at the university level or in the secondary and primary sectors. Excellent teaching materials are as important as excellent bilingual teachers. At present, bilingual teaching materials in China can be divided into four types: teaching materials from foreign countries, teaching materials published in China, teaching materials compiled by the school and translated teaching materials.

The language of teaching materials from foreign countries is authentic, but its content does not match the domestic curriculum and the requirements of entrance examinations. In addition, some content is not relevant to the social and cultural environment of the students. Teaching materials published in China have the advantages that the language is appropriate, brief and plain and the length of the texts is appropriate. In addition, they are appropriate to the cognition and the psychology of aesthetics of the Chinese students. However, little time is available for planning and publication of these teaching materials. There is the phenomenon of “discontinuity” because the teaching materials are only published for a certain subject or grade. Teaching materials compiled by the school and translated from the Chinese version can satisfy the requirements of entrance examinations. However, it is not feasible in the long run to expect bilingual teachers to prepare all of their own materials. Because the quality of teaching materials directly affects teaching outcomes, it is urgent to develop good bilingual teaching materials to guarantee positive outcomes from bilingual teaching.

Lack of adequate English proficiency on the part of students constitutes another obstacle to the sound development of bilingual teaching. This problem has become especially acute at the university level where the cognitive tasks of the content courses are demanding. As mentioned earlier, Han and Yu (2007) concluded that students who score a cut-off point of 80 or above in CET Level 4, or 60 or above in CET Level 6, are more likely to benefit from bilingual classes in universities. However, according to the 2002 CET results, the average passing rate on CET level 4 was 33.25% and the Excellence rate was 5.38% (Yu and Yuan, 2005). However, as there was no control of the students’ English proficiency, it was likely that many students in bilingual English classes did not reach threshold level. This would negatively affect the results of bilingual instruction.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

English–Chinese bilingual education has experienced dramatic expansion in China in a short span of no more than a decade. The progress of English–Chinese bilingual education, involving as it does one language that has the largest numbers of native speakers in the world and the other language that is the most influential internationally, will

surely have its impact felt not only within the borders of China, but also in all parts of the world. However, the inadequate academic preparation as discussed above requires that priority be given to rigorous research and solid academic work to ensure the sound development of English–Chinese bilingual education. At present, bilingual programmes are in the jurisdiction of teaching administration and consequently bilingual education is treated as a technical or practical teaching matter. However, as an important language and educational policy, bilingual education implicates theory, practice and educational management. Therefore, administrators must closely consult language education experts, seek their advice and collaborate with them to further clarify the goals and tasks for bilingual programmes at different levels of education. It is true that the goal of English–Chinese bilingual education has been clearly defined, but higher education and basic education have their own specific goals and tasks for their English–Chinese bilingual instruction. The English-medium courses at universities have a twofold goal of improving and enhancing English language education and at the same time introducing state-of-the-art science and technology in various disciplines. But the goal of bilingual classes in the basic education sectors is not to upgrade content knowledge. Its sole purpose is to improve English proficiency and should be treated as an “extension” or “supplement” to English language teaching in primary and secondary schools (Shu, 2004).

The issue of teaching models is another focus of research in the Chinese bilingual education community. Here again higher education and basic education should be treated differently. In view of the huge language distance between Chinese and English and the language environment where English is taught as a foreign language, it seems that both transitional and immersion models may exist side by side in secondary and primary school bilingual classrooms to cope with the inadequacy of English proficiency of the young learners. Even in the immersion model, the use of Chinese is unavoidable, but it should be limited as much as possible, that is, only for the purpose of maintaining successful classroom communication. However, in universities, students are already cognitively fully developed and have learned English for about 9 to 12 years by the time they start their university education. Thus, the purely foreign-language teaching model is not only feasible, but also desirable. Hence Yu and Yuan (2005) put forward the criteria by which to judge the success or failure of the bilingual programmes in universities, that is, whether or not students can, without spending extra time, make the same content area achievement as their counterpart in regular programmes but at the same time make long strides in their English. Yu and Yuan (2005) argued that to achieve

such success for bilingual education, the purely foreign-language teaching model must be adopted. Of course, to achieve this goal, the students' English proficiency should be controlled for enrollment into bilingual programmes and course instructors must have an excellent command of English.

Finally, it is important to highlight the cultural components that are inevitably entailed in any good model of English–Chinese bilingual education. Yu and Yeoman (2007) point out that while the current version of bilingual teaching in China refers only to the conveying of subject area content without cultural or values-related objectives, it would be ingenuous to suggest that any curriculum can be value-free, or that a language can be learned without reference to its culture. Even though English has become a language of the world, to the extent that it is now often referred to in the plural as “Englishes” instead of “English”, it cannot be considered culture-free or culture-neutral. This issue should be carefully considered in the development of teaching materials, in curriculum design, and in teacher education.

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## BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN SINGAPORE

## INTRODUCTION

This paper examines a bilingual education programme that has thus far challenged Western definitions and assumptions regarding language planning and language education, bilingualism, and second language acquisition (Dixon, 2005; Pakir, 2004). It first traces the social context of the policy, planning and implementation of bilingual education in the country, reviews educational outcomes, and finally comments on the language shifts taking place with their long-term sociocultural and pedagogical implications (Baetens Beardsmore, 1998; Pakir, 2004). The educational outcomes, emerging sociolinguistic profiles, and issues related to the future management of bilingual education in Singapore raise interesting questions for multilingual countries with different bilingual education programme models.

According to the bilingual education categorisation scheme proposed by Cummins (2003), bilingual education in Singapore would be identified as Type II, indicating the use of a national language together with a majority or more dominant language. Cummins notes that ‘these distinctions are motivated by pragmatic considerations to facilitate discussion and are not intended to represent rigid categories’ (2003, p. 6). Indeed, a focus on Singapore’s unique bilingual education system will indicate that it does not fit well into neat typological frames derived from what Holliday (1994) has labelled ‘BANA’—native-English-speaking Britain, Australasia, and North America—whose paradigms have long dominated the research on teaching English to speakers of other languages.

Uniquely shaped and defined by its adoption of English (‘a neutral language’) as the medium of instruction and the ‘first school language’, the bilingual education programme is based on a policy that privileges English (the language of the former colonial power and now a global language) but places important emphasis on the Asian languages (‘ethnic mother tongues’) of its population. English is a ‘major’ language and one of the four official languages of the country although not a ‘majority’ language. Mandarin, Malay and Tamil—the other three official languages of the country are not categorically ‘majority’ or ‘minority’ languages, but more often defined as ‘ethnic mother tongues’, given status as ‘second school languages’ and referred to today as ‘Mother Tongue’ (MTL) languages in the education system.

## GEOPOLITICAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXTS

The current policy, provision and practice of bilingual education in Singapore can best be understood against the backdrop of some 40 years of nation building for a very small Southeast Asian country that often questioned its very own survival. A former British Crown Colony, the Republic of Singapore is today a first world country with per capita GDP equal to that of the leading nations of Western Europe. This multi-ethnic, multicultural, multi-religious and multilingual city-state is built on 226 square miles (or one-sixth the size of Rhode Island). With no natural resources except its people, it naturally places a high premium on education. A densely populated island nation of 4.3 million people (3.5 million comprising Singapore citizens and permanent residents, and 0.8 million non-residents), it is intent on building a 'dynamic global city' for the twenty-first century. Today, Singaporeans from diverse backgrounds mix, play, and work together as one people, riding on diversity as their strength and welcoming 'foreign talent' as part of their global knowledge creation enterprise.

The country's language and religious profile has been shaped by its socio-historical roots. Singapore's largely immigrant population shows a rich diversity of peoples with three distinct ethnic groups comprising 77% Chinese, 14% Malay and 7% Indian. All major faiths of the world are found with ten of them represented in the local Inter Religious Organisation that was set up to facilitate religious harmony among adherents to different faiths. Singapore's four official languages are from distinctly different linguistic, literary and cultural traditions. Malay (belonging to the Austronesian language family) is the national language, in which the nation's anthem is sung and military commands are obeyed. Although the Chinese form the majority in the country, historically Singapore was seen as a multi-dialectal Chinese-speaking island in a large Malay-speaking archipelago at the time of its full independence in 1965. Viewed as 'neutral', English was selected to become the link language between the ethnic communities and as the language of wider communication for Singapore's global positioning (Afendras and Kuo, 1980). Mandarin, spoken by only 1% of its Chinese population in 1957 is now the primary Chinese language (Sino-Tibetan), and Tamil is an official language used by six in ten of the 7% Indian population, the other South Asian languages being Malayalam and Telugu (Dravidian languages), Hindi, Punjabi, Urdu, Gujarati and Bengali (Indo-European languages).

The evolving population profile of Singapore with an intensified immigration policy of constantly adding to its talent pool has increased the number of highly educated English-knowing bilinguals in the country, and their children's schooling in the official languages (with

English as the cornerstone) is taking place with options for non-southern South Asian languages of Indo-European origins. The emergence of China and India as potentially powerful economies has made pragmatic parents recognise the growing importance of Mandarin as well as other Indian languages (besides Tamil).

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

It is essential to recognise that although Singapore is small in size, it is big on language. The official policy in Singapore of giving equal treatment to its ethnic groups has given rise to a bilingual policy with historical, economic, and cultural underpinnings. During 40 years of independence, clear language policy and planning targets have been articulated as they evolved with time. Universal bilingualism as an educational goal was expressed even in pre-independence years. The *All Party Report* in 1956 highlighted the intention to 'produce students equally conversant in two languages' (not necessarily implying that one of the two had to be English). However, by 1959, when Singapore won internal independence, the political leaders realised that

English had to be the language of the workplace and the common language. As an international trading community, we would not make a living if we used Malay, Chinese or Tamil. With English, no race would have an advantage.' (Former Prime Minister and Senior Minister and current Minister Mentor, Lee Kuan Yew, 2000, p. 170).

Education continues to be given a high premium within which there is always a well articulated repetition of the country's bilingual education policy. Current Ministry of Education policy (<http://www.moe.gov.sg>) continues to reflect sentiments expressed more than 20 years ago:

Our policy of bilingualism that each child should learn English and his mother tongue, I regard as a fundamental feature of our education system . . . Children must learn English so that they will have a window to the knowledge, technology and expertise of the modern world. They must know their mother tongues to enable them to know what makes us what we are. (Former Deputy Prime Minister Tony Tan and Education Minister in a Parliamentary Speech, March 1986)

Clearly, language is seen as a resource in Singapore and different functional roles have been allocated to English (an instrumentalist one, as a tool) and the ethnic mother tongues (an integrative one, as a tie to heritage and community). The bilingual education policy gives premier status to English, and has led to an English-knowing bilingualism that is universal in the country today. Kachru's (1986) term 'English-knowing bilingualism' was applied to bilingualism in Singapore by Pakir

(1992) to describe linguistic ability in the first school language, English, and in a second school language that is ethnically defined (Mandarin for Chinese, Malay for Malays, Tamil for Indians).

Bilingual education in Singapore is implemented with English as the medium of instruction across the curriculum, giving it the status of first school language (EL1) with language lessons in Chinese (CL2), Malay (ML2), and Tamil (TL2). English has been the sole medium of instruction since 1987 for Primary, Secondary, and Junior College education and is the main language for higher education. The 'ethnic mother tongues' (Mandarin, Malay and Tamil) are taught as subjects in the school system ('second school language') and entry to higher levels of education is usually determined on the basis of language grades (English and the second school language).

By the late 1970s and early 1980s, English had become a language of importance in Singapore with six main uses identified (Tay, 1982): an official language, a language of education, a working language, a lingua franca, a language for the expression of national identity, and an international language. After more than 40 years of independence, English is now firmly established as (i) the premier co-official language; (ii) the universally accepted working language; (iii) the only medium of instruction (language of education) at primary, secondary and tertiary levels; (iv) the lingua franca for inter-community as well as intra-community relations; (v) as the international lingua franca for global outreach; and (vi) increasingly the language of identity for a nation that has quickly shifted to English.

In the early years of the twenty-first century, English has been established internationally as the global language with no competitors in sight. English has gained ascendancy in Singapore in tandem with its rise as a global language. An 'English-knowing bilingualism' has emerged in Singapore as a result of the country's unique approach to bilingual education where bilingual success is defined as proficiency in English and one's 'ethnic mother tongue'.

Mandarin is actively promoted as the intra-community language for the majority Chinese population with the Speak Mandarin Campaign (SMC) in Singapore that was launched in 1979. It has gained new speakers since 1957 and after nearly three decades, the SMC has contributed to the attrition and loss of use of other Chinese languages, namely Hokkien, Teochew, Cantonese, Hainanese, and Hakka. Malay is used in the home and as the school language for the Malay community, while various Indian languages serve the community that has South Asian origins: Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, and Hindi; Punjabi, Gujarati, Bengali, and Urdu—the last five being offered as options for 'ethnic mother tongue' study in community-based language programmes outside the formal school hours.

In terms of policy and planning, the bilingual education programme has succeeded in streamlining the apparently unwieldy and complex language situation in Singapore towards the achievement of educational goals and targets. However, owing to these very same complex realities, there have been implementation difficulties as recognised by the policy makers themselves over the past decades: uneven achievements in bilingual attainment, the problems of a community educated only in English, issues related to the status of Chinese, standards for learning the mother tongue languages, and the current focus on even better language delivery and achievements for English and mother tongue languages (see Pakir, 2004 for a recent overview).

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

### *Educational Attainment*

Studies on bilingualism have traditionally depended on paradigms originating in the West where the interplay between majority and minority languages tends to predominate in discussions of educational processes and outcomes. Language as a problem, language as a right, and language as a resource (Baker, 2006; Ruiz, 1984, p. 383) are often discussed within the power and educational constructs of western societies, and usually contrast English with ‘home languages’ of immigrant children. An examination of the bilingual education policy in Singapore may lead us to other paradigms. Major issues in bilingualism including linguistic, pedagogical, cultural, and sociological considerations are relevant to the country—but are often subsumed by political, economic, and ideological factors.

According to Cummins, the interesting aspect of Type II bilingual programmes is that the outcomes ‘show clearly that minority languages can be used as mediums of instruction in school for a significant proportion of the school day at no cost to students’ proficiency in the majority or educationally dominant language (2003, p. 10). Singapore, although apparently a Type II, has clearly adopted a second language for most of its citizens as a medium of instruction in school. English has become the educationally dominant language in the country, and English-knowing bilinguals in Singapore are now increasingly English-dominant bilinguals, with many shifting to their school language as their language of choice. This phenomenon has raised several interesting educational, pedagogical, and cultural questions.

The educational achievement of Singapore students has been impressive. Dixon (2005) reporting on the bilingual education policy in Singapore and the implications for second language acquisition cites results from several international studies of achievement in science, mathematics, and reading. These include IEA’s Third International

Math and Science Study-Repeat (TIMSS-R) involving grade 8 students in 38 countries and IEA's Progress in International Reading Literacy Study [PIRLS], which tested 10-year-olds in 35 countries. Despite the fact that only 27% of the Singapore TIMSS-R sample (drawn representatively across the schooling population) reported always using the language of the test (i.e. English) at home, results in mathematics and science were among the best in the world. Singapore Secondary 2 students performed highest in the world in mathematics and second in science. In the PIRLS study, involving younger students, Singapore students scored higher in reading literacy than the international average and at a similar level to students in countries such as Scotland and New Zealand. Dixon concludes that 'Despite the status of English as a nonpredominant home language for the majority of Singaporean students, Singapore's scores compare favourably to countries in which the majority of students speak the language of instruction at home' (2005, p. 40). He notes that the Singapore experience shows that a second language (L2) can successfully be used as a medium of instruction for the general population but also points out that 'Singaporean students today may perform better than those in other countries studying a former colonial language due to the codevelopment of literacy in their L1 alongside the development of literacy and concepts through English' (2005, p. 43).

### *Language Planning and Language Shifts*

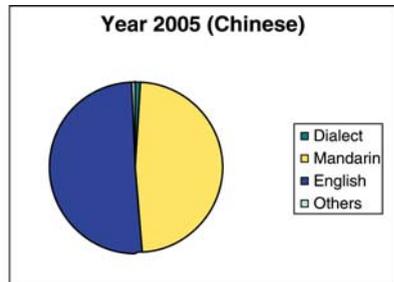
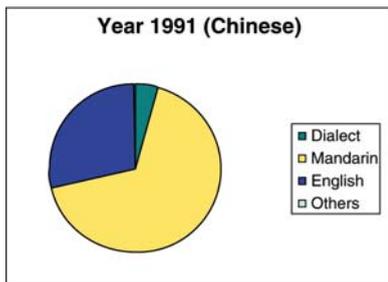
The bilingual education policy, articulated with refinements and modifications along the way for almost half a century has resulted in two major language shifts. Surveys taken by the government (e.g. the General Household Survey [Singapore Department of Statistics, 2006] and the Ministry of Education [2004]) reveal a significant shift to English for the vast majority of Singaporeans of all races, and a secondary shift to Chinese (Mandarin) for the majority ethnic group which customarily spoke a diversity of other Chinese languages (Hokkien, Teochew, Cantonese, Hainanese, Hakka, Shanghainese). The Ministry of Education's language surveys that are taken annually for all 6-year-olds as they begin formal schooling are a valuable source of data as they show the distribution of languages frequently spoken at home by these students.

The tables and pie charts below (1991–2005) for 6-year-olds entering the schooling system show that there has been a substantial increase in the percentage of English speakers across all ethnic groups as well as a noticeable increase in the percentage of Mandarin speakers among the Chinese population over the past 14 years.

The pie charts below showing the two end points (1991 and 2005) clearly indicate that although many of the Chinese pupils have moved to Mandarin, even more have shifted to English over a span of 14 years.

Table1 Distribution of primary one Chinese pupils by first most frequently spoken language at home, 1991–2005

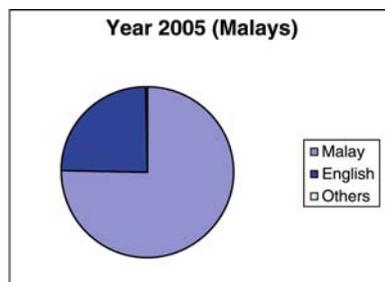
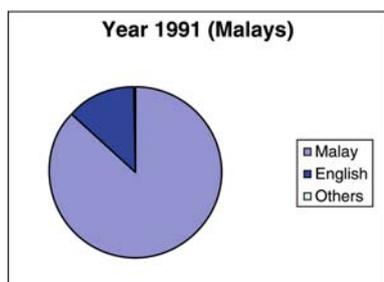
| Chinese pupils |         |          |         |        |
|----------------|---------|----------|---------|--------|
| Year           | Dialect | Mandarin | English | Others |
| 1991           | 4.5     | 66.6     | 28.6    | 0.3    |
| 1992           | 3.6     | 64.6     | 31.5    | 0.3    |
| 1993           | 3.6     | 63.9     | 32.1    | 0.4    |
| 1994           | 2.9     | 61       | 35.8    | 0.3    |
| 1995           | 2.2     | 59.5     | 38.1    | 0.2    |
| 1996           | 2.5     | 59.2     | 38      | 0.3    |
| 1997           | 3.2     | 57       | 39.4    | 0.5    |
| 1998           | 2.7     | 55.9     | 40.9    | 0.4    |
| 1999           | 2.6     | 54.5     | 42.5    | 0.5    |
| 2000           | 2.2     | 54.2     | 43.2    | 0.4    |
| 2001           | 1.8     | 52.8     | 45      | 0.5    |
| 2002           | 1.7     | 51.7     | 46.2    | 0.4    |
| 2003           | 1.6     | 50.3     | 47.6    | 0.4    |
| 2004           | 1.3     | 48.7     | 49.6    | 0.4    |
| 2005           | 1.4     | 47.2     | 51      | 0.5    |



With reference to [Table 1](#), Chinese pupils have made the continuing shift to English and Mandarin, with a distinct shift to English at a faster rate (from 28.6% in 1991 to 51% in 2005). Mandarin rapidly gained several young speakers from the early years of the SMC (1980–1990) from 25.9% to 67.9% (as reported in Pakir, 1993, p. 78) but then slowed down in the next fifteen years with a high of 66.6% in 1991 dwindling to 47.2% in 2005. The years 1991 to 2005 have witnessed

Table 2 Distribution of primary one Malay pupils by first most frequently spoken language at home, 1991–2005

| Malay pupils |       |         |        |
|--------------|-------|---------|--------|
| Year         | Malay | English | Others |
| 1991         | 87.0  | 12.9    | 0.1    |
| 1992         | 85.8  | 14.0    | 0.2    |
| 1993         | 86.2  | 13.6    | 0.2    |
| 1994         | 84.6  | 15.2    | 0.2    |
| 1995         | 83.9  | 16.0    | 0.1    |
| 1996         | 88.1  | 11.7    | 0.2    |
| 1997         | 84.0  | 15.8    | 0.2    |
| 1998         | 83.6  | 16.2    | 0.2    |
| 1999         | 82.1  | 17.8    | 0.1    |
| 2000         | 82.3  | 17.4    | 0.3    |
| 2001         | 81.1  | 18.7    | 0.3    |
| 2002         | 79.6  | 20.2    | 0.2    |
| 2003         | 79.3  | 20.4    | 0.3    |
| 2004         | 77.5  | 22.0    | 0.5    |
| 2005         | 75.3  | 24.3    | 0.4    |

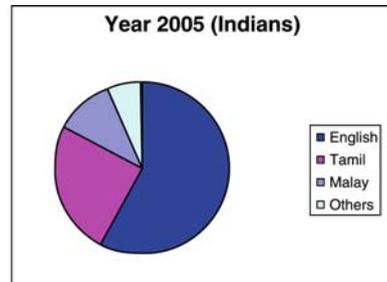
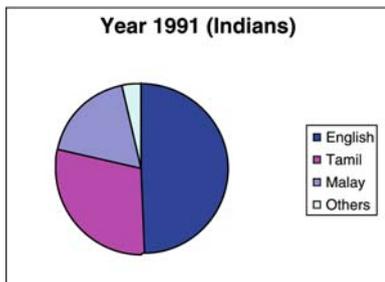


the growth, development and spread of English as a global language and not coincidentally many more young people in Singapore turned to English as the preferred language since it carried greater status and functions.

Even for the Malay pupils (see [Table 2](#) and the pie charts) where the most frequent home language is still Malay, the trend towards English is still discernible.

Table 3 Distribution of primary one Indian pupils by first most frequently spoken language at home, 1991–2005

| Indian pupils |         |       |       |        |
|---------------|---------|-------|-------|--------|
| Year          | English | Tamil | Malay | Others |
| 1991          | 49.5    | 29.1  | 17.7  | 3.6    |
| 1992          | 49.4    | 29.8  | 17.3  | 3.6    |
| 1993          | 49.3    | 29.2  | 17.0  | 4.6    |
| 1994          | 53.6    | 25.5  | 17.7  | 3.2    |
| 1995          | 55.2    | 25.2  | 16.3  | 3.4    |
| 1996          | 54.6    | 26.4  | 15.5  | 3.6    |
| 1997          | 53.5    | 25.7  | 16.4  | 4.4    |
| 1998          | 54.1    | 27.4  | 14.2  | 4.3    |
| 1999          | 55.7    | 27.2  | 12.7  | 4.5    |
| 2000          | 57.1    | 24.8  | 12.8  | 5.3    |
| 2001          | 58.1    | 25.0  | 11.9  | 5.0    |
| 2002          | 59.4    | 23.3  | 11.5  | 5.8    |
| 2003          | 59.4    | 24.4  | 10.3  | 5.9    |
| 2004          | 58.2    | 24.4  | 11    | 6.4    |
| 2005          | 57.7    | 25.2  | 10.8  | 6.3    |



Indian pupils, a heterogeneous group of children with different South Asian ancestries, have always had a larger proportion of English speakers among the 6-year-olds (see Table 3 and the accompanying pie charts). This could be due in part to the perception that the official Tamil language has the least status among the four official languages of Singapore as well as the fact that Singapore’s drive for foreign talent has further increased the diversity of its population with many new

South Asian immigrants coming from the northern parts of that continent. Community commitment to Hindi, Gujarati, Sindhi, Urdu, and Punjabi, is reflected in the increasing trend of Indian pupils speaking languages other than Tamil at home and an increasing number of students taking these languages as subjects in the 'O' and 'A' levels school leaving examinations.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

The bilingual education programme in Singapore has been both cause and effect of language shifts, and the sociocultural and pedagogical implications have been amply discussed (Baetens-Beardsmore, 1998; Pakir, 1994, 1995; Saravanan, 1996). The sociocultural management of language shift in Singapore revolves round two issues: that of preserving the Asian identity of an English-knowing and now an increasingly English-dominant population, and that of ensuring a 'standard English' ideology for the small nation state to interact successfully with its global partners. A paradoxical situation obtains in a community that has used English as a working language for decades: it has begun to take ownership of English through a process of nativisation while the leadership of the country discourages this very process. These contradictory trends are illustrated in the following quotations, the first from a young Singaporean and the others from Lee Kuan Yew, Singapore's former Prime Minister (see Lee, 2000):

'Singlish is the spontaneous and delightful way that Singaporeans express themselves in English. In short, street talk. It is a language that is exclusively ours, lah ... Singlish is the common dialect of the people of Singapore.' (a quotation from a teenager as reported in *The New Paper*, Monday, August 15, 1988)

The English we are beginning to see or hear people speak is a very strange Singapore pidgin, a Singapore dialect English which is not ideal but which is the best for the time being, and which we can improve upon if we concentrate our effort and considerable resources. (Lee Kuan Yew, 1978)

I don't have to speak with an English upper-class accent. But I speak in a way which makes it easy for them to understand me and, therefore, they are not distracted by my background ... (Lee Kuan Yew, 29 July 1994, quoted in *The Sunday Times*, July 31 1994).

I think it's important that you know the English language because it is the international language, and you speak it in the standard form. ... Do not speak Singlish! If you do, you are the loser. Only foreign academics like to write about it. You have to live with it. And your interlocutors, when they

hear you, their ears go askew. You detract from the message that you're sending. (Lee Kuan Yew, 1994)

Language campaigns on a greater societal level—the SMC launched in 1979 and the Speak Good English Movement (SGEM) launched in 2000—have undertaken to improve the ‘speaking habits’ of Singaporeans, who went through the bilingual system during Singapore’s phases of survival-driven, efficiency-driven, and ability-driven education. It is left to be seen whether future cohorts, inspired by global opportunities especially in new markets such as India and China, will heed the call to become effective, able and efficient bilingual speakers.

### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

This chapter presents a case study of Singapore and its bilingual education programme that has thus far challenged Western definitions and assumptions regarding language planning and language education, bilingualism, and second language acquisition. The historical, social, and cultural contexts of bilingual education unique to Singapore may not be replicable elsewhere but the bilingual education programme poses interesting questions for multilingual countries with different bilingual education programme models.

The language policy in Singapore of creating ‘English-knowing bilinguals’ allows Singaporeans to communicate among themselves as well as engage with the world using English as their ‘working language’ even though the population is mainly Asian. It can be asserted that the management of success in Singapore is tied to a bilingual education policy that gives premier status to English, but also acknowledges and encourages the development of its other three official languages, Mandarin, Malay, and Tamil. Partly as a result of its bilingual education policy, Singapore has now positioned itself as a global player and a medical, educational, logistics, banking, and financial hub attracting foreign investment and talent. In the current changing geopolitical climate, with India and China as twin engines of growth in the twenty-first century, Singapore, situated between the two and in predominantly Malay-speaking Southeast Asia, has a language advantage in that its citizens learn English as the first school language and either Mandarin, Malay, and an Indian language as the second school language.

Clearly, the language shifts among the young people in Singapore indicate a strong preference for English and among the Chinese, for Mandarin as well as English. The competitive global marketplace and China’s ascendancy as an economic giant might result in changes in the Singapore bilingual education policy. First, the policy of formally allowing only two languages in the education domain, English and MTL—according to ethnic group membership—might change to enable other ethnic

groups (Malay, Indian) to learn Mandarin. Second, the English-knowing bilingual population which is now becoming English-dominant, may reshape itself into one that is English-knowing as well as Mandarin-knowing at comparable levels, rather than the lop-sided bilingualism that is currently observable.

Future educational and social policies within Singapore will have to address questions that are beginning to emerge: Is there an increasing social class differentiation based on linguistic mastery of ‘important’ and ‘big’ languages? Will older Singaporeans with their lower status dialects (Hokkien, Teochew, Cantonese, Hakka, and Hainanese) simply fade away with time? Is the sociolinguistic profile of the country as neat as it looks? Will the development of local and foreign human capital in Singapore allow for the diversity of ‘voices’? Will emergent Singaporean voices question ‘which English’ and ‘whose English’? Will other Indian languages—Malayalam, Telugu, Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Punjabi, and Gujarati come into their own? Will the education system eventually reintroduce third languages in schools for those who want to have more in their verbal and linguistic repertoires?

In conclusion, bilingual education in Singapore is a response to the dilemma of multilingual countries that are confronted with complex realities in finding the right balance between ethno-linguistic representation and overriding educational goals. The Singapore experience suggests that while the pinnacle of bilingual success (a highly bilingual, bi-literate, and bi-cultural population) may not yet have been reached, the language management and language education initiatives that have been implemented have thus far resulted in extremely encouraging educational achievements.

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## BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN CENTRAL ASIA

### INTRODUCTION

Education in contemporary Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan occurs in a complex multilingual context amid competing identity discourses.<sup>1</sup> Languages spoken in the region<sup>2</sup> include: the titular languages: Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Tajik, Turkmen and Uzbek,<sup>3</sup> and many others.<sup>4</sup> Initial Soviet encouragement of instruction in *all* languages evolved into sociopolitical dominance of Russian-medium schooling leading to demands for increased status of titular and other languages in schooling in the last decade of Soviet power. [Table 1](#) illustrates Central Asia's ethnic diversity just before the

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<sup>1</sup> Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz Republic, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan were all constituent republics of the USSR before 1991. For more geopolitical and historical background of Central Asia, see E. Allworth (ed.): 1994, *Central Asia: 130 years of Russian dominance*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

<sup>2</sup> These include other languages of Central and Inner Asia, such as Balochi, Dungan, Karakalpak, Kurdish, Pamiri languages, Uighur, Volga Tatar, Yaghnobi, languages of relatively recent voluntary immigrants to the region, such as, Armenian, Azerbaijani, Belarusian, Russian, Ukrainian; languages of involuntary immigrants to the region: Crimean Tatar, German, Korean, Meshketian Turkish, making Central Asia arguable the most ethnically and sociolinguistically complex region of the former Soviet Union. Kazakh, Karakalpak, Kyrgyz, Meshketian Turkish, Tatar, Turkmen, Uighur and Uzbek are Turkic languages; Balochi, Kurdish, Pamiri languages, Tajik and Yaghnobi are Iranian languages; Dungan is a dialect of Chinese. Spoken languages often form dialect continua with vernacular dialects showing features of the neighbouring languages. For more, see B. Comrie: 1981, *The languages of the Soviet Union*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, and A. Bennigsen and S. E. Wimbush: 1986, *Muslims of the Soviet Empire: A Guide*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press.

<sup>3</sup> So called since in the national delimitation of the 1920s the region was divided into republics that were intended to have one majority nationality for whom the republic was named.

<sup>4</sup> Repeated script reforms have complicated language and literacy development in Central Asia. In the 1920s it was decided for all languages written by Soviet Muslims to shift from Arabic to Latin script. In the 1930s, it was decided to shift from Latin to Cyrillic script. In the 1990s, a return to Arabic script was debated, but taken up nowhere; while Uzbek in Uzbekistan is once again written in Latin script. Thus Uzbek in contemporary Central Asia is written in Latin script in Uzbekistan in primary and secondary school, but in Cyrillic most frequently in higher education and in the press, and in neighboring republics. While arguments have been made in favour of reformed scripts in terms of learnability, every time the script has changed, some are left functionally illiterate by the change. For a thorough review of script changes in the region see Fierman (1991), Landau and Kellner-Heinkele (2001) and Schlyter (2004).

Table 1 Population of Central Asia by Declared Nationality

| Nationality  | Kazakhstan  | Kyrgyzstan  | Tajikistan  | Turkmenistan | Uzbekistan   |
|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|
| Belarusians  | 182, 601    | 9, 187      | 7, 247      | 9, 200       | 29, 427      |
| Germans      | 957, 518    | 101, 309    | 32, 671     | 4, 434       | 39, 809      |
| Karakalpakhs | 1, 387      | 142         | 163         | 3, 062       | 411, 878     |
| Kazakhs      | 6, 534, 616 | 37, 318     | 11, 376     | 87, 802      | 808, 227     |
| Koreans      | 103, 315    | 18, 355     | 13, 431     | 2, 848       | 183, 140     |
| Kyrgyz       | 14, 112     | 2, 229, 663 | 63, 832     | 634          | 174, 907     |
| Russians     | 6, 227, 549 | 916, 558    | 388, 481    | 333, 892     | 1, 653, 478  |
| Tajiks       | 25, 514     | 33, 518     | 3, 172, 420 | 3149         | 933, 560     |
| Tatars       | 331, 151    | 72, 282     | 72, 264     | 39, 257      | 656, 601     |
| Turkmen      | 3, 846      | 899         | 20, 487     | 2, 536, 606  | 121, 578     |
| Uighurs      | 183, 301    | 36, 779     | 566         | 1, 308       | 35, 762      |
| Ukrainians   | 896, 240    | 108, 027    | 41, 375     | 35, 578      | 153, 197     |
| Uzbeks       | 332, 017    | 550, 096    | 1, 197, 841 | 317, 333     | 14, 142, 475 |

Source: 1989 Soviet Population Census, Cited in Landau and Kellner-Heinkele (2001, p. 14) and Marchenko, 1994: 145, Cited in Landau and Kellner-Heinkele (2001, p. 59).

breakup of the USSR. With independence in 1991, each republic required educational policy to balance multiple aims: raising the titular language's status; providing effective mother-tongue and titular language education to all; and developing proficiency in international languages (Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, 2001; Schlyter, 2004).

A bilingual education framework can play a part in achieving this balance, yet is little studied in the region: scholars and governments have just begun to note experimental bilingual programmes, while debate on bilingual education is so far restricted to international actors (Ekeus, 2005; International Crisis Group, 2003; OSI, 2002; Schulter, 2003). However, the need in our globalized world for sustainable education responsive to individual and state needs indicates that bilingual or multilingual education may become an area of great interest for all stakeholders in Central Asia. This chapter aims to outline the development, current status and future of bilingual education in each republic and in Central Asia overall.

#### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Bilingualism traditionally developed in Central Asia through language contact (Schlyter, 2004) and through Islamic education, where classical Arabic, Persian and Central Asian Turkic were studied using rote methods in primary school (*maktab*) supplemented by peer-led discussion approaches in secondary schools (*madrasas*). While there were a few Central Asian madrasa graduates famed throughout the Islamic world for their multilingual skill, reformist critics (*jadids*) ascribed the frequent functional illiteracy of maktab graduates to *classical medium* instruction. The jadids introduced vernacular instruction, with classical languages taught as subjects in preparation for transition to classical-medium instruction. Under Russian imperial rule, nomadic populations received transitional bilingual education: 2 years in the vernacular with Russian as a subject, shifting to Russian-medium instruction in the third year; among settled populations, bilingual Russian-local schools were devised (*Rusko-tuzemnie shkoly*) with half Central Asian curriculum and half Russian curriculum taught in Russian as a means to produce local bilinguals to staff the bureaucracy (Dowler, 2001; Khalid, 1998).

Soviet policy aimed at mass vernacular literacy, developing new standard languages on the basis of select local dialects, abandoning classical Central Asian Persian and Chaghatai Turkic as media of instruction. Each nationality received mother-tongue instruction in its own *national school*<sup>5</sup> and titular language study was compulsory. Mass

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<sup>5</sup> 22 languages of instruction were used in the Uzbek SSR in the 1930s (Fierman, 1991).

L1 literacy was accomplished, but second language learning by Russian-speakers of titular languages and of Russian by indigenous populations was ineffective. After 1938, Russian study was made compulsory, and the use of many other languages as media of instruction was reduced or abolished. Consequently, many parallel-medium schools developed<sup>6</sup> with several separate language streams housed together, and Russian used as the vehicular language for common school activities. Titular-medium, Russian-medium, parallel-medium and single-medium minority schools co-existed. After 1958, parents were allowed to choose children's language of instruction, and many non-Russian nationalities opted for Russian-medium schooling, leading to increasing local-Russian bilingualism<sup>7</sup> (Fierman, 1991; Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, 2001; Lewis, 1972; Schlyter, 2004; Shorish, 1988).

A multiethnic élite proficient in Russian developed in each republic, some of whom experienced language shift to Russian, whereas the titular ethnicity developed parallel élites: one more proficient in Russian than the titular language and one with more balanced titular-Russian bilingualism. Members of the titular cultural élite had an ambivalent relationship to russification and the titular language's low status, subduing their complaints until *Perestroika*, when each republic passed new language laws making the titular language the *state* language and Russian either an *official language* or *language of interethnic communication*. These new laws aimed to increase titular language status in education, making subtle restrictions on Russian-medium schooling, and no changes in minority language school conditions (Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, 2001; Lewis, 1972; Schlyter, 2004; Shorish, 1988).

<sup>6</sup> These parallel-medium schools are called in Russian "mixed" schools. G. Lewis (1972) uses mixed-medium schools to refer to classes where students who are educated in L2 have bilingual teachers mix L2 instruction with L1 explanation of L2 lessons.

<sup>7</sup> Until 1958, children had to be enrolled in a national school of their ethnicity, if one was available. For ethnicities whose language was no longer used as a medium of instruction and for other ethnicities living outside of the territory of compact settlement, there was a choice of titular-medium or Russian-medium schooling, with Russian-medium instruction the usual preference. After 1958, even where mother-tongue instruction was available in primary school, many parents, concerned that their children would not develop sufficient Russian proficiency for career success, opted to convert their national school to a Russian-medium school. The official justification for a policy that weakened mother-tongue education for minorities was that it was more democratic to offer choice and that it was more equitable in that relieved minority students from the burden of learning one more language than other students did. It is important to note that no proposals for the change of methodology including the introduction of dual-medium education were made. The current system was accepted, and the only solution envisaged was to cut one language of instruction, the weakest one. Of course, parents were offered a *free* choice, but in the sociolinguistic dynamic that existed the choice was not free. See Lewis (1972) for a thorough discussion of the introduction of these laws and their impact. They were resisted more strongly in the Caucasus than in Central Asia.

Post-independence language-in-education policies vary. Turkmenistan guarantees Turkmen-medium instruction only, while the remaining republics provide for other languages of instruction, where numbers warrant. Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan, with higher numbers of russophones, retain relatively many Russian-medium programmes. Yet Russian proficiency is potentially beneficial to all, since many Central Asians travel to Russia for employment and higher education. Second-language instruction of the titular language for minorities and of Russian for non-russophones is considered inadequate. Most republics count on improving language learning through investments in curriculum, materials and teacher training (Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, 2001; OSI, 2002; Schlyter, 2004); nevertheless, bilingual education as a means to raise second and foreign language proficiency is little discussed.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

#### *Soviet Scholarship*

Soviet scholarship on bilingualism and education generally focused on how non-Russians could develop greater proficiency in Russian. Tajik–Uzbek bilingualism, the monolingualism of many russophones and the preference of non-titular minorities for Russian over titular-medium education were little explored; the primacy of Russian proficiency was not problematized. Conducted largely by sociolinguists and ethnographers using census data and survey results, these studies made some speculations about language(s) of instruction and bilingualism, but limited school-based data mainly to statistics on enrolment by language of instruction. Desheriev (1976) and Guboglo (1984) are examples of this scholarship. However, survey data were unreliable, since many respondents gave the language of their nationality as their native language (*rodnoi iazyk*), regardless of actual language use (Khasanov, 1987), thus underestimating shift to Russian, overestimating bilingualism, and obscuring the role of Russian-medium education in producing subtractive bilingualism and language shift.

Such research examined the results of “ethno-linguistic processes” more than the development of bilingualism itself, neglecting the effect of language of instruction, and school and pedagogy types on pupils’ linguistic development, educational attainment and achievement. Central Asian educators and scholars (Jamshedov, 1991; Khasanov, 1987; Niyozov, 2001; Shorish, 1988) seem to have been aware that educational policy resulted in unbalanced bilingualism, language attrition and learning difficulties for some students, but this knowledge seems to have been largely *anecdotal* and remained unstudied empirically or at least unpublished. During Perestroika, a space for discussion

of the place of languages other than Russian in education opened up briefly. Khasanov (1987) concentrates on Central Asians' problems learning Russian, but also criticizes low levels of Russian–Kazakh bilingualism, and proposes improved instruction of Kazakh as a Second Language, without mentioning bilingual education for non-Kazakhs for this purpose. Multilingual education was, however, raised as a solution in the Tajik SSR (Jamshedov, 1991). Maintenance trilingual education was proposed for pupils speaking minority Pamiri languages, with the mother-tongue used alongside Tajik and Russian as languages of instruction to replace submersion in these languages, which, it was claimed, led to pedagogical difficulties for learners.

### *Western Scholarship*

Much western research on bilingualism and education in Central Asia has been limited by the fact that it has been done from the perspectives of political science, sociology and anthropology for which education is not of central interest except as an indication of shifting identities, and by problems of availability and reliability of data from the USSR. Silver (1976), for example, based on statistical analysis of census data on *native language*, concludes that Central Asians are little prone to language shift to Russian, a conclusion due partly to the unreliability of survey questions on *rodnoi iazyk*. We now know that many urban Central Asians did indeed shift to Russian as their primary language (Korth, 2005; Suleimenova and Smagulova, 2005).

Lewis (1972) provides an in-depth analysis of Soviet language policy over time and the impact of the many policy changes on education, including a wealth of information on Central Asia. Much attention is devoted to the implementation of language policy at the school level, including second language methodology and the various school-types: single-medium national schools (standard model *national schools*), mixed-medium classes (single-medium L2 schools where teachers paraphrase L2 instruction in students' L1), parallel-medium schools (two or more single-medium schools housed together), dual-medium schools (outlawed in the 1920s). Many Russian language works are cited, although no publications in Central Asia languages are included.

Shorish (1988) focuses on Central Asia, supplementing Russian with Tajik-language sources, some representing views of teachers rather than of *experts*. A methodological rift is reported among Russian as a Second Language teachers, with Russian-dominant teachers favouring direct instruction without reference to students' L1, while bilingual teachers favoured contrastive analysis of L1 and L2. This debate continues a century-old controversy between comparative methods *requiring*

Central Asian bilingual teachers, and the *natural* method demanding *monolingual* teaching at all times, favoured by Russophone teachers (Dowler, 2001).

#### RECENT WORK AND WORK IN PROGRESS

Landau and Kellner-Heinkele (2001) is the major resource for students of language policy in Central Asia. The book is divided into sections based on themes, one of which is language and education. Although Landau and Kellner-Heinkele are more interested in the politics of language than the learning process and its effects on learners, and do not deal with bilingual education as a policy option, the book is based on sources in Central Asian languages, Russian and English, and provides a comprehensive survey of policies affecting language of instruction in Central Asia.

#### *Language and Education in Kazakhstan*

Suleimenova and Smagulova (2005) synthesize available information and recent research on the current sociolinguistic and language planning situation applying international literature on sociolinguistics and language planning to Kazakhstan's case.<sup>8</sup> A major theme of research in Kazakhstan is determining whether language policy is successfully increasing the status of the state language, Kazakh, relative to Russian, or whether Russian retains its predominance over Kazakh in high status spheres, including education (Fierman, 2006; Suleimenova and Smagulova, 2005). Survey research on attitudes towards Kazakh and Russian, and towards upbringing and education in these languages is common, while qualitative and experimental studies are relatively rare. A matched guise study confirmed the common perception that Kazakhs and Russians ascribe higher status to both Russians and Kazakhs when speaking Russian (Laitin, 1998). Increasingly positive attitudes have been found towards Kazakh among non-Kazakhs, more of whom are claiming Kazakh proficiency (Masanov; 2002, in Suleimenova and Smagulova, 2005), while numbers of Slavs self-reporting Kazakh proficiency have risen from under 10% in 1995 (Arenov and Kalmykov, 1997) to under 15% in 2000 (Suleimenova and Smagulova, 2005).

Research on schools is just beginning. Statistical surveys of enrolments by language often fail to separate parallel-medium from single-medium

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<sup>8</sup> For a shortened English version of this work, see Suleimenova, E. and Smagulova, J.: 2006, Kazakhstan: Language situation, in K. Brown (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, Elsevier, London and New York.

schools. Delorme (1999) found that two competing Kazakh- and Russian-medium schools each developed superior proficiency in its medium of instruction and thus recommended that the schools merge, forming one dual-language school. A recent study of changing numbers of school type notably shows a rise in parallel Kazakh-Russian-medium schools from 15% in 1988 to 36% in 1995 of all schools. However, some Kazakhs suggest, separating streams in parallel-medium schools, since Kazakhs generally switch to Russian in the presence of non-Kazakhs, and titular language learning will be inhibited by the presence of Russian-medium streams (Fierman, 2006).

Uzbek, Uighur, Tajik, German, Tatar and Ukrainian are instructional media, with twelve other minority languages offered as subjects (Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, 2001; Suleimenova and Smagulova, 2005). Many members of Turkic minorities exhibit relatively balanced trilingualism: 81, 80 and 64% of Uighurs, Uzbeks and Tatars profess Kazakh proficiency, with stated L1 proficiency of 81, 97 and 37%, and Russian proficiency of 76, 59 and 97% respectively. Nevertheless, pidginized varieties of Kazakh and Russian are reported (Suleimenova and Smagulova, 2005), while many L1-educated Uzbeks are said to have insufficient proficiency in literary Kazakh or Russian to pass university entrance examinations in these languages (Ekeus, 2005).

United Nations recommends greater minority participation in language policy formation (CERD, n.d.), while the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) supports Kazakh and Russian as additional instructional media in Uzbek schools<sup>9</sup> (Ekeus, 2005). Intraregional cooperation in bilingual education has begun; Latvian bilingual programme staff have assisted in OSCE programmes, and Kazakhstan teachers have observed multilingual programmes in Kyrgyzstan. OSCE is in negotiations with the government for these “rudimentary” bilingual programmes to be taken over by the government and expanded to all but Russian-medium non-Kazakh schools<sup>9</sup>.

### *Language and Education in Kyrgyzstan*

Statistical and survey studies focus on number of schools by language, and numbers claiming proficiency in various languages of Kyrgyzstan. Only

<sup>9</sup> OSCE support for bilingual education depends on sociopolitical circumstances. As OSCE's primary mandate is conflict prevention, its policy is to promote the provision of bilingual education where submersion in the majority language increases interethnic tensions, particularly when the affected ethnicity is a majority in a neighbouring state (Dmitri Alechkevitch, political advisor to OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities, Rolf Ekeus, June 2006, Personal communication).

one Kyrgyz-medium school existed in the capital before independence, but from 1989 until 1998, the number of Kyrgyz-medium schools changed by +21%, of Uzbek-medium schools by +15%, and of Russian-medium schools by -38%, while the number of parallel-medium schools increased by 17% to 389 schools. Regional differences in ethnic diversity and Russian language penetration exist, complicating language of instruction policy (Korth, 2005; Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, 2001; UNESCO, 2000; Wright, 1999). Nevertheless, recent statistics show more non-Kyrgyz claiming knowledge of Kyrgyz, possibly indicating successful policies promoting Kyrgyz proficiency among other nationalities.

Korth (2005) has produced a thorough synthesis of current research as part of a qualitative study on attitudes towards language and schooling in Kyrgyzstan. Findings include persistent negative attitudes towards the functionality of Kyrgyz among Russophones and minorities, and towards the current non-communicative teaching of Kyrgyz as a second language, which is seen by many as ineffective and anachronistic, with meaningless assessment that does not actually measure development of Kyrgyz proficiency. Also documented is the role of Russian-medium *boarding* schools as a means of social advancement for rural Kyrgyz children, which generally involved psychological distress and the development of subtractive bilingualism. Korth recommends a change towards more modern and urban curriculum content, towards more communicative methodology.

A recent case study (Shamatov, 2005) illustrates minority schools' challenges. In mixed Uzbek-Kyrgyz districts, shortages of trained Uzbek teachers exist. A Kyrgyz teacher bilingual in conversational Uzbek, where called upon to teach in the Uzbek stream of a parallel-medium school, faced difficulty in teaching in literary Uzbek, thus suggesting the inadequacy of basic interpersonal communicative proficiency (BICS) proficiency for formal instruction.

The United Nations recently commended Kyrgyzstan's efforts in eliminating unequal treatment of ethnic groups (CERD, n.d.). Indeed, experimental Kyrgyz-Uzbek-Russian and Kyrgyz-Russian school programmes have been organized with the support of Ministry of Education, local schools, and international organizations, CIMERA and OSCE, sponsors of a recent conference on multilingual and mother-tongue education for national minorities in Kyrgyzstan (Schulter, 2003).

### *Language and Education in Tajikistan*

Research available in English has focussed more on the question of language of instruction for speakers of minority languages than on the place of Russian-medium schooling. Niyozov (2001) and Elnazarov (2004) noted that teachers report difficulties in instructing non-titular

linguistic minority students in Tajik and frequently resort to the mother-tongue to clarify lessons, to maintain order and discipline children, creating in Lewis' terms (1972), *defacto* mixed-medium bilingual programmes. Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) has organized recent sociolinguistic surveys of smaller minority language groups, including several endangered ones, which found generally positive attitudes towards literacy in the vernacular, and mixed attitudes towards L1-Tajik education, with greater interest in bilingual education among communities with less daily exposure to Tajik (Clifton, 2005).

Although around 24% of students attend Uzbek-medium schools, there is little research on schools for titular minorities, such as Uzbek and Kyrgyz, whose schools lack materials and teachers formerly provided by the titular republics, leading to transfer of students to Tajik-medium schools (UNESCO, 2000; Niyozov, 2001). Arguments that bilingual education should be considered to improve educational achievement among linguistic minority children have recently been made (Bahry, 2006). The United Nations commends Tajikistan's minority education policy, but points out that textbook shortages affect minority language programmes disproportionately, and encourages increased dialogue with minority communities on schooling issues (CERD, n.d.).

### *Language and Education in Turkmenistan*

Turkmenistan *only* guarantees education in Turkmen only as language of instruction, and has made the study of English and Russian as *foreign* languages compulsory. In 1997/1998, there were 1,938 Turkmen-medium schools, 250 Russian-medium schools, 90 Uzbek-medium schools and 40 Kazakh-medium schools, whereas from 1997/1998 to 1998/1999 the number of Russian-medium schools dropped to 170 (Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, 2001).

The UN website records communications between Turkmenistan and the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) on minority education. Turkmenistan reiterated in 2004 its aim of creating "habits of equality, friendship and comradeship, irrespective of social status, wealth, race or ethnic background" through schooling. The UN's response expressed special concern at the closing of schools with Uzbek, Russian, Kazakh and Armenian languages of instruction, while schooling of smaller minorities such as the Kurds and Balochi was not mentioned (CERD, n.d.). Demidov (2002) provides a critical account of the policy of converting minority-language schooling to Turkmen-medium schooling, focusing mainly on the closing of Russian-medium schools.

*Language and Education in Uzbekistan*

Most research on current language, education and bilingualism in Uzbekistan today centres on language policy, focusing on change in status of Uzbek to *the* official language and the reduced status of Russian. Learning Uzbek is not mandatory for non-ethnic Uzbeks. Yet at independence a strict timetable of full implementation of Uzbek as state language led to high emigration of Russians; in 1995 this deadline was removed reducing emigration rates of russophones (Landau & Kellner-Heinkele, 2001; Schlyter, 2004). Russian is still used as an academic technical language, in which professional articles and dissertations may be written.

Uzbekistan has committed to provide education in six languages, Karakalpak, Kazakh, Russian, Tajik, Turkmen and Uzbek (CERD, n.d.); the number of schools where languages of instruction other than Uzbek are available is: Russian, 917; Kazakh, 595; Tajik, 332; Kyrgyz, 70 and Turkmen, 66 (UNESCO, 2000); in addition there are small numbers of classes using languages such as Crimean Tatar, Kazan Tatar, Bashkir and Greek as languages of instruction (Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, 2001). Some have pointed out with concern that there seem to be more Tajik speakers in Uzbekistan than existing Tajik-medium schools can serve, although Tajik-speakers are generally bilingual in a Tajik-influenced form of Uzbek distinct from the literary language, which may hinder their learning in Uzbek-medium classes (Djumaev, 2001; Schlyter, 2004).

*International Bilingual Programmes*

International schools provide bilingual education where a foreign language is used as an additional medium of instruction. The Aga Khan Lycée in Tajikistan uses English, Tajik and Russian in parallel streams.<sup>10</sup> Bilingual Turkish programmes teach sciences in English, humanities in Turkish, and Turkmen/Kyrgyz and Russian as subjects, while trilingual programmes teach local history and geography in Turkmen/Kyrgyz, other humanities in Turkish, and sciences in English. A study of stakeholders' attitudes concluded that Turkish bilingual schools outperform monolingual state schools (Demir, Balci, and Akkok, 2000), a finding that should be interpreted cautiously due to the differing resources of Turkish and state schools. Nevertheless, this study is a first step in the systematic study of bilingual education in Central Asia.

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<sup>10</sup> Davlat Khudonazarov, director of Aga Khan lycée in Khorugh, Tajikistan, personal communication.

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

*Second Language Learning of Titular Languages*

Government policy in Central Asia and international conventions against discrimination (CERD, n.d.) require equitable opportunity for speakers of other languages to acquire titular languages. The means available by which to achieve this goal are through:

1. Second language education in national schools
2. Immersion/submersion in titular medium schools
3. Parallel-medium schools

The first approach assumes that increased investment is sufficient to improve titular language learning; however, significant changes in curriculum changes providing greater motivation through more meaningful content and assessment of learning improvements may also be required. Despite some positive changes in attitudes towards learning titular languages, research is needed on how and how well they are learned in schools. The second approach should lead to proficiency in the titular language, but lead to subtractive bilingualism, perhaps language shift, with a risk of backlash if minority language communities are threatened with the loss of a sign of their identity. If submersion conditions exist, it may lead to limited acquisition of the formal registers of the titular language and result in poor scholastic achievement. The third approach supports development of BICS and CALP (cognitive academic language proficiency) proficiency in the mother-tongue together with the development of BICS if not CALP proficiency in the titular language *if* L1 is used as the medium of instruction throughout schooling *and* the titular language becomes the vehicular language in the school. Information on whether the vehicular language in parallel-medium schools has shifted to the titular language is not available. Where it remains Russian, these schools will not likely support developing minority-titular bilingualism.

*Learning of Second/Foreign Languages*

The demand for international language proficiency, combined with the perceived ineffectiveness of second language education in state schools leads parents to conclude that *immersion* in a foreign language is the *only* effective way to acquire a foreign language (Korth, 2005). Thus, Russian-medium education has been an affordable means of élite entry since it is available in public schools, while dual-medium schools using Turkish or English as one of the media of instruction are only available at fee-paying schools. Although English, and to some extent Turkish are in great demand, the high levels of migration to Russia for

employment and study, along with the greater availability of Russian teachers and materials, make Russian-medium or parallel titular-Russian-medium bilingual programmes more practical for students and feasible for governments than English or Turkish-medium instruction.

### *Minority Language Maintenance/Revival*

Most republics of Central Asia guarantee mother-tongue education in a limited number of languages. However, although Russia continues to provide textbooks to Russian-medium schools, Central Asian titular ethnicities outside their titular republics have experienced reduced support for their national schools from the titular republics, causing a reduction in quality of education relative to republican language schools and many resulting transfers to schools in the local republican language. Nationalities that lost mother-tongue education under Soviet rule may wish to have it restored, even though among urban inhabitants language shift is almost complete. When mother-tongue education is not state-provided, minorities have the right in most jurisdictions to fund their own mother-tongue “Sunday schools”. However, while all communities have an equal right to open such programmes, they do not have equal ability to do so. Korean community, for example, receives support from South Korea, while Dungans, Central Asian Chinese speakers, receive no support from China (Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, 2001).

### *Educational Research*

Thus far, second language pedagogy has been insufficiently effective in dealing with these problems; hence, thorough research-based debate is required on the possibility of achieving titular and Russian proficiency through dual-medium bilingual education, and maintenance of mother-tongues for other language groups through trilingual education. Most research cited above, when concerned with education, deals with language rights, normative frameworks and surveys of attitudes towards language rather than the relationship between learning, language of schooling and second language pedagogy. Korth’s study (2005) suggests that learners are well aware of inadequacies in second-language classes, while Niyozov’s (2001) study suggests that teachers understand the importance of language as a factor influencing students’ learning. Central Asian governments, supported by UNESCO, have begun research monitoring student achievement (OSI, 2002), yet much more information on achievement, learning and language use inside and outside the classroom needs to be gathered and published so that analysis of their interrelationships may proceed.

At present, multilingual education within Central Asia is mainly supported by external agencies; for example, Open Society Institute (OSI, 2002) and OSCE (Ekeus, 2005) recommend bilingual education in Central Asia with the argument that educating children from different nationalities in their own and their neighbors' languages increases social cohesion, reducing the risk of interethnic violence. International organizations such as the World Bank and UNESCO are proponents of mother-tongue and bilingual education for linguistic minorities in developing countries, but are less actively involved in promotion of bilingual and multilingual education in Central Asia than in other parts of the world.

School-based research on the role of language and education in social cohesion, educational participation and equity, as well as scholastic achievement and attainment is required in order for policy recommendations to be grounded in research. Current approaches to language in education in Central Asia engage in zero-sum thinking; that is, any improvements in learning language X must come at the expense of learning language Y. Thus, dissemination of research on types of bilingual education and conditions that support additive rather than subtractive bilingualism is crucial. However, educational research capacity is limited and can benefit from external support. Heretofore, research on language and education receives greater attention in Ukraine, Latvia, Estonia and Russia, despite the similar linguistic, cultural and ethnic diversity of Central Asia.

#### FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS

The linguistic and social complexity of the region of Central Asia and the disruptions to minority language education caused by the post-independence reductions in inter-republican educational cooperation, suggest a broad ecological approach to language and education in the region that treats each language in relation with all other languages in the context. Governments can profitably share experiences with each other and the international research community to develop effective approaches to language and education, which should include bilingual and multilingual education.

Bilingual education should not, however, be introduced into post-Soviet spaces without sufficient preparation (Silova, 2006). Thus, existing quasi-bilingual programmes, such as parallel-medium schools, require relatively small changes to be converted to experimental dual-medium programmes. Such small-scale experimentation is less wasteful of resources, more sensitive to local conditions and open to learning from experience, and should be encouraged with support from the school system, interested NGOs, and international organizations that will enable critical research and dissemination of results among stakeholders.

The OSCE-sponsored conference “Multilingual Education and Mother Tongue Education for National Minorities in Kyrgyzstan” in Osh, Kyrgyzstan and the British Council- sponsored Sixth International Conference on Language and Development in Tashkent, Uzbekistan have presented such an opportunity. Still, bi- and multilingual education in the region face many challenges in this region: discussion still centres on titular languages *or* Russian, and leaves minority languages largely off the agenda. Voices calling for research and policy debate in this field exist, but depend on support from external agencies, such as OSCE, while the most influential external agencies do not take a leading role in this field in this region. Consequently, political will to engage in research and debate on multilingualism is weak.

Nevertheless, calls for dual-medium bilingual education as an improvement over existing second language programmes have been made for some time. During Perestroika, several Soviet scholar proposed bilingual education as an improvement over current methods. More recently, DeLorme (1998) proposed merging titular- and Russian-medium schools to form dual-medium programmes, paralleling Turkish programmes that teach sciences in an international language and humanities in a local language (Demir, Balci, and Akkok, 2000). However, such proposals retain a hierarchical functional specialization of languages reminiscent of Soviet practice that does not concur with current nation-building goals of language policy which are attempting to broaden the functional uses of the titular language in every republic. To be acceptable, proposals for multilingual education must support the titular language’s status through its use as a medium of instruction in any area of the curriculum and, not limit its use to transmitting *local* knowledge. In the absence of these conditions, bilingual programmes may be perceived as vehicles for russification, turkicization or anglicization.

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**Europe**

BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN SPAIN: PRESENT  
REALITIES AND FUTURE CHALLENGES

INTRODUCTION

Baker (2001) states that bilingual education should not be regarded as a modern phenomenon. The fact is that in one way or another it has existed for many centuries and its historical roots have been linked to immigration, political upheavals, the defence of human rights, the fight for equality of educational opportunities, and so on.

This is particularly relevant in Spain. The end of Franco's regime (1939–1975) led to the 1978 Constitution, which, apart from being the basis of a return to democracy, acknowledged all the minority languages spoken in Spain that had traditionally played second fiddle or none at all. However, it has to be remembered that the Magna Carta currently in force embodies a language policy in which Spanish is the only official language for the State as a whole.

With this background in mind, in the following pages we will describe the foundations on which Spanish language policy is based and how they affect the education system. The paper starts by giving an insight into the legal framework and social context before detailing the two most significant examples of bilingual education—the Basque Country and Catalonia—and two less well-known ones—Aragon and Asturias. This will allow us to assess the present situation and, in the conclusions section, outline the challenges on the horizon.

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS: THE LANGUAGE  
POLICY IN CONTEMPORARY SPAIN

Since the approval of the Constitution in 1978, the status of the different languages coexisting in Spain has to be considered from a double legal basis (Siguan, 1992):

1. The acknowledgment of Spain's multilingual and multicultural character.
2. Spain's division into 17 Autonomous Communities with ample legislative powers.

Regarding the first aspect, although Spanish is the only official language, it is established that other languages can also be official in their

respective territories provided that this possibility is included in their statute of autonomy.

As a result, these statutes are the key reference when legislating to guarantee language normalization in areas where Spanish coexists with other languages. The statutes of six Communities (Catalonia, the Valencian Community, the Balearic islands, Galicia, the Basque Country and Navarre) proclaim the existence of a language of their own which, together with Spanish, is the official language in their territory. Moreover, all Spanish Communities have been granted legislative powers in at least some specific areas, education being one of them.

During the 1980s the Parliaments of the aforementioned Communities passed Language Normalization Laws which shared similar structures and contexts: mention was made of the legal basis of the Constitution and the respective statutes, the objectives were justified, the official name of their own languages was established, as well as its co-official status with Spanish, the right to know and use the other language in any context, the principle of no discrimination on linguistic grounds, and so on. All these laws, either explicitly or implicitly, make their respective governments responsible for promoting the learning and use of the minority language so as to compensate for its weaker situation and to safeguard the speakers' right to use it.

Some laws delimit their geographical boundaries. For example, that of the Valencian Community distinguishes the so-called Spanish-speaking zone, where the law is applied only in a limited way; in Navarre the law divides the territory in three parts: the Basque zone, the Spanish zone and the mixed zone, depending on the language most widely spoken. The law is thus applied in different ways in each of these zones. In the case of the Catalan law, it also defines the language policy to be applied in the Aran Valley, where Aranese is spoken, a Gascon dialect of the Occitan language.

Taken as a whole, these laws affect almost 50% of the Spanish population (44 million in total) who live in the territories pointed out in [Figure 1](#) (Turell, 2000).

In [Figure 1](#), in addition to Catalonia, the Valencian Community and the Balearic islands (where Catalan is their own language), the Basque Country and Navarre (where Basque is the minority language) and Galicia (where Galician is spoken), the autonomous communities of Aragon (where both Catalan and Aragonese are spoken) and Asturias (where Asturian is spoken) are also highlighted. In these last two the minority languages have no legal status, as is also the case regarding the part of León bordering Galicia and in the Arabic communities of Ceuta and Melilla.

The level of language competence attained in each of the communities which have a co-official language varies a great deal, as can be observed in [Table 1](#).

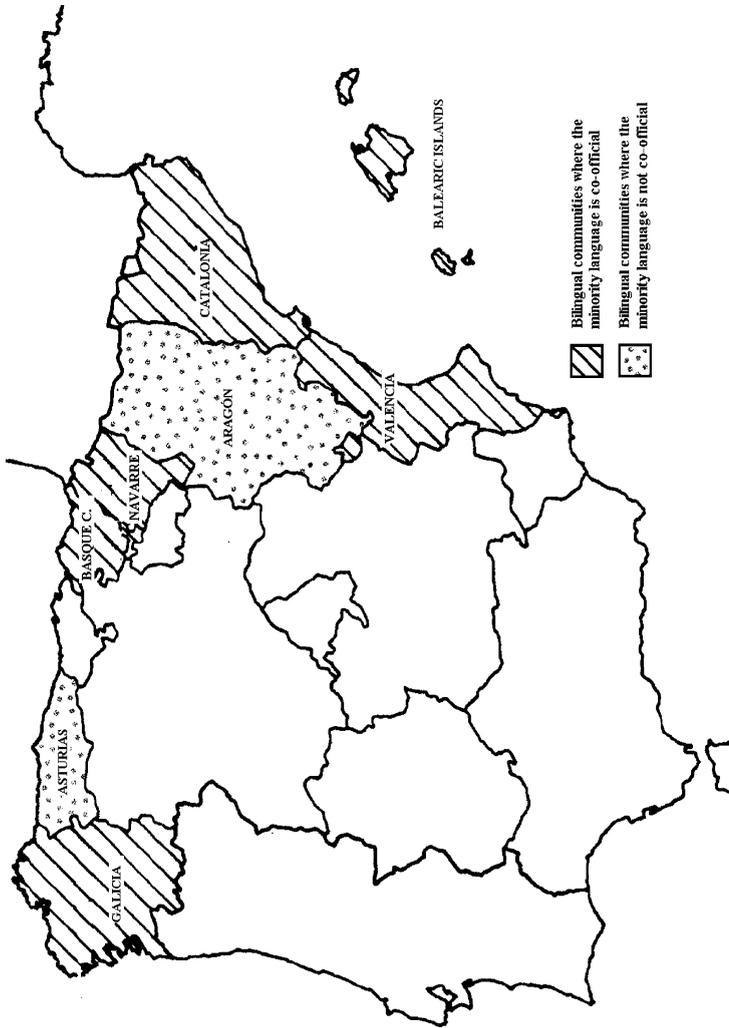


Figure 1. Map of Spanish bilingual communities showing the legal status of the minority language.

Table 1 Percentage of individuals who ‘can understand’ and ‘can speak’ the community language

|                                  | Catalonia | Valencia | Balearic Islands | Galicia | Basque Country | Navarra |
|----------------------------------|-----------|----------|------------------|---------|----------------|---------|
| Individuals who ‘can understand’ | 97        | 89       | 92               | 99      | 44             | 23      |
| Individuals who ‘can speak’      | 79        | 56       | 72               | 89      | 29             | 16      |

Table 1 shows the existence of two groups. The first one is made up of Galicia, Catalonia, the Balearic Islands and the Valencian Community, communities wherein 90% of the population can understand and (to a lesser extent) speak the minority language. The second group consists of the Basque Country and Navarre, where the percentages are much lower, although the efforts made during the last 25 years are significantly improving the situation of the Basque language, especially in the case of the Basque Country.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS: BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN SPAIN

The efforts referred to in the previous paragraph are particularly visible in nursery and compulsory education. One aim of the language normalization laws is to ensure that students have a balanced command of Spanish and the other language by the time they reach the minimum school leaving age. This has led the Catalan, Valencian, Balearic, Navarrese, Basque and Galician educational systems to become bilingual, as school is the only context in which many students whose mother tongue is Spanish can develop their language competence in the minority language (Lasagabaster and Huguet, 2007).

As a result, during the last 20 years bilingual education has spread throughout much of Spain. The existence of Autonomous Communities with their own language and law-making powers has generated a considerable number of bilingual programmes. Consequently, Catalonia and the Basque Country have organized their educational systems following bilingual criteria and in other territories such as Aragon and Asturias similar strategies are elbowing through. The following, albeit in a very summarized form, is a description of these four educational systems.

*Bilingual Education in the Basque Country*

The Basque Country is, together with Navarre, one of the two territories where Basque is spoken. From a typological point of view, Basque is very distant from Spanish, being one of the few European languages which does not stem from the Indo-European. This distinguishes Basque from Galician and Catalan, languages much closer to Spanish, and, in fact, over 50% of the Basque population (see [Table 1](#)) do not understand Basque.

Nevertheless, in the last two decades there has been a huge surge in the number of people who consider themselves to be bilingual, a clear effect of the bilingual educational system. In fact, between 1991 and 2001 the percentage of bilinguals in the 16–24 age range has almost doubled, from 25 to 48% (Gobierno Vasco, 2003).

The Basque language first appeared in schools in the 1960s, in the so-called *ikastolak*, that is to say, schools for pupils whose mother tongue was Basque and who were taught through Basque. At that time the Basque Language Academy or *Euskaltzaindia* set out to work on the standardization of Basque. The result was the emergence of a standard Basque or *euskera batua*, which undoubtedly facilitated the use of Basque as a vehicle language at school, although, as happens in any other language, dialects are still spoken and maintained.

After the passing of the statute of autonomy and the reestablishment of the Basque Government, Basque is ever more present in the educational system. The widespread positive attitudes towards Basque have helped develop its presence at school, irrespective of the linguistic model, which is why all Basque students study it at school (Etxeberria, 2004). Research studies demonstrate very positive attitudes towards the minority language, although there are important differences when certain variables are taken into account (Lasagabaster, 2003; Madariaga, 1994).

There are three different bilingual models available, which can be described as follows:

1. *Model A*: All subjects, except for Basque, are taught in Spanish. Basque is only taught as a subject four to five hours per week.
2. *Model B*: Both Spanish and Basque are used to teach content. Although it is a rather heterogeneous model, Spanish is customarily the language for reading, writing and maths, whereas Basque is the means of instruction in the remaining areas of the curriculum. Moreover, both languages are taught as a subject, 4–5 hours being devoted to their teaching per week.

3. *Model D*: Basque is the means of instruction for all subjects except Spanish. From the first year of Primary Education, Spanish is taught only as a subject, usually 4 to 5 hours per week.

During the last few years, the number of students enrolled in Model A has gone steadily down, whereas the figures for Models B and D have steadily increased. To be precise, from 1982/1983 to 2004/2005 the number of pre-university students enrolled in Model A has decreased from 415.465 (79.34%) to 81.603 (26.69%), whereas in Model B it has increased from 44.458 (8.49%) to 69.941 (22.88%), the rise being even sharper in Model D: from 63.699 (12.17%) to 154.164 (50.43%) students. But the data are even more striking when nursery education is considered, as the vast majority of pupils (92%) are enrolled in Models B and D (Instituto Vasco de Estadística, 2006).

### *Bilingual Education in Catalonia*

Catalonia is, together with the Valencian Community and the Balearic islands, one of the three Spanish communities where Catalan is the usual language of communication for part of its inhabitants. Moreover, and although this fact is often overlooked, Catalan is also spoken in an area of Aragon called *La Franja*.

Unlike Basque, Catalan is a Romance language which is typologically very close to Spanish and French. This is one of the reasons why it is widely understood in Catalonia and just 3% of the population claim not to understand it (see [Table 1](#)).

The comparison of census data from 1991 and 1996 (Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya, 1998) reveals a remarkable evolution in the population's language skills in Catalan: understanding has increased from 93.76 to 94.97%, speaking from 68.34 to 75.30%, reading from 67.55 to 72.35% and writing from 39.94 to 45.84%.

Since Catalan was standardized in the early years of the twentieth century, its implementation as a means of instruction on all the different rungs of the educational ladder has been relatively simple. However, its use did not generalize till the re-establishment of the *Generalitat* (autonomous Catalan government). Before, the presence of Catalan at school was limited to the *escola catalana* (schools parallel to the previously mentioned Basque *ikastolak*).

Nowadays it can be affirmed that all students have some contact with the Catalan language as a means of instruction. That is to say, at the turn of this century most of the Catalan educational system is bilingual and comparable to, for example, the educational systems in Luxembourg and in French-speaking Canada.

As far as legislation is concerned, during the early 80s the Department of Education of the Catalan Government published several

decrees which established the presence of Catalan at pre-university levels and the degrees that teaching staff should obtain if they were to teach Catalan or through Catalan. These decrees established that the vehicle language in Nursery and the first two years of Primary Education would be chosen by parents and that all the teaching staff should be competent in both languages. In all cases, whether Catalan or Spanish became the language of instruction, the other language should always be taught as a subject. Moreover, any educational model in which Catalan appeared only as a subject was abolished. Therefore, the teaching would take place in Catalan with Spanish as a subject or in the form of a bilingual programme where, irrespective of the language used to teach how to read and write, both languages would have a progressive and similar presence in the curriculum.

Due to the positive attitude towards teaching in Catalan held by the vast majority of the Spanish-speaking population (Huguet and Llurda, 2001), this context allowed the spread of programmes in which Catalan was the language of instruction and whose students had Spanish as L1; in other words, this favourable attitude facilitated the implementation of immersion programmes.

As for the evolution of the linguistic models, at the time when the Language Normalization Law came into effect bilingual education was uncommon. Nonetheless, the situation changed significantly in a few years and, nowadays, the vast majority of students in Catalonia, irrespective of their mother tongue, attend programmes where Catalan is the predominant language; either language maintenance programmes or immersion programmes. In the former case, the language spoken at home and that of the school is the same, whereas in the latter, there is a home-school language switch (Vila, 1995).

Percentage-wise, when Nursery and Primary Education schools are considered (SEDEC, 2001), 73% of them teach all subjects in Catalan, 25% are in the process of incorporating new subjects taught in Catalan in order to use only this language in class, and the rest (just 2%) offer some school subjects in Catalan and the others in Spanish. As for student percentages, 81% of them study through Catalan and the remaining 19% in both Catalan and Spanish. Thus, the first option is clearly hegemonic.

### *Languages and Education in Aragon and Asturias*

To start with, it has to be remembered that neither Asturian in Asturias nor Catalan and Aragonese in Aragon (all of them Romance languages) have official status in these autonomous communities. As for the number of speakers, although there is no official census, it is estimated that

there are more than 300,000 in the case of Asturian, 50,000 in the case of Catalan and about 10,000 speakers of Aragonese (Turell, 2000).

Although Aragonese was first used at school in the 1997–98 academic year, for a variety of reasons the experience has not been very successful; the main hindrances have had to do with the shortage of teaching materials, the need for a broadly accepted standardized form of Aragonese, and the lack of social consideration for Aragonese as language of culture. Teaching in Asturian and Catalan started as early as 1984, due to an agreement aimed at promoting their use at school signed by the Spanish Ministry of Education and the respective Autonomous Governments. According to these agreements, the minority language could be offered as an optional subject within the school timetable (not as an extra-curricular activity) both in Primary and Secondary education, devoting no more than 3 h to the teaching of Catalan or Asturian.

The students' response to the optional teaching of Asturian has undergone a clear progression, rising from just 1,000 students in 1984–85 to more than 15,000 nowadays. The same applies to the Catalan language in Aragon, where numbers have grown from 800 in 1984–85 to almost 4,000 in the 2004–05 school year.

These trends, together with the positive attitudes towards the minority languages (Huguet, 2006), and the continuing social actions organized in favour of these languages, exert considerable pressure on policy makers and education authorities in these two communities. Such favourable conditions make it more than likely that, in the next few years, Asturian, Catalan and Aragonese may become languages of instruction and, consequently, bilingual programmes may be implemented in Aragon and Asturias.

#### PROBLEMS, DIFFICULTIES AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS: THE ASSESSMENT OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

In the 1980s and 1990s remarkable efforts were made (especially in the Basque Country and Catalonia) to assess students' academic achievement, particularly concerning the degree of competence attained in the two official languages, and to discover which factors were more influential. The so-called EIFE evaluation (Sierra and Olaziregi, 1990) carried out in the Basque Country and the study completed by Arnau, Bel, Serra and Vila (1994) in Catalonia demonstrate that the variables affecting the learning of Spanish are different from those affecting the other languages. Whereas the level of competence in Spanish is closely linked to the individual capacity to learn and to sociocultural factors, the degree

of competence in the minority languages is influenced by the home language, their presence in the curriculum and the language typology of the classroom. It can be affirmed that, regardless of the aforementioned variables, students enrolled in bilingual programmes always achieve a good command of Spanish when compared to those attending programmes where the minority language is not used as a vehicle language. The truth is that those students whose home language is Spanish and who attend programmes where the minority language is only taught as a subject obtain meagre results in the minority language concerned.

As Vila (2005) points out, these results are in accordance with the developmental interdependence hypothesis proposed by Cummins (1979). This theoretical framework has been confirmed by research studies undertaken in Asturias (Huguet and González, 2002) and Aragon (Huguet, Vila and Llurda, 2000), where students are taught in their L2, but while also learning how to read and write in their L1, which confirms the inherent potential of this hypothesis when it comes to explaining the relationship between the L1 and the L2 in such different contexts.

In any case, the success of these programmes has been borne out both at a national (Instituto Nacional de Calidad y Evaluación, 1998) and an international (Instituto Nacional de Evaluación y Calidad del Sistema Educativo, 2004) level. The national study involved 14 to 16-year-old students and included a Spanish reading comprehension test marked with a maximum possible score of 500. Basque students scored slightly above the national mean (224 *vs.* 220 at the age of 14—there was no 16-year-old Basque sample), whereas Catalan students were very close to the mean (218 *vs.* 220 at the age of 14 and 266 *vs.* 271 at the age of 16). These results clearly indicate that the use of Basque and Catalan as vehicle languages, either in maintenance programmes or in immersion programmes, does not negatively affect the normal development of the majority language, Spanish.

Analysis of the results of an international study, known as PISA 2003 and carried out in 41 countries involving 276,165 students produced similar findings. In this study the academic achievement of students at the age of 15 and about to finish compulsory education was assessed. Spain participated as a whole, but Catalonia and the Basque Country took part with a large sample which allowed more significant comparisons. The results revealed that both communities were above the Spanish mean in reading comprehension (497 for the Basque sample, 483 for the Catalan compared to 481 for the overall Spanish participants) and mathematics (502 for the Basque students, 494 for the Catalan *vs.* 485 for the Spanish participants). Once again these results proved that the bilingual Catalan and Basque educational systems do not hinder the normal development of basic school skills at all.

Last but not least, it has to be said that since the implementation of bilingual programmes in Spain, and especially since 2000, the language background of an ever-increasing number of students is changing. Immigrant students now make up 7.4% of the school population, although their distribution is unequal in the different communities: for example, more than 10% in Madrid and Catalonia, but only between 3% and 4% in Asturias and the Basque Country (Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 2006).

This new reality brings about two main consequences. Firstly, these immigrant students in bilingual communities such as Catalonia attend schools which do not meet the immersion programmes' minimum conditions (they have teachers who are not bilingual, for example) and, secondly, they are enrolled in regular programmes in communities where there is no tradition of bilingual education, such as in the Community of Madrid. This is provoking innovation in many schools, whose aim is to develop methodological and organizational proposals which can help to deal with diversity (Lasagabaster and Sierra, 2005). Similarly, the need to foster a better command of the foreign language has also boosted methodological innovations which are usually based on the experience already gathered in bilingual programmes (Vila, 2005).

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**North America**

## BILINGUAL EDUCATION BY AND FOR AMERICAN INDIANS, ALASKA NATIVES AND NATIVE HAWAIIANS

### INTRODUCTION

People were shocked when we suggested using Navajo in school. Nobody has ever suggested using Navajo in the school to learn, so how can you do that? School is to learn English. — Agnes Dodge Holm, Navajo bilingual educator and cofounder of the Rock Point Bilingual Education Program (cited in McCarty, 2002, p. 113)

Bilingual education for Native peoples in the USA is no less fraught with controversy today than it was in the 1960s when Indigenous educators such as Agnes Dodge Holm introduced the then-radical notion of schooling in the Native language. The issues today, however, are much different; whereas the goal of early Native American bilingual programs was to develop children's Native language while they acquired English as a second language, the situation today is reversed, as more Native children come to school speaking English as a primary language. The troubling paradox is that even as this shift to English has occurred, Native students often are stigmatized as "limited English proficient" and tracked into remedial programs. Up to 40% of these children will leave school before graduating (National Center for Education Statistics, 1997). Thus, contemporary Native American bilingual education programs have the combined goals of revitalizing Native languages and promoting children's English language learning and school achievement.

The term "Native American" glosses tremendous cultural, linguistic, and educational diversity. More than four million people, or 1.5% of the U.S. population, self-identify as American Indian or Alaska Native; an additional 874,000 people, or 0.03% of the total population, identify as Native Hawaiian or "other Pacific Islander" (U.S. Census Bureau, 2006). Native peoples in the U.S. represent more than 560 federally recognized tribes and 175 languages. Further heightening this diversity are the different historical experiences among tribes in the "lower 48" states, Native Alaskans, and Native Hawaiians, and the fact that education for Native students is conducted in federal, state, parochial, private, and tribal- or community-controlled schools. This diversity notwithstanding,

all Native Americans are recognized as First Peoples and members of internally sovereign Native nations. For more than 400 years, Native American children and the content and medium of their schooling have been at the heart of the struggle between tribal sovereignty and federal control.

#### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Bi-/multilingualism was traditionally a natural part of Native children's education. Even as the European colonizing project took root, tribes such as the Choctaws and Cherokees co-opted missionary literacies, establishing bilingual schools and newspapers and developing autochthonous systems such as Sequoya's 1821 Cherokee syllabary. In fact, first-language literacy among the Cherokees in the early 1800s was higher than that of the local White population (Spring, 1996).

Between 1778 and 1871, the federal government signed more than 400 treaties with Indian tribes, of which 120 had education-related stipulations. For tribes, this was understood as educational opportunity in exchange for land, but the federal assimilation agenda was clear: "The first step toward civilization," wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1887, "toward teaching the Indians the mischief and folly of . . . their barbarous practices, is to teach them the English language" (Atkins, 1887, cited in Crawford, 1992, p. 51).

By the end of the nineteenth century, the engine for achieving this goal was the federal boarding school system. Boarding schools were established on and off Native lands, often in former military forts that had served as staging areas to annihilate Native peoples just a few years before. These were "arguably the most minutely surveilled and controlled federal institutions ever created to transform the lives of any group of Americans" (Lomawaima and McCarty, 2006, p. 2.). After cleanliness and obedience, "No Indian Talk" was the first rule in many federal Indian schools (Spack, 2002, p. 24), and children were brutally punished for infractions (Medicine, 1982).

By the 1930s, there was general recognition that federal Indian education policy was failing. A seminal report by Lewis Meriam et al. (1928) documented that failure, setting the stage for reforms undertaken from 1933 to 1945 under Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier. Those reforms included establishing community day schools, recruiting Native teachers, and initiating some bilingual programs (Medicine, 1982). During Collier's administration the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) also published the first secular literacy materials in Navajo, Lakota, and Hopi, some of which remain in use today (see Lomawaima and McCarty, 2006, pp. 91–113. for a full discussion of the *Indian Readers* series).

These gains atrophied under a subsequent federal policy to terminate the tribal–federal trust relationship. The results for American Indian education were devastating. In 1969, the US Senate released a sweeping condemnation of Indian education, citing dropout rates twice the national average, achievement levels years below those of White students, and the absence of Native people in education positions (Reyhner and Eder, 2004, pp. 254–254.). The contemporaneous National Study of Indian Education reported similar findings, also noting that a majority of Indian students and parents supported instruction in Native languages (Fuchs and Havighurst, 1972, pp. 207, 213.). Along with the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s and growing activism by Native educators and scholars, a new era of tribal self-determination was born. In 1972, Congress passed the Indian Education Act, followed by the Indian Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act of 1975. In concert with the 1968 Bilingual Education Act, this legislation established the legal and financial framework for developing new Indigenous bilingual/bicultural programs.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

In 1974, Spolsky reviewed 74 American Indian and Alaska Native bilingual programs—the majority in existence at the time (Spolsky, 1974a). Although differing in their goals and sociolinguistic circumstances, all of these programs sought to enhance Native students’ cultural pride and academic achievement, and included activities for developing Native language teaching materials and preparing Indigenous teachers. Reflecting the reality of reservation economies and the absence of alternative funding, all programs were supported by federal funds; “in virtually no cases,” Spolsky (1974a) writes, “are bilingual programs part of the regularly funded educational system” (p. 56). Research and practice in Indigenous language education over the past three decades must be understood in light of the fact that status, corpus, and acquisition planning all had to be undertaken in the context of short-term, inconsistent federal funding. In all cases, this involved growing bilingual education programs “from scratch,” including the preparation of Native-speaking teachers and the development of practical grammars, orthographies, and other teaching materials.

McCarty (2002) and Dick and McCarty (1996) document the first systematic effort to address these challenges at the Rough Rock Demonstration School, founded in 1966 on the Navajo reservation in Arizona. An outgrowth of federal antipoverty initiatives, the demonstration was two-fold: Rough Rock was the first Native American school to have an all-Indian governing board and the first to teach in the Native language (Roessel, 1977). The school launched the first

publishing center for Navajo curricula, offered initial literacy in Navajo, sponsored numerous economic development projects, and established a training program to prepare traditional healers. Many of these innovations eventually faded due to shifting federal funding, but Rough Rock nonetheless played a profound role in furthering American Indian self-determination. More than 120 Native American communities have subsequently signed grants or contracts to operate their own schools.

More recently, Rough Rock implemented the Rough Rock English-Navajo Language Arts Program (RREN LAP), an elementary school initiative modeled after the Hawai'i-based Kamehameha Early Education Program (Begay et al., 1995). RREN LAP operated from 1988 to 2003, with elementary classrooms organized around learning centers and culturally relevant themes. Classroom instruction was complemented by summer literature camps in which students, teachers, and elders jointly engaged in research, storytelling, drama, and art projects centered on local themes (McCarty, 2002).

Longitudinal studies show that after four years, RREN LAP students' mean scores on local tests of English rose from 58% to 91%. Overall, students who experienced sustained initial literacy instruction in Navajo made the greatest gains on local and national achievement measures. RREN LAP students also were assessed as having stronger oral Navajo and Navajo literacy abilities than their nonbilingual education peers (McCarty, 2002). The key to the program's success was the fact that it was developed by bilingual teachers: "In contrast to programs driven by top-down . . . mandates, RREN LAP involves community educators teaching according to community norms" (Begay et al., 1995, p. 122).

Holm and Holm (1990, 1995) document similar accomplishments for the Navajo bilingual education program at Rock Point, Arizona. On the theory that "learning to read in the language one speaks will . . . result in better reading skills" (Rosier and Farella, 1976, p. 379), Rock Point offered initial literacy in Navajo and a secondary-level applied literacy program involving research, word processing, and publishing in two languages. Rock Point students consistently outperformed their peers in conventional programs, and students' gains were cumulative (Holm and Holm, 1990, p. 184; Rosier and Farella, 1976, p. 38). Moreover, "Most Rock Point graduates came to value their Navajo-ness and see themselves as . . . succeeding because of, not despite, that Navajo-ness" (Holm and Holm, 1990, p. 184).

Watahomigie and Yamamoto (1987) report on a public school program on the Hualapai reservation in Arizona. A Yuman language, Hualapai has approximately 1,500 speakers. Prior to 1976, it had no practical writing system. A bilingual education grant in 1976 enabled local educators, elders, and academic linguists to create a practical orthography and grammar for the language as the foundation for a K-8

bilingual/bicultural curriculum. As a result of the program, Hualapai students significantly increased their oral English abilities as well as school attendance and graduation rates (Watahomigie and McCarty, 1996). The program's founders also established the American Indian Language Development Institute, a university-accredited training program in American Indian linguistics and bilingual/bicultural education that "has prepared over 1,000 parents and . . . educators to work as researchers, curriculum developers, and advocates for the . . . development of Indigenous languages and cultures" (McCarty et al., 2001, p. 372).

Spolsky (1974a) and Crawford (2004) report on Cree, Crow, and Northern Cheyenne bilingual education, which began as a combined project in the 1970s. Cree and Northern Cheyenne are mutually unintelligible Algonquian languages; Crow belongs to the Siouan language family. "One of the fallacies . . . about Indians is that [non-Indians] think we're generic," Northern Cheyenne educational leader Richard Littlebear states, noting that the bundling of three Indigenous language groups into a single program did not work (cited in Crawford, 2004, p. 271). Subsequently, the Crow Tribe established a materials development center that published texts on Crow history as well as bilingual calendars, workbooks, and films. The Crow bilingual/bicultural program taught oral concepts in Crow and offered a Crow language enrichment program through grade 6, along with lessons in Crow history. The program's benefits were both cultural and academic, as more children were reported as "reading close to grade level" (Crawford, 2004, p. 273). An additional benefit was the preparation of a cadre of Native-speaking teachers.

A final contribution is the Yup'ik teacher-leader group or *Ciulistet* in southwestern Alaska. When the program began, a "widespread belief [existed] that Yup'ik 'gets in the way' of English and Western knowledge," program cofounders Jerry Lipka and Esther Ilutsik report (1995, p. 201). Composed of Yup'ik teachers, elders, and non-Native academics, the *Ciulistet* worked over many years to create a bilingual/bicultural math and science curriculum. "Not only do we want the elders to share their knowledge with us," Lipka and Ilutsik (1995) write, "but we want to show the larger community . . . that the elders' knowledge 'counts,' that their language holds wisdom, and that their stories teach values, science and literacy" (p. 201.). This long-term project demonstrates how Yup'ik oral literacy can be a basis for teaching mathematics while simultaneously meeting national standards (Lipka et al., 1998, p. 142).

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Some of the programs described in [the previous section](#) continue to operate; others have been dissolved or transformed as conditions have changed. A major change in recent years has been the accelerating

decline of heritage-language proficiency among the young. For example, in a 1969 study of Navajo six-year-olds, Spolsky (1974b) found that 73% spoke Navajo as well as or better than English. In contrast, in a 1993 study of 3,300 Navajo kindergartners, only about a third were assessed as having age-appropriate proficiency in Navajo (Holm and Holm, 1995).

The situation is even graver for other Native American languages. “Our Native American languages are in the penultimate moment of their existence in this world,” Littlebear (1996, p. xv) warns. According to the linguist Michael Krauss (1998), of the 175 Indigenous languages still spoken in the USA, only 20 (11%) are still being naturally acquired as a first language by children. The causes of this shift are complex, but federal education policies designed to eradicate Native languages have played a crucial role. “What the boarding schools taught us,” one bilingual teacher remarked, “was that our language is second-best” (cited in McCarty, 2002, p. 182). As Krauss (1998) points out, one does not simply “get over” the federally sanctioned abuse inflicted upon children for speaking their mother tongues in school (p. 16).

Efforts to revitalize endangered Native American languages have been helped by the 1990/1992 Native American Languages Act (NALA), which vows to “preserve, protect, and promote the rights and freedom of Native Americans to use, practice, and develop” Native languages, including their use as media of instruction in Indian schools (NALA, 1990, Sec. 104[1], [5]). Although some have criticized NALA as too little too late, this legislation represents both a resource for and an expression of Indigenous linguistic and educational self-determination. (For a full discussion, see Lomawaima and McCarty, 2006, pp. 134–137). In 2006, NALA was augmented by the Esther Martinez Native American Languages Preservation Act (named after the late Tewa elder and language educator Esther Martinez), which authorizes Native American “language nest” immersion programs for children under age 7, language survival schools, teacher training, and language materials development.

A key strategy for Native-language revitalization is Indigenous-language immersion, instruction that provides all or most content in the Native language. “There can be no doubt that [Indigenous-language immersion] is the best way to jump-start the production of a new generation of speakers,” Hinton (2001) points out (p. 8). The remainder of this section examines a select sample of Indigenous-language immersion efforts under way.

### *Hawaiian Immersion*

After being banned in public schools for 90 years, the Hawaiian language and culture were nearly decimated. Beginning in the 1960s, a

“Hawaiian renaissance” movement took root. “From this renaissance came a new group of Hawaiian speakers who would become Hawaiian language educators,” Sam L. N. Warner, a Native scholar and leader in the movement, states (2001, p. 135).

In 1978, Hawaiian and English were designated co-official languages in Hawai‘i, and a new state constitution mandated the promotion of Hawaiian language, culture, and history. In 1983, Hawaiian-speaking parents and educators established *‘Aha Pūnana Leo* (“language nest gathering”), Hawaiian-medium preschools designed to strengthen the language and culture (Wilson and Kamaná, 2001, p. 149.). As Pūnana Leo students prepared to enter English-dominant public schools, their parents pressed the state for Hawaiian-medium elementary and secondary programs. In 2005, there were 11 full-day immersion preschools and 14 public school sites, and the opportunity for an education in Hawaiian extended from preschool to graduate school (Wilson and Kamaná, 2001). One school provides full immersion to children from birth through grade 12. In other Hawaiian-medium schools, children are educated entirely in Hawaiian until fifth grade, when English language arts is introduced. Children learn a third language in intermediate and high school. In addition, community outreach programs encourage Hawaiian language learning outside of school.

According to Warner (2001), approximately 2,000 children have learned to speak Hawaiian through immersion schooling. Immersion students have performed as well as or better than nonimmersion students on standardized tests, even in English language arts. Equally important is the development of children’s self-esteem and ethnic pride: “I [am] still speaking Hawaiian,” a child educated in Hawaiian-medium schools reports, “and it will be so forever . . . I am very grateful . . . for this blessing” (Maka’ai et al., 1998, p. 121).

### *Navajo Immersion*

The Navajo immersion program at Fort Defiance, Arizona began in 1987. At the time, “only one-third of the kindergarten entrants had even passive knowledge of Navajo” (Arviso and Holm, 2001, p. 204). At the same time, the students did not test well in English: “They were relatively weak in their only language!” program cofounders Marie Arviso and Wayne Holm report (2001, p. 205). In this context, a Navajo immersion program was believed to “be the only . . . program with some chance of success” (Arviso and Holm, 2001, p. 205). The program began with initial reading in Navajo then English, math in both languages, and other subjects introduced as content for speaking or writing (Holm and Holm, 1995, p. 195). In the lower grades, all communication occurred in Navajo, and the program required adult

caretakers to “spend some time talking with the child in Navajo each evening after school” (Arviso and Holm, 2001, p. 21).

After seven years of program implementation, Navajo immersion students performed as well on local tests of English as comparable students in English-only classrooms; immersion students performed better on local assessments of English writing, and were well ahead in mathematics. On standardized tests of English reading, immersion students were slightly behind, but closing the gap (Holm and Holm, 1995). The program has evolved into a full-immersion primary/intermediate school (Tséhootsooí Diné Bi’ólta’, or The Navajo School at the Meadow between the Rocks), and Navajo-immersion students continue to outperform their peers in mainstream English classrooms (Johnson and Legatz, 2006). These students are consistently accomplishing what a large body of research on second-language acquisition predicts: They are acquiring Navajo “without cost” to their English language development or academic achievement, while developing oral proficiency and literacy in a second, heritage language as well.

### *Master-Apprentice Programs*

In California, where 50 Indigenous languages are spoken—none as a mother tongue by children—a radically different approach to language immersion has been developed. As Hinton (2001) points out, unlike the Hawaiians and Navajos, California Native peoples do not have a single language “that can become the symbol of indigenous rights . . . , nor is there one language into which human and financial . . . resources can be poured” (p. 218). The approach there has therefore been the master-apprentice model, in which Native speakers and younger language learners live and work together over months or years, engaging in everyday activities and communicating always in the heritage language, with the emphasis on communication-based, oral language acquisition (Hinton, 2001).

By 1999, 55 master-apprentice teams were in place, representing 16 languages (Hinton, 2001, p. 218). The teams’ work is often complemented by immersion camps involving children, parents, and elders. Sims (1998) examines these efforts for the Karuk, a tribe in northwestern California with 2,300 members but only a few elderly Native speakers. In addition to master-apprentice teams, Karuk language camps involve intergenerational participation in language-learning activities embedded in everyday life. The staff reports the rapid rate at which children learn and use Karuk, language transfer to other contexts, and positive new intergenerational relationships (Sims, 1998). Public school classes also involve teachers and students in collaborative learning of Karuk.

The desired result of these types of programs, Hinton (2001) states, “is that by the end of three years, the apprentices will be at least

conversationally proficient in their language” and ready to teach it to others (p. 223). Other benefits include involving elders in positive ways, thereby “reducing the generation gap felt by so many Native Americans who have struggled with enormous cultural changes in the last century, . . . [and] bringing people back in touch with their roots” (Hinton, 2001, p. 225).

### *Community-Based Language Immersion in the New Mexico Pueblos*

A final example comes from the Keres-speaking Pueblos of Acoma and Cochiti in northern New Mexico. The Pueblos are among the most enduring Native communities in North America, retaining strong theocratic governments and ceremonial systems while participating vigorously in the national economy. At Cochiti and Acoma, language planning surveys in the mid-1990s showed that intergenerational transmission of Keres had virtually stopped, a serious concern because Keres is recognized as the essential “thread that ties together all aspects of traditional . . . life” (Pecos and Blum-Martinez, 2001, p. 76). At the same time, adults and young people expressed strong interest in revitalizing the language (Romero-Little and McCarty, 2006). Both Pueblos launched immersion programs focused on strengthening oral skills. “There is widespread support for keeping [the Native language] in its oral form,” Pecos and Blum-Martinez (2001) explain; “oral tradition . . . has been an important element in maintaining [community] values [and the] leaders know that writing the language could bring about unwanted changes in secular and religious traditions” (p. 76).

Recently, Cochiti extended its efforts to include year-round Keres instruction in the public elementary school (grades 1 through 5). An important factor in these school-based efforts is tribal fiscal and operational control over the program.

Preliminary program data show that on national assessments of English language arts, students who participated in immersion classes performed better than those in English-only classes (Romero-Little and McCarty, 2006). More important to community members are the facts that children have gained conversational ability in Keres and that there is growing evidence of Native language use community-wide. Cochiti and Acoma have been recognized as exemplars of community-based language planning (see discussions in Hinton and Hale, 2001; Romero-Little and McCarty, 2006).

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Less than a decade after passing NALA, Congress passed Public Law 107–110, the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act of 2001. Despite its name, several national studies indicate that NCLB’s

emphasis on high-stakes testing in English, scripted reading programs for children who do not test well in English, and lack of attention to funding inequities for schools with high numbers of minority students, are, in fact, leaving language-minority students “behind.” A 2005 study by the National Indian Education Association (NIEA) found that the law:

1. compromises the rights of tribes, Native communities, and parents to determine the education of their children;
2. negatively impacts the ability of tribes and schools to provide linguistically- and culturally-based instruction “connected to the social, cultural, and linguistic heritage of the children;”
3. has resulted in over-attention to standardized testing at the expense of pedagogically sound instruction; and
4. is inadequately funded for tribes and school districts to meet its legislative mandates and benchmarks (Beaulieu, Sparks and Alonzo, 2005, pp. 5–7).

Further, the report states, “these [legislative] changes . . . have not included the Native voice” (Beaulieu, Sparks, and Alonzo, 2005, p. 4). In combination with state constitutional amendments banning bilingual education in key states with large numbers of Indigenous students (California and Arizona), this federal policy severely restricts the educational options available to Native American students.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Initiatives in support of Native American bilingual/bicultural education must wedge open windows of opportunity within an increasingly monolingualist and punitive federal and state bureaucracy. New Mexico’s 24 Native nations, for example, have developed memoranda-of-agreement with the state to ensure equitable and quality education for Native American children, including instruction in the Native language where this is desired by the tribe (Romero-Little and McCarty, 2006). In Alaska, the Assembly of Alaska Native Educators (AANE) has developed parallel standards for culturally responsive schools, including guidelines for strengthening Indigenous languages (AANE, 2001). In Arizona and Hawai’i, school leaders have successfully fought to retain heritage-language instruction, pointing to these programs’ salutary academic effects. And in 2005, the Navajo Nation passed the Navajo Sovereignty in Education Act, an unprecedented policy that places supervisory authority over schools on Navajo lands under tribal control. Although the policy is being contested in English-only Arizona, it has been a galvanizing force for tribal sovereignty and educational self-determination.

Equally important is a growing national movement, represented in the annual Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Conference begun in 1994

(see Cantoni, 1996 and McCarty and Zepeda, 2006 for a sample of conference themes); organizations such as the Advocates of Indigenous California Language Survival, the Indigenous Language Institute, and the American Indian Language Development Institute; and policies such as the 2006 Esther Martinez Native American Languages Preservation Act. These initiatives all concern the right to choose the kind of education Native parents and communities want for their children: its content, its teachers, its leadership, and its medium of instruction.

From their inception in the 1960s, Native American bilingual education programs have been at the heart of this language planning and policy movement. These programs have widened the possibilities for Indigenous language and culture maintenance, fostered children's acquisition of academic English, prepared a cadre of Indigenous educators, and improved education services for Native American students. Although programs have varied, their focus increasingly has turned toward the threats to the very language and culture resources responsible for much of these programs' success.

As the programs profiled here demonstrate, there is solid research to show that Indigenous-language immersion is superior to English-only instruction, even for students who enter school with limited proficiency in the Native language. By their very nature these programs involve Native parents, elders, and communities directly in the schooling process – a factor widely associated with enhanced academic achievement. These efforts point the way beyond the standardizing practices of current federal education policy, illuminating what educators, parents, schools, and communities can do to ensure that Native children receive an education that is pedagogically sound, culturally based, and linguistically and academically empowering.

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## DUAL LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN CANADA AND THE USA

### INTRODUCTION

Dual language programs in public schools were developed in both Canada and the USA during the 1960s, a period of considerable social change in North America, and indeed worldwide. Dual language education in each country can be said to have been a reflection of more general worldwide concerns for issues of social inequality and institutional response, or lack of response, to inequality in a number of different spheres, including language and culture. At the same time, the specific histories of each country clearly shaped the forms and goals of dual language education that grew out of these very general concerns. For purposes of this review, we define “dual language education” (DLE) as schooling at the elementary and/or secondary levels in which English along with another language is used for at least 50% of academic instruction during at least one school year. This is a minimal definition that captures a wide range of alternatives. The rationale behind DLE is that students can learn a second language effectively if it is used for significant periods of time and for substantive communication in school—much like children learn their native language in the home (see Genesee, 1984, for a detailed description). Most DLE programs (except transitional bilingual programs in the USA) also embrace an additive bilingual conceptualization of language learning; namely, that addition of a second language to a child’s language repertoire is a personal, social, cognitive, and economic advantage that does not need to take place at the expense of the child’s first language competence. Thus, additive dual language programs aim for high levels of oral and written language proficiency in both the students’ home language and a second language.

In Canada, these programs are usually referred to as “*immersion programs*” and in the USA they go by various names (which we explicate shortly), but most generally “*dual language education*” or “immersion education.” We use the term dual language education (DLE) to encompass both additive and nonadditive program types in Canada and the USA in order to provide a comprehensive overview of DLE<sup>1</sup>. In this

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<sup>1</sup> See the National Dual Language Consortium for a definition which includes only additive bilingual program models; [www.duallanguagenm.org/ndlc.html](http://www.duallanguagenm.org/ndlc.html)

chapter, we briefly review the socio-political history of dual language education in each country. This is followed by descriptions of specific forms of DLE in each country and synopses of research undertaken to evaluate the effectiveness of these programs. Finally, we describe the current status of DLE in each country and identify socio-political, pedagogical, and research issues that future researchers and education professionals face.

#### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Immersion programs in English and French were created in the mid-1960s in Quebec in the context of social and linguistic inequities between the French- and English-speaking populations of Canada. French had until the mid-60s been the disadvantaged partner in Canadian confederation despite its historical importance during the early colonization and subsequent development of Canada, despite its contemporary status as an official national language, and despite its demographic significance as the native language of approximately 25% of the Canadian population. Evidence of the inferior status of French has been evident in legislation, which at times prohibited the use of French; patterns of language use, which favored the use of English in most bilingual contexts, even in Quebec; and in language attitudes (see e.g., Genesee and Holobow, 1989). Discontent over these linguistic and cultural inequities had been developing for some time among members of both the French- and English-speaking communities, especially in Quebec. The 1960s were marked by concerted political, social, and in some cases militant action in the French community of Quebec to redress the perceived imbalance in power between the English and French and to recognize the majority status of French in that province. This period in Quebec history is referred to as the "Quiet Revolution." There was, as a result, an emerging awareness in the English-speaking community that French was becoming more important as a language of communication in most spheres of life and, concomitantly, that English alone would no longer assure social and economic success in the province. In response to their dissatisfaction with this state of affairs, a concerned group of English-speaking parents in the suburban community of St. Lambert, outside of Montreal, began to meet informally in the early 1960s to discuss strategies for change (Lambert and Tucker, 1972). These parents attributed the two solitudes that characterized their relationship with francophone Quebecers to their and their children's linguistic incompetence in French. They were determined to improve the quality of second language instruction in English schools and "immersion" was the educational improvement they developed. The first immersion class was opened in September 1965. The primary goals

of immersion programs were to provide the participating students with functional competence in both written and spoken aspects of French, normal levels of English-language development, and achievement in academic subjects commensurate with the students' ability and grade level. They also aimed to ensure an understanding and appreciation of French Canadian people, their language, and culture, without detracting in any way from the students' identity with and appreciation for English Canadian culture. It was also hoped that immersion programs would result in improved relationships between English-speaking and French-speaking Quebecers and, more generally, Canadians who spoke English and French. Many parents across the country came to embrace these goals. Immersion programs in other languages besides French are also available in Canada; for example, Ukrainian, German, Polish, Cree, Hebrew, and Mandarin. Some of these programs include students from minority ethnic group backgrounds who have learned English as a first language and, thus, are learning a heritage language. Some of these programs also include students who are native speakers of the non-English language and, thus, wish to maintain that language and acquire the majority societal language, English. Some programs also include majority group Canadian students who are native-speakers of English and wish to learn the non-English language as a form of linguistic enrichment. All of these programs aim for additive bilingualism.

The socio-political history of DLE in the USA has been complex, with bilingual education tolerated in German, French, and Scandinavian languages in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in some states while instruction through any non-English language was outlawed in other states. In the twentieth century, the late 50s and early 60s brought about important changes to language education. With the launching of Sputnik by the Soviet Union, the USA embarked on an effort to improve education in general and to include foreign language competence in particular as an important educational goal. At the same time, the Cuban revolution sent waves of Cuban refugees to the USA, resulting in the first official bilingual program in the USA—at Coral Way School in Miami, Florida. This program was created to allow Spanish-speaking children of Cuban refugees to retain competence in their native language and to acquire competence in English. Subsequent political events pushed bilingual education onto the agenda of the national education community. Instigated by a federal lawsuit (*Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954) on the constitutionality of segregated education, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 declared that no person could be excluded from or discriminated against in any program funded by the US federal government on the basis of race or national origin, thereby raising concerns about the sole use of English to educate minority language students in public schools. Subsequently,

the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1969 provided assistance to local educational authorities to establish bilingual programs for Spanish-speaking children across the nation.

The scope of bilingual education was expanded considerably in 1970, when the Office of Civil Rights issued an official memorandum that directed school districts to take affirmative action to ensure that students of “national-origin” (including children who did not speak English) were provided equal educational opportunity, as outlined by Civil Rights Act of 1964. Education through minority language students’ native language along with English became the preferred mode of compliance with the OCR memorandum following the Supreme Court decision in *Lau vs. Nichols* in 1974, a class action suit filed on behalf of the Chinese community in San Francisco who contended that their children were denied “equal education opportunity” in English-only schools since they were compelled to attend schools in which instruction was provided in a language they did not understand. The same year, the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act for the first time provided a definition of bilingual education—“It is instruction given in, and study of, English and (to the extent necessary to allow a child to progress effectively through the education system) the native language of the children of limited English-speaking ability . . .” Thus, federally funded education programs were to include native language instruction (and cultural enrichment); ESL instruction alone was not perceived as sufficient to provide equal educational opportunity to students who came to school with no or limited proficiency in English.

DLE became an option for majority English-speaking students in the USA when, in 1971, a Canadian-style Spanish-English immersion program was instituted in Culver City, California (see Cohen, 1974). In the 1970s and 1980s, Canadian-style immersion and bilingual education were extended to include both minority and majority language students in the same classrooms (see Lindholm-Leary, 2001); these are often referred to as *two-way immersion*, *two-way bilingual*, or *dual language* programs. This has become the most prevalent form of DLE for majority language students in the USA with over 338 programs in 2006 (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2006).

#### PROGRAM MODELS

There are a variety of forms of immersion in Canada (Genesee, 2004). They differ with respect to the grade/age level when the second language is used for intensive academic instruction, the number of years when academic subjects are taught in the second language, and the amount of instructional time during the school year provided through

the second and native languages. One can distinguish *early immersion* (beginning in kindergarten or grade 1) from *middle immersion* (beginning in grade 4 or 5) and *late immersion* (beginning in grade 7, or the initial grades of secondary school). Programs that provide a delayed or late start provide core second language instruction to students in the grades that precede the beginning of immersion; for example, from kindergarten to grade 6 in the case of a grade 7 late immersion program. Programs also differ with respect to the extent of instruction through the second language—in *early partial immersion* programs, 50% of instruction in a given year is presented in the second language and 50% in the native language of the students. In *total immersion programs*, all instruction for one or more years is presented through the medium of the second language. Notwithstanding such programmatic variation, all Canadian immersion programs aim for (a) advanced levels of functional proficiency in written and oral forms of the second language, (b) normal levels of first language competence, and (c) grade-appropriate levels of achievement in academic school subjects. An additional, and sometimes only implicit, goal is to promote awareness, understanding, and tolerance of the culture of the second language group.

There are more varied models of DLE in the U.S. (see Genesee, 1999; Lindholm-Leary, 2001; Lindholm-Leary and Borsato, 2006, for more details). Canadian-style immersion programs, as well as two-way immersion programs (to be described shortly), are available to majority language students in a number of different languages, with Spanish being the most common. US immersion programs for native English speakers, which are included in 7% of public elementary schools, take the form of early immersion and share essentially the same goals as their Canadian counterparts (Rhodes and Branaman, 1999).

There are three basic models of DLE for minority language students in the USA. In *transitional bilingual education (TBE)*, the students' home language is used only during the first two or three grades of primary schooling to teach academic and initial literacy skills while students acquire English as a second language. Students transition to all-English instruction usually in grade 3, or at such time as they are deemed to be capable of benefiting from English-only instruction. In contrast, *developmental bilingual programs* and *two-way immersion programs* aim for full competence in oral and written forms of the students' home language and English, their second language. These goals are accomplished by teaching academic and literacy skills in both languages, although the same subjects are not taught simultaneously in both languages. The portion of the school day that is taught through each language differs—the most common patterns being 90% native

language and 10% English or 50% native language and 50% English—so-called *90/10* and *50/50* models, respectively. In *90/10* programs, students learn to read first in the target language (e.g., Spanish), and then add reading instruction through English in third grade. In *50/50* programs, students learn to read first in their primary language and then add the second language in grade 2 or 3, or they learn to read simultaneously through both languages.

Developmental programs differ from two-way programs in that all students in the former come from language minority backgrounds, usually Hispanic, whereas a third to a half of the students in two-way programs are members of the majority English language group. Both are additive forms of DLE, as are the Canadian immersion programs, since they aim to maintain the students' native language at the same time as they promote competence in the other language along with high standards in academic subjects. There is one critical difference between DLE for minority students in the USA and DLE education for majority language students in the USA and Canada, namely, minority language students in DLE programs are expected to acquire levels of proficiency in both oral and written English that are at grade level or in accordance with district and state expectations for typically developing native English speakers. This obviously arises from the fact that the second language for minority students in the USA is English, the dominant societal language, whereas in DLE programs for majority language students in both countries, the students' second language is considered a minority language relative to the importance of English; this is true even in Quebec, where French is the dominant language. In contrast, DLE programs for majority English-speaking students in Canada and the USA are deemed to be successful if students achieve advanced levels of functional proficiency in their second language even if their proficiency is not on par with native speakers of the target language.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

There has been extensive research on the language and academic development of English-speaking students in Canadian DLE programs, and most notably French immersion (Genesee, 2004). The findings from these evaluations have been replicated, for the most part, in evaluations of DLE programs with different second languages and in other regions of the world, including the USA, where similar programs with majority language students have been implemented (Christian and Genesee, 2001; Johnson and Swain, 1997). In brief, research has consistently shown that English-speaking Canadian students in all forms of French immersion acquire significantly more advanced levels of functional

proficiency in French than students who receive conventional second language instruction—that is, instruction that focuses primarily on language learning and is restricted to separate, limited periods of time. Proficiency has been assessed with respect to speaking, listening, reading, and writing. Many researchers have reported that immersion students' production skills (speaking and writing) in French are less advanced than their comprehension skills (reading and listening) and that immersion students seldom attain native-like grammatical accuracy or idiomatic usage and they often have a limited range of vocabulary and pragmatic competence in French even after 10 to 12 years participation in immersion (see Genesee, 2004, for more details).

At the same time, French immersion students develop the same levels of proficiency in all aspects of English as comparable students in English-only programs. There can be a lag in the development of English literacy skills (reading, writing, and spelling) among students in the initial years of early total immersion when all academic instruction is in French. Parity with control students who have been instructed entirely in English is usually achieved by early total immersion students after one year of English instruction. The English language development of students who begin immersion beyond the primary grades—in the middle elementary or initial secondary school grades, usually shows that these students exhibit age-appropriate English skills at all grade levels. Research has also shown that immersion students generally achieve the same levels of achievement in academic domains (e.g., science and mathematics) as comparable students in English-only programs. Parity with control students is often exhibited even when immersion students receive all academic instruction through French, provided the assessment is conducted in French and modifications are made to take into account that full competence in the second language has not been acquired.

Research has also shown that English-speaking immersion students who are at-risk for academic and language learning difficulties due to socio-economic, cognitive, or first language disadvantages generally achieve the same levels of competence in English and academic domains as comparable at-risk students in English-only programs. At-risk students in immersion generally perform less well than students in the same program who are not at-risk, but their progress is not differentially impeded in comparison to comparable students in English programs. At the same time, at-risk students benefit from DLE by acquiring advanced levels of functional proficiency in the second language. Other research that has examined differences in second language achievement as a function of starting grade level (i.e., early vs. late immersion) and amount of exposure to the second language (total vs. partial) has revealed that early immersion students often achieve

higher levels of proficiency in French than late immersion students, but not always, and that total immersion generally yields higher levels of second language proficiency than partial immersion (Genesee, 2004).

Evaluations of DLE for majority language students in the USA have yielded results that are comparable to those found in Canada with respect to general program goals; that is, with respect to first language development, academic achievement, and second language proficiency (Howard, Sugarman and Christian, 2003; Lindholm-Leary, 2001). Majority language students in immersion and two-way programs often score below comparison students in English language and literacy in the initial two or three grades of elementary school, but are at par with or exceed the performance of comparable students in all-English programs by the end of elementary school. As found in immersion education in Canada, students in two-way programs from a variety of ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds, and even special needs students, achieve at levels commensurate with or higher than their monolingual peers in English-only classes.

Evaluations of DLE for minority language students in the USA have revealed that students in two-way immersion and developmental bilingual programs achieve outcomes in English oral language and literacy and academic domains that are comparable to, or higher in some cases than, comparison students (i.e., Hispanic students) in all-English programs, while also demonstrating higher levels of Spanish language competence (Lindholm-Leary and Borsato, 2006; Thomas and Collier, 2002). Parity in English with comparison students in all-English programs is not always evident during the initial grades of DLE, but is evident by the end of elementary school. Comparisons between the standardized test results of minority language students in DLE programs and district/state or national test norms have found that students in developmental bilingual and two-way immersion programs usually score at norm, or higher. Minority language students in TBE programs generally score better on language, literacy, and academic achievement tests than similar students in all-English programs that provide no special accommodations, but not as high as minority language students in two-way and developmental programs. Long-term studies of the outcomes of minority language students in such programs indicate that there is a positive correlation between length of participation in the program and academic (including literacy) outcomes and between level of bilingual competence and achievement in academic subjects such as mathematics. Lindholm-Leary and Borsato (2006) present a more detailed summary of studies on DLE for minority language students, including results pertaining to other programmatic and instructional issues.

There are significant points of convergence in the findings of evaluations of additive DLE for majority and minority language students, despite the differential status that their first languages and cultures enjoy: (i) achievement levels of students in additive DLE, including levels of proficiency in the target languages, are most evident the longer students are in the program and, usually, after 5 or 6 years; (ii) in a related vein, parity with native speakers of the majority language is often not evidenced in the primary grades but is apparent by the end of elementary school; (iii) there is no consistent relationship between amount of exposure to the majority language and proficiency in that language, at least by the end of elementary school; (iv) in contrast, more exposure to the minority language (Spanish in the U.S. and French in Canada) is usually associated with higher levels of proficiency in that language; (v) instruction through a second language does not impair students' achievement in academic subject matter; and (vi) higher levels of bilingual proficiency are associated with higher levels of academic and cognitive development (see Genesee, Lindholm-Leary, Saunders and Christian, 2006).

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

DLE emerged in the 1960s in Canada and the USA as responses to national issues of equity and diversity. Since that time, globalization has become evident in economic, communication, and other spheres of people's lives and the dual language competence as well as familiarity with other cultures that DLE affords are increasingly being viewed as assets in this global context. Immersion programs continue to thrive in Canada, primarily in French, but also in other languages (Genesee, 2004). Similarly, DLE programs for majority language students in the USA continue to grow, particularly in the form of two-way immersion programs. At the same time, there have been constraints imposed on the growth of DLE programs for minority language students in the USA as a result of legislative changes concerning English-only instruction imposed in some states. It remains to be seen how profound and for how long these restrictions will be, especially in light of the increased pressure on US educators and parents to take account of globalization. While there is considerable and reassuring research on alternative forms of DLE in both Canada and the USA, there are a number of outstanding questions of a pedagogical nature that need research attention if program models are to evolve and become more effective. Among these issues are the following:

1. What pedagogical approaches are most effective in promoting language acquisition since, as noted earlier, DLE students often exhibit inadequacies in their language skills even after extended

participation in DLE programs? In particular, are there specific instructional strategies that enhance students' mastery of grammatical features of the L2 while maintaining students' communicative fluency? What forms of corrective feedback produce significant, long-term gains in linguistic competence?

2. Are there students for whom DLE is not effective? In particular, are bilingual programs suitable for students with severe cognitive, perceptuo-motor, or affective disorders? In a related vein, do at-risk students in DLE programs exhibit the same challenges and to the same extent as comparable students in monolingual programs and what intervention strategies are effective for students with such learning challenges? Should services for students with special needs be provided in the native or the second language?
3. Are there specific instructional strategies that are particularly effective for teaching typologically distinct languages? To date, most programs and research have examined linguistically similar languages (i.e., English and French or Spanish). Similarly, how can literacy best be taught in languages with orthographically distinct writing systems? Is simultaneous or successive introduction of literacy instruction in two languages with different typologies and/or orthographies preferable?
4. What kinds of skills and professional development are required of teachers so that they can work effectively in DLE programs.

The reader is referred to the following for extended reviews of research on DLE in Canada and the USA: Genesee (2004), Genesee and Gandara (1999), Howard, Sugarman and Christian (2003), and Lindholm-Leary (2001, Lindholm-Leary and Borsato, 2006).

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## **Pacific Region and Australasia**

## BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC

## INTRODUCTION

The small island states situated in the South Pacific can be visualized as nations within an immense continent of water. Oceania was settled eastward in successive explorations by the world's best navigators, with civilization evident in Fiji some 3,200 years ago (Geraghty, 1994). The peoples of the South Pacific are today a cultural mosaic, speaking hundreds of indigenous languages overlaid by the imported languages of traders, missionaries, colonials, indentured laborers, temporary workers, and immigrants, interspersed with contact languages.

The indigenous languages spoken in the South Pacific belong to two families: Austronesian, the largest and geographically most extended language family in the world, and, in the western Pacific, reflecting a much earlier period of civilization, Papuan (Wurm, 1994). However, it was not until after the European explorations of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries that the languages that currently dominate education, trade, and diplomacy arrived in the islands.

The Pacific islands are the most linguistically complex region in the world, home to nearly 1,200 distinct languages, though many are spoken in small, endangered language communities (Lynch, 1998). The islands are characteristically described in three ethnogeographic areas within which language demography varies markedly: Melanesia ("black islands"<sup>1</sup>) has the greatest abundance of languages per capita in the world; Polynesia ("many islands") and Micronesia ("small islands") are demographically far less culturally and linguistically complex. However, Polynesian societies are characterized by rigid social hierarchies, differentiated by privilege, and language register, e.g., in Tonga, different speech registers mark royalty, nobility, and commoners (Lawson, 1996, p. 87), whereas Melanesian social orders are typified by egalitarian, consensual governments in which leadership is achieved rather than ascribed.

The majority of societies in the South Pacific achieved political independence between the 1960s and the 1980s, though a handful of colonies persist, viz., French (French Polynesia, New Caledonia including

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<sup>1</sup> According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the epithet Melanesian was derived from the ancient Greek word for black: 'melano'.

the Loyalty Islands, Wallis, Futuna, American (American Samoa), New Zealand (Tokelau<sup>2</sup>), British (Pitcairn Islands), Australian (Norfolk Island), and Chilean (Easter Island [Rapanui]). Niue and the Cook Islands are internally self-governing states in free association with New Zealand. Tonga, a unified country under a constitutional monarchy since 1875, was a British protectorate from 1900 till 1970, and is currently a member of the British commonwealth (Tonga, 2006).

One generalization in language education is common to all South Pacific island nations, irrespective of their sovereignty: education is conducted fundamentally in a world language bequeathed as a colonial legacy—English in the majority of islands, French in present and former French colonial territories, and Spanish in Rapanui. This review will focus predominantly on educational language policy and practice in the postcolonial English speaking societies of the South Pacific (including the aforementioned Polynesian countries in sovereignty association with New Zealand), viz., Fiji, Solomon Islands, and Vanuatu (Melanesia); Cook Islands, Niue, Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu, and Western Samoa (Polynesia); Kiribati and Nauru (Micronesia), with some reference to programs in Palau, Papua New Guinea, and Aotearoa/New Zealand.

#### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Throughout the island societies of the South Pacific, the genesis of formal education is rooted in evangelism. The first members of the London Missionary Society arrived in Tahiti in 1797 (Stanley, 1993). Thus started the wave of evangelism which carried the tide of literacy westward through the Pacific islands, with the London Missionary Society beginning its mission in the Cook Islands in 1821 (Moore, 1990); the Wesleyan Mission beginning the first primary schools in Tonga in 1828 (Fiefa, 1981); the first of the present day network of pastors' schools being set up in Samoa by the London Missionary Society in 1830 (Thomas, 1988); and the Methodists arriving in Fiji in 1835 (Postlethwaite and Thomas, 1988).

The early emphasis on vernacular literacy instituted by Protestant missionaries was to convert the natives of the islands to Christianity and to “civilize” them in accordance with nineteenth century middle class English values (Fiefa, 1981). Education was proselytizing in nature: schools were village-based, materials were religious in nature, the

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<sup>2</sup> Tokelau is currently in the process of drafting a constitution and developing institutions and patterns of self-government in a planned move toward free association with New Zealand, which would put it on a similar political footing to Niue and the Cook Islands. (<http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/tl.html#Govt>)

emphasis was on vernacular literacy, and instruction favored the development of reading as opposed to writing skills (Cokanasiga, 1994; Fiefa, 1981; Thomas, 1988). The aim was for Pacific Islanders to be able to read the Bible in their own languages. Crowley quotes Lynch's 1979 report of an elderly gentleman who had attended missionary school in Vanuatu speaking Bislama, describing it as: "Baibel, Baibel, singsing nomo" [Bible, more Bible, and just singing.] (Crowley, 2005, p. 33.).

Catholics reached Polynesia in 1834 (Stanley, 1993). Marist missionaries arrived in Fiji in 1844 and began the establishment of a few centralized schools in which English took an academic role in contrast to the Protestant missionaries' village-based vernacular schools (Cokanasiga, 1994). These Catholic schools became the preserve of the elite.

Nowhere is the conflict between Protestant and Catholic mission orientations in education more sharply seen than in Vanuatu, which was, prior to independence in 1980, the English–French condominium colony of the New Hebrides. Typically, early education had been left in the hands of the missions who financed and ran their own schools (Thomas, 1990). However, the English–French political divide culturally polarized education with the English affiliating with Protestantism and French with Catholicism. This colonially inherited cultural schism has persisted into present day bringing with it a traditionally dual-lingual as opposed to bilingual system of education that is currently moving into trilingualism with the integration of Bislama, the sole national language (Crowley, 2005; Early, 1999).

Nonsecular schools continue to exert a major force in Pacific education. Due to the variety of structures governing Pacific education, i.e., state, religious, and community councils, education is not compulsory and free for all children, with notable access issues reported in the Solomon Islands, and Vanuatu (Reymer, 1999), and attendance problems in Nauru, which has compulsory education. In Tonga, where education was made compulsory in 1876, 90% of secondary school children attend nonsecular schools (Kavaliku, 1982). The majority of secondary schools in Kiribati, which also provides free and compulsory schooling, are church-run (Mackenzie, n.d.). The literacy rates in Pacific countries correspond to school attendance, reported by Crowl (n.d., electronic version) as: "high in Polynesia—100% in Tokelau, 98.5% in Tonga, 95% in Tuvalu, over 90% in Cook Islands and Niue"; but much lower in the Marshall Islands, Nauru, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, and Vanuatu.

Post World War I, in response to increased public demand for education, governments began to take a hand in the education of their citizenry. The trend was to establish exogenous school curricula, which required importing teachers from such countries as New Zealand and Australia to prepare students for foreign examinations. Since the

late twentieth century, island governments have moved increasingly towards changing the focus of school curricula to a more culturally balanced education which retains the advantages of accessing print in the colonial language/s of wider communication while valuing indigenous cultures.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Bilingual education does not currently take a strong form in any South Pacific island state. Three paradigms are prevalent: *transitional bilingual education*, where education is conducted in the child's home language until proficiency in the second language, an international language, has reached a threshold sufficient for education to be taught through that medium, normally in primary school; *maintenance bilingual education*, where early education in the home language is maintained through subject teaching after the transfer to the second language for content instruction; and *submersion education*, where instruction is carried out in the colonial language without support to the home language/s, to be contrasted with *immersion education* where content language instruction is linguistically supported. The predominant paradigm is transitional bilingual education, aiming towards functional proficiency in the second (colonial) language within primary school education, though many countries in the Pacific have moved or are moving from a purely transitional model into a more supportive maintenance curriculum. Maintenance bilingual education is provided or attempted in a handful of mainly Polynesian countries. Submersion programs typify education in polyglot Melanesian societies.

Transitional bilingual education, provided in Kiribati (in Micronesia), and in the smaller Polynesian countries, introduces basic literacy and numeracy in the vernacular while teaching English as a second language. The vernacular is sanctioned as the medium of education for the first three years of schooling; by the fourth grade, English becomes the medium. Although English has a strong place in education, international business, and regional government, its use in the community varies. For instance, Niueans and Cook Islanders carry New Zealand passports and may have extended family living in New Zealand with whom they regularly stay. Children in Western Samoa or Tonga would come in contact with less environmental English, mostly from tourists; I-Kiribati children are still further removed from available sources of spoken English.

Fiji, the meeting place of Melanesia and Polynesia with physical and cultural characteristics of both, has predominantly transitional bilingual education, though this model is a poor fit given the linguistic demography of the country. Although Fiji is not as dramatically multilingual as other Melanesian nations, Geraghty (1984) estimates that some

300 communalects of Fijian are spoken across the islands; thus, many Fijian children are learning to read in standard (Bauan) Fijian as a second dialect in their “vernacular” medium classes (Kumar, 2001; Mugler, 1996). Similarly, in the place of Fiji Hindi, the spoken contact language of Indo-Fijians, Standard Hindi is taught in the literate classroom (Kumar, 2001; Mangubhai and Mugler, 2003; Mugler, 1996; Shameem, 2002). There are also limited opportunities for maintenance education in other minority populations: Urdu for Muslims; Tamil, Telugu, and Malayalam for the respective Dravidian communities; Mandarin Chinese for the Chinese population, though they are largely Cantonese speakers; Rotuman, Kiribati, and Tuvaluan, for small communities of other Pacific Islanders (Mangubhai and Mugler, 2003). Nevertheless, given Fiji’s multicultural population as well as manifest differences between the spoken vernaculars and the standard written forms adopted in education, neither maintenance language study nor the transitional literacy period is truly realized in practice. Urban schools with ethnically mixed student bodies often provide English medium education with varying degrees of support for the vernacular languages of the school population, creating a submersion experience, a practice which finds historic roots in Catholic education (Cokanasiga, 1994).

The majority of countries providing maintenance bilingual education, which is a stronger model of bilingual education than a fundamentally assimilationist transitional literacy mode, are Polynesian. In these countries, a single vernacular is often spoken in the community, e.g., Samoan in Western Samoa. Even where more than one vernacular is used within the country, as in the Cook Islands, a single vernacular takes national prominence, e.g., Cook Islands Māori. Other vernaculars tend to be provincially used in outer islands.

In maintenance bilingual education, study of the vernacular language is continued as a subject after the medium of classroom learning has converted to the second language, which is overwhelmingly English, but also includes French in Vanuatu. Most Pacific island states included in this review provide some level of maintenance education, although the degree of support for the vernacular/s range/s from *de facto* use, internally examined at the end of primary school (Tuvalu) (Ielemia, 1996, pp. 103–104), to vernacular medium cultural studies with compulsory examinations at Form Five (Tonga) (Thaman, 1996, p. 129) to the vernaculars being examinable throughout formal schooling to Form Seven (Fiji: Fijian and Hindi only) (Mugler, 1996, p. 278). The republic of Palau in the Northwestern Pacific is the only island country that offers primary education in the vernacular through to grade 8; children then move to a secondary program in which both Palauan and English are used with the proportion of English increasing from grade 9 to grade 12 (PREL, 2005; Spencer, 1992).

In the Micronesian republic of Nauru, and in parts of Melanesia, vernacular education is not practiced, but for different reasons. In Nauru, where the indigenous language, Nauruan, is used in daily spoken communication, there is a long-standing dispute over orthographic conventions (Waq, 2000). Efforts at codification are ongoing, but children are not introduced to their spoken language in its written form in school, though vernacular literacy and cultural maintenance are an acknowledged aim, particularly as the country enters a post-phosphate mining rehabilitation era (Waq, 2000). School is conducted in English; expatriate teachers are needed due to a shortage in local teachers. Intercultural communication in the community is handled with a nameless and officially unrecognized contact language having the features of both Chinese and Pacific Pidgin English (Siegel, 1990).

In multilingual Melanesia, submersion education is the norm, due, in part, to the sheer numbers of indigenous languages spoken: 70 in the Solomon Islands; 109 in Vanuatu, according to the Ethnologue<sup>3</sup>. Though the Solomon Islands is reported to have begun to institute a brief vernacular introduction about a decade ago to what is principally English submersion education (NOOSR, 1995), schooling in the country has been disrupted by severe inter-island ethnic violence over the past decade. Pijin is excluded from official use in the Solomon Islands, in stark contrast to Vanuatu where Bislama, the national language, is being introduced into the complex dual language school system (Crowley, 2005; Early, 1999).

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

##### *Improving Vernacular Literacy in Formal and Nonformal Education*

There are encouraging indications of sustained postcolonial attention to the introduction and maintenance of vernacular literacies in both formal and nonformal educational structures within Pacific Island nations and in the Pacific Island diaspora that reaches extensively into New Zealand, in particular, as well as Australia, and also the United States and Canada. Trail-blazing inter-island initiatives that focused on the acquisition of vernacular literacies and cultural maintenance include the Oceanic Literacy Development Project in the late 1980s and early 1990s, which promoted a story-based approach to literacy acquisition using a combination of New Zealand (English language) texts and locally written and produced vernacular readers for children in the early primary grades, and, in the 1990s, the 11 country Basic Education and Life Skills (BELS) initiative, which provided in-service

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<sup>3</sup> [http://www.ethnologue.com/country\\_index.asp?place=Pacific](http://www.ethnologue.com/country_index.asp?place=Pacific).

education to primary teachers in literacy education. The current PRIDE Project (Pacific Regional Initiatives for the Delivery of basic Education) is a 15-country initiative funded by both government and nongovernmental organizations dedicated to “quality basic education” (USP, 2006) in the Pacific region. Among the project’s national planning benchmarks are (USP, 2005):

- “Pride in cultural identity” (2005, p. 2) based on “a strong foundation of local cultures and languages . . . enabling students to develop a deep pride in their own values, traditions, and wisdoms, and a clear sense of their own local identity, as well as their identity as citizens of the nation” (2005, p. 2).
- “Skills for life and work locally, regionally, and globally” (2005, p. 2), which includes: “. . . strategies for the systematic teaching of literacy, numeracy, ICT [information and communication technologies], vernacular, and English languages . . .” (2005, p. 2); and “A holistic approach to basic education” (2005, p. 3), which is principled on an “effective articulation between formal and non-formal education” (2005, p. 3).

Reymer (1999) draws parallels in current nonformal education discussions with previous grassroots initiatives in Papua New Guinea and New Zealand to maintain indigenous languages. The *Viles Tok Ples Skuls*<sup>4</sup>, a Summer Institute of Linguistics nonformal education project which began in PNG in 1980 in response to parental fears about the socially alienating effects of English medium schooling on their children had, by the early 1990s, extended to 250 languages (Litteral, 1999, p. 3), despite the decimating effects of the Bougainville civil war, and the central government’s foreign-aid backed push towards English-only education after grade 3 in the formal education sector (Siegel, 1997). The *Kohanga Reo*, or “language nest” program, established as an early total immersion kindergarten program in Aotearoa/New Zealand in the early 80s, has been so successful that it has sparked further levels of Māori education, including the *Taha Māori* (Māori enrichment) and *Kura Kaupapa Māori* (language immersion) programs (Durie, 1997) as well as inspiring similar language nest programs for other Pacific Island communities in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Manu’atu and Kepa (2001) describe an education project for diasporic Tongans in Aotearoa/New Zealand, based on the Tongan *Pö Ako*, a traditional night school “where primary school children rote learn English, mathematics, science, social studies, and general knowledge to pass the national examination that will permit a child to enter a secondary school” (2001, p. 7). The urban version of *Pö Ako* instituted in Auckland is “a critical communal action that includes the personal

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<sup>4</sup> Literally: village “talk place” (vernacular) schools

experience of Tongan people and constitutes for them a way to understand how to become decision-making citizens in school and wider society” (2001, p. 7) using the Tongan language and culture as important guidelines for responsible social participation.

These vernacular language initiatives in Pacific Island communities both at home and abroad indicate a groundswell that may prove, as Crowley (2005) has argued, that

Pacific Islanders through their language attitudes and existing patterns of language choice, combined in some cases with proactive responses to sociopolitical pressures against their languages, may well be better positioned to maintain their languages for at least the medium-term future” (2005, p. 46).

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

The difficulties in supporting a bilingual education program in the South Pacific—even a weak program such as transitional vernacular literacy in early primary school—are numerous across the region. Widespread problems include the paucity of materials in vernacular languages; the quality and degree of educational support for the instruction and maintenance of both the vernaculars and international second languages; the disparity between school and community language use; and ambivalent attitudes towards the value of vernacular languages. The heterogeneity of language backgrounds in Melanesian classrooms creates a challenge, as do factors such as the size and status of small speech communities, intermarriage, and migration from smaller to larger islands. Nonetheless, the sheer profusion of distinct languages has been met with creative nonformal education solutions in Papua New Guinea in the *Viles Tok Ples Skuls* (Litteral, 1999; Siegel, 1997). Codification is an issue with some Pacific languages. Lastly, political instability continues to affect countries in the region, with consequences for educational priorities.

Traditionally, little value has been placed on books in Pacific cultures: literacy acquisition has been narrowly defined, taught, and measured, resulting in uncritical literacy practices, which do not equip Pacific Islanders well for the increasing influence of digital media (Lotherington, 1998). Crowl (n.d.) characterizes the general paucity of books in 13 Pacific Island countries as a “book famine.” Limited reading materials are found in most homes: typically, the Bible, local newspapers, and school books. Awareness of and access to quality reading materials in English has clearly improved over time in primary schools; however, access to suitable, quality vernacular resources produced on a commercial scale is still problematic.

Many teachers in Pacific island countries are minimally qualified, though this is being addressed in national development plans in Kiribati, Nauru, and Solomon Islands as well as in supranational educational initiatives, e.g., PRIDE. In countries such as Fiji, teachers in urban schools may have large classes; in rural areas they may have composite classes of two or three different grades. Resources may be scarce, depending on the location and financial support for the school.

Countries implementing vernacular literacy programs have varied linguistic demography. Attempts to teach in the vernacular for the first three years of primary school are complicated in Fiji, where classrooms in urban areas, in particular, are typically heterogeneous. Furthermore, oral—literate use of both Fijian, and Hindi, is, for the most part, diglossic (Kumar, 2001). The hundreds of communalects spoken by Fijian children vary from the standard Bauan Fijian taught as vernacular in the classroom, a situation paralleled in Indo-Fijian communities where children who speak preliterate Fiji Hindi, a koine (Siegel, 1987), are learning standard Hindi as the “vernacular” in school (Kumar, 2001; Shameem, 2002). A further complication to problems of spoken—written language mismatches, which result in second dialect learning instead of vernacular literacy reinforcement, is that the vernacular used in the classroom in heterogeneous contexts may well be that of the teacher rather than that of the students (Shameem, 2002).

Mangubhai (2002) proposes as solution that the country have community-based language-in-education policies. This might help to maintain educational priorities given the continuing political instability of the nation.

Maintaining a classroom milieu of English is also problematic across the Pacific. In essentially monolingual societies, such as Western Samoa and Kiribati, the use of English in the classroom may facilitate access to written materials but it is unnatural as a medium of spoken discourse. For the most part teachers, who are themselves products of submersion education, lack confidence in modeling the second language. Often use of the vernacular is simply continued as the *de facto* medium of the classroom (Ielemia, 1996, p. 104; Thaman, 1996, p. 131). Code-mixing and code-switching are also widely reported (Lo Bianco, 1990; Tamata, 1996), the use of which compromises both language learning and students’ attentiveness to content. Thus, children are expected to acquire literacy skills in English to a threshold level enabling them to do cognitively demanding work in an English print medium in classrooms where there may be insufficient oral support. In this way, immersion education becomes submersion.

The insistence on English (or French) use in the classroom also creates an obstacle for family members not proficient and literate in the second language with respect to actively participating in their

children's academic progress. This linguistic exclusion is characteristic of Melanesia, where the language policy to rely on the colonial language/s in schools is an attempt to unify the linguistically heterogeneous school population with a lingua franca considered to be suitable for academic purposes. However, as Reymer notes, the academic privileging of colonial languages in formal schooling contributes to "a marginalization of indigenous languages and culture, dislocation from traditional land and social structures, and in the longer term, impoverishment for the majority" (1999, p. 22).

In Vanuatu, the use of Bislama in education is being discussed at policy levels, though the situation, as Crowley notes "offers some grounds for worry in that the number of competing agendas operating may prove coherently thought-out policy extremely difficult to implement in a careful and beneficial way" (2005, p. 46). The incorporation of Bislama in education is, however, a mixed blessing. It is a great leap forward to involve a spoken vernacular in formal literacy education; however, as Early (1999) points out, Bislama is, in effect, a killer language in Vanuatu, responsible for eating into indigenous language use, particularly in urban areas. Attention to indigenous literacies is still required.

There exists a further complication with Melanesian Pidgin: Bislama, Pijin, and Tok Pisin do not share a common orthography. Establishing an agreed upon written standard is a problem for two other Pacific countries as well: Nauru and Tokelau.

Attitudes to the languages at stake in education are despairingly ill-informed. On the whole, islanders' attitudes to functional bilingualism being instituted in formal education are dimmed by the bright lights of the economic opportunities that English is expected to bring. Sadly, a degree of language shift in the home is starting to be seen in various contexts across the Pacific with some parents choosing to use English at home in an attempt to give their children what they think will be a head start in school. In so doing, these parents may perpetuate local basilect Englishes that vary from standard English text. Their actions also contribute to language loss on a social scale, limit gateways for cultural transmission and, in the final analysis, reduce rather than augment the scope of their children's opportunities for language and literacy achievement.

Global media have impacted strongly on the Pacific region, as they have elsewhere. Network television, which arrived in Pacific Island nations after the late 1980s, has opened up new spaces for languages, though fledgling TVNZ-installed networks in Niue, Cook Islands, Nauru, Fiji, and Western Samoa air more cheap British and American programming than vernacular medium material, creating a neo-colonizing presence in the home (Lotherington-Woloszyn, 1995; Mangubhai and

Mugler, 2003). Locally produced programs, which are much more expensive to produce and air, tend to be broadcast in English. However, satellite television and pay-TV increase opportunities for accessing programming in languages such as Standard Hindi and Gujarati, benefiting Indo-Fijians (Mangubhai and Mugler, 2003).

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Improvements in the structure and quality of language education are needed across the South Pacific region, but there are indications of positive change. Pacific Island countries are moving towards increased support for vernacular literacy acquisition aided by initiatives such as PRIDE, and before it, BELS, and the Oceanic Literacy Project. Such initiatives are needed to counterbalance the incremental use of English in education and the mass media.

Though Vanuatu is struggling with trilingualism in education, which, as Early (1999) notes, is construed as a balancing act for English, French, and Bislama that “amount[s] to a French rescue package, dedicated to ensuring that French and English should have equal presence in the community” (1999, p. 28), the country is, nonetheless, a participating member of PRIDE, actively working to include Bislama, the national contact lingua franca, in education. This may light the way for the Solomon Islands to improve the status of Pijin, which would help to raise their low literacy levels.

Fijian and Hindi language courses have been taught at the University of the South Pacific since the 1990s, and programs have been designed for teachers of Fijian and Fiji Hindi, signaling increased professional development support for vernacular language teachers, though still limited in scope. However, as Mangubhai and Mugler (2003) note, there is no effort made to teach the living Fijian vernaculars, relying instead on “the code inherited from the accidents of history” (2003, p. 445).

New media offer a mixed potential. Sperlich (2005) informs us that both Niue and Tuvalu have made deals to sell their country domain names: nu and tv respectively, for free national Internet access, resulting in increased participation in culturally focused Web-based discussions. He carefully analyzes the messages posted on the OKA-KAO Niuean cyberforum,<sup>5</sup> finding that though the Internet offers new possibilities for the active use and study of Niuean, it delivers mostly English (2005, p. 74). Mangubhai and Mugler note that Fiji websites are overwhelmingly in English “with only an occasional paragraph in Fijian” (2003, p. 415). So though the Internet provides a new

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<sup>5</sup> <http://jove.prohosting.com/~okakoa>

channel for vernacular language use, it also floods the region with yet more English.

There are differences of opinion on how endangered many Pacific languages are thought to be. However, regardless of the imminence and scope of threat of extinction and shift, both policy and practice in bilingual language education need sustained and directed attention if the South Pacific is to utilize precious language resources before they become dangerously eroded. It is clear that there are discussions on vernacular language maintenance, both in formal and nonformal educational sectors. What remains is to see these discussions result in sustained positive practices.

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## ARABIC-ENGLISH BILINGUALISM IN AUSTRALIA

### INTRODUCTION

Arabic is the main language, after English, spoken in NSW, Australia's largest state and the main language, after English, spoken by 0- to 14-year-olds in Australia. Arabic-speaking groups in Australia have many commonalities with communities in the USA (where they number over 6 million), Canada, France, UK and other western countries. Arabic-speaking migration to Australia began in the 1880s but the main growth occurred in the 1970s and 1980s.

Arabic-speakers are diverse in terms of countries of origin, religious backgrounds, work and educational profiles. Language maintenance is comparatively high and was supported by government policy and programmes in the 1980s. In the past decade, government focus on economic rationalist policies and growing disparities in income and educational outcomes culminated in growing prejudice with youth riots occurring in 2006. On the one hand, growing divisions between Arabic communities and the mainstream on a local level along with, on the other hand, global growth in media, technology, travel and communication with countries of origin may have the effect of slowing down the loss of Arabic and supporting maintenance in second and third generations.

This chapter explores Arabic-English bilingualism and research into language contact in a country of immigration such as Australia. It also examines the impact of language education, political and social change and the effects of global developments in media, technology and travel on Arabic as a diasporic language. The term community languages is used (in the Australian context) as equivalent to terms such as heritage languages or ethnic minority languages.

### ARABIC IN AUSTRALIA—HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Australia is a country of diversity: a history of more than 40,000 years of indigenous cultures and languages and 200 years of migration from Europe, Asia, the Americas and the Middle East have led to a society in which 206 languages are spoken on a daily basis. Arabic is one of the fastest growing community languages, with 209,371 speakers in 2001, an increase of 17.9% on the previous 1996 census (Clyne and Kipp, 2002). It is the fourth main language spoken, after English, in

Australia. In common with many postwar migrations, Arabic speakers in Australia tend to be concentrated in urban centres (Clyne and Kipp, 1999).

The migration to Australia, as to other western countries, occurred in three waves. The first wave from the 1880s to World War 1 were mainly Christians from present-day Syria and Lebanon escaping from Ottoman rule. Between 1947 and 1975 there were significant migrations from Lebanon and Egypt, due largely to the political situation in Egypt and Lebanon and the Arab–Israeli War of 1967 and Australia’s push for immigrants. Following the outbreak of the civil war in Lebanon in 1975 there was a large influx of mainly Muslim immigrants and the Lebanese-born population doubled in 2 years.

The population is a young one: 69% are under 35. Only 19% of the population has a formal qualification. Employment levels are low, with only 40% of the community between 15 and 65 in the workforce and family incomes are also correspondingly low. Educational outcomes and school retention rates are lower for Arabic-speaking youth than the average in New South Wales. Behind this snapshot lies a complex picture, with there being more differences within and between sub-groups than there are between Arabic-speaking and other groups. Arabic speakers have a range of religious affiliations with over 50% belonging to Christian denominations and 40% to Muslim groups. Backgrounds are diverse with 40% born in Australia, 40% born in Lebanon, 8% in Egypt and the rest in a range of countries across the Middle East and North Africa (Kipp, Clyne, and Pauwels, 1995). Multiple affiliations in terms of language, religion and ethnicity challenge traditional notions of speech or ethnic community. Events following 9/11 have changed the dynamics worldwide around Arabic language, making choices of mainstream and minority language, cultural and religious identities much more charged and politicised.

Maintenance of spoken Arabic in the community is high: there is 6.2% shift to English only in the first generation (Kipp and Clyne, 2003). Arabic is overwhelmingly the language of the home. The reasons for the relatively low attrition rates seem to be the demographic concentration of the community, along with marriage patterns and family and social networks. Several linguistic factors impact on Arabic-English bilingualism in Australia. Arabic is a ‘pluricentric’ language with widely differing spoken dialects in Lebanon and Egypt and across North Africa. It is a diglossic language with Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), based on the classical Arabic of the Qur’an, being used for formal spoken and written communication, and the dialect for everyday communication. The nature of the gap between MSA and dialect is changing with the development of more informal spoken and written genres through the influence of the media, communication and universal

education and hence the diglossic situation has been described more in terms of a spectrum or continuum (Bakalla, 1984; Walters, 1996). The attachment to MSA, however, remains strong because it represents 'shared Arabness' and religious identity. In diasporic communities such as Australia, the gap between standard and colloquial dialect may be greater as many adults may have had limited access to education and MSA. Low (L) functions would be met by colloquial Arabic and English, whilst the High (H) functions would be met by English, since these are mostly in the domain of the host culture, thus leading to possible rapid loss of literacy in Arabic.

The main migration of Arabic speakers in the 1970s coincided with the adoption of multiculturalism as government policy and the development of multicultural initiatives: multilingual television and radio were introduced in the 1980s, interpreting and translation services began, specialist units with Arabic speakers were established in many services, and *The National Policy on Languages* (Lo Bianco, 1987) and consequent state government policies supported the teaching of Arabic and other community and indigenous languages. Although Australia has little history of bilingual education several transitional bilingual programmes in Arabic were established. The teaching of Arabic was supported in community-run language schools; programmes were instituted in primary and secondary schools and in government-run Saturday schools; Arabic became a Year 12 subject accepted for university entry (Clyne, 1991; Djite, 1994; Ozolins, 1993).

Research was slow to reflect the demographic situation in Australia. There were no studies of Arabic recorded in a review of 200 studies involving contact between English and specific migrant languages in 1991, a situation which is now being addressed (Bettoni, 1991; Clyne, 2003; Clyne and Kipp, 1999; Suliman, 2003). With the shift to economic rationalism in the 1990s, short-term economic objectives dominated government education and language policy and Asian 'languages for trade' were fostered. In the past decade community languages such as Arabic have tended to be ignored.

#### ARABIC IN AUSTRALIA—PRESENT SITUATION

##### *Arabic in Key Domains*

Spoken Arabic is very strong in the home domain. Small-scale studies in Melbourne and Sydney found that parents overwhelmingly use Arabic when talking with each other and when talking to pre-school age children (Clyne and Kipp, 1999; Suliman, 2003). Parents use mainly Arabic when speaking to children, but also report a high incidence of mixed Arabic and English. Very little 'English only' is used

by parents to children in the home context. Children use either Arabic or mixed Arabic-English to their parents. Where grandparents are involved, only Arabic is spoken. On the other hand, English tends to be the main language used for communication among siblings. Children and teenagers show that they continuously switch between Arabic, English or English/Arabic depending on their interlocutor. Children and teenagers are also reported to use a mixed code that has developed, *Arabizi*, being a mixture of *Inglizi* (English) and *Arabiya* (Arabic) (Cruikshank, 2006).

There are many differences according to specific factors. Families of Lebanese and Iraqi background report greater use of Arabic in the home than those of Egyptian background; those over 35 prefer to speak Arabic while those under 35 prefer to speak English; females use Arabic more than males. Maintenance rates of Arabic in the home are much lower outside NSW and Victoria in regions where concentrations of Arabic speakers are lower. An exception is the recent groups of arrivals from Iraq in rural cities (Kipp and Clyne, 2003).

There is little use of Arabic reported in the workplace apart from businesses and services where it is used with clients or between Arabic-speaking workmates. The majority of children and teenagers report using Arabic at school, most commonly in class (as part of lessons) or socially during breaks in classes. Teenagers report preferring to use English at school. Arabic tends to be framed in an oppositional way, being used on the sports field against other teams or in the classroom against monolingual teachers (Cruikshank, 2006).

Arabic is widely used in the community. In the suburbs where Arabic speakers are concentrated Arabic is spoken in most shops: there are Arabic food shops, pharmacies, bookshops and other retail outlets along with a range of professionals such as doctors, dentists and accountants. The overwhelming majority of Arabic-speakers of all ages and backgrounds report frequenting Arabic-speaking businesses regularly (Clyne and Kipp, 1999, Cruickshank, 2006).

Although the majority of children and adults report socialising primarily with other Arabic-background speakers, language use in social contexts varies according to age and country of origin. Most socialising is based around the extended family group and membership of Arabic community, church and mosque youth groups is low, especially amongst the young (Clyne and Kipp, 1999).

Religion also figures as a domain in which Arabic is widely used. Most in the community are affiliated to one of the Maronite, Melkite or Orthodox churches or to Sunni or Shi'a mosques. The language of the churches has shifted to English for parts of the service whilst keeping Arabic for rituals, prayers and sermons. Little English is reported in the mosques primarily because Arabic is seen as the language of the

Qur'an. Religious observance, much in Arabic, plays an important role in the home. The Bible, the Qur'an and religious texts have a valued place and more than half of the Muslim students report regular reading of the texts in Arabic or sometimes bilingual versions (Chafic, 1994). It is common for parents to read and discuss texts with their children and tell stories related to the Qur'an. The importance of religious literacy in Arabic and Muslim communities is confirmed by many studies (Sarroub, 2002; Wagner, 1993).

Study figures as a key area of language and literacy practices in Arabic and English in the homes. Along with homework from day schools in English, children and teenagers report spending much time on homework from Arabic language schools. One small-scale study in Sydney found it common for parents to return to study and take advantage of opportunities which may not have been available to them previously (Cruickshank, 2004).

Changes in media have had impacts on bilingualism in the homes. In one study of students in four Sydney schools it was reported that 75% of families had access to 24 hour Arabic channels such as *Al Jazeera* through cable and satellite television and children and most teenagers watched documentaries, news and other programmes in Arabic regularly (Cruickshank, 2006). Watching Arabic language videos rates highest of all media activities, with movies, soap operas and comedies most popular. In the past decade Arabic language FM radio stations have developed in Sydney and Melbourne alongside the government-funded multilingual AM stations and are popular with the older generation. Nearly all Arabic-speaking families have at least one computer in the home. The main uses are games (28%), internet (27%), email (18%) and chat (17%). Although most communication is in English, some 32% of teenagers report accessing Arabic-language sites and using Arabic on the computer such as in word processing or participating in Arabic chat. Arabic language music CD, tapes and videos are also extremely popular (Cruickshank, 2006). Print medium is less popular although there is high reported usage of local libraries which stock Arabic language books (around 80%). The five Arabic language newspapers claim a readership of 100,000. This has fallen in recent years although readership of English language national and local newspapers in the community has remained high. The increased access to and use of Arabic in the media domain is an interesting outcome of globalised media, providing access to the different regional spoken forms and Modern Standard Arabic.

The overwhelming majority of Arabic speakers have friends or family in countries in the Middle East and also in other countries of settlement. Contact is maintained most commonly through land line and mobile telephones, the sending of recorded audio and video cassettes

and of letters in Arabic or English. Most family members visit the country of origin. For children the stay may extend over several months and in this time they find that they shift to relying much more on Arabic. It is also a common experience for families in Australia to have regular contact with friends and relatives visiting from overseas (Cruikshank, 2006).

### *Language Proficiency and Attitudes to Language Use*

Attitudes to the importance of the maintenance of Arabic are overwhelmingly positive across the Arabic-speaking communities (Campbell, Dyson, Karim, and Rabie, 1993; Clyne and Kipp, 1999). Maintenance of spoken and, to a lesser extent, written Arabic is supported for a range of personal, social, educational and religious reasons. Attitudes to English are also positive (Suliman, 2003).

Self-rating of language proficiency is far from ideal because the definition of what constitutes 'good' can depend on how well the language fulfils functions in specific contexts rather than an abstracted notion of proficiency. A study of Arabic-speaking teenagers in Sydney (Suliman, 2003) found that 75% report speaking in Arabic often/very often, compared with only 34% who report reading and 30% who report writing often/very often. 98% claim high-level proficiency in English literacy compared with 45% who report reading in Arabic well/very well and 37% who claim writing in Arabic well/very well. A Melbourne study of all ages had similar findings. Adults over 35 years old claimed to speak Arabic well or very well. Those between 15 and 24 of Lebanese background (95%) were more proficient than those of Egyptian background (67%) (Clyne and Kipp, 1999).

In general literacy rates in Arabic are low: the percentage of readers to speakers is 68% and that of writers to speakers is 67% (Clyne, 2003). Literacy also varies according to age: from 100% of over 45-year-olds who are confident or very confident reading in Arabic to 78% of 15- to 24-year-olds with a Lebanese background. Ability in writing notes or letters in Arabic ranges from 33% to 76%. Those of Muslim background generally report much higher proficiency in literacy in Arabic. Research data on literacy is scarce, however, since census data is based on *home language* use and available studies of literacy draw on small samples.

The question of what counts as literacy in Arabic in self-reporting is important. For some Muslim parents, literacy can mean Qur'anic literacy, being able to recite suras from the Qur'an; for others writing can mean handwriting or being able to read and write the alphabet. The low levels of literacy could be due to both the parents' own lack of knowledge of Modern Standard Arabic (Taft and Cahill, 1989) and

also because Standard Arabic in Australia is seen as having little usefulness as its functions are replaced by English (Campbell, Dyson, Karim, and Rabie, 1993). Low levels of literacy, however, limit access to information in Arabic, lower the status of the language and the speakers' self esteem and contribute to language shift.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS: SCHOOL DOMAINS

All the issues to do with Arabic/English bilingualism have been played out in Arabic language teaching: What are the goals of learning? Is it learning Arabic as an international language? Is it for cultural reasons, to maintain the language of the home? Is it for religious reasons, to develop Qur'anic literacy? What are the respective roles for spoken Arabic and literacy in this teaching?

The teaching of Arabic and other community languages was marked by a dramatic flourishing in the early 1980s, some consolidation and then a period of neglect in the last decade. Arabic is taught in community schools, in primary and secondary schools and in tertiary institutions. Despite these provisions, less than one-third of Arabic-speaking students are involved in any study of Arabic. The system has been likened to a pyramid with many students being involved for short times when younger but gradually dropping out until only 8% of Arabic speakers study Arabic in the final year of school. The status of Arabic in the wider community is low, with negative attitudes that have increased in the last decade. Few non-background speakers study Arabic and there is a lack of support for teaching community languages in schools even amongst teachers (Cahill, 1996; Campbell, Dyson, Karim, and Rabie, 1993;).

#### *Arabic in Community Schools*

Community language schools (ethnic supplementary schools) have been running in Australia since 1839, taught by parents in schools or community places after day school or on weekends. These schools are the main providers of community language teaching in Australia and have some 90,000 students. The schools are run by community organisations with some government funding and regulation. By 1997 there were 12,000 students of Arabic background studying in 56 ethnic schools (not counting students studying Qur'anic literacy in Islamic schools). Most schools offer programmes for primary aged students, although some extend to secondary levels. The main aim of the schools is stated as language maintenance with children attending for several hours in the afternoon or on the weekend each week (Campbell, Dyson, Karim, and Rabie, 1993). More than 50% of the teachers are either unqualified or have qualifications unrecognised in Australia.

Studies indicate that a majority of children at some time attend these schools but then drop out within a year (Taft and Cahill, 1989). The low retention rate of students has been attributed to lack of trained teachers, teaching methods, focus on formal Arabic and organisational difficulties (Campbell, Dyson, Karim, and Rabie, 1993). Improvements have been reported as the schools become more established with greater numbers of trained teachers. Issues relating to Arabic community language schools parallel those reported in studies in the UK and USA (Creese and Martin, forthcoming; Gurnah, 2000).

### *Arabic Programmes in Primary and Secondary Schools*

The introduction of government policies on multiculturalism between 1972 and 1980 combined with pressure from parent and education groups led to the establishment of school-based community language programmes in 1980. Just over 10% of primary aged Arabic background children study the language in day schools. The majority of programmes offer Arabic native speakers some 2 h instruction per week.

In NSW and Victoria there are specialist schools of languages which offer language study up to Year 12 for those who do not have access to it in their day school. By 1992, 2,200 students were studying Arabic this way. Arabic is taught in ten government and non-government secondary schools. Overall, eight per cent of Arabic speakers study their home language at Year 12, compared with 40% for other ethnic groups.

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES: ISSUES RELATING TO ARABIC TEACHING

The initial enthusiasm and support for community languages in the 1980s has waned since. The marginalisation of Arabic at the level of language policy planning is confirmed by its exclusion at programme level and the absence of evaluations of the programmes. There is no national syllabus for Arabic, nor any state syllabuses up to Year 10. Materials and curricula for the teaching of Arabic in Australia are problematic with most materials originating from countries of origin. Such textbooks can be too difficult and of questionable relevance to the Australian context. Locally produced materials, which work from the spoken to the written, focusing on similarities between dialect and MSA, are limited because of scant funding.

There are large numbers of teachers with unrecognised qualifications. Many teachers in the primary and community schools and some in the secondary are untrained in language methodology and speak a dialect but not MSA. Small-scale evidence indicates fairly traditional teaching methods are still common (Campbell, Dyson, Karim, and Rabie, 1993).

One study (Kairouz, in Campbell, Dyson, Karim, and Rabie, 1993) found 47% of students discontinued Arabic after Year 10, citing as the main reason difficulty of the subject. Most students in Arabic classes at present are Australian-born and it is unclear how the schools will cope with or survive the influx of second and third generation Arabic background students. There is little doubt that Arabic has a poor image in the non-Arabic speaking population. 'Our impression is that mainstream attitudes to Arabs are negative stereotypes and that these flow on to the Arabic language' (Campbell, Dyson, Karim, and Rabie, 1993, p. 56).

### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The history of Arabic in Australia has been one of language shift to English, but a shift which is variable and less than that for other languages. Rapid change is occurring at present with local and international issues having a great impact on Arabic in Australia. In particular, the 'war on terror', 9/11 and events in the Middle East will continue to have dramatic effects on school provision, uptake of language study and attitudes towards Arabic and Arabic speakers.

A key factor has been that of segmentation, as schools become increasingly differentiated by socioeconomic status (SES) and the ethnic/language backgrounds of students (Cahill, 1996; Cruickshank, 2006; Schmid, 2001). Some 15 Arabic religious/ethnic-based non-government day schools have been established in the past decade. There have also been marked population shifts within the state system, as schools with Arabic-speaking background students have experienced falling school populations but increases in Arabic-speaking students. This segmentation parallels that in US schools where divisions between white, Latino and African American students are now greater than in 1971 when initiatives were first introduced to bring about more diverse school populations (Schmid, 2001). Educational outcomes for Arabic-speaking students are unsatisfactory, particularly in those schools with high concentrations. Youth unemployment and high school attrition rates are higher than average. Recent events have highlighted and exacerbated community tensions culminating in ethnic-based youth riots in 2006. September 11th, the 'war on terror' and a series of well-publicised rape and terrorism trials in Sydney have fuelled prejudice and divisions.

A second factor is the effect of international migration and developments in technology. Movement between Australia and the families' countries of origin continues to be a growing feature of Arabic-speaking groups as with other ethnic communities leading to complex sets of cultural and linguistic affiliations (Clifford, 1997; Indo and

Rosaldo, 2002). The rapid development in technology: the advent of 24 hour Arabic language television, the growth in Arabic language videos, computers, Internet, email and chat have changed the face of media and communication locally. The new technologies complement existing language and literacy practices (such as the use of mobile phones in contacting relatives overseas) but they also impact on these practices (the increasing influence of Arabic through television). These technologies also generally represent a shift to oral rather than print-mediated communication.

A third factor has been the establishment of organisations and facilities as the Arabic-speaking communities become more established. The Arabic community language schools will continue to grow; they will employ more locally trained teachers; more appropriate materials will be developed. The expansion of Arabic language community radio stations will continue. On the other hand, the shift to English may be accommodated in other domains. Churches, mosques and religious organisations move more to English as the second generation grows. The future of Arabic language teaching in the day schools is also uncertain. The low levels of uptake by Arabic-background students and the lack of commitment by government and departments of education to syllabus and curriculum development and teacher training do not augur well.

Governments, for example, have framed Arabic, other community languages and more prestigious 'modern' languages as one single subject, LOTE (Languages other than English). Generic syllabuses, which draw on models for English, French or Japanese teaching, have been developed. These syllabuses present goals, content and outcomes which assume a homogeneity in language and language teaching. Schools and teachers are then presented with syllabuses and outcomes that have little relevance to the issues of teaching and learning a diasporic and diglossic community language such as Arabic. The gap between the government generic syllabuses and teaching programmes means that responsibility for programme evaluation, curriculum and materials development is devolved to teachers, often leaving them dependent on materials from overseas written for first language learners of Arabic.

Arabic as a diasporic language, in fact, numbers many millions of speakers, but few links have been made beyond local and national curricula with diasporic communities in the UK, Canada and the USA. Appropriate curricula would have as goals the ability to live, work and study across national boundaries in English and Arabic, reflecting the growing reality of Arabic-background families across the globe. Programmes and curriculum would need to reflect the present needs and practices of the communities rather than the marginalised model of the 1970s.

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**South/Central America**

INTERCULTURAL BILINGUAL EDUCATION AMONG  
INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN LATIN AMERICA

INTRODUCTION

Of the estimated 300 million indigenous persons that survive to date in the world, between 40 and 50 million live in Latin America. There are indigenous people in every country, perhaps with the only exception of Uruguay. In Bolivia and Guatemala they are numerical majorities: 62% of the total population and nearly 50%, respectively (Sichra and López, 2002).

Over 700 different indigenous languages are spoken in the region (Grinevald, 2006), some with a small number of speakers and others with millions, such as Quechua and Aymara. Brazil is the country with the greatest linguistic diversity (approximately 180 indigenous languages) and Nicaragua the country with the least (three indigenous languages and Creole English).

Since the 1970s increasingly powerful indigenous organizations and leaders and the resurgence of ethnicity—recognized as “the return of the Indian” (Albó, 1991)—have pushed governments into reconsidering their positions with respect to indigenous populations. During the 1980s and 1990s most countries underwent constitutional reforms acknowledging the multiethnic, multicultural, and multilingual nature of their societies as well as the right of indigenous peoples to education in their mother tongue or L1 (Moya, 1998), and in certain situations with this right implemented under community management and control (e.g., Colombia) (Bolaños, Ramos, Rappaport, and Miñana, 2004).

Responding to social and economic exclusion, Latin American indigenous national and international movements are highly political. It is difficult to separate education and literacy from the struggle for rights and self-determination. The political mobilization of indigenous organizations leads to educational reforms and intercultural bilingual approaches (e.g., Bolivia, Ecuador). And, in turn, bilingual education has contributed to increased political awareness and organizational processes among indigenous people.

Across Latin America the terms intercultural bilingual education, bilingual intercultural education and ethno-education are used interchangeably.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Contemporary Latin American indigenous bilingual education (IBE) has a long history (López, 2006b) that dates back to the beginning of the twentieth century with experiments by teachers working in indigenous communities in Mexico (Brice-Heath, 1972), Peru, and Ecuador (Sichtra and López, 2002). Starting in the late 1930s in Mexico, the USA based Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) soon became a privileged actor in the region, when various governments signed contracts with this institution whose main mission was and continues to be the translation of the Bible. Additionally, in the Amazonian basin, SIL committed itself to help governments incorporate indigenous communities that were then either isolated or had limited contact with mainstream society. For over 50 years, SIL developed IBE projects emphasizing language development and evangelization, from a perspective of planned cultural change (Larson, Davies, and Ballena, 1979). SIL's work has drawn severe criticism (Hvalkov and Abby, 1981), but it must also be acknowledged that the importance given to the development of literacy in the indigenous language contributed to speakers' self-esteem (Landaburu, 1998) and the valuing of their languages.

Initially IBE was conceived as an instrument of assimilation; hence, most governments implemented early transition strategies (López, 2006b). Nonetheless, large-scale projects carried out in the countries with the highest indigenous presence—Mexico, Peru, Guatemala, Bolivia, and Ecuador—had an impact on indigenous communities and schools, providing important evidence regarding the advantage of initially resorting to the pupils' L1 (López, 1998). Mexico and Peru did more intensive work in the field and produced classical publications on IBE (Aguirre Beltrán, 1973; Arguedas, 1966; Escobar, Matos Mar, and Alberti, 1975; Modiano, 1974). The prominence of IBE in these countries is closely linked to the national policies of state *indigenism* that also had an academic impact. This period witnessed a major impact of linguistics in IBE, both descriptive and applied.

As indigenous demands grew stronger in the late 1970s and early 1980s, a discursive shift took place in most countries away from transitionally oriented programs to adopting the maintenance and development model (Sichtra and López, 2002). A factor influencing this move was the new orientation, which resulted from the meeting held in Barbados in 1977 between Latin American anthropologists, linguists, and indigenous leaders and intellectuals, marking a turn from top-down state *indigenism* to a more grass-roots and critical approach. In some countries, this approach led to the active participation of indigenous organizations in program decision-making.

From its beginnings, IBE drew attention from academic circles; between 1963 and 1992, 380 books and articles about IBE were published in 13 different Latin American countries (Amadio and López, 1993). A recent review on the state of interculturalism and education in Latin America, although with a heavy Mexican emphasis, includes 415 references specifically related to IBE in the decade 1990–2000 (Bertely and González, 2004).

The analysis of IBE has been approached from different and complementary perspectives: as a privileged domain of language policy and planning (Brice-Heath, 1972; *Cultura de Guatemala*, 1995; Escobar, Matos Mar, and Alberti, 1975), as the setting in which the predominantly oral indigenous societies gradually become literate (King and Hornberger, 2004; Larson, Davies, and Ballena, 1979; Sichra, 2006), as a vehicle for combating the long standing history of discrimination and racism (CARE, 2004), as a means to introduce interculturalism in multiethnic societies (Mosonyi and González, 1974), and more recently others have examined IBE within the framework of indigenous peoples' human rights (*Cultura de Guatemala*, 1995; Hamel, 1997).

Books and articles on IBE in Latin America also depict different implementation aspects: curriculum design (Dietschy-Scheiterle, 1987), materials preparation (Chatry-Komarek, 1987), language use and alternation in class (Hornberger, 1988), and pre- and in-service teacher training (Calvo and Donnadieu, 1992). Two additional areas that deserved special attention are the learning and teaching of Spanish as a L2 (Pozzi-Escot, 1990), and the development of a unified writing system in the indigenous languages, an issue that is particularly influential in South-America (Cerrón-Palomino, Landaburu, Mosonyi, and Moya, 1987).

Indigenous organizations have always considered IBE counter-hegemonic, even when governments implemented it. Nonetheless, these projects and programs have been constantly under scrutiny with ongoing tests of validity, efficiency, and efficacy. One of the earliest research projects took place in Chiapas, where indigenous children in a bilingual program obtained better scores than their peers in L2 tests in the second grade (Modiano, 1974). Comparable results were attained in different countries at various levels of primary schooling. In Puno, Peru, at fourth grade level, in relation to proficiency in the L1 and in Spanish as a L2 as well as achievement in other subjects, bilingually educated children obtained comparable or better results than indigenous students in monolingual Spanish schools. In that same region, Hornberger (1988) found that even only after the first 2 years of schooling, bilingually educated Quechua children developed a more complex use of their L1 than their peers in Spanish-only schools. In Mexican indigenous rural schools, Francis and Hamel (1992) determined that

the skills and competencies bilingual children developed in their L1 transferred to Spanish, facilitating reading comprehension and writing skills in their L2. Similarly, in Peru López and Jung (2003) found that Aymara speaking children in IBE fourth and fifth grades produced written texts in Spanish—their L2—of higher grammatical and rhetorical complexity than those they could produce orally in this same language.

Since the late 1980s and early 1990s, the geography of IBE has expanded significantly as countries' educational reforms tried to respond to the needs and expectations of indigenous populations. When in the 1960s and 1970s the implementation of IBE projects was generally restricted to the five countries with more indigenous presence—Mexico, Guatemala, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia—by 2006 IBE projects and programs were being implemented in 17 countries. In some cases, like in Bolivia, an analysis of the evolution of IBE and its up-scaling made specialists conclude that governments had changed their perspective towards indigenous pupils' education, moving away from discrete and focalized projects to the inscription of IBE in national policies (Albó and Anaya, 2003; Muñoz, 1997). However, IBE remains generally restricted to the formal primary education of children (Hornberger and López, 1998; López, 2006a,b).

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The studies reviewed and our own involvement in research as well as in the practical implementation of IBE show that the adoption of language maintenance and development ideologies coincided with an emerging understanding of the role of culture in IBE, which led to the relocation of linguistics as the major discipline influencing the field. Anthropologists analyzed the problems indigenous learners faced in schools where their languages were used but within Western-oriented curricula and concluded that much more than bilingual education was needed. Under the *Barbados spirit*, the notions of interculturalism and of intercultural bilingual education were elaborated, when indigenous educational experiments were implemented in Venezuela (Mosonyi and González, 1974). Gradually these notions influenced IBE, initially in South America and later in Mexico, where the concept of bicultural bilingual education predominated (Calvo and Donnadieu, 1992). Although much work remains, for over a decade IBE has been gradually paying more attention to indigenous knowledge and practices, and hence the denomination of *intercultural* bilingual education (EIB in its acronym in Spanish) has become more common in relation to the education of indigenous populations. It must also be acknowledged that most of the educational reforms of the 1990s included the notion of intercultural education for all—influenced by the demands of education

for all and establishing links between education and the strengthening of democracy. This has been precisely one of the most pressing demands from indigenous leaders who claim that society at large should become intercultural since throughout history indigenous people have always had to learn from the non-indigenous but the opposite has never been the case. Most recent indigenous proposals also point in the direction of two-way IBE (CNEM, 2004; CONAMAQ et al., 2004).

Another major outcome of IBE is related to the increasing attention paid to indigenous languages and their present condition (England, 1998; Landaburu, 1998). Taking these languages into schools in most cases meant previously developing writing systems and even elaborating the languages' lexicon, tasks which became even more demanding when IBE moved into the upper levels of basic education. In this context IBE adopted the notion of *normalization* taken from the Catalanian and Basque sociolinguistics and bilingual education traditions (López, 2006a). In various countries, from Guatemala to the south, linguists and teachers, whilst producing educational materials, became involved in language elaboration processes and in the creation of unified writing systems in line with linguistic standardization (Cerrón-Palomino, Landaburu, Mosonyi, and Moya, 1987). Producing written texts for school use in otherwise oral languages also implied training indigenous teachers and educators who spoke these languages but had not written them. In this process, the question of authorship arose and was considered as an instrument of indigenous self-recognition and empowerment (Lindenberg-Monte, 1996).

In line with the emphasis given to language development, initially the preparation of teachers favored training in some aspects of descriptive linguistics, usually to the detriment of a sound understanding of the roles culture and pedagogy played in IBE. This orientation is being revised since attention is now given to a more comprehensive understanding of IBE. The re-conceptualization that is currently in progress is also a by-product of the involvement of indigenous experts and organizations in the field, and particularly in pre- and in in-service teacher training (Carranza, Grandes, and Carrillo, 2004; López, 2006b).

It is now generally accepted that in-service teacher training is insufficient and that greater attention ought to be paid to pre-service education. Thus, there is increasing agreement that ongoing professional development is required. Hence, as of the 1990s, more IBE teacher education programs have been organized, gradually resulting in curriculum re-definition with more consideration paid to indigenous knowledge systems, as in Mato Grosso, Brazil (CEISI, 2005) and Iquitos, Peru (Carranza, Grandes, and Carrillo, 2004). In the Peruvian Amazon, an indigenous bilingual teachers' program—FORMABIAP—prepares professionals to respond to the needs and aspirations of indigenous

peoples and simultaneously stimulates a dialogue amongst indigenous knowledge and value systems vis-à-vis mainstream traditions, in order to structure an intercultural perspective that could contribute to the sustainable development of the Amazonian sub-region. In turn, in Bolivia, indigenous organizations and leaders took it upon themselves to intervene in student and even lecturer selection processes so as to ensure they spoke the indigenous language in question and were sympathetic to the indigenous cause (López, 2006a).

The benefits of L1 development referred to above do not seem to be restricted to greater L2 proficiency. López (1998) summarizes findings from different countries that provide empirical evidence related to indigenous bilingual children's overall academic achievement, active participation in learning and development of positive self-image, self-esteem, and respect. A Bolivian longitudinal study carried out between 1992 and 1995 revealed that in IBE programs girls and boys developed significantly higher levels of self-esteem, a greater capacity for adaptation and a more tolerant attitude in cases of frustration (López, 1998). Research corroborated these findings 10 years later in Guatemala (Rubio, 2006). It is promising to discover that bilingual children take advantage of and apply the linguistic knowledge and experiences previously acquired, in spite of the short span of time devoted to systematic L1 development (3–4 years). With greater investment in L1 development, one could expect even better results.

Two other areas in which the contribution of the inclusion and use of children's L1 in education are in evidence are increased and better quality participation from parent, community, and indigenous organizations (Garcés, 2006; López, 2006a), as well as significant improvement in terms of internal efficiency indicators such as enrollment, attendance, retention, and less grade repetition (López, 2006a).

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

The increasing role indigenous organizations and leaders have assumed has brought about new analysis and research issues. Three of them relate to the recuperation of indigenous views and voices, aspects linked to a shift from top-down language and educational planning to bottom-up approaches, as well as to newer and greater demands on teacher education and on the preparation of qualified human resources in general.

The fact is that the teacher remains a key factor for the construction and implementation of IBE. Opposed to traditional mainstream education that denies the existence of another language and culture in the classroom, IBE is now recognized as part of the indigenous patrimony, rescuing their values, relocating their languages and cultures, assigning

them at least the same status in schools that hegemonic languages and cultures enjoy. This paradigm shift places vast demands on teachers professionally trained under the ideals of monolingualism and monoculturalism and the illusion of an unquestionably homogeneous Nation-state. Thus, teacher education and development is trying to move far beyond just the technicalities of learning and teaching in order to professionally prepare individuals who will assume a personal and collective commitment to struggle against racism and discrimination. This new focus of teacher education is aligned with the indigenous political project of transforming Latin American countries into multinational entities.

In this context, the work regarding indigenous views is being undertaken both within academic spheres as well as by some indigenous organizations themselves. In at least Colombia, Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, Guatemala, and Mexico, grass-roots organizations are involved in the design and implementation of alternative educational programs in which local knowledge and histories deserve specific attention. In Bolivia and Guatemala this is an outcome of the direct participation of indigenous educational councils (CNEM, 2004; CONAMAQ et al., 2004). In Ecuador, Colombia and Chiapas, Mexico, the concern for the development of alternative curricula is a side-effect of a profound change in the management and administration of education. In Ecuador, in 1988 the nation-wide administration of IBE came under indigenous control, due to an agreement between the government and the most important national indigenous organization (Garcés, 2006). In Colombia, as a result of the constitutional reform of 1991, indigenous peoples have been granted the right to design their own educational models (Bolaños, Ramos, Rappaport, and Miñana, 2004). In Chiapas, a new regime of self-determined autonomous local governments allows indigenous municipalities to organize their own education (Bertely, 2004). In the Peruvian Amazon, since 1988 a regional indigenous organization negotiated with the government a system of shared management of the newly created FORMABIAP. All of these experiences receive support from researchers and committed academicians.

Recuperating indigenous voices and views also receives increasing attention from universities and research centers. Such is the case of PROEIB Andes—the Program of Professional Development in Intercultural Bilingual Education for the Andean Countries—through its MA program in IBE that receives students from six countries (Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru). Research projects are being carried out in order to contribute to alternative curriculum design and implementation in indigenous territories, attending equally to broader social dimensions of the indigenous culture (cf. [www.proeibandes.org](http://www.proeibandes.org)). Some cases are: a ceramics and textile project

for the Awajuns of Peru (Taish, 2001); an art project for the Mapuches of Chile (Cartes, 2001); a project focusing on the social tensions that have arisen amongst the Guambianos of Colombia as a result of the introduction of writing (Almendra, 2005); also a project focused on the incorporation into the curriculum of hunting-related knowledge of the Yuracares of Bolivia (Sánchez, 2005).

The indigenous demand for more curricular-inclusion of their knowledge and value systems has generated an ongoing process of enquiry about the validity of the previously unquestioned official school knowledge (Bolaños, Ramos, Rappaport, and Miñana, 2004; Carranza, Grandes, and Carrillo, 2004; CIESI, 2005; Stobart and Howard, 2002). Indigenous leaders and organizations are now struggling to exercise control over curriculum design, taking advantage of the fissures opened by the ministries of education themselves when they modified their policies and opened up legal provisions for curriculum diversification in order to respond to local needs (Aikmann, 2003; CONAMAQ et al., 2004). The fact is that these new curricula leave little room for diversification and inclusion of local knowledge, due to the content load and the centralized nature of the curriculum determined by governments.

A specific mention needs to be made to the Paraguayan case. Paraguay is a bilingual country par excellence: the majority of the population (87%) speaks Spanish and Guarani and these two languages have been used extensively in education since the early 1990s when a profound educational reform began. In Paraguay a minority (1.6%) is of indigenous ancestry and identifies itself as such. Indigenous Paraguayans speak different Amerindian languages of which only six are genetically related to Paraguayan Guarani (Meliá, 1997). The national reform scheme practically excluded indigenous pupils since it opted for the curricular use of Paraguayan Guarani, a modern urban variety of this Amerindian language widely spoken by the majority of the population of the country that is in fact non-indigenous. It was only at the beginning of the present decade that due to indigenous demands and international pressure, the Ministry of Education of Paraguay started a series of specific IBE projects, thus extending their bilingual reform to the indigenous minorities.

Indigenous demands are in fact challenging historically top-down instituted educational policies and approaches, pushing for bottom-up ones, in view of new political processes, such as decentralization and the control of local governments that indigenous leaders have recently achieved in some countries. In this new setting, the classical leadership in IBE that Mexican and Peruvian institutions once had is being displaced by other countries where this approach is the result of popular demands and indigenous struggle (e.g., Bolivia, Ecuador) and not from

government decisions or academic interests. Bottom-up approaches are also implemented by countries where IBE is a new concern, as in Argentina, where a Ministry of Education team, with technical support from PROEIB Andes, carried out a nation-wide contest to recover local initiatives and learn from school-teachers and grass-roots organizations and leaders (MECyT, 2003). These new ways of educational and language policy design also imply consultations at local and regional levels (Zúñiga, Cano, and Gálvez, 2003) and active involvement of indigenous organizations and leaders.

Together with these new concerns, there is an *old* issue that has steadily attracted the attention of ministries and academic and research centers: learning and teaching Spanish as a L2 (Hamel, 2004; Rockwell and Pellicer, 2003). More work needs to be done in this area, since there is social pressure regarding the children's needs to master Spanish in order to have better chances in life, since historically schools only paid attention to Spanish under a clear assimilationist scheme. Similarly, the L2 methodological issue acquires greater importance when IBE now confronts an emerging and previously unexpected need to teach indigenous languages to speakers of either Spanish or Portuguese.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

In Latin America, research cannot be drastically separated from IBE implementation or action. Most generally, researchers are also IBE activists and hence involved in various stages of program implementation. In addition, it must also be taken into account that funds available exclusively for research are practically non-existent, perhaps with the exception of certain Mexican and Brazilian institutions.

When IBE was adopted as the most suitable approach for indigenous children and adults, indigenous monolingualism was relatively high and most of the indigenous population inhabited rural areas that were either isolated or difficult to reach. This scenario has been dramatically modified: roads, migration into cities, telecommunications and political and legal transformations and democratic openness have transformed the historical *invisibility* of indigenous peoples and the physical and mental distance that separated indigenous and non-indigenous people. Notwithstanding, IBE remains trapped in a perspective of indigenous monolingualism, while indigenous sociolinguistic settings become increasingly diverse. A radical conceptual change is thus required since IBE is needed both in rural areas and in cities, with both monolingual and bilingual students.

Linguistic communities that lost active use of the indigenous language are also demanding IBE. This ought to be understood in the context of the ongoing process of "return to the Indian." It has become

common for indigenous leaders to claim that “The school should return to us the language it deprived us of” (López, 2006b). These appeals not only challenge present understandings of IBE but also existing institutional and communal capacities, since indigenous communities and leaders overemphasize the role the school can and should play in linguistic revitalization, while underestimating the importance of other domains of language use (López, 2006b; Sichert and López, 2002).

Another problem is the insufficiency of adequately trained human resources—bilingual teachers and professionals—for the type of education management required. This deficit is even greater if IBE is to be under the responsibility of indigenous educators. For at least a decade, most countries have implemented institutional and pedagogical reforms in teacher-training along the lines of IBE. Nonetheless, results appear to be still minimal: the new teachers do not show the professional and political strength needed to convince parents and communities of the advantages of IBE. Similarly, they do not seem to be able to break away from rote-learning, blackboard copying, and dictation, which are persistent features of pedagogy in many places of Latin America and North America, particularly in connection to indigenous language teaching (King, 2001). This tendency becomes stronger when indigenous languages are taught as a L2 (Sichert, 2006). The usual priority given to “the norm” and to the written word makes the school-language gradually diverge from the language of the home, the elders and the community (King, 2001). This type of pedagogy contradicts the liberating spirit inherent in IBE and the need to encourage and listen to the student’s own voice—in the Bakhtinian sense (Hornberger, 2005).

In turn, decentralized horizontal and participatory educational management of IBE requires from administrators and decision-makers more openness toward the community and to local and regional social organizations and structures. Committed human resources are needed at all levels within ministries of education and indigenous organizations. Since traditionally schools imposed upon indigenous communities their own ways and logic of management, reflecting the perspectives of the dominant group, the active participation of parents and community leaders in decision-making regarding institutional and pedagogical management generates conflicts and feelings of insecurity in both parties. Underlying these problems is the clash between hegemonic and subaltern societal sectors which adhere either to mainstream *criollo* culture or to the indigenous one (Sichert, 2002).

Whether of indigenous origin or not, teachers, unless politically committed and aligned with the interests of the indigenous peoples, most generally represent the interests of the hegemonic sectors, since they are in fact government officers and are regarded as such by everybody. In their role as government officers, teachers gradually experience a

loss of agency and the displacement of their sense of purpose (López, forthcoming).

### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Indigenous people approach life from a holistic or comprehensive perspective and tend to see different aspects of life as complementary to one another (Bolaños, Ramos, Rappaport, and Miñana, (2004). In the same vein, multilingual communities and bilingual schools ought to approach language education from this integral perspective. Hence, an epistemological move is called for, since we ought to break away from the positivist tradition that has most generally dominated language teaching and also IBE. From an interdisciplinary and ecological approach, language learning should surpass its exclusive linguistic and pedagogical orientation, since it will be necessary to re-establish adequate links between learning and knowledge, learning and identity, and even learning and local histories, voices and expectations. As we have highlighted, recent indigenous demands call into question the ontology of Western knowledge.

In fact, many of the challenges identified here place the discussion regarding the future of IBE in a scenario that is both political and epistemological. Both dimensions seem to intertwine today. For the most part indigenous claims are more concerned with the need to achieve equality with dignity and simply to continue being indigenous and are no longer preoccupied only with issues of school access and coverage.

One of the areas which IBE will have to address is the revitalization of vulnerable languages or even of those on the verge of extinction. Unlike the way this task could have been assumed before—mainly by linguists and anthropologists—nowadays responsibilities such as this one must be approached as a cooperative effort under increasing community control. IBE is then faced with a twofold challenge: (i) its reinvention in order to respond to situations in which the indigenous language needs to be reactivated and therefore very close links need to be established between communities and schools and (ii) the relocation of education within a framework of indigenous sustainable development or of “development with identity,” as the indigenous peoples themselves now put it, since educational projects are to contribute to the community’s life plan and aspirations. In this new context, “good practices” will have to be identified and disseminated in order to promote attitudes of respect towards the interests of indigenous communities and to support projects with real, positive and long-lasting effects (Grinevald, 2006). Therefore, IBE can no longer be approached from a top-down perspective. More than ever, close collaboration

between indigenous communities and their leaders and linguists, anthropologists, and educators is called for.

The recognition of the value of indigenous languages underlying IBE proposals reflects the historical recognition by Nation-states of some of the indigenous patrimony. By regarding indigenous populations as an integral part of the state and promoting their social and political participation, advances have been made against social exclusion thereby triggering an ideological relocation of linguistic and cultural diversity that has an impact on every citizen of a multiethnic society (Samaniego and Garbarini, 2004). This shift implies a tremendous challenge for the non-indigenous sectors, particularly for those in decision-making at ministries of education and other governmental agencies. In this new context it becomes urgent and mandatory to abandon once and for all the compensatory understanding of IBE and to regard it as an approach for better educational quality in general. From this perspective, IBE will have to first come out of its almost universal enclosure in primary education and in rural areas. It will have to be applied in secondary schools, higher education and in the non-formal education of youth and adults. It also ought to be extended to cities and towns and address the non-indigenous sectors of society, providing opportunities for Spanish and Portuguese speaking children to learn—to begin with—the rudiments of the indigenous language most widely spoken in their areas of residence.

In so doing IBE will contribute to a critical revision of the historical linguistic structure of these multilingual societies, challenging the notion that bilingualism is the exclusive realm of the indigenous populations and monolingualism as a characteristic of Spanish speaking citizens. In the same vein, interculturalism needs to transcend indigenous settings and reshape education in cities and towns since they have turned into privileged domains for social interchange between indigenous and non-indigenous persons. Lastly, IBE needs to be regarded as part of a larger process of societal reconstruction in which specific attention is paid to indigenous leadership training. As reflected in current proposals in Bolivia and Ecuador, IBE could accompany the indigenous quest for new and more creative interpretations of citizenship in multiethnic, multicultural, and multilingual societies that have begun to regard themselves as multinational.

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BILINGUAL EDUCATION FOR INDIGENOUS  
COMMUNITIES IN MEXICO

INTRODUCTION

In Mexico as in the rest of Latin America, discussion about indigenous bilingual education centres around two central questions. The first relates to the macro-political and anthropological dimension: Will it be possible to build a plurilingual and pluricultural nation state that will be able and willing to reconcile the forging of a national identity and unity with the preservation of linguistic and cultural diversity? The second, of a rather micro nature in the field of psycholinguistics and pedagogy, refers to the modalities of bilingual education, more precisely to the relation between language use and academic achievement in education, in the context of an asymmetric relationship between Spanish as the dominant and the indigenous as the subordinate languages (Hamel, 1988, 2000).

The socio-political dimension emerges in the debates about the policies that the dominant Mestizo society and the state they control design for the nation's autochthonous peoples: Should their members be assimilated and forced to give up their ethnic identity and languages in order to become accepted citizens of the nation? Conversely, could they integrate and acquire full membership while at the same time preserve and foster their own identity and diversity? Ever since the beginning of Colonization through Spain in 1519, and even earlier in the Aztec Empire, the state has assigned a central role to education in this process (Heath, 1972).

The pedagogical and psycholinguistic dimension comes into sight when the question arises how the global socio-political goals could best be achieved through education. How might a given school population of indigenous children who have practically no command of Spanish, the national language, best acquire the knowledge they are supposed to obtain? And, what understandings, orientations and ideologies do those in power cultivate about the role of languages in education: Would those children have to abandon their native language in order to learn the national language properly and become useful citizens? Or, on the contrary, could their first language be a fundamental instrument to acquire literacy, other academic skills, second order discourses

and content matters? Should monolingualism in the state language or enrichment bilingualism be the envisaged aim of indigenous education?

Since colonial times, two basic strategies of ethnic and language policies developed in Mexico, which gained shape after Independence in the early nineteenth century. The first and generally dominant strategy considered the assimilation (i.e. dissolution) of Indian peoples and the suppression of their languages as a prerequisite for the building of a unified nation state. A second strategy favoured the preservation of Indian languages and cultures in this process, without giving up the ultimate goal of uniting nation and state. As a result a gradual process of language loss took place which accelerated during the twentieth century as an outcome of the social dynamics following the Mexican Revolution (1910). Out of approximately 130 indigenous languages (henceforth ILs) spoken at the time of the Conquest, some 62 vernaculars have survived. Although the indigenous population—roughly 10% of the total—is growing in absolute numbers, most indigenous peoples are undergoing a process of assimilation and language shift (Hamel, *Indigenous Language Policy and Education in Mexico*, Volume 1).

The two strategies materialized in education and Spanish teaching—the main pillars of cultural policies for the Indians—through two basic approaches which differed considerably in their cultural and educational philosophy and methods, their view on sociocultural integration, and, above all, in their procedure of using and teaching Spanish as the national language. The first strategy pursued the goal of linguistic and cultural assimilation through direct Hispanicization (*castellanización*), i.e. submersion or fast transitional programmes. Education in Spanish should actively contribute to language shift and cultural change. The national language was to be the only target and medium of instruction; teaching materials, content and methods were the exclusive preserve of the dominant society. Transitional programmes reflected the second strategy; they applied diverse bilingual methods where the Indian language played a subordinate, instrumental role as language of instruction and for initial alphabetization.

No doubt the Mexican governments have always subordinated the questions of psychological appropriateness and the quality of learning to the political questions of control and integration of the indigenous population, from colonial times until our days. Today the two dimensions converge in favour of the stabilization of indigenous peoples as fundamental components for the construction of a new, pluricultural and plurilingual state; and enrichment bilingual education based on instruction and literacy development through the medium of the mother tongue, although still an exceptional model in practice, has shown its

superiority over submersion and transitional syllabuses in terms of quality education and the development of academic proficiency in both languages (Hamel and Francis, 2006).

Given the size of the native population and the significant historical commitment to public services, the Mexican state developed by far the largest public school system for the indigenous population in the Americas.

In this chapter I will briefly refer to education in colonial and early republican times. I will then concentrate on indigenous education, its approaches, problems and results since its consolidation as an educational system of its own in the 1970s and review the main contributions, work in progress and perspectives. The emphasis will be on the role of the languages in bilingual education, the curriculum and the learning processes, where the rare cases where mother tongue education emerges will be highlighted. The macro questions of language policy and linguistic human rights in Mexico are dealt with in another volume (Hamel, *Indigenous Language Policy and Education in Mexico*, Volume 1).

#### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Although assimilationist education predominated throughout the colonial regime in Mexico (1519–1810), its early period in the sixteenth century witnessed some of the most exciting experiments of indigenous language based education that have occurred in Mexico until our days. Along with other religious congregations, the Franciscans developed an educational philosophy and practice of their own for the Indians. According to Aguirre Beltrán (1983) and his sources, Franciscan education was based on empathy with indigenous cultures and world views, mother tongue instruction, communication and, above all, Christianization; the Franciscans were the first to practice syncretism in education, a principle that would become relevant during the times when anthropology played a significant role; they adapted many of the native instructional practices. Their strategy also implied the use of young Indians as cultural brokers and assistant teachers. In the renowned Colegio Imperial de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco, founded in 1536, further education included the development of literacy in Nahuatl, the study of Latin grammar as a path to theology and philosophy, with the ultimate goal to ordain the graduates as priests (Aguirre Beltrán, 1983; Heath, 1972). Given that the Nahuas (Aztecs) had their own pictographic and ideographic writing systems and used paper (*amatl*) and ink (*tlilli*), they could quickly adopt the European alphabetic writing system for their own language (Lockhart, 1992). Similar to the other Vice Kingdom in Peru, a generation of Nahuatl writers

recruited from the Aztec elite burgeoned in the Colegio. Since they had already received formal instruction and acquired second order discourse competence in their own culture (Francis, 2003), they obtained literacy in their language and were able to transfer their knowledge successfully to the literate culture of Spanish and Latin. In the course of the sixteenth century, the alphabetic writing system rapidly displaced pre-conquest pictographic writing, and the development of native language literacy as a social practice spread swiftly through the Spanish colonies. In Mexico, such an early experience of both L1 literacy acquisition and social use was never reached again until our present days.

Throughout the later part of Colony the Spanish Crown tried to enforce Castilianization. Since the feudal order established segregation between Indians and non-Indians, however, massive spread of Spanish proved an impossible task. Here, a well-known principle in education that remains relevant until today emerges for the first time: Formal education will hardly ever reverse general societal tendencies of language use, shift or spread. It was only through radical political and economic change, of devastating community dissolution and loss of territory through violent expulsion, not as a result of education, that in the course of the nineteenth century Spanish became the language of the majority in Mexico (Cifuentes, 2002).

Only in the 1930s would a new turn towards mother tongue education emerge in Mexico. Under the leadership of the US linguist Maurice Swadesh, the well-known *Tarascan Project* was born (Aguirre Beltrán, 1983; Castillo, 1945). In the P'urhepecha (Tarascan) region of Michoacán in central Mexico, a team of Mexican and US anthropologists and linguists developed an integrated programme of bilingual education. They elaborated an appropriate alphabet of P'urhepecha based on linguistic and sociolinguistic studies, they trained indigenous teachers in basic indigenous grammar and the alphabet based on the most advanced literacy approaches of the time. The programme offered a more adequate pedagogical model for the acquisition of literacy and at the same time fostered the indigenous languages and their maintenance by moving them into the prestige domain of literacy. Although the project was quite successful at the beginning, it only lasted two years (1939–1941) as official policy, due to political changes which returned to assimilationist programmes. However, the abundant anthropological and linguistic research surrounding the education project, as well as the proposal of L1 literacy teaching had a long lasting effect on the national and international debate on bilingual education. Thus, the Mexican delegation played a significant role at the 1953 UNESCO conference on vernacular languages education in Paris, and a Mexican contribution (Barrera-Vázquez, 1953) entered the final publication.

For the period from Colony to the 1950s, little specific research on the language question in education exists, although education and indigenous education appears in various studies. For extensive summaries and references see Aguirre Beltrán (1983); a shorter report in English is Hidalgo (1994). The classical text on language policy from colony to the nation, including education, is Heath (1972).

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS: INDIGENOUS EDUCATION TODAY

After 1950 no clear maintenance programmes materialized in the following decades. Nevertheless, some of the most progressive pilot projects led by pro-Indian anthropologists did contain elements of maintenance programmes, mainly through L1 literacy and a series of contextual ethnic activities. Given their limited pedagogical resources, and—in the long run—political support, however, they eventually turned into transitional programmes.

In 1978 previous modalities of indigenous education found their definite place as a Department in the Federal Ministry of Education under the name of Dirección General de Educación Indígena (DGEI, General Department of Indigenous Education), a subsystem of elementary education.

Since the 1970s the official programme was labelled “bilingual and bicultural”. It consists of two pre-school years plus six grades, the same as the general primary system in the country. In 1992 the administration of elementary education including the indigenous systems was handed over from the federal government to the state governments. Public elementary education in Mexico is based on a common curriculum for all students in the country. Therefore, the indigenous schools are supposed to cover the same curriculum as the ordinary monolingual system. The Federal Department of Education produces common compulsory primers for each grade and subject matter which are distributed freely to all school children, some 28 million copies each year in recent times. These textbooks are oriented towards monolingual Spanish speaking children, mainly in an urban cultural context. Therefore, although they may serve as an appropriate tool for L1 literacy teaching, they are not adequate for bilingual education and the teaching of Spanish as a second language.

In 2005 some 55,000 indigenous teachers instructed over 1.2 million primary school students (50% of the total), speakers of one of the 62 indigenous languages (DGEI, 2005). At the beginning of each school year DGEI distributes over 2.5 million primers written in native languages to the indigenous schools, possibly more than in the rest of the Americas all together. Unfortunately, for reasons outlined below,

most of them are rarely used; and most observers would agree that the indigenous school system does on the whole not contribute to maintain and foster indigenous languages.

Little detailed research exists about indigenous education under the bilingual and bicultural programme. Nancy Modiano's study is the first to demonstrate, in the case of the Tzotzil and Tzeltal Indians in Chiapas, that L1 or even bilingual literacy instruction yields better results for Spanish L2 literacy skills than the common Spanish alphabetization practiced at that time. Her book was first published in English (Modiano, 1972) and two years later in Spanish. More than in Mexico, it had a significant impact in the USA as a study of advocacy for mother tongue instruction within the emerging debate on bilingualism and bilingual education for immigrant children (Francis and Reyhner, 2002).

In an extensive study, Bravo Ahuja (1977) analysed indigenous education focusing on the Castilianization process; from a perspective that fosters transition to Spanish, she developed the first systematic proposal to teach Spanish as a second language (L2), and her team elaborated an official primer for that purpose. Ros Romero (1981) shows that common teaching practice contributes to IL language shift. A new debate arose in view of the overt contradictions between the official programme that should foster bilingual and bicultural maintenance education, and Castilianization practice, a conflict that continues until the present time. Scanlon and Lezama Morfin's (1982) collection of papers discussing these issues becomes a central reference for the 1980s. Citarella (1990) is the most extensive summary of DEGEI's programmes, proposals and activities during the previous period.

Most of the relevant components that relate the general sociolinguistic context to indigenous teachers' orientations, curriculum design, the functions of the languages involved, and classroom interaction are analysed in an extensive study of the Hñähñús (Otomis) in the Mezquital Valley reported in Hamel (1988). In general terms, sociolinguistic analysis identifies for Mexico, as well as the rest of Latin America, that a diglossic language conflict between Spanish as the dominant language and the ILs as the subordinate ones contributes to generalized language shift and loss, in spite of some language maintenance and revitalization processes (Hamel, 1996). The indigenous schools reproduce this general tendency, mainly through the diglossic ideologies of the indigenous school teachers who value Spanish and Spanish literacy as their most precious cultural capital, whereas their own native languages are not considered suitable for academic activities. They share, by and large, the nationalist values of a common nation state that promises upward mobility through a school system of cultural and linguistic

assimilation. Indigenous schoolteachers, who depend—not on their community—but on the state for their appointment and salary, have accumulated considerable power over the past 20 or 30 years. In many communities they replaced traditional community leaders, since the teachers' capacity as cultural and political brokers is considered more useful than the skills of traditional leaders (Sierra, 1992). Even those indigenous teachers' organizations that are critical of the state party and its regime have generally prioritized their status and union interests as tenured state employees over and above community, ethnic, or indigenous language issues. Over the years they have forged a powerful structure, within a powerful national teachers' union, that acts objectively as a language movement in favour of Spanish and linguistic assimilation.

Consequently, they attempt to teach literacy in Spanish from first grade on to pupils who are at best incipient bilinguals, instead of developing cognitively demanding higher order discourses such as literacy in their mother tongue (Hamel, 1988; Hamel and Francis, 2006). Both languages are used orally for instruction, with frequent repetitions and translations that foster neither literacy nor the acquisition of Spanish as L2. Given the lack of communicative contextualization in L2, literacy practices in Spanish become mechanical repetitions, and the reading and writing of isolated phrases with no semantic and pragmatic value. Instead of developing cognitively demanding and context-reduced tasks in the students' native language, the growth of the mother tongue in these areas is cut off and neglected throughout elementary education. Thus the curriculum and teaching practices do not profit from a central and widely acknowledged feature of any bilingual programme: the learners' capacity to transfer cognitively demanding skills from one language to the other, a process which could bring about significant academic growth in both languages (Cummins, 2000). In sum, the observed classroom practices build up a factual curriculum, which implies an ensemble of predominantly negative effects on the development of academic language proficiency. The attempt to teach literacy in a second language without sufficient acquisition of the necessary oral skills leads the teachers to under-exploit the communicative potential of the primers, and to return to traditional practices of synthetic methods and structural pattern drill. The fundamental distinction between conversational and academic uses of language is not acknowledged in either language, as becomes evident in the teachers' attempt to teach oral skills in L2 as a by-product of literacy. And the decision not to develop any academic skills in the L1 fails to take advantage of the cumulative effects of cognitive growth and transfer capacities to Spanish. On the whole, indigenous schools show very poor results in the acquisition of literacy and other content matters. At the same time,

the subordinate role of the mother tongue as a transitional language of instruction reproduces the diglossic conflict between the languages.

Generally speaking, most publications of that period arrive at similar conclusions, namely that the general diglossic orientations shared by the dominant society and most indigenous teachers and parents generate a kind of education that contributes to language shift and does not produce the expected educational skills. Summaries of that period can be found in Berteley Busquets (1998) and Hidalgo (1994).

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

At the present a range of pedagogical practices are in use in the Indigenous Educational System. The most widespread modality teaches literacy in Spanish, uses the official Spanish primer for elementary education as the basic textbooks, and employs the indigenous language as the initial medium of instruction (Hamel, 1988). An increasing number of teaching materials in indigenous languages is being used alongside with Spanish primers. And, since the 1990s a number of pilot projects within the public system develop literacy skills in L1, either as the point of departure of schooling, or as a supplementary activity to L2 literacy teaching. On the whole, given extended poverty in indigenous regions and poor conditions of education along with transitional and submersion programmes, the indigenous educational system exhibits the poorest results in general proficiency among the different subsystems.

Until the last decade of the twentieth century, the federal government sustained through DGEI a bilingual and bicultural model as the target of indigenous education (DGEI, 1990). School children should develop coordinate bilingualism and become fluent in the four basic skills in both languages. Similarly, both cultures should be present through appropriate content matters. During the 1990s, the label “bicultural” was replaced by the new concept of “intercultural bilingual education” on the grounds that the term “bicultural” implied a dichotomous worldview that separated cultures inappropriately. The new intercultural bilingual perspective in turn would propel the recognition, knowledge and integration of both cultures in a pluralistic enrichment perspective (for a critique, see Muñoz Cruz, 2002). Both languages should now be the medium and object of instruction (DGEI, 1999). And, similar to the Law of Education approved in Bolivia in 1994, education should be intercultural for the country as a whole, meaning that all school children ought to be educated in a perspective of pluricultural enrichment producing knowledge, tolerance and positive attitudes towards indigenous cultures and languages. Throughout the following years, ethnicity

and interculturalism in relation to education moved into the centre of academic and educational debate (see Bertely Busquets and González Apodaca, 2003 for extensive summaries of the existing literature). Massive migration of indigenous families to the cities and to the USA motivated new studies about education for indigenous children in urban contexts (*ibid.*).

Educational modernization, quality, productivity and other concepts of a neo-liberal discourse occupied the arena. However, the federal government maintained the dogma of a unified curriculum for all school children. The DGEI even dissolved their department of curriculum development, thus giving up any previous attempts to design an appropriate curriculum of its own for indigenous schools. The centrality of *intercultural* education even relegated the question of *bilingual* education to a secondary place. No advances were achieved during the 2000–2006 conservative administration in terms of L1 literacy and the teaching of Spanish as a second language on a programmatic level. And the administration of the educational system, which in 1992 had been decentralized from the federal to the state level except for the questions of normativity and curriculum, did by no means imply the transfer of control, planning and administration to the indigenous communities and organizations. Implementation, again, did not occur with the expected intensity and speed. By the end of the administration in 2006, practically none of the proposals or even the new debates had reached the teachers and classrooms.

Thus, the central questions of indigenous education remain largely unsolved in Mexico. The global dimension of the construction of a new, pluricultural and pluriethnic nation state advanced significantly on a political, conceptual and legal level (Hamel, *Indigenous Language Policy and Education in Mexico*, Volume 1), but little change has occurred on the grass root level of bilingual education in the classroom. General claims expressed by the growing indigenous movement to achieve greater autonomy have so far not included education, although most experts agree that appropriateness and quality of indigenous education will only improve if indigenous control and curricular diversity advance.

The second dimension mentioned at the beginning, i.e. the pedagogical and psycholinguistic thrust of mother tongue education and literacy have shown little progress and seem to occupy a less central role in the educational policy debates than in previous times. And research findings that document the academic advantages of such an education are still scarce (see however Francis, 1997, 2000) and have so far not been able to convince either policy makers or the indigenous communities themselves on a global level.

## FUTURE DIRECTIONS

On the local and regional level, however, an increasing number of initiatives and experiences try out new ways of improving indigenous education and new relations between academic achievement and bilingual language use. An extremely interesting collective pilot project is reported in Meyer and Maldonado (2004). See Podestá Siri and Martínez Buenabad (2003) for more summaries. Mostly opposed to previous models, the new experimental projects are based on a pluricultural conception of the state and the full respect for Indian peoples and their ethnic rights. They claim as their target the maintenance or revitalization of Indian cultures and languages.

As one example among others, the local initiative of a team of indigenous teachers to develop consequent mother tongue education shall be summarized. In 1995 the P'urhepecha (Tarascan) teachers of two bilingual elementary schools in Michoacán, in the central Highlands of Mexico, introduced radical changes to the previous curriculum which had been based on the fast transition to Spanish and submersion L2 Spanish instruction as described in the earlier case. Academic results had been extremely poor since most children enter primary school as IL monolinguals. Since 1995 they have been teaching all subject matter including literacy and mathematics in P'urhepecha, the children's first language. As a first step they had to convince the community, especially the parents who agreed once the teachers explained that the new curriculum would certainly lead to higher levels of achievement in literacy, Spanish and other subject matters. The teachers had to create their own materials and decide on an appropriate alphabet. The most difficult part was to develop their own writing skills and the necessary academic discourse for all subject matters in their language. Several years later a research team carried out a comparative study between these and another school with the same sociolinguistic characteristics that followed traditional Castilianization. The study was based on extensive classroom observation and a specially designed battery of tests in both languages. The findings showed very clearly that pupils who had acquired literacy in their L1 achieved significantly higher scores in both languages than those who were taught reading and writing in Spanish (see Hamel and Francis, 2006 for a general description of the school project). Furthermore, the study revealed much more intensive classroom interaction and meaningful learning of content matters. Different from most indigenous schools in Mexico, P'urhepecha had become the legitimate, unmarked language of all interaction at school, a sociolinguistic achievement still quite exceptional in indigenous education. In several years of cooperation with the research team the schools developed their own validated curriculum

based on L1 literacy, content teaching of most subject matters in L1, and a specially designed syllabus for Spanish as L2 (Hamel and Francis, 2006). This enrichment curriculum serves now as a model for intercultural bilingual education for other communities and schools. The collaborative work shows very clearly that such a curriculum is feasible and more successful than traditional submersion education; it demonstrates furthermore the validity of the “common underlying proficiency” model (Cummins, 2000 for an updated version), since success in Spanish L2 literacy is best explained through the previous development of core proficiencies and academic discourse abilities in L1, which could then be accessed much more easily in L2.

**See Also:** *Rainer Enrique Hamel: Indigenous Language Policy and Education in Mexico (Volume 1)*

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ENRICHMENT BILINGUAL EDUCATION  
IN SOUTH AMERICA

INTRODUCTION

In Latin America there is a well-established tradition of publication and research relating to the increasing importance that intercultural bilingual education has had in the educational provision offered to indigenous communities, as attested by López (2004, p. 1),

From the 90s onwards, Intercultural Bilingual Education in Latin America has succeeded in moving from a tradition of experimental projects to becoming an integral part of national educational systems, within a framework of programmes of educational reform.<sup>1</sup>

In contrast, studies on bilingual education for majority language speakers in this part of the world are a relatively recent development, even though the phenomenon itself dates from the early years of the nineteenth century, in the case of some of the first bilingual programmes established in Argentina (Banfi and Day, 2005).

Nevertheless, it is important to see enrichment bilingual education<sup>2</sup> in South America as an integrated phenomenon, which encompasses a wide range of programmes aimed at different populations and distinct linguistic and pedagogical goals (King, 2005). For this reason, the present overview of developments should be read in conjunction with two other contributions to this volume, which focus specifically on bilingual education provision for Amerindian communities (see Hamel, *Bilingual Education for Indigenous Communities in Mexico*, Volume 5; and López and Sichra, *Intercultural Bilingual Education Among Indigenous Peoples in Latin America*, Volume 5).

This article focuses on developments in the field of enrichment bilingual education for majority language speakers in six South American nations where most published work has been carried out: two Andean

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<sup>1</sup> Author's translation of this and subsequent quotations in Spanish in the original.

<sup>2</sup> The term 'enrichment bilingual education' used here refers to Hornberger's (1991) typology, where she distinguishes between enrichment models which promote and extend language development and additive bilingualism, as well as cultural pluralism, in contrast to maintenance or transitional models.

countries (Colombia and Ecuador) and four 'Southern Cone' nations (Argentina, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay). Most of the studies referenced date from the past 5 years.

### MAIN CONTRIBUTIONS

#### *Programme Development and Evaluation from a Historical Perspective*

One important strand of work relates to descriptive studies aimed at categorising bilingual models and programmes in particular countries. In this section, I refer to three such studies carried out in Argentina, Colombia and Uruguay. These surveys constitute important milestones in the process of charting the development of bilingual education programmes in each of the countries concerned.

Cristina Banfi and Raymond Day (2005a) have tried to come to terms with the diverse nature of what have been termed '*colegios bilingües*' (bilingual schools) in Argentina. After examining more than 150 such schools in the private sector that match the criteria proposed by Johnson and Swain (1997) to distinguish immersion programmes, the authors came to the conclusion that while most broadly adhere to a model of enrichment, there is a great deal of heterogeneity evident, which derives in part from the particular circumstances of their foundation and their attempts to preserve a competitive edge.

The authors trace the development of some of the most prestigious bilingual schools in Buenos Aires from their origins as 'Heritage' or Community Schools catering for the needs of the immigrant communities, passing through a 'Dual Language' stage, in which the majority of the students were native Spanish speakers, learning English, French or Italian as foreign languages at school. Initially, students had to cope with separate 'parallel curricula', which gradually became more integrated and more 'Argentine' (ibid, p. 74) over the years. They see the most recent development among the English-Spanish bilingual schools as that of 'global language schools' reflecting the spread of English as a global language and the increasing internationalisation of education.

My analysis of the situation of enrichment bilingual education for majority language speakers in Colombia (de Mejía, 2005a) shows certain similarities with the above account, although developments are more recent than in Argentina. The longest established institutions were founded in the 1910s and 1920s for the education of sons and daughters of the representatives of multinational companies stationed in Colombia, as well as for children of members of the expatriate communities.

Nowadays, it is possible to divide existing immersion type institutions into two categories: one relating to private schools with a strong connection to a particular foreign country, which often provides

financial support or assistance with staff appointments, and the other which covers national institutions founded by Colombian citizens, usually staffed by Colombian teachers. As in Argentina, there is an urgent need for teacher education programmes specifically designed for those teaching in bilingual programmes, as distinct from Foreign Language teacher training provision.

The situation reported by Brovetto and group (2004) in Uruguay differs from the two previous accounts in that the type of bilingual programme surveyed refers, on the one hand, to English-Spanish immersion programmes started by the Uruguayan Ministry of Education in 2001 for state (public) school children from lower socio-economic groups, and on the other, to Portuguese-Spanish provision for children from similar socio-economic backgrounds who live on the Uruguayan-Brazilian border. In the first case, the modality adopted was partial immersion, while in the second, a type of dual immersion was implemented, to cater for children whose first language was a variety of Portuguese, as well as those who spoke Spanish at home.

Both programmes are in the process of being formally evaluated with respect to levels of achievement in Mathematics, Spanish language and target language proficiency, as well as teacher and school administrator views. According to a preliminary survey carried out in 2003, there was a high level of student satisfaction reported with the English immersion programme, as well as a perception on the part of teachers that students had improved, particularly in reading and writing in both languages. In the dual immersion programme, parents particularly emphasised their satisfaction that students had been able to 'correct' their language errors resulting from language contact phenomena (Brovetto, Brian, Díaz and Geymonat, 2004). There is also a study in progress aimed at evaluating the impact of the bilingual programme on the development of writing in Spanish among children whose first language is Uruguayan Portuguese compared with the productions of a control group of monolingual Spanish speakers (Brovetto, Brian and Geymonat, 2005), (qv Language Testing and Assessment).

### *Development of Literacy and Oracy*

Other studies focusing specifically on aspects of biliteracy<sup>3</sup> in bilingual education have been carried out in Ecuador, Colombia and Paraguay. These are briefly reviewed here (qv Literacy). The first study (Simpson, 2005) looks at the writing of first grade students in both English and

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<sup>3</sup> For purposes of this discussion, biliteracy may be taken as "any and all instances in which communication occurs in two (or more) languages in or around writing" (Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester, 2000, pp. 96–98).

Spanish in an enrichment bilingual programme in Quito, Ecuador in an attempt to discover whether there was evidence of an 'elaborate style' of writing characteristic of Spanish written discourse in the samples examined. A second aim was to examine the possibility of reverse transfer of writing style from the foreign language (English), in which initial school literacy processes were carried out, to the children's native language (Spanish).

The author came to the conclusion that there was no evidence of an elaborate writing style in the children's narrative samples analysed, probably because of the extreme youth of the pupils concerned and the intensive literacy instruction in English they had received. She also found that although the students had more practice in writing in English and could use the language items and patterns they had learned without much difficulty, they wrote longer narratives with more confidence in Spanish. Nevertheless, on balance, the analysis revealed that the children exhibited similar syntactic ability in both their languages.

In a recent study in Bogotá, Colombia, Claudia Ordoñez (2004, 2005) examined the bilingual proficiency (in English and Spanish) of a group of Colombian adolescents in oral narratives based on picture book prompts and compared these to the productions of monolingual Colombians (in Spanish) and adolescents from the United States (in English), (qv Second and Foreign Language Education). The researcher found that while the narratives of both the monolingual and the bilingual students showed a similar range of variation in length, evaluation, connection and time representation, the productions of the bilinguals received lower holistic ratings, were shorter and less rich than those of their monolingual counterparts. The author admits that there may be linguistic and cultural reasons which explain these differences, such as different narrative conventions in different languages. However, she calls for more research into what she terms "the possible costs to the first language of acquiring a foreign one early in school" (Ordoñez, 2005, p. 139).

In Paraguay, Susan Spezzini (2002, 2005) has carried out research into language learning variability in an elite immersion-type, bilingual, Spanish-English, programme in Asunción, also among adolescents. In an interesting conclusion, the author maintains that this type of immersion setting provides learners with more opportunities for developing academic language proficiency rather than oral communicative skills in the second language.

She noted that variability existed in students' L2 oral output and comprehensibility and associated this with two main variables: gender and former schooling (qv Second and Foreign Language Education). She concluded that in spite of a long tradition of similarity in school experience, this evidence of variability in oral production 'indicated that

each student's experience with learning and using English was a unique case' (Spezzini, 2005, p. 90). She found that higher comprehensibility was related to frequency of opportunity for L2 use, either because of specific circumstances, such as travel abroad, or because of higher motivation to use English on a day to day basis within Paraguay.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

##### *Sociocultural Dimensions (Attitudes and Identities)*

In contrast to work on programme characterisation and on the linguistic aspects of the development of literacy and oracy in bilingual settings, there has recently been evidence of a new line of research into the sociocultural and non-linguistic dimensions involved in bilingual education in several South American nations. This shows certain similarities with recent work carried out in immersion programmes at international level (cf. de Mejía, *Researching Developing Discourses and Competences in Immersion Classroom*, Volume 10)

In the study referred to earlier, Spezzini (2002, 2005) shows that some students were conscious that their bilingual code-switched school language use reflected a particular 'unique' social/group identity, as evidenced in the following observation,

The students at the American School of Asunción (ASA) have their own language. When we speak English, we speak ASA English and when we speak Spanish, we speak ASA Spanish. (Spezzini, 2005, p. 87).

The author speculates that this might be evidence of the creation of a non-native language variety based on covert prestige norms.

In Chile, Rowan Iversen (2005) has also been interested in individual learner differences in relation to affective variables. In a study in progress, she has compared non-linguistic outcomes (attitudes, motivation, self-perceived communication apprehension or anxiety and willingness to communicate) in two groups of 11th grade students in schools in Santiago; one, an English immersion programme, and the other, an intensified foreign language programme (qv *Second and Foreign Language Education*). She found that the immersion students scored considerably higher in their willingness to communicate than the non-immersion group; their motivation and attitudes were more positive, and they reported lower levels of anxiety in using the target language. However, the researcher also emphasised that these non-linguistic, affective variables were subject to individual learner differences and that care should be taken in generalising these results to the state or public education sector, where students and their parents do not have such freedom of choice as in the private sector.

In a recent pioneering project in Armenia, Colombia, Silvia Valencia (2005a) has examined the construction of social relations in bilingual programmes at secondary school level, this time in the public sector. The researcher decided to explore how bilingual teaching and learning was carried out in difficult classroom conditions, particularly focusing on the building of social relations through bilingual talk in order to accomplish language lessons. She came to the conclusion that although the working relationship between teachers and students was largely constructive, if asymmetrical, 'very few meaningful episodes of real communication were observed' (Valencia, 2005b, p. 9).

There was also little recognition of students' knowledge and beliefs by teachers in the lessons analysed, and student asides were seen as disruptive of class activities. The researcher noted that teachers' agendas were largely directed at complying with syllabus and policy requirements. The students colluded, at times, with the way the teachers constructed the lessons, either bidding for turns or taking the risk of going to the board. However, there was also evidence that at other times, they contested the teachers' agendas, despite the teachers' privileged position of power (qv Discourse and Education).

In another study in Colombia, this time carried out at primary school level in Cali, Hilda Buitrago (2002) examined how cultural aspects were treated in bilingual (English-Spanish) education programmes. She was particularly interested in studying the congruence between school policy and practice in this respect. After analysing policy documents and carrying out classroom observation and documentation of school celebrations in a private English-Spanish bilingual school, the author noted that the lack of clarity accorded to cultural considerations in the policy documents was reflected in the variety of positions assumed by individual teachers in their classroom practice. There was, furthermore, a generalised belief among teachers in the school that there should be no reference to North American cultural practices in the classes taught in Spanish, and no reference to Colombian culture in classes taught in English, thus evidencing a belief in a complete separation of languages and cultures in the curriculum.

### *Links between Bilingual Education for Minorities and Majorities*

As may be inferred from this discussion, research in the field of enrichment bilingual education for majority language speakers in South America has been characterised by a tendency to focus on micro-level studies carried out in one or two institutions, usually in the private sector. There have been few initiatives aimed at relating tendencies across

bilingual modalities in different cultural contexts, particular educational provision for indigenous communities, Creole speakers and the different Deaf communities established in the area.

Recently, however, there have been moves in this direction. Cristina Banfi and Silvia Rettaroli (2005b) in Argentina, and myself in Colombia (2005a and b) have been working on studies highlighting points of contact between bilingual education provision for both majority and minority language speakers, as part of a larger project involving contributors from France, Ireland, Britain, Spain, Mexico and USA.

Banfi and Rettaroli (*ibid*) have focused on aspects of teacher training and development in different bilingual education contexts in Argentina, such as indigenous language contexts, bilingual programmes for the Deaf, bilingual education provision in contact language situations, as well as in international schools and state bilingual institutions. One of their interests in their study is examining how far teachers who work in these different types of contexts are expected to show competence in areas other than language proficiency; areas such as cultural knowledge, content knowledge, pedagogical expertise and knowledge of the principles of bilingualism and bilingual education.

I have argued that the traditional division between bilingual education programmes offered to speakers of majority languages and those available to minority language speakers in Colombia should be reconsidered within a wider, integrated vision of bilingual provision. I maintain that there are significant areas of convergence between these different traditions in relation to issues such as the maintenance of cultural identity, the status and development of the first language, and the importance of contextual factors in the design and modification of bilingual education programmes. More recently, I have been working on the different ways that bilingual education provision is presented in official documents and decrees in both majority and minority traditions in Colombia, with a view to identifying points of contact and areas of divergence between the two (qv *Discourse and Education*).

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

As can be seen, studies of enrichment bilingual education for majority language speakers are very much in their infancy in South America. There are certain similarities that can be noted in relation to the early development of the French Immersion programmes in Canada: a focus on the description of different programme types, comparisons between students in monolingual and bilingual educational contexts, and a concern with the level of foreign language proficiency achieved by students in bilingual programmes.

There is, however, at the same time, evidence of a trend towards researching the socio-cultural and non-linguistic aspects of bilingual education programmes, thus showing a consciousness of the situated nature of these initiatives and recognition of their variability, not only at institutional level but also in the individual experiences of students in the development of their personal bilingual trajectory. A recent novel strand of research is also beginning to focus on interrelationships between bilingual education provision in different educational and cultural contexts.

It would seem, therefore, that work on enrichment bilingual education in South America is gaining momentum, and is moving forward in important ways. There is considerable interest in developments in this area, as can be seen by the creation of a series of international symposia on bilingualism and bilingual education in Latin America in Buenos Aires in 2004. Researchers and academics working in this part of the world are thus beginning to have an impact on developments in the field of bilingual education and a growing consciousness of the importance of their contribution to international debate.

*See Also:* Rainer Enrique Hamel: *Bilingual Education for Indigenous Communities in Mexico (Volume 5)*; Luis Enrique Lopez and Inge Sichra: *Intercultural Bilingual Education Among Indigenous Peoples in Latin America (Volume 5)*

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# **Section 1**

## **Knowledge about Language: Theoretical Perspectives**

## LANGUAGE AWARENESS AND KNOWLEDGE ABOUT LANGUAGE: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

### INTRODUCTION

Though Language Awareness (LA) is no longer the buzzword that it was some 10–15 years ago, it has since become a key term in any informed teacher's repertoire. This does not imply though that today everybody in the profession knows what it means. It was in the early 1990s of the previous century that a number of educational linguists from all over Europe got together in London to try and establish what the term stands for. At this mini round-table (I was one of those present) broad agreement was reached on the following working definition of LA: '... a person's sensitivity to and conscious awareness of the nature of language and its role in human life' (James and Garrett, 1992, p. 8). It has been objected that this definition, broad as it is, is open to a host of interpretations. This is indubitably true, but as Van Lier (1996, p. 79) has since pointed out this is not necessarily a disadvantage in the early stages of a new endeavour, even though eventually more precision will be called for. Given the present state of our art, I shall therefore continue to use this broad definition as a point of reference throughout this chapter. On the other hand, this is not to be understood as meaning that I pretend to cover the whole gamut of issues raised at an international conference on LA, for example. No, here the focus will be on the core business of LA, that is language teaching and learning as well as language learners and teachers (cf. Malmqvist and Valfridsson, 2003, p. 155). Also in this chapter, LA and Knowledge about Language (KAL) will be used interchangeably unless otherwise indicated.

So, in the following sections I propose to deal with the evolution and trends in LA. The survey chiefly, though not exclusively, focuses on the evolution of LA in Europe. It emphasises the Germanic language area as this is the author's main area of expertise. As we go along it will become apparent that the adoption of a European perspective is more or less inherent in the development of LA itself, as elsewhere LA studies seem to be of much more recent origin (cf., Candelier, 1992; Van Lier, 1996). In the section Problems and Practical Difficulties, I shall take up some of the current problems and difficulties experienced in the field of LA. In the section Future Directions in Research and

Practice, we shall look at some potential directions in research and educational practice.

#### EARLY HISTORY OF LA

Ever since Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835) apprised the linguistic world of his belief that language is not so much a product (*ergon*) as a process (*energeia*) that manifests itself in the ever repetitive effort of the individual mind to suit the collective medium that language is to the expression of one's thoughts ('[Die Sprache] ist nemlich die sich ewig wiederholende Arbeit des Geistes, den articulirten Laut zum Ausdruck des Gedankens fähig zu machen' [Steinthal, 1884, pp. 262–263]), language pedagogues who derived their inspiration from Humboldt have wondered whether this mental effort could somehow be aided. This is how early modern LA was born. But how to go about it?

In the prevailing pedagogical climate of the nineteenth century, dominated by a deductive methodology of teaching in which the inculcation of grammar rules was rife (Klippel, 1994, pp. 443–444; Wilhelm, 2005) it was by no means easy for the reformers to implement the Humboldtian precepts. For one thing because Humboldt himself had not expressed himself as unequivocally as one would wish. For example, while Humboldt had said that just because native-language acquisition is largely a matter of arousing our language faculties it cannot really be taught or learnt, he had at the same time made allowance for external influences ('[Die Sprache] ist zugleich nicht bloss passiv, Eindrücke empfangend, sondern [...] modificirt durch innere Selbstthätigkeit jede auf sie geübte äussre Einwirkung'. [Steinthal, 1884, pp. 247–248]) such as practice (*Übung*, cf. Steinthal, 1884, p. 285), which might foster the growth of language ability. For another thing there was no appropriate methodology, one that besides enjoyed sufficient scholarly prestige. Phonetics and neogrammmarian research seemed to offer these. Both sciences were primarily concerned with studying the speech of individuals (language was really an abstraction) through the senses, by observation or by self-observation (i.e. introspection). Both favoured an inductive methodology, both resorted to associationist psychology.

By and large, these views were also adopted by the early proponents of LA (cf. Hildebrand, 1867, *passim*; Jespersen, 1904, pp. 125–141; Sweet, 1899, pp. 236–255). Oblivious of Humboldt's ambivalence, they seemed to assume that *conscious* reflection on language form and language use would automatically benefit the workings of the learner's *intuitive* linguistic sense). This is a perennial issue in LA to which we return in the section Problems and Practical Difficulties.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: MAJOR  
CONTRIBUTIONS

Not surprisingly, in an age so dominated by the deductive grammar-translation method, LA remained a phenomenon on the periphery of the language-teaching arena. Refinements of the original LA theory were introduced by the German linguist Georg von der Gabelentz (1901), who devoted a chapter of his work *Die Sprachwissenschaft* (General Linguistics) to knowledge of language (*Sprachkenntniss*), and who made a distinction between unconscious acquisition and conscious learning, and one between LA in the teaching of the native and of another language. Von der Gabelentz played down the importance of translating (except as an LA tool) and made out a strong case for what we would now call educational linguistics (Von der Gabelentz, 1901, p. 71).

It is not unlikely that Harold Palmer (1877–1949) was influenced by Von der Gabelentz. In any case, both the works of Palmer in (1917) and (1922), but especially the latter one shows a close affinity with Von der Gabelentz's views on LA. In two separate chapters, Palmer (1922) elaborated on the distinction between our 'spontaneous capacities for acquiring speech' and our 'studial capacities of language studies'. The former operates unconsciously (subconsciously in Palmer, 1917) in the acquisition of one's mother tongue and in the natural acquisition of any subsequently learnt language, the latter is conscious strategies that are mobilised whenever artificial learning tasks like reading and writing are involved. Palmer made much of the latter capacities: '... it would be either unwise or impossible to proceed by the sole aid of nature or by the reconstitution of natural conditions' (Palmer, 1922, p. 22).

Inspired by developments in Germany around 1900 Holland began to evolve its own brand of LA. It formed part of a broader movement for the emancipation of native-language education. Not only because of its relevance to our topic but also because of its intrinsic interest I should like to quote from one of this movement's central publications (van den Bosch, 1903): '[it is our aim] to turn the youngster into a keen observer and a shrewd judge [of language use by] teaching him how to compare and how to distinguish, [by making him] find things out for himself' so that through a process of growing awareness and increasing self-confidence that continues throughout life, he becomes the 'authoritative controller of his own language use'. *What* was to be observed was the immediate, authentic language reality of the learners themselves. It was the teacher's job to provide guidance to his pupils.

These quotations bespeak a close affinity with the current British movement for Critical LA (CLA), especially if one compares them with a recent statement by a prominent protagonist of CLA that if LA

is to affect the pupil's language capacities in a positive way it should incorporate 'the important principle that critical language awareness should be built from the existing language capabilities and experience of the learner. The experience of the learner can, with the help of the teacher, be made explicit and systematic as a body of knowledge which can be used for discussion and reflection, ...' (Fairclough, 1992, p. 16; Fairclough, 1995, pp. 222–227). Like their modern British CLA counterparts, the Dutch reformers also had an ideological axe to grind: they emphasised the social responsibility of teachers as citizens. Teachers should be socially committed and engaged. They should educate their pupils about the ideological and political nature of dubbing particular language varieties appropriate or inappropriate for particular contexts and purposes. They should provide their pupils with the linguistic tools to effectively exercise their citizenship. Language education was primarily seen as a language liberation movement.

There is another parallel between CLA and the early Dutch LA movement: neither want LA work to be conducted as an isolated activity, as a kind of mini-course in linguistics taught across the curriculum, but as an integral part of any regular language class. This is a marked difference with non-critical British LA (cf. Hawkins, 1984).

During the 1930s LA received renewed attention in Germany and Holland from Drach (1937) and Langeveld (1934), both important monographs, continuing and refining the earlier LA work. Special mention must be made here of a fascinating article by Schneiders (1937), a secondary-school teacher of Dutch and writer of coursebooks. In this article Schneiders explored the notion of language understanding (*taalbegrip*), which he contrasted with linguistic feeling (*taalgevoel*), a notion with the general reader was much more familiar at the time. In his acceptance of the primacy of our intuitive linguistic feeling *vis-à-vis* the reflective or cognitive activity of language understanding, Schneiders proved himself way ahead of his time (Van Lier, 1996, p. 79).

The last two works to be reviewed in this section are those of Royen (1947) and Stutterheim (1954). To appreciate the proper significance of the former, it should be compared with a British book on LA that appeared almost 40 years later, Hawkins (1984). Both books aim at an adult readership (primary school teachers or prospective teachers), both books are primarily concerned with the teaching of the national language, either to native speakers or to speakers of other languages. Both books have roughly the same aims, avoid technical terms and theoretical issues as much as possible, and cover roughly the same topics, including language comparison. Even in their definitions of the aims of LA the authors use similar wordings (cf. Hawkins, 1984, pp. 4–5; Royen, 1947, p. 5). Royen was the first to take a much broader view of LA than had up till then been usual. For example, it included a discussion

of language diversity. Where Royen and Hawkins would have parted company is on the question of whether LA should be dealt with in an integrative way or as a separate element in the school curriculum; Royen preferred the former.

Stutterheim (1954) very appropriately bore the title *Taalbeschouwing en Taalbeheersing* (i.e., language awareness and language mastery). It was a well-documented empirical study focusing on the question as to whether in the teaching of reading the explicit attention given to language structure has any positive effect on the pupils' interpretation of what they read and, if so, how this knowledge of grammar can be brought to bear on the pupils' linguistic competence. On the basis of his evidence Stutterheim's answer was a qualified yes. For further discussion, see Van Essen (1995).

We know very little about what went on in the way of LA in the former Soviet Union, simply because of the lack of sufficiently detailed expositions of the work of Russian researchers in English. For decades Vygotsky (1962) and Belyayev (1963) were the only major publications in our field available in English. What we do know—and this has come to us through Dutch and German—is that Galperin, a member of the Vygotskian school of psychology, worked out a theory that capitalises on insightful learning in language teaching. Galperin's theoretical notions, relevant to our topic, are three in number. First grammatical *knowledge* is formed by teaching the learners grammatical acts. These grammatical acts, which are to become *mental* acts (they must be performed in the minds of the learners during active or passive use of the language), are formed by passing through a series of *stages* at which these acts successively assume different forms: material, verbal, mental. Besides, at every stage of the learning process, the learner is provided with a 'full orientating basis', that is all the directions s/he needs to perform a given task. A full orientating basis is said to ensure an errorless performance as well as an adequate insight into the activity and its cues (Van Parreren, 1975, p. 122; Van Parreren and Carpay, 1972, p. 27). Generally speaking, the principles of consciousness and of the learner's conscious grasp of the language structures involved in carrying out a speech act played an important part in the Russian methodology of teaching languages during the Soviet period (Belyayev, 1963, pp. 47–48; Leontiev, 1981, p. 41).

#### CURRENT WORK IN LA

After LA studies had been in abeyance for about three decades there was a resurgence of interest in the 1980s, without any obvious link with the earlier Humboldtian tradition. This renewed interest arose out of a universal disenchantment over the way languages (but especially the

mother tongue) were taught in schools and academic institutions. Calls for reform had been heard from the early 1960s onwards. These demands had been expressed most clearly and consistently in the UK and had resulted in a new and detailed teaching programme called *Language in Use* in which the functional linguist Michael Halliday had also had a hand. The aim of the course was defined as 'to develop in pupils and students awareness of what language is and how it is used and at the same time, to extend their competence in handling the language' (Doughty et al., 1971, pp. 8–9).

Subsequent studies carried out in the UK and elsewhere have demonstrated that there is a close correlation between the home background of the learner and underachievement, with adult time as an important predictor of school failure. These findings pointed to the need for a much greater awareness among teachers as well as parents, of how children's use of language and the school's attitude to language interact to affect learning (Hawkins, 1984, pp. 16–17). It was thought that LA, as a separate subject in the school curriculum and as a course for parents, would cater for just this need.

What would this new element do? It would provide a common ground for discussing language issues in a common vocabulary, thus bridging the gap between English, ethnic-minority mother tongues, foreign languages (including dead languages) and English as a second language. It would offer a forum in which language diversity could be discussed, so that linguistic prejudice and parochialism could be challenged. On top of that it would seek to give learners confidence in grasping the formal patterns in language, especially as such insight had been shown to be a key element in foreign-language learning aptitude. Contrastive procedures could be helpful in bringing out any differences (Hawkins, 1984, p. 4).

Observe that this is rather a statement of what LA does than what it is. (The definition quoted earlier, put forward in 1985 by the British Consortium of Centres for Language Awareness, quite legitimately, states its *nature*.) It is also obvious that Hawkins takes a broad view of LA (not just attending to the language system, but to the socio-cultural function of language), in the way that Royen (1947) did.

The next important landmark in the history of recent LA was the appearance of Ronald Carter's reader *Knowledge about Language and the Curriculum* (Carter, 1990). It is a collection of 16 accessible essays designed to boost teachers' confidence and to provide them with the theoretical basis on which they may organise their classroom practice. An analysis of each of the articles is beyond the scope of the present survey and a brief discussion of the chief aims and the main assumptions underlying this reader must therefore suffice. The book falls into two parts; part one addresses issues of KAL for learners in primary and

secondary schools. Issues addressed are the interface hypothesis, syllabus content, LA methodologies and KAL and its relationship to CLA (for a recent polemical exchange of views on critical language study generally, see Seidlhofer, 2003, pp. 126–168). Part two is predominantly concerned with teachers' KAL and treats such matters as early language development, the four skills, multilingualism, language and social groups and spoken and written language.

It is extremely difficult to extract a definition of KAL from this book; none of the authors seems willing to commit herself/himself. On p. 23 there occurs a kind of paraphrase of KAL: 'Knowing things about language. Being interested in and informed about language'. This statement is modified on p. 27, where it is said that the 'most important kind of knowledge about language is implicit knowledge'. For further discussion, see the section Problems and Practical Difficulties.

Following Halliday, the authors take a functional view of language. This means that there is a preponderant concern with language variation, and the uses and functions of language are stressed *vis-à-vis* the forms of language. Emphasis is placed on the description of language in social contexts rather than on that of isolated decontextualised bits of language. CLA is promoted: being more explicitly informed about the sources of attitudes to language, about its social uses and misuses, about how language is used to manipulate, can empower learners to see through language to the ideologies that particular stylistic choices embody. On top of this, KAL should promote experiential learning, exploratory and reflective encounters with language.

The LINC (i.e., Language in the National Curriculum) project, of which the book under review is the outgrowth, aims at enhancing teachers' understanding and KAL in relation to processes of teaching and learning. KAL provides them with a shared frame of reference in which to discuss language issues, and assist them in discussing such issues with parents (Carter, 1990, pp. 3–4).

Recent American studies dealing with LA are Rutherford (1987) and Van Lier (1995, 1996). Van Lier, perhaps unwittingly, continues the Dutch tradition. His books aim at helping learners and teachers to understand how language is used as a tool, how it relates to life's central activities, from learning to thinking to social relationships. Employing LA activities is in itself a LA-raising exercise (Van Lier, 1995). It deals with a variety of LA and CLA aspects.

In the context of second-language grammar teaching, Rutherford (1987) uses the term 'grammatical consciousness-raising' to denote the processes whereby the learner raises grammatical operations to the level of consciousness. Rutherford convincingly shows that a grammatical syllabus need not rule out a process approach. On the contrary it would nicely dovetail with a discourse-process approach (cf. McCarthy and Carter, 1994).

## PROBLEMS AND PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES

In this section we shall address the moot question of the relationship between consciously learned and unconsciously used knowledge. Many workers in the field (e.g., Richmond [in Carter, 1990]; Stainton, 1992), but not all (cf. Van Lier, 1996, pp. 69–81) would hold that LA is concerned with explicit or conscious knowledge (and this is how we defined it in the introduction) and KAL rather with implicit or unconscious knowledge. In the latter case it would border on linguistic sense, or Chomsky's knowledge of language, and it would be the teacher's job to help the learner's implicit knowledge of language to develop. But here an important epistemological question arises: what is the difference between conscious and unconscious knowledge if we can help the latter to develop by means of the former? Does one not thus create a learner who can say '*What* I must know I can describe explicitly, but *how* I get to know it I cannot tell. Cannot tell because (a) I cannot analyse what I am doing or (b) I do not care to analyse it'. Does this not mean then that the teacher has to go about the development of implicit knowledge in a haphazard way, leaving it to chance for it to actually develop? Or does he have to create the rich linguistic environment known from the Chomskyan linguistics of the 1960s or the level of comprehensible input known in the literature as 'i+1' (e.g., Krashen, 1982)? Further, is implicit knowledge perhaps the final product of an explicit process? Is it appropriate to call knowledge a process? To make matters even more complex, some researchers (Butzkamm, 1993, pp. 101–104; Green and Hecht, 1993, p. 140; Leontiev, 1981, p. 42) postulate a whole range of (interrelated) levels of consciousness.

Be this as it may, the questions of levels of consciousness or of whether there is any seepage between conscious and unconscious knowledge (known as the Interface Hypothesis) or of whether there is also an *intuitive* awareness that the learner cannot explicitly articulate (Nicholas, 1992), cannot be resolved here and now. But at least one comes in for somewhat closer scrutiny here: the Interface Hypothesis. This hypothesis, launched by Krashen (1982, p. 83) holds that there is no interface between conscious and unconscious knowledge, that conscious knowledge can therefore never become unconscious knowledge, so that learning and acquisition are entirely independent of one another. The non-interface position thereby rejects any useful role for conscious LA activities (see also Sharwood Smith, *Morphological and Syntactic Awareness in Foreign/Second Language Learning*, Volume 6 and Ellis, *Explicit Knowledge and Second Language Learning and Pedagogy*, Volume 6).

Other researchers, basing themselves on empirical evidence (for a review, see Larsen-Freeman and Long, 1991, p. 324), uphold the interface

position, believing that carry-over of some sort does take place; still others defend only a weak interface position (for a discussion, see Ellis, 1997, pp. 114–115). As we noted earlier, this question cannot be settled conclusively until it is made clear what is meant by (un)conscious knowledge.

Another big problem is the diversity of interpretations and implementations of LA in schools. A lesson may be drawn from the apparent failure of LA experiments in three comprehensive schools in the Netherlands (see Diephuis, 1986, pp. 57ff.). As a possible cause of their lack of success I may point to the existence at these schools, alongside each other, of a LA element calling for the explicit comparison of the learner's native language with other languages, and a communication-oriented unilingual language pedagogy, ignoring if not banning, such comparison. In the event it was left to the learners to reconcile the two opposing viewpoints. But any attempt to introduce LA into a school's curriculum without resolving the potential disparity between the two approaches may prove counterproductive. This is far from a peripheral issue. It is a crucial one, which curriculum developers and teachers alike need to monitor carefully.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS IN RESEARCH AND PRACTICE

In assessing past developments in LA the reader must bear in mind that much of what today constitutes received educational wisdom or is common practice in the language classroom has never been evaluated for its effectiveness. In the past, many successful educational innovations started as hunches, intuitions or inspirations, or indeed as oracular statements by gurus (cf. James and Garrett, 1992, p. 307). Does this mean we do not have to evaluate LA work? No. What it does mean is first of all that LA is to be firmly implanted in teacher education, and that a workable definition should be agreed on by all concerned. Besides, LA must be seen to *work*. Research and evaluation (preferably in the workaday conditions of the classroom) go hand in hand here. Most (if it had been published in English), but not all (if it had not been published in English), evaluation of LA work done before 1992 was reported in the reader by James and Garrett (1992). Over the last decade and a half most (evaluation of) LA work has appeared in *Language Awareness*, a journal with an international editorial board, founded at the round table referred to in the introduction, and published by Multilingual Matters in the Clevedon.

James and Garrett (1992, p. 307) point to the major benefit that might accrue from a positive evaluation of LA work: the proof with which to convince sceptical colleagues of its value. The establishment of national and regional centres for LA may be an important step in the

dissemination of information about LA, in uniting authorities and teachers on a definition and in helping teachers to overcome any misgivings about LA. But the setting up of such centres requires extra funding. In the 10 years that have elapsed since I first wrote this, the extra money has not been forthcoming.

It has been argued that LA is just the means to an end, never the end itself. And that, whatever it is that is raised to consciousness, is not to be regarded as an artefact or object of study to be memorised by the learner and to be recalled by him/her whenever sentences are to be produced. Rather, what is raised to the level of consciousness is not so much the product (Humboldt's *ergon*) as aspects of the process (Humboldt's *energeia*) (cf. Rutherford, 1987, p. 104). LA activities should aim to be consistent with this principle.

Conscious language learning has, traditionally, been focused on the nuts and bolts of language (i.e., phonology, morphology, syntax, discourse) emphasising formal correctness. But full mastery of a language, any language, can only come as a result of understanding its nature and function in human life, of being aware of what it is and what it does, for us and for others (Van Lier, 1995). On the basis of the empirical evidence available to date (cf. Ellis, 1997, pp. 114–115; Mitchell and Myles, 1998, pp. 138–140) it is unlikely that such understanding will evolve by mere exposure to the language, however rich the linguistic environment may be. For this reason teachers will have to organise the context of learning in such a way that the learner's conscious involvement in language learning is ensured. Thus, learners need to be made aware of the functional differences between different forms by exploring different varieties of the language in different social contexts. They should also be given the opportunity to observe the differences between the language of the classroom and the language of real life, in much the same way that the Dutch reformers did. Over the past decade numerous publications have come to hand, which offer interesting possibilities for such an approach for both the teacher and the student (e.g., Cook, 1989; Legutke and Thomas, 1991; McCarthy, 1991; McCarthy and Carter, 1994; Van Lier, 1995, 1996 and subsequent editions). Such a conscious involvement of the learner does not equate LA with an explicit focus on language forms even though this does not rule out that under certain circumstances some learners may benefit from such a focus (Van Lier, 1996, p. 74).

In the meantime, research carried out under experimental conditions may continue to provide us with interesting sidelights on the differences between conscious learning and unconscious acquisition as well as on those between raw input and internalised intake in second-language learning. At the same time it may awaken us to the potential contributions consciousness-raising, metalinguistic reflection, negative feedback and input enhancement may make to effective classroom

language learning (cf. Ellis, 1997, pp. 110–115; McLaughlin, 1987, p. 22; Mitchell and Myles, 1998).

**See Also:** *Do Coyle: CLIL—A Pedagogical Approach from the European Perspective (Volume 4)*; *Michael Sharwood Smith: Morphological and Syntactic Awareness in Foreign/Second Language Learning (Volume 6)*; *Rod Ellis: Explicit Knowledge and Second Language Learning and Pedagogy (Volume 6)*

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KNOWLEDGE ABOUT LANGUAGE IN THE MOTHER  
TONGUE AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE CURRICULA

INTRODUCTION

The term ‘knowledge about language’ (KAL, henceforth) is often used to refer to explicit knowledge in the form of pedagogic contents and more or less sophisticated metalanguage, which is aimed at bringing to the conscious attention of the learners particular aspects of how language functions as a system and is used in society (James, 1999). KAL has been considered as an important tool not only for language learners but also in the training of language teachers to assist their understanding of language structure and function (so its use is the same as the use envisaged for pupils), and as a tool for teaching language skills and understanding to their pupils (Andrews, 1999; Carter, 1990). With different connotations, perspectives and emphases, it has been an issue of interest in both mother tongue and foreign language education under several labels: language awareness (James and Garrett, 1992), metalinguistic knowledge (Alderson, Clapham and Steel, 1997), consciousness-raising (Hulstijn and Schmidt, 1994), focus on form (Doughty and Williams, 1998; Long, 1991), and explicit knowledge (Ellis, 1997; 2004 and Ellis, *Explicit Knowledge and Second Language Learning and Pedagogy*, Volume 6). Therefore, in this article I adopt an inclusive view of KAL, which considers it as a supra-label for work on language education that can be characterised with any of the key terms mentioned.

The role of KAL in language education has been and still is at issue (see, for instance, Huot and Schmidt, 1996). On the one hand it has had to confront teaching traditions, like English mother tongue teaching, which placed a great deal of emphasis on literature, aesthetic appreciation and creativity at the expense of systematic language analysis (Mitchell and Brumfit, 2001: pp. 290–291). On the other hand, KAL has also been the object of debate in the field of second/foreign language teaching, with researchers and educators struggling to clarify its role somewhere between two relatively extreme points of view: those who believe that successful performance is based on unconscious knowledge, acquired through being exposed to and participating in natural communication (Krashen, 1982); those who identify KAL exclusively with traditional sentence-level grammar as the basis for the language curriculum. It is important to emphasise that the object

of knowledge to be included within KAL is also highly controversial, between a limited focus on formal rules and a more comprehensive view of verbal communication including forms, uses, socio-cultural meanings and connotations, etc. KAL, as defined in this article, must not be simply associated with a static body of knowledge consisting of “watered-down linguistics” (Hawkins, 1984, p. 6). Rather, the introduction of KAL in the language classroom involves particular sets of classroom materials (e.g. Bain, Fitzgerald and Taylor, 1992), teaching techniques (Ellis, Basturkmen and Loewen, 2002), as well as a particular view of the role of education for the individual and for society (Van Lier, 1996, pp. 90–93).

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The history of the term ‘KAL’ goes back to the Kingman Report, a document resulting from an enquiry by a committee set up by Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Schools in the UK to make recommendations about the teaching of English (James, 1999). Chapter 2 of this report is entitled ‘The importance of knowledge about language’, and it is basically about the relevance of language competence in essential aspects of everyday life such as participating effectively in democracy, acquiring new concepts, and developing one’s personality (Richmond, 1990). Chapter 3 introduces a model of language including the following aspects of English as requiring attention: the forms of the English language, communication and comprehension, acquisition and development, and historical and geographical variation (Carter, 1990).

The events that led to the Kingman Report in the UK are clearly described by Donmall-Hicks (1997) and James (1999). The first calls for reform are dated back to the 1960s, and they were responded to by the then recently-established Schools Council with the funding of a research programme, directed by Michael Halliday, to connect the work being done in linguistics with English language teaching (Doughty, Pearce and Thornton, 1971). Donmall-Hicks and James concur in mentioning the report of the Bullock Committee as a decisive triggering element that brought together teachers dissatisfied with the low levels of pupils in both English and foreign languages in primary and secondary education. The National Council for Language in Education (NCLE) was set up in 1976, including a series of ‘language awareness’ working parties. The Kingman Report of 1988 and the Cox Report of 1989 seem to have made a convincing case for the importance of learning about language in the mother tongue curriculum, resulting in the *Language in the National Curriculum* (LINC) project. This was funded by the Department of Education and Science to (i) produce materials and (ii) support the implementation of the

recommendations outlined in the Kingman and Cox Reports in connection with the introduction of KAL in the English classroom (Carter, 1990, p. 2).

The area of foreign languages was also affected by the discussions that were taking place in connection with the role of KAL in mother tongue teaching. Hawkins (1984), suggested that the introduction of 'awareness of language' as a new subject in the school curriculum would (i) provide teachers and pupils with the necessary conceptual framework to explore and discuss language issues, integrating English, foreign and ethnic minority languages, (ii) offer a forum for appreciating linguistic diversity and confronting language prejudices, (iii) give pupils confidence in analysing and contrasting formal patterns in language, thereby enhancing their foreign language learning aptitude (Van Essen, 1997, pp. 4–5 and Van Essen, *Language Awareness and Knowledge about Language: A Historical Overview*, Volume 6).

The development of KAL (or language awareness) outside the UK is traced back by Van Essen (1997 and Van Essen, *Language Awareness and Knowledge about Language: A Historical Overview*, Volume 6) mainly for Holland and Germany to the beginning of the twentieth century, as a phenomenon that has been able to remain 'on the periphery of the language teaching arena'. This is the result of the predominance of a teaching ideology equating language with morpho-syntactic knowledge, and which, in spite of the advent of the audio-lingual and communicative approaches, survived in some contexts through the end of the century (see, for instance, Cots, 2000; Mitchell and Hooper, 1992). Finally, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, Roulet (1980), in Switzerland, developed a model to integrate and make more efficient the teaching and learning of mother tongue and foreign languages through a better understanding of language diversity and the functioning of language. The work of Roulet was a direct source of inspiration for the mainly francophone approach known as *Eveil aux Langues* (awakening to languages) elaborated by Candelier (2003, see also Candelier, "Awakening to Languages" and *Educational Language Policy*, Volume 6).

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

In dealing with the major contributions to the work inspired by the notion of KAL, it may be possible, at the risk of over-simplifying the panorama, to distinguish between two strands with different emphases: educational and psycholinguistic. The two strands comprise very different understandings of KAL: while the educational strand has clearly moved towards a 'large' view of what knowledge about language is, the psycholinguistic strand is tributary to a view of

language acquisition that is centred around the appropriation of a formal linguistic system.

The educational strand can be considered as the direct inheritor of the grass-roots teacher movement that began in the UK in the late 1970s, and its main objective can be defined as pedagogic improvement in the teaching of mother tongue, second and foreign languages. Hawkins (1984) is generally considered to be the initiator of this first strand, whose adherents can be found in different publications by authors such as Carter (1990), James and Garrett (1992), Van Lier (1996), and Burley and Pomphrey (2003). Within this educational strand, it is possible to distinguish a sub-strand that corresponds to the British movement known as Critical Language Awareness (CLA henceforth). This strand represents an attempt to combine an understanding of the functioning of language as a system with the development of an awareness of the ideological bases underlying language use, and it is represented by the work of authors such as Fairclough (1992), Janks (1993, see also Janks and Locke, *Discourse Awareness in Education: A Critical Perspective*, Volume 6), Goatly (2000), and Wallace (2005).

The second strand of contributions to KAL, although still centred on language pedagogy, is more closely associated with the field known as second language acquisition (SLA) and it has a clear psycholinguistic orientation, focusing on the learning rather than the teaching process. Among the authors/works that qualify for inclusion in this second strand, the following could be mentioned as examples: Doughty and Williams (1998), Ellis (2004), Lightbown and Spada (2000), Long (1988), and Schmidt (1995). In the remaining part of this section I will deal separately at greater length with each of the two strands of KAL.

From the point of view of the 'educational strand' of KAL, in his introduction to the volume entitled *Knowledge about Language*, including supplementary articles to the material developed as part of the LINC project, Carter (1990, pp. 4–5) defines six main methodological principles for KAL work in primary and secondary schools: (i) no return to formalist, decontextualised, sentence-level linguistic analysis; (ii) building upon learners' existing abilities and resources; (iii) a dialectical relationship between learning how to use a language and learning about it; (iv) empowering pupils to uncover ideologies behind language use; (v) gradual introduction of metalanguage in accordance with pupils' needs; (vi) experiential, exploratory approach to language.

As for a rationale for KAL, James and Garrett (1992) propose five possible 'language awareness domains' that summarise the five main directions in which KAL work can be justified, and in terms of which its effectiveness can be evaluated: (i) affective: forming attitudes

and developing motivation and curiosity; (ii) social: fostering social harmony in multilingual/multicultural contexts; (iii) power: emancipating the individual from oppression and manipulation through language use; (iv) cognitive: developing linguistic as well as general intellectual aptitudes, especially in relation to language learning and use; (v) performance: effectively improving language proficiency.

Van Lier (1996, p. 95) postulates the ‘essential interconnection of awareness with autonomy and authenticity’, by which he means that pupils must be able to make choices according to their needs/capacities/learning styles, and that the language material for awareness-raising must come from the real world. Following the same author (Van Lier, 1998), KAL work can be seen as involving different levels of awareness, with different degrees of social interactivity and language development, from a state of being awake (level 1) to a capacity to analyse language use as part of particular social, ideological practices (level 4), through capacities such as focusing attention on and noticing certain objects (level 2), controlling, manipulating and exercising creativity with language (level 3a), and engaging in formal analysis by applying metalinguistic knowledge (level 3b).

The situation of KAL in the actual classroom can be glimpsed from case studies such as those reported in work by Andrews (1999) and Mitchell and Brumfit (2001). The first author shows the extent to which L2 teachers’ metalinguistic knowledge and their beliefs about its pedagogic role can affect their general approach to teaching (see also Andrews, *Teacher Language Awareness*, Volume 6). Mitchell and Brumfit (2001) point to the lack of consistency that pupils experience in connection with KAL work in the mother tongue and in the foreign language classroom, from an emphasis on texts (mainly literary), creativity and subjective appreciation to a focus on sentence-level morpho-syntactic and lexical analysis. These authors also point out the weak influence that debates on KAL have had on the teachers, the ‘patchy’ nature of teachers’ KAL, and the direct relation they establish between KAL and improved performance. Finally, the place of KAL in the mother tongue and foreign language curricula is analysed in works such as those by Labercane, Griffith and Tulasiewicz (1996), for Canada, Cots and Nussbaum (1999), for Spain, and Van Gelderen, Couzijn and Hendrix (2000) for the Netherlands. As was pointed out in the previous section, significant efforts to introduce KAL in the curriculum have also been made by teachers and researchers in the franco-phone world (France, Switzerland and Canada). Between 1998 and 2004, Candelier (2003) coordinated two EU-funded projects aimed at promoting the appreciation of linguistic and cultural diversity in primary schools (see Candelier, “Awakening to Languages” and *Educational Language Policy*, Volume 6).

The main contribution of the CLA movement, which I consider as a sub-strand of the educational strand, in the definition of the role of KAL in the language curriculum is presented by Ivanič (1990): a thorough treatment of language in the classroom must go beyond the level of pattern (accuracy) and purposeful process (appropriacy); it needs to incorporate a third layer of analysis, social context, in which language and its uses are seen as (i) shaped by and capable of shaping social forces, and (ii) as an element for constructing and sustaining social identity. The goal of CLA could be defined as contributing to the education of critical citizens, who can understand, and question if necessary, language use in connection with 'rules' of accuracy and appropriacy (Fairclough, 1992), and who can ultimately critique and react against oppressing situations of language use such as an excessive emphasis on standardization or the manipulative power of politics or advertising. The series of workbooks edited by Janks (1993), for the South African context, is an excellent example of how CLA can be applied to the design of curricular materials, dealing with topics such as identity, the media, or advertising. Other examples of 'critical' curricular activities and materials can be found in Goatly (2000), an introductory textbook addressed to undergraduate students, and Wallace (2005), including a thorough account of a university module on 'critical reading' the author herself taught.

The second main strand of KAL, which I have qualified as 'psycho-linguistic', can be traced in the literature through key terms such as 'explicit knowledge', 'formal instruction' or 'focus on form' (see also Ellis, *Implicit and Explicit Knowledge about Language*; Robinson, *Attention and Awareness*; Sharwood Smith, *Morphological and Syntactic Awareness in Foreign/Second Language Learning*, Volume 6). One of the basic tenets in this strand that endorses the role of KAL is that instruction that directs learners' attention to specific formal properties of a second/foreign language has positive effects on both the rate of acquisition and the ultimate level of attainment (Long, 1988: 135). This position is a reaction to the hypothesis proposed by Krashen (1982) according to which formal, explicit knowledge (i.e., knowledge about language) is of little use for the L2 learner in natural communication, in which the focus is on meaning rather than on form; therefore, according to this view, L2 teaching should be based on implicit knowledge (i.e., knowledge of language) resulting exclusively from meaning-focused communication. The practices of many teachers, however, seem to rely more on a model in which explicit L2 knowledge is considered to be a 'facilitator' of implicit L2 knowledge by helping learners, in the first place, to notice certain formal properties of the

input that may easily pass unnoticed, thereby allowing them to 'notice' (Schmidt, 1995, pp. 1–64) the difference between their performance and that of more proficient speakers. In the second place, L2 explicit knowledge can be used by the learners to monitor their output, either *a priori*, while planning or rehearsing, or *a posteriori*, when revising the output produced (Ellis, 1997; Ellis, *Explicit Knowledge and Second Language Learning and Pedagogy*, Volume 6).

If we accept this second hypothesis, the logical question from a pedagogic point of view is about the best way to impart explicit knowledge. In traditional grammar-centred and cognitive approaches, as well as in some teaching practices following the three-stage 'PPP' model (presentation>practice>performance), the dominant option is the deductive method, whereby a rule is given to learners who are later asked to identify it and apply it in different linguistic or communicative contexts. By contrast, in an inductive method, more characteristic of the audio-lingual or communicative approaches, learners are provided with language data from which they are expected to induce a particular rule.

Long (1991) presents another distinction in connection with the issue of imparting KAL: 'focus on forms' versus 'focus on form'. Long suggests that the former approach involves a pre-selection of linguistic structures in the form of a syllabus, which are isolated, taught and tested discretely; on the other hand, a 'focus on form' approach is characterised by the priority given to meaning-focused communicative activity in a task format, in which form-focused episodes can only arise from specific problems or needs of the learners within a particular communicative activity.

Ellis, Basturkmen and Loewen (2002) make a still further distinction between planned and incidental 'focus on form'. The first type is based on communicative tasks that are designed to make learners aware of the relevance of a particular form and to elicit its use. Incidental 'focus on form' takes place in the course of communicative tasks that are aimed at eliciting communication in general, and it occurs in the form of generally brief episodes whose occurrence depends on whether teacher or learners deem it necessary for the resolution of the task. Doughty and Williams (1998, pp. 197–261) consider planned versus incidental 'focus on form' (in their terminology, proactive vs. reactive) as one of six 'pedagogical choices' in connection with the presence of 'focus on form' in the language classroom: (i) Is it necessary? (ii) Should it be planned in advance or simply remedial? (iii) What linguistic forms should be focused upon? (iv) How much explicit knowledge should it involve? (v) What should be the timing of focus on form in the lesson? (vi) What should be the place of focus on form in the curriculum?

## WORK IN PROGRESS

Two authoritative sources of information for the work that is currently on-going in connection with the place of KAL in the mother tongue and foreign language curricula are the biennial meetings of the Association for Language Awareness and the journal *Language Awareness*. In these sources it is possible to see that one of the topics that seems to attract a great deal of interest is related to teachers' KAL (including metalanguage) and the use they make of it in the language classroom, a tradition that was initiated in the work of Mitchell and Hooper (1992). Relatively recent collections of studies in this line of research can be found in a special issue of *Language Awareness*, edited by Andrews (2003), and a volume edited by Bartels (2004). Work in this orientation tends to be based on the adoption of classroom observation and teacher interviewing as main research techniques. Basturkmen, Loewen and Ellis (2004) constitutes another recent example of this type of research. The authors analysed the beliefs and practices of three teachers in relation to incidental focus on form and found differences in teachers' practices due to personal teaching styles, inconsistencies in the teachers' stated beliefs, and a relative lack of match between the teachers' beliefs, as stated in their interviews, and their practice.

The relationship between multilingualism and KAL (alternatively, metalinguistic awareness), seems to be another focus of interest (see also Jessner, *Language Awareness in Multilinguals: Theoretical Trends*, Volume 6). The study by Herdina and Jessner (2002) constitutes a promising theoretical support for studies dealing with multilingual processing and cognition (see for instance, Jessner, 2005). One of the recommendations Herdina and Jessner make is that in the case of sequential multilingualism, it is important to introduce instruction in metalinguistic awareness to compensate for the increasing instability of the individual's communicative repertoire; this can be interpreted as clear support for the presence of KAL in language teaching, especially with learners whose repertoire already includes more than one language.

From the point of view of research methodology, Ellis (2004 and Ellis, *Explicit Knowledge and Second Language Learning and Pedagogy*, Volume 6) addresses the need for a clarification and empirical validation of the definition of L2 explicit knowledge and of the ways in which it can be assessed. From his definition we can extract the following characteristics (pp. 244–245):

1. It is declarative and often anomalous knowledge of the phonological, lexical, grammatical, pragmatic, and socio-critical features.
2. It incorporates the metalanguage for labelling this knowledge.
3. It is conscious, learnable and verbalisable.

4. It is typically accessed through controlled processing when L2 learners experience some kind of difficulty.

5. It varies in breadth and depth depending on the individual.

In order to measure explicit knowledge, Ellis (p. 265) suggests that a distinction be made between explicit knowledge as ‘analysed (potentially aware) knowledge’ and as ‘metalinguage’, and proposes three types of tests (language aptitude, grammaticality judgments, and meta-language) and verbal reports as assessment tools. In connection with research on teachers’ beliefs and use of KAL in the classroom, Borg (2003, p.106) notes an excessive terminological dispersion in this area (for instance, with concepts such as KAL, metalinguistic awareness, subject-matter knowledge) and suggests that more research is needed into three main aspects: the different ways of understanding KAL by teacher-trainers and teacher-trainees, actual teaching practices, and cognitive and contextual factors shaping pedagogic decisions by teachers.

The design and implementation of KAL materials in the form of modules to be used in the classroom was one of the main objectives of the LINC project between 1989 and 1992 (Bain, Fitzgerald and Taylor, 1992; Carter, 1990). This was also the aim of the *Eveil aux Langues* approach (Candelier, 2003, see also Candelier, “Awakening to Languages” and Educational Language Policy, Volume 6), which inspired the Canadian project *Éveil au Langage et Ouverture à la Diversité Linguistique, ELODIL* (Armand, Maraillet and Beck, 2004) as well as the Swiss project *Éveil au Langage et Ouverture aux Langues, EOLE* (Perregaux, De Goumoëns, Jeannot and de Pietro, 2003). Both projects are being carried out in the context of teacher professional development and one of their main focuses is the preparation of modules for primary school pupils essentially aiming at legitimating the languages of all students, raising awareness about the social role of French as common language, developing general metalinguistic abilities by making reference to different languages, arousing curiosity about languages, and promoting an attitude of enquiry, multilingual socialization and a ‘linguistic culture’.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

One of the main problems for the introduction of KAL in the mother tongue and foreign language curricula is mentioned by Carter (1990, p. 4) as the first principle for KAL work in primary and secondary schools: ‘There can be no return to formalist, decontextualised classroom analysis of language’. The problem, in essence, is whether promoting KAL may be perceived by some teachers as a return to the traditional ‘grammar-grind’ approach, focusing on sentence-level

grammar and below, or whether it will be integrated within a clearly communication-oriented approach such as focus on form. The problem is perhaps more evident in the case of foreign language teaching, as has been pointed out by Mitchell and Brumfit (2001). Andrews (1999) and Cots (2000) also show how, despite the apparent dominance of the communicative approach, grammar is still very much at the centre of the materials and teachers' pedagogic practices, whether in Hong Kong or in Spain, with a syllabus and an assessment methodology that rely mostly on the learning of discrete grammatical structures. Guidelines to avoid an excessively formalist curricular orientation have been proposed by Nunan (1991), who recommends that grammatical items should be learnt within a discourse context, with greater attention to form-function relationships, and through inductive activities; the author also suggests that teachers should adopt an 'organic' (as opposed to a 'linear') view of language learning, questioning a direct relation of cause-effect between teaching and learning, allowing for 'backsliding, leaps in competence, interaction between grammatical element, etc.' as natural characteristics of language development (Nunan, 1991, p. 148). McCarthy and Carter (1994) also make a specific proposal to integrate the conscious-unconscious perspectives of language learning through consciousness-raising or language awareness work along three broad parameters (i.e., form, function, and socio-cultural meaning) and five curricular principles (i.e., comparing/contrasting texts, exposure to a continuum of literary and non-literary texts, focus on inferencing procedures, progressing from the familiar to the unfamiliar, and developing critical capacity).

One of the 'pedagogical choices' that Doughty and Williams (1998) point out in connection with the introduction of knowledge about the L2 in the curriculum is whether it should be planned in advance or simply remedial. This choice is connected with 'focus-on-forms' versus 'focus-on-form' debate (see before). The former approach is clearly descendant from the synthetic tradition in language teaching (Wilkins, 1976; cited in Long and Robinson, 1998, p. 15). Focus-on-form instruction is clearly linked to communicative language teaching (Basturkmen, Loewen and Ellis, 2004, p. 243) and it seems to be more in line with recent ecological perspectives on language teaching and learning (see, for instance, Van Lier, 2002). According to Sheen (2003), although the latter approach seems more compatible with currently accepted theories of second language acquisition there is no adequate empirical research proving conclusively that focus on form is a more effective approach than focus on forms. In this same direction, Norris and Ortega (2000, p. 500), after revising 49 studies published between 1980 and 1989 concluded that "although both FonF [focus-on-form] and FonFS [focus-on-forms] instructional approaches result

in large and probabilistically trustworthy gains over the course of an investigation, the magnitude of these gains differs very little between the two instructional categories.”

Another problem that appears in defining the role of KAL in the curriculum is related to the nature of metalanguage and, more specifically, to the level of sophistication required. Gombert (1997) makes a distinction between epilinguistic and metalinguistic processes, with the former referring to unconscious metalinguistic activities and the latter having a reflective, intentional character. For Gombert, the acquisition of metalinguistic awareness follows the acquisition of the first language and of epilinguistic control. This idea is consistent with James' (1999) suggestion that KAL has a different role in the mother tongue and in the foreign language curriculum. In the first case, KAL contribution involves the explication of intuitive knowledge; in the second case, KAL work consists of noticing and understanding the difference between the learners' present knowledge and the target they are aiming at in terms of capacity to manipulate and understand language. Leo Van Lier's (1998) proposal to posit different levels of consciousness is an important contribution towards clarifying the type of work that may be involved in KAL depending on the expectations and the abilities of the learners.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

One of the directions for future work in KAL is related to the need for evaluation of the results of its introduction in particular contexts and teaching programmes. In the concluding chapter to their edited volume, James and Garrett's (1992) argue that evaluation can be made in terms of the effects of KAL on the five domains they propose: affective, social, power, cognitive and performance. The need for evaluation is also pointed out by Ellis (1997), who suggests that the kind of consciousness-raising tasks he advocates need to be investigated by teachers in the context of their classrooms. Van Lier (1998) and Sheen (2003) also advocate the observation, description and analysis of what occurs in the real classroom as a whole; Sheen calls for a return to long-term comparative studies on the effectiveness of different programmes or instructional techniques integrating or excluding KAL, respectively. Evaluation through the experimental method is also seen as necessary by Norris and Ortega (2000), who noticed a lack of studies including delayed post-tests on the durability of focused L2 instruction.

Another direction in which further work will be welcomed is the role of KAL in teacher training, teacher expertise and how teachers transfer their knowledge into particular teaching situations (Andrews, 2003 and Andrews, *Teacher Language Awareness*, Volume 6). In this sense, it is

interesting to bear in mind three of the findings Bartels (2004, pp. 405–424) distills from a review of different studies: (i) the acquisition of KAL during the teacher training process does not guarantee its full and consistent transfer to L2 teaching; (ii) a solid KAL does not seem to be necessary for high teaching quality; (iii) in order to guarantee KAL transfer to teaching situations, teachers cannot be expected to make the link between linguistics and pedagogy by themselves, and they need to be taught in concrete terms how to apply KAL. Teachers' beliefs and training on KAL are also very much connected with the role of metalanguage in their teaching practices and in the learning practices of their students (Berry, 2005). Within the broad area of teacher training, one must also note a recent interest in research that involves developing a greater awareness of non-native language teachers, of their assets and strengths (Llurda, 2005) as well as of the implications of the international role of English worldwide (Gnutzmann and Intemann, 2005).

Finally, it cannot be ignored that the results of research on KAL can only reach the language classroom if they are reflected into specific teaching materials that teachers find useful. In this sense, it is interesting to ponder upon one of the conclusions Nitta and Gardner (2005) reached after their analysis of contemporary ELT materials: in spite of the arguments provided by research against the efficacy of practicing tasks, these still dominate grammar teaching. One of the directions in which the development of KAL materials could proceed is the presentation of language use as negotiation of meanings situated in specific social/institutional contexts. This would require a de-emphasis on rule learning and application (whether it is grammatical rules, as in the SL/FL classroom, or textual rules, as in MT classroom; see Mitchell and Brumfit, 2001) and a greater focus on KAL as naturally emerging from personal communicative experiences, contextualised (situated/negotiated) language use, and personal engagement with some kind of activity which is not necessarily of a linguistic type (Van Lier, 2002). Another future direction for developing KAL materials derives from the fact that, in general (see, for instance, the bibliographic compendium by Aplin, 1997), they focus on either one particular language or on language as a human capacity, and there is a clear noticeable absence of published materials focusing, simultaneously and with greater or lesser degrees of emphasis, on two or more languages, thereby reflecting the multilingual character of our societies with many people's communicative repertoires including at least two languages.

*See Also:* Rod Ellis: *Explicit Knowledge and Second Language Learning and Pedagogy (Volume 6)*; Arthur Van Essen: *Language Awareness and Knowledge about Language: A Historical Overview (Volume 6)*;

*Michel Candelier: "Awakening to Languages" and Educational Language Policy (Volume 6); Hilary Janks and Terry Locke: Discourse Awareness in Education: A Critical Perspective (Volume 6); Stephen J. Andrews: Teacher Language Awareness (Volume 6); Nick Ellis: Implicit and Explicit Knowledge about Language (Volume 6); Peter Robinson: Attention and Awareness (Volume 6); Michael Sharwood Smith: Morphological and Syntactic Awareness in Foreign/Second Language Learning (Volume 6); Ulrike Jessner: Language Awareness in Multilinguals: Theoretical Trends (Volume 6)*

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DISCOURSE AWARENESS IN EDUCATION:  
A CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE

INTRODUCTION

*Discourse awareness* does not exist as a concept in the literature.<sup>1</sup> Its invention here resonates firstly with Language Awareness (LA) and secondly Critical Language Awareness (CLA). LA is a classroom pedagogy conceptualised by modern language teachers that was designed to develop student's knowledge about language. CLA is a critique of LA and it is the pedagogical arm of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which is in turn a critique of Discourse Analysis (DA).

The word *critical* which lurks here is a key discriminator amongst this dizzying list of abbreviations. It has a bearing on the two broad meanings of the word *discourse* that we bring to this chapter:

1. An abstract noun denoting language in use as a social practice with particular emphasis on larger units such as paragraphs, utterances, whole texts or genres;
2. A countable noun denoting a 'practice not just of representing the world, but of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning' (Fairclough, 1992a, p. 64). Gee (1990) uses 'Discourse' with a capital 'D' for this meaning of the word.<sup>2</sup>

The second signals an approach that focuses on the interface between language and power. This chapter argues that a critical understanding and awareness of discourse is important for education in general and language education in particular. It tracks the history, applicability and problems of what we call discourse awareness in both senses of the word *discourse*, and discusses its significance for both teachers and students.

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Hawkins' book, *Awareness of Language: An Introduction*, published in 1984, marks the start of an LA approach to language education (see also Van Essen, *Language Awareness and Knowledge about Language*:

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<sup>1</sup> However, MacLure's concept of 'discursive literacy' meaning 'an understanding of the rhetorical fabric out of which institutions are built' occupies similar territory (MacLure, 2003, p. 5).

<sup>2</sup> We have not adopted Gee's practice in this chapter. Context generally indicates which meaning of the word applies.

A Historical Overview, Volume 6 and *Cots, Knowledge about Language in the Mother Tongue and Foreign Language Curricula*, Volume 6). LA focuses on the linguistic and pragmatic properties of language per se and was originally defined as 'a person's sensitivity to and conscious awareness of the nature of language and its role in human life' (Donmall, 1985). It was initiated by modern language teachers to address their concern that the increasing number of students in Britain leaving school with English only would create a society of 'complacent mono-lingual adults'. This in turn could produce 'socially divisive' attitudes of 'insularity and cultural superiority' (Donmall, 1985, p. 18).

In 1985, Sinclair proposed that to be linguistically aware pupils needed to understand six properties of language: productivity (language is generative such that from a finite set of rules one can produce an infinite number of sentences); creativity (language rules can be broken and this creates new meanings); stability and change (language is constantly changing but at any moment in time is relatively stable); social variation (social factors cause language to vary); language can do things (language varies in relation to its different functions of use); language is a two-layered code (it is both content and form).

The first series of classroom materials, *Awareness of Language*, edited by Hawkins set out to achieve these aims with activities that invited students to compare and contrast the resources of different languages. In *Spoken and Written Language*, for example, students were introduced to the history of writing, different alphabetic scripts, ideographic languages which use characters, the vagaries of spelling and the differences between speech and writing. Other books in the series introduced students to non-verbal forms of communication, language acquisition theory, language varieties and change and language use. In all, they offered simple introductions to linguistics, socio-linguistics and psycholinguistics.

As an approach, LA has persisted into the new millennium. For example, a European assisted action research programme involving syllabus production and its delivery across several European primary schools made the following assumptions:

- 'LA can empower the language users in all of their first language transactions;
- 'LA extends the instrumental use of language as a vehicle of communication;
- 'It promotes imagination and creativity through the aesthetic and artistic uses of language;
- 'It sensitises language users to the role of language in intercultural education' (Tulasiewicz and Adams, 2003, p. 82).

In a paper entitled 'Critical Language Awareness', Lancaster University colleagues Clark, Fairclough, Ivanic and Martin-Jones (1987),

while applauding LA's focus on knowledge about language and its social concerns, challenged the normative assumptions about schooling, language and language learning that underpin it, arguing that 'Language Awareness programmes present ... linguistic practices as a natural domain, a given and common sense reality whose social origins are out of sight' (p. 13). Evidence to support this view can be seen from the way in which the dominance of English was naturalised, and the way in which language varieties were presented as different but without any discussion of how they are socially stratified in Hawkins' series.

A good example of a critical approach to language variation is Fairclough's discussion of appropriateness (1992b, pp. 33–56). He addresses himself to Hymes's view that 'we have to account for the fact that a normal child acquires knowledge of sentences, not only as grammatical, but also as appropriate. He or she acquires competence as to when to speak, when not, and as to what to talk about, with whom, when and in what manner. . . . There are rules of use without which the rules of grammar would be useless' (Hymes, 1974, p. 15). Fairclough provides an extended argument to show that appropriateness is both a normative and a prescriptive concept. From the perspective of CLA, Hymes's 'rules of use' are inextricably linked to relations of domination and subordination in a society and the notion of communicative competence, in reifying and naturalising these rules, reproduces them and legitimates the social order which they serve. Appropriateness, as determined by the cultural practices of the native speakers of the target language, is based on a unitary view of the target language. It naturalises native speakers' common sense and fails to recognise the fundamentally ideological nature of daily practices.

As an approach to language pedagogy, CLA argues for a more critical perspective on language practices and builds upon the work of critical linguistics and CDA (Fairclough, 1989). Fundamentally, critical linguistics argues for 'strong and pervasive connections between linguistic structure and social structure' (Fowler and Kress, 1979). Fairclough (1989), in his model of CDA has been able to demonstrate how linguistic choices embedded in processes of textual production, reception and dissemination reflect and enhance the power of particular discourses. In *Language and Power*, Fairclough (1989) offers a social theory of discourse based on the second meaning of the term referred to earlier, and which Gee (1990) defines broadly as 'ways of being in the world, or forms of life which integrate words, acts, values, beliefs, attitudes, social identities, as well as gestures, glances, body positions and clothes' (p. 142).

Where Discourse Analysis focuses on classifying speech events in terms of transactions, exchanges, moves and acts, and Conversational Analysis works with the expressive and responsive content of turns in

communicative interaction, CDA is more interested in the ways in which language works to maintain and produce relations of power, in spoken, written and multimodal texts. Marxist and Foucaultian theories of the relationship between language and discourse, on the one hand, and power, knowledge and subjectivity on the other provide the theoretical base for critical approaches to language education such as CLA, critical literacy, critical ESL/EFL. (See also Janks, *Teaching Language and Power*, Volume 1)

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

##### *Analysing Classroom Discourse (with a small 'd')*

In 1970, Flanders developed a coding system for student–teacher interaction and concluded that an initiation-response-feedback (IRF) sequence was the basic discourse pattern in classrooms (see also Tsui, *Classroom Discourse: Approaches and Perspectives*, Volume 6). The teacher initiates, the student responds and the teacher reacts to the student's response. As this reaction is often evaluative, the pattern is often referred to as IRE rather than IRF.

The structure of the sequence allows the teacher to maintain the necessary control over the flow of information and the advancement of the academic content. Both the topic of the Initiation move (the teacher's questions) and the content of the Evaluation move allow the teacher to advance the intended topic of discussion or learning. In addition, they allow her to check the status of knowledge, awareness and attention of students by calling on individuals and posing particular questions (O'Connor and Michaels, 1996, quoted in Cazden, 2001, p. 47).

Later work by Sinclair and Coulthard, designed to analyse the underlying structures of talk, provided a sound basis for the quantitative analysis of classroom interaction. It offered the means for assessing the asymmetrical distribution of turn- and activity-types as well as talk-time. In *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis*, Coulthard (1977) combined this work with speech act theory, the ethnography of speaking and conversation analysis as a means of highlighting the discursive properties of classroom interaction, showing, for example, how the control of turn-taking and topics relates to teachers' pedagogical purposes.

The contribution of conversation analysis (Atkinson and Heritage, 1984) to an understanding of classroom discourse is important because it focuses on talk-as-interaction, embracing function and content as well as structure. According to Bakhtin,

The utterance is filled with *dialogic overtones*, and they must be taken into account in order to understand fully the style of the utterance. After all, our thought itself—philosophical, scientific, and artistic—is born and shaped in the process of interaction and struggle with others' thought, and this cannot but be reflected in the forms that verbally express our thought as well (1986, p. 92).

In the classroom context, the analyst needs to understand how the participants engaging in talk take account of what others have said, to anticipate how others might respond, and to give weight to both the expressive and the responsive nature of talk. Such approaches can be thought of as building on the earlier work of Douglas Barnes (1977) which emphasised the relationship between classroom talk and learning, and the importance of pupils using language for making meanings that invite responses rather than for providing answers to be confirmed as correct or incorrect by the teacher.

In order to analyse multi-voiced interactions in collaborative teaching, and by extension collaborative learning, Kilalea (2000) developed a method for analysing discourse that foregrounds co-operative interaction as opposed to the earlier emphasis on asymmetrical interaction. She used Bakhtin's criteria for polyphonic interaction: 'the equality, simultaneity, plurality, independence and divergence of voices' (Kilalea, 2000, p. 165) to explore multi-vocality in classroom interaction. Her polyphonic method of discourse analysis is able to demonstrate how talk across difference can generate understanding and spark new ideas providing evidence for the theory of diversity as a productive resource for innovation and change.

In *Classroom Discourse*, Cazden argued for a shift from IRF/E, teacher-centred, 'traditional' classrooms, to more inquiry-based, student-centred, 'non-traditional' classrooms where interaction patterns were less fixed. Using 1989 and 1991 mathematics curriculum documents in USA as an example, she showed that particular forms of classroom discourse were required to enable students to formulate and solve problems, hypothesise, make connections, reason, convince themselves and others, explore examples and counter-examples, and question one another (Cazden 2001, p. 48). She considered innovations in sharing time; discourse practices that provide scaffolds for learning; interventions in relation to seating arrangements, pace and sequence; strategies for who gets the floor; possibilities for peer talk and collaboration; students' talk in relation to computers. Throughout, her work is sensitive to the play of cultural diversity in the classroom and is concerned to validate the discourses that children bring with them to school and to avoid 'deficit' models of education (Locke, 2004, p. 68).

Like Cazden, Wells has had an enduring interest in ways in which rich and varied conversation can aid children in meaning-making. In a series of Canadian action research projects, Wells showed how different modes of discourse foster learning and teaching in different areas of the curriculum. His emphasis was on the creation of an inquiry-based curriculum, which provided opportunities for collaborative action, knowledge building and reflection (Wells, 2001).

*The Shift to Critical Awareness of Discourse (with a Big 'D')*

While it would be misleading to assert that the approaches thus far discussed share a single, philosophical position on the nature of discourse, how to analyse it and the desirable forms classroom discourse should take, it is arguable that there is broad common ground in an emphasis on the social contextual nature of learning and language practices. It is not surprising, therefore, to find these theorists—Wells is a case in point—calling on the ideas of Vygotsky and Bakhtin, and Halliday's systemic functional linguistics (SFL).

The shift to the critical in discourse awareness was designed to establish a framework for analysing language in its relation to power and ideology. As Fairclough in *Critical Discourse Analysis* (1995) put it:

Power is conceptualised both in terms of asymmetries between participants in discourse events, and in terms of unequal capacity to control how texts are produced, distributed and consumed . . . in particular sociocultural contexts (pp. 1–2).

In terms of such a framework, a range of textual properties—word choice, imagery, syntax, modalities, transitivity and so on—are all potentially ideological.

In relation to discourse awareness, the critical can be thought of in terms of three tendencies: critique as revelation, critical practice as self-reflexive and critical practice as socially transformative.

- *Critique as revelation*: Foucault is the key theorist here, locating the 'critical' in the systematic analytical endeavour to reveal the nature of systems of rules, principles and values as historically situated bases for critique. He called this analysis 'archaeology', the product of this analysis a 'genealogy' and his key term was 'discourse'. His archaeological method aimed at the description of an *archive*, by which he meant 'the set of rules which at a given period for a given society define . . . The limits and forms of the *sayable*' (1991, p. 59). Discourses both constrain and enable human subjects to view the world in particular ways in particular language forms. Such discourses, *naturalised* for individual subjects, incline them to regard their own position as 'common sense' rather than a particular

historical construction of reality. Revelation occurs when these ‘common sense’ positions are exposed as no more than discursive constructions.

- *Critical practice as self-reflexive*: If one’s knowledge frames are socially constructed, then one needs to acknowledge that whenever one makes statements about anything, one does so out of a particular discourse. Knowledge then becomes provisional, with clear implications for teachers and researchers.
- *Critical practice as socially transformative*: The tendency for critical practice to be linked to a socially transformative agenda stems from a view of discourse (and ideology) as involving power relations. Foucault asks pertinently: ‘How is struggle for control of discourses conducted between classes, nations, linguistic, cultural or ethnic collectivities?’ (1991, p. 60). In any socio-cultural context, some discourses are more powerful than others and subscribers of non-powerful discourses are therefore marginalised and relatively disempowered. Both critical literacy and critical language awareness are approaches to discourse awareness in the literacy classroom committed to the project of bringing about change through critical understanding.

Since the late 1980s, Allan Luke has been an influential advocate for a critical approach to discourse awareness in educational contexts as just outlined. Addressing the challenges of a twenty-first century, text-saturated environment, Luke has long argued for and acted to bring about classrooms responsive to a future where ‘a great deal of service and information-based work, consumption, and leisure [will depend on people’s] capacities to construct, control and manipulate texts and symbols’ (1995, p. 6). At the same time he has drawn attention to the rights of cultural and other minorities and indigenous peoples, and ways in which education systems discursively construct ‘successful’ and ‘failing’ students. For Luke then, the aim of fostering discourse awareness in education settings and using tools such as CDA is to identify:

... how educational knowledge, competence, and curriculum contribute to the differential production of power and subjectivity. An approach to critical discourse analysis can tell us a great deal about how schools and classrooms build ‘success’ and ‘failure’ and about how teachers’ and students’ spoken and written texts shape and construct policies and rules, knowledge, and, indeed ‘versions’ of successful and failing students (1995, p. 11).

In a similar way, Corson, in *Language, Diversity and Education*, focuses awareness on ways in which discourse, diversity and human

subjectivity are intertwined such that ‘children, and adults too, are continually renegotiating their subject positions and their identities within multiple and competing discourses’ (2001, p. 14). Because different discourses, different varieties, different languages are not equally valued by society, or equally privileged by education, they produce different amounts of cultural and linguistic capital. In favouring the discourse norms of dominant social groups, schools marginalise students who are different, with serious implications for their sense of self and for their chances of access and success. Teachers need the kind of awareness that enables them to make their discourse practices more inclusive, remembering that discourse (in the Foucaultian sense) is more than just language. It is an embodied practice that relates to different communities’ ways of saying/writing, being, doing and valuing. Situated in more than one discourse, human subjects have fluid and hybrid identities. What education needs to guard against is an imperative for all students to submit to dominant norms and needs to ensure instead that difference is a valued resource for reimagining taken-for-granted norms of thinking and behaving and for envisioning new possibilities.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

As examples of an approach, Luke and Corson can be thought of as aiming at revealing the discursive shape of a range of educational practices with a view to changing them to produce different outcomes for students. Important work on discourse analysis in classrooms is currently being undertaken by the Centre for Research in Pedagogy and Practice, at the National Institute for Education in Singapore. This large-scale research project includes in its core research programme, six lines of research, two of which, the classroom observation study and the classroom interaction study, focus on classroom discourse analysis. Data for the latter are collected by subject specialists trained to use the Singapore Coding Scheme developed by Luke, Cazden, Lin and Freebody, in 920 classrooms in 56 primary and secondary schools.

This project, which aims to understand pedagogical discourse, looks at how knowledge is framed and classified. Framing looks at ‘how the social interaction of teacher/student discourse and behaviour creates a mediating environment for working with ideas, knowledge and texts, using a range of semiotic artefacts and texts’ (Luke, Freebody, Shun and Gopinathan, 2005, p. 13) and classification focuses on ‘the representation and scaffolding of knowledge using a range of scales to examine epistemological sources of knowledge, disciplinary framing, depth of disciplinary concepts and discourse, knowledge reproduction and construction and levels of critique’ (p. 13). Particularly important

in the Coding Scheme is 'weaving', the movement between levels and kinds of knowledge. This is the most comprehensive coding scheme developed to date and offers an approach to examining discourse in relation to pedagogical content knowledge.<sup>3</sup>

Where educators such as Corson and Luke might be seen as harnessing discourse awareness to develop critical reflective practice in teachers and bring pressure to bear on policy-makers, discourse awareness, as integral to pedagogical approaches such as CLA and critical literacy, alerts students to the power of discourse and its instantiations in oral, written and multimodal texts. Critical literacy as a pedagogy equips readers to identify the various ways texts work to position readers to view the world in particular ways. Discourse awareness can be thought of as fundamentally intertextual, in that it is concerned with the operations of the constructions, versions or representations of reality that are mediated by various sign systems as these operate across texts.

Both CLA and critical literacy are committed to social action that is designed to effect change in the interests of greater equity and social justice (see Comber and Simpson, 2001; Janks, 2000; Luke, Muspratt and Freebody, 1997; Norton and Toohey, 2004 for overviews of the field). Morgan (1998) identifies three broad ways of doing critical literacy in the classroom.

1. A Freirean approach implying 'not merely engagement with printed texts, but the development of a reflective, dialogical, practical mode of social being, grounded in a narrative of hope, an ethic of struggle, and a pedagogy of transformation' (Roberts, 1998, p. 1);
2. An approach associated with Wallace (2003), but really part of a wider critical language awareness movement which asks such questions as:
  - What reading practices are characteristic of particular social groups?
  - How are reading materials produced in a particular society, who produces them, and how do they come to have the salience they do?
  - What influences the process of interpreting texts in particular contexts?

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<sup>3</sup> The discourse intensive projects described here are only two out of over a 100 related research projects. It is possible to follow the progress of this research at <http://www.cripp.nie.edu.sg>. As it unfolds it is likely to have implications for discourse awareness across the curriculum and beyond the borders of Singapore. It is aimed at taking education to 'the next level' without any 'prototypes of what such a level might be' (Luke Freebody, Shun and Gopinathan, 2005, p. 3).

3. A focus on intertextuality and the juxtaposition of texts to highlight ways in which the same 'reality' is constructed differently in different discourses.

Vasquez' (2004) account of her work as a classroom teacher negotiating critical literacies with her Grade 1/2 children is a fine example of this kind of discursive work. She demonstrates that even very young children can engage in transformative social action that makes a positive difference to their daily lives and to the lives of others. For example, not only do these very young children notice that their school does not cater to their vegetarian peers; they also work out what kinds of action they can engage in to rectify the situation. Their success in this and similar 'small' interventions gives them a sense of their own agency.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Challenges facing advocates of discourse awareness include changes in the nature of textual practice, questions of metalanguage, and theoretical problems in respect of the notions of truth, power, agency and self.

Work of the New London Group and Kress and van Leeuwen (2001) on the modes and media of contemporary communication has been fundamental in extending our understanding of classroom discourse beyond the verbal. They have been able to show that the new digitised technologies used for (particularly multimodal) communication enable a range of semiotic representation that was simply not possible with pen and paper. In addition to sophisticated layout and typography and the touch-of-a-button inclusion of colour images in texts, computer technologies enable the combination of sound, word and moving image, with the simultaneous presentation of multiple texts on split screens. All of this impacts on classrooms and focuses attention on how classroom discourse, in addition to words, embraces gesture, gaze, posture and proxemics.

Two related problems are created by the need for discourse awareness to be served by a metalanguage—a language for describing and analysing textual practice (in the broadest sense of the word 'text'). The first is the need to develop metalanguages or grammars that go beyond the printed word to include a wider range of semiotic resources. Work by Kress and van Leeuwen (2001) has responded to this need. The second problem relates to the desirability of linking discourse awareness to a *particular* metalinguistic system. Although Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) have argued a strong case for a formal arrangement between CDA and SFL, others (e.g. Gee, 1990; Locke, 2004) have demonstrated CDA without formally committing to SFL as a system.

A theoretical problem central to discursive awareness is set up by the tension between a Foucaultian view of 'truth' as a product of discourse, rather than the quality of a proposition arising from its being determined in reference to an accessible world outside of discourse. The problematic term (rather glossed over in the last section) *ideology*, used by theorists such as Fairclough and, tends to be used in the context of discussions, coloured by neo-Marxist notions of 'false consciousness', which suggest that oppressive ideologies can be revealed 'scientifically', and assume an ideologically free space from which to speak the 'truth'.

Where neo-Marxist analysis inclines to see power as repressive, and an effect of hegemonic ideologies deliberately fostered by particular individuals and interest groups, Foucault views power as productive, as 'having a capillary form of existence' that 'reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives' (Foucault, 1980, p. 30). As MacLure puts it, power for Foucault 'is a productive set of relations from which, for good or ill, subjectivity, agency, knowledge and action issue' (MacLure, 2003, p. 177).

These two orientations (discussed in detail by Pennycook, 2001, pp. 78–100), relate to differing approaches to the question of human agency. A neo-Marxist approach is less problematic in terms of human agency since it can posit a self 'outside' of the ambit of discourse acting *on* the world as shaped (negatively) by ideology. A Foucaultian approach consigns the self to the task of social (transformative) action 'within' the ambit of discourse (as inescapable) and views the self as less unitary than multiply inscribed often by contesting discourses.

### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

What then validates a discursively aware teacher's or student's basis for acting on the world? The answer to this question is firstly a commitment on the part of language educators to a self-reflexivity which would accept as discursively constructed 'common sense' meanings that work to construct versions of reality in the immediate social milieu. The second is a preparedness to accept a radical openness and provisionality that refuses closure and remains open to critical reflection, debate and argument, socio-historical, theoretical and technological changes, as well as differences of politics and place.

A third approach to answering this question is to accept that analyses based in discourse awareness are a 'normative enterprise' (Luke, 1995) which draws attention to the material consequences of particular discursive framings and practices, and which opens up the possibility of alternative social futures. How desirable these futures are compared

to the present depends on one's pragmatically oriented ethical lens. To quote Pennycook again: 'The crucial engagement with ethics and the need for a notion of preferred futures brings us back to Roger Simon's (1992) notion of the situated refusal of the present as definitive of that which is possible (p. 30)' (2001, p. 172).

Certainly, at the beginning of a new century, there is a widespread view that such a 'situated refusal of the present' as it is being enacted in language/literacy classrooms in many educational settings is exactly what is called for. Discourses of narrowly defined teacher effectiveness, pre-determined outcomes and a pervasive audit culture are producing classrooms where critical social enquiry and engagement are not sanctioned and a teacher 'development' environment which discourages critically reflective practice. Yet, we would argue that discourse practices lie at the heart of education, underpinning pedagogy, curriculum, relational practices and assessment. Teacher awareness of discourse, then, is not just a key to the fostering of critically reflective practice. It is the key to educational transformation itself.

*See Also:* Arthur Van Essen: *Language Awareness and Knowledge about Language: A Historical Overview (Volume 6)*; Josep M. Cots: *Knowledge about Language in the Mother Tongue and Foreign Language Curricula (Volume 6)*; Hilary Janks: *Teaching Language and Power (Volume 1)*; Amy B. M. Tsui: *Classroom Discourse: Approaches and Perspectives (Volume 6)*

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BONNY NORTON

## IDENTITY, LANGUAGE LEARNING, AND CRITICAL PEDAGOGIES

### INTRODUCTION

Educators interested in identity, language learning, and critical pedagogies are interested in language as a social practice. In other words, they are interested in the way language constructs and is constructed by a wide variety of social relationships. These relationships might be as varied as those between writer and reader; teacher and student; test maker and test taker; school and state. What makes the educators “critical” is the shared assumption that social relationships are seldom constituted on equal terms, but may reflect and constitute inequitable relations of power in the wider society, on terms that may be defined, among others, by gender, race, class, ethnicity, and sexual orientation. Further, as Norton and Toohey (2004) note, the plural use of “pedagogies” suggests that there are many ways in which pedagogy can be critical; the challenge for critical language educators is to determine how best to pursue a project of possibility for language learners, in a variety of places, at different points in time. Such educators have examined the social, historical, and cultural contexts in which language learning takes place and how learners negotiate and sometimes resist the diverse positions those contexts offer them. It is argued that the extent to which a language learner speaks or is silent, and writes, reads, or resists has much to do with the extent to which the learner is valued in any given institution or community. Language is thus theorized not only as a linguistic system, but also as a social practice in which experiences are organized and identities negotiated.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

While interest in identity and language learning extends to the early 1980’s, those educators who have a particular interest in critical pedagogies are associated with more recent work in the field of second language acquisition (SLA) (see Ricento, 2005) and are discussed more comprehensively in the following section. It is important to note, however, that much of this research is about education in English as a second or international language, indicative of the problematic dominance

of English in the global linguistic marketplace. Further, much of this research is not sufficiently reflective about problems associated with the broader field of critical pedagogy itself, notwithstanding insightful comments from scholars such as Kramsch (1999).

In the 1970s and 1980s, scholars interested in second language identity tended to draw distinctions between social identity and cultural identity. "Social identity" was seen to reference the relationship between the individual language learner and the larger social world, as mediated through institutions such as families, schools, workplaces, social services, and law courts (e.g., Gumperz, 1982). "Cultural identity," on the other hand, referenced the relationship between an individual and members of a particular ethnic group (such as Mexican and Japanese) who share a common history, a common language, and similar ways of understanding the world (e.g., Valdes, 1986). As Atkinson (1999) has noted, past theories of cultural identity tended to essentialize and reify identities in problematic ways.

In more recent years, the difference between social and cultural identity is seen to be theoretically more fluid, and the intersections between social and cultural identities are considered more significant than their differences. In this research, identity is seen as socioculturally constructed, and educators draw on both institutional and community practices to understand the conditions under which language learners speak, read, and write the target language. Such research is generally associated with a shift in the field from a predominantly psycholinguistic approach to second language learning to include a greater focus on sociological and anthropological dimensions of language learning, particularly with reference to sociocultural, poststructural, and critical theory.

Critical language educators have tended to draw, in particular, on the work of scholars such as Bakhtin, Bourdieu, Foucault, Freire, Lave and Wenger, and Weedon. This more recent research suggests that second language learners frequently struggle to appropriate the voices of others (Bakhtin, 1986); command the attention of their listeners (Bourdieu, 1977); negotiate multiple identities (Weedon, 1987); and understand the practices of the target language community (Lave and Wenger, 1991). The research does not suggest, however, that the language learner should bear the primary responsibility for expanding the range of identities available to the learner; of central interest is the investment of the native speaker as well. Drawing on such theory, becoming a "good" language learner is seen to be a much more complicated process than earlier, more positivistic research had suggested. Indeed, in the latter half of the 1990's, three special issues on identity were published in diverse language education journals, all of which made problematic existing notions of "the good language learner" and

anticipated the wide range of research on identity and language learning characteristic of the early years of the 21st century. These included special issues of *Linguistics and Education*, edited by Martin-Jones and Heller in 1996, *Language and Education*, edited by Sarangi and Baynham in 1996, and *TESOL Quarterly* edited by Norton in 1997.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS AND WORK IN PROGRESS

Current research on identity, language learning, and critical pedagogies grapples with questions of power and access, and conceives of identity as dynamic, contradictory, and constantly changing across time and place. Further, much of this research adopts a critical pedagogical lens when considering implications of the research for classroom practice. This growing body of research, common themes of which are discussed later, has been published in a wide variety of journals, the most notable of which is the award-winning *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, edited by Ricento and Wiley. In addition, a number of monographs on the topic have appeared in catalogs and libraries, all of which are making their mark in the wider community (Benesch, 2001; Block and Cameron, 2002; Canagarajah, 2002; Cummins, 2000; Goldstein, 2003; Kanno, 2003; Kumaravaduvelu, 2003; Miller, 2003; Norton, 2000; Pennycook, 2001; Ramanathan, 2002; Toohey, 2000). The three common themes in this area of scholarship that I address are those on (i) identity, investment, and imagined communities; (ii) identity categories and educational change; and (iii) identity and literacy. This scholarship represents both major contributions and work in progress.

#### *Identity, Investment and Imagined Communities*

In a recent review of research on identity and language learning, Ricento (2005) makes the case that Norton's work on language, identity, and investment represents a new and important direction in the field of SLA. In research with immigrant women in Canada, Norton (Norton, 2000; Norton Peirce, 1995) observed that existing theories of motivation in the field of SLA were not consistent with the findings from her research and did not do justice to the identities and experiences of language learners. Drawing on the work of Bourdieu (1977), she developed the notion of "investment" to signal the socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language and their often ambivalent desire to learn and practice it. If learners "invest" in the target language, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital. Unlike notions of instrumental motivation, which conceive of the language learner as having a

unitary, fixed, and ahistorical “personality,” the notion of investment conceives of the language learner as having a complex, nonunitary identity, changing across time and space, and reproduced in social interaction. Norton makes the case that an investment in the target language is also an investment in the learner’s own identity.

The notion of investment has sparked considerable interest in the field of language and education (see Pittaway, 2004). McKay and Wong (1996), for example, have drawn on this concept to explain the English language development of four Mandarin-speaking students in a California school; Angelil-Carter (1997) found the concept useful in understanding the language development of an English language learner in South Africa; and Skilton-Sylvester (2002) drew on her research to argue that the interaction between a woman’s domestic and professional identities is necessary to explain her investment in particular adult ESL programs. Most recently, Potowski (2004) has used the notion of investment to explain students’ use of Spanish in a dual Spanish/English immersion program in the USA, and in 2008, a special issue of the *Journal of Asian–Pacific Communication*, edited by Davison and Arkoudis will focus on the theme of investment in the Asia–Pacific context.

An extension of interest in identity and investment concerns the imagined communities that language learners aspire to when they learn a new language. Norton (2001) drew on her research with two adult immigrant language learners to argue that while the learners were initially actively engaged in classroom practices, the realm of their desired or “imagined” community extended beyond the four walls of the classroom. This imagined community was not accessible to their respective teachers, who, unwittingly, alienated the two language learners, who then withdrew from the language classroom. Drawing on the work of Lave and Wenger (1991) and Wenger (1998), Norton makes the case that, for many language learners, the community is one of the imagination—a desired community that offers possibilities for an enhanced range of identity options in the future. The community may also be, to some extent, a reconstruction of past communities and historically constituted relationships. In essence, an imagined community assumes an imagined identity, and a learner’s investment in the target language must be understood within this context.

Of particular interest to the language educator is the extent to which such investments are productive for learner engagement in both the classroom and the wider target language community. Such questions have been taken up more extensively in a coedited special issue of the *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education* on “Imagined Communities and Educational Possibilities” edited in 2003 by Kanno and Norton, in which Blackledge, Dagenais, Kamal, Kanno, Norton,

Pavlenko, and Silberstein explore the imagined communities of specific groups of learners in Canada, Japan, Pakistan, the UK, and the USA.

*Identity Categories and Educational Change*

Critical language educators with an interest in identity have sought to investigate the ways in which particular relations of race, gender, class, and sexual orientation may impact on the language learning process. Innovative research that addresses these issues does not regard such identity categories as “variables,” but rather as sets of relationships that are socially and historically constructed within particular relations of power. With regard to questions of race, Ibrahim’s (1999) research with a group of French-speaking continental African students in a Franco-Ontarian High School in Canada explores the impact on language learning of “becoming black.” He argues that the students’ linguistic styles, and in particular their use of Black Stylized English, was a direct outcome of being imagined and constructed as Black by hegemonic discourses and groups. From a slightly different perspective, Taylor’s (2004) research in an antidiscrimination camp in Toronto, Canada, argues for the need to understand language learning through the lens of what she calls “racialized gender.” The stories of Hue, a Vietnamese girl, and Khatra, a Somali girl, are particularly powerful in this regard, supporting the view held by Kubota (2004) that a color-blind conception of multiculturalism does not do justice to the challenges faced by language learners of diverse races and ethnicities. Lee (in press) makes the case that race is in fact a “third voice” in the native and nonnative speaker debate while a special issue of *TESOL Quarterly* on “Race and TESOL,” edited by Angel Lin and Ryuko Kubota in 2006, has put race squarely on the agenda of language education.

With regard to issues of gender and language learning, the work of scholars such as Ehrlich (1997) and Pavlenko (2004) is particularly insightful. Their conception of gender, which extends beyond female–male divides, is understood to be a system of social relationships and discursive practices that may lead to systemic inequality among particular groups of learners, including women, minorities, elderly, and disabled. Pavlenko, for example, argues for the need to understand the intersections between gender and other forms of oppression, noting that both girls and boys who are silenced in the language classroom are more likely to be those from the working class. In a similar spirit, Nelson (2004) explores the extent to which sexual orientation might be an important identity category in the second language classroom. Of central interest is the way in which a teacher can create a supportive

environment for learners who might be gay, lesbian, or transgendered. A special issue of the *TESOL Quarterly* on “Gender and Language Education,” edited by Kathy Davis and Ellen Skilton-Sylvester in 2004, brings much current research on gender to the attention of a wider audience, while an edited volume on *Gender and English Language Learners*, edited by Norton and Pavlenko, (2004), highlights gender research in different regions of the world, including Uganda, Malaysia, and Australia.

### *Identity and Literacy*

Critical researchers of identity and language learning have become interested not only in the conditions under which language learners speak, but in the extent to which identities and investments structure their engagement with *texts*. There is growing recognition that when a language learner reads or writes a text, both the comprehension and construction of the text is mediated by the learner’s investment in the activity and the learner’s sociocultural identity. Scholars such as Luke (2004), Kress (1993), and Ivanič (1997) have influenced much research on the relationship between literacy and second language identity. Although Luke’s work has focused on the contribution of critical literacy to second language education and Kress’s on the conception of text as a socially and historically constituted “genre,” Ivanič has explored the notion of writer identity, making the case that writers’ identities are constructed in the possibilities for self-hood available in the sociocultural contexts of writing.

In exploring what he calls the “subversive identities” of language learners, Canagarajah (2004) addresses the intriguing question of how language learners can maintain membership of their vernacular communities and cultures while still learning a second language or dialect. He draws on his research with two very different groups, one in the USA and the other in Sri Lanka, to argue that language learners are sometimes ambivalent about the learning of a second language or dialect, and that they may resort to clandestine literacy practices to create what he calls “pedagogical safe houses” in the language classroom. In both contexts, the clandestine literacy activities of the students are seen to be forms of resistance to unfavorable identities imposed on the learners. At the same time, however, these safe houses served as sites of identity construction, allowing students to negotiate the often contradictory tensions they encountered as members of diverse communities.

In a very different region of the world, Stein (2004) invites us into a language and literacy classroom in post-apartheid South Africa, drawing on the innovative and increasingly influential work on

multiliteracies associated with a variety of scholars, including those in the New London Group (1996). With reference to multiliteracies research, as well as feminist theories of the body, Stein reflects on her classroom teaching with English language learners, and develops a comprehensive blueprint for what she calls “multimodal pedagogies.” Such a blueprint, she argues, arises from the need to acknowledge the tensions between local forms of communication and the literacy demands of schooling, recognizing that representation occurs through a variety of modes, including the visual, the gestural, speech, writing, and sound.

Starfield (2004), like Stein, seeks innovative and empowering pedagogies that can expand the range of identities available to language learners, focusing in particular on the power of concordancing in academic writing at an Australian university. Drawing on her teaching experience in an academic writing workshop, Starfield describes how she and her students used concordancing to examine the structure of academic writing and the ways in which authors use language to establish credibility and authority. Over time, Starfield noted a marked improvement in the academic writing of her students. Her work provides a window into the possibilities that technology holds for helping students develop identities not only as accomplished writers but also as contributors to the larger academic community.

The use of technology is also the subject of research that addresses the impact of literacy practices on relationships beyond the classroom. Lam (2000) for example, who studied the internet correspondence of a Chinese immigrant teenager in the USA who entered into transnational communication with a group of peers, demonstrates how this experience in what she calls “textual identity” related to the student’s developing identity in the use of English. In another study of synchronous and asynchronous communication between American learners of French in the USA and French learners of English in France, Kramsch and Thorne (2002) found that some students had little desire to adopt the textual identity of the other. Ramanathan and Atkinson (1999), indeed, make the case that there is much need for cross-cultural writing research to better inform both teachers and students of the sociocultural knowledge of student writers from diverse regions of the world.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Two problems that face scholarship in the area of identity, language learning, and critical pedagogies concern the challenges of classroom practice, on the one hand, and the complexities of qualitative research, on the other. Although critical language educators have great interest in

rapidly evolving theories of language and identity, this is not always shared by an equally passionate commitment to practice. Students' voices are sometimes little more than a backdrop to discussions on the development of theory and teachers sometimes feel disempowered by abstract notions that appear unrelated to the challenges they face on a daily basis. Lin (2004), for example, provides a comprehensive and rigorous account of her attempts to introduce a critical pedagogical curriculum in an MA TESL program at the City University of Hong Kong. The challenges she experienced include student teacher frustration with the academic language of critical pedagogical texts, as well as feelings of pessimism and powerlessness. She makes the case that school-teachers, unlike academics, are situated in contexts in which cultural capital is determined not by mastery over academic language, but by the ability to make learning meaningful for students. In this context, the inaccessibility of some critical texts serves simply to alienate the very teachers who seek insight from these texts. Such frustration is exacerbated by pessimism arising from a teaching context in which labor relations are unfavorable to teachers.

Two publications that have sought to address this problem in this area of scholarship are those by Sharkey and Johnson (2003) and Auerbach and Wallerstein (2004). In "The TESOL Quarterly dialogues," Sharkey and Johnson initiate a productive and engaging dialogue between researchers and teachers, with the express aim of demystifying research and theory in critical language education. Equally effective, though with a different audience in mind, Auerbach and Wallerstein's classroom text "Problem-posing in the workplace: English for action" takes seriously the need for critical pedagogies to be accessible and relevant to language learners.

The very complexity of undertaking research on identity, language learning, and critical pedagogies is another problem facing scholars, given that much of this research tends to be qualitative and ethnographic. This problem is the subject of recent work by Leung, Harris, and Rampton (2004) and Toohey and Waterstone (2004). Drawing on their research on task-based language learning in urban settings in the United Kingdom, Leung, Harris, and Rampton (2004) examine the inelegance of qualitative research, arguing that the "epistemic turbulence" in SLA qualitative research centers on the question of what constitutes or represents reality. In their study, naturally occurring data were collected with the use of video and audio recordings, supplemented by field notes. An ongoing challenge was how to represent and account for data that did not fit neatly into the theoretical construct of task-based language use. Leung, Harris, and Rampton make that case that researchers need a conceptual framework that acknowledges rather than obscures the messiness of data.

In a very different context, Toohey and Waterstone (2004) describe a research collaboration between teachers and researchers in Vancouver, Canada, with the mutual goal of investigating what practices in classrooms would make a difference to the learning opportunities of minority-language children. Although teachers were comfortable discussing and critiquing their educational practices, they expressed ambivalence about translating their practice into publishable academic papers. Like the student teachers in Lin's (2004) study, the teachers in the research group felt little ownership over the academic language characteristic of many published journals. Toohey and Waterstone draw on this experience to suggest that writing which respects both teacher and researcher ways of knowing might artfully blend narrative with analysis, telling dramatic stories of classroom incidents, enriched by a consideration of theoretical insights.

### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Although this chapter has focused primarily on the identity of the language learner, there are broader developments in the area of critical language education that suggest important directions for the future. If we take seriously the argument that the identity of the language learner is not just a "personality variable" but a socially and historically constructed relationship to both institutional and community practices, then it follows that teachers, researchers, administrators, testers, and policy-makers are all implicated in the range of identities available to the language learner.

One area that is receiving increasing attention is that of the language teacher educator (see also Andrews, *Teacher Language Awareness*, Volume 6). In recent research, Pennycook (2004) reflects on his observations of a TESOL practicum in Sydney, Australia. He reminds us that a great deal of language teaching does not take place in well-funded institutes of education, but in community programs, places of worship, and immigrant centers, where funds are limited and time at a premium. Of central interest in this work is a consideration of the way in which teacher educators can intervene in the process of practicum observation to bring about educational and social change. To this end, Pennycook argues that "critical moments" in the practicum can be used to raise larger questions of power and authority in the wider society, and provide an opportunity for critical discussion and reflection. Other perspectives on this issue can be found in the edited collection by Hawkins (2004) in which a wide variety of scholars make the case that language teacher education is a practice that engages identities of teachers in complex and intriguing ways.

Another direction for the future concerns the broader area of critical language testing. Shohamy (2001) provides a comprehensive analysis of the way in which democratic principles can be applied to assessment practices in multicultural societies in which minority groups struggle for recognition and respect. Although dominant groups may pay lip service to principles of equality, the *de facto* situation, in many societies, is that minority groups are expected to assimilate into the majority society. Evidence to this effect is frequently demonstrated in the form of assessments that are used in education, where competing conceptions of “knowledge” vie for prominence. The ongoing and future challenge for language educators in general, and language testers in particular, is to develop language assessment practices that take seriously the identities and investments of language learners, and challenge rather than perpetuate inequity in the wider society.

A third area that has much potential for future research on identity, language learning, and critical pedagogies concerns growing interest in globalization and language learning (Block and Cameron, 2002). Morgan and Ramanathan (2005) argue persuasively that the field of language education needs to consider ways in which English language teaching can be decolonized, arguing that there is a need to decenter the authority that Western interests have in the language teaching industry. In particular, we need to find ways to restore agency to professionals in periphery communities (Kumaravaduvelu, 2003) and give due recognition to local vernacular modes of learning and teaching (Canagarajah, 2002). In this regard, special issues of a number of journals are significant, including: a special issue of the *TESOL Quarterly* on Language in Development, edited by Numa Markee in 2002; two recent issues of the *AILA Review of the International Association of Applied Linguistics* on “Africa and Applied Linguistics” (Makoni and Meinhof, 2003) and “World Applied Linguistics,” (Gass and Makoni, 2004); and a 2006 special issue of *English Studies in Africa*, edited by Pippa Stein and Denise Newfield. It is clear that research on identity, language learning, and critical pedagogies has struck a chord in the field of language and education, opening up multiple avenues for research on every aspect of the field. The future holds much promise.

**See Also:** *Stephen J. Andrews: Teacher Language Awareness (Volume 6)*

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DISCOURSE AND SOCIALLY SHARED COGNITION

INTRODUCTION

Consistent with prevalent views in psychology, neuroscience, computer science, linguistics, and indeed the intellectual history of Western thought, “knowledge” in second language learning and education is predominantly conceptualized as mental, internal representations and processes located in individual minds. Whether theorized as propositional, symbolic, and rule-based or in connectionist, emergentist, and associationist terms, knowledge is treated as the content and organization of memory, perception, attention, and consciousness. Indeed the overall project of cognitive science, the interdisciplinary study of mind, is to elucidate the cognitive architecture(s) that enable knowledge representations and learning. Among the objects of knowledge studied in these frameworks, language figures with particular prominence (e.g., Eysenck, 1990). As knowledge of and about language is overwhelmingly understood as subject to the same cognitive structures and processes as other knowledge and skill domains, I will henceforth refer to “cognition” (rather than “knowledge”) as the more encompassing construct.

Traditionally the individual mind is conceived as the site of cognition also in such branches of social psychology that identify “social cognition” as their object of inquiry. In the prevalent mentalist understanding, social cognition refers to the processing, representation, and evaluation of information about the social world and its inhabitants. “Social” thus attaches to the object of cognition rather than the persons doing the cognizing or the properties of cognitive processes (Condor and Antaki, 1997). Although the individual mind predominates as the object of theory and research in the cognitive sciences, alternative conceptualizations originating in philosophy, psychology, anthropology, and education emphasize the social nature of cognition and the origin of individual cognition in socially situated interaction and the wider sociohistorical context (Rogoff, 1990; Tomasello, 2003; Vygotsky, 1978; Wertsch, 1991). Sociocultural theory (Lantolf and Thorne, 2006), theories of situated learning (Lave and Wenger, 1991) and language socialization (Duff, 2008) in particular have been seminal in expanding, and indeed redefining, the research agenda on second

language learning and education from its focus on cognition as private and hidden from sight to cognition as socially shared and embedded in social practices. These efforts have been complemented by research traditions originating in sociology, notably ethnomethodology and conversation analysis (CA). A related research strand with its home base in psychology is discursive psychology (DP), which draws on both of its sociological predecessors among other sources. Different versions coexist within each of these approaches, and they differ from each other in several theoretical and empirical matters as well as in their analytical preoccupations (cf. Condor and Antaki, 1997, for contrasting perspectives on social cognition; Potter and te Molder, 2005, for a concise historical overview). Acknowledged diversity notwithstanding, the three perspectives are indebted to some of the same precursors, in particular the practical language philosophies of Austin and Wittgenstein, and they converge in their view of cognition as inextricably interrelated with social actors' engagements in socio-interactive, and especially discursive, practices. It is therefore with some justification that Potter and te Molder (2005) categorize the three approaches collectively as "interaction studies." Recognizing language-mediated interaction as the foundation of sociality and cognition also changes the view of language from an object separable from interaction to a resource in interaction. On this view, language figures as a semiotic store for formatting sequentially organized actions, indexing affective and epistemic stance, constructing social identities, and coordinating participants' orientation in and toward time, space, and the ongoing activity. The interactional (pragmatic, discursive) meaning(s) that linguistic resources take on at any given interactional moment is a joint product of their placement within the turn structure and interactional sequence, and of the hearer's understanding of the action-thus-formatted. Furthermore, although language is critical to social interaction, it is but one of several classes of semiotic resources.

Drawing on interaction studies, this chapter will profile a line of inquiry that examines how cognition may be interactionally manifest as social actors go about their practical activities. In this enterprise, cognition is analyzed as embedded in social interaction and locally and contingently occasioned by current interactional events. After outlining how cognition is addressed in (some versions of) ethnomethodology, conversation analysis, and discursive psychology, I review how the social constitution of cognition has been examined in the research literature on language education and assessment. In conclusion, I suggest how discursive perspectives on cognition in interaction might be pursued in future studies.

THREE PERSPECTIVES ON SOCIALLY SHARED  
COGNITION*Ethnomethodology*

Ethnomethodology is concerned with the practical methods (procedures, practices) by which social members make their actions and understandings mutually intelligible and in so doing accomplish social order (Garfinkel, 1967, 2001; Heritage, 1984). By extending a phenomenological perspective to the study of everyday life, Garfinkel's seminal work *Studies in Ethnomethodology* (1967) conceptualized the linkage between cognition and social organization as observable and reportable ("accountable") local activities. As noted in Maynard and Clayman's (1991) extensive review, the original version of the ethnomethodological program spawned a diversity of strands that differ from each other, *inter alia*, in their emphasis on and conceptualization of cognition in social activities. Cicourel's cognitive sociology (1973) stands out as a key example of an early ethnomethodological proposal with a mentalist orientation. Central to Cicourel's theory is the concept of "interpretive procedures," a set of generic properties that articulate cognitive structures, interaction and macro-social organization and thereby enable social actors to mutually understand and coordinate their activities. While the phenomenology of Alfred Schutz and Chomsky's notion of a dual linguistic structure were influential sources for Cicourel, Coulter's (1979) "epistemic sociology," drawing on the later Wittgenstein's pragmatic philosophy of language, firmly turned cognition on its social feet. Contemporary strands in ethnomethodology, while retaining and further developing the intellectual diversity of its early days, operate from a shared understanding of cognition as a socially constituted activity. By emphasizing that the knowledge that people draw on in the concerted management of their situated activities is always embedded in and arises from practical exigencies, ethnomethodologists respecify the relationship between cognition and social action as theorized in the cognitive sciences in two fundamental ways.

1. On a cognitivist account, the traditional objects of psychology — memory, perception, problem solving, learning—are considered individual, internal, abstract, and not directly observable mechanisms for information processing, storage, and retrieval. Instead, ethnomethodologists treat such activities as socially constituted, concerted, occasioned, and deployed for practical purposes.
2. In cognitivist perspective, cognitive and affective states are understood to preexist their "expression" in linguistic and other socially intelligible forms. Instead, the ethnomethodological project is to

explain “how mental concepts (like other everyday concepts) are grounded in communicative actions produced by competent members of a linguistic community” (Lynch and Bogen, 2005, p. 226). As Coulter notes,

“a distinctively ethnomethodological focus upon topics in the study of cognitive phenomena (...) treats all cognitive properties of persons as embedded within, and thereby available from, their situated communicative and other forms of activities. The central issue becomes: how can members tell, and how do they make tellable, *inter alia*, their beliefs, memories, forgettings, dreams, understandings, thoughts, ‘states of mind’, the rules they are following, and the knowledge they possess?” (Coulter, 1991, p. 189).

A prime example of how social members invoke “states of mind” for practical purposes is Lynch and Bogen’s (2005) analysis of the testimony given by witnesses in the Iran-contra hearings (1987). In these high-stake events, witnesses recurrently appealed to “memory failure” in response to interrogators’ questions. Notably, key witness Oliver North responded on several occasions with such expressions as “I don’t recall,” “I don’t have a specific recall of that at this time point,” and the notorious “My memory has been shredded.” Such claims of nonrecall, Lynch and Bogen argue, enable “plausible deniability” as an evasive strategy (complementing and in fact partially made possible by the prior shredding of documentary evidence). Memory, then, serves as a flexible interactional resource, rhetorically malleable to the occasion at hand. What witnesses claim to remember or not to remember is responsive to a social and institutional logic associated with membership in social categories, the rights and obligations tied to such categories, moral judgments and normative expectations. Moreover, in witnesses’ accounts of past events, grammar has a pivotal role in constructing the witness as a morally responsible person who would have engaged in an appropriate course of action if the situation had demanded or enabled that line of conduct (but it did not). Such claims to moral character through hypothetical past actions may be formatted as counterfactual conditionals, for instance “if I had not known at the time that the deal was authorized I would have asked more questions about it” (Norton, July 7, 1987, paraphrased by Lynch and Bogen, 2005, p. 237). Memory and the talk about it are thus inextricably bound up with specific social actions and the activities they are embedded in. Analogous observations have been made in ethnomethodological studies about a wide range of practices by which members talk up cognitive phenomena.

From ethnomethodology’s beginnings, a vibrant research strand has been the study of education. As Hester and Francis’ (2000) edited

collection documents, current ethnomethodological studies on education simultaneously share their fundamental understanding of teaching and learning as socially ordered and accomplished activities while also displaying rich diversity in their objects of investigation and, reflexively, their research methods. Macbeth (2000), for instance, conceptualizes classrooms as “installations,” asking how classrooms afford learning or “install” knowledge and competence through students’ and teachers’ ordinary local and practical achievements in the setting. By analyzing several interactional scenes from a range of classrooms, including kindergarten Spanish immersion and science and English lessons at different grade levels, Macbeth documents through detailed sequential analysis of electronic records and transcripts how students orient to such interactional practices as choral recitation, known-answer questions and demonstrations as recognizable ordered activities through which curricular objects (as well as the recurrent enabling classroom activities themselves) are learned. The study exemplifies the most prevalent line of ethnomethodological research on education, the analysis of recorded interaction in educational activities.

Ethnomethodology’s project to respecify cognitive phenomena as social and public achievements also extends to studies of literacy. Sharrock and Ikeya (2000) interrogate reading as an occasioned social practice through the analysis of an undergraduate matrix algebra text, showing how the text is designed as a site of instruction that associates the organization of subject matter knowledge with the professional organization of the academic community. By describing their own understanding of the text as mathematically untrained readers, Sharrock and Ikeya employ a line of investigation that contrasts markedly with the analysis of recorded interaction. Heap (2000) engages with Flower and Hayes’s (1981) influential information-processing theory of writing, taking issue with its implicit assumption that the event of writing is recognizably and unproblematically bounded. By confronting Flower and Hayes’s model and its elaboration by Pea and Kurland (1987) with a transcript of a single interactional episode in a writing center, Heap demonstrates that the borders between writing and nonwriting, between the task and the task environment, and indeed between writers and nonwriters, are not specifiable by reference to an abstract model but rather are locally occasioned in concerted, publicly available, recognizable social activities.

### **Conversation Analysis**

Conversation analysis, founded by Harvey Sacks (1992), is the most prominent and prolific offshoot of ethnomethodology and exerts an expanding influence throughout the social sciences. CA’s project is to elucidate the “interaction order” (Goffman, 1983) as the fundamental

form of social organization, and one that is accorded autonomous status vis-à-vis other systems that sustain human life. However, CA is also interested in exploring how the organization of social interaction intersects with other systems, notably with language and cognition. Tracing CA's stance toward cognition to its ethnomethodological roots, Schegloff (1991) notes that CA's analytical interest in *socially shared cognition* centers on the procedures by which participants establish, maintain, and revise shared understanding—intersubjectivity—of a common social world through practical interactional processes. Such procedures compose the “architecture of intersubjectivity” (Heritage, 1984b, p. 254) whose detailed investigation is CA's specific and unique project. These practices are generic in the sense that they are constitutive or regulatory operations in any talk-in-interaction irrespective of the specific activity, language, or other aspects that may distinguish the ways in which particular types of talk are organized. In addition to interactional practices, cognitive states and processes are also indexed by several classes of linguistic resources. Finally, on occasion, participants may display “cognitive moments” through their interactional conduct. Each of these intersections of interaction and cognition will be described later.

**Interactional Practices.** Participants make their local and contingent understandings mutually recognizable throughout their talk exchanges, as evident in turn-taking, recipient design, responses to prior turns, repair, and such interactional practices as joint utterance construction and formulations. Some practices of repair organization can serve as examples.

When difficulties arise in speaking, hearing, or understanding, participants can redress such problems through a generic interactional apparatus, the organization of repair (Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks, 1977). Repair is tied to the organization of turn-taking. For the most part, repair of troublesome conduct is initiated in the same turn (by same speaker, “self”) or in the immediately following turn (by next speaker, “other”). Excerpts 1 and 2 illustrate two methods of other-initiated repair.

(1) [Kasper and Ross, in press]

1 A: Mm.↑Can you tell me about- what- you did over

2 Golden Week?

3 C: Pardon?

4 A: >Tell me what you did< for Golden Week, >over

5 Golden Week.<

6 C: °Yah°, I (.) worked as a (.) >assistant< of ca-,

7 >cameraman<, anduh one day I (.) met, =I've

8 Mmet my (.) parents.=

In line 3, C displays a problem in hearing or understanding what A said in his preceding turn. Further, by initiating repair with the open-class repair initiator “pardon” (Drew, 1997), C indicates difficulties with the entire previous turn rather than a specific component of it. Through the design of the repair turn, A orients to C’s unspecified receipt problem by issuing the question in a somewhat modified form (4/5). This time around, C demonstrates through her relevant answer (6–8) that she understood A’s question.

In Excerpt (2), the recipient of a prior turn also shows problems in understanding that turn, but the scope of the problem and the methods by which it is addressed differ from those in Excerpt 1.

(2) [Ross 1995, modified]

- 1 A: ah:: you said that (.) the Tokyo people are
- 2 (.)kinda international do you consider yourself
- 3 an international person Mr Kondo?
- 4 K: myself?
- 5 A: yeah
- 6 K: yeah I think so

Here Mr Kondo checks his understanding of a specific component of the prior turn (4), which A confirms (5). Mr Kondo then relevantly answers A’s question.

The two excerpts illustrate two practices of other-initiated repair, each of which defines the repair initiators’ reception problem differently. The repair speakers, in turn, display in the format of the repair what they understood the trouble to be. Irrespective of the scope of the problem, in either case, intersubjectivity is reestablished after only two turns of intervening repair activity. While parties overwhelmingly manage to realign their talk through the minimal and most expedient form of other-initiated repair seen here, on occasion longer repair sequences are needed, and understanding is not always achieved (Egbert, Niebecker, and Rezzara, 2004, for a very long but ultimately successful repair sequence in L2 multiparty talk).

By initiating repair on another speaker’s immediately prior turn, the repair initiator displays some problem in the receipt of that turn. However, the speaker of a prior turn can also indicate problems in the understanding displayed by the recipient of that turn, as in Excerpt 3.

(3) [Ross, 1995]

- 1 A: ahhm (0.3) do you ah (0.3) could you tell me a
- 2 little bit about your ahh university life
- 3 B: university life.
- 4 A: what you did in university
- 5 B: ahh
- 6 A: in general

- 7 B: yeah in general ahh in Japan the stu- students  
 8 of university eh  
 9 ^A: no your university life not in general  
 10 but yours

At the arrowed turn, A shows that she heard B's immediately prior turn as one that did not relevantly answer A's question about B's "university life." Through several sequential and linguistic resources, she marks what in B's understanding of A's question was amiss and how the question should be understood instead: by interrupting B's turn-in-progress with the disagreement marker "no," by contrasting the qualifier "your" and "yours" with "in general," and by deploying lexical indices ("not" . . . "but") and prosodic markers of contrast (emphasis on your and yours). The form of repair deployed by A illustrates a "third position repair" (Schegloff, 1991, 1992), an interactional resource that speakers can draw on to repair what is commonly called a "misunderstanding." This is possible because a second position in a turn structure displays how the speaker B of that position understands speaker A's action in first position. In the third position, A then has the opportunity to either accept B's understanding of A's action in first position or not to accept it. Nonacceptances are done as claims to a discrepancy between what A meant and how B understood it, often with a claim as to what A "really" meant or means.

**Markers of Cognitive Stance and State.** A considerable body of CA research also exists on the interactional work of specific linguistic and other semiotic resources through which participants display, or make claims to, cognitive states and processes. While markers of epistemic stance have been examined from diverse theoretical perspectives, CA focuses on their sequential deployment and production formats within turn organization. Cognitive claims and displays are thus seen as interactionally occasioned and intertwined with the action(s) that participants are accomplishing at particular moments in the talk. Epistemic stance markers draw on different types of grammatical classes. In a corpus on conversations in American English, Kärkäinen (2003) observes, in descending frequency, epistemic phrases, adverbs, modals and semimodals, adjectives, nouns, and participial forms. Other languages also furnish discourse particles as epistemic stance markers, such as modal particles in German and pragmatic particles in Chinese (Wu, 2004) and Japanese (Cook, 2001, for review). The specific discursive meanings of these markers critically depend on their sequential placement. For instance, the Japanese particle *ne* (Tanaka, 2000) and the epistemic marker *I think* (Kärkäinen, 2003) accomplish different turn-managing operations, social actions, and stances depending on whether they are positioned turn-initially, turn-internally, turn-finally, or occupying a turn of

their own. A further class of vocal devices figures as response tokens, including (in English) “continuers (most typically *Mm hm* and *Uh huh*), acknowledgement tokens (typically *Yeah* and the weaker acknowledgement token *Mm*), the newsmarker group (‘change-of-state’ token *Oh*, the ‘idea’ connector’ *Right*), and the ‘change of activity’ tokens (*Okay* and *Alright*)” (Gardner, 2001, p. 25). Insofar as these markers embody their producers’ stance toward the current turn distribution or their hearing and understanding of the speech activity toward which they are directed, they participate jointly in cognitive displays and interactional organization.

A lexical resource specialized as a particular sort of epistemic stance marker in English is the particle *oh*. Heritage (1984a) described *oh* as a “change-of-state” token that figures critically in information transfer (e.g., from the state of a not-knowing questioner to that of a knower upon receipt of an answer) and embodies interactionally occasioned cognitive processes such as recollecting, remembering, receiving news, referential ambiguity resolution, and claims to epistemic supremacy (Heritage, 2005). An *oh*-embodied shift in cognitive state is seen in Extract 4.

(4) [Ross, 1995]

- 1 A: Hm. And do you live in a house?
- 2 T: Uh (.) called, uh (.) in Japanese
- 3 called *manshon*.
- 4 A: Oh, it’s a kind of apartment.
- 5 T: Yes.

In line 4, “oh” embodies an act of recognition, viz. A’s association of the Japanese word *manshon* with the English reference term *apartment*. However, beyond this most proximal function of *oh* in A’s response to T’s immediately prior turn, A’s change of state can also be heard to extend to a recategorization of the class of objects that he refers to as “house” in his question. To competent listeners, the polysemy of “house” as a superordinate term in the sense of “dwelling” and as a subcategory referring to a freestanding building for a single family is resolved in the question. However T’s answer turn orients to the superordinate meaning of “house,” of which *manshon* is a subcategory. On this reading, the *oh*-prefaced turn claims A’s recognition of how T understood A’s question (third-turn repair<sup>1</sup>, Schegloff, 1997).

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<sup>1</sup> In third-turn repairs, the trouble-source speaker self-initiates and completes a repair in third turn as a display of understanding of how the recipient of the first turn understood that turn. The speaker of the second turn shows no indication of trouble in understanding the first turn. Third-turn repair is thus different from third position repair, in which the trouble source speaker repairs after the recipient shows an understanding problem (Schegloff, 1992).

**Cognitive Moments.** A third area of intersection between interaction and cognition will only be touched upon here. It comprises “cognitive moments” (Drew, 2005b), viz. occasions on which a cognitive state becomes interactionally manifest. Examples are “touched-off” remembrances (Frazier, in press; Jefferson, 1978), displays of memory and recall (C. Goodwin, 1987), or of confusion (Drew, 2005b). Although the psychological terms are suggestive of individual experiences of inner states and processes, the studies show how in each case, the cognitive moments are interactionally generated and socially organized. Echoing Schegloff (1991), Drew reverses the dominating Cartesian view of how cognition and interaction interrelate:

Instead of regarding cognition as determining action, we can view interaction as a source of cognition. It is in the course of interactional sequences, and speakers’ moves and actions within those sequences, that cognition may be shaped—and in this way interaction becomes a context for cognition (Drew, 2005b, p. 181).

### *Discursive Psychology*

Discursive psychology is a more recent development than ethnomethodology and CA, both of which DP incorporates among its theoretical stances and analytical resources. Initiated by British psychologists in the 1980s, DP questions the epistemological basis of institutional psychology by reconsidering its unproblematized assumptions and research practices from a variety of discourse perspectives. Among the early texts that set the scene for the development of different research strands were social constructionist perspectives on self and personhood (Gergen and Davis, 1985; Shotter, 1984), Billig’s (1987) rhetorical approach to social psychology, and Potter and Wetherell’s (1987) discourse-analytical outlook on the study of “psychological” phenomena. In addition to practical language philosophy, semiology, ethnomethodology, and conversation analysis, an important further precursor to Potter and Wetherell’s project was the sociology of scientific knowledge (Gilbert and Mulkay, 1984), whose continued influence on DP’s epistemology is evident in more recent statements (Edwards, 1997; Potter, 1996). Consistent with its disciplinary origin in psychology, DP is interested in standard (cognitive and social) psychological topics such as memory, cognitive and affective states and processes, attribution, attitudes, self and identity. However, DP’s exploration of these themes represents a radical alternative to the traditions of academic psychology. Instead of theorizing them as intrapsychological phenomena that find their expression through language and other forms

of behavior, and which, by implication, preexist such expression, DP examines how people enlist cognitive notions for practical purposes. Specifically, DP (in the vein of Edwards, Potter, and Wetherell) wants to see how people construct versions and describe events (putatively “internal” as well as external) in their pursuit of actions in ordinary activities. DP focuses particularly on how versions are produced, contested, and undermined through rhetorical organization. Two aspects of rhetorical arrangement have come under special scrutiny. One is the “psychological thesaurus,” the indexical (local, situated) use of ordinary psychological terms (stressed, angry, know, feel) for practical purposes. For instance, Potter (1996) shows how the routine “I don’t know” (in various prosodic versions) is used as “stake inoculation,” a practice by which a speaker avows a stance of disinterestedness and thereby makes their version more difficult to subvert. The other focal concern is to show how through event descriptions, speakers rhetorically enable inferences to various psychological states (intentions, motives and motivation, attitudes) without necessarily using psychological category labels (Edwards and Potter, 2005). These interrelated analytical foci implement DP’s project of scrutinizing “how psychological avowals, attributions and implications work in conjunction with factual descriptions and normative accountability” (Potter, 2004, p. 255). In pursuing these goals, DP, like ethnomethodology, does not limit its data to talk-in-interaction but also examines written texts. Like CA, DP analyses of talk take sequence organization and turn design into account, but DP’s topical interest places greater emphasis on rhetorical resources and structuring.

DP’s epistemological position has been the object of some confusion. As its leading proponents clarify in several places (e.g., Edwards, 1997; Edwards and Potter, 2005; Potter, 1996), their version of DP is constructionist in some senses of the term and not in others. Unlike constructivist theories in developmental psychology, DP does not propose that “real minds” are constructed through language-mediated interaction. This stance distinguishes DP from Vygotskian and related sociocultural theories and from such notions as “internalization.” DP is also not constructionist in the ways that semiotic and linguistic structuralisms are, that is by positing abstract constructions of concepts and stances through the grammatical resources of a language and their system-internal interrelationships. The missing dimension in the various semiotic and linguistic versions of constructionism is performativity, i.e., the ways in which participants in situated activities assemble linguistic “constructions” to produce descriptions and facts. It is these latter two senses in which DP, not only programmatically but through its research practices, defines itself as constructionist: accounts, descriptions, and in fact a whole range of other actions construct versions of

the world, and these actions themselves are assembled through sequential and rhetorical organization (Potter, 1996). DP's constructionism in this dual sense enables its analytical stance of "methodological relativism" (Potter and Edwards, 2003, p. 173), a policy that allows researchers to analyze how people produce facts, descriptions, and common-sense theories of mind and cognition without assessing their validity. Methodological relativism emphasizes DP's epistemic rather than ontological orientation and represents perhaps its strongest link with the sociology of scientific knowledge.

To illustrate how versions of facts and events can be assembled and contrasted, consider Extract 5, a sequence from an interview study on the construction of the professional identities of EFL teachers (Simon-Maeda, 2004). Celine is an EFL teacher in Japan who suffers from a severe visual impairment.

(5) [Simon-Maeda, 2004, p. 411f]

Andrea: So, you told me before that you wanted to continue on to the doctoral program.

Celine: Right now it's a completely greedy situation. I want the most money possible, so give me my Ph.D.; yeah, I would like to be called doctor, but I mostly want to go back to Montana and show all those people that said I would not graduate from university. People flat out told my folks, "Your daughter will not graduate from university, she won't be able to get a bachelor's," because I couldn't read. Because in elementary school they told me I would fail, even teachers, halfway through elementary school they said, "Your daughter's not going to finish," or the percentage of students that went to that elementary school didn't graduate, and I was going to be one of them, kind of thing. So I kind of want my Ph.D. to go back and say, "Excuse me, [*chuckle*] I did it [*said in a sarcastic voice*]." Yeah, I just want to show off and punch them in the nose, but even my mother's aunt and uncle said I would never graduate, our own family said I wouldn't.

On a necessarily abbreviated analysis, a first observation to be registered is that Celine's account of her plan to go for a doctorate is replete with mental state avowals ("greedy," "want") of varying strength ("completely greedy," "would like," "mostly want," "kind of want," "just want"), enlisted in the construction of several motives for pursuing a PhD. "Money" and "be(ing) called doctor" invoke common sense assumptions about the kinds of material and social benefits accruing from holding a doctoral degree. These two motives are set off from a third, framed as Celine's ultimate objective by the prefatory phrase

“but I mostly want”: her desire to return to her home state with academic honors and thereby prove wrong “all those people” who predicted that she would not succeed academically because of her visual impairment. Celine’s account for obtaining a PhD thus follows the classical rhetorical schema of a revenge story. Through skillful assemblage of rhetorical devices (e.g., invoking the social obligations for the educational welfare of the young through the category terms ‘teacher’ and ‘family’; enabling inferences to the authenticity of the narrative through direct quotes), Celine produces a version of past events that discredits her opponents and legitimizes her own plans for future action within a normative framework of moral order.

#### RECENT ADVANCEMENTS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS: APPLICATIONS TO LANGUAGE EDUCATION

The three types of interaction studies reviewed above have had differential impact on language education research. Farthest along are CA applications to the study of discourse and cognition in several educational settings, such as

- teacher-fronted language classrooms (He, 2004; Lee, 2006; Markee, 2000; Mondada and Pekarek-Doehler, 2004; Richards, 2006; Seedhouse, 2004)
- different classroom activities (Frazier, 2007; Hellermann, 2006; Markee, 2000, 2004; Mori, 2002)
- writing tutorials (Koshik, 2005; Waring, 2005; Young and Miller, 2004)
- small-group conversations arranged for language practice (Carroll, 2004; Hauser, 2005; Jung, 2004; Kasper, 2004; Mori and Hayashi, 2006)
- assessments of oral language proficiency (Brown, 2003; Kasper and Ross, 2007; Kim and Suh, 1998; Lazaraton, 2002)

Not all of these studies have explicitly examined cognition in its various roles in interaction as outlined earlier in the chapter. However, as they are fundamentally interested, by default, in participants’ joint accomplishment of intersubjectivity, analytical treatments of cognition as a participant concern are implicit in all CA studies of language education. An explicit discussion of socially shared cognition in CA research on L2 classroom interaction is offered by Seedhouse (2004). The intersection of interactional practices with various aspects of cognition is brought to the fore in studies of “touched-off” remembrances in undergraduate student group work in writing classes (Frazier, 2007), tutor utterances whose incomplete design elicits knowledge displays

from the student (Koshik, 2005), tutor's reversed polarity questions that critique students' work or hint at grammatical errors (Koshik, 2005), other-corrections ("recasts," Hauser, 2005; Seedhouse, 2004), repairs prompted by word-searches (Jung, 2004; Rylander, 2004), or multiple question sequences by which interviewers in oral language tests address candidates' difficulties in producing relevant answers (Kasper and Ross, 2007). This incipient literature demonstrates how the theoretical and methodological resources developed in interaction studies can profitably be applied to investigate the roles of cognition in language education. It also allows us to map out several interrelated trajectories for the study of cognition as a socially shared, discursively constituted phenomenon in second language education and assessment.

1. One task for interaction researchers is to critically examine how existing theory and research holds up against studies of cognition as embedded in social practice. Two examples of such critical investigations are Carroll's (2004) study of "dysfluency" and Hauser's (2005) examination of the theory of meaning underlying the practice of coding in second language research. Under speaker-based models of speech production, "dysfluent" L2 speakers' utterances are standardly taken as evidence of limited L2 knowledge and processing facility. However, by analyzing "dysfluently" produced turns in their sequential environments, Carroll (2004) shows how repetitions and delays prove to be skillful methods that enable the speaker to recover her turn from overlap and secure reciprocity. The broader implication of this study is to warn against the mentalization of fundamentally interactional practices. Taking as an example the case of "recasts," Hauser (2005) problematizes the implicit theory of meaning underlying this concept and more generally the research practice of coding interactional material. Coding is predicated on the stability of meaning, a critical assumption in all dominant traditions of social science and pervasive in second language studies. Hauser confronts the standard theory of meaning with the ethnomethodological view of meaning as indexical and locally contingent, showing that the practice of coding prevents researchers from examining how the participants themselves understand the ongoing activity. These studies implement Markee's call to respecify second language acquisition research from an ethnomethodological perspective (Markee, 2000).
2. A second type of contribution results from studies that put into practice the conversation-analytic principle of "unmotivated looking." By bracketing preexisting theories from the analysis, researchers can enable discoveries of interactional practices and objects that are not available to metadiscursive and metalingual

commonsense understanding and had eluded professional investigation. Examples are the “zones of interactional transition” between classroom activities (Markee, 2004) and instructors’ “designedly incomplete utterances” (Koshik, 2005).

3. A third kind of advancement is made by studies that subject known objects to new scrutiny and thereby bring to light grammatical forms and interactional functions that went unnoticed so far. For example, Koshik (2005) reveals how tutors in writing conferences accomplish specific instructional actions through reversed polarity questions and alternative questions, and Kasper and Ross (2007) show how language testers enlist various formats of multiple questions to enable candidate answers at difficult moments in language assessment interviews.

Importantly, the discursive perspective on cognition in educational contexts reveals that interaction is not only constitutive for oral language use and learning but also for literacy development (Frazier, 2007; Hellermann, 2006; Koshik, 2005; Waring, 2005; Young and Miller, 2004). Future research in this domain can build on a small but rapidly growing literature.

4. A final application of interaction studies that has remained unexplored thus far is the domain traditionally known as “individual differences.” Here discursive psychology holds promise for the exploration of received social-psychological topics such as attitudes, motivation, anxiety, risk-taking, and cognitive and affective learning styles and strategies. In DP perspective, the study of these psychological constructs would have to be respecified from learner-internal traits and processes to descriptions and accounts. Rather than theorizing cognitive and affective concepts as independent variables that explain behavior and “learning outcomes,” DP studies would ask how students and teachers deploy psychological category terms and manage cognitive and affective implications as they pursue their practical activities.

Discursive psychology also recommends itself as an analytical perspective for research on the lives of multilingual speakers, writers, and language teaching professionals. Often inspired by a poststructuralist sensibility for the tension between individual agency and sociohistorical, political, and institutional macrostructures, such work strives to represent research participants’ voices by giving preference to a range of autobiographical genres as data, such as interviews, focus groups, diaries, and journals. Unfortunately, the theoretical sophistication of this research often does not translate into commensurate analytical practices (Pavlenko, 2007), resulting in underanalysis and few insights beyond common sense knowledge. Discursive psychology offers an

analytic alternative that enables researchers to focus on the rhetorical practices through which research participants make their accounts intelligible and construct—in interactional activities such as interviews, coconstruct in collaboration with the interviewer—versions of their lives and identities as agents in a multilingual and multicultural world.

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## COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS AND ITS APPLICATIONS TO SECOND LANGUAGE TEACHING

### INTRODUCTION

Traditionally language has been viewed as an autonomous system, separate from other cognitive and social abilities. In this view, the language system operates under a set of arbitrary and unmotivated rules and properties and the various subcomponents of the language system such as syntax, morphology, and lexis are independent of each other. The approach to language learning that accompanies this view of language emphasizes the need for the learner to learn vocabulary items separately, master the grammar rules and memorize their exceptions.

A radically different view of the language system is found in a cognitive linguistic approach. Cognitive Linguistics (CL) is based on the assumption that meaning is embodied and attempts to explain facts about language in terms of other properties and mechanisms of the human mind and body. Meaning is therefore often motivated through metaphor, metonymy, and image schemas, not only at the lexical level, but also in syntax and morphology (see also Nation, *Lexical Awareness in Second Language Learning*, Volume 6; Sharwood Smith, *Morphological and Syntactic Awareness in Foreign/Second Language Learning*, Volume 6).

Even though studies that apply CL theoretical insights to L2 learning and teaching are still relatively sparse, applied linguists such as Nick Ellis (cf. 1998 and 1999) have explicitly stated that CL has a lot to offer to SLA because it provides for meaningful learning, giving insight into the conceptual principles that may give rise to different forms. This chapter first gives a brief overview of how CL has developed and then after explaining CL in more detail, it shows what a CL view entails for second language development and how it may be used in raising language awareness in second language teaching.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

CL developed in the 1970s from the work of a number of different researchers and has been influenced by many influential linguists, but it would be safe to say that its “founding fathers” are Leonard Talmy (1981), George Lakoff (1987), and Ronald Langacker (1987).

Cognitive linguists hold that language is part of, dependent on, and influenced by human cognition, including human perception and categorization and that language develops and changes through human interaction and experiences in the world. In other words, language is part of and influenced by psychological, sociological, and cultural factors. CL does not make any claims about psychological reality, but it does strive to create analyses that are at least psychologically, biologically, and neurologically plausible. Langacker even goes so far as to say that “despite its mental focus, cognitive linguistics can also be described as social, cultural, and contextual linguistics” (1997, p. 240).

In addition, during the 1970s, several other streams of linguistics developed that were quite compatible to CL in that they hold that language is best studied and described with reference to its cognitive, experiential, and social contexts. Functional linguists such as Joan Bybee, Bernard Comrie, John Haiman, Paul Hopper, Sandra Thompson, and Tom Givon focused especially on explanatory principles that derive from language as a communicative system, and historical functional linguists such as Elizabeth Traugott and Bernd Heine showed how meaningful lexical units such as adverbs may become grammatical morphemes over time. Influenced by Piaget and by the cognitive revolution in psychology, Dan Slobin, Eve Clark, Elizabeth Bates, and Melissa Bowerman laid the groundwork for a strong functional/cognitive strand in the field of first language acquisition. Other compatible approaches developed in the 1980s. Connectionist models of language processing, such as those developed by Jeff Elman and Brian MacWhinney, which model language acquisition using connectionist networks, also hold the notion that language learning is basically a bottom-up process, approaches also compatible with Herb Clark’s approach to language in interaction and Michael Tomasello’s approach to first language acquisition. CL is interdisciplinary and strives to be sensitive to findings in the brain sciences, social sciences, psychology, or philosophy (cf. Ruiz de Mendoza and Peña, 2005).

Over the last decade, cognitive linguistic theory has developed further with work by Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner (2002) on mental spaces and conceptual blending, which “blends” in interesting ways with both Langacker’s cognitive grammar and Lakoff’s theory of metaphor. In addition, construction grammars that focus on the meanings of constructions as proposed by Goldberg (2006) or Croft (2001) are considered part of the cognitive linguistic paradigm.

As this brief overview has shown, CL is a complex, dynamic theory. For introductions into CL the following readings are recommended: Croft and Cruse (2004), Dirven and Verspoor (1998), Evans and Green (2006), Taylor (1995), and Ungerer and Schmid (1996). In addition, *Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics*, edited by Geeraerts and Cuyckens has recently appeared (2006). The remainder of this chapter focuses only

on those aspects and notions of CL that have found their application in second language teaching. What these applications have in common is that a CL approach shows that form–meaning connections are often not arbitrary but motivated. The advantage of a CL approach to teaching language is that it helps raise awareness of these form–meaning connections, and that once an L2 learner recognizes these connections, he or she may be better able to remember them.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The two most important works in CL are Lakoff's influential book *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things* and Langacker's *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar*, both of which appeared in 1987. Lakoff is especially well-known for his work on metaphor and metonymy and Langacker has developed an explicit theory of usage-based grammar. There is a great deal of overlap between the two approaches to language and CL does not make a clear distinction between lexis and grammar, but because CL holds that syntax and morphology are governed by the same cognitive principles as lexis, the first few sections deal with motivated meaning at the lexical level and the later ones with motivated meaning at the grammatical level. Where appropriate, applications to SLA will be shown.

#### *Prototypes and Radial Categories*

One of the major ideas in Lakoff's work is that human categorization is fundamental to language use and that by looking at language we can often indirectly infer the ways that humans conceive of their world. Human categories are not clear-cut. Basing himself on work by Rosch, Lakoff argues that human categories are clusters of entities that may be more or less central to a category. The best example within a category is considered the prototype. For example, the category "fruit" has many members, such as apples, pears, pineapples, watermelons, strawberries, mangos, and so on. If you asked a group of informants in Western Europe to write down three types of fruit, they would be most likely to include apples, oranges, pears, and bananas. These would be considered the "best examples" or "prototypes," not only because they are most frequently seen but also because they have the most typical sizes and flavors (not too big, not too sour, and so on). Lemons are less central members, probably because they are atypically sour and watermelons and berries are less central because of their atypical sizes. A tomato may be considered a fruit by some if its genetic make-up is taken into consideration, but most people consider it a vegetable because of how it is used. The point of all this is that there are no objective categories out in the world, but that humans impose categories upon the world, which are subject to change depending on

time, place, and context. For example, a person may name a strawberry as a central member of fruit if he or she has just eaten some strawberries or has seen a great deal of strawberries in the last few weeks.

### *Core Senses and Meaning Extensions*

Just as categories have different members, which may be more or less prototypical, words may have different senses, some of which may be more or less central. Almost any word in a language has more than one sense, but there is usually one sense, called the “core meaning,” which typically gives rise to the other senses. The *New Oxford Dictionary of English* definition of “core meaning,” which we use, is very much in line with general cognitive thought:

The core meaning is the one that represents the most literal sense that the word has in modern usage. This is not necessarily the same as the oldest meaning, because word meanings change over time. Nor is it necessarily the most frequent meaning, because figurative senses are sometimes the most frequent. It is the meaning accepted by native speakers as the one that is most established as literal and central. (*New Oxford Dictionary of English*, 1998, foreword)

In CL theory it is held that just as in categories the different members are related to each other in different ways, the different senses of a word will have some things in common and these meaning relations become clear when we start with the core meaning.

The relation between the core and the peripheral senses of a word is one of meaning extension, which can take place diachronically or synchronically. Diachronically, new senses of linguistic expressions have found their way in the language because speakers saw a conceptual link between an original sense and a newer sense; then the older sense may come into disuse or be forgotten altogether. For example, historically *launch* was metonymically related to *wielding a lance*, which over time has generalized to mean “throw [any object] forward with force.”<sup>1</sup> For most speakers the more central sense is now probably associated with rockets or ships rather than lances. Synchronically, this newer sense would be considered a core sense as it pertains more to our everyday experience of the world than a lance and can easily explain related metaphoric senses as in *The magazine was launched last week*.

Two basic semantic extension principles are *metaphor* and *metonymy*. In the case of *metaphor*, conceived associations are among different

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<sup>1</sup> In Late Latin the verb *lanco* occurred, related to the noun *lancea*. The English verb *launch* and noun *lance* are derived from two different French dialects. In its earliest attestation, *launch* is used with the sense of *wielding a lance*.

domains of experience: the logic of one domain is mapped on to another one. For example, in the sentence *The houses had been gutted by grenades*, the verb *gut*, which literally refers to removing the bowels and entrails of an animate being, is used metaphorically to refer to destroying the inside of a building.

Metaphorical meaning extensions can also be based on image-schema transformations (e.g., Lakoff, 1987, p. 440). Consider the sentence *there was a bulge in the birthrate*. Through an image-schema transformation, the multiple births are conceived as a “mass” object, and then through metaphor, the collection of births is spread over a timescale resulting in the conception of a graph with a bulge, literally a bump, representing an uneven spread.

In the case of *metonymy*, the association is within one domain of experience. An example of a metonymic meaning extension is “taut,” which literally refers to “having no give or slack.” When applied to a person’s facial expression, it points to emotional tension as in *Eyes blinking, showing no signs of being emotionally taut, President Clinton looked like an ordinary man defending the ordinary lies he had concocted to hide an ordinary affair.*<sup>2</sup>

Two other types of meaning extension are *specialization* and *generalization*. Meanings of words may become specialized or generalized, both in diachronic and synchronic use. A diachronic example of specialization is “queen,” which originally meant “woman,” and now refers to a particular type of woman: the king’s wife. A synchronic example of specialization is “forge” (make or fabricate), which may also be used to refer to a specific kind action, “to shape or make by heating in a forge.” An example of generalization is “grid,” which literally refers to a “perforated or ridged metal plate,” but may also be used in a much broader sense of “a network of uniformly spaced horizontal and perpendicular lines” as in *The skeletal grid of paved streets quickly gave way to sandy roads*.

The conceptual links between senses of a linguistic expression mentioned earlier are not limited to the ones that occur between a core and a noncore sense, but the senses are all interrelated, as one peripheral sense may form the base for an even more peripheral sense. Cognitive linguists have demonstrated in numerous cases that the multiple senses and uses of a polysemous word are systematic. For example, seemingly unrelated uses of prepositions are actually connected in explainable ways (e.g., Brugman, 1981; Boers, 1996).

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<sup>2</sup> Because there is also a degree of metaphor involved (tension projected on face) in addition to the fact that the tautness points to the person’s emotion, Goossens (1990) would label this example “metaphonymy.”

In second language teaching, Lindstromberg (1998) and Tyler and Evans (2004) have applied a core meaning approach to understanding English prepositions and Dirven (2001) and Rudzka-Ostyn (2003) to teaching English phrasal verbs. Empirical evidence for a core meaning approach to vocabulary learning has been provided by Verspoor and Lowie (2003).

### *Conceptual Metaphor and Fixed Expressions*

The meaning extensions that pertain to individual words also apply to concepts, which in turn may give rise to fixed expressions and idioms. Cognitive linguists have shown that idioms, often thought to be “dead” figures of speech with unpredictable meanings, are usually motivated by conceptual metaphor or metonymy.

For example, as Kövecses (1986) has shown, English has a lot of expressions to describe anger that are motivated by overarching conceptual metaphors, each of which may give rise to a variety of expressions. The overarching conceptual metaphor ANGER AS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER may give rise to expressions such as *anger welled up inside me, I was boiling with anger, she was all steamed up, she erupted, simmer down, he flipped his lid, I was fuming, and he blew up at me*. The ANGER AS FIRE conceptual metaphor gives rise to expressions such as an *inflammatory remark, adding fuel to the fire, he kept smouldering for days, she was breathing fire, she exploded, and he's hot under the collar*. And the ANGRY PEOPLE AS DANGEROUS ANIMALS conceptual metaphor gives rise to expressions such as *he has a ferocious temper, don't snap at me, she unleashed her anger, and don't bite my head off*.

In an experiment, Boers (2000) offered these expressions to Flemish-speaking learners of English, to one group organized according to their common conceptual metaphors and to another group organized randomly. This experiment and several others showed that helping language learners to retrace idioms to their conceptual metaphors or original source domains helps them appreciate the motivated nature of such expressions and thus encourage insightful learning. In addition, other controlled experiments have shown that CL approaches to teaching idiomatic expressions can be effective in terms of in-depth comprehension, retention, and even appreciation of usage restrictions (e.g., Boers, 2000; Boers and Demecheleer, 1998; Boers, Demecheleer, and Eyckmans, 2004; Kövecses and Szabo, 1996; MacLennan, 1994). Kövecses also reported on a classroom experiment that provided evidence that teaching the strategy of metaphorical thinking, as opposed to teaching particular conceptual metaphors, fostered a higher rate of learning of idioms. He suggested that “people need to be made aware of the metaphor approach before they can put it to use” (2001, p. 109).

Different cultures may use different conceptual metaphors reflecting varying degrees of preoccupation with certain “source domains,” motivated by their different historical or cultural factors (Boers, 2003). A contrastive analysis of metaphors as provided by Barcelona (2001), who compared English and Spanish conceptual metaphors for emotional domains such as “sadness”/“happiness,” “anger,” and “romantic love,” shows that discovering a target language’s conceptual metaphor may help not only to learn the language but also to make students aware of the differences between L1 and L2 cultural concepts. In addition, Sharifian (2001) and Sharifian and Palmer (forthcoming) show that discovering underlying metaphors may help the learner better understand the L2 culture.

#### RADIAL CATEGORIES, CONSTRUAL, AND GRAMMAR

CL theory holds that grammatical categories, albeit more abstract, are just as meaningful as lexical categories (Langacker, 1987, 1991). In fact, grammatical and lexical meanings are not two discrete types of meaning but exist along the same continuum at opposite ends of a spectrum. Just as with lexical entities, the different senses of grammatical morphemes such as case endings or classifiers, grammatical constructions such as tenses, or syntactic constructions such as SVO can be more or less central, with a central sense, the more salient prototype, giving rise to the more peripheral ones. In other words, as Taylor (1995, p. 197) explains, “[linguistic] constructions . . . need . . . to be regarded as prototype categories, with some instantiations counting as better examples of the construction than others.” It is these “better examples” that are represented in the intuitions of speakers, not only about their own first language, but also about the language to be learned. A principled approach to the description of textbook grammar could, therefore, start out by teaching prototypical grammar items, and gradually introduce less prototypical examples. In this way, the teaching of grammar would tap into learners’ intuitions.

Another key concept in cognitive grammar is the notion of construal. According to Langacker (1991), an expression’s meaning does not only call to mind some conceptual content but also how the speaker construes it. For example, looking at a group of stars, a speaker can refer to them as *a constellation*, *a cluster of stars*, *specks of light in the sky*, and so on, expressions that are semantically distinct. In other words, speakers can construe the same objective content in alternate ways. The notion of “construal” certainly has an impact on the teaching of grammar. For example, if one wants to explain to L2 learners of English the use of the definite versus indefinite article as in “I will have

*the* tuna fish sandwich” versus “I will have *a* tuna fish sandwich,” one could point out that the definite article, which implies that both speaker and hearer have mental access to the entity referred to, is more likely to be used in a more individually catered restaurant, where the sandwich is construed as unique to that restaurant.

One of the first to discuss in detail the cognitive-didactic approach to grammar is Dirven (1989), who investigated where CL can make a contribution to the general process of facilitating language learning. He argues that discovering the conceptualizations laid down in linguistic expressions in the L2, especially where they differ from the L1, facilitates the learning process. Taylor (1993) also makes the claim that a cognitive approach to grammar is inherently contrastive, albeit focused on semantic content and conceptualization rather than on formal properties. He argues that target language structures that are difficult to acquire are usually those that symbolize conceptual categories that are not in the learner’s L1. Some clear examples of conceptual categories that are difficult to acquire for learners of English as an L2 are the use of the present versus the present progressive tense, the use of the *to* infinitive versus plain infinitive and *-ing* form as complements of verbs, and the use of articles in English.

Two volumes edited by Pütz, Niemeier, and Dirven (2001a, b) show how pedagogic cognitive linguistic approaches to different topics may be worked out. In one of the papers, for example, Tyler and Evan (2001) offer a systematic, motivated account of how English tense usage works, and they show that a number of distinct and fundamentally nontemporal meanings associated with tense can be distinguished, such as intimacy (between speakers), salience (foregrounding vs. backgrounding), actuality (realis vs. irrealis), and attenuation (linguistic politeness), which are all shown to be related to each other in a systematic principled way. In addition, for Slavic languages some cognitively based textbooks are available written by Janda and Clancy (2002).

To show how a cognitive approach to grammar could be implemented in a classroom, the teaching of the notoriously difficult English article system will be used as an extended example. Huong (2005) addresses Vietnamese learners, whose L1 has a classifier system that does not mark for definiteness. He suggests that rather than giving incorrect “rules of thumb,” lots of isolated rules, long lists of uses, and loads of exceptions to the rules, as given in many standard textbooks, a cognitive approach gives a coherent account of the whole article system, showing how the core meaning associated with each form may also be used in nonprototypical senses.

The approach would first address the fact that in English, one must always mark whether an entity (the person or thing the noun refers to)

is definite or not. An entity is considered definite when in a given context a speaker and hearer can both make mental contact with it. In other words, both know which particular entity is referred to. This is the case with most proper nouns, such as *Tom* and *Vietnam*, but also with names of sports, meals, days of the week, and months of the year such as *tennis*, *lunch*, *Monday*, and *November*. These proper nouns and names have the ultimate sign of definiteness: the “null” article. The fact that “null” is very definite can be inferred by contrasting (a) “Father helped me” versus (b) “My father helped me” where in (a) the speaker probably assumes the hearer also knows the father.

Whereas the “null” article marks definiteness in proper nouns and names, the definite article *the* must be used with a common noun used in a definite sense, no matter whether it is a count noun, singular or plural, or a mass noun as in *I saw the bike/the cars/the water*. The prototypical examples of definite entities are unique ones in the world, in the larger context, or in the immediate context such as *the sun*, *the president*, or *the door*. Other definite entities are those that are unique to the speaker and hearer’s discourse, either explicitly or implicitly as in *I rode a taxi home; the taxi was yellow*, or *I rode a taxi home; the driver was friendly*. More peripheral members of definiteness would be entities that are not necessarily identifiable to both the speaker and hearer, but the hearer can infer that the speaker refers to a unique one in his or her mind as in *Be aware of the dog*, *I went to the park*, or *I took the bus*. An even more peripheral example of definiteness is one where the noun does not refer to a particular unique entity, but to a whole class of entities in a so-called type hierarchy. For example, in *the dog is a domestic animal*, the dog refers to a type (rather than a token) within the hierarchy of animal–domestic animal–dog. (A similar account is possible for nonprototypical use of generic *a* or generic plurals.)

If the L2 learner wants to determine which article to use, it is best to first determine whether the common noun is definite or not because there is only one form: *the*. If the noun is used in nondefinite sense, some further choices have to be made. Singular count nouns must have *a*, but plural count nouns and noncount nouns do not. Now it is important to know whether the noun is count or noncount. As Taylor (1993, p. 211) points out, the prototypes of “count noun” can be seen as a three-dimensional, concrete “thing” and of “mass noun” as an internally homogenous, divisible “substance” (i.e., “bottle” vs. “beer”). Prototypical count nouns refer to entities that are “bounded” such as bikes, tables, or pens and prototypical noncount nouns are entities that are “unbounded” such as water and gold. One way to distinguish a bounded entity from a nonbounded one is as follows: If you take a piece of the table, such as a leg, you do not have a table, but if you take some water, you have some water in your hand and in the

container. In other words, an unbounded entity is more diffuse than a bounded one. What seems most difficult for L2 learners is to understand why some nouns may be count in one case and noncount in the other as in (a) *I had a good sleep* versus (b) *I need sleep*. The notion of construal is important in understanding why: in (a) the noun refers to an instance of a bounded event with a clear beginning and end, but in (b) to any instantiation of a more diffuse event. In addition, a noun like education may be confusing: (a) *He needs an education* versus (b) *Children need access to education*. In (a) *education* is construed as a rather linear training with a beginning and end, but in (b) *education* is a rather diffuse, abstract concept that includes any activity of learning and instruction and those that impart knowledge or skill.

This brief treatise of the English article is of course not complete, but shows that with a cognitive approach, it may be possible to explain in a systematic and coherent manner the conceptualizations that give rise to forms, starting from more prototypical examples to more peripheral ones. The assumption is that such an approach would raise awareness, constitute insightful learning, aid retention, and finally aid correct application.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Within the field of CL, an enormous amount of research has addressed the motivation of linguistic constructions in a host of different languages, and a few of the findings have found their way into published articles about and textbooks for second language teaching and acquisition. Boers and Lindstromberg are currently working on a book for teachers dealing with cognitive linguistic approaches to vocabulary teaching, and Tyler and Evans are currently working on a cognitive pedagogical grammar for teachers. In addition, several of Tyler's students are currently testing the effectiveness of a CL approach to grammar.

#### PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES: FUTURE DIRECTIONS

There is sound evidence that making learners aware of core meanings of words or of conceptual metaphors that give rise to figurative expressions helps learners to retain these noncentral and figurative senses. There is no doubt that CL can also aid learners in becoming aware of cross-cultural differences in conceptualization. But as far as a CL approach to teaching grammar, there is no conclusive evidence yet. Even though it has been claimed that a cognitive approach provides a qualitative better approach to teaching grammar than more traditional

ones, there is very little empirical evidence that it indeed does. There are several reasons. For one thing, in the light of the popularity of communicative approaches to language teaching, grammar teaching has received very little attention and secondly effect studies are notoriously difficult to conduct. The only systematic study into the effect of a cognitive approach that I am aware of so far is by Huong (2005), who compared the cognitive approach with teaching articles described earlier with a commercially available functional approach. The short-term results were very favorable, but the long-term effects showed no significant differences. He attributed the disappointing results to the fact that his learners, who were quite advanced, may have reverted back to old habits and applied their old “rules of thumb.” However, several current classroom-based intervention studies by Tyler and her students show promising results.

But even though the role of explicit grammar teaching might be debatable, the fact is that there are many grammar books for both teachers and students, which are often consulted by second language learners. As Corder (1967) already pointed out, “It is a defining concern of second language research that there are certain aspects of language to which second language learners commonly prove impervious, where input fails to become intake” and in such cases a qualitatively sound and meaningful explanations are needed. CL can offer these.

*See Also:* Paul Nation: *Lexical Awareness in Second Language Learning (Volume 6)*; Michael Sharwood Smith: *Morphological and Syntactic Awareness in Foreign/Second Language Learning (Volume 6)*

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## KNOWLEDGE ABOUT LANGUAGE AND EMOTION

### INTRODUCTION

There can be no gainsaying the fact that emotions constitute an important and perhaps indispensable part of human experience. “Our passions,” writes one influential scholar, “constitute our lives.” (Solomon, 1993: xiv). Even a new-born babe is capable of expressing feelings of joy and pain, widely held to be the visible and physical manifestations of emotions. Indeed, one might even argue that emotions are of the very essence as far as human nature is concerned. Emotions affect us all and often in ways that no one else, but ourselves can grasp or fathom. When the Friar in Shakespeare’s *Romeo and Juliet* (Act 3. Scene iii) tries to console the protagonist, who is faced with the prospect of impending banishment, by offering him “adversity’s sweet milk, philosophy”, he is told somewhat brusquely:

Hang up philosophy!

Unless philosophy can make a Juliet

Philosophy or systematic reasoning is of no use to a pair of star-crossed lovers. Philosophy can at best rationalize things and help us see through our conceptual entanglements. “But,” as the Bard himself put it on another occasion, “love is blind, and lovers cannot see/The pretty follies that themselves commit” (*The Merchant of Venice*, Act 2. Scene vi).

Theorists of emotion, or passion as it is sometimes called (Gaukroger, 1998), typically contrast it with reason. However, as is often the case with the dichotomies we postulate, the opposition between reason and emotion turns out, on closer inspection, to be actually hierarchical, with the former invariably occupying the privileged position.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

#### *In Philosophy*

The relation between reason and passion is one of the oldest and most enduring questions in philosophy (Elster, 1999). Aristotle wrote in his *Rhetoric*: “We shall define an emotion,” “as that which leads one’s condition to become so transformed that his judgment is affected, and which is accompanied by pleasure and pain.” (cf. Calhoun and Solomon, 1984, p. 44). In so viewing emotion, Aristotle inaugurated a trend in philosophy that has survived through the 2500 years since

it was put forward and still shows tremendous vitality. Aristotle's view contrasts with a view advanced centuries later by the American psychologist-cum-philosopher William James (1884), according to whom the emotions were essentially physical reactions and as such simply another way of referring to their sensory counterparts, the so-called "feelings."

What makes Aristotle's view so refreshingly "novel" and indeed "modern" is that it puts emotion on an equal footing with reason, "as a more or less intelligent way of conceiving of a certain situation, dominated by a desire (e.g., in anger, the desire for revenge)" (Calhoun and Solomon, 1984, p. 3).

But the fact remains that, by and large, philosophers have been of the opinion that, in the tussle between Reason and Emotion, it is the former that gets (or rather, should get) the upper hand. A notable exception is David Hume who challenged the Platonic precept by proclaiming: "Reason is, and ought only to be the slave of the passions, and can never pretend to any other office than to serve and obey them." (*A Treatise of Human Nature*, 2.3.3.4). Hume was directly reacting to Descartes' famous metaphysical distinction between the mind (thinking substance) and the body (extended substance) and the problems it engendered for an understanding of emotions. In particular, he was critiquing the Cartesian quest for certainty and his use of "I think, therefore I am" as the Archimedean point for erecting an entire epistemological edifice. In Hume's view, the stable entity called "I" postulated by Descartes simply cannot exist, given that our passions succeed one another, creating a state of utmost volatility inhospitable for any durable "self."

Another major philosopher who reacted negatively to the Cartesian theory of emotions was Spinoza who reinvigorated an ancient Stoic theory, according to which emotions are essentially judgments gone astray and hence are deleterious and in need of being reined in by robust reason.

Perhaps the most vigorous contestation of the Cartesian dogma was mounted by Giambattista Vico (1688–1744), an Italian humanistic philosopher, who insisted on the importance of self-knowledge over and above objective, scientific knowledge. In the words of Maynard (2002, p. 12), "Vico's hermeneutics is a reminder against the sheer arrogance of the Cartesian mind-set."

### *In Psychology*

William James' 1884 essay—referred to in the previous section—may be considered a landmark in the psychological approaches to the study of emotions. Since then, scholars have conducted their research to

either confirm or refute James' idea that emotions are essentially bodily experiences. Walter Cannon (1939) was among James' early critics. On the other hand, Sigmund Freud, the founder of psychoanalysis, endorsed James' view, reformulating it to accommodate his own trademark notion of the "unconscious." Freud maintained that emotional disorders resulted from traumatic experiences so intense that they affected the smooth functioning of the reasoning mind. This in turn harks back to the long tradition—ultimately dating back to ancient Stoics and, as we have seen, reworked by Spinoza—of regarding emotions as generally deleterious and in need of being brought under the control of robust reason. Freud was only continuing a tradition whose roots may be traced back to Petrarch's *De Remedis*, a compendium of Stoic techniques for "healing the passions." Incidentally, this tradition is still kept alive in contemporary practices of cognitive therapy for emotional disorders.

### *In Anthropology*

Charles Darwin, the founder of evolutionary biology, may be seen as having inaugurated an approach to the emotions that seems to underlie a number of studies undertaken in the field anthropology. In his book *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (Darwin, 1872), the English biologist, while conceding that some emotional expressions may have a survival value, went to the extent of claiming that emotional expressions are behavioral equivalents of vestigial anatomical organs such as the appendix: the implication being that they are, strictly speaking redundant and perfectly dispensable as such at best, or an irksome impediment at worst, being left-overs from an earlier, bestial stage of evolution. When the eighteenth century English poet Alexander Pope wrote (Pope, 1930, p. 180)

Unlearn'd, he knew no schoolman's subtle art,  
No language, but the language of the heart.

he was simply expressing what has over the centuries been an unargued assumption underlying our cultural practices namely that emotions betray a lack of culture and sophistication and hence need to be brought under the control of cool, dispassionate reason.

### *In Sociology*

Although the emotions may strike someone as relating directly to the personal and intimate side of a person (more on this later), it has increasingly become clear over the past few decades that there is also a collective or social/cultural dimension to them (Niemeier and Dirven, 1997). In fact, the idea itself that emotions may help explain social

behavior—in terms of not only social causes, but also social effects—is nothing new. It plays an important role in Max Weber’s discussion in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (Weber 1905 [1991]). Weber argued that, with the increasing rationalization of the way the world is run, the emotions would tend to get relegated to the margins in human affairs and conduct. From the 1970s on, sociologists have moved away from the excessive and almost exclusive emphasis on the cognitive bases of social action and increasingly begun to pay attention to the role of emotions (Barbalet, 1998).

### *In Linguistics*

In the Western world, the study of language and the study of logic share a common history. For the most part, the two are viewed as intertwined and inseparable from each other. Language is generally thought to be an attribute of the reasoning mind. In other words, man is *Homo loquens* because he is *Homo sapiens*. Indeed, a common thread that runs through the otherwise disparate attempts to understand the workings of grammar over the centuries is that it must somehow embody the rules of logic.

In the seventeenth century, Antoine Arnauld and Claude Lancelot (1968) published in France a monumental work of grammar, referred to in the literature as the Port-Royal Grammar. The exact title of this work was *Grammaire générale et raisonnée* “the aim of which was to demonstrate that the structure of language is a product of reason, and that the different languages of men are but varieties of a more general logical and rational system” (Lyons, 1968, p. 17). Indeed, so powerful has the temptation been to locate and identify a rational hard core in human languages that Leibniz, impressed by the beauty and perfection of the language of mathematics, is believed to have exclaimed that, if God Almighty were to descend from Heaven and address ordinary mortals (all made after His own image, as the Bible tells us), he would speak to them in that language—it was simply inconceivable from the German philosopher’s point of view that an all-perfect God would resort to any language other than the all-perfect language of mathematics.

Traditional grammarians typically equated ungrammaticality with illogicality. The use of double negation to express a negative proposition just cannot be grammatical, they said, because binary logic, incorporating as it does the law of the excluded middle, would automatically assign positive polarity to a sentence containing two negatives. A good deal of traditional grammar was an effort to put natural languages and their grammars on the procrustean bed of classical logic. In many ways,

modern linguists, who initially established their scientific credentials in stiff opposition to the claims of traditional grammarians, rarely, if ever, questioned the guiding principle of their adversaries. It is significant in this respect that when Labov (1972) undertook his pioneering work on Black English, his immediate concern was to show that the so-called nonstandard English did obey its own logic, albeit a logic different from that which underwrote Standard English. In his own words, his primary target was the then prevalent mainstream view—so-called “deficit theory”—among educational psychologists who held that “the children’s speech forms are nothing more than a series of emotional cries” (Labov, 1972, p. 205) and that children ought to be removed from their family environment where they “maintain primary emotional relationships” to “hopefully prevent the deceleration in rate of development which seems to occur in many deprived children around the age of two to three years.” (Caldwell, 1967, p. 17, cited in Labov, 1972, p. 233). The very title of his classic paper ‘The logic of non-standard English’ is itself very suggestive indeed in this regard.

The truth of the matter is that, as heir to mainstream Western philosophical tradition, linguistics has systematically sought to downplay the role of emotions in language (Rajagopalan, 2004). Emotional aspects of language use are typically considered secondary or marginal to its rational, fact-stating role. In the words of Sapir (1921, p. 38):

On the whole, it must be admitted that ideation reigns supreme in language, that volition and emotion come in as distinctly secondary factors.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

In the history of human thought, it is only relatively recently that the study of emotions began to be pursued in different ways under the rubric of different and separate academic disciplines, because the rise of distinct disciplines is itself of relatively recent origin. This is attested to by the fact that in most Anglophone universities the highest degree awarded to a research student is still called PhD or Doctor of Philosophy, irrespective of the specific area where the candidate submitted his/her dissertation. But, what is truly amazing is that the overall picture that emerges from work done on the topic of emotions is that, barring occasional discordant voices here and there, they all add up to a broader picture or a world-view which posits Reason as the beacon light which alone can save man from straying into the dangerous minefield of emotions. Also, this overall picture helps sustain a number of other binary oppositions, which in turn help prop it up.

*Public Versus Private*

A case in point is the opposition between the public and the private spheres. The opposition “Reason versus Emotion” is often conflated with “the public versus the private” opposition. This ties in neatly with the dominant attitude in the West of keeping one’s emotions to oneself and withholding it, as far as possible, from the public gaze. It also ties in with the allegation made by the neopragmatist philosopher Richard Rorty (1980) that it has been philosophy’s mission, from Plato on, to pry into and control the private lives of citizens. In other words, it is the task of reason to curtail the play of emotions and make sure they do not spill over the bounds of their allocated ken.

*Mind Versus Body*

As we have already seen, the opposition between reason and emotion is bound up with the opposition between mind and body. Reason is thought of as disembodied. For instance, philosophy does not deal with words, sentences etc., which are linguistic objects. Rather, it is concerned with concepts, propositions, and so on which are extralinguistic and universal (i.e., do not belong to any one language in particular). Language itself is seen as the embodiment of thought. Poets, whose raw material is language, can keep themselves busy doing such “superficial” things as rhyming and alliteration; not so the philosophers, whose work is more cerebral and celestial and who are intent on unlocking the mysteries of thought itself.

It is not difficult to see that the distrust of language that has been a mainstay of Western philosophy is directly related to the widely held view that to invest in the salvation of one’s soul one must sacrifice all bodily pleasures, resigning to the life of an ascetic. Oddly enough, the subtext that emerges from a number of elaborate treatises on human languages is one of profound lamentation to the effect that the human-kind is not endowed with the ability to communicate telepathically (i.e., without any recourse to the use of language) (Harris, 1981).

*Masculine Versus Feminine*

The “reason–emotion” dichotomy is often conflated with the “masculine–feminine” dualism, so that the exaltation of reason is invested with an androcentric agenda. The macho man must keep his feelings to himself and not display them in public. With this, the distrust of emotions takes on a new twist, thanks to the association with the Biblical theme of the woman’s seductive charm swerving the reasoning power

of man from the path of righteousness. The control of one's emotions through reason thus becomes a metaphor for man's dominance over woman.

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

In view of what we saw in the foregoing sections, it is hardly surprising that linguists and philosophers of language have tended to accord primacy to fact-stating sentences, since it is in the declarative mood that propositions—the bearers of truth values—find their true expression. Scholars like Ogden and Richards (1923) and Stevenson (1944) distinguished emotive (or affective) meaning from cognitive (or purely referential) meaning, invariably giving primacy to the latter. Likewise, in the early models of transformational-generative grammar, there were transformational rules generating interrogatives and imperatives from an underlying base structure, but no rule for generating declarative sentences, since the declarative itself was assumed to be the basic, default pattern, from which all the rest were to be derived. J.L. Austin (1962), it is true, did make a great effort to turn the tables, when he argued that the constative (fact-stating) utterances were but performative ones in disguise. But, interestingly enough, the idea of the primacy of propositional meaning was restored by his best-known interpreter and intellectual legatee John Searle (1969) when the latter reintroduced into the framework the notion of “propositional content” and thus positing within the content of a speech act a hard core of truth-value-bearing form.

#### *Impact on Educational Practices*

**The “Reason Versus Emotion” Opposition and Its Role in the Hierarchization of Academic Disciplines.** Given the traditional stand-off between reason and emotion, it is not surprising at all that the so-called human and social sciences are considered “soft” in contrast with the “hard” sciences such as physics, chemistry, biology, and so forth. As a matter of fact, the roots of this prejudice can be traced back to the Platonic gesture of expelling the poets from his ideal city. The “hard” sciences in this sense as well as mathematics are all covered by the term “philosophy”. The ancient and mediaeval practice of dividing the liberal arts into the trivium (grammar, rhetoric, and logic) and the quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy) is a reflection of this hierarchical organization of academy. Notice, incidentally, that the four subjects that compose the quadrivium bear

testimony to the Pythagorean concept of mathematics as “the study of patterns in space and time”—arithmetic is the study of number in itself, geometry that of number in space, music number in time and astronomy number in space and time.

**The Opposition “Reason Versus Emotion” and Its Impact on the Relations Between Academia and the Society at Large.** In his 1987 classic entitled *The Last Intellectuals: American Culture in the Age of Academe*, Russell Jacoby lamented the slow extinction of public intellectuals in academia and their replacement by professional academics who wrote primarily if not exclusively for their own peers. Since then Jacoby’s point has been taken up by a number of concerned scholars. The stand-off between academics and public opinion on matters such as euthanasia, abortion, GM food, and so forth are widely publicized. As far as issues related to language policies and language planning are concerned, it has of late become embarrassingly clear to many professional linguists that their scientifically backed opinions seldom or never find welcome resonance in the public opinion. Their interests, as it has been shown time and time again in such cases as the Ebonics controversy in the USA (a heated debate over a decision by the Oakland, California School Board on December 18, 1996, declaring that the official language of 28,000 African American school children enrolled in Oakland’s public schools was not English, but “Ebonics”), are frequently seen to be at loggerheads with those of the laypersons.

What is important to point out in relation to the frequent clashes between science and public opinion is that the tussle between expert and lay opinions on a given subject of common interest tends to be viewed as one between reason and emotion. The principled neglect of public opinion has been one of the founding axioms of modern linguistics. This is clearly evident in a classic paper by Bloomfield (1944) entitled “Secondary and tertiary responses to language” where the founding father of American linguistics disparages in no uncertain terms lay opinions about language.

Several peculiarities of these secondary responses deserve further study. The speaker, when making the secondary responses, shows alertness. His eyes are bright, and he seems to be enjoying himself. . . . The whole process is, as we say, pleasurable. (Bloomfield, 1944, p. 49).

Bloomfield claims that science is a rational enterprise, cold and methodical. There should no room for warmth or mirth in it. As a matter of fact, Bloomfield writes as if there was sufficient justification in the very fact that the natives appeared to be having a great

time talking about their language for arriving at the conclusion that what they say could not be considered scientifically admissible.

#### PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

Recent research in the field of education has unveiled the centrality of the emotions to learning and the way our thoughts are formed (Frijda, Manstead, and Bem, 2000) and the way bilinguals react to emotional language (Dewaele and Pavlenko, 2002, Pavlenko, 2002, 2006, Wierzbicka, 1992). More and more scholars are of the opinion today that the emotions play an important role in the development of language (Bloom, 1997; Ellis, 1994). On his part, Krashen (1987) put forward his famous “affective filter hypothesis,” according to which a number of “affective variables”—such as motivation, self-confidence, and anxiety—play a facilitative, albeit noncausal, role in second language acquisition.

Not only language, say some educators, but the very personality and character of young children depend a great deal on how the school attends to their emotional needs (Weare, 2004). In defiance of the time-honored tradition of pitting emotion against reason, researchers are also beginning to discover that there is “a strong link between emotion and reason, feelings and thoughts—thereby disproving the adage that emotion is the enemy of reason” (Weiss, 2000, p. 45). Worth special mention here is the emergence of the new field of research called “emotional intelligence” (Mayer, Salovey, and Caruso, 2000).

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## **Section 2**

### **Knowledge about Language and Language Learning**

## LANGUAGE AWARENESS IN FIRST LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

### INTRODUCTION

The human capability to acquire language so early and so efficiently has been attracting people's interest for thousands of years. In Ancient Egypt, during the 7th century BC, it was believed that the language capacity was inborn and that even isolated children, deprived of any linguistic input, would develop language. Much later, this belief was tested in the form of a "natural" experiment, in which children were withdrawn from their linguistic environment, and their language development was observed. Those first studies were preoccupied with the phylogenetic aspect of language development and only later has the focus been shifted to the ontogenetic aspect of first language acquisition. Conditionally speaking, in more recent history, that is, for the last 250 years, researchers and practitioners have expressed their interests in the way that children learn to understand and produce language. A milestone in a child language development research that enabled more sophisticated and systematic studies was the invention of the tape recorder. This invention was soon followed by other technological improvements, as well as the elaboration of methodology.

Today, language acquisition is a rapidly emerging field with numerous scholars coming from a variety of disciplines such as linguistics, psychology, speech and language pathology, neuroscience, and computer science. The aims of the field are to determine what in human language is inborn and what is learned through experience; how language development can be facilitated; how the acquisition process can be decomposed; and how to map the stages of language development. The key to success is the ability of the researchers to develop satisfactory methods and research designs. One of the topics that have lately gained considerable scientific attention is *language awareness*. In this chapter, the focus is on the development of language awareness in first language acquisition from infancy to early school age; it is in terms of language components, i.e., phonology, lexicon, morphology, and syntax. Language awareness is related to the topic of communicative

competence; in addition, the importance of first language awareness in second language acquisition is briefly touched on.

#### LANGUAGE AWARENESS: DEFINITION AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT

##### *Definition*

First, it is necessary to define the term language awareness, which appears frequently in texts dealing with applied linguistics, often in the company of two other terms—*metalinguistic (knowledge/ability)* and *metalanguage*. For two reasons, these terms are problematic: (i) different authors use the same term to mean different things and (ii) in some texts the two terms refer to the same concept, while in others they refer to different ideas. In this chapter, language awareness is considered as a common denominator of the two other concepts. Metalanguage has the broader meaning of language about language and can be understood as a tool for explaining linguistic phenomena in applied linguistics; on the other hand, metalinguistic knowledge or ability is the linguistic ability of any native speaker to make a decision about an utterance in terms of its acceptability. Metalinguistic ability enables the communicator to be attentive to language and to follow what is conveyed and how. In other words, metalinguistic ability makes it possible for the speaker to reflect on language regardless of his receptive and expressive abilities (e.g., Flavel, 1988; Perner 1991).

Language awareness can be viewed, as summarized by Garvie (1990), as consisting of several types: *linguistic awareness*—that is, knowledge of the basic components of language, such as phonemes, morphemes, and lexical units; *psycholinguistic awareness*, meaning that the competent language user knows not only the components of the language, but the rules for assembling them; *discourse awareness*, which points to the necessity of being aware not only of the rules of assembling the components of language on the sentence level, but also at the higher level of discourse; *communicative awareness*, enabling a language user to be aware of how words, strings of words, and entire discourses can change according to topic, purpose, situation, and audience; *sociolinguistic awareness*, which helps the user to identify the influence of social context on language use; and finally, *strategic awareness*, which helps the language user to be aware of a set of strategies that can be applied when problems are encountered in the communication process. When one takes all these types of language awareness into consideration, it becomes clear that language awareness has to start developing very early in the process of first language acquisition.

*Early Developments*

Although the study of language development dates far back in history, the fact is that there was no identified discipline devoted to the topic of first language acquisition, as David Ingram claims in one of his earlier works (1989). One of the first major journals that focused on this topic was *The Journal of Child Language*, which has been published since 1974, and which for a long time was the only one of its kind. Until recently there were no university departments of language acquisition. Due to the field's marginal status a large body of literature was published, but with unbalanced coverage of the different relevant issues, and occasionally, it was hard to make sense of all the existing findings coming from very different perspectives.

The developing role of language awareness in first language acquisition began to emerge in the last few decades of the twentieth century, first in the area of metalanguage development, which focused primarily on early school age. Both the linguistic and the social role of bilingual development gave an additional impetus to study of language awareness. Linguistic diversity gave rise to the recognized importance of the role of language awareness. First language acquisition gradually became a discipline with sharper contours, and language awareness became more relevant as a topic of more profound exploration. Researchers have begun to study language awareness from the very beginning of language acquisition, in relation to all the components of language.

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Language awareness starts developing at age 1½ to 2 (or even earlier, at the first word stage), when a child starts to monitor his first utterances. At that age, the child produces sounds, first words and later sentences. He is able to produce spontaneous repairs and to adjust to different partners in communication. Language awareness gradually develops throughout the preschool period, when the child acquires the ability to follow the feedback to what he has produced, elaborates on his own language, use and intentionally learns the language. In that period the child frequently checks whether others understand what he has produced and tries to repair his productions when the feedback is negative. He also tends to correct the speech of others, comments overtly on his own language as well as that of others, enjoys practicing different speech styles, and assumes the roles of different speakers (e.g., Bloom, 1975; Clark, 1978; Hakes, 1980; Palermo, Molfese, 1972). In the process of early language acquisition, the child is not initially aware of the complexity of the language system and its rules, but gradually, through language play and by means of cognitive development,

his understanding of the linguistic system expands (Berko, 1958; Karmiloff-Smith, 1987). As the child matures linguistically and cognitively, some aspects of the language system become opaque (Cazden, 1972). At school age, the child can anticipate the impact of his language productions, can make adjustments on his productions in order to fit his utterances to a particular listener or to make judgments about the correctness of produced language, and can differentiate between form and function (Brown 1978; Cazden, 1974; Clark, 1978a; Papandropoulou, Sinclair, 1974).

*The State of the Art of First Language Acquisition and Language Awareness*

First language acquisition can be decomposed into two distinctive processes: the understanding of the language and speech of others, and the production of one's own language. The relationship between these two processes that the child needs to master is not simple and unidirectional. Comprehension frequently precedes understanding, but not always. They can also develop as two parallel processes, or the child can produce language without fully understanding the produced constructions. One of the relevant questions for language researchers is how to define the development of those facets of language as well as the discrepancies between them. A significant portion of our language knowledge is implicit and not easily reachable for self-explanation. Bearing in mind that language use is a fast developing skill, it is even more intriguing to learn how and when we develop language awareness skills. Normally, we are not aware of the processes that underlie language production and comprehension. This is especially true for children who cannot grasp the arbitrariness of language (Pan and Gleason, 1996).

*Early Language Acquisition and Language Awareness*

The first language component that the child starts to acquire is phonology. Generally, maturation and experience have an impact on early phonological development. Since the auditory system is already prenatally ready to function, the infant hearing system is adequate from the moment child is born (Kuhl, 1987), and numerous studies have proved that the infant is capable very early of discriminating among speech sounds (e.g., Goodman and Nusbaum, 1994). Actually, the child is capable of recognizing some types of phonological (e.g., phonotactic) regularities before he produces his first word, as early as 9 months of age (Jusczyk, Luce and Charles-Luce, 1994). Very soon after the child enters the so-called word spurt (until this point, his vocabulary has been about 50 words), he develops a representational phonology, i.e., the

phonological system of his mother tongue. This has been supported by evidence of an increase in cognitive capacity, particularly memory storage, which enables the child to establish the sound system of the target language, though not the same as in adults (Vihman, Velleman, and McCune, 1994). At age 6 ½ or 7 the child has at his disposal the entire repertoire of sound of his mother tongue, and his language production sounds like the production of an adult. However, as much as it may be important to sound like an adult, proper phonological development is crucial for the development of adequate sound representations, which will enable phonological segmentation, which is highly relevant for other language skills.

Another important aspect of early language development is the acquisition of lexis, which is interdependent with phonological development and in a way prerequisite to grammatical development. At the beginning, the child's lexical development is slow, but it soon becomes accelerated. Children vary significantly in the number of words they produce and understand, as well as in the content of their vocabulary. A child's early lexicon is also influenced by cross-linguistic and cross-cultural differences. It has also been proven (De Houwer, 1997; Snow, 1977; Tomasello and Todd, 1983) that the type and quantity of input are relevant factors in lexical acquisition. There are different theories explaining the clues and sources for the child to learn new words, their meanings and concepts. Very soon after a child starts producing his first words, he becomes very efficient in relating some meaning to each newly acquired word. Rapid form-to-meaning mapping is one of the prominent features of early acquisition. As much as the capability of phonological segmentation is an important skill for further language development, speech segmentation is generally an important ability for acquiring new words. This becomes even more articulated when the child receives as input longer strings of words and has to find the word boundaries. Making a child aware of these boundaries can be facilitated, for example, through rhyme play. Research has shown that children are inclined to be attentive to the rhythmic properties of language, and that they learn them with ease.

Although the child acquires some new words using morphosyntactic cues, as is the case in the acquisition of verbs, the beginning of the productive use of grammatical morphemes and/or syntactic rules is a clear sign that the child is becoming aware of structural rules. In the beginning, the first level of awareness is the child's ability to manipulate with the smallest elements of meaning that are parts of words. Later, children develop knowledge of rules. Children prefer pattern regularity in their speech productions, and so they start to produce overgeneralizations, indicating that they overapply the rules that they have learned. Finally, in experimental situations with elicited tasks,

they have proved to know how to use novel words in grammatical constructions. As the language system develops, it becomes more evident that the child has at his disposal grammatical, morphosyntactic knowledge, which consists of productive rules. However, it is not necessarily the case that there is a complete overlap between the productivity of adult-like language and child language. Evidence that has showed us a discrepancy between understanding and production in children suggests that a child might know much more about the language's grammar than can be identified in his speech (Johnson and Gilbert, 1996). Various researchers have recently stressed the role of intake in the output language. They have found that child-directed speech is reflected in the child's own language. These findings so strongly indicate the importance of the input language that they should redirect theoretical claims in the field (Tomasello and Merriman, 1995).

In particular, an interesting aspect of language awareness is the simultaneous acquisition of more than one language by one person. The topic of simultaneous acquisition of two first languages has been attracting more and more attention for the last few decades, and recently, it is has become especially prominent. With geographical migration and increased human mobility, the number of children acquiring two languages is growing daily. The topic itself is marked by social, cultural, and political significance, but it is also a linguistically relevant issue that is being explored by many language development experts (e.g., Cenoz and Genesee, 2001; Deuchar and Quay, 2000; Lanza, 1997, 2004).

Within the context of language awareness, one of the most intriguing questions is the question of language separation: when and how does the child differentiate between two languages (e.g., Vihman, 1985). The ability to separate languages undoubtedly includes all aspects of language knowledge. This ability develops gradually, over a period of time, and does not affect all aspects of language evenly at different time points. In order to use two languages properly—like an adult—the child needs to learn the grammatical systems of both languages and their proper pragmatics. Mastering those two aspects of the languages, with increased language awareness, enables a child to reduce their mixing and to differentiate them as two separate systems. Lanza (2001) emphasizes the need to observe bilingual first language acquisition within a framework of language socialization, i.e., identifying the child's language input as one of the key points in bilingual first language development.

In the study of bilingualism, one of the first cited advantages of bilingual development versus monolingual development was better metalinguistic awareness (Bialystok, 2001; Clark, 1978b). Although,

as Meisel (2001) states, there is still a need for further developments in theoretical and methodological research, particularly related to the issue of language differentiation, it has been proved over time that bilingual acquisition results in better metalinguistic abilities. A child's being able to master two separate language systems and to develop a balanced knowledge of those two systems supports the notion that humans are predisposed to be the speakers of more than one language. This predisposition also speaks in a favor of advanced language awareness, which would make a child's experience of the surrounding world unique (see also Baker, *Knowledge about Bilingualism and Multilingualism*, Volume 6; Jessner, *Language Awareness in Multilinguals: Theoretical Trends*, Volume 6).

### *First Language Acquisition at School Age and Language Awareness*

In less recent literature, the tendency was to claim that first language acquisition is more or less accomplished at early school age. Today, data prove that children continuously acquire language through the whole school period. They expand their vocabulary, but they also develop their semantic system as well as syntax. At first, they are focused, unconsciously, on linguistic elements and on assembling them into linguistic structures. Later, they master more complex constructions, start to develop discourse skills, and become more aware of communicative demands. The school period is marked by language development in all linguistic and communication domains. They become aware of language rules and their role in producing more and more complex language structures. As language users, they become more aware of the rules, and of how to combine the elements of language at a higher, discourse level. Schoolchildren are constantly moving toward new social settings in which they have to adjust their speech. Besides developing their linguistic and psycholinguistic awareness, they are also becoming more aware of their communicative needs. Entering school, young speakers are also for the first time exposed to direct language instruction and are introduced formally to language about language.

The child is becoming capable of making judgments on the correctness of produced utterances, and he can correct grammatically incorrect constructions. He is also developing his ability to identify individual linguistic elements, to explain words by using metalanguage, to play with language, to produce neologisms intentionally, and to understand humor. As much as language awareness improves with age and language knowledge, it is also correlated with cognitive maturation and the accumulation of experience.

## WORK IN PROGRESS

*Do We Know Enough about Language Awareness in First Language Acquisition?*

At first, some aspects of language awareness help the young language learner to better acquire the language system. Soon he will become sensitive to primitive, but available, forms of language use. Language use and/or communication is the starting and ending point of the language learning continuum—a fact that has been forgotten many times. Often, linguists refer to the use of language as pragmatics, while referring to developed skills as communicative skills. Better communicative skills will facilitate language development and will assure more competent language use. There is a tendency to forget that even first language users (even those who use only one language) can have poorly developed language skills due to their weak communicative competencies. Regardless of which language the child acquires, grammar is acquired through observation, attempts, and errors—and it is accelerated through adequate communication. To develop language awareness, the child needs to be engaged more frequently in the communication process. In this way, he will have an opportunity to practice, to test his language constructions, and to receive feedback, both directly via correction or indirectly, through misunderstanding, for example. If the child learns the first language, but it is a member of a plurilingual environment, defined with dialectal diversities, this might raise the level of language awareness—both on the linguistic/psycholinguistic level and on the discourse/communication level (Kovacevic and Pavlicevic-Franic, 2002).

In the beginning, the child does not need to have any conscious awareness of the complexity of language, but as his cognitive system matures, the child requires better tools for understanding language (Doherty, 2000; Taylor, 2000). The development of cognitive skills occurs as the child grows older, enters the school system, and starts learning to read. All this helps him better manipulate the language system (Purcell-Gates, 2001; Tabots, Snow, and Dickinson, 2001). Gradually, as he begins to participate in the process of formal schooling, the child is also developing language awareness skills related to the development of syntax, which continues to be crucial at that age and afterwards. Explicit syntactic awareness does not develop before the child enters the school system and starts acquiring reading skills. Another very important aspect of mastering literacy skills is the development of phonological awareness, that is, the ability to recognize and manipulate sound units smaller than the syllable. Reviewing the literature, the reader can find various definitions that are not always compatible with one another. What is evident is that phonological awareness—like other

types and subtypes of language awareness in first language acquisition—has been identified as an important factor in language and reading development. For instance, it has also been proved that morphological awareness improves vocabulary and spelling (Nunes, Bryant, and Olsson, 2003). All these studies point to the importance of language awareness and call for further similar studies in depth, which will enable a more well-grounded understanding of the phenomenon of first language acquisition.

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

### *Unanswered Questions*

The field of first language acquisition has fascinated many researchers whose primary intention was to describe and to understand the phenomenon of early language development, during which the child acquires such a complex system. Two central questions were central to the work of many child language researchers: *What* do they master and *how*? All children learn language, and they acquire similar skills regardless of what their target language is. In depth, research has been conducted for several decades, but there are still many questions that have gone unanswered.

Along with the studies that have been conducted, there has been an overt effort to develop adequate methodologies which will suit the researchers' needs and the aims of study. Today, we have access to much descriptive data and large collections of spontaneous speech data, such as the CHILDES database and computer programs (MacWhinney, 1995). In addition, various experimental techniques and research paradigms have been developed. All this has helped us to gain knowledge of what children acquire, to learn about the provisional timetable, and to define the stages of language development. Only 10 or 15 years ago, we still lacked more extensive language acquisition research in languages used in small language communities and in typologically different languages. A noticeable change in this situation was initiated with Slobin's work (Slobin, 1985) and has continued intensively over the last two decades. However, the question of how children acquire language, how they really grasp the grammatical rules, and/or how they produce what they have never heard before is something that motivates further research, as well as the many discussions and controversies going on among scientists and advocates of opposing theoretical claims (e.g., Clark, 2002; Gentner, 1982; Pinker, 1984; Rice, 1990; Verlinden and Gillis, 1988).

Among all of the other relevant questions waiting to be explored and answered is a question more closely connected to the issue of language awareness and first language acquisition. The fact is that the every

language system consists of a vocabulary and a complex grammar system, which the child needs to decode and internalize. We still do not know what actually helps a child in the process of acquiring language structure. Can the process be facilitated or speeded up? We know today that the language process is quite orderly, and based on data that we have, we can predict it in a child with typical language development capabilities. We also know that language awareness could serve as some kind of compensating mechanism for children who experience language problems and that it plays an important role in second language acquisition. However, certain questions still remain to be answered: can language awareness at an early age be stimulated and/or facilitated; what kind of language exposure and input could help the child to master language skills; and could any intentional intervention at an early age and at the beginning of language acquisition be counterproductive? Finally, we should also ask how the language awareness issue should be approached at school age: does it gain enough attention, that is, as much in its implementation in formal education as it does in research?

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

There is no doubt that the whole area of first language acquisition will continuously attract researchers' attention and that language development will maintain its status as an important topic not only for both linguists and psychologists, but also for experts such as speech/language pathologists, biologists, and cognitive scientists. The establishment of a new society that emphasizes the need to acquire more than one language, and preferably three, will actually put more emphasis on language research and attempt to understand the phenomenon more adequately. A better understanding of first language acquisition will be beneficial for the learning of other languages as well. Language awareness as an ability to employ intentional, conscious mechanisms needs to be further studied. At the moment, among the countries of Europe this topic has not gained the same attention, neither in research nor in its application. Pragmatic awareness has been recognized as a very important element in second language acquisition (Garcia, 2004; see also Alcón and Safont Jordà, *Pragmatic Awareness in Second Language Acquisition*, Volume 6), but it calls for more attention to the first language as well. Research has shown that in second language learning, metalinguistic awareness is beneficial (Lindberg, 2003). Similar studies should be done in relation to first language acquisition in order to explore how language awareness could be increased and with what consequences. For more than twenty years, for example, language awareness has been an important element in the British school curriculum.

It has been perceived by school policy makers and those involved in curriculum development as one of the core solutions to the problems encountered in schools. A similar emphasis, both in research and in practice, should be placed on language awareness in other language communities. Further research should focus more on exploring discourse and communicative awareness in the primary school system and on defining the correlation between language awareness and other language development variables, in particular at early school age, when the child is introduced to more formal instruction, to reading, and to other subjects in which success is known to be highly correlated with acquired language skills.

**See Also:** *Colin Baker: Knowledge about Bilingualism and Multilingualism (Volume 6); Ulrike Jessner: Language Awareness in Multilinguals: Theoretical Trends (Volume 6); Eva Alcón and Maria Pilar Safont Jordà: Pragmatic Awareness in Second Language Acquisition (Volume 6)*

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## IMPLICIT AND EXPLICIT KNOWLEDGE ABOUT LANGUAGE

### INTRODUCTION

Children acquire their first language (L1) by engaging with their caretakers in natural meaningful communication. From this “evidence” they automatically acquire complex knowledge of the structure of their language. Yet paradoxically they cannot describe this knowledge, the discovery of which forms the object of the disciplines of theoretical linguistics, psycholinguistics, and child language acquisition. This is a difference between explicit and implicit knowledge—ask a young child how to form a plural and she says she does not know; ask her “here is a wug, here is another wug, what have you got?” and she is able to reply, “two wugs.” The acquisition of L1 grammar is implicit and is extracted from experience of usage rather than from explicit rules—simple exposure to normal linguistic input suffices and no explicit instruction is needed. Adult acquisition of second language (L2) is a different matter in that what can be acquired implicitly from communicative contexts is typically quite limited in comparison to native speaker norms, and adult attainment of L2 accuracy usually requires additional resources of explicit learning. The various roles of consciousness in second language acquisition (SLA) include: the learner noticing negative evidence; their attending to language form, their perception focused by social scaffolding or explicit instruction; their voluntary use of pedagogical grammatical descriptions and analogical reasoning; their reflective induction of metalinguistic insights about language; and their consciously guided practice which results, eventually, in unconscious, automatized skill. From various divisions of cognitive neuroscience, we know that implicit and explicit learning are distinct processes, that humans have separate implicit and explicit memory systems, that there are different types of knowledge of and about language, that these are stored in different areas of the brain, and that different educational experiences generate different types of knowledge.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Theoretical dissociations between implicit and explicit knowledge of language evolved relatively independently in language education, applied linguistics, psychology, and cognitive neuroscience.

In language education, differing assumptions about the nature of language representation and its promotion motivated different teaching traditions (Kelly, 1969). Traditional grammar translation foreign language (FL) instruction and the cognitive code method popular in the 1960s and 1970s capitalized on the formal operational abilities of older children and adults to think and act in a rule-governed way. This allowed their instruction, through the medium of language, in pedagogical grammar rules, with lessons focusing on language forms such as, for example, particular tenses and inflectional patterns. These explicit methods were motivated by the belief that perception and awareness of L2 rules necessarily precedes their use. In contrast, FL and L2 teaching methods like “audiolingualism” which held sway during the Second World War, and more recent “natural” and “communicative” approaches, maintained that adult language learning is, like L1 acquisition, implicit. Since language skill is very different from knowledge about language, they consequently renounced explicit grammar-based instruction.

In applied linguistics, the defining distinction between implicit acquisition and explicit learning of L2 was made by Krashen (1982, see also Ellis, *Explicit Knowledge and Second Language Learning and Pedagogy*, Volume 6 and Sharwood Smith, *Morphological and Syntactic Awareness in Foreign/Second Language Learning*, Volume 6). He argued that adult L2 students of grammar-translation methods, who can tell more about a language than a native speaker, yet whose technical knowledge of grammar leaves them totally in the lurch in conversation, testify that conscious learning about language and subconscious acquisition of language are different things, and that any notion of a “strong-interface” between the two must be rejected. Krashen’s input hypothesis, an extreme “noninterface” position, thus countered that (i) subconscious acquisition dominates in second language performance; (ii) learning cannot be converted into acquisition; and (iii) conscious learning can be used only as a Monitor, i.e., an editor to correct output after it has been initiated by the acquired system. In Krashen’s theory, SLA, just like first language acquisition, comes naturally as a result of implicit processes occurring while the learner is receiving comprehensible L2 input. The input hypothesis was the theoretical motivation behind natural and communicative approaches to instruction.

In psychology, two important foundations were the dissociations of implicit and explicit memory, and of implicit and explicit learning. The dissociation between explicit and implicit memory was evidenced in anterograde amnesic patients who, as a result of brain damage, lost the ability to consolidate new explicit memories (those where recall involves a conscious process of remembering a prior episodic experience) to update their autobiographical record with their daily activities,

to learn new concepts, or to learn to recognize new people or places. Nevertheless, amnesiacs maintained implicit memories (those evidenced by the facilitation of the processing of a stimulus as a function of a recent encounter with an identical or related stimulus but where the person at no point has to consciously recall the prior event) and were able to learn new perceptual skills like mirror reading and new motor skills (Schacter, 1987; Squire and Kandel, 1999). They also showed normal classical conditioning, thus the famous anecdote of the amnesic patient who, having once been pricked by a pin hidden in the hand of her consultant, refused thereafter to shake him by his hand while at the same time denying ever having met him before.

The dissociation between explicit and implicit learning was made by Reber (1976) who had people learn complex letter strings (e.g., MXRMXT, VMTRRR) generated by an artificial grammar. In the course of studying these for later recognition, they unconsciously abstracted knowledge of the underlying regularities, so to be able to later distinguish between novel strings which either accorded or broke the rules of the underlying grammar. However, like young children who can pass "wug tests" in their native language, these adult participants too were unable to explain their reasoning. Such research illustrated quite different styles of learning, varying in the degree to which acquisition is driven by conscious beliefs, as well as in the extent to which they give rise to explicit verbalizable knowledge: Implicit learning is acquisition of knowledge about the underlying structure of a complex stimulus environment by a process which takes place naturally, simply, and without conscious operations. Explicit learning is a more conscious operation where the individual attends to particular aspects of the stimulus array and volunteers and tests hypotheses in a search for structure.

In Brain Science, neuropsychological investigations of the results of brain damage demonstrated that different areas of the brain are specialized in their function and that there are clear separations between areas involved in explicit learning and memory and those involved in implicit learning and memory (A.W. Ellis and Young, 1988). Explicit learning is supported by neural systems in the prefrontal cortex involved in attention, the conscious apperception of stimuli, and working memory; the consolidation of explicit memories involves neural systems in the hippocampus and related limbic structures. In contrast, implicit learning and memory are localized, among other places, in various areas of perceptual and motor cortex.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

These foundations demonstrated that human learning can take place implicitly, explicitly, or, because we can communicate using language,

it can be influenced by declarative statements of pedagogical rules (explicit instruction). These modes of learning apply to differing extents in all learning situations. There are at least some mutual influences in their development too. Consider, for example, that from implicit to explicit knowledge: although in native language acquisition implicit learning is primary, the development of self-awareness allows reflective examination, analysis and re-organization of the products of implicit learning, resulting in redescription at a higher level and the formation of new independent and explicit representations. Thus an older child can make a good stab at explaining how to form a plural in English because they have realized the relevant metalinguistic insight of “add –s” from observing themselves forming plurals in this way (Bialystok, 1982). The central issue of the interface question is just how much influence there is in the reverse direction, how much do explicit learning and explicit instruction influence implicit learning, and how can their symbiosis be optimized? Subsequent research took up this theme, though now as a better-informed interdisciplinary collaboration (N.C. Ellis, 1994).

In language education, analyses of learners in “grammar-free” immersion L2 and FL programmes demonstrated significant shortcomings in the accuracy of their language (Lightbown, Spada, and White, 1993). This prompted renewed calls for explicit instruction, but the pendulum did not swing back all the way, this time instruction was to be integrated into the meaningful communication afforded by more naturalistic approaches: learner errors should be picked up by a conversation partner and corrected in the course of meaningful, often task-based, communication by means of negative evidence which offers some type of explicit focus on linguistic form (Doughty and Williams, 1998, see also Robinson, *Attention and Awareness*, Volume 6; Sharwood Smith, *Morphological and Syntactic Awareness in Foreign/Second Language Learning* Volume 6). Long (1991) argued that this type of feedback, which he called Focus on Form, was a necessary element of successful L2 instruction. Prototypical Focus on Form instruction involves an interlocutor recasting a learner’s error in a way that illustrates its more appropriate expression. Recasts can present learners with psycholinguistic data optimized for acquisition because—in the contrast between their own erroneous utterance and the recast—they highlight the relevant element of form at the same time as the desired meaning-to-be-expressed is still active, enabling the learner to attend the relevant part of the form and engage in conscious input analysis. Long contrasted this with the decontextualized and often meaningless grammar drills of traditional Grammar Translation instruction, which he termed Focus on Forms. The period from 1980 to 2000 was a time of concerted research to assess the effectiveness of different types of explicit and implicit L2

instruction. Norris and Ortega (2000) reported a meta-analysis of 49 of the more empirically rigorous of these studies which in sum demonstrated that focused L2 instruction resulted in substantial target-oriented gains, that explicit types of instruction were more effective than implicit types, and that the effectiveness of L2 instruction was durable.

In applied linguistics, critical theoretical reactions to Krashen's input hypothesis (e.g., McLaughlin, 1987), together with empirical investigations demonstrating that it is those language forms that are attended that are subsequently learned, prompted Schmidt (1990) to propose that conscious cognitive effort involving the subjective experience of noticing is a necessary and sufficient condition for the conversion of input to intake in SLA. Schmidt's noticing hypothesis was the theoretical motivation for subsequent research efforts, both in laboratory experiments (Hulstijn and DeKeyser, 1997) and in the classroom, into the role of consciousness in SLA. The shortcomings in uptake and the consequently limited endstate of naturalistic learners, together with the demonstrable role of noticing in SLA, obliged in turn the rejection of the extreme "no-interface" position. Applied linguistics was thus left with something in-between, some form of a "weak-interface" position (R. Ellis, 1994; Ellis, *Explicit Knowledge and Second Language Learning and Pedagogy*, Volume 6; Long, 1991) whereby explicit knowledge plays a role in the perception of, and selective attending to, L2 form by facilitating the processes of "noticing" (i.e., paying attention to specific linguistic features of the input) and by "noticing the gap" (i.e., comparing the noticed features with those the learner typically produces in output). Some weak-interface variants also saw a role of consciousness in output, with explicit knowledge coaching practice, particularly in initial stages, and this controlled use of declarative knowledge guiding the proceduralization and eventual automatized implicit processing of language as it does in the acquisition of other cognitive skills.

In psychology, subsequent research in implicit and explicit learning of artificial languages, finite-state systems, and complex control systems showed: (i) When the material to be learned is simple, or where it is relatively complex but there is only a limited number of variables and the critical features are salient, then learners gain from being told to adopt an explicit mode of learning where hypotheses are to be explicitly generated and tested and the model of the system updated accordingly. As a result they are also able to verbalize this knowledge and transfer to novel situations. (ii) When the material to be learned is more randomly structured with a large number of variables and when the important relationships are not obvious, then explicit instructions only interfere and an implicit mode of learning is more effective. This learning is instance-based but, with sufficient exemplars, an implicit understanding of the structure will be achieved. Although this knowledge

may not be explicitly available, the learner may nonetheless be able to transfer to conceptually or perceptually similar tasks and to provide default cases on generalization (“wug”) tasks. (iii) Whatever the domain, learning the patterns, regularities or underlying concepts of a complex problem space or stimulus environment with explicit instruction, direction, and advances clues, heuristics, or organizers is always better than learning without any cues at all (MacWhinney, 1997; Reber, Kassin, Lewis, and Cantor, 1980). (iv) Although Reber had emphasized that the results of implicit learning were abstract, unconscious, and rule-like representations, subsequent research showed that there was a very large contribution of concrete memorized knowledge of chunks and sequences of perceptual input and motor output that unconscious processes tally and identify to be frequent across the exemplars experienced in the learning set (Stadler and Frensch, 1998).

On the broader stage of cognitive science, the period from 1980 to 2000 showed a parallel shift away from an almost exclusively symbolic view of human cognition to one which emphasized the overwhelming importance of implicit inductive processes in the statistical reasoning which sums prior experience and results in our generalizations of this knowledge as schema, prototypes, and conceptual categories. Everything is connected, resonating to a lesser or greater degree, in the spreading activation of the cognitive unconscious, and categories emerge as attractor states in the conspiracy of related exemplars in implicit memory. These are the aspects of cognition that are readily simulated in connectionist models (Elman et al., 1996) and which subsequently have had considerable influence on our understanding of implicit knowledge of language and its acquisition (Christiansen and Chater, 2001).

In cognitive neuroscience, technological advances in functional brain imaging using electro-encephalographic (EEG) and functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) triangulated the findings of earlier cognitive neuropsychological studies of brain areas involved in implicit and explicit memory. Subsequent improvements in the temporal and spatial resolution of these techniques afforded much more detailed descriptions of the dynamics of brain activity, promoting a shift of emphasis from knowledge as static representation stored in particular locations to knowledge as processing involving the dynamic mutual influence of interrelated types of information as they activate and inhibit each other over time—as Charles Sherrington had put it 60 years previously, “an enchanted loom, where millions of flashing shuttles weave a dissolving pattern, always a meaningful pattern though never an abiding one; a shifting harmony of subpatterns”(Eichenbaum, 2002; Frackowiak et al., 2004).

## WORK IN PROGRESS

Thus, in the latter part of the twentieth century, research in these various disciplines converged on the conclusion that explicit and implicit knowledge of language are distinct and dissociated, they involve different types of representation, they are substantiated in separate parts of the brain, and yet they can come into mutual influence in processing.

With regard to language pedagogy, there is now greater consensus in the acknowledgment of the separable contributions of explicit and implicit language learning, and it is more usual to hear of the necessity of a balanced learning curriculum that provides opportunities for meaning focused input, meaning-focused output, form-focused learning, and fluency development (McGroarty, 2004). Nevertheless, there is still considerable work involving the particular details of how different tasks encourage the use of different aspects of language, how this processing encourages different learning outcomes, and how they should be structured, sequenced and co-ordinated. The pursuit of these goals involves improved operationalizations of implicit and explicit knowledge in educational testing, the investigation of individual differences in implicit and explicit learning, and the determination of interactions between different learner aptitudes and different educational treatments (Hulstijn and Ellis, 2005; Robinson, 2002).

With regard to language learning, investigation has turned to much more detailed investigations of the processes and outcomes of implicit and explicit SLA:

What is the nature of the implicit knowledge which allows fluency in phonology, reading, spelling, lexis, morphosyntax, formulaic language, language comprehension, grammaticality, sentence production, syntax, and pragmatics? How are these representations formed? How are their strengths updated so as to statistically represent the nature of language, and how do linguistic prototypes and rule-like processing emerge from usage? The vast majority of our linguistic processing is unconscious and is underpinned by our history of implicit learning which has supplied a distributional analysis of the linguistic problem space. Frequency of usage determines availability of representation and tallies the likelihoods of occurrence of constructions and the relative probabilities of their mappings between aspects of form and interpretations. Generalizations arise from conspiracies of memorized utterances collaborating in productive schematic linguistic constructions. It is now possible, using fMRI and ERP techniques, to image the implicit processing of words which, despite being presented below the threshold for conscious noticing, nevertheless result in subsequent implicit memory effects, and to identify the very local regions of sensory cortex where

this processing takes place (N.C. Ellis, 2005). Such implicit learning, operating throughout primary and secondary neocortical sensory and motor areas, collates the evidence of language, and the results of this tallying provide an optimal solution to the problem space of form-function mappings and their contextualized use, with representational systems modularizing over thousands of hours on task (Frequency effects, 2002). There is broad agreement on these generalities, and considerable uncertainty of the details.

If these implicit learning processes are sufficient for first language acquisition, why not for second? One part of the answer must be transfer. In contrast to the newborn infant, the L2 learner's neocortex has already been tuned to the L1, incremental learning has slowly committed it to a particular configuration, and it has reached a point of entrenchment where the L2 is perceived through mechanisms optimized for the L1. The L1 implicit representations conspire in a "learned attention" to language and automatized processing of the L2 in non-optimal L1-tuned ways. Current research is focused on psychodynamic tensions in the unconscious mind of the second language speaker, not the psychodynamics of Freudian psychology, but of a more psycholinguistic kind: how associative and connectionist learning principles explain the shortcomings of SLA, the fragile features which, however available as a result of frequency, recency, or context, fall short of intake because of one of the factors of contingency, cue competition, salience, interference, overshadowing, blocking, or perceptual learning, all shaped by the L1 (N.C. Ellis, 2006).

Transfer, learned attention and automatization provide some reasons why implicit learning does not work for L2 as it does for L1. The pedagogical reactions to these shortcomings involve explicit instruction, recruiting consciousness to overcome the implicit routines that are nonoptimal for L2. What then are the detailed mechanisms of interface? What are the various psychological and neurobiological processes by which explicit knowledge of form-meaning associations impacts upon implicit language learning? This is a question not just about language learning, but involving human cognition and human neuroscience as a whole, an enterprise as fascinating as it is audacious. However naïve our current understanding, we have at least moved on from static conceptualizations of language, of representation and of physical interface. The interface, like consciousness, is dynamic: It happens transiently during conscious processing, but the influence upon implicit cognition endures thereafter.

The primary conscious involvement in SLA is the explicit learning involved in the initial registration of pattern recognizers for constructions that are then tuned and integrated into the system by implicit learning during subsequent input processing. Neural systems in the

prefrontal cortex involved in working memory provide attentional selection, perceptual integration, and the unification of consciousness. Neural systems in the hippocampus then bind these disparate cortical representations into unitary episodic representations. ERP and fMRI imaging confirm these neural correlates of consciousness, a surge of widespread activity in a coalition of forebrain and parietal areas interconnected via widespread cortico-cortico and cortico-thalamic feedback loops with sets of neurons in sensory and motor regions that code for particular features, and the subsequent hippocampal activity involved in the consolidation of novel explicit memories. These are the mechanisms by which Schmidt's noticing helps solve Quine's problem of referential indeterminacy. Explicit memories can also guide the conscious building of novel linguistic utterances through processes of analogy. Formulas, slot-and-frame patterns, drills, and declarative pedagogical grammar rules all contribute to the conscious creation of utterances whose subsequent usage promotes implicit learning and proceduralization. Flawed output can prompt focused feedback by way of recasts that present learners with psycholinguistic data ready for explicit analysis. We know of these processes, but we too are like those children doing "wug" tests: at present we can say little about their details. It is the results of thinking that come to consciousness, not the thinking itself, but consciousness then broadcasts these results throughout the brain to the vast array of our unconscious sources of knowledge, and by these means, consciousness is the interface (N.C. Ellis, 2005).

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

The problems and difficulties are abundantly apparent. The understanding of human consciousness is the toughest intellectual problem with which we are set. How do the contents of consciousness, what philosophers call "qualia"—the lilt of Welsh pronunciation, the pleasure of a good pun, the pedant's irritation with bad grammar, the loss and frustration that go with comprehension break-down, the bitterness of lies—how do these arise from the concerted action of nerve cells? Compared with the vast number of unconscious neural processes happening in any given moment, the stream of consciousness evidences a very narrow bottleneck. How is it that a single percept is elected as the current focus of consciousness from the massively parallel activity of the unconscious mind? And what are the functions of these conscious thoughts? Despite our preoccupation with many of these questions throughout our philosophy, until quite recently their scientific study was stifled. Consciousness reacts to investigation. The unreliability of the introspective methods of early structuralist approaches to psychology led

to the denial of any discussion of these ideas within behaviorism. The Association for the Scientific Study of Consciousness was established only as recently as 1996. The extreme limits to the scope of introspection are why we need research in the Cognitive Neurosciences. But despite these developments, we are still only at the relative beginnings of our research.

Our uncertainties about the nature of consciousness are well matched by those relating to the fundamentals of linguistic knowledge. The last 60 years of linguistic theorizing have seen an impressively contradictory line-up of theories about the nature of linguistic representations, including Structuralism, Universal Grammar (Government and Binding theory), Minimalism, Lexico-Functional Grammar, Cognitive Grammar, Construction Grammar, Emergent Grammar and many more. Equally contrary are the Linguistic positions concerning whether second language has access to the same Universal Grammar learning mechanisms as does first language: The complete range is still on the table, including “Full Access/No Transfer,” “Full Access/Full Transfer,” and “No-Access” positions whereby SLA is fundamentally different from first language acquisition. Such uncertainty about the proper nature of the representations of first and second language do not help in the proper characterization of the learning processes.

Because both consciousness and linguistic knowledge are difficult to conceptualize and operationalize, much existing research has taken a pragmatic approach and, like the drunk who looked for his car keys under a lamppost a block away from where he dropped them, “because the light is better there,” used easy to administer grammaticality judgments, or metalinguistic judgments, or multiple choice or other limited response format measures of language proficiency. Such tests have questionable validity as measures of language proficiency and in their very nature they are more likely to tap explicit conscious learning than are measures involving free constructed responses (Norris and Ortega, 2000). This is a research area plagued with measurement problems (Hulstijn and Ellis, 2005).

It is also an area beset by the Experimenter’s Dilemma: should research strive for the research validity afforded by laboratory control and experimentation, or the ecological validity given by observing language learning in its natural environment (Hulstijn and DeKeyser, 1997)? Every study falls down in one of these respects: consciousness is hard enough to pin down in the laboratory, never mind the classroom. Connectionist models learn language that is a very small sample compared with yours or mine. It is hard to be natural in a loud and claustrophobic fMRI scanner. Real language learning takes tens

of thousands of hours, not the minutes of the typical psychology experiment. And so on and so forth, abundantly so.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

For future research to properly address these issues, the studies of implicit and explicit language knowledge, SLA, applied linguistics, cognition, consciousness, learning, education, and brain must proceed in consort within the broader inquiries of cognitive science and cognitive neuroscience (Doughty and Long, 2003). Sophistication in one of these areas is not enough if naivety in others flaws the whole. Interdisciplinary collaboration is essential in the development of both theory and empirical methods (Hulstijn and Ellis, 2005). Particular priorities include:

1. Measurement: improved operationalizations of implicit and explicit learning, knowledge, and instruction in the classroom, psycholinguistics lab, and brain imaging scanner.
2. Triangulation: predictive and concurrent validity assessment of the interrelations of these measures.
3. Psychometrics: investigations of the core dimensions and latent structure of these variables.
4. Meta-analysis: research synthesis allowing the determination of moderator variables in research outcome.
5. Content-validity: the different types of implicit and explicit knowledge of language must be properly represented in batteries of outcome measures in studies of different learning or instructional regimes.
6. Individual differences: the assessment of individual differences in implicit and explicit learning aptitude.
7. Factorial research: The assessment of aptitude/instruction/outcome interactions.
8. Brain imaging: electrical and hemodynamic imaging of the results of learning in cross-sectional comparisons of first language learners and multilinguals, and also of the processes of language learning.
9. Computational modeling: there are so many variables involved that proper understanding can only come from simulation research.
10. Mindfulness of complexity: awareness of the dynamic processes, reactivity, and emergent properties of the complex system that relates language, culture, brains, learners, and their conscious and unconscious knowledge representations.

*See Also:* Rod Ellis: *Explicit Knowledge and Second Language Learning and Pedagogy (Volume 6)*; Peter Robinson: *Attention and Awareness (Volume 6)*; Michael Sharwood Smith: *Morphological and Syntactic Awareness in Foreign/Second Language Learning (Volume 6)*

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## ATTENTION AND AWARENESS

### INTRODUCTION

Attention and awareness are closely related concepts, and can function in the environment for language learning at different levels. To begin with the concept of attention, a distinction needs to be made between two levels of attention, and the mechanisms regulating them, which will be important to the issues of language learning raised later. This distinction is between (1) *perceptual attention* to the numerous phenomena which we attend to automatically and involuntarily (during, for example, a conversation with a colleague), such as the room temperature or noises from the room next door, and (2) *focal attention* which is under some degree of voluntary executive control, such as the attention we pay to our colleague's words and facial expressions while they are speaking and while we are trying to understand what they intend to communicate. Issues of how much, and also what quality of, attention to input is necessary for subsequent retention and learning are major topics of research in the broad field of cognitive psychology, and in the content-specific domain of second language acquisition (SLA). Although there have been claims in both these broad and narrower domains that non-attentional learning is possible, this almost always means learning without focal attention to the input stimuli, which *selects* them for further processing and encoding in memory. In such cases, simple *detection* of input, at a stage of perceptual processing before selection is argued to contribute to learning. If this is so, then learning could be said take place without *awareness*, since focal attention is widely argued to be a precondition for awareness (see Logan, 2005; Robinson, 2003; Schmidt, 2001, for review).

The necessity of awareness of input for SLA (or for other learning domains) is therefore more disputed than the claim that attention to input is necessary. Like attention, awareness can also be at a number of different levels, varying from what Schmidt (1990) called 'noticing' of elements of the surface structure of utterances in the input to those higher levels of awareness implicated in 'understanding' metalinguistic rules and regularities which the surface structure elements conform to. The possibility, and extent, of learning without awareness (implicit learning) became a topic of major interest in cognitive psychology in

the 1960s and 1970s. Claims about the contribution of implicit learning to SLA also led to developments in SLA theory, most notably Krashen's Monitor Model (Krashen, 1981), which argued that there are two distinct consciously and unconsciously regulated systems involved in language learning (see also Sharwood Smith, *Morphological and Syntactic Awareness in Foreign/Second Language Learning*, Volume 6). These developments prompted fine-grained information-processing accounts of the roles of attention and awareness in SLA in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Subsequently, experimental and quasi-experimental studies, in laboratory, and classroom contexts were performed to test the claims of these accounts.

This chapter describes some of the earlier research, its historical antecedents in SLA theory, and current research which is examining the same issues with a steadily increasing range of methodologies. It also describes two more recent developments this research has led to—reconceptualizations of the role of aptitude in learning under different conditions of instructional exposure and competing claims about the structure of, and capacity limits on, the attentional resources drawn on during task-based language learning and performance.

#### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, research and theory in cognitive psychology increasingly addressed the role of the 'cognitive unconscious' in learning. This included research and theorizing about: implicit, unaware 'learning' of complex stimulus domains (Reber, 1967, 1993); the contribution of 'tacit knowledge', which could not be verbalized, to problem-solving and performance in everyday life (Polanyi, 1958); and the relationship of conscious, 'explicit' memory for events to 'implicit' memory, which (in contrast to explicit memory) involves no deliberate conscious attempt at recall (Schacter, 1987). Research showed that implicit and explicit learning, and memory, could be dissociated from each other, suggesting functionally independent learning and memory systems. Reber (1993) further argued that implicit learning and memory processes are earlier evolved in childhood, are drawn on during child first language (L1) acquisition, and that complex information can only be learned implicitly.

In SLA theory, a very similar proposal to that of Reber was developed by Krashen (1982). He argued that there are two separate conscious and unconscious learning systems and associated processes, termed 'acquisition' and 'learning', respectively. Acquisition processes resulted in a 'natural' order of L2 development—so-called because it closely resembled the order in which the first language is acquired by children. Krashen also argued that the acquired system was uninfluenced by, or 'non-interfaced' with, the conscious learning system.

Knowledge that had been consciously learned could only be used to 'edit' production initiated by the acquired system. Successful SLA was therefore largely the result of unconscious acquisition, Krashen claimed, and conscious learning contributed very little to the process.

Three lines of dissent were taken, following Krashen's proposals, which continue to the present day to stimulate research into the roles of: (1) *attention*, (2) *skill acquisition* and (3) *awareness* during instructed SLA. Firstly, Sharwood Smith (1981) argued that 'consciousness raising' activities could be potentially helpful for instructed L2 learners, and he distinguished four types of intervention that could be used to direct learners' *attention* to language form. These ranged from provision of pedagogic rules (highly demanding of focal attention) to 'brief indirect clues' to the L2 structure (much less attention demanding), such as visually enhancing, or otherwise making perceptually salient, a particular structure in the input to language learning activities. Similarly, Long (1991) argued that a 'focus on form', or brief *attention* to language as object during meaningful language exposure, could be beneficial to language learners. These two proposals formed the early rationale for subsequent research into the effects of different pedagogic techniques for directing learner attention to form in communicative and task-based classrooms. Research in this area has flourished in recent years (Doughty and Williams, 1998) as will be described in the following section (see also Ellis, *Implicit and Explicit Knowledge about Language*, Volume 6; Sharwood Smith, *Morphological and Syntactic Awareness in Foreign/Second Language Learning*, Volume 6).

A different response to Krashen's proposal was to argue that SLA was essentially a process of *skill acquisition* (McLaughlin, 1987), and that—following then the current cognitive models of automatization processes—the early phase of instructed language learning involved exclusively effortful, conscious, controlled processing. With practice, explicitly learned knowledge becomes restructured, and access becomes less effortful, and eventually automatic. Versions of this approach are also currently being explored (see DeKeyser, 1997; Segalowitz, 2003). A third response to Krashen was to argue that consciousness was insufficiently defined in Krashen's theory. Schmidt (1990) pointed out that 'unconscious' (the defining feature of Krashen's 'acquisition' process) can be used in three distinct senses; to describe learning without 'intention', learning without metalinguistic 'understanding', and learning without 'awareness'. While L2 learning without intention, and without metalinguistic understanding are clearly possible, Schmidt argued that there can be no learning without attention, accompanied by the subjective experience of 'noticing', or being *aware* of aspects of the 'surface structure' of input. All L2 learning is conscious in this sense. Schmidt assumed that focal attention and the

contents of awareness are essentially isomorphic. Robinson (1996) further argued that focal attention together with rehearsal processes in short term and working memory jointly give rise to awareness. Consequently, differences in attentionally regulated rehearsal processes shape the contents of awareness and the extent of learning and retention it results in. However, Tomlin and Villa (1994) argued that while attention was necessary for L2 learning, awareness was not, and that detection outside of focal attention was the initial, prerequisite level of processing needed for SLA. Much contemporary research continues to examine evidence for and against these three lines of reaction to Krashen's claims.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

SLA researchers in the 1980s and 1990s were dissatisfied not only with the theoretical position taken by Krashen, described earlier, but also with the methodology used in studies reported to support the claims of the acquisition/learning distinction. These were overwhelmingly method comparison studies of the effects of learning (over a semester or longer) in instructed settings which focussed on meaning (leading, Krashen claimed, to superior 'acquisition') such as content-based, or immersion classrooms, versus those which focussed on grammar instruction (and which emphasized explicit 'learning'). However, it is clearly impossible to know with any certainty that learners in focus on meaning classrooms, over the course of a semester, are not also—outside of, or inside classrooms—also focussing their attention on grammar, with a full intention to learn it. Consequently, in attempts to relate the cognitive phenomena of interest (attention and awareness) to specific learning processes and outcomes, researchers adopted a range of methodologies for addressing the issue in the fine-grained detail needed to have certainty about causal relationships. Three such methodologies were: (1) the use of case studies of the role of awareness; (2) experimental laboratory studies of implicit, incidental and explicit learning; and (3) quasi-experimental classroom studies of the effects of focus on form.

In one of the first of these fine-grained detail studies of the effects of attention and awareness on language learning, Schmidt (1990; Schmidt and Frota, 1986) found some evidence for his 'noticing' hypothesis in a case study of his own learning of Portuguese over a 6-month period in Brazil. Schmidt kept a diary of his experiences in using and learning Portuguese, noting a variety of aspects of the language (sounds, phrases, inflections, etc.) as he became aware of them, or 'noticed' them in the input. He also had periodic conversations in Portuguese, with a native speaker, which were recorded and later transcribed. Looking at the diary entries and the transcriptions, Schmidt noted a strong

tendency for those things he had noticed in the input to subsequently appear in his own production. Such learning, then, was not unconscious or implicit, Schmidt claimed, it was conscious though incidental (i.e. unintentional).

Laboratory studies of the role of attention and awareness in learning have the advantage of allowing tighter control over the amount and nature of the input to learning than is possible in case studies of naturalistic learning, taking place over lengthy periods of time. In the 1990s, a number of experimental laboratory studies made use of computerized delivery of different learning conditions to examine the relative effectiveness of implicit versus explicit learning, and the synergistic effects of combining both. DeKeyser (1995) and Robinson (1996) both addressed the issue of what kinds of L2 phenomena can be learned under implicit and explicit conditions. DeKeyser found superior explicit learning of categorical rules, whose condition statements can be stated clearly, but equivalent, and poor, implicit and explicit learning of rules which are gradient, and fuzzy. Related to this, Robinson found learners in an explicit condition that received instruction on rules and applied them to examples in the input outperformed those in conditions that searched for the rules in the input, or processed input for meaning alone, or simply memorized it. This was most clearly so in the case of a rule of English judged to be easy, and largely so also for a rule of English judged to be hard. Ellis (1993) in a study of the acquisition of rules of Welsh found that a condition that combined implicit (memorize examples or instances) and explicit (understand a structured rule presentation) conditions outperformed those in implicit, or explicit only conditions, who had the same amount of exposure.

Understanding the relationship of attention and awareness to basic learning and other psychological and psycholinguistic processes is essential to understanding the cognitive underpinnings of SLA (see the edited collections by Ellis, 1994; Hulstijn and DeKeyser, 1997, 2005). However, experimental laboratory studies are open to the charge of limited ecological validity when comparing the settings in which their findings are arrived at with those of classroom instructional contexts. A third kind of study—classroom studies of the effects of briefly drawing learners' attention to language form during meaningful language exposure—has therefore been conducted to examine the generalizability of findings about basic processes, as revealed in laboratory settings, to classroom instruction. An edited collection by Doughty and Williams (1998) illustrates both the research questions guiding, and the methodologies adopted in pursuing, this research agenda. Three basic issues that have guided much subsequent research are: (i) which kind of focus on form technique shows the most consistently successful results; (ii) which kind of forms are most susceptible to

learning via various focus on form techniques that have been proposed and (iii) should the delivery of the technique be decided and contrived before sessions of instructional exposure to meaningful activities (i.e. planned off-line), or only be improvised as an on-line reaction to learner errors and production problems in situ, as they occur during communication. In line with the laboratory findings briefly described earlier, techniques for focus on form which are more attention demanding, such as processing instruction, which involves brief rule explanations, have been found to be quite consistently successful. Less attention demanding, and less communicatively intrusive techniques, such as delivering a recast of a problematic form in the speech of an L2 learner during conversational interaction, have shown more variable effects on uptake and learning of the corrected form. Recent overviews of the—now extensive—findings for the effects of attention and awareness on learning induced by both the recasting and the processing-instruction techniques for focus on form can be found in Long (2007) and VanPatten (2004), respectively.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

The issues described earlier all concern the role of attention and awareness in processing input, and the extent to which levels of attention and awareness are necessary for retention of input and further learning. Experimental laboratory, and classroom research, continues to address these issues. Recently, however, two additional areas of research have attracted an increasing amount of theoretical discussion, and empirical studies of these issues are increasing. The first of these areas concerns not simply attention to and awareness of *input* occurring during communicative activities, but also attention to and awareness of the form of language production, or *output*. The theoretical question of interest here is the notion of attention as ‘capacity’. Clearly, the human information processing system is limited in its ability to process and respond to information in the environment, but are breakdowns in performance that occur caused by limits on attentional resources? Skehan (1998) argues for this position, claiming capacity limits on a single pool of attentional resources leads to decrements in the fluency, accuracy and complexity of L2 speech when tasks are high in their attentional, memory and other cognitive demands. Consequently, Skehan has shown, when planning time is allowed, which reduces task demands, then there is greater fluency and accuracy of L2 speech than when the learner has no planning time before performing a task in the L2. A contrasting position has been proposed by Robinson (2003) who argues that some dimensions of tasks are separately resourced, and do not draw on a single undifferentiated pool of attention. Increasing complexity along

these dimensions of tasks, such as increasing the amount of reasoning the task requires, can lead to greater accuracy, and also complexity of L2 production compared to performance on simpler task versions, requiring no, or little reasoning. Further, along these resource-directing dimensions, greater complexity of the task leads to greater noticing and uptake of task relevant input. This multiple resources view is motivated in part by arguments from functional linguistics that greater effort at conceptualization leads to greater complexity and grammaticization of speech.

A second area of recent research concerns the contribution of individual differences in cognitive abilities to successful learning from the focus on form techniques described earlier. Do different techniques for focus on form draw on different sets of learner cognitive abilities: for example, delivering a recast of a problematic learner utterance in the hope that the learner will notice and use the recast form in their own production, versus giving a brief metalinguistic explanation of the error, or rule that has been broken? Research has shown that working memory capacity is related to the ability to notice and use the negative feedback provided in recasts (Mackey, Philp, Egi, Fujii and Tatsumi, 2002)—those with higher working memory capacity profit more from this technique, and are also better able to notice and learn aspects of grammar while processing input for meaning (Robinson, 2002, 2005). Findings such as these are prompting new proposals for comprehensive aptitude batteries that sample the abilities drawn on under a range of input processing conditions, and in response to a range of focus on form techniques.

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Two issues which are problematic in the empirical study of the role of attention and awareness in learning are: (1) the problem of task construal and (2) the sensitivity of measures of awareness. Firstly, in studying the role of attention and awareness on learning, research in cognitive psychology, and increasingly SLA, has presented stimuli under different (experimental, or classroom) task conditions. In Reber's (1993) research into implicit versus explicit learning, learners in two training conditions are presented with the same stimuli—for example, strings of letters that follow complex rules for which combinations of letters are permissible. Implicit learners are instructed only to memorize the display whereas explicit learners are instructed to search the stimulus display to identify rules. On post-training transfer tests, learners in the implicit condition are often found to be sensitive to the rules, i.e. they correctly classify as grammatical those letters strings that follow the same rules as the training task stimuli, and correctly reject

as ungrammatical those that do not. However, learners in these conditions are argued to be unaware of these rules, as revealed by their inability to *verbally report* them. They just 'felt' some letter strings were more acceptable, or similar to the training set stimuli, than others. The Ellis (1993), DeKeyser (1995) and Robinson (1996) studies reported earlier adopt very similar procedures, but use either an artificial language (DeKeyser) or a natural language (Ellis and Robinson) as the stimulus to be learned.

The first problem this procedure raises is that of *task construal*: are learners in fact following the instruction to memorize only in the implicit condition, or are they adopting a more analytic approach, and in fact doing what learners in the explicit condition are instructed to do, i.e. search for rules explicitly? That is, are they construing the demands of the task in the way the researcher intends them? There is, of course, no guarantee that they will, and this raises difficulties in interpreting results of learning under one condition versus another as evidence of supposedly causal and categorical differences in the way input is processed. This caveat also applies to inferences about the causal effects of different degrees of attention to and awareness of form in classroom studies. For example, learners presented with one technique for focus on form (such as textual input enhancement, in which various elements, such as regular past-tense inflections in English, have been made perceptually salient via underlining) may be processing it in many different ways. This leads to the second problem for research in this area: the need for *sensitive measures of awareness* to examine what learners are actually doing and aware of during experimental task and classroom exposure. Verbal reports requiring rule explanation, as in Reber's experiments, may not have been sensitive to what implicit learners actually did attend to, and were aware of, such as noticing of co-occurring 'chunks' of letters in the input. If such noticing did guide judgements of grammaticality following exposure, then implicit learning can not be called 'unaware' or nonconscious in Schmidt's (1990) terms, since learners were basing their decision making on what they 'noticed' in the input. Consequently, research in SLA is exploring a range of methods for assessing learner awareness, both during and following treatments, which aim to manipulate it. Gass and Mackey (2000) have examined the effectiveness of a method called 'stimulated recall', in which learners are videotaped during classroom activities which adopt one focus on form technique or another, and then following the treatment learners are shown the video and prompted to recall what they were thinking, and aware of at certain points in the activity. This is an off-line, post-experiential means of assessing awareness, but it has the advantage of greater sensitivity to the causes and contents of awareness than post-treatment verbal responses to decontextualized

questions, such as ‘Were you looking for rules?’, or ‘Can you describe the rules?’, etc. An on-line technique for assessing awareness *while* treatments are being delivered is the use of protocols, in which learners verbalize what they are thinking, attending to and aware of as they perform a task (see Leow and Morgan-Short, 2004). This is a potentially sensitive measure of awareness, but there is the important issue of whether performing the protocol interferes in a substantial way with the nature of the processing the experimental task or classroom activity aims to induce.

### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Future research will likely adopt increasingly sensitive measures of the contents of awareness, and explore new methodologies for operationalizing these. Neurophysiological measures of physical changes in brain states will also be used increasingly to complement the behavioural and introspective methods for studying the relationship of attention and awareness to learning. Finally, content issues that are likely to be addressed with increasing frequency include *what* aspects of a language can be learned with less versus more attention to and awareness of form, not simply with regard to syntax, phonology, lexis and morphology, but also with respect to pragmatics and advanced levels of L2 discourse ability.

**See Also:** Michael Sharwood Smith: *Morphological and Syntactic Awareness in Foreign/Second Language Learning (Volume 6)*; Nick Ellis: *Implicit and Explicit Knowledge about Language (Volume 6)*

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## EXPLICIT KNOWLEDGE AND SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING AND PEDAGOGY

### INTRODUCTION

The role of explicit knowledge in the learning of a second language (L2) is highly controversial (see also Sharwood Smith, *Morphological and Syntactic Awareness in Foreign/Second Language Learning*, Volume 6). Three different positions can be identified:

1. The non-interface position: Krashen (1981) has argued that implicit and explicit knowledge are entirely distinct, involving separate mental processes and storage. He also claims that explicit knowledge does not convert into implicit knowledge.
2. The strong interface position: DeKeyser (1998) claims that L2 knowledge commences in declarative form and is then changed into procedural form through communicative practice. According to this position, then, explicit knowledge can convert into implicit knowledge.
3. The weak-interface position: R. Ellis (1993) proposes that explicit knowledge functions primarily as a facilitator of the processes involved in the acquisition of implicit knowledge.

Not surprisingly, proponents of these positions offer very different pedagogical recommendations. Krashen argues that instruction should be directed primarily at implicit knowledge by ensuring learners have access to 'comprehensible input'. DeKeyser proposes that declarative rules of grammar are taught and then practised under real-operating conditions (i.e. in communicative tasks). R. Ellis suggests that the teaching of explicit and implicit knowledge be kept separate, with explicit knowledge taught through consciousness-raising tasks and implicit knowledge catered for by means of task-based teaching.

In the next section, the two types of knowledge will be defined. The major contributors to work on implicit/explicit knowledge in the field of L2 studies are then identified. Following this are reviews of a number of studies that have investigated L2 learners' implicit and explicit knowledge. Pedagogical directions are then briefly discussed. Finally, problems in investigating and teaching explicit knowledge and future directions are considered.

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS: DEFINING IMPLICIT  
AND EXPLICIT KNOWLEDGE

The terms implicit and explicit knowledge refer respectively to 'knowledge of language' and 'knowledge about language'. It is important to distinguish implicit/explicit learning and implicit/explicit knowledge (Schmidt, 1994); the former refers to a product—the knowledge that exists in the mind of the learner—whereas the latter refers to a process—how L2 knowledge is internalized. The focus of this article is second language (L2) knowledge.

According to Bialystok (1990), implicit L2 knowledge is typically manifest in some form of naturally occurring language behavior (e.g. conversation) and cannot easily be accessed separately from this behavior. It is 'unanalysed'. Similarly, Mathews et al. (1989) argue that implicit knowledge takes the form of compilations of memories of past experiences rather than of an integrated model that reflects analytical cognition (i.e. it is 'memory-based' rather than 'rule-based'). Both Bialystok and Mathews et al. also characterize implicit knowledge as easily accessible. However, Reber (1989) claims that implicit knowledge is, in part, abstract and structured. That is, it can deal with 'different symbol sets' (i.e. different input) to those from which it was derived. According to this view, then, implicit knowledge can be rule-like. Evidence for this comes from studies such as Berko's (1958) which demonstrate language learners' ability to apply 'rules' they have internalized to new language contexts.

Explicit knowledge, broadly defined as 'knowledge about the L2', can be broken down into (i) analysed knowledge and (ii) metalanguage. Analysed knowledge refers to that knowledge about L2 items and structures of which the learner is aware but not necessarily conscious. In the case of L1 acquisition, knowledge starts off as implicit and then becomes increasingly more analysed (see Bialystok, 1994). However, this is less likely to be the case in L2 acquisition, especially in foreign language learners. Metalanguage, 'the language used to analyze or describe a language' (Richards, Platt and Weber, 1985) must be learnt through instruction or observation. Analysed knowledge can exist quite independently of whether the learner has acquired the technical language with which to articulate it, although, fairly obviously, it is likely to be more precise, clearer and better-structured if the learner has access to metalingual terms to talk about it. Explicit knowledge often constitutes an inaccurate or incomplete representation of implicit knowledge. Because explicit knowledge is amenable to study through conscious, intentional reflection, it can easily be re-analysed. Learners are constantly refining their analysed knowledge. Metalanguage can consist of technical terminology (e.g. 'the most typical semantic role of a

subject is agentive'—Quirk and Greenbaum, 1973) or semi-technical terminology (e.g. the subject typically tells us who does an action). Research has shown that L2 learners vary enormously in the amount of metalanguage they learn (Green and Hecht, 1992). Ellis (2004, pp. 244–245) offers the following definition of explicit knowledge:

Explicit L2 knowledge is the declarative and often anomalous knowledge of the phonological, lexical, grammatical, pragmatic and sociocritical features of the L2 together with the metalanguage for labelling this knowledge. It is held consciously and is learnable and verbalizable. It is typically processed through controlled processing when L2 learners experience some kind of linguistic difficulty in the use of the L2. Learners vary in the breadth and depth of their L2 explicit knowledge.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Major contributions to the study of L2 explicit knowledge have been made by Bialystok, R. Ellis, DeKeyser and N. Ellis.

Bialystok's view of explicit knowledge and its role in language learning has shifted somewhat over time. In her *Model of Second Language Learning* (Bialystok, 1978) she allowed for a two-way interface between explicit and implicit knowledge. Formal practicing was the means by which explicit knowledge became implicit while inferencing allowed explicit knowledge to be derived from implicit. In her later work, (Bialystok, 1990 and 1991), she reconceptualized L2 knowledge in terms of two intersecting continua reflecting the extent to which rules and items are 'controlled' and 'analysed'. In addition, her definition of control has changed. Initially (see Bialystok, 1982) it concerned the ease and rapidity with which knowledge can be accessed, while in later formulations (e.g. Bialystok and Ryan, 1985) it refers to three different functions: the selection of items of knowledge, their co-ordination and the extent to which these can be carried out automatically. Analysis refers to the extent to which a learner has abstracted an account of some linguistic phenomena (e.g. by analysing the components of a formulaic chunk). It is this dimension of the later theory that addresses explicit/implicit knowledge. However, this later view sees analysed (explicit knowledge) deriving from unanalysed (implicit knowledge), as described by Karmiloff-Smith's (1979) account of L1 acquisition. As such, it has limited applicability to L2 acquisition, where for many learners acquisition begins with explicit knowledge.

In an attempt to relate the work on implicit and explicit knowledge to language pedagogy, R. Ellis (1993, 1994) developed a weak-interface model of L2 acquisition. This position is grounded in research which

indicates that learners do not bypass developmental sequences, which are assumed to involve implicit knowledge, even when they are able to practice using their explicit knowledge of target structures (Pienemann, 1984). The model allows for explicit knowledge to convert into implicit knowledge under certain stringent conditions (e.g., when a learner is developmentally ready to acquire implicit knowledge of a specific feature) and also for implicit L2 knowledge to convert into explicit L2 knowledge (cf. Bialystok's 1978 Model of L2 Learning). The process by which this occurs is self-reflection. Like linguists, L2 learners reflect on their implicit knowledge, thereby 'analysing' it. The main thrust of Ellis' model, however, rests in the claim that explicit L2 knowledge functions as a facilitator of implicit L2 knowledge. This occurs in three possible ways. First, it helps learners to notice linguistic properties of the input that otherwise might not be noticed. That is, it can assist in the process of input-enhancement (Sharwood-Smith, 1993). Second, intake is also enhanced when learners are able to compare what they have noticed in the input with what they currently produce (or might produce) in their own output. This kind of cognitive comparison is hypothesized to help learners identify what it is that they still need to learn. It can serve two functions; it can help learners notice the gap (Schmidt and Frota, 1986) between the input and their own output and it can provide them with evidence that an existing hypothesis regarding a target language structure is the correct one. Third, as Krashen (1982) has argued, explicit knowledge can be used to monitor output from implicit knowledge, either before the output is uttered or after. Monitoring can also assist acquisition. For example, it can help the conversion of implicit knowledge into explicit knowledge. Monitored output also constitutes 'auto-input' which can be used for acquisition.

DeKeyser (1998, 2003) promotes a strong interface position. Drawing on Anderson's (1993, 1995) skill acquisition theory, DeKeyser argues that, for adults at least, learning typically commences with declarative knowledge which is subsequently proceduralized through practice. He defines declarative knowledge as 'factual knowledge' and procedural knowledge as behaviour involving 'condition-action pairs that state what is to be done under certain conditions' (1998, p. 48). Declarative knowledge serves as a 'crutch' that enables learners to engage in target behaviour. Repeated behaviours allow the declarative knowledge to be slowly restructured as procedural knowledge. A key point in DeKeyser's position is that learners need to engage in communicative language use for this transformation to take place—mechanical drills of the kind found in audiolingual language teaching suffice only to sharpen learners' declarative knowledge. Is the declarative/procedural distinction that DeKeyser draws on a mirror of the implicit/explicit distinction? Declarative knowledge is clearly the same

as explicit knowledge. However, it is less clear that proceduralized declarative knowledge is the same as implicit knowledge. DeKeyser (2003) argues that it is 'functionally equivalent' whereas Hulstijn (2002) considers it is distinct on the grounds that rapid access to explicit rules cannot involve the same processes as those involved in utilizing a highly connected network of implicit knowledge.

N. Ellis (2002, 2005, see also Ellis, *Implicit and Explicit Knowledge about Language*, Volume 6) draws on a connectionist view of language learning and language representation. Explicit knowledge involves conscious learning requiring focussed attention on the part of the learner. Implicit knowledge is acquired through the largely unconscious process of identifying sequences of form in the input and subsequently abstracting regular patterns from these. He sees a clear distinction between explicit and implicit knowledge, viewing the former as facilitating the process of acquiring the latter. He outlines a learning sequence that incorporates the two types of knowledge as follows:

Externally scaffolded attention → internally motivated attention → explicit learning → explicit memory → implicit learning → while explicit learning knowledge can help to accelerate the process of implicit learning it is distinct from it and not essential. In this respect, N. Ellis' position differs from DeKeyser's and resembles R. Ellis' weak-interface position.

A number of studies have investigated L2 knowledge. The main findings are as follows:

1. Explicit knowledge has been typically operationalized as learners' oral or written explanations of grammatical rules while implicit knowledge has been operationalized as the use of grammatical features in some kind of performance involving either judging the grammaticality of sentences or actual language use.
2. Learners' metalinguistic knowledge is often fuzzy and anomalous. 'The ability to make rules explicit is a relatively late achievement' (Sorace, 1985, p. 245). The quality, depth and consistency of learners' explicit knowledge varies considerably (Clapham, 2001).
3. However, contrary to Krashen's (1982) claim that learners are only capable of learning relatively simple rules as explicit knowledge, at least some adult learners seem able to learn quite complex rules (Butler, 2002).
4. Learners are better at learning and making use of explicit rules for prototypical uses of grammatical features than rules for peripheral uses (Hu, 2002).
5. Judging the grammaticality of correct sentences draws on implicit knowledge. Explicit knowledge is utilized when learners analyse incorrect sentences (Bialystok, 1979; R. Ellis, 2005).

6. In the case of advanced L2 learners, implicit knowledge exceeds explicit knowledge. That is, learners are able to correct more errors than they can explain (Seliger, 1979; Green and Hecht, 1992).
7. Explicit knowledge is available for use in spontaneous production but there are constraints on its availability (e.g. whether there is time available for linguistic processing and attention to form) (Hu, 2002).
8. Learners' explicit knowledge has been found to be related to performance on proficiency tests that encourage the use of explicit knowledge (Han and Ellis, 1998).

No study to date has investigated the different interface positions. This is because of the difficulty of obtaining separate measures of implicit and explicit knowledge (see later).

Fotos (1993) provided evidence to suggest that learners who had been equipped with explicit L2 knowledge of a specific grammatical feature noticed it in subsequent input to a greater extent than those who had not. This finding lends support to the weak-interface hypothesis. However, Fotos' study did not examine whether noticing contributed to subsequent implicit knowledge.

#### DIRECTIONS FOR LANGUAGE PEDAGOGY

Some of the key questions for language pedagogy are:

1. Are there any grounds for teaching learners explicit knowledge of L2 items and structures?
2. Assuming explicit knowledge is useful, is it necessary to teach metalingual knowledge or is it sufficient to raise learners' awareness of linguistic properties?
3. How should explicit knowledge be taught?
4. What can teachers do to help learners make effective use of their explicit knowledge in processing L2 input and output?

While doubts exist regarding the efficacy of teaching implicit knowledge, based on the difficulty of ensuring that learners are developmentally ready to acquire the target structure (Lightbown, 1985), the teaching of explicit knowledge would seem to be less problematic. This type of knowledge is 'teachable', as it is not subject to the developmental constraints that govern implicit L2 knowledge, although it may well prove subject to constraints of a non-developmental kind (e.g. the complexity of information required to formulate an explicit rule). Norris and Ortega (2000), in a meta-analysis of 39 form-focussed instruction studies, reported a clear effect as measured by the kinds of tests likely to elicit explicit knowledge. In contrast, the effect was much weaker on the kinds of tests likely to tap implicit knowledge.

Research by Alderson, Clapham and Steel (1995) and Elder, Warren, Hajek, Manwaring and Davies (1999) indicates that metalingual knowledge is not related to general language proficiency. It may be, therefore, that it is more important to teach explicit knowledge as awareness and to limit the teaching of metalanguage to semi-technical terms.

One obvious way of teaching explicit knowledge is by direct explanation—of the kind used in the grammar-translation method, for example. Fotos and Ellis (1991) found that in the case of Japanese college students, who had considerable experience of this kind of formal instruction, direct explanation was very effective. There are, however, sound educational reasons for not pursuing such an approach. It is based on a transmission-model of education and, as such, does not actively engage the learners in taking responsibility for their own learning. An alternative to direct explanation is to devise a consciousness-raising (CR) task to help learners develop explicit L2 knowledge for themselves. Fotos and Ellis found that this, too, was quite successful, even though their learners had little prior experience of it. One major advantage of this discovery approach is that it provides opportunities for learners to interact in the target language while learning about it. Grammar becomes both the object of learning and a topic for talking about.

Two broad types of CR task can be identified—inductive and deductive. This distinction is common in language pedagogy, where it is traditionally used to distinguish the pattern-practice associated with audiolingualism from the rule-giving approach associated with the grammar-translation or cognitive-code methods. In terms of CR tasks, it has a rather different denotation. In an inductive CR task, learners are supplied with L2 data and are required to induce an explicit representation of a target language structure. In a deductive CR task, learners are supplied with a description of a target language structure and are required to utilize this description by applying it to L2 data. Irrespective of whether a CR task is inductive or deductive, it will consist of (i) data of some kind and (ii) some required operation to be performed on the data. Ellis (1991) lists the different types of data (e.g. authentic vs. contrived) and the various operations (e.g. sorting and rule provision) that can be performed on them.

Interpretation tasks (R. Ellis, 1995) serve to draw learners' attention to linguistic features in the input. A text is 'seeded' with the target structure. Learners listen to a text and indicate their comprehension of the key sentences containing the structure by means of a non-verbal or minimally verbal response. One way of inducing attention to the target structure is by first ensuring that learners' have explicit knowledge of it. Dictogloss (Wajnryb, 1990) serves as a tool for encouraging learners to make use of their explicit knowledge in processing output. This consists of a short text which has been seeded with the target

structure. Students listen to the text and take notes. They then work in groups to reconstruct the text. The collaborative group work results in 'language related episodes' (Kowal and Swain, 1994) where the learners jointly attempt to produce the target structure.

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

There are problems and difficulties in both researching and teaching L2 explicit knowledge.

As Bialystok (1979) pointed out many years ago:

The problem for the researcher is to identify those language tasks which could be accommodated by an intuitive or an implicit knowledge of the language and those which require the intervention of a set of formalized articulated rules.

This constitutes the measurement problem—how to devise reliable and valid measures of implicit and explicit knowledge, bearing in mind that it will be impossible to develop 'pure' measures of the two types of knowledge. Until this problem is solved it will be impossible to investigate the different interface positions or indeed to be sure about the nature of the effects of any kind of form-focussed instruction. R. Ellis (2005) reports a study showing that an oral elicited imitation task served as a good measure of implicit knowledge while learners responses to the ungrammatical sentences in a grammaticality judgment test provided a measure of explicit (analysed) knowledge (as in Bialystok's own 1979 study).

An approach to grammar teaching based on helping learners develop explicit knowledge may not be appropriate for all learners. It may not be a priority for beginner learners, who need to develop some basic implicit knowledge (e.g. formulaic chunks) first. Younger L2 learners may find the conscious study of language unattractive, although it may be possible to devise tasks in the format of games that are more appealing. Learners of the 'data-gathering' kind (Hatch, 1974) may also resist tasks that are essentially 'rule-forming' in nature. Also, as a study by Reber, Walkenfield and Hernstadt (1991) indicates, learners may differ in their ability to engage in explicit learning tasks according to their general intelligence. In contrast, Reber, Walkenfield and Hernstadt suggest that implicit learning 'operates largely independently of intelligence' (p. 894). It may be, therefore, that teaching explicit knowledge is not for every learner.

### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Future research is likely to continue to probe to what extent and in what ways explicit knowledge is involved in the performance of different

kinds of tasks. One important line of enquiry will be to investigate what factors make specific linguistic features easy or difficult to learn as explicit knowledge. We currently know very little about how learning difficulty is to be defined where explicit knowledge is concerned. Another obviously important line of enquiry is to investigate whether teaching learners explicit knowledge aids the development of implicit knowledge. In particular, as researchers develop better ways of measuring the two types of knowledge, it ought to be possible to test the competing interface claims. Such research will be of importance for both theory development in second language research and language pedagogy.

**See Also:** *Michael Sharwood Smith: Morphological and Syntactic Awareness in Foreign/Second Language Learning (Volume 6); Nick Ellis: Implicit and Explicit Knowledge about Language (Volume 6)*

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PHONETIC AWARENESS, PHONETIC SENSITIVITY  
AND THE SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNER

INTRODUCTION

A very large number of studies have shown that our speech perception abilities are shaped by the particular linguistic environment or input we are exposed to. According to many authors, learning to read and write, that is, exposure to written input, for example, helps us to become more attentive to individual sound segments. In the literature, the ability to focus attention on sound segments is often discussed by using terms like phonetic or phonological awareness. These two terms, whose scope is discussed in the first part of this chapter, appear to be used to refer to rather attentive or conscious processing of speech. As the second part of this chapter shows, it seems reasonable to distinguish terms like phonetic or phonological *awareness* from phonetic or phonological *sensitivity*. This is because the results of speech perception research indicate that long before children learn to read and write and begin to show a greater awareness of speech as a sequence of sound segments, they develop a high degree of sensitivity to those speech contrasts that are used for distinctive purposes in their first or native language (L1). At the same time, their ability to perceive non-native or second language (L2) speech contrasts is attenuated. The third part of this chapter exclusively focuses on second language learners and variables that have been found to have a strong influence on their *production* of L2 sounds. The chapter is concluded by relating the findings of L1 and L2 research to the foreign language classroom.

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS: PHONETIC AWARENESS

The literature on language awareness does not clearly distinguish between *phonetic* awareness and *phonological* awareness. Often the two terms appear to be used almost synonymously. On the basis of a literature review, García Lecumberri (2001, p. 238), for example, concludes that “(Meta-)phonetic awareness can be described as the ability to reflect on and manipulate the sounds and sound system of a language independently of function and meaning [. . .].” Nicholson (1997, p. 53) provides a similar definition of phonological awareness, which he describes as a metalinguistic skill involving “the ability to reflect on

and manipulate the sound components of spoken words". As pointed out by García Lecumberri (2001), it would of course be possible to more clearly differentiate phonological from phonetic awareness. She suggests that the term phonological awareness could be used to refer to awareness of the contrastive units of a sound system including consonants and vowels as well as suprasegmentals such as syllables, stress and intonation. The term phonetic awareness, on the other hand, could be used to refer to awareness of more specific properties of sounds including awareness of their articulatory, acoustic and perceptual characteristics as well as awareness of the different realizations of phonological units in speech. However, most authors appear not to draw such a distinction between the two terms, and the term phonetic awareness is, in fact, often used in a broader sense to refer to awareness of both phonological and phonetic characteristics of sounds and sound systems. A third term occurring in the literature is *phonemic* awareness. Although this term is not used in a consistent way either, it appears to be preferred by some authors when the emphasis clearly is on awareness of individual sounds or phonemes (e.g. Goldsworthy, 1998; Nicholson, 1997).

The phenomenon of phonetic awareness has most often been examined in studies exploring the relationship between the ability to divide words up into individual sound segments and the acquisition of alphabetic orthography. In these studies, the first of which were conducted in the 1960s, literate, illiterate and preliterate individuals have usually been asked to analyze the phonological structure of words by, for example, deleting initial sound segments or adding sound segments to the beginnings of words by substituting sound segments or by simply counting the number of individual sounds occurring in a word (e.g. Bruce, 1964; Elkonin, 1971; Liberman, Shankweiler, Fischer and Carter, 1974; Morais, Cluytens and Alegria, 1984; Tyler and Burnham, 2000). A finding obtained in most of these studies is that it is relatively easy for literate individuals to deal with tasks involving the addition, deletion or substitution of individual sound segments. Illiterate or preliterate individuals, on the other hand, have proved much weaker at these tasks and appear to manipulate syllables easier than individual sounds. Results like these have usually been interpreted as support for the hypothesis that there is a close relationship between learning to read and write in the alphabetic system and awareness of speech as a chain of individual sound segments. However, as pointed out by several authors, the ability to reflect on and manipulate individual sound segments should not simply be viewed as a product of literacy. There rather appears to be a reciprocal relationship. Some degree of phonetic awareness seems to be necessary to be able to learn to read and write, and at the same time reading and writing appears

to help individuals to become more attentive to individual sound segments (e.g. Stanovich, 1986).

Studies exploring the relationship between exposure to written alphabetic input and the ability to manipulate individual sound segments have mainly examined how literate, preliterate and illiterate individuals perform in tasks requiring rather conscious processing of speech. However, it has to be noted that even preliterate children who prove weak at tasks involving an analysis of speech into sound segments usually show no greater difficulties in discriminating the sounds of the language(s) they are regularly exposed to. This means that the development of sensitivity to sound contrasts is not dependent on the ability to consciously analyse speech into individual sounds. The next part of this chapter describes how people develop sensitivity to particular phonetic and phonological characteristics of the speech stream depending on the linguistic environment they happen to be exposed to.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS: THE DEVELOPMENT OF SPEECH PERCEPTION ABILITIES

In a very large number of studies carried out since the early 1970s young infants have been found to perceive just about any speech contrast occurring in the world's languages and even those speech contrasts that are not present in their native language environment (for reviews, see Burnham, Tyler and Horlyck, 2002; Wode, 1994). It has, for example, been shown that under experimental conditions, one-to-six-month-old infants discriminate voiced from voiceless initial stops in syllables such as /ba/ versus /pa/ (Eimas, Siqueland, Jusczyk and Vigorito, 1971), various Zulu click contrasts (Best, McRoberts and Sithole, 1988) and vowel contrasts such as /ɤ/ versus /ʊ/ and /y/ versus /u/ (Polka and Werker, 1994). As pointed out by Wode (1994), the finding that during the first months after birth children are able to perceive just about any speech contrast occurring in the world's languages makes a lot of sense from the point of view of learnability. Any child can learn any language, and therefore children have to be born with the ability to perceive any of the sound contrasts used in the world's languages.

Numerous studies, in particular by Werker and colleagues, have shown that the infant's original ability to perceive just about any speech contrast is subsequently modified in the direction of the sound contrasts of the input language, i.e. an individual's L1. At the same time, the ability to perceive speech contrasts which do not occur in the input language is usually attenuated. According to the results of some studies (e.g. Polka and Werker, 1994), perceptual attenuation for non-native vowels appears to begin between 4 and 6 months after birth. A decline in the ability to perceive non-native consonant contrasts has been

observed with infants between 7 and 11 months. It has, for example, been shown that until the age of about 7 months, infants growing up in an English-speaking environment are able to perceive the contrast between retroflex /ʈ/ and dental /ʈʰ/, which is used for phonological purposes in Hindi, but not in English (Werker, Gilbert, Humphrey and Tees, 1981). By about 11 months, on the other hand, infants from English-speaking backgrounds show great difficulties in perceiving the Hindi contrast between /ʈ/ and /ʈʰ/. During this period, which is characterized by a noticeable change in infants' perceptual behaviour and which seems to end around 12 months after birth, children apparently become particularly sensitive to speech contrasts that are phonologically relevant in their native language. At the same time, their ability to perceive speech contrasts that are phonologically irrelevant in their native language is dampened so that older children and adults fail to discriminate non-native speech contrasts which infants regularly perceive.

These findings concerning the development of speech perception abilities appear not to be encouraging for foreign language teachers, because they seem to suggest that the difficulties adolescent and adult second language learners show when *pronouncing* non-native speech sounds could be due, at least in part, to irreversible changes in speech perception abilities involving the loss of sensitivity to non-native speech contrasts. It is important to note, however, that in adulthood the early ability to also perceive non-native speech contrasts is only obscured but not obliterated (Burnham, Tyler and Horlyck, 2002). This is supported by different types of empirical evidence. For example, second language research has shown that Japanese adults, who usually prove weak at distinguishing the English /r/ versus /l/ contrast, can improve their perception and production of this contrast with experience and training (e.g. Flege, Takagi and Mann, 1995; Iverson, Hazan and Bannister, 2005). Moreover, some studies examining the production of L2 stop consonants such as /p, t, k/ or /b, d, g/ have provided evidence that as a result of extensive and prolonged exposure to a second language, L2 learners can learn to approximate voice onset time (VOT) norms for L2 stop consonants although they may not achieve the norms that are typically produced by native speakers of the L2 (e.g. MacKay, Flege, Piske and Schirru, 2001). Such findings clearly show that it is not impossible for adolescent and adult learners to improve their sensitivity to the particular phonetic characteristics of non-native speech sounds and that the early ability to also perceive speech contrasts which do not occur in an individual's L1 can in principle always be reactivated.

Finally, in this context, it has to be noted that the way a second language is processed by learners may also be influenced by their L1

writing systems. As has already been discussed in the previous part of this chapter, exposure to written alphabetic input appears to contribute to phonetic or phonological awareness, i.e. awareness that the speech stream can be divided up into individual sound segments. Several studies have shown that second language learners who have acquired increased awareness of certain linguistic units such as phonemes or words through exposure to their L1 writing system can apply this awareness to other languages (e.g. Bassetti, 2005; Loizou and Stuart, 2003). For example, the results obtained in a study examining English learners of Chinese as well as Chinese natives, led Bassetti (2005) to conclude that due to their experience with the word-spaced writing system of English, English learners of Chinese have different concepts of the Chinese word than Chinese natives who have learnt a writing system that represents morphemes rather than words as discrete units. Moreover, it has often been observed that an individual's pronunciation of L2 consonants and vowels may be influenced by the grapheme-sound relationship that exists in his/her L1. The results of several studies (e.g. Piske, Flege, MacKay and Meador, 2002) suggest that even learners who are highly experienced in their L2 may produce certain types of pronunciation errors because they pronounce graphemes occurring in L2 words as they are pronounced in their L1.

On the whole, then, the findings reported here indicate that sensitivity to and awareness of both native and non-native speech sounds develop on the basis of the linguistic environment or input an individual is exposed to. The results of studies examining the development of speech perception abilities during the first years of life as well as the results of several studies examining bilinguals' perception and production of L2 sounds suggest that the development of sensitivity to native or non-native speech contrasts is not dependent on any more conscious processing of speech. At the same time, the results of studies examining the effects of training on the perception and production of L2 sounds as well as the results of studies examining the relationship between learning to read and write and the ability to manipulate sound segments indicate that the development of sensitivity to and awareness of native and non-native speech contrasts may well be enhanced by tasks requiring rather conscious processing of speech.

Teachers, especially language teachers, should be aware of the important role different types of input play in a student's acquisition of a native or a non-native sound system. The importance of input for second language learners' success in pronouncing an L2 well has been confirmed by a number of studies examining subject variables that have been claimed to affect the accuracy with which second language learners speak an L2. These variables and their relevance for L2 pronunciation is discussed in the third part of this chapter.

PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES: FACTORS  
CLAIMED TO AFFECT L2 PRONUNCIATION  
ACCURACY

In the L2 literature, several subject variables have been claimed to affect second language learners' pronunciation of an L2. As pointed out by Piske, MacKay and Flege (2001), researchers have drawn different conclusions about the role each of these variables plays in L2 speech production. This, however, is probably not surprising because the studies so far conducted differ greatly in terms of design and methodology. The variables that have received the most attention in the L2 literature are age of first intensive exposure to a second language (hereafter referred to as age of L2 learning or AOL), language use, length of residence in a predominantly L2-speaking environment (LOR), quantity and quality of L2 input, training in the perception and production of segmental and suprasegmental aspects of L2 speech, gender, language learning aptitude and L1 background. In the following paragraphs previous findings regarding the relative contribution of each of these variables to L2 pronunciation accuracy is briefly discussed (for more comprehensive reviews, see Moyer, 2004; Piske, MacKay and Flege, 2001).

On the basis of a literature review, Long (1990) inferred that a second language is usually spoken accent-free if it is learned by the age of six years. Individuals who begin learning an L2 after the age of 12 years, on the other hand, would most probably speak it with a detectable foreign accent. The results of almost all studies examining the importance of AOL for ultimate attainment in L2 acquisition do, in fact, support the view that the earlier in life a second language is learnt, the more native-like its production and perception will be (e.g. Asher and García, 1969; Piske, MacKay and Flege, 2001). However, some studies have also shown that an L2 will not automatically be spoken without a foreign accent if it is learnt before the age of 6 years. Flege, Frieda and Nozawa (1997), for example, identified a group of bilinguals who spoke their L2 English with a slight foreign accent even though they had begun learning English at an average age of 3.2 years and had already been living in an English-speaking environment for at least 18 years when they were tested. Other studies have shown that individuals who begin learning an L2 after the age of 12 years may still learn to speak it without a foreign accent. Highly successful late learners have, for example, been identified by Bongaerts, van Summeren, Planken and Schils (1997) and Moyer (2004). Findings like the ones reported here indicate that ultimate attainment in L2 pronunciation is also dependent on variables other than AOL. According to the results

of more recent research, these variables include language use and quantity and quality of L2 input.

Language use was, for example, identified as an important determinant of L2 pronunciation accuracy by Flege, Frieda and Nozawa (1997) and Piske, MacKay and Flege (2001). Piske, MacKay and Flege (2001) found that both child L2 learners and adult L2 learners who were living in an L2-speaking environment, but continued to use their L1 frequently spoke their L2 with significantly stronger foreign accents than child and adult learners who only seldom used their L1. The findings of some studies indicate that such language use effects on L2 pronunciation accuracy could, among other things, be due to differences in the L2 input received by individuals who continue to use their L1 frequently and people who only seldom use their L1. The results of a study by Flege and Liu (2001) examining native Chinese learners of English who differed in terms of LOR in the US and in terms of their occupation (students versus nonstudents), for example, suggest that even adults' performance in an L2 will improve measurably over time if they receive a substantial amount of native speaker input. Individuals, on the other hand, who—due to their occupation and their social environment—spend a long time in an L2-speaking environment without receiving a large amount of L2 input from native speakers are much less likely to show progress in learning an L2.

Another factor that has been found to have a positive influence on the pronunciation of an L2 is training in the perception and production of L2 sounds. As mentioned earlier, some studies have shown that training may help Japanese adults to improve their production of the English /l/ versus /r/ contrast (e.g. Flege, Takagi and Mann, 1995). Similarly, Missaglia (1999) reported that prosody-centred phonetic training had an ameliorative effect on both prosodic and segmental aspects of native Italian learners' pronunciation of German, and results obtained by Bongaerts, van Summeren, Planken and Schils (1997) suggested a positive influence of training on native Dutch learners' pronunciation of English.

It seems reasonable to assume that the accuracy with which non-native speakers pronounce an L2 is, at least to some extent, also dependent on their L1. Surprisingly, only relatively few studies have examined to what extent L2 learners' performance in L2 pronunciation tasks is dependent on their particular L1 backgrounds. Those studies that have examined this issue have identified L1 background as an important determinant of L2 pronunciation accuracy (e.g. McAllister, Flege and Piske, 2002; Purcell and Suter, 1980). In a study comparing native Arabic and native Persian learners of English, Purcell and Suter

(1980), in fact, identified L1 background as the most important determinant of degree of L2 foreign accent.

On the whole, then, previous research has provided convincing evidence that the accuracy with which a second language is pronounced is influenced by AOL, quantity and quality of L2 input, training in the perception and production of L2 sounds and L1 background. As far as the importance of other variables for L2 pronunciation accuracy is concerned, the results obtained so far do not allow one to draw any stronger conclusions. For example, whereas some studies (e.g. Asher and García, 1969) have reported an influence of gender on degree of L2 foreign accent, most studies have not identified gender as an important determinant of L2 pronunciation accuracy (e.g. Piske, MacKay and Flege, 2001; Purcell and Suter, 1980). Moreover, some people appear to have a special talent or aptitude for pronouncing non-native sounds and sound sequences, but no study has, as yet, been able to show how this aptitude develops. Finally, motivation has often been found to play an important role in L2 learning. However, as far as the pronunciation of a second language is concerned, the empirical evidence collected so far suggests that factors like professional motivation, integrative motivation or strength of concern for L2 pronunciation are rarely so strong that late learners will still be able to attain a native-like pronunciation of the L2 (see the review by Piske, MacKay and Flege, 2001).

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE CLASSROOM

In most foreign language classrooms, language learning proceeds under conditions that are likely to make it particularly difficult for learners to develop an accurate L2 pronunciation. From the start foreign language students will hear their classmates' and, in many cases, probably also their teachers' incorrect pronunciations and they will therefore probably develop L2 norms that are rather different from the norms of native speakers (Winitz and Yanes, 2002). As has been described earlier, even if students begin learning the foreign language in primary school, their perceptual abilities have already been modified in the direction of the sound contrasts used for distinctive purposes in their native language. Their ability to perceive non-native speech contrasts, on the other hand, is attenuated and has to be reactivated through exposure and training. If foreign language students have already learnt to read and write in their L1, they may be expected to pronounce graphemes occurring in L2 words as they are pronounced in their L1. Moreover, in many foreign language classrooms training in the

perception and production of segmental and suprasegmental aspects of L2 speech appears to play a minor role compared to instruction concerning grammatical, lexical and communicative aspects of an L2 (García Lecumberri, 2001; Piske, MacKay and Flege, 2001). If phonetic symbols are used to raise students' awareness of similarities and differences between their L1 and L2 sounds systems, this may in several cases also be rather misleading. A study by Steinlen (2005), for example, showed that L1 and L2 vowels are sometimes transcribed with the same phonetic symbol in dictionaries and textbooks although these vowels have different acoustic qualities, and L1 and L2 vowels that have the same acoustic quality are sometimes transcribed with different symbols. This means that students may not pronounce L2 sounds in a target-like way, because the similarities and differences between L1 and L2 sounds are insufficiently represented by the phonetic symbols used in dictionaries and textbooks. Finally, it appears that in many foreign language classrooms students still only rarely have an opportunity to practice pronouncing the foreign language, because teachers hardly encourage them to actually speak it.

It is important to note, however, that based on the findings reported in the previous parts of this chapter, it is possible to draw several conclusions regarding learning conditions that should help students in a foreign language classroom develop an accurate L2 pronunciation. In general, it appears to be reasonable to introduce foreign languages as early as possible, but teachers should be aware of the fact that a student's success in learning to pronounce an L2 well is not only dependent on an early starting age. Students will not be able to develop an accurate L2 pronunciation unless they receive a substantial amount of native-speaker input. In the foreign language classroom, the teacher is the students' major source of L2 input. This means that non-native teachers themselves are required to learn to pronounce the L2 in a native-like or at least almost native-like manner. As emphasized by García Lecumberri (2001), it is important for teachers to become aware of their own L2 pronunciation and to analyze their own problems in producing and perceiving specific phonetic and phonological characteristics of the L2. This self-awareness will help them to better understand the difficulties their students might have in L2 production and perception (see Andrews, *Teacher Language Awareness*, Volume 6). In order to maximize their students' native L2 input, teachers can of course also use audio and video recordings as well as computer-mediated language programs (Winitz and Yanes, 2002). Results obtained by Piske, MacKay and Flege (2001) suggest that exposure to native-like input appears to be particularly important in the early phases of L2 learning. This means that especially those teachers who teach beginners should

try to make sure that their students are provided with a substantial amount of native-like L2 input.

In order to avoid pronunciations influenced by the writing code of a student's L1, it seems reasonable to first introduce new words, phrases, etc. auditorily and to encourage students to practice the pronunciation of these items before they are introduced in their written form. Moreover, students may not always learn to pronounce the sounds of an L2 by simply imitating a native-like model. Teachers should therefore also have a profound knowledge of articulatory phonetics so that they will be able to make their students aware of the articulatory mechanisms underlying the production of those L2 sounds non-native learners find particularly difficult to pronounce (García Lecumberri, 2001).

As mentioned earlier, extensive and prolonged exposure to an L2 has been found to have a positive effect on learners' perception and production of non-native speech sounds. In addition, it has been found that the successful acquisition of a non-native sound system is also dependent on how much the L2 is actually used. Unfortunately, however, students often only spend two to three lessons per week in a foreign language classroom so that they are exposed to the foreign language for only a very limited amount of time and only rarely have an opportunity to speak it. It is in such situations that teachers will particularly have to rely on training in the perception and production of both segmental and suprasegmental aspects of the L2 to help their students learn to pronounce it well. Suggestions as to how foreign language students can be trained to improve their perception and production of L2 sounds and sound sequences are discussed in a very large number of books, scientific journals and didactic journals. However, it has to be noted that not all training techniques are equally useful (e.g. Iverson, Hazan and Bannister, 2005; Missaglia, 1999; Steinlen, 2005) and that training always has to be age appropriate and adjusted to the level of L2 competence learners have already achieved. Moreover, it appears that in most foreign language classrooms, all the students usually receive the same training in the perception and production of L2 sounds irrespective of their L1 backgrounds. The finding reported earlier that ultimate attainment in L2 pronunciation is also dependent on a learner's L1 background suggests that such an approach is highly problematic and that students from different L1 backgrounds should rather receive different types of training, which are specifically based on the differences and similarities between their particular L1 and the L2. This also means that teachers should not only have a profound knowledge of the L2 sound system. If they want to be able to understand their students' difficulties in learning to pronounce a foreign language, they also have to acquaint themselves with the students' native phonetic systems.

**See Also:** Robert C. Gardner: *Individual Differences in Second and Foreign Language Learning (Volume 4)*; Stephen J. Andrews: *Teacher Language Awareness (Volume 6)*

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## LEXICAL AWARENESS IN SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING

### INTRODUCTION

Developing lexical awareness involves developing an interest and focus on consciously considering aspects of language, language learning, and language use. Lexical awareness can have a range of goals including helping learners gain a positive attitude toward vocabulary learning, improving their learning skills, developing an enduring interest in the analysis of the vocabulary of different languages and of vocabulary use, and increasing their understanding of the ways in which vocabulary is used for a whole variety of purposes. There has been very little written about lexical awareness in second or foreign language learning within the tradition of language awareness, although there has been a long history of giving deliberate attention to vocabulary learning and explicit analysis of semantic relationships and etymology. The major focus of this chapter is to look at the teaching of lexical awareness.

### EARLY CONTRIBUTIONS

The whole language approach to learning, at first sight, would not seem to encourage the idea of lexical awareness because it might be seen as looking at bits instead of the whole:

“language is a whole . . . any attempt to fragment it into parts—whether these be grammatical patterns, vocabulary lists, or phonics “families” destroys it. If language isn’t kept whole, it isn’t language any more.” (Rigg, 1991, p. 522).

However, it is clear from pioneers like Ashton-Warner (1963) that there is a role for looking at the parts, if these parts arise from a whole language focus. Young Maori learners in Ashton-Warner’s class worked on their word cards, reading the words and tracing the letters, which contained keywords that carried immense power and significance for them.

There has been a long history of giving deliberate attention to vocabulary and encouraging the growth of strategies such as word part analysis and using word cards.

Nation (2001) sees the major vocabulary learning strategies as being (1) guessing from context, (2) deliberate learning using bilingual word cards, (3) using word part analysis to help remember words, and

(4) dictionary use. Although the eventual application of the guessing from context strategy is seen as being below the threshold of conscious awareness, development and training in the strategy involve raising learners' awareness of the various clues available and their combined application to make an inference that takes the learners forward in their knowledge of the word. Fukkink and de Glopper (1998) have carried out a meta-analysis of studies involving training in deriving word meaning from context. Their analysis supports the value of raising learners' awareness of this very important strategy and the value of deliberate training. The classic study on guessing is Nagy, Herman, and Anderson's (1985) study with first language learners, which was the first to provide a workable methodology for measuring learning from guessing. Clarke and Nation (1980) describe a deliberate bottom-up strategy for training in guessing, but see this as a step toward fluent, nonconscious guessing while reading or listening.

The strategy of deliberate learning from word cards requires awareness of the principles that should guide such learning. Many of these are described in Baddeley (1990) and include spaced retrieval, deep processing in accordance with the levels of processing hypothesis, the avoidance of serial learning, the use of mnemonic techniques like the keyword technique (see Ellis and Beaton, 1993; Pressley, Levin, and Delaney, 1982, for reviews), and the avoidance of interference (Nation, 2000).

Learning from word cards is seen by some as an ineffective way of learning because they believe that words learned in isolation are not remembered, and such learning does not help with the use of the word. Research shows otherwise (Nation, 2001, pp. 296–303).

The strategy of using word parts has had a very long history. The pervasive influence of French, Latin, and Greek on English vocabulary has meant that there are many English words that consist of prefixes, stems, and suffixes that have clear connections to the meanings of the words. If a relatively small number of the most frequent and regular prefixes and suffixes are known, these can be used to help remember new words that contain them (see Bauer and Nation, 1993, for a graded list of prefixes and suffixes).

The strategy of using word parts requires the following kinds of awareness: (1) learners need to be able to recognize word parts in a word, (2) they need to be able to attach a relevant meaning to the most useful of those parts, and (3) they need to be able to see how the meanings of the parts relate to the meaning of the whole word. A more general goal of lexical awareness may also be the awareness that words have a history, that is, an etymology. Surprisingly, learners' dictionaries do not point out this interesting and helpful information. Knowing that *arrange* and *rank* have the same stem is not only interesting but also

helps the learning of *rank* by relating it to the known word *arrange*, which has a related meaning.

The fourth strategy, dictionary use, not only provides a way of accessing the meanings of words but also supports the other three major strategies. The strategy of dictionary use has the goal of making dictionaries a means of learning. This involves finding what is common in the various senses listed for a word, looking at words with the same stem that are listed near the target word, and looking at the examples of use in the dictionary to see what patterns the word fits into. Using a dictionary in this way involves awareness of what is involved in knowing a word (Nation, 2001, p. 27). This includes knowing the spoken and written forms of the word and whether it contains word parts. It includes knowing the meaning of the word and its range of senses. It also includes knowing the various associations the word has. It includes knowing how the word is used and its common collocates, and finally the various constraints on the use of the word such as whether it is formal or colloquial, a rare word, a word used only with children, a swear word, a word used mainly in the USA, and so on.

Awareness and control of the strategies for vocabulary learning need to be accompanied by an awareness of what vocabulary to learn. Unfortunately, as Moir has shown (Moir and Nation, 2002), awareness of what vocabulary to learn and how to learn it is not often translated into practice. Moir conducted in-depth interviews with ten students in a pre-university English proficiency program. All the students were working hard on improving their English and saw the relevance of the course to their immediate goal of studying in an English-speaking university. However, of the ten students, only one had truly taken responsibility for his own learning. This learner had well-thought out approaches for deciding what words to learn:

“Mostly I just choose the words that I already know but I have to improve them or make them clear to me. Or I choose the one that are difficult to me—about how to use them in different situations.”

“I learn words from talking to people, from TV and from radio. If that word is interesting I write on a small book. I always have a pen and notebook. Later I can put them in this list (vocabulary notebook).”

He also had well-thought out procedures for making sure that words were learned:

“I try to speak to the native person as much as I can every day. I talk to them and try to use new vocabulary . . . if I use in different situations I can remember that word. I just talk every day. Sometimes even I talk to myself.”

The other learners were much more dependent on teacher behavior for their learning. They noted words that appeared on the blackboard as a source of learning rather than considering what vocabulary would be useful for their own needs. They studied vocabulary for the weekly test but did not revise it afterward to make sure that it stayed in their memory. Although they were aware of a range of vocabulary learning strategies like using word cards, the keyword technique, and dictionary use, they did not incorporate them into their own learning.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Lexical awareness can help learners realize what is involved in vocabulary learning and affect their attitudes to learning, and can provide a means for improving skill in learning.

#### *Lexical Awareness and Attitudes to Vocabulary Learning*

Positive attitudes to vocabulary learning can be developed by giving learners some initial very successful experiences in vocabulary learning and by helping them become aware of a clear way forward in their vocabulary learning. A very effective way of providing successful experience is to get learners to do a small amount of deliberate vocabulary learning from word cards and to keep a record of their progress in learning, including how many words they learned by just making the cards with the foreign language word on one side and the first language translation on the other, how many they learned after the first run through the cards, and so on. Older learners especially are typically amazed by the number of words that they can learn in this way in a very short time. Successful experiences like this and reflection on and discussion of such experiences can lead to a positive view of vocabulary learning. Reviews of research on such learning (Nation, 2001, pp. 296–316) show the effectiveness of the use of word cards and other forms of deliberate learning. Similar experiences could involve the use of graded readers at the right vocabulary level for the learners, and listening to stories from graded readers well below the learners' level. There is virtually no research on the effects of such awareness raising on attitudes to vocabulary learning.

Gaining a basic awareness of the high-frequency/low-frequency words distinction can help learners see that there are manageable short-term goals for vocabulary learning. These make the task of vocabulary learning seem more achievable. An effective way to do this is to get learners to use vocabulary analysis programs like RANGE, FREQUENCY, WordSmith Tools, and MonoPro to turn texts into frequency lists. These frequency lists show (1) that a relatively small number of words can account for a very large proportion of the running

words in the text, and (2) that high frequency words give a much greater return for learning than low-frequency words. This is usually a surprising revelation to most learners. If this text analysis is accompanied by an understanding of the word frequency markings in learners' dictionaries like the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* and the *COBUILD English for Advanced Learners Dictionary*, then learners can see that there is a reasonably straightforward way to proceed with learning the vocabulary of English.

A third way of helping learners become aware of the likelihood of success in learning another language is to help them see that parts of that language are already known to them or have a low learning burden because of parallels with their first language. For example, Daulton's (2002) research on Japanese and English shows that about half of the most frequent 3,000 word families of English are represented in some form or other as loan words in Japanese, for example *raitō* for *light*, *anaunsa* for *announcer*, and *terō* for *terrorism*. Showing these connections between the first language and the language to be learned can help learners realize that the task of vocabulary learning may not be as overwhelming as they thought.

### *Lexical Awareness and Skill in Vocabulary Learning*

A lot of vocabulary learning can be done through the deliberate application of strategies and the conscious application of principles of learning. Lexical awareness can also help learners in deciding what vocabulary to learn and in reflecting on their learning to monitor its effectiveness. Boers (2000a, b) presents experimental evidence that drawing deliberate attention to the metaphors that native speakers use can help reading comprehension and retention of metaphoric expressions. These included expressions relating to sailing and gardening as metaphors in economics—*keep on course*, *the firm is in the doldrums again*, *rock the boat*; *flourishing companies*, *rooting out fraud*. The source of such a focus goes back to Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) text *Metaphors We Live By*. Boers (2000b) sees the goals of raising metaphor awareness as (i) recognition of metaphor as a common ingredient of everyday language, (ii) recognition of metaphoric themes behind many figurative expressions, (iii) recognition of the nonarbitrary nature of many figurative expressions, (iv) recognition of possible cross-cultural differences in metaphoric themes, (v) recognition of cross-linguistic variety in figurative expressions.

He suggests that a good start to such awareness raising is reflection on the first language, and proposes an activity that gets the learners to define the difference between love and friendship using their first language. This inevitably involves the use of metaphor which is then discussed. From here it is an easy step to look at metaphor in the

second language. Raising awareness of metaphor should draw attention to metaphoric themes such as up is good, down is bad, as well as showing the mnemonic value of such analysis for learning individual items.

There have been several major studies of learners' awareness of vocabulary strategies and their application of these strategies (Gu and Johnson, 1996; Lawson and Hogben, 1996; Schmitt, 1997). These strategies cover a variety of aspects of vocabulary learning (choosing what to focus on, finding information, and establishing knowledge). The research shows that learners are able to describe their strategies and make strategic decisions on their use. There may be a gap between awareness of strategies and using strategies effectively, but there is evidence that links various kinds of strategy use to proficiency development.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Perhaps the mainstream of lexical awareness research and theory lies in ways of developing learners' interest in looking at language analytically. This can involve giving deliberate attention to the patterns and systems that can be seen in the relationships between words belonging to the same lexical set. This leads naturally to examining the relationships between words from different languages. The most researched areas are family relationships and colors, because it is in these areas that different languages can have obviously different classification systems. In the Thai language, for example, family relationships follow a very different system from that of English. English has distinctions based on gender and descent—grandmother, grandfather, mother, father, uncle, aunt, brother, sister, son, daughter, niece, nephew, cousin. Thai however makes distinctions based on relative age and gender which are not made in English. For example, your mother's sister who is older than your mother has a different form of address from your mother's sister who is younger than your mother. Similarly, your brother who is older than you is referred to in different way from your brother who is younger than you.

Byram (1997) argues for a closer connection between cultural awareness and vocabulary learning (see also Fenner, *Cultural Awareness in the Foreign Language Classroom*, Volume 6). Adopting a moderate version of the relativist hypothesis (Whorf, 1956) that each language expresses a different view of the world, Byram suggests that learning new vocabulary in new areas of cultural and linguistic experience is a very important part of developing cultural awareness, and can be approached in several ways. One way is to look at the meaning of a word in the dictionary and then contrast it with the related word in another language. For younger learners a way of making this contrast

is to list the associates of a word and compare them with lists made by native speakers of other languages for the roughly equivalent word. Another way, which Byram calls the ethnographic method, is for learners to interview native speakers about particular words and support this with observations of the use of culturally important words. A third possibility is to use literary texts as sources for examples. The availability of a very large number of literary texts for computer-based searching at the Project Gutenberg Web site (<http://promo.net/pg/>) makes this a very feasible option. The most noticeable culturally important words are likely to be those which refer to emotions, family relationships, and food. Looking, for example, at the meanings of words like *clean*, *naughty*, *shy*, *homesick*, *family* in the first language and in the second language can be very revealing of cultural values and can provide a truly educational dimension to language learning. However, the culturally important differences are likely to be even more widely spread. Williams (1983) provides fascinating descriptions of how English words like *career*, *city*, *democracy*, *romantic*, *sex*, and *work* have changed their meanings through time. These historical comparisons are likely to be a rich source for cross-cultural comparison.

Making learners aware of these differences between languages has the educational benefits of seeing that there is more than one way of viewing the world, and that words are labels that can shape the way we view things. One way of doing this is to start with understanding the constituents of meaning of first or second language words. This is recommended by several writers about second language learning (Channell, 1981; Julian, 2000), usually in the form of semantic feature analysis. Rudzka, Channell, Putseys, and Ostyn (1981) produced sets of activities for second language learners looking at the distinctions between members of a lexical set like *glimmer*, *twinkle*, *sparkle*, *flash*, *shine* in terms of their meaning constituents. Such activities are useful if learners are already familiar to some degree with most of the words in a set, but there is the danger of interference between previously unknown synonyms of widely differing frequency levels (Nation, 2000). This interference could result in confusion rather than clarity and may have more negative than positive effects on learning.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

An area of importance in lexical awareness is that of collocation, the company words keep. This area of research still struggles with poorly defined categories. There are some relationships between meaning distinctions and collocations—I may have a sparkling personality, but not a flashing one. Looking at collocation introduces learners to the ideas that in language production we often operate with units larger than

words, and that words that seem to be similar in meaning can behave in quite different ways. An effective way of introducing learners to these ideas is to get them using concordancing programs like MonoPro, or WordSmith Tools on texts or corpora along with the sorting function (Cobb, 1997; Thurstun and Candlin, 1998). Concordances are also useful ways of looking at the grammatical patterns of words and becoming aware of principles that can be used to describe the kinds of patterns words take. Zipf (1949) pointed out the relationship between the length of a word and its frequency, with short words generally occurring more frequently than long words. This same rule applies to the grammatical patterns that a word occurs in with simple patterns usually being much more frequent than more complex, longer patterns. Looking at concordances of words can make learners aware that some words or some uses of words follow fairly set patterns. Stubbs (1995), for example, points out that *provide* typically goes with words like *care, food, help, money* and the accompanying adjectives are usually positive. This fits with Sinclair's (1987) observation that some uses of words follow the open-choice principle where a wide range of choices are possible. *I like . . .* for example can take a range of patterns and a range of words. Other uses follow the idiom principle where the choice of one word limits what can go with it. Work in this area will be enhanced when there are clear and robust definitions of the various types of collocations, and when these definitions are more widely accepted and carefully applied.

We have already looked at giving attention to parts as a strategy for improving vocabulary learning. A deliberate focus on the etymology of words can encourage an enduring interest in vocabulary and language and help learners see how languages are interrelated and see the causes of these interrelationships. An awareness of how languages are influenced by other languages is a useful first step to the important idea that languages are in a continual process of change. A major obstacle to the use of etymology for second language learners is the failure of learners' dictionaries to provide etymological information. There are signs that this may be changing.

The growth of sociolinguistic research and gender studies has provided a wealth of information on constraints on lexical use. A small part of the lexicon is strongly marked for use within limited areas. Some words are marked geographically. *Faucet, wrench, cookie* are largely used by speakers of English from North America. Others like *hikoi* (march), *batch* (holiday cottage), and *pakeha* (white New Zealander) are largely limited to speakers of New Zealand English. The increasing availability of electronic corpora and tools for searching the World Wide Web have made lexicographical research into the unique features of regional vocabularies much more feasible. There are numerous other

constraints on vocabulary use. These include words that are used only with children (*moo-cow, doggie, poo-poo*), words that are old-fashioned, and words that are very infrequent. Developing an awareness of these constraints on use helps learners see language as a social phenomenon where the use of words involves more than what they refer to. At present this work is hindered by the availability of megacorpora like the British National Corpus, although work is progressing on a similarly sized American corpus.

### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

There still remains a lot of work to be done on the role of lexical awareness in developing sensitivity to language use. Vocabulary can convey messages beyond the referential meaning of words. An important example of this is what Corson (1997) has called “the Lexical Bar.” Corson argues that the Graeco–Latin vocabulary of English acts as a barrier or bar to educational success. To be able to cope well in academic study through the medium of English, learners need to cross this barrier and become comfortable and fluent in both receptive and productive use of the prestigious Graeco–Latin vocabulary of English. Use of this vocabulary indicates that a user has become a member of the academic community.

Critical language awareness differs from language awareness in that “critical language study . . . highlights how language conventions and language practices are invested with power relations and ideological processes which people are often unaware of” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 7; see also Janks and Locke, *Discourse Awareness in Education: A Critical Perspective*, Volume 6). Vocabulary of course plays a major role in this. In this respect, the ideas behind critical language awareness are related to the ideas of Whorf mentioned earlier—“language use has effects upon society as well as being shaped by it” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 8). Critical lexical awareness involves the study of metaphor, euphemism, formality, and “appropriate language”, to see the ideology hidden behind such lexical features.

An interest in lexical awareness is very much in line with recent research in second language acquisition, which sees giving deliberate attention to language as an important component of a well-balanced learning program. So far, this attention has been largely directed toward improving the learning of language features. A wider focus covering the areas described in this chapter would be the next useful step.

**See Also:** *Anne-Brit Fenner: Cultural Awareness in the Foreign Language Classroom (Volume 6); Hilary Janks and Terry Locke: Discourse Awareness in Education: A Critical Perspective (Volume 6)*

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MORPHOLOGICAL AND SYNTACTIC AWARENESS  
IN FOREIGN/SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING

INTRODUCTION

We often use language with minimal or no awareness of the structural patterns we are employing: our minds are focussed on the meaning of the message we are trying to convey or understand. Becoming aware of linguistic patterns, i.e., being ‘metalinguistically’ aware is nevertheless something that happens to us very early on when, as children, we play games with words. It is an awareness that, at the time, is not informed by much, if any technical appreciation of language structure, and it appears to be enhanced amongst bilingual or multilingual children who have everyday involvement with different language systems (Bialystok, 2001; see also Baker, *Knowledge about Bilingualism and Multilingualism*, Volume 6). As older children become literate, formal schooling provides some of that technical knowledge, that is to say, from the time we learn to count syllables and, for example, identify nouns and verbs. This experience is often capitalised on later, in the foreign language classroom. Talented individuals go on to become writers and public speakers. It is not only for the sake of our general education that, apart from enlarging and refining our stock of words and expressions, we are also made aware of grammar: it is a necessary step, many people believe, toward fully mastering any language. The discussion that follows will focus on metalinguistic awareness in this context, especially with regard to acquiring a second or other language.

Simply being immersed in language is clearly not enough for development to take place. Common sense would prompt the question: without being aware of what has to be learned, how can one possibly learn it? Establishing exactly what language learners actually notice when listening or reading a language, for whatever reason, and whether or not they are really aware of what they notice is fraught with tricky theoretical questions. It is important to appreciate this fact because common sense answers do not necessarily get us very far when we try and assess the value of directing learners’ attention to some aspect of the second language (L2) system. One issue concerns the very nature of ‘noticing’ and ‘attention’. The second, obviously related issue is that

of awareness itself: for instance, how aware are we, in a given situation, of what we notice? Are there indeed degrees of awareness and what has most impact on what we remember later? These are topics, which constitute an enormous challenge for researchers in cognitive science. Everything said about morphological and syntactic awareness in the ensuing discussion should be considered with this in mind.

It is not necessary to spend much time on the theoretical status of morphology and syntax. It will be assumed here that morphology has mostly to do with inflectional and derivational parts of words and with what are commonly known as functional (or 'grammatical') words, like auxiliaries, article, prepositions and the like. Syntax is about how words may occur and combine in phrases, clauses and sentences. How to form the plural of German *Kind* or English *child* is a morphological issue. What orders are possible when combining the words *children*, *were*, *there* and *the* in English is a syntactic issue, and making the plural morphology of *child* agree with the plural form of *be*, as in *the children were there*, is a morphosyntactic issue, since it appeals to both morphological facts (the shape of individual words *children* and *were*) and the way words behave together in a sentence (subjects agreeing with verbs). In a similar fashion, phonological facts can be combined with morphological facts as, for example, when the plural morpheme in, respectively, *cat* + <Plural> and *dog* + <Plural> receives a particular phonological shape according to whether the preceding stop consonant is voiced or voiceless: the preceding context determines whether <Plural> is realised as /s/ or /z/. In the ensuing discussion, morphology and syntax will also be referred to together as 'grammar'.

Let us now focus on the grammatical features of a second (or other) language or 'L2'. The learner, to reproduce the correct L2 patterns, must logically first notice them. This means that noticing, in some sense of noticing, is certainly a necessary condition albeit not a sufficient condition for the patterns to appear later in the learner's own linguistic performance. Without noticing these language forms, it is logically impossible to make them part of the developing grammar of the L2. For example, you really do need to notice definite articles in the L2, if the L2 *has* definite articles, that is, notice their shape (sound and orthography) and where and when they occur before you can hope to involve them in the way in which you, the learner, interpret L2 utterances and ultimately produce them yourself. This is true whether or not your performance is native-like. A learner with an L1 (native language) like Polish, for example, one that simply does not have articles, may use the wrong English article in the wrong context; we can nevertheless be sure at least that the unfamiliar forms, i.e., articles of various types, which appear in the speech and writing of native speakers of the L2 (target language) have really been noticed by that Polish learner.

Somehow the learner's mind has, at some point and probably on a number of occasions thereafter, become oriented toward some aspect of the L2 grammar with the result that that it has been registered and retained and has subsequently brought about changes in that learner's performance (see Tomlin and Villa's analysis of the notion of attention: Tomlin and Villa, 1994). Thus, we can all agree that noticing is a logical necessity for any learning to take place and that, in particular, the existence of some novel, unfamiliar form or construction in the learners' L2, like the English definite article for the Polish learner, will be convincing evidence of this because it cannot have been copied over from the L1.

The extent to which noticing implicates some degree of awareness is a crucial part of this discussion. Schmidt's noticing hypothesis, for example, presents the act of noticing as noticing surface elements, but without any degree of analysis or understanding, and in his terms as something separate from metalinguistic awareness (Schmidt, 2001, see also Robinson, *Attention and Awareness*, Volume 6). It is generally accepted, that we or rather our minds can notice objects and events without our necessarily being very aware of them. Indeed, most people would accept that awareness is a relative concept ranging from either no awareness at all, or very transitory awareness, to a heightened, intense awareness, the latter state being associated with introspection, a 'conscious' mental activity that is characterised as 'metalinguistic' and which requires a heightened and sustained degree of awareness to allow the learner to reflect on the patterns they have noticed. In other words, the act of noticing a linguistic form or pattern may be associated with more or less awareness. This in turn prompts the question as to which, 'more' or 'less', is particularly conducive to boosting the learner's grammatical development. It also helps to see that awareness is distinct from knowledge. The ability to reflect in an analytic fashion on what we are aware of requires a structured understanding of grammatical patterns, something we can call metalinguistic knowledge (Sharwood Smith, 1994, p. 11). Note also, in passing, that both noticing and becoming aware should also involve registering elements that are not on the surface, that are actually absent, a very simple example being an English learner of Polish faced with the complete absence of definite and indefinite articles.

Traditional, formal language teaching and the more or less diluted forms in which it is still available today is known for its metalinguistic bias: learners are required to actively reflect on the formal properties of the language with a view to memorising grammatical patterns, rules and exceptions. Teaching therefore involves make learners aware of grammatical properties and explaining rules. Armed with the accumulated knowledge acquired as a result of such teaching, the learner is then able to notice and analyse examples of rules and violations of rules

in their own or other people's utterances. In principle, they should then be able to correct any errors. By way of contrast, we might be faced with learners who are able to 'feel' that a given utterance was ungrammatical without being able to analyse or explain why this should be so. They would have a minimal amount of metalinguistic awareness but without any metalinguistic knowledge: error correction by such learners is also possible but without any understanding of the nature of their errors. A third possibility suggests itself here, namely that these learners once quite consciously grasped the nature of the formal grammatical principle or rule involved, but are now no longer in possession of that analytic understanding. This prompts various questions such as whether forgetting, that is, the loss of their original state of conscious, analytic understanding was simply due to the fact that it was no longer needed or whether it was discarded because it would actually get in the way of smooth fluent language use. Can we conclude from error-free performance that learners must at some time or other have been consciously aware of the grammatical rules and principles that underlie their performance? In addition, was the original state of understanding a prerequisite for their current ability to detect errors and produce error-free utterances or was it just a luxury extra?

What practical conclusions can we draw from the association of various forms of noticing and the process of acquiring a language? It might seem obvious to some that learners and teachers should simply make ceaseless attempts to focus on anything that is judged to be missing or incorrect in learner performance so that whatever has been regularly drawn to the learners' attention will eventually by dint of practice become part of that learner's regular L2 repertoire. For people who readily accept this conclusion as self-evident, it may come as a shock that, already at the close of the 1960s, some researchers began to be convinced that nothing can be further from the truth. Forms that seemed to stare a learner in the face by virtue of their frequency and simplicity or because a teacher or textbook had deliberately tried to make them especially noticeable would mysteriously refuse to appear in the learner's own spontaneous performance: the early appearance of other native-like L2 forms not so frequent or not so salient in other respects was by the same token also a mystery.

#### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

In the early days, that is to say in the 1950s and 1960s, for those in North America and elsewhere who wished to put the study of second language acquisition on a rigorously scientific footing, there was no need to talk about awareness and noticing because of the currently dominant approach to the psychology of learning. Adopting a behaviourist view

meant excluding such 'private' mental activities from the realm of science and leaving all speculation about abstractions that were not directly observable and measurable to the realm of metaphysics. Once behaviourism was discredited in linguistic circles, it became permissible, in a scientific context, to talk once more about mental events and mental capacities such as noticing and awareness, phenomena that were at least indirectly observable and indirectly measurable.

When Selinker first outlined his interlanguage theory in the early 1970s (Selinker, 1972), he made only sporadic and indirect references to awareness since interlanguage was the non-native system that was seen to underlie performance in communicative contexts where presumably the focus was on getting a message across. He therefore discounted patterns emerging in formal classroom activities, which were simply mimicking the teacher or the textbook. There is not much discussion of this, but if a teacher asks you to do an exercise which then results in your producing a grammatical pattern in response to instructions, your performance would not necessarily be a good candidate for showing what was driving your current learner system: you might be, for example repeating patterns parrot-fashion or performing artificial manipulations such as deliberately switching the subject and verb around simply following the teachers' model. Some of Selinker's discussion of learner strategies does imply a role for conscious awareness: learning strategies are or may be deliberate, for example, rote memorisation of words and phrases. You may also choose to take short cuts for the sake of quick and easy communication (backsliding to an early stage of your development when you produced no article in front of English nouns), but the general topic of noticing and awareness is not elaborated.

It is not clear, then, to what extent grammatical awareness plays a serious role in Selinker's interlanguage framework and it was not until Tarone formulated her own version of interlanguage theory that noticing and awareness started to play a more salient part in theoretical discussions about the nature of grammatical patterns in learner performance (Tarone, 1979). Tarone, in fact, gave attention to form a pivotal role in her account of interlanguage variation. Her investigations convinced her that L2 speakers or rather interlanguage speakers, rather than speak a single monolithic interlanguage, typically gave evidence of systematic variation according to context as would be expected of speakers of mature, 'native' languages. This variation, in her scheme, ranged from a spontaneous interlanguage 'vernacular' to very careful performance which, perhaps surprisingly, since learners would be attempting consciously to speak 'correctly, showed more signs of L1 influence and less overall consistency than in the informal variety. In attempting to push their performance as far as they can, learners, in

careful mode, may resort to various strategies, which could include borrowing from their L1. This would not happen when they were communicating in a relaxed, informal style and, by implication, were not particularly aware of the morphological and syntactic patterns they were using (Tarone, 1979).

In Tarone's approach, then, learners could not only pay more attention to their own L2 performance: when they did, it altered it in systematic ways such that one could talk of a consistent 'variety' of IL. She confines herself to the effects of increased attention to speech and writing in interlanguage variation. She does not focus on the role of awareness in acquisition, that is, helping to move the learner on to a new stage in their interlanguage development. It was the proponent of a rival position that for a time at least pushed the effect of heightened awareness of the formal properties of the L2, into the spotlight in theorising about language development. Although Stephen Krashen's main contribution in this area could be described as part of the early history of the subject, the impact of his controversial ideas are still tangible in modern theorising about SLA.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Following on from Burt and Dulay's pioneering work on L2 developmental sequences, Krashen was interested in comparing immigrants who were only picking up English in the street and those who were also undergoing formal instruction as well. Were the natural sequences in the acquisition of various morphemes as had been evidenced in L1 acquirers, also in evidence with L2 acquirers but only with those who were acquiring their L2 in natural, i.e. untutored learning environment? Did formal instruction bring any advantage? He found that on spontaneous tasks like picture description, learners from both groups produced the same kind of results already seen in the Burt and Dulay studies (see Dulay, Burt and Krashen, 1982 for a general account of this research). L1 influence did not seem to affect the difficulty orders in the data. Learners who were operating in spontaneous mode, with minimal awareness of the structural options they were employing, and focussing on conveying and understanding messages, appeared to be relying on intuitively acquired knowledge and not on what (a) their particular experience of formal instruction had been or (b) their particular mother tongue might prompt them to do. The formally instructed learners only produced different and better results on the tasks that gave them time to reflect and self-correct and, it was claimed, showed the influence of their formally gained grammatical knowledge. This finding laid the basis for Krashen's now famous distinction between the process he called acquisition (subconscious learning) and the process he called (conscious)

'learning' (Krashen, 1976, 1985). In Krashen's view, each process produced an entirely different kind of product, i.e. a different kind of grammatical knowledge. Krashen's 'acquisition' was a natural process that caused grammars to grow beneath the level of conscious awareness in the same way as they were supposed to grow in the minds of children acquiring their mother tongue. Krashen's 'learning' resulted in a more artificial, technical kind of learning (here called metalinguistic knowledge), which could only be used in limited ways and which had absolutely no effect on the natural course of development. Subject P, for example, was consistently able to correct her own errors when confronted with them, produced virtually no errors in writing but consistently made errors in her spontaneous speech thus demonstrating, in Krashen's view, the ineffectiveness of learned knowledge to transform itself into acquired knowledge (Krashen and Pon, 1977).

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Criticism of Krashen's ideas was not long in coming: one oft repeated charge was that the main concepts were too vague to be operationalised. McLaughlin also voiced the standard view in cognitive psychology that learning with awareness came first and that the resulting explicit knowledge gained about a given aspect of grammar (his example was learning final verb position in German subordinate clauses) could become implicit later via a process of automatisisation. Translated into Krashen's terms, 'learning' directly influenced 'acquisition', a position to which Krashen himself was strenuously opposed (McLaughlin, 1978). Sharwood Smith also put forward a number of objections, which Krashen later addressed in his book on the 'input hypothesis' (Krashen, 1985, Sharwood Smith, 1981). One was that, rather than use the rigid conscious-versus-subconscious dichotomy for further research, it would be better to adopt a more fine-grained model of what he then termed grammatical 'consciousness-raising'. The overtly metalinguistic approach adopted by traditionalists would be only one of many options. These options could be ranged along an axis of 'explicitness' and 'elaboration'. Hence, investigations could include sporadic and subtle ways of making the learner aware of a morphological or syntactic pattern as well as, say, brief but very explicit discussions about grammatical rules and exceptions, and anything between these two extremes. The treatment could also be more or less elaborated; in other words, it could range from the brief and sporadic to something that lasted a longer period of time. Learners could be exposed (without any prior explanation) to long texts that had tense markers in boldface or a speech where certain crucial words (verbs, say and time adverbs) were spoken more slowly and emphatically.

Alternatively, in a much more overt, explicit style, learners could be subjected to a lengthy explanation of tense usage accompanied by exercises. The point was that research should be based on a more differentiated view than permitted by the simple conscious/non-conscious dichotomy. Furthermore, Sharwood Smith suggested that even if one allowed for no direct 'interface' between learned and acquired knowledge, learners, in trying to use their L2, might even be able to use their 'learned' knowledge to create their own utterances and, by using them, create their own self-generated input that would feed back into their acquisition mechanisms. Krashen did not dismiss this 'backdoor' possibility completely but regarded it as just speculative. However, he did use the idea of an interface to characterise the debate as to whether or not learning with heightened awareness of grammatical structure could seep through and be converted into intuitive knowledge and this was later adopted in numerous discussions on the subject in the literature. Krashen's original two-way opposition became a three-way one; Ellis (see Ellis, *Explicit Knowledge and Second Language Learning and Pedagogy*, Volume 6), in particular, defined the options as follows:

1. The no-interface position: learned knowledge can never affect the development of intuitively acquired grammar (Krashen's own position).
2. The strong interface position: learning becomes acquisition, explicitly learned grammar can be converted into intuitive knowledge. (Bialystok, 1978; DeKeyser, 1990; McLaughlin, 1978).
3. The weak interface position: there is no direct effect of learning and acquisition, but formal instruction can indirectly affect development (Ellis, 1991, 1993; Sharwood Smith, 1981).

The debate continued in a rather attenuated fashion until people began to take seriously the idea of investigating different ways of manipulating the linguistic input to the learner. Researchers looking at the questions of L2 learners' access to the constraints of universal grammar by implication seemed neither to totally endorse Krashen's view of conscious learning nor indeed to deny it (but see Gregg for a robust rejection of Krashen's model: Gregg, 1984). Sharwood Smith replaced his term 'consciousness-raising' with 'input-enhancement to signal the need to focus first on what we know we can do (manipulate the exposure to L2) and not what actually happens in the learners' mind. He also suggested that research should look carefully at the possibility that certain areas of L2 may be characteristically immune or alternatively characteristically responsive to some form of input enhancement. In other words, success in one area should not be generalised to all areas without proper testing and vice-versa (Sharwood Smith, 1991, 1993, 1994, pp. 178 ff.).

Where there is opposition to the no-interface position, the role of grammatical awareness naturally goes hand in hand with discussions about how to exploit it. Taking the view that noticing with awareness was a necessary prerequisite to learning, VanPatten places the emphasis in instruction less on getting learners to produce and much more on getting them to process the L2 input more effectively, with awareness, than they would otherwise do (see, e.g. VanPatten and Cadierno, 1993). For example, at a given stage, they may be exposed to native L2 utterances, but actually processing only the most meaningful items (lexical and some, but not all grammatical forms). It is only what learners actually notice that can have any impact on acquisition: hence, unnoticed items will fall by the wayside and only noticed items have a chance of affecting subsequent development. Although VanPatten advocates the use of explicit grammatical instruction, the crucial role goes not to getting the learners to actually produce utterances containing given target constructions but rather to process the input more efficiently during comprehension. A classic example of processing-based instruction, in his framework, would be the structuring of L2 input so as to make a given grammatical form absolutely necessary for the solving of a meaning-based task. English-speaking learners of Spanish at some stage will regularly misinterpret sentences like *A María la llama Juan* (Juan calls María) as *María calls Juan* assuming that *María*, the first mentioned noun, is the subject of the sentence in accordance with a processing principle that leads them to assume the first-named noun is the agent (VanPatten and Cadierno, 1993). This means that they have not made the necessary connection between the grammatical form *a* and the object status of *María*. Perhaps they have been vaguely and sporadically 'aware' of the presence or absence of the relevant morphological material (*a, la*), but obviously not to the extent that has allowed them to make connections between the grammatical forms and the subject/object status of noun phrases. Learners are presented with two pictures, one depicting María as the caller and the other depicting Juan as the caller and asked to match one of the two pictures with, say, *A María la llama Juan*. In this way, although the task is meaning-based: they will need to notice the relevant grammatical forms that have previously been ignored. Explicit instruction is also provided, before and after, to alert them to the nature of the task but the crucial part of the whole undertaking is not explanation but solving the problem. This shows that making learners aware of grammatical forms is best done, in VanPatten's view, using communicative activities although this is supported by consciousness-raising of the more explicit type to guide their noticing. Making people explicitly aware of a given grammatical phenomena in the L2 and then following this directly with production

practice will be much less effective (VanPatten and Oikkenon but see DeKeyser and Sokalski, 1996 for a dissenting view).

Despite Krashen's early insistence on the minor role played by explicit instruction in stimulating learning, it is, then, still being considered as a serious option by quite a few researchers, although not necessarily in the extreme form associated with traditional teaching. Focus on Form (FoF) and Focus on Forms (FoFs), a distinction proposed by Long (see, e.g. Long and Robinson, 1998) has become a common way of discussing the difference between two basic forms of explicit input enhancement. In 1998, a collection of studies came out which marks the first collective response in the research literature to the calls for a rigorous investigation of these issues (Doughty and Williams, 1998a; see also Ellis, *Implicit and Explicit Knowledge about Language*, Volume 6). FoF is a 'reactive' strategy, raising awareness of grammatical form when and if the need arises but in the context of otherwise meaning-focused classroom activities (Long, 1991, Doughty and Williams 1998b: 197ff). FoFs is the most explicit and elaborated end of the consciousness-raising spectrum whereby grammar is of necessity focussed on and practiced separately and is not embedded in communicative activities. VanPatten's use of explicit instruction before and/or after meaning-based tasks could be seen as a variant of FoF although it is not always reactive and in some cases takes on some of the characteristics of FoFs. Trying to trace the role that increased awareness of grammatical form plays in various types of instruction is extraordinarily difficult. In 2000, Norris and Ortega made a noteworthy attempt to analyse the results of a large number of studies bearing on this issue but their findings, though suggesting that L2 instruction making learners aware of grammatical form was beneficial, leave many questions unanswered (for a thorough and informative discussion of the problems involved see Doughty, 2003).

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

As it is clear from the preceding discussion, understanding the nature and implications of what we have called morphological and syntactic awareness is dependent upon advances in a number of related domains of inquiry. Within the area of second language research, there are signs that a stronger theoretical basis has become a priority if empirical investigations are to produce less ambiguous results than has hitherto been the case. Without a strong, coherent conceptual framework where 'awareness' can occupy an important place, even the most refined experimental techniques will be of no use. One current trend is built on the well-established view that language ability is just one aspect of general cognitive ability. This accords with the strong interface position

(see, e.g., DeKeyser, 2003; Hulstijn, 2002). Another trend is one which takes a domain-specific view of linguistic ability and which would seem to favour one or other of the other two interface positions (e.g., Carroll, 2001; Truscott and Sharwood Smith, 2004). In either case, a strong interdisciplinary bias is clearly the way forward whether the main practical interest is the facilitation of multilingual language development, in any age group, or refining the way we make young native speakers literate in their mother tongue. Experimental research needs to continue with more than just a general hypothesis, that is, with a more rigorously theoretical underpinning: this will allow very precise areas of the grammar to be investigated to confirm which, if any, is amenable to intervention by the teacher and which must necessarily rely on exposure alone.

As far as day-to-day teaching practice is concerned it seems important neither to completely write off all attempts to make learners notice some formal linguistic property nor to take the opposite approach and simply assume that making learners' aware of some form or some regularity is going to have a direct impact on their linguistic development. Rather, teachers should keep in mind the idea that a selective use of 'focus on form' or 'input enhancement' may well pay off, and this can include correction, and while research has not yet properly identified the principles for selection, there is certainly room for a little informal experimentation by the practitioner albeit without any firm guarantee of success. The teacher will also have to take into account the expectations of the learners themselves. If learners assume that correction and other forms of awareness-raising are vital for their progress, they may find that being deprived of all such techniques perverse, frustrating and demotivating. They may also remain unconvinced that research does not fully support their beliefs. In addition, older learners, especially, want to understand what it is they are learning and the resulting metalinguistic knowledge can be a comforting and sometimes useful substitute for any morphosyntactic deficiencies that persist in their spontaneous performance.

**See Also:** *Colin Baker: Knowledge about Bilingualism and Multilingualism (Volume 6); Peter Robinson: Attention and Awareness (Volume 6); Rod Ellis: Explicit Knowledge and Second Language Learning and Pedagogy (Volume 6); Nick Ellis: Implicit and Explicit Knowledge about Language (Volume 6)*

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## PRAGMATIC AWARENESS IN SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

### INTRODUCTION

Pragmatic awareness is the conscious, reflective, explicit knowledge about pragmatics. It thus involves knowledge of those rules and conventions underlying appropriate language use in particular communicative situations and on the part of members of specific speech communities. Following an educational perspective, we deal with pragmatic awareness in relation to the construct of communicative competence, and we consider research on the role of awareness in pragmatic learning. First, pragmatic competence is introduced as part of the overall framework of communication. Second, we raise the need to focus on pragmatics including pragmlinguistic and sociopragmatic awareness. Third, a review on research dealing with learners' pragmatic awareness is provided. Finally, some future directions deriving from the previous subsections are briefly mentioned.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The notion of communicative competence originated from those criticisms raised by the Chomskyan notion of linguistic competence (1965). Scholars of different fields, namely those of linguistics, psychology, sociology and anthropology, argued against the absence of aspects related to language use in the concept of linguistic competence, as it merely accounted for an ideal grammatical knowledge shared by native speakers of a given language. Hymes (1972) first suggested the substitution of Chomsky's linguistic competence into a wider concept, that of communicative competence, which would also include social and referential aspects of the language. Nevertheless, the term communicative competence may involve much more than the mere extension of linguistic competence. According to Cenoz (1996), it also implies a qualitative change and a distinct approach to the study of language use, since communicative competence is a dynamic concept that depends on the interlocutors' negotiation of meaning.

The construct of communicative competence has been particularly influential in the field of language learning as it bears a direct relationship with the communicative approach to language teaching. For this

reason, different scholars in the field of applied linguistics have attempted to describe that construct by identifying various components that would constitute a whole model for the study of learners' communicative competence. One of the most representative and significant models that have arisen within the field of applied linguistics is that of Bachman (1990) as it was the first explicitly identified pragmatics as one of the two major components of communicative competence. Bachman (1990) distinguishes between organisational and pragmatic competence. On the one hand, organisational competence refers to those abilities taking part in the production and identification of grammatical and ungrammatical sentences, and also in understanding their meaning and in ordering them to form texts. These abilities are sub-divided into grammatical and textual competence. On the other hand, pragmatic competence is understood as dealing with the relationship between utterances and the acts performed through these utterances as well as with the features of the context that promote appropriate language use. The relationship between utterances and acts concerns the illocutionary force, whereas the context involves those sociolinguistic conventions taking part in using the language. The illocutionary competence is defined in terms of Searle's speech acts (1969) and Halliday's language functions (1973), since it involves the relationship between the utterances and speakers' intentions specified in them. In addition, the sociolinguistic competence refers to sensitivity to differences in variety, register and to the ability of interpreting cultural references.

Bachman's model (1990) points out the idea that communicative competence can not only be achieved by improving learners' grammatical knowledge, but it also concerns the development of other competencies such as the textual and pragmatic ones. From this point of view, pragmatics has become a common target in the language classroom, as illustrated by current proposals (Bardovi-Harlig and Mahan-Taylor, 2003). In those proposals, most suggestions and lessons for pragmatic instruction focus on routines as part of the pragmlinguistic component that constitutes pragmatic competence. Hence, we find lesson plans for teaching how to make requests (Mach and Ridder, 2003; Yuan, 2003), others dealing with refusals (Kondo, 2003), apologies (Bardovi-Harlig and Mahan-Taylor, 2003) or complaints (Reynolds, 2003). Yet few proposals consider a sociopragmatic perspective in foreign/second language teaching, thus presenting a partial view of the pragmatic component.

However, the literature on inter language pragmatics (ILP), by referring to pragmatic awareness as learners' conscious and explicit knowledge about pragmatics, has pointed out that both pragmlinguistic and sociopragmatic aspects should be included. For instance, Safont (2005) suggests that unless students are provided with socio-cultural and sociolinguistic information, their difficulty to understand

politeness issues affecting the use of the target language will increase. This has raised the need for focusing on pragmatic awareness and production in the language classroom. Pragmatic awareness might be achieved by fostering learners' connections between their previous pragmalinguistic knowledge (both in their L1 and the TL) and new pragmatic information they may be provided with. In addition, pragmatic production should focus on appropriateness, thus paying attention to both propositional content, on the one hand, and cultural effects on the other.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Analysing language use in context has provided language teachers and learners with a research-based understanding of the language forms and functions that are appropriate to the many contexts in which a language may be used. From this perspective, research in cross-cultural and ILP has provided information on the interactive norms in different languages and cultures. Cross-cultural studies with a focus on speakers' pragmatic performance aim to determine whether the same speech act can be found in different cultures, and if so, to what extent it is performed. Likewise, explanations that account for those differences are provided. Among them, pragmatic transfer at the level of formal, semantic and speakers' perception of contextual factors seems to explain some of the differences between L1 and L2 speakers' use of the language. In addition to transfer, learning effects, which may be of a formal or informal nature have been reported to cause a deviation from the target language norm. Examples of types of learning effects include overgeneralization, hypercorrection, or responses that do not reflect reality.

Research from an inter language perspective takes into account acquisitional rather than contrastive issues, as is the case of cross-cultural perspectives stated earlier. Barron's (2003) study follows this acquisitional perspective in inter language development. Barron's (2003, p. 10) definition of pragmatic competence states that it involves 'knowledge of the linguistic resources available in a given language for realising particular illocutions, knowledge of the sequential aspects of speech acts and knowledge of the appropriate contextual use of the particular languages linguistic resources'. In the same line, Bachman (1990) and Thomas (1983) account for the realisation of speech acts in which they distinguish between pragmalinguistic and socio-pragmatic components. Hence, while dealing with pragmatics they suggest that not only routines and forms specific to particular pragmatic realisations should be considered, but also the context of use.

Most studies to date (see contributions to Rose and Kasper's volume, 2001 and Kasper and Rose, 1999) have focussed on the former

component, that is, routines and pragmalinguistic realisations. A wide amount of studies now exist with a focus on request realisations (Hassall, 1997; Li, 2000; Rose, 2000, among many others). Other speech acts that have received some attention on the part of scholars may be refusals (Félix-Brasdefer, 2004), compliments (Rose and Ng, 2001) and apologies (Trosborg, 1995). We may also find exceptional studies in which sociopragmatic factors have been dealt with, but they usually refer to descriptions of situations presented to learners so that they acknowledge the most appropriate routine (Lorenzo-Dus, 2001). However, it seems as argued by Kasper (2000), that the sociopragmatic component has received less attention in ILP.

The relevance of the sociopragmatic view in L2 pragmatic development is also put forward by Jung (2002). The author states that L2 pragmatic acquisition should be studied from both the psycholinguistic perspective of the learner that has traditionally paid attention to variables such as proficiency level, or the type of task (among others), and the socio cultural perspective, which emphasises the need to analyse sociopragmatic development just as pragmalinguistic development has been investigated (Barron, 2003; Kasper and Rose, 2002). Bou-Franch and Garcés-Conejos (2003) acknowledge such need in their proposal for teaching linguistic politeness. The authors particularly focus on avoiding sociopragmatic failure in the language classroom. Sociopragmatics is here understood as related to 'our knowledge, beliefs and perceptions of socially adequate linguistic behaviour' (see Bou-Franch and Garcés-Conejos, 2003, p. 2). On that account, these authors' proposal is based on Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness variables—namely those of power, distance and ranking of imposition—and Scollon and Scollon's (1995) suggested politeness systems. Scollon and Scollon (1995) identify three main politeness frameworks on the basis of face relationships. The former one, also named deference politeness system, relates to those relations where there are no power differences, but there is social distance (e.g. colleagues at work). The second system refers to solidarity politeness, where there are no power differences or social distance (e.g. family members). Finally, the third system relates to hierarchical politeness, where there are power differences and social distance (e.g. boss and employee). Although Scollon and Scollon's (1995) proposed politeness systems have been criticised for including a simplistic view of human communication (see Bou-Franch and Garcés-Conejos, 2003), it may serve as a point of departure for research in sociopragmatic development. In fact, these politeness systems may be employed to test the effect of instruction in sociopragmatic development, just as speech act routines and linguistic realisations have been used in testing the acquisition of pragmalinguistic aspects.

Second language pragmatics learning is also L2 culture learning (see also Fenner, *Cultural Awareness in the Foreign Language Classroom*, Volume 6). This may imply learners' modification of their own world view, thus including attitudes and ethnolinguistic variation while acquiring foreign/second language pragmatics. In fact, as suggested by Thomas (1995) and Jung (2002), one's own linguistic and cultural identity is usually best acknowledged when being confronted with a different reality. From this perspective, awareness is probably the first step to the earlier quoted shift as it would involve knowledge of these politeness systems. Research on learners' pragmatic awareness may in turn provide us with suitable information on those needs and difficulties, which also relate to their language learning process.

As stated by various scholars, learners' pragmatic awareness manifested in their ability to recognise and identify speech act types is limited. For instance, Kasper's (1984) investigation of the pragmatic comprehension of German-speaking English learners, suggested that failure to comprehend the illocutionary force of speech acts could be explained by learners' inability to produce those illocutionary devices in non-conventional indirect speech acts. In addition, the effect of proficiency on language learners' pragmatic awareness has been examined by Koike (1996), Cook and Liddicoat (2002) and García (2004). Koike (1996) found that the more proficient participant could recognise speech act type and understand the illocutionary force of the utterance better than less proficient participants. Similarly, Cook and Liddicoat's (2002) study reveals that there is a proficiency effect for interpreting request speech acts at different levels of directness. In the same line, García (2004) shows that there are proficiency-related differences in the identification of speech acts. However, the author suggests that contextual knowledge and linguistic ability should be viewed as complementing variables that interact with each other in the comprehension of indirect speech acts. In addition, it is suggested that by examining L2 learners' pragmatic awareness we can infer learners' pragmatic comprehension, and we might also discover linguistic factors that contribute to comprehension as well as to enhance the provision of those conditions for understanding pragmatic meanings. This is particularly relevant in second language learning, since in contrast to native speakers, who may not need to recognise speech act type consciously, second language learners' attention to pragmatic issues seems to play a role in developing pragmatic competence. The fact that second language learners need to recognise speech act conventions in a conscious way may determine the importance of pragmatic comprehension in the language classroom. Yet, awareness understood as conscious pragmatic knowledge would not only refer to comprehension but also to production as long as both involve some degree of consciousness.

## WORK IN PROGRESS

Current research has been motivated by an attempt to establish a more direct link between the fields of ILP research and SLA studies, which address learners' development of pragmatics (Kasper and Rose, 2002). From this perspective, studies have been conducted to address whether the instructional contexts provides opportunities for pragmatic learning. Furthermore, the teachability hypothesis in the pragmatic realm has been tested in several studies. In relation to the conditions offered in second and foreign language learning contexts to develop pragmatic competence, Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (1996) illustrate how the input offered to learners in academic contexts may not result in pragmatic learning. The authors point out that in an ESL context the suggestions made were status-bound, and as a consequence they could not serve as direct models for the learner. In this line, Nikula's (2002) study also focuses on how pragmatic awareness is reflected in the use of modifying elements of talk by two non-native speakers (NNSs) in EFL and content-based classrooms. Findings of this study reveal a tendency towards directness in teachers' performance, which is explained in terms of the constraints of the classroom and the teacher's status compared to that of students. In addition, Rose (1999) claims that large classes, limited contact hours and little opportunity for intercultural communication are some of the features of the EFL context that hinder pragmatic learning. Apart from the analysis of the input, other studies have examined if textbooks present pragmatically accurate models for learners (Bardovi-Harlig, 1996; Crandall and Basturkmen, 2004; Vellenga, 2004). Results of these studies have showed that the way speech acts or conversational functions are considered in textbooks is not adequate. Bardovi-Harlig (1996) showed that textbooks do not often present a particular speech act or language function at all, and very often when they do, it may not reflect authentic language use. Finally, according to Vellenga (2004), textbooks do not include sufficient metapragmatic explanations to facilitate learners' awareness of pragmatic issues.

As a consequence of the difficulties mentioned earlier to develop pragmatic competence in language learning contexts, several investigations draw on Schmidt's (1993, 2001) noticing hypothesis to address awareness-raising as an approach to the teaching of pragmatics (see also Robinson, *Attention and Awareness*, Volume 6). First, the use of authentic audiovisual input has received special attention as a way to foster learners' pragmatic knowledge; being that knowledge conscious it would then refer to pragmatic awareness. Audiovisual input (the use of video, films and TV) has been stated to be useful to address knowledge of a pragmatic system, and knowledge of its appropriate use.

The studies conducted by Rose (2000), Grant and Starks (2001), Washburn (2001) and Alcón (2005) were motivated by the assumption that both pragmatolinguistic and sociopragmatic awareness are particularly difficult for those studying in an EFL context. From this perspective, the authors claim that authentic audiovisual input provides ample opportunities to address all aspects of language use in a variety of contexts. Besides, as quoted by Rose (2000), audiovisual material first offers language teachers the possibility of choosing the richest and most suitable segments, analyse them in full, and design software to allow learners to access pragmatic aspects as needed. Secondly, it may be useful to expose learners to the pragmatic aspects of the target language. Thirdly, pragmatic judgment tasks can be based on audiovisual discourse analysis and prepare learners for communication in new cultural settings. This last aspect takes into account the issue of task design and task implementation, which in turn is related to research focussing on the effect of instruction on learners' noticing of pragmatic target features.

As pointed out in various studies on pragmatic instructional intervention (House and Kasper, 1981; House, 1996; Rose and Ng, 2001, Takahashi, 2001), explicit metapragmatic instruction seems to be more effective than implicit teaching. However, more recently, research has focussed on the effect of implicit instruction for pragmatic learning following a focus on form approach. Taking into account that a higher level of awareness can be achieved by manipulating input, the studies conducted by Fukuya, Reeve, Gisi and Christianson (1998), Fukuya and Clark (2001), Martínez-Flor (2004) and Alcón (2005) aim to prove whether learners' intake of pragmatic target forms can be enhanced even in implicit conditions. Fukuya, Reeve, Gisi and Christianson (1998) implemented recasts as implicit feedback on learners' production of requests. Results of the study did not support the hypothesis that this implicit feedback would result efficient in comparison to the group that received explicit instruction on the sociopragmatic factors that affected appropriateness of requests in different situations. In a similar vein, the studies conducted by Fukuya and Clark (2001) and Martínez-Flor (2004) used input enhancement techniques to draw learners' attention to the target features. In Fukuya and Clark's (2001) study, findings from the three groups' performance (i.e. focus on forms, focus on form and control group) did not reveal significant differences on learners' pragmatic ability. The authors claimed that a different operationalisation of the input enhancement may have involved differences as far as potential of saliency is concerned. To their explanation, it could be added Izumi's (2002) suggestion of using a combination of implicit techniques to help learners notice the target features. In line with Izumi (2002), Martínez-Flor (2004) used a combination

of implicit techniques to analyse the effect of explicit and implicit teaching on the speech act of suggestion. Results of her study demonstrated that both implicit and explicit instructional treatment groups outperformed the control group in awareness and production of the speech act of suggesting. Alcon's (2005) study also showed an advantage of explicit and implicit instructed learners over uninstructed ones in their awareness and production of requests. However, the author indicates the need to consider the delayed effect of explicit and implicit teaching on pragmatic learning in future research.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES: FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The research mentioned earlier is based on the assumption that awareness is related to acquisition of pragmatic competence. From a cognitive perspective, research on pragmatic awareness and language learning is based on one of the tenets of SLA theory that claims that attention to input determines intake. Thus, drawing on Schmidt's theoretical framework (1993) which points out the need to implement pedagogical intervention on pragmatic issues, most of the studies on pragmatic awareness and language learning address learners' noticing of L2 features as a requirement for further second language development. However, although it is possible that Doughty's (2001) micro-processes, which potentially contribute to learning-selective attention and cognitive comparison, may be activated through direct and indirect pragmatic consciousness raising instruction, it is not clear the extent to which awareness is sufficient to gain absolute proficiency at the pragmatic level. According to Schmidt (1993), the noticing hypothesis postulates two levels of awareness: at the level of noticing (referring to the targets without mentioning any rules) and awareness at the level of understanding (referring to the explicit formulation of rules). However, since it is hypothesised that even awareness at the level of understanding may be insufficient to gain absolute proficiency (Gass, Svetics and Lemelin, 2003; Rosa and Leow, 2004), the noticing hypothesis may be further examined in empirical studies at the pragmatic realm. To do that, first it should be tested empirically. For instance, it needs to be tested whether Tomlin and Vila's (1994) functions of attention (alertness, orientation and detection) are separable, or, as suggested by Simard and Wong (2001), they are activated at the same time in processing pragmatic information. In addition, and related to research conducted in cognitive psychology, a different operationalisation of awareness may be needed in ILP research. While in cognitive psychology awareness is usually linked to the ability to verbally report a

subjective experience (Schmidt, 2001; Tomlin and Vila, 1994), most SLA studies dealing with the role of instructional techniques to draw learners' attention to formal aspects of the input, assess what is attended to by means of post-exposure tasks (Fotos, 1993). Following this procedure to measure awareness, most studies point to an indirect evidence on the role played by attention and awareness on pragmatic language learning, but more direct assessment of attention and awareness, for instance by using think-aloud protocols, should be included in further research. Secondly, considering Izumi's (2002) suggestion of using a combination of implicit techniques to help learners notice the target features, input enhancement of pragmalinguistic and socio-pragmatic factors, together with other techniques such as positive feedback, need to be examined to shed light on how they help implicit instructed learners to pay attention to pragmatic features of the language. Thirdly, since the effect of instructional treatments has been proved effective for pragmatic awareness, the delayed effect that pragmatic awareness (both at the level of noticing and understanding) may have on learners' pragmatic learning should be addressed in the future. Likewise, in line with Takahashi (2005) and Safont (2005), further studies that examine to what extent pragmatic awareness is related to learners' individual variables are desirable.

In relation to the pedagogical insights which are likely to be drawn from research on pragmatic awareness, it should be pointed out that, in line with second language acquisition research, the focus is not to transform results into pedagogical ideas. Nevertheless, some implications can be drawn. First, due to the limitations involved in classroom discourse and in textbooks presentation of pragmatic issues, more valid data can be obtained from authentic audiovisual input, and awareness and comprehension of different pragmatic meanings can be achieved by drawing attention to the linguistic forms and the sociopragmatic variables of selected speech events. Thus, a possibility would be designing material that combines the different speech acts taxonomies of linguistic formulations, and the actual face relations described in terms of different politeness systems.

*See Also:* Anne-Brit Fenner: *Cultural Awareness in the Foreign Language Classroom (Volume 6)*; Peter Robinson: *Attention and Awareness (Volume 6)*

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## METALINGUISTIC KNOWLEDGE AND ORAL PRODUCTION

### INTRODUCTION

It is widely believed by second language acquisition (SLA) experts that the ability to explain a grammatical rule and the ability to use that rule while speaking reflect two qualitatively different kinds of knowledge (Lightbown, 2000). Explaining rules involves what is referred to as *explicit* or *metalinguistic* or *declarative* knowledge whereas oral production involves *implicit* or *linguistic* or *procedural* knowledge (see list of other labels in White and Ranta, 2002, p. 260). Although the terms implicit/explicit are preferred by some influential scholars (Ellis, 2004) and declarative/procedural by others (DeKeyser, 1998), there is an advantage in using the term “metalinguistic” because it links knowledge *about* language to other metacognitive abilities. Thus, “metalinguistic knowledge” is used here to refer to the mental representations that underlie the ability to perform metalinguistic tasks; such tasks require a shift of attention away from meaning to the formal aspects of language. Explaining grammatical rules, probably the most demanding of metalinguistic tasks, requires what Berry (2005) calls “metalingual” knowledge, that is, technical terminology like *noun* and *verb*. Metalinguistic knowledge is characterized by its explicitness, which makes it more readily available for verbalization (Bialystok, 2001; Ellis, 2004). In contrast, the ability to use grammatical forms accurately in fluent speech relies upon implicit knowledge, which is highly accessible for use, but typically unanalyzed, formulaic, and unavailable for verbal report (Ellis, 2004) (see Ellis, *Implicit and Explicit Knowledge about Language*, Volume 6).

The body of theory and research dealing with the relationship between metalinguistic knowledge and the linguistic knowledge underlying oral production has two clear strands, one of which relates primarily to first language (L1) acquisition and childhood bilingualism, the other to second language (L2) acquisition. In this review, I briefly discuss the L1 acquisition context as a backdrop to the L2 acquisition issues, which is the main focus. Furthermore, although the term metalinguistic can be applied to phonological, lexical, and pragmatic knowledge, the discussion focusses exclusively on the relationship between

metalinguistic knowledge of *grammar* and the use of grammatical structures in oral production, an emphasis that reflects the predominant trends in the literature.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

### *L1 Acquisition*

All normal children develop the ability to formulate grammatical utterances in their mother tongue and to produce them fluently according to a more or less universal schedule. Although the pattern of development of metalinguistic abilities is subject to much greater variation, there is a clear pattern in how children's metalinguistic abilities progress from being able to monitor their own speech to being able to explain why certain sentences are possible and how they should be interpreted (Clark, 1978). Metalinguistic skills emerge as a function of age such that a seven year old is generally able to do what a five year old cannot. It is also the case, however, that considerable variation is evident in metalinguistic performance among children of the same age (Gleitman and Gleitman, 1979). One factor that has consistently been found to have an influence on metalinguistic development is early childhood bilingualism (see review in Bialystok, 2001). For most children, however, the acquisition of literacy skills is the most important driver of metalinguistic awareness since it is the written script that provides the child with a model for thinking about language (Olson, 1994). Finally, explicit instruction is particularly important for the development of metalingual knowledge (i.e., technical concepts for grammar analysis). For example, native speaker teachers of English often lack confidence teaching grammar in L2 classes because they have not had adequate metalingual instruction during their own schooling (Andrews, 1999).

Differences in the ability to perform metalinguistic tasks are also found among otherwise normal adults. Gleitman and Gleitman (1979) asked two groups of adults, who differed in their level of education, to paraphrase novel compound nouns in English. They found that the more educated adults were significantly better able to comment on syntactic novelty although there were no differences between the groups with respect to semantic novelty. They concluded that not everyone can focus attention on a syntactic feature, even when a speaker is in productive control of the construction in question.

### *Second Language Acquisition*

Based on their studies of metalinguistic judgments in both children and adults, Gleitman and Gleitman (1979) concluded that the ability to use

language communicatively is independent of the ability to reflect on language usage. The independence of metalinguistic skill is also a prominent notion in second language acquisition. Krashen (1985) posits that unconscious “acquired” knowledge gained from input processing underlies spontaneous oral production whereas consciously “learned” knowledge gained from metalinguistic instruction can only be accessed when there is sufficient time and a focus on form. Such conditions apply during metalinguistic task performance and in written production. According to Krashen, even production practice in the target language is not *necessary* for oral production abilities to develop; only comprehensible input is required. Krashen cites as support for the dissociation of “acquisition” and “learning” a case study of a learner (referred to as “P”) who displayed but low levels of accuracy in oral production was able to self-correct almost all of her errors when asked. Research findings consistent with Krashen’s theoretical framework come from a study of the effect of comprehension-based ESL instruction on L2 acquisition of francophone children in New Brunswick by Lightbown (1992). She found an early emergence of lexical and grammatical features in the L2 oral production of those learners who had only listened to and read along with audiotaped materials as compared to those who had experienced a modified audiolingual program including oral practice.

In contrast to findings in support of Krashen’s model, studies of the oral production of French immersion students revealed that years of comprehensible input did not guarantee native-like grammatical accuracy in oral production (Swain, 1985). The immersion research findings suggested that in addition to comprehensible input learners needed guidance (i.e., metalinguistic instruction) to figure out how the target language works. Furthermore, Swain hypothesized that the relatively passive nature of content-based classroom learning did not push learners to be more accurate in their oral production, and therefore a greater amount of output was called for. The early findings from French immersion pointing to the limits of comprehensible input led to classroom investigations that have shed further light on the relationship between metalinguistic instruction and L2 oral production (see Interfaces section later).

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Three topics stand out as having contributed to our present understanding of the relationship between metalinguistic knowledge and oral production. These are the Analysis/Control framework, the interface hypotheses, and the body of research on form-focussed instruction (FFI).

*Analysis and Control Framework*

The Analysis/Control framework developed by Bialystok (e.g., 1991) consists of two independent processing dimensions: analysis of linguistic knowledge and control of linguistic processing. The first component refers to “the progressive analysis or restructuring of mental representations of language” (Bialystok, 1991, p. 117). The function of the control component is to direct attention toward knowledge representations for a particular purpose. Different tasks make different demands on the learner’s level of analyzed knowledge and degrees of cognitive control. Metalinguistic tasks typically make the greatest demands on both analysis and control. The most demanding metalinguistic tasks are those, which require the individual to direct attention away from meaning and toward the formal features of language. Over time, the learner’s mental representations of language structures become increasingly explicit. In their initial unanalyzed state, language representations are organized around function and meaning; as the process of analysis takes place, they become organized around formal structures. This increasing analysis of mental representations leads to greater accessibility to knowledge and greater flexibility in its use. Development in control, on the other hand, is associated with the learner’s increasing ability to execute intentions and direct their performance in real time. When problems can be solved with less attention, they appear to be performed with fluency or automaticity.

The value of Bialystok’s model is that it accounts for both L1 and L2 acquisition in the same theoretical framework. What is different for the child acquiring his or her L1 and the older L2 learner is the starting point: the L2 learner begins with the analyzed representations of language gained from the L1, and with developed procedures for directing attention. According to Bialystok, the processing components in L2 learners also develop differentially depending on instructional emphases; for example, fluency-oriented programs promote the development of processing control, while grammar-oriented programs develop analysis.

*Interfaces Between Implicit and Explicit Knowledge*

An important contribution in SLA has been the conceptualization of the relationship between implicit and explicit knowledge in terms of the metaphor of an *interface* (Ellis, 1994; Krashen, 1985; White and Ranta, 2002) (see Ellis, *Explicit Knowledge and Second Language Learning and Pedagogy*, Volume 6). A noninterface model, such as Krashen’s, views implicit and explicit knowledge as the products of separate processes. For Krashen, there is no point of contact between

“acquisition” and “learning.” At the other extreme is the strong interface model (or “full interface” in White and Ranta, 2002) in which implicit and explicit knowledge are in a bidirectional relationship; this allows practice to make explicit knowledge implicit and awareness-raising activities to make implicit knowledge explicit (Bialystok, 1978).

A third position, the “weak interface,” has been advanced by Ellis (1994). Here the degree to which explicit knowledge influences interlanguage development depends on learner readiness and whether the new rule is a developmental feature or not. Explicit instruction about developmental rules such as question forms in English will only become implicit if the learner is at the right level of development to be able to accommodate the new rule. If not, the learner’s existing knowledge acts as a filter, allowing through only that which the learner is able to internalize. In addition, Ellis proposes that some target language rules (i.e., nondevelopmental grammatical rules) will be readily converted to implicit knowledge. Thus, the weak interface model views explicit knowledge as having a facilitative role, helping learners notice features in the input, and equipping them with the tools for analyzing their own production. Although the weak interface view seems to be the one that best accounts for the delayed effects of FFI found in some research, it is a difficult hypothesis to test formally (White and Ranta, 2002).

### *Studies of Form-Focussed Instruction*

FFI refers to different approaches to drawing learners’ attention to grammatical form within L2 teaching that is primarily oriented toward the development of communicative competence. Over a decade’s worth of research investigating how FFI influences L2 learning has led to widespread agreement that learners benefit from FFI. Norris and Ortega (2001) surveyed 49 studies involving a wide range of learner populations, learning contexts, and target language structures. They concluded from their meta-analysis that explicit (i.e., metalinguistic) instruction has a positive effect on L2 grammar development when compared to communicative input alone. Doughty (2003) argues, however, that the sample of studies was biased toward explicit instruction and toward outcome measures that require explicit knowledge. Only 5 of the 49 studies reviewed by Norris and Ortega included free oral production measures; most used measures involving “constrained, constructed-responses” (p. 486). In another review, Ellis (2002) examined the results of 11 studies in which a measure of free production was used (including the 5 from Norris and Ortega). He concludes that FFI *can* contribute to the development of implicit knowledge, especially in cases where the intervention is extensive and focusses on “simple”

rather than complex structures. Less extensive instruction targeting complex structures may also succeed if the targeted form is readily available in the input inside and outside of the classroom.

### WORK IN PROGRESS

The techniques used in FFI research have greatly enriched the range of metalinguistic activities available to teachers. Some of these techniques have been extensively researched with respect to their impact on L2 learning, others to a lesser extent, while still others are largely untested. In this section, I draw attention to the following FFI techniques: consciousness-raising tasks, structured output practice, structured input practice, and corrective feedback.

#### *Consciousness-Raising Tasks*

Traditional L2 grammar instruction typically begins with the presentation of a grammatical rule. One new technique, the consciousness-raising task, incorporates a task-based approach to the presentation or review of grammar rules. Consciousness-raising tasks are collaborative tasks that focus explicitly on a particular grammatical feature. Thus, instead of spotting the difference between two diagrams, or discussing whether or not the death penalty should be abolished, learners negotiate meaning *about* language (Fotos, 1994). In an early study of the effectiveness of this technique, Fotos found that Japanese students in college level EFL classes learned as much about the target grammar rules as those who were exposed to traditional deductive grammar lessons, and engaged in as much negotiation during group work as those who participated in a regular communicative task. Evidence for the impact of consciousness-raising tasks on learners' oral production is offered by White and Ranta (2002). They conducted a quasi-experimental study in a grade 6 intensive ESL program in Quebec. The target form was the possessive determiners *his/her*. They found that the group of learners who participated in consciousness-raising tasks outperformed a comparison group in terms of their accuracy using *his/her* during an oral picture description task and their ability to correct possessive determiner errors on a passage correction task.

Consciousness-raising tasks can be inductive, that is, the learners figure out the rules underlying a set of data. For example, in Fotos (1994), learners in groups were given example English sentences with adverbs in different positions and were asked to figure out which position in a sentence adverbs cannot occur. In White and Ranta (2002), the consciousness-raising task was deductive in nature. The students were first

given a rule of thumb for determining whether *his/her* is used in a sentence and then were given cloze passages to complete as a group. White and Ranta argue that doing these tasks regularly over a period of five weeks helped anchor the metalinguistic rule in the minds of the learners. According to the weak interface model, learners' improvement in their oral production of possessive determiners could be due to the forms becoming more noticeable in the input as a result of the cloze passage discussions, and then integrated into learners' implicit knowledge.

### *Structured Output Practice*

A traditional approach to grammar instruction usually consists of presentation of a rule, followed by controlled exercises and ending with an open-ended production task (i.e., the so-called Presentation-Practice-Production). Skehan (1998) contends that PPP remains the commonest teaching approach for practical reasons despite being discredited by proponents of communicative language teaching. Recently, however, the role of output practice is once again being taken seriously. As noted above, in the context of French immersion, Swain (1985) called for a greater focus on output. But merely giving learners the opportunity to talk more is not necessarily the solution. Indeed, Skehan (1996) warns against "undesirable fluency" that can result when learners practice getting their meaning across using compensatory communication strategies. How is undesirable fluency to be prevented? A useful concept in this regard is *transfer-appropriate processing* which has been borrowed from cognitive psychology to account for L2 fluency development (Segalowitz and Lightbown, 1999). This is defined as "a person's success in retrieving previously learned information is . . . facilitated to the extent that the mental operations engaged in at the time of recollection (i.e., at the time of test) match those previously engaged in at the time of encoding or learning" (Segalowitz and Lightbown, 1999, p. 50). Pattern practice drills of the type that students in audiolingual classes experienced in the past did not lead to knowledge that was readily transferable to more open-ended production tasks because the processing mechanisms involved in drills are not the same as those used in communicative interactions (Lightbown, 1983). Rather than drilling, Gatbonton and Segalowitz (2005) propose a task-based teaching approach called *Automatization in Communicative Contexts of Essential Speech Segments (ACCESS)* that focusses on fluency development through repetition of formulaic utterances in communicative tasks. In the ACCESS framework, an instructional unit consists of three phases: (i) the creative automatization phase in which functionally

useful utterances are used repeatedly; (ii) the language consolidation phase where a focus on form (i.e., metalinguistic instruction) occurs; and (iii) the free communication phase. This revised view of production practice has not yet been tested empirically but it offers a starting point for exploring the role of production practice.

### *Structured Input Practice*

Rather more empirical evidence exists about the value of focussed practice that requires learners not to produce utterances, but to comprehend them. VanPatten (2002) reviews the arguments in support of what he terms “input processing instruction.” This type of instruction consists of three stages: (i) learners are given information about the target metalinguistic rule; (ii) learners are given information about input processing strategies that interfere with acquisition of the target form (e.g., processing the first noun in a sentence as the agent/subject makes it difficult to acquire sentence initial object pronouns in Spanish); (iii) learners engage in activities that push them to process the target form in written or oral input. Along the same lines as Krashen (1985), VanPatten argues that input processing instruction leads to restructuring in learners’ interlanguage systems, which then makes this knowledge available for oral production. Production practice, on the other hand, does not feed directly into the learners’ interlanguage system and therefore cannot transform L2 learners’ abilities to communicate orally. Despite the strong theoretical arguments and the growing research base to support the use of structured input practice activities, they are still not commonly found in commercial L2 grammar textbooks.

### *Corrective Feedback*

Traditional L2 grammar instruction was characterized by constant error correction. Communicative language teaching, on the other hand, emphasizes teacher feedback on the comprehensibility rather than formal accuracy of learners’ output during interaction. Many teachers have been taught to respond to students’ errors by providing a corrected version of what the student has said (i.e., a recast). The problem with this technique, according to Lyster and Ranta (1997), is that learners may not interpret the recast as a correction. In their analysis of classroom interaction data in Canadian French immersion classes, prompting (i.e., clarification request, repetition, metalinguistic clue, and elicitation) was more likely to lead to learner self-correction. There is currently some debate about the effectiveness of recasts versus more explicit types of feedback. The issue may not be the surface characteristics

of the teacher's feedback (i.e., recasts vs. prompts) but rather the degree to which the learner recognizes that the purpose of the feedback relates to the grammatical correctness of the previous utterance rather than offering encouragement or praise. In an experiment dealing with grammatical gender in French, Lyster (2004) examined the impact of FFI combined with different types of feedback. He found that the prompting group outperformed the recast group on two written post-tests. On the oral production tasks, however, all of the groups who had received FFI outperformed the comparison group. Lyster accounts for this with reference to the testing procedure in which randomly selected learners from each treatment group were tested individually, thereby providing all participants with individualized practice opportunities. This interpretation of the results highlights the difficulty of designing studies that permit the contribution of feedback to be teased apart from that of the other components of FFI.

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

### *Fluency and Accuracy in Oral Production*

It is beyond doubt that over the past three decades, applied linguists have made great strides in broadening general understanding of L2 learning in classroom settings. Less progress has been made, however, in our understanding of how to ensure that L2 learners develop high levels of accuracy and fluency. Studies of the long term outcomes of French immersion, one of the most successful approaches to L2 teaching, point to the stabilization of interlanguage development at a non-native-like level, and the attainment in many cases of what Skehan (1996) would call "undesirable fluency." According to Ellis (1994), the problem seems to be that fluency favors processes that are inimical to the development of accuracy. Paradoxically, while output practice is recognized as having an important role to play for both accuracy and fluency development (Swain, 1995), it remains somewhat disconnected from SLA theoretical models. Part of the problem is that the concept of practice is still tainted by its association with the behavioristic drilling of audiolingualism (Lightbown, 2000). In reaction to behaviorism, SLA researchers have emphasized the emergence of grammatical forms in learners' interlanguage rather the correctness of their production.

In contrast to the vague attitude toward practice in input-oriented SLA theories, cognitive theory views extensive practice as the means by which explicit knowledge becomes accessible for use in fluent, spontaneous oral production (Segalowitz and Lightbown, 1999). But cognitive theory's emphasis on production means that the role of input

processing is ignored. So what is urgently needed is a theoretical model that specifies the relationship between input, output and metalinguistic knowledge. The models proposed by Bialystok (1978) and Skehan (1998) each offer a potential starting point but further refinement is needed in order to provide testable hypotheses for research (see Verspoor, *Cognitive Linguistics and its Applications to Second Language Teaching*, Volume 6).

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Studies addressing the issues discussed above should include a range of research approaches (DeKeyser, 2003). First of all, carefully controlled experiments of how different types of FFI impact learning outcomes should be carried out on a variety of grammatical structures from different target languages. Wider use of free oral production tasks as outcome measures is essential. It is also important that such research should take into account learner differences in L2 aptitude, a trait that constitutes strengths in language learning ability (Robinson, 2005). This ability has been conceptualized as being made up of components of subskills. Robinson proposes that some learners have a particular aptitude for specific learning conditions such as via explicit rule learning or via recasts. Being able to identify such strengths would make it possible to match learners to optimal types of L2 instruction. In this way, research could support decision-making in the expensive enterprise of L2 training to advanced levels of proficiency.

In addition to laboratory studies, more classroom-based research is needed to investigate the effects of different models of instruction (i.e., PPP, ACCESS) that have been proposed. Theoretical arguments can be made for and against each of these approaches but empirical evidence is needed to guide pedagogical decision-making.

Finally, it is likely that new approaches to the teaching of L2 grammar such as consciousness-raising tasks and structured input practice will be slow to appear in teacher education programs, or may not be taught in such a way as to make them readily applicable. Studies of how preservice and inservice teachers integrate new ideas about teaching grammar into their praxis is yet another piece of the puzzle essential to our understanding of how metalinguistic instruction can influence the development of L2 learners' oral production skills.

*See Also :* Nick Ellis: *Implicit and Explicit Knowledge about Language (Volume 6)*; Rod Ellis: *Explicit Knowledge and Second Language Learning and Pedagogy (Volume 6)*; Marjolijn H. Verspoor: *Cognitive Linguistics and its Applications to Second Language Teaching (Volume 6)*

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## **Section 3**

**Knowledge about Language, the Curriculum, the Classroom  
and the Teacher**

## “AWAKENING TO LANGUAGES” AND EDUCATIONAL LANGUAGE POLICY

### INTRODUCTION

When using the terms “Awakening to languages” I refer to an approach that has been defined as follows in the European Evlang program (see Candelier, 2003b, pp. 18–19; Evlang is an acronym for “Eveil aux langues à l’école primaire”):

“An awakening to languages is when part of the activities concerns languages that the school does not intend to teach (which may or may not be the mother tongues of some pupils). This does not mean that only that part of the work that focuses on these languages deserves to be called an awakening to languages. Such a differentiation would not make sense as normally it has to be a global enterprise, usually comparative in nature, that concerns both those languages, the language or languages of the school and any foreign (or other) language learnt.”

As such, it appears to be a direct heir of the “Language Awareness” approach that emerged in the UK during the 1980s, thanks to the theoretical and practical work of Eric Hawkins (Hawkins, 1984) and of other researchers and teachers (see also Van Essen, *Language Awareness and Knowledge about Language: A Historical Overview*, Volume 6; Cots, *Knowledge about Language in the Mother Tongue and Foreign Language Curricula*, Volume 6).

The aim of the present contribution is to outline theoretical and practical research about the possibilities of using this approach for educational language policy aims, in the context of societies where openness to others and plurilingual competences are urgently needed (see Helot, *Awareness Raising and Multilingualism in Primary Education*, Volume 6).

The underlying conception of language policy is that of an action, according to the definition proposed by the *Guide for the Development of Language Education Policies in Europe*, which states that “language policy is a conscious official or militant action that seeks to intervene in languages of whatever type [...] with respect to their forms [...]”,

social functions [. . .] or their place in education” (Council of Europe, 2003, p. 15).

The research work described later has to be understood as belonging to “Critical language policy research,” mainly in that it “aims at social change” and at “developing policies that reduce various forms of inequality,” but also because it is strongly influenced by “critical theory” dealing with social issues, elaborated by such thinkers as Bourdieu (1982) (Toffelson, 2006, pp. 42–43).

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Educators and researchers promoting the awakening to languages approach believe in its capacity to contribute to the acquisition of attitudes, aptitudes, and knowledge required for individual development and life in common within the multilingual and multicultural context resulting from migratory phenomena and increasing globalization of economy, information, exchanges, and culture.

This relates to favorable perceptions of and attitudes toward not just the languages and their diversity but also the speakers of the languages and their cultures. Naturally, this applies also to the languages and cultures of allophone pupils (pupils having another language at home, immigrant, or native), whose abilities and identities are thus recognized by school.

Developing curiosity, interest, and openness for and toward that which is different should also contribute to diversifying the languages pupils choose to learn.

While improving better aptitudes for listening to, observing, and analyzing languages awakening to languages enhances the ability to learn them. It is also a matter of developing a “language culture,” a knowledge specific to languages, particularly of a sociolinguistic nature. This knowledge represents a set of references that help to understand the world in which pupils live today and will live in the future. Unlike Schiffman’s “linguistic culture” (see Schiffman, 2006) the use of “culture” made here does not include attitudes (values, prejudices. . .), following the approach of competences adopted by the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*, which distinguishes “knowledge,” “skills,” and “existential competences”—Council of Europe, 2000, chapter 2.1.1.

Although in a slightly different context—also characterized by a massive presence of migrants but still at a lower stage of globalization—the “language awareness” approach developed in the UK during the 1980s already featured most of the goals listed earlier for the awakening to languages, whether cognitive or affective, including the aim of encouraging better relations between ethnic groups (Donmall,

1985, pp. 7–8). Among the many motivations stated, the predominant one originally was the determination to fight failure in languages at school (in both English and foreign languages) (James, 1995, p. 27; James and Garrett, 1992, p. 3; Moore, 1995, pp. 45–46). (Therefore, the decision taken by the promoters of the Evlang project not to keep the expression “awareness of language” for their own “awaking to languages” work has nothing to do with discontinuity in aims, but with the wish to delimit a specific area within the broader domain of language awareness research.)

The movement was not subsequently recognized by any institutions in the UK. In 2000, however, the Nuffield Language Inquiry suggested that the “national action programme for early education” should introduce language awareness modules to “establish a bridge between teaching in English and teaching in foreign languages” and to promote the “acceptance of diversity” (for recent developments, see Hawkins, 2005).

A large number of studies influenced by the British forerunner movement was carried out in the 1990s in several European countries, for instance in Grenoble (France) under the direction of Louise Dabène (see Dabène, 1995), at the Landesinstitut für Schule und Weiterbildung at Soest, Germany (Haenisch and Thürmann, 1994), and at the Zentrum für Schulentwicklung at Graz, Austria (Huber and Huber-Kriegler, 1994). In Italy, the language awareness approach influenced the work carried out under the heading of *Educazione linguistica* (see Costanzo, 2003).

French-speaking Switzerland had been interested from the early 1990s in the awakening to languages approach which it called EOLE (*éveil au langage/ouverture aux langues*—awakening to language/openness to languages) to specify that it was a matter of both developing pupils’ metalinguistic skills and their plurilingual and pluricultural socialization (Perregaux, 1995). The promoters were particularly motivated by the need both to reach a better acceptance of the learning of other national languages of the country (mainly German in its francophone part) and to recognize within classroom practice the often fully ignored resources of pupils from immigrant families. The second motivation was also a very important one for the work carried out at Freiburg (Germany) around Ingelore Oomen-Welke, focused essentially on taking into account the languages of immigrants at school (Oomen-Welke, 1998).

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

At that stage in the development of innovations in the awakening to languages approach it was felt necessary to set up a more substantial project capable of verifying whether or not the expectations raised by the approach were justified.

This was the task ascribed to the Eulang program (1997–2001) backed by the European Union as part of the Socrates/Lingua programs (see Candelier, 2003a). It combined the efforts of some 30 researchers involved in language teaching in 5 countries (Austria, France, Italy, Spain, and Switzerland). The aim was to show that the approach could be applied on a broader scale, that it was realistic with regard to the means to be implemented, and that it would lead to the anticipated results—at least those that were perceptible within the framework of a project lasting 3 years, a duration specified by the Socrates programs.

Some 30 teaching materials for a course of 1 year to 18 months at the end of primary school were produced (see the chapter by de Goumoëns, Noguerol, Perregaux, and Zurbriggen in Candelier, 2003a) and experimented in their usual classes by generally nonspecialist and not “preselected” teachers. A specific tuition had been provided to them as part of in-service teacher training sessions lasting generally not more than 2–3 days. A quantitative evaluation was carried out on some 2,000 pupils (compared with about half that number of pupils for the control group), based on prior and final tests and a very stringent scientific protocol. The qualitative evaluation focused essentially on some 20 classes, with interviews (of teachers and pupils) and a detailed observation of the approach (video recordings and specific observation grids). These were complemented by various questionnaires addressed to a larger number of teachers and parents (see the chapter by Genelot and Tupin in Candelier, 2003a).

As for the effect on attitudes, the tests looked firstly at the pupils’ interest in diversity and secondly at their receptiveness to the unfamiliar. For the development of language-related aptitudes, the study looked at the ability to discriminate and memorize by listening, and at syntax skills using the method of text deconstruction–reconstruction in an unknown language.

In both cases—attitudes and aptitudes—the impact of the awakening to languages on the first of the two components mentioned (interest and listening skills) has been confirmed in a large majority of samples. The effect was also shown for the second component (receptiveness and syntax skills) although in only a few cases. These differences can be explained: receptiveness obviously demands more than simple interest, and the deconstruction–reconstruction exercises were carried out much less frequently than the listening exercises in the teaching materials (see the chapter by Bernaus, Genelot, Hensinger, and Matthey as well as the chapter by Matthey, Genelot, Noguerl, and Têcher in Candelier, 2003a).

The only relative disappointment concerns the effects on skills in the language(s) of the school, which have not been stated, although

teachers tended to consider that they do exist when expressing their experience in the interviews and questionnaires. The majority of the Evlang initiators themselves had expressed certain doubts in this respect concerning activities scheduled at the end of primary education.

It should also be retained that these results apply to a course that generally lasted 35 hours. Yet the study of the links between the number of teaching hours (which varied from 7 hours to 95 hours) and the intensity of the effects clearly shows that a longer course has every chance of leading to more generalized effects with a broader scope.

It should also be noted that the Evlang's contribution to the development of attitudes essentially concerned the weakest pupils at school, and thus may be seen as compensatory. Furthermore, the awakening to languages significantly promoted the desire to learn languages. In several cases, it boosted interest in learning minority languages, including the languages of immigrants.

The practice of this approach usually led teachers to be more "sensitive" to the presence of allophone pupils in their class, and to call upon their resources. For most of the teachers, referring to several languages simultaneously was seen as natural. Intellectual approval of the awakening to languages approach predominated. A majority of pupils found Evlang useful or even very useful, even if the reasons for its usefulness were not always perceived or clearly expressed. They generally appreciated the way they were asked to work (through socioconstructivist activities—see the chapter by Aeby and de Pietro in Candelier, 2003a).

As a whole, the Evlang research can be seen as having produced the awaited evidence for the capability of the awakening to languages approach to develop attitudes toward otherness and abilities for language learning corresponding to language policy educational aims, which have to be pursued in the context of multilingual and multicultural societies.

Many researchers involved in the Evlang program collaborated again from 2000 till 2004 in the next program, called *Janua Linguarum* (The gateway to languages—in reference to the title of an important book by the great pedagogue Comenius, *Janua linguarum reserata*, published in 1631), which has been supported financially by both the Council of Europe (European Centre for Modern Languages in Graz, Austria) and the European Union. *Janua Linguarum* activities were developed in 16 European countries: Austria, Czech Republic, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Latvia, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russian Federation, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, and Switzerland (Candelier, 2003b).

This time the focus was laid on dissemination work, which was felt as inseparable from studying the conditions of the incorporation of the

approach into the curricula of various education systems. At the same time, it was decided to target also younger learners (Kindergarten) and some older ones (lower secondary).

The most important result of the *Janua Linguarum* program was to show the capacity of the awakening to languages to adapt to fairly different sociolinguistic contexts and teaching traditions and that there were no subsequent “counter indications” to the use of this approach.

The facilitating role of multilingual national or regional contexts as regards motivation of teachers and educational authorities for the approach was also shown.

It was interesting to note that the difficulties felt by the national coordinators during the program’s implementation were more material in nature than representational. One of the questions that recurred constantly is that of the approach’s place in the school timetables. The solution already formulated within the *Evlang* program remains the best: as an interdisciplinary approach the awakening to languages has to be incorporated simultaneously into several subjects.

At the same time, links were established between awakening to languages and the education to “Democratic Citizenship,” as developed within the Council of Europe (Audigier, 2000). Although such links also used to take into account the linguistic empowerment that can result from an increased capacity to learn languages aimed by awakening programs, they mainly stressed aspects dealing with the positive acceptance of differences and diversity, belonging to the domain of attitudes (Candelier, 2003b, p. 23).

As such, awakening to languages indubitably converges with the so-called “intercultural” (or “cross-cultural”) approaches. An attempt to clarify the relationship between awakening to languages and those approaches was made, which highlighted some important specificities (Candelier, 2003b, pp. 21–22). Its access to culture phenomena is intrinsically a linguistic one, thus reiterating the statement common in the didactics of languages (and cultures) according to which language is both a means of expression of a culture and a privileged access to that culture. It thoroughly follows the principle that positive attitudes toward diversity are not to be built by a “persuasive” moralizing discourse but by a highly involving cognitive activity of the learner.

During the *Janua Linguarum* program, it was noted that—as emerged already in the *Evlang* evaluation—teachers are more convinced of the potential effects of the approach on the attitudes of pupils toward the diversity of languages and cultures than of its effects on their metalinguistic aptitudes. This is also the aspect of the approach that parents commented on most. On the whole, it is definitely as an approach aimed at ensuring a positive acceptance of diversity that awakening to languages achieves spontaneous approval, rather than

as an approach likely to develop language observation and analysis skills facilitating language learning. The partial lack of understanding of the approach revealed by this finding partly inspired further developments.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

The influence of research work done by experts of the Council of Europe on language teaching orientations and methodology in Europe has been continually growing since the 1970s, with the development of important reference documents like the “Threshold levels” (notional-functional approach, in the mid-1970s) or, more recently, the *Common European Framework of Reference* (Council of Europe, 2000) and the Language Portfolios. (For more information, see <http://www.coe.int/>, Language Policy Division.)

Therefore, establishing precise links with the concept of “education for plurilingualism” promoted at the present by the Council of Europe was an appropriate way to better anchor the awakening approach into language didactics on the whole and to stress its potential role for plurilingual language learning.

In that perspective, it was useful to establish it as one “pluralistic approach” to languages and cultures, among others like the integrated teaching and learning of languages taught (building for instance on the learner’s own language to facilitate access to a first foreign language, or on a first foreign language to facilitate access to a second one—see Hufeisen and Neuner (eds.), 2004), the intercomprehension between related languages (for an overview see Doyé, 2005), and, of course, the inter- (or cross-) cultural approach (e.g., Byram, 2003).

While “singular” approaches address one particular language or culture taken in isolation, pluralistic approaches are teaching approaches in which the learner works on several languages or cultures simultaneously.

According to the *Guide for the Development of Language Education Policies in Europe* (Council of Europe, 2003, p. 16), “education for plurilingualism [...] involves enhancing and developing speakers’ individual linguistic repertoires from the earliest schooldays and throughout life.” These repertoires constitute the “plurilingual and pluricultural competence” of individuals, which is seen as the “actual ability to use several languages to different degrees of proficiency and for different purposes” (ibid., p. 71). For the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*, the “plurilingual and pluricultural competence” should not be seen as “a collection of distinct and separate competences to communicate depending on the languages [the individual] knows, but rather a plurilingual competence encompassing the full range of the languages available to him [...]” (Council of Europe, 2000, p. 168).

Sensibly, the *Guide* sets that “managing the repertoire means that the varieties of which it is composed are not dealt with in isolation; instead, although distinct from each other, they are treated as a single competence [. . .]” (Council of Europe, 2003, p. 71).

In other words, to help learners to build up this general plurilingual competence and to develop it continuously in a process of lifelong learning, there is a need to make use of approaches able to foster competences (knowledge, skills, attitudes), which can be considered either as “overall” competences (concerning languages and cultures in general) or as competences through which the learner can base his/her acquisition of a new language or culture (or certain aspects of it) on the aptitudes acquired in the previous learning of a particular language or culture (or certain aspects of it). Obviously, only “pluralistic approaches” in the sense developed before can account for this, as they include activities putting at stake different linguistic and cultural varieties at the same time.

“Education for plurilingualism” is just one of two aims proposed by the Council of Europe as constituents of what it calls “plurilingual education,” the other one being “education for plurilingual awareness,” the purpose of which is “to educate for linguistic tolerance, raise awareness of linguistic diversity and educate for democratic citizenship” (Council of Europe, 2003, p. 16). The fact that awakening to languages also works at this second aim has been amply shown earlier.

Despite of the grounding role it has played in developing and disseminating the key notion of “plurilingual and pluricultural competence,” the *Common European Framework of Reference* does not include any detailed and systematic inventory of competences of the kind that has just been outlined. To fill this gap, some researchers having been involved in the previous awakening to languages innovative work decided to start a common project with colleagues working in the field of the other pluralistic approaches (see earlier) aiming at establishing a specific framework of reference. The project is part of the 2<sup>nd</sup> medium-term program (2004–2007) of the European Centre for Modern Languages (ECML, Graz, Council of Europe) under the name “Across Languages and Cultures” (ALC).

Such a framework should provide an overview of the competences concerned and show how each approach can contribute to their development. This facilitates the elaboration of curricula setting out a genuine progression in the acquisition of these competences and allows the necessary coordination between the different pluralistic approaches and between these approaches and the learning of a particular language.

Simultaneously it was felt that elaborating more systematic strategies and materials for teacher education was necessary to ensure a better

dissemination of the approach and its overall efficiency. Therefore, another group from the previous *Evlang* and *Janua Linguarum* researchers decided to start another ECML 2<sup>nd</sup> medium-term program called “Language Educator Awareness,” which is also intended to end in 2007. The activities produced aim at raising among language teachers awareness of diversity as a key element of society and providing them with the wish and the ability to exploit linguistic and cultural variety both at individual and social levels in their classes (for both ALC and LEA programs, see <http://www.ecml.at>) (see Andrews, *Teacher Language Awareness*, Volume 6).

The dissemination work initiated by *Janua Linguarum* is continuing at national or regional level in almost all countries that were already involved (see earlier), through the elaboration and publication of new teaching aids (as for instance in Slovenia and Switzerland—see Perregaux, de Goumoëns, Jeannot, and de Pietro, 2003), through educating teachers (for instance in Portugal and Poland), and informing the general public and gaining the interest of education authorities (as in the Czech Republic and Catalonia—Spain). In Japan, some classroom activities are conducted by students of the Keio University under the direction of Atsuko Koishi (see Sekiji and Yasui, 2005). In Belgium, Foyer, a Brussels integration centre, is the promotor of awakening to languages in Flemish education, developing educational materials on the topic, and creating a regional network with different teacher training institutes, involving also the Flemish Department of Education (see Top and De Smedt, 2005).

Stimulated by the results of *Evlang* and *Janua Linguarum*, field research has been started in Canada and the francophone part of Belgium. During awakening to languages classes in a migration or immersion context at late primary level in Montreal and Vancouver, Armand and Dagenais (2005) collected qualitative data documenting critical discussions about the value attributed to different languages and to their speakers as well as the way in which allophone children acquire a new status as language experts in classroom interaction. Again, the stimulating effect of such activities on the ability to reflect about languages could be shown (the teaching aids developed have been made available on the ELODIL website—see later). Research work in progress involving other colleagues of the same Universities (P. Lamarre, D. Moore, and C. Sabatier) aims to deepen the gained insight through a longitudinal approach.

In 2002, the Minister in charge of primary schools within the Belgian “*Communauté française*” ordered a feasibility study concerning awakening to languages, followed by an experimental implementation in five schools (with pupils aged from 5 to 12). The activities were generally appreciated positively by the teachers and

the children, who fast unanimously expressed their feeling to have learnt “interesting things” (Blondin and Mattar, 2004). In 2005, the Government of the Communauté française de Belgique asked the same researchers to deepen the analysis of the relationship between existing curricula and awakening to languages and to develop new teaching aids adapted to the context of francophone Belgium.

For research work in the same area conducted in France parallel to the European projects mentioned earlier, see Young and Helot, 2003, and Helot, *Awareness Raising and Multilingualism in Primary Education*, Volume 6.

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

We concentrate on some obstacles or grounds for resistance belonging to the domain of educational language policy (see Candelier, 2003a, pp. 338–339).

At primary school level, the great majority of parents are asking for the teaching of one foreign language—mostly English in non-English-speaking countries. Although there is no contradiction between this demand and the introduction of an approach aiming at the development of the ability to learn languages, material constraints due to the school time available tend to let both options appear as competing. In that case, decision-makers seldom hesitate and generally favor the one language option.

Concurrently, many educators and decision-makers are till now—due to the dominant educative culture—unable to imagine that languages could be used at school for anything else than learning them (or, according to more recent perceptions, learning other subjects through them). In some cases, this incapacity leads to a wrong understanding of awakening to languages, which is seen as an attempt to learn many languages at the same time—this being with good ground considered as too demanding or only possible with “gifted” students.

The same incomprehension can also lead to seeing awakening to languages as a mere “sensitization” to languages, without any actual learning objective (for such objectives, see the chapter by M. Kervran and M. Candelier in Candelier, 2003a, pp. 74–81, as well as the ALC project mentioned earlier).

Finally, it occurred that decision-makers declared that the approach was “too cheap” (in terms of financial means required) and that adopting it would expose them to the critic of not doing enough for languages in education! (This was in France, just before an important presidential election.)

## FUTURE DIRECTIONS

At this stage, researchers and educators wishing to promote the awakening to languages approach have to pursue two aims: a quantitative one, linked with the dissemination of the approach—which includes convincing authorities—and a qualitative one, consisting in ensuring broader and more regular effects of the approach on the competences of learners. Both require new efforts in two main directions:

1. complementing and diversifying reflection and research on the implementation of the approach in different settings;
2. investigating accurately the ways by which competences acquired during awakening to languages activities can be reinvested by pupils in different dimensions of language learning.

The disastrous influence of inadequate language education on school achievement in all continents and that of lacking recognition of linguistic identities on life in so many societies has already led to introducing a worldwide perspective in reflections about contextual variations of objectives, contents, and methods of awakening to languages. The decisive step—nourished in particular by the confrontation with the situation in French overseas Départements (French Guyana, see Légise and Migge, 2006; Réunion Isle) and the discovery of already existing practice in Cameroon (see Mba and Messina, 2003)—was taken when working out a contribution for UNESCO (Candelier, 2006). One of the most promising directions lies in the ability of the awakening to languages approach to offer some of the advantages that are currently awaited from the use of the language of the family in first school grades, in settings where bilingual education is not possible/desirable, due to financial reasons, the wish to avoid school ghettos (when several languages are present on the same territory), and/or negative perceptions. In such situations, the approach can at least ensure some educational recognition of the language of the child, value her/his preexisting linguistic abilities and provide some explicit awareness of differences and similarities between the idiom already known and the one to be acquired at school (see Ó Riagáin, *Language Attitudes and Minority Languages*, Volume 6).

As for the second direction, a doctoral thesis (by Martine Kervran) has just started at the Université du Maine (Le Mans, France) to explore the ways in which primary school pupils use abilities acquired in awakening to languages activities when confronted with foreign language learning tasks (see Ellis, *Explicit Knowledge and Second Language Learning and Pedagogy*, Volume 6). A parallel study is about to start in the near future about tasks in French as a language of instruction. In Canada, a new project under the direction of

Françoise Armand is expected, which aims at investigating the combined effect of awakening to languages and metaphonological activities on the acquisition of reading and writing proficiency in multi-ethnic and underprivileged settings. This broadens first insights gained during a previous investigation (Armand, 2004) (see Piske, *Phonetic Awareness, Phonetic Sensitivity and the Second Language Learner*, Volume 6).

Another task for the future is to ensure the development of the international association EDiLiC (Education et Diversité Linguistique et Culturelle) launched in 2001 in the wake of the Evlang project to coordinate dissemination and research activities worldwide. Elaborating a database of teaching materials was felt as one of the most urgent tasks. After the first Congress, held in July 2006 in Le Mans in connexion with the eighth ALA Conference (Association for Language Awareness), the association will develop its own Web site.

*See Also:* Arthur Van Essen: *Language Awareness and Knowledge about Language: A Historical Overview* (Volume 6); Josep M. Cots: *Knowledge about Language in the Mother Tongue and Foreign Language Curricula* (Volume 6); Christine Helot: *Awareness Raising and Multilingualism in Primary Education* (Volume 6); Rod Ellis: *Explicit Knowledge and Second Language Learning and Pedagogy* (Volume 6); Pádraig Ó Riagáin: *Language Attitudes and Minority Languages* (Volume 6); Stephen J. Andrews: *Teacher Language Awareness* (Volume 6); Thorsten Piske: *Phonetic Awareness, Phonetic Sensitivity and the Second Language Learner* (Volume 6)

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#### USEFUL WEBSITES

- Austria: <http://www.sprachen.ac.at/download/>(choose "Kiesel")
- Belgium: <http://www.mag.ulg.ac.be/eveilaulangues/>
- Canada (Québec): <http://www.elodil.com/>
- France: <http://plurilingues.univ-lemans.fr/>
- Janua-Linguarum: <http://jaling.ecml.at/>and [http://www.ph-freiburg.de/jaling/bibliographie/bibliographie\\_neu.html](http://www.ph-freiburg.de/jaling/bibliographie/bibliographie_neu.html)
- Slovenia: <http://www2.arnes.si/~sfidle/>
- Spain (Catalonia): <http://dewey.uab.es/jaling>
- UK: <http://www.language-investigator.co.uk/index.htm>

## LANGUAGE AWARENESS AND CLIL

### INTRODUCTION

The term Language Awareness (LA) covers a broad range of issues relating to learning, teaching and using languages. These include knowledge about a language itself; how people best learn languages and how they communicate in real-life situations. Correspondingly, it involves achieving deeper understanding of how language is used to achieve specific goals in communication. These may be largely positive, as in building synergy through relationships, and effective transfer of ideas; or largely negative, as when language is used to influence people through manipulation and discrimination.

Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) is a generic term that refers to the teaching of subjects in a different language from the mainstream language of instruction. It is an educational approach in which diverse methodologies are used which lead to dual-focussed education where attention is given to both topic and language of instruction. ‘... achieving this twofold aim calls for the development of a special approach to teaching in that the non-language subject is not taught *in* a foreign language but *with* and *through* a foreign language (Eurydice 2006, p. 8).

Applications of CLIL are multifarious depending on educational level, environment and the specific approach adopted. The learning outcomes tend to focus on achieving higher levels of awareness and skill in using language in real-life situations, alongside the learning of subject matter. This approach can be viewed as being neither language learning, nor subject learning, but rather an amalgam of both. Successful application involves utilizing and developing a broad range of language awareness capacities.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The development of foreign language learning has clearly been influenced by various trends over the past 50 years. While these trends shifted from predominant focus on ‘form’ to ‘meaning’, and corresponding methodological approaches were applied, three major operational issues have remained of key importance. The first involves ensuring a high degree of learner motivation when teaching groups of

individuals who have diverse preferred learning styles. The second involves the distinction and overlap between language acquisition and language learning as relating to optimal learning environments. The third concerns the amount of time, which can be allocated to language learning within the educational curriculum.

The language awareness movement developed in relation to both first and second language learning during the 1980s (Donmall, 1985; Hawkins, 1984; see also Van Essen, *Language Awareness and Knowledge about Language: A Historical Overview*, Volume 6 and *Cots, Knowledge about Language in the Mother Tongue and Foreign Language Curricula*, Volume 6). Originally focussing on explicit knowledge of grammar and function, it attempted to seek commonality of interest between those involved with first and second language teaching, and promote the curricular concept of 'languages across the curriculum' (Barnes, Britton and Rosen, 1969). Much of this work was carried out in the United Kingdom in relation to social inequalities and low standards of literacy in the first language (Davie, Butler and Goldstein, 1972). Recent international statistics (PISA, 2003) exemplify the ongoing scale of the problem by showing that some 20% of European 15-year olds have serious difficulty with reading literacy in the first language.

Because the field is so wide, language awareness can be found as an issue of interest in both first and second language learning which crosses many academic boundaries. A driving force since the 1980s has been on the learning of a second language, and critical language awareness. This has resulted in primary focus on the learner, the user of language, being actively involved in understanding the process of learning as an individual, and the use of language in communication.

There is an international association that describes the area as focussing on 'explicit knowledge about language, and conscious perception and sensitivity in language learning, language teaching and language use' (ALA, 2006).

Turning to one aspect of the language awareness movement, namely how people effectively learn languages, leads us to the educational approach known as CLIL. The CLIL movement developed in Europe through the 1990s with active investment support from the European Commission (Marsh, 2002).

The term was launched in 1996 to denote a dual-focussed educational approach in which an additional language is used for the learning and teaching of both content and language.

Proponents wanted to bring good practice from differing types of bilingual learning environments into mainstream education so as to enhance language learning, usually in the second language. This includes forms of immersion, content-based language teaching, language across the curriculum, among others. The major objective was to determine how

language-supportive methodologies worked, and what outcomes might be expected. What happened, over time, was that forms of CLIL focused more on the content, rather than on the language. This would be the single most distinctive difference between such forms of CLIL and immersion.

CLIL is inspired by 'important methodological principles established by research on foreign language teaching, such as the need for learners to be exposed to a situation calling for genuine communication' (Eurydice, 2006, p. 9). These principles are often geared towards drawing on types of higher language learning capacities, which are a major focus of those working on language awareness. CLIL usually goes beyond aiming for development of types of lower-order thinking skills (Bloom 1984) towards higher-order skills. This is what often differentiates CLIL from types of language learning approaches which are also content-oriented.

In those educational environments where language learning is considered particularly important, there is inevitably curricular pressure that reduces the amount of time available. This restriction of time allocated requires decisions to be made about what should be taught, and for what purpose. Even if the methodologies used to teach languages are broadly effective in developing a learner's sensitivity to the role that language plays in human interaction, and other features of language awareness, it is reasonable to assume that lack of time plays a decisive role in what can be reasonably achieved within the classroom. 'CLIL enables languages to be taught on a relatively intensive basis without claiming an excessive share of the school timetable' (Eurydice, 2006, p. 9).

Curricular pressure also influences learner motivation. In order to cater for groups of learners, and fulfil curricular requirements, it is inevitable that homogenization of methods and materials will work against accommodating diverse individual language learning styles. 'Among the factors that recent studies have emphasized (within second language acquisition), three are of motivational importance for the CLIL teacher. The first one, an integrative orientation towards the target language group, that is a desire to learn a language to communicate with people of another culture who speak it. Second, pedagogical factors, such as the effects of classroom environment, instructional techniques, and attitudes towards the language teacher and course. And third, the students' linguistic confidence, that is their belief to have the ability to produce results, accomplish goals or perform tasks completely, and in the case of an L2 to do all this with low levels of anxiety as well' (Munoz, 2002, p. 36).

These fall within the remit of (critical) language awareness, whereby language itself becomes meaningful for the student both in terms

of its structure, and how it is used in real-life contexts. Thurlow (2001, p. 214) introduces the notion of ‘communication awareness’ to describe how communication becomes ‘meaningful, to young people themselves; . . . how they articulate their own understanding and experience of communication’. CLIL methodologies often serve to enact this experience both in terms of the second language, and the first language in some ways.

As a generic term, CLIL describes a wide range of educational practice. This type of methodology has taken root in various parts of the world, for possibly quite different reasons. Some of these may not actually be specific to language learning, but rather other inter-linked goals that can be broadly considered as developing language awareness through experiential forms of learning (Coyle, 2005). Across Europe, these have been identified as serving cultural, environmental, language, content and learning-oriented knowledge and skills (Marsh, Maljers and Hartiala, 2001). Globally, attention is now being paid to a synthesis of these, focussing on content, culture, communication and community. A major interest is in how appropriate use of these methodologies serves to enhance cognitive development.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Language learning, and within this language awareness, is an area of growing interest because of the pace of global, social and technological change. Cultural diversity, and the use of the new technologies for new or adapted forms of communication, results in an ever greater need to explore how the role of language impacts on individuals in their interaction with the wider world. Put simply, globalization and the ‘knowledge societies’ in which we increasingly live are leading to a re-thinking about maximizing literacy levels in first and second languages, and in specific language domains. This has resulted in the development of integrated educational approaches, which develop the knowledge and skills required for an increasingly inter-connected world.

Since the 1990s, Europe among other continents, has witnessed a knowledge revolution in education resulting mainly from increasingly widespread access to the Internet and the new technologies. CLIL can be seen as a practical application of the ‘Knowledge Triangle’, which integrates education, innovation and research. ‘Some would argue that one effect of this on young people concerns the purposiveness of education and an increasing reluctance to postpone gratification. Teachers and others argue that some students are no longer willing to *learn now for use later*, which is a form of deferred purpose,

but prefer *to learn as you use and use as you learn* which suits the immediacy of purpose common to the times' (Marsh, 2002, p. 66).

The field of language awareness has been heavily influenced by the need to go beyond achieving only utilitarian skills when learning languages. Bruner (1983) argued the need for a Language Acquisition Support System (LASS) by which to utilize Chomsky's (1972) Language Acquisition Device (LAD). This was influential in discussion of a natural approach to language learning as described by Krashen and Terrell (1983). It was argued that learning a foreign language under school conditions requires the use of some form of LASS. Hawkins (1999) describes this as leading to more than the development of utilitarian skill in using the language for specific purposes. He considers a range of language awareness features including reflection on the first language, and development of Halliday's (1978) 'mathetic' function, which concerns a holistic approach combining the development of language-for-learning with language-for-action.

These are summarized by van Lier (1995, p. xi) in his definition of language awareness: 'Language awareness can be defined as an understanding of the human faculty of language and its role in thinking, learning and social life. It includes an awareness of power and control through language, and of the intricate relationships between language and culture'.

Providing opportunities for learners to be immersed in a form of holistic learning environment can be provided by forms of 'language across the curriculum' such as CLIL. Clearly this can be achieved through various forms of language teaching approaches. However, language teaching, separated from other subject learning, often faces constraints which prevent this type of holistic goal from being achieved. The main reasons for this are usually to do with context, methodologies and time.

Put simply, a language learning classroom is usually an artificial environment because regardless of what is done within the lesson, language learning is the main aim. This can have a negative impact on certain types of learners, especially over time, because of issues relating to relevance and authenticity. In a CLIL context, the focus shifts from language to achieving, or otherwise learning about, some other goal, so the language learning falls into the background, and learning becomes more incidental.

The situation common in the early development of CLIL as a means for developing language awareness was characterized by the need to search for a complementary extra platform for developing language learning. This 'extra space' would then enable specific forms of methodology to be used to achieve goals not attainable within a time and resource-restricted language-learning slot within a curriculum. These

methodologies evolved into a form of education, which surpasses 'language learning', taking place in forms of 'integrated language acquisition-rich' learning environment.

This has resulted in moving beyond linguistic goals that are predominantly utilitarian, towards those that are pragmatic. These pragmatic goals involve the student learning how words are used to elucidate action and link to the seminal work of Austin (1962). Working in rich communicative environments that require performative action engages the individual, and helps develop holistic language awareness. This is difficult to achieve in a language lesson where the main focus is on 'doing things with words' and not 'using words to achieve things'. In CLIL the target language needs to go beyond being a 'vehicular language' towards a 'mediation language'.

Wolff (2006) observes '(CLIL) is based on the well-known assumption that foreign languages are best learnt by focussing in the classroom not so much on language—its form and structure—but on the content which is transmitted through language. Compared to other content-based approaches the specific novelty of this approach is that classroom content is not so much taken from everyday life, or general content of the target language culture, but rather drawn from content subjects or academic viz. scientific disciplines'. This has led to reports of high learner motivation (Huibregtse, 2001), with the CLIL approach viewed as appealing to a range of preferred language learning styles, and satisfying the language-learning goals outlined by those working within language awareness.

Citing Fishman (1989, p. 447), Baetens Beardsmore (2002, p. 24) observes 'the propagation of CLIL responds to the growing need for efficient linguistic skills, bearing in mind that the major concern is about education, not about becoming bi- or multilingual, and that multiple language proficiency is the added value which can be obtained at no cost to other skills and knowledge, if properly designed'. Research by Coyle (2000), Mäscher (1993), and Gajo (2002) provides insight into how CLIL achieves this objective within the curriculum.

Coyle (2002, p. 28) observes that 'language is learned through using it in authentic and unrehearsed yet scaffolded situations to complement the more structured approaches common in foreign language lessons'. De Bot (2002, p. 32) notes that the success of CLIL in the Netherlands has '... encouraged other schools to follow suit and they have done so with remarkable success, now delivering students with above average scores not only for (the foreign language), but also for other languages and subjects'. Munoz (2002, p. 36) observes that CLIL stretches the learners' language and language learning potential through, for example, pushing learners to produce meaningful and complex language'.

Takala (2002, p. 40) cites Mackay (1970), Stern (1983), Strevens (1977), and Spolsky (1978), as examples of foundation work which supports CLIL through seeking 'to define what disciplines contribute to language education; what the tasks of theoreticians, applied linguists and practitioners are in language education; and what factors/major variables interact to place language learning into its sociopolitical context'. This relates directly to the broad basis of defining and operationalizing language awareness in the curriculum. In order to achieve the types of cognition and language use required for CALP (Cummins 1979), a procedural approach to developing language awareness and language learning is required. It could be argued that it is the cognitive demands of the content learning, supported by structured language input and use of interactive methodologies, and the time allocated within the curriculum, which allow a procedural approach to the development of language awareness to take place.

The European CLIL movement has various origins because it developed for diverse reasons in equally diverse contexts. What unites these developments is the pursuit of goals which fall largely within the framework of language awareness. There is also a historical dimension which plays a key role. The term CLIL, though introduced in 1996, was adopted to draw together a range of 'bilingual education' models and experiences, some of which had been practised for 20 or more years in Europe.

Outside of Europe, the major contributions originally came from the work on immersion in Canada, where more than 1000 key studies have been published (Genesee, 1987; Swain and Lapkin, 1982, see also Baker, *Knowledge about Bilingualism and Multilingualism*, Volume 6). However, those CLIL models which gave particular interest to how content is negotiated and learnt, and how thinking skills are applied, meant that predominant interest in language became diminished. This would inevitably lead to a process of divergence from immersion.

In Europe, the methodological experimentation has generally occurred before the application of research procedures, but the work on immersion in Canada has been a major catalyst as noted in Eurydice (2006, p. 8), 'While it has gradually become clear that the Canadian experience is not directly transferable to Europe, it has nevertheless been valuable in stimulating research in this area and encouraging the development of a very wide range of experimental activity'.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

In 2001, a pan-European survey was conducted on why CLIL was being introduced across Europe (Marsh, Maljers and Hartiala, 2001). Five dimensions were identified, each of which included a number

of focus points. Each dimension was seen to be realized differently according to three major factors: age-range of learners, socio-linguistic environment, and degree of exposure to CLIL. This survey report is complemented by more extensive follow-up research on a comparative overview of CLIL provision in Europe which reports similar aims (Eurydice, 2006). The diverse aims of CLIL, as found in these differing dimensions, are an important influence that affects how researchers and practitioners describe this educational approach.

The dimensions are idealized and rarely standing alone, because they are usually heavily inter-related in CLIL practice. This means that in real-life implementation of CLIL, it is likely that a school will wish to achieve successful outcomes in relation to more than one dimension at any given time. These dimensions, particularly those under culture (Cultix) and language (Lantix) directly relate to the types of interests found within language awareness; knowledge about language, sensitivity to aspects of language learning, insight into language use, especially in terms of critical thinking skills, and interpersonal communication.

Distinguishing the dimensions allows us to identify the separate, yet inter-locking reasons why CLIL is implemented in diverse European contexts. The 2001 survey report was a first step towards describing CLIL types because the core characteristic of any type depends on the major and predominant reason for teaching through CLIL. It follows the work on situational and operational variables in bilingual education reported by Mackay (1970) and developed further by Spolsky, Green and Read (1974).

The dimensions reported do not denote specific types of CLIL. They concern the goals underpinning CLIL models. It was often found that as many as three or four goals, drawn from different dimensions, might be given as fundamental reasons for implementing CLIL. One issue that was considered significant was that the language dimension was the least commonly reported overall. Thus, the predominant reason for implementing CLIL was not language per se, but aims included within the culture, content, learning or environmental dimensions.

The dimensions are as follows:

1. The Culture Dimension—Cultix
  - A. Building intercultural knowledge and understanding
  - B. Developing intercultural communication skills
  - C. Learning about specific neighbouring countries/regions and/or minority groups
  - D. Introducing the wider cultural context
2. The Environment Dimension—Entix
  - A. Preparing for internationalization
  - B. Accessing international certification
  - C. Enhancing school profile

3. The Language Dimension—Lantix
    - A. Improving overall target language competence
    - B. Developing oral communication skills
    - C. Deepening awareness of knowledge of language, and language use
    - D. Developing plurilingual interests and attitudes
    - E. Introducing a target language
  4. The Content Dimension—Contix
    - A. Providing opportunities to study content through different perspectives
    - B. Accessing subject-specific target language terminology
    - C. Preparing for future studies and/or working life
  5. The Learning Dimension—Learntix
    - A. Complementing individual learning strategies
    - B. Diversifying methods and forms of classroom practice
    - C. Increasing learner motivation
- (Marsh, Maljers and Hartiala, 2001, p. 16)

Research in progress tends to focus on one or more of these dimensions. In terms of Canada, it is clear that a variety of different programmatic models and pedagogical strategies have been adopted and implemented. The same applies to any description of applications of CLIL in other environments.

Research interests tend to be on situational, operational and outcome parameters. These focus on the theoretical principles underpinning CLIL; the methodologies by which it is implemented; the learning environments; and means by which to assess impact. Like CLIL itself, findings are not easily generalized. However, there is an emerging theoretical basis for CLIL reported in Coyle (2005, p. 6), which provides insight into how this approach can:

- raise learner linguistic competence and confidence
- raise teacher and learner expectations
- develop risk-taking and problem-solving skills in the learners
- increase vocabulary learning skills and grammatical awareness
- motivate and encourage student independence
- take students beyond ‘reductive’ foreign language topics
- improve L1 literacy
- encourage linguistic spontaneity (talk) if students are enabled to learn through the language rather than in the language
- develop study skills, concentration—learning how to learn through the foreign language is fundamental to CLIL
- generate positive attitudes and address gender issues in motivation

Following the work of Mohan and van Naerssen (1977) and Mohan (1986), Coyle (1999) introduced a framework by which to describe the inter-relationship between language and subject teaching common

to successful forms of CLIL. Using a framework which incorporates attention being given to cultural, communicative, content and cognitive attributes—the 4Cs Framework, Coyle (2005, p. 8) emphasizes that the operating principles and outcomes of CLIL will not be found in the traditional spheres of either language or subject teachers. It is clear that the teaching and learning approaches differ to those generally found in both language and content teaching.

The 4Cs Framework is noted as building on these principles:

- Content matter is not only about acquiring knowledge and skills. It is about the learner constructing their own knowledge and developing skills;
- Content is related to learning and thinking (cognition). To enable the learner to construct the content, it must be analysed for its linguistic demands;
- Thinking processes (cognition) need to be analysed for their linguistic demands;
- Language needs to be learned which is related to the learning context, learning through that language, reconstructing the content and its related cognitive processes. This language needs to be transparent and accessible;
- Interaction in the learning context is fundamental to learning. This has implications when the learning context operates through the medium of a foreign language;
- The relationship between cultures and languages is complex. Intercultural awareness is fundamental to CLIL. Its rightful place is at the core of CLIL.

Work on CLIL now increasingly focusses on how the methodology achieves outcomes that fall within the domain of language awareness. Because CLIL involves inter-disciplinary cooperation, and integration, it builds bridges between different academic disciplines and the language sciences. Moreover, compared with such areas as sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics or pragmatics, these bridges can be quite profound. This is why CLIL is viewed as being neither ‘language learning’ nor ‘subject learning’, but a fusion of both.

Researchers in Language Awareness have described the need for conceptual shift, whereby the individual develops in a performative, or otherwise procedural way, from less aware to more aware about ‘explicit knowledge about language and conscious perception and sensitivity ... in language use’ (Garret and James 2000). Drawing on the cognitive, cultural, communicative, and content input of methodologies, CLIL provides a procedural platform by which the student can undergo such conceptual shift, both experientially and intellectually.

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

The term CLIL was originally introduced to bind together diverse dual-focussed educational practices where explicit attention is given to both content and language. The diversity involved makes it difficult to generalize research findings. The fact that CLIL has often preceded theoretical description, and the relatively short period in which it has been widely introduced and practiced in different educational contexts, means that there will be an inevitable time lag between description and evidence of outcomes.

In addition, CLIL transcends traditional boundaries in education. This results in academic disciplines, publishers, and other facets of any educational infrastructure, needing to establish where it should be located in terms of practice, research and theory. This also means that it may challenge the status quo, the 'way things are', in a given environment. 'The organization of CLIL type provision in foreign languages makes demands that go well beyond those associated with traditional language teaching. It requires the use of human resources (specialist teachers) and suitable teaching materials to a significantly greater extent than conventional language teaching. Given that CLIL is a relatively recent practice in Europe, it is not surprising to note that over half of the countries concerned confront problems when the time comes to extend this kind of provision—or in some cases introduce it—on a general basis to the entire school population (Eurydice 2006, p. 52).

An educational innovation on the scale of CLIL (Eurydice 2006, p. 14) would be expected to go through a period of some turbulence in the early implementation and experimentation stages. Within countries, studies are clearly being undertaken, to a greater or lesser extent, but there has been no co-ordination of research to date. In addition, because there is often no standardized CLIL blueprint suitable for export from one environment to another, so there is often a problem with drawing conclusions on impact in relation to aspects of language awareness.

## FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The new global linguistic order is particularly marked with respect to the spread of English as medium of instruction. In Europe, CLIL has emerged in response to the need to raise levels of plurilingualism so that more citizens have greater competence in different languages. However, globally, we are increasingly witnessing a rapid adoption of English as a medium of instruction in environments where it may be considered a second or foreign language.

Changing the medium of instruction from one language to another in an educational context does not automatically qualify as an example of CLIL. This approach requires use of *dual-focussed language-sensitive* methodologies alongside change of medium of instruction from one language to another. What we are witnessing, worldwide, is a rapid adoption of English as medium of learning, from kindergarten in East Asia, through to higher education in Europe. Much of this is being done without adaptation of teaching and learning approaches, and it is likely that there will be negative consequences, especially in lower-resourced developing contexts. CLIL is an educational approach that is essentially methodological. It goes beyond change of the medium of instruction. Communicating this to stakeholders will be an ongoing key process worldwide, even if the reasons for medium of instruction problems, and opportunities, differ widely.

The CLIL 'generic umbrella' includes many variants. Some of these may be considered as primarily language teaching. Some can be seen as mainly content teaching. The essence of CLIL leads to it having status as an innovative educational approach, which transcends traditional approaches to *both* subject and language teaching. It is likely that other forms of educational integration will surface which also lead towards similar methodological adaptation and change.

When CLIL is incorporated into the curriculum, language takes its position at the centre of the whole educational enterprise. Teachers consider themselves to be responsible for language development to a greater or lesser extent, even if the language focus takes a secondary role to content. Students are empowered to learn how language is used to achieve goals. The design and implementation of initial and in-service teacher education which ensures that optimal goals are reached is likely to continue to be a key issue requiring research-based expertise.

The language focus within CLIL is invariably on facets of language awareness. This may involve learners having greater understanding of the types of language needed to learn content, the types of thinking skills required for achieving different learning outcomes, and the types of preferred learning styles and strategies that individuals possess. Van Lier (1995) introduces the notions of subsidiary/peripheral and focal awareness. Focal awareness on how we use language to achieve goals through integrated education is now a key interdisciplinary research issue.

As socio-political pressures support wider implementation of adopting a second/foreign language as medium of learning, it is likely that greater emphasis will be placed on examining how CLIL methodologies can enable successful outcomes to be achieved. This will open doors on research that examines language awareness outcomes in relation to specific types of CLIL application.

**See Also:** *Arthur Van Essen: Language Awareness and Knowledge about Language: A Historical Overview (Volume 6)*; *Josep M. Cots: Knowledge about Language in the Mother Tongue and Foreign Language Curricula (Volume 6)*; *Colin Baker: Knowledge about Bilingualism and Multilingualism (Volume 6)*

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## KNOWLEDGE ABOUT LANGUAGE AND LEARNER AUTONOMY

### INTRODUCTION

We are autonomous in relation to a particular task when we can perform it (i) independently, without assistance from others, (ii) beyond the immediate context in which we acquired the knowledge and skills on which successful task performance depends, and (iii) flexibly, taking account of new and unexpected factors. Autonomy in this behavioural sense is a criterion of success in developmental learning, including first language acquisition; it is also a goal of educational systems to the extent that they seek to equip learners with knowledge and skills they can deploy spontaneously in their life beyond the classroom. The extent to which metacognition and conscious awareness of self-management are implicated in the autonomy that is integral to developmental learning is infinitely variable, depending on the complex interaction of inherited traits with domestic, social and cultural factors. The same is true of the autonomy that is a coincidental mark of success in formal learning. However, when learner autonomy is a declared pedagogical goal, learner self-management and the learner's reflective capacities play a central and necessarily explicit role. This chapter is concerned with knowledge about language in L2 learning contexts shaped by such a pedagogy. It focuses mainly on classroom learning, but the issues it raises are equally relevant to other contexts of formal language learning, for example, self-access, e-learning and distance learning.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The concept of learner autonomy was first introduced into the ongoing debate about L2 learning and teaching by Henri Holec in a report published by the Council of Europe in 1979 (Holec, 1981). According to Holec autonomous learners are capable of setting their own learning objectives, defining the 'contents and progressions' of learning, 'selecting methods and techniques to be used', monitoring the learning process, and evaluating learning outcomes (1981, p. 3). The ability to take charge of one's learning in this way is 'not inborn but must be acquired either by "natural" means or (as most often happens) by formal learning, i.e. in a systematic, deliberate way' (ibid.). Thus the educational

challenge is to introduce ‘learning systems which will allow both for the acquisition of autonomy and for self-directed learning’ (ibid., p. 8).

Work on learner autonomy that has focused on the psychological processes of learning (e.g. Little, 1991) has mostly adopted a broadly constructivist perspective, drawing in particular on work in developmental psychology, notably by Piaget (1926), Vygotsky (1978, 1986) and Bruner (1983). For them autonomy is a basic human capacity and characteristic: we *become* autonomous because we *are* autonomous. At the same time, such work has emphasized both the metacognitive (Ridley, 1997) and the affective/motivational dimensions of learning (Ushioda, 1996), thus forging links with research on learning and communication strategies on the one hand (e.g. Oxford, 1990; Wenden, 1991) and motivation on the other (Deci and Ryan, 1985; Dörnyei, 2001). Work in this domain raises two questions relative to knowledge about language: What kinds of knowledge about language are necessary to the growth of autonomy in language learning and language use? and How can learners simultaneously acquire and deploy such knowledge?

Attempts to answer these questions necessarily bring us into contact with two areas of research that have developed more or less contemporaneously with research on learner autonomy. The first is concerned with the internalized linguistic knowledge on which spontaneous language use depends and the pedagogical measures most likely to promote its development (e.g. Bygate, Skehan and Swain, 2001; Doughty and Williams, 1998; Robinson, 2001). The second has to do with ‘sensitivity to and conscious awareness of the nature of language and its role in human life’ (Donmall, 1985, p. 7). This latter kind of knowledge is the concern of proponents of Language Awareness and underlies curricular initiatives designed to interest learners in language acquisition, language use, language variation and language change (Hawkins, 1981, 1984). Although Language Awareness as an educational movement originated in the United Kingdom, similar developments have arisen in other European countries—for example, in France via the concept of ‘*éveil aux langues*’ (Candelier, 1992; see also “Awakening to Languages” and Educational Language Policy, Volume 6), and in Germany via the concepts of ‘*Sprachbetrachtung*’ (contemplation of language), ‘*Reflexion über Sprache*’ (reflection on language), ‘*Sprachbewusstsein*’ (consciousness of language), and ‘*Sprachbewusstheit*’ (language awareness) (for an overview see Gnutzmann, 1997, see also Van Essen, Language Awareness and Knowledge about Language: A Historical Overview, Volume 6). Key questions for these research areas are: What is the relation between explicit and implicit knowledge about language? In particular, does an explicit focus on linguistic form support the internalization of target language grammar? Alternatively, how far

is it possible to be non-interventionist with regard to target language grammar, depending on language use gradually to develop the target language system? These are also, of course, key questions for language pedagogy. However, when that pedagogy is explicitly oriented to learner autonomy, they are apt to be posed and answered in a particular way.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

When Holec identified the challenge posed by learner autonomy as the introduction of ‘learning systems which will allow both for the acquisition of autonomy and for self-directed learning’ (1981, p. 8), he was evidently thinking of large-scale educational structures. Perhaps the most sustained attempt to develop, monitor and refine such a system at classroom level is the one reported in the literature by Leni Dam. For the past 30 years, she has taught English classes in a Danish middle school according to precepts that coincide closely with Holec’s definition of the autonomous learner. Six features define the essence of her approach (derived from Dam, 1995):

1. From the beginning, she uses the target language as the preferred medium of classroom communication and requires the same of her learners. Inevitably, in the early stages their interlanguage bears powerful, sometimes overwhelming, traces of Danish.
2. She involves her learners in a non-stop quest for ‘good learning activities’, which are shared, discussed, analysed and evaluated with the whole class—in the target language, to begin with in very simple terms.
3. She requires her learners to set their own goals and choose their own learning activities, and these too are subjected to discussion, analysis and evaluation—again, in the target language. Especially in the early stages, learners are encouraged to develop their own learning materials. For example, by creating word games they not only learn vocabulary but also (by playing the games) become fluent in the performance of simple interactive routines in the target language.
4. Although learners are required to identify individual goals, they mostly pursue them via collaborative project work in small groups. In this way reflection—whether on learning goals, appropriate activities, features of the target language, or learning outcomes—usually begins as an interactive, dialogic process that (according to Vygotskian principles) can gradually develop inwards.
5. All learners are obliged to keep a written record of their learning: plans of lessons and projects, lists of useful vocabulary, whatever

texts they themselves produce. This written record is kept in a logbook or journal, so that all their learning is in one place.

6. Dam engages her learners in regular evaluation of their progress as individual learners and as a class—in the target language.

The remarkable success that Dam has achieved (e.g. see Dam, 1995; Dam and Gabrielsen, 1988) seems to be attributable to three causes. First, by involving her learners from the very beginning in the choice of learning activities and materials she requires them to engage personally with the learning process; passivity is not an option. This confronts head-on the problem of learner motivation, which was Dam's starting point in the mid 1970s (1995, p. 2):

I was up against the tired-of-school attitude that this age group often displays, as well as a general lack of interest in English as a school subject. In order to survive I felt I had to change my usual teacher role. I tried to involve the pupils—or rather I forced them to be involved—in the decisions concerning, for example, the choice of classroom activities and learning materials.

Second, Dam's insistence on use of the target language not just to perform learning tasks but to discuss and analyse possible learning activities, organize and monitor group projects, and evaluate learning outcomes, ensures that from the beginning learners must use the target language to express personal meanings. It also ensures that they gradually develop metacognitive as well as communicative proficiency in English. Dam's learners proceed by using their target language to perform a variety of learning tasks; that much they have in common with classes organized according to the precepts of task-based learning (e.g. Bygate, Skehan and Swain, 2001). However, the decisive difference is that in Dam's classroom the tasks are devised and task outcomes are evaluated by the learners themselves.

Third, the fact that Dam requires her learners to capture their learning in a journal provides them with two kinds of learning support. On the one hand, the written record is a resource they can use for further learning. For instance, if they have chosen to write a short text for homework—perhaps a description of themselves and their hobbies—they can subsequently use the text as a prompt for classroom communication and discussion. This function of writing is further exploited in the use of posters to summarize and maintain awareness of information that is important to the class as a whole: possible homework activities, useful words and expressions, plans of project work, and so on. On the other hand, the fact that Dam's learners make such extensive use of the technology of literacy means that they cannot help but focus on linguistic form. As Olson (1991) has pointed out, writing

objectifies language, turning it into something we can analyse and discuss. Thus when language pedagogy assigns a central role to writing, it positively invites reflection on linguistic form, especially when learners undertake collaborative writing tasks.

Insisting from the outset that her learners take decisions and make choices, Dam gradually expands the range within which they do so. To begin with, preponderantly whole-class learning is punctuated by pair and group work in which the initiative passes to the learners; but gradually more time is devoted to group work, which means there is gradually more scope for the exercise of learner autonomy and more space in which it can develop further (see Dam, 1995). Because the target language is both the object and the medium of learning, the growth of learners' capacity for autonomous learning depends on the growth of their proficiency in English and vice versa. Again, in the earliest stages Dam herself must initiate and scaffold communication in English and provide her learners with the words and phrases that they need. However, they are expected also to find their own words and phrases, and they quickly learn to scaffold one another's utterances as they develop control of the dynamics of group interaction (see Thomsen, 2003).

As Legenhausen (2003) has pointed out, for Leni Dam language learning is a process of 'creative construction' that is driven by authentic communicative interaction. Essentially, the teacher has four responsibilities: to devise and maintain a rigorous work cycle; to suggest possible learning activities and materials; to challenge learner decisions and choices that are lazy or ill-conceived; and to raise learners' awareness of linguistic form, the mechanics of communication, and the process of language learning—but always within the limits of their achieved proficiency. Dam's approach assumes that linguistic competence (internalized knowledge of the target language) cannot be taught directly: its growth must be stimulated by involving learners in purposeful target language use. To this extent classroom language learning of this kind is closely comparable to 'naturalistic' language acquisition, whether of first or second languages. However, the central role assigned to writing encourages the development of metalinguistic awareness and a focus on linguistic form. In other words, within the framework of interactive language use there are manifold opportunities to engage in explicit linguistic analysis. When the pedagogical process is driven by authentic communicative interaction and captured in a learning journal, explicit focus on linguistic form can only bring added benefit (see Thomsen, 2003, for examples of explicit vocabulary learning and the use of video recording to introduce learners to the idea of scaffolding and encourage them consciously to develop techniques for scaffolding one another).

## WORK IN PROGRESS

If the Council of Europe was responsible for bringing the concept of learner autonomy to the attention of the language teaching world at the end of the 1970s, it was also responsible a quarter of a century later for introducing the European Language Portfolio (ELP), one of whose declared purposes is to support the development of learner autonomy. Not only is the ELP one of the most significant pedagogical innovations of recent years; it is also beginning to establish itself as an important focus for language learning research.

The ELP is designed to foster the development of learner autonomy by providing language learners with tools to plan, monitor and evaluate their learning. Its chief means of stimulating these reflective processes is self-assessment carried out in relation to the common reference levels of the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEF; Council of Europe, 2001). The CEF defines L2 proficiency (i) in the form of 'can do' statements; (ii) at six levels arranged in three bands: *basic user* (A1, A2), *independent user* (B1, B2), *proficient user* (C1, C2); and (iii) in relation to five communicative activities: listening, reading, spoken interaction, spoken production, writing. The six proficiency levels are summarized in the so-called self-assessment grid (Council of Europe, 2001, 26f.) and elaborated in 34 illustrative scales. There is no single version of the ELP. Instead, *Principles and Guidelines* (Council of Europe, 2000) constrain the design of ELPs for particular kinds of learner in particular learning contexts and provide the criteria for their accreditation by a Validation Committee that meets twice a year in Strasbourg.

The ELP has three obligatory components: a language passport, a language biography, and a dossier. The language passport summarizes the owner's linguistic identity and his or her experience of learning and using L2s; it also provides space for the owner periodically to record his or her self-assessment of overall L2 proficiency, usually against the CEF's self-assessment grid. The language biography accompanies the ongoing processes of learning and using L2s and engaging with the cultures associated with them. Checklists of communicative tasks in the form of 'I can' statements, scaled according to the proficiency levels of the CEF and arranged by communicative activity, are used to set learning goals and assess learning outcomes. The language biography also encourages reflection on learning styles, strategies and intercultural experience. Sometimes this reflection is a matter of filling in a form or recording one's thoughts under a series of headings; sometimes it is entirely open. The dossier is where the owner collects evidence of his or her L2 proficiency and intercultural experience; it may also be used to store work in progress.

In keeping with the behavioural definition of communicative proficiency elaborated in the CEF, use of the ELP requires the learner to have and to develop knowledge about language that is action-oriented. In the first instance self-assessment is a matter of knowing what one can *do* in the language(s) in question. For example, in the self-assessment grid spoken interaction at A1 level is summarized thus:

I can interact in a simple way provided the other person is prepared to repeat or rephrase things at a slower rate of speech and help me formulate what I'm trying to say. I can ask and answer simple questions in areas of immediate need or on very familiar topics.

And in the ELP designed for use in Irish secondary schools (Authentik, 2001) the A1 checklist for spoken interaction (developed by drawing on the illustrative scales in the CEF to restate the communicative goals of the official curriculum in the form of 'I can' statements) is as follows:

- I can say basic greetings and phrases (e.g. please, thank you), ask how someone is and say how I am
- I can say who I am, ask someone's name and introduce someone
- I can say I don't understand, ask people to repeat what they say or speak more slowly, attract attention and ask for help
- I can ask how to say something in the language or what a word means
- I can ask and answer simple direct questions on very familiar topics (e.g. family, school) with help from the person I am talking to
- I can ask people for things and give people things
- I can handle numbers, quantities, cost and time
- I can make simple purchases, using pointing and gestures to support what I say

The CEF complements its behavioural definition of L2 communicative proficiency with a focus on the user/learner's competences, which yields scales of general linguistic range, vocabulary range, vocabulary control, grammatical accuracy, phonological control, orthographic control, sociolinguistic appropriateness, flexibility, turntaking, thematic development, coherence/cohesion, spoken fluency and propositional precision. These scales make it possible to draw up detailed descriptions of the many kinds of linguistic knowledge required to perform communicative tasks at different proficiency levels and in a wide range of situations and contexts. The CEF has nothing to say about the ways in which such knowledge should be developed in learners, though the official guide to the ELP for teachers and teacher trainers (Little and Perclová, 2001) advocates a pedagogical approach closely related to the one described above. If an ELP is to be used in this way, however,

it must fulfil at least one non-obligatory condition: goal setting and self-assessment checklists and the process pages of the language biography must be presented not in the learner's mother tongue but in the language(s) he or she is learning. For only thus can the ELP support language learning through language use; and only thus is it possible to ensure that the development of autonomy in language learning depends on the development of autonomy in language use and vice versa.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

The pedagogical approach described here is not easy to replicate, for at least three reasons. First, it makes great demands on the teacher, requiring high levels of target language proficiency, pedagogical skill, and perseverance. Although its governing principles are clear enough, they cannot simply be imposed on learners but must be explored, negotiated and implemented afresh with each new class; and the development of learner autonomy is a slow process, always subject to frustrating delays and backsliding. Secondly, if the approach is to be effective within the school as a whole, it must be adopted by all teachers, who must work together on curriculum, classroom methods, and assessment. This requires that all teachers have the same commitment to learner involvement, learner reflection, and the development of target language proficiency through target language use. Thirdly, at the level of the national or regional educational system, the approach requires not only a curriculum that allows teachers and learners a high degree of freedom, but forms of assessment that are harmonious with the varieties of self-assessment that help to drive the development of learner autonomy. Evidence is beginning to emerge that the ELP can help individual teachers rise to the challenge of learner autonomy (e.g. Sisamakris, 2006; Ushioda and Ridley, 2002). However, while the ELP could provide a focus for developing a whole-school approach to language teaching for learner autonomy, we so far lack fully documented examples of its use to this end; and work has still to begin on the development of large-scale assessment systems that accommodate self-assessment.

The pedagogical approach described here also poses a challenge to empirical research, not least because it demands to be explored at once longitudinally and holistically, following learners' L2 development over a number of years. Leni Dam and Lienhard Legenhausen have explored the linguistic development of Dam's learners in various dimensions—for instance, the acquisition of vocabulary in the early stages of learning (Dam and Legenhausen, 1996); the acquisition of English grammar without formal instruction (Legenhausen, 1999); and the development of conversational interaction and the impact on learning of 'pushed output' (Legenhausen, 2003). In some cases their

exploration has involved control groups—Danish and German classes that have been following the more usual route of learning English with a ‘communicative’ textbook (e.g. Dam and Legenhausen, 1996). Their findings clearly support the view that it is possible to achieve a high level of proficiency in English without a strong explicit focus on English grammar, and yet doubts and difficulties remain. As long as the data are drawn from a single classroom, it may be objected that the learners’ undoubted achievements are attributable to the teacher’s unique qualities. What is more, although Dam and Legenhausen have focused on issues that are central to classroom-based SLA in general, their work is clearly constrained by key features of Dam’s pedagogical approach, which exclude certain kinds of empirical exploration as being interventionist in the wrong way. Research into the effects of task-based learning on mastery of target language grammar, for instance, cannot easily be replicated because the learners select their own tasks. Finally, there is the question of generalizability from the learning of English to the learning of other languages. When compared with (say) French, German, Spanish or Italian, English has a greatly reduced inflectional morphology. This means that early fossilization in learners of English may not prevent them from achieving relatively high levels of communicative proficiency, especially if they develop a good phonological system; whereas early fossilization in (say) English-speaking learners of German may well be a serious impediment to effective communication. The only way of settling this question is by replicating Dam’s long years of experimentation and commitment in a number of different countries in different classrooms teaching different languages.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Much of the literature on learner autonomy, especially when it is concerned with self-access language learning or the politics of language education, assumes that the pedagogical task is to lead learners from dependence to independence. In this article, by contrast, autonomy in language learning has been understood as a particular instance of a general human capacity, tendency and need. According to such an understanding, the pedagogical task is to exploit and develop further the autonomy that learners already possess, making it explicit to them as they gradually achieve communicative and metacognitive proficiency in their target language. Holec argued that self-directed learning implies ‘a change in the *definition of the knowledge* to be acquired and a change in the *learner/knowledge* relationship’, so that ‘objective, universal knowledge is [...] replaced by subjective, individual knowledge’ (Holec, 1981, p. 21; italics in original). In terms of the conception of

learner autonomy presented here, this is more than a routine obeisance to learner-centredness: it is an epistemological challenge. One of the urgent tasks facing theorists of learner autonomy is to respond to this challenge, making full use of research in child development (e.g. Trevarthen, 1998) and social psychology (e.g. Deci and Ryan, 1985) that treats autonomy respectively as an inborn characteristic of the human organism and one of our deepest needs. When our focus shifts from conceptualization to operationalization, we are confronted by the truth that we necessarily learn any L2 on the basis of the language(s) we already know. Classrooms that are organized according to the principles explored in this article invite a new wave of research on language transfer and interlanguage, as phenomena not only of individual learners but of micro-communities of language users. The same classrooms also raise an important question about the cultural dimension of language learning that needs to be explored in depth: at least to begin with, autonomous language learners are necessarily concerned not with the otherness of their target language culture, but with the need to find ways of encoding their own culture in the target language.

Our capacity for autonomous behaviour in any sphere develops not in isolation, but in interaction with others. Thus in language classrooms the exercise and growth of learner autonomy is stimulated above all by interaction—between teacher and class, teacher and individual learners, teacher and groups of learners, learners working in pairs, and learners working in groups. Vygotsky's sociocultural theory has greatly enhanced our understanding of this dimension of autonomy, and there is much to be learnt from the sociocultural turn in SLA studies. At the same time, work within the neo-Vygotskian paradigm has generally not concerned itself with learner autonomy as such, which may seem slightly odd, given that Vygotsky's 'zone of proximal development' is defined as the distance between '*independent* problem solving [...] and problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers' (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 86; my italics).

It is one thing to insist that learner autonomy is a product of social interaction, quite another to do full justice, in theory and practice, to the role played in its development by the diversity of interacting phenomena and factors to be found in any context of learning. The ecological perspective on language and language education (Kramsch, 2002; van Lier, 2004) at once a response to and an extension of sociocultural theory, offers theorists of learner autonomy a rich resource for conceptualizing context; it also offers an approach to research that is more obviously in sympathy with the holistic character of learner autonomy than the approaches of mainstream SLA (van Lier, 2004). In the immediate future the most important developments in theory and

research may well be inspired by the multiple dimensions and holistic tendency of the ecological perspective.

Of course, theory and research are useful only to the extent that they help to illuminate the challenges and solve the problems that we encounter in practice. We may arrive at a fuller understanding of autonomy as an essential human characteristic and need, of the role played by interactive, linguistically mediated dynamics in its development, and of the almost infinite ways in which the many different features of context shape and constrain language learning and language use. However, none of this will get us far if it does not arise from and feed back into projects that seek to achieve more widespread success in L2 learning by following the principles explored in this article. If the ecological perspective points the way forward for theory and research, the ELP opens up new possibilities for pedagogy. For it is a tool that supports language learning through language use, yet encourages the reflective development of explicit knowledge about language, from the learner's sense of what she can do in her L2(s), through analytic knowledge of linguistic form and the structures of linguistic communication, to awareness of the language-embeddedness of culture.

**See Also:** Michel Candelier: "Awakening to Languages" and Educational Language Policy (Volume 6); Arthur Van Essen: Language Awareness and Knowledge about Language: A Historical Overview (Volume 6)

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## CLASSROOM DISCOURSE: APPROACHES AND PERSPECTIVES

### INTRODUCTION

The term “classroom discourse,” as used in this review, refers to all forms of discourse that take place in the classroom. It encompasses the linguistic as well as the nonlinguistic elements of discourse. The former includes the language used by the teacher and the learners, as well as teacher–learner and learner–learner interactions. The latter includes paralinguistic gestures, prosody, and silence—all of which are integral parts of the discourse. The linguistic and nonlinguistic elements constitute the observable dimension of classroom discourse. Studies of classroom discourse have explored factors that play a critical role in shaping classroom discourse. These factors pertain to the sociocultural contexts in which the discourse is generated, including the physical environment, the socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds of participants, as well as the psychological dimensions such as their perceptions, emotions, beliefs, and orientations. They constitute the unobservable dimension of classroom discourse. Because of the limit of space, this review focuses on SL/FL classrooms, and makes reference to L1 classroom discourse research only when it impacts on SL/FL classroom research.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Research on classroom interaction and classroom events originated in the field of general education in the 1950s for teacher education purposes. It was motivated by the search for “objective” assessments of student–teachers’ performance in the classroom and the identification of “effective teaching”. The first major attempt was made by Flanders who proposed a systematic analysis of classroom interaction with an instruction referred to as Flander’s Interaction Analysis Categories (FIAC) (Flanders, 1960, see also Janks and Locke, *Discourse Awareness in Education: A Critical Perspective*, Volume 6). Studies of interaction in SL (second language) and FL (foreign language) classrooms began in the 1960s and were largely influenced by Flanders’ work. There is a plethora of classroom discourse instruments based on FIAC for language teacher training (see Allwright 1988 for a review of ESL/EFL classroom observation instruments). Early studies of SL/FL classroom

interaction were also driven by the need to evaluate the effectiveness of the various FL teaching methodologies in the hope that the “best” method would be identified. The inconclusive findings, however, pointed to the problematic nature of the basic tenets of these studies. It was generally agreed that classroom processes were extremely complex and little understood. The aim of classroom-centered research, it was argued, should be descriptive rather than prescriptive. There was also a consensus that research should focus on not only the teacher’s language and behavior, but also the learners’ behavior.

Parallel to the development of research on SL/FL classroom discourse was the research on L1 (first language) classrooms. The impetus for research in this area came from the “language across the curriculum” movement in Britain, which drew attention to the important role of language in education. A number of studies were conducted on L1 content classrooms. Some studies focused on specific dimensions of the language used by teachers and learners, for example, the types of teacher questions and the learner responses elicited, the types of learner-talk (“exploratory” vs. “final draft”) and the mental processes reflected (Barnes, 1969). Some studies aimed at providing a comprehensive description of classroom events and discourse. For example, Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) adopted the notion of “move” to analyze all elements of classroom discourse to construct a grammar of spoken discourse. Although Sinclair and Coulthard’s work was motivated by linguistic rather than educational concerns, their descriptive framework has been highly influential in classroom discourse research, particularly their analysis of the hierarchical structure of discourse units, namely “acts,” “moves,” “exchange” and “transaction,” and the structure of the “exchange” as consisting of “initiating,” “responding” and “follow-up” moves (IRF).

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Until the mid-1990s, research on classroom discourse was dominated by an information-processing approach to learning based on an input–output model. Learning was understood as a process that took place inside the head of the individual and was separable from the sociocultural contexts of learning. The majority of studies focused on the analysis of language input, interaction, and language output. Much of the research conducted in the 1970s and 1980s was “etic” (nonparticipant’s perspective) rather than “emic” (participant’s perspective), and a minimalist approach was adopted to the role of context (for reviews of classroom discourse research, see Allwright and Bailey, 1991; Chaudron, 1988; van Lier, 1988). More recent studies have begun to examine classroom discourse more holistically, and sociocultural perspectives of learning have become increasingly influential.

*The Observables: Input, Interaction, and Output*

Studies of language input have examined teachers' speech and how it affects learners' language output. Linguistic modifications made by teachers were found to be similar to those used by native speakers (NS) of the target language when talking to nonnative speakers (NNS); these have been referred to as "foreigner talk." Early studies focused on the linguistic features of teachers' modified speech with the assumption that such modifications would facilitate comprehension. Subsequent studies, however, have pointed out that interactional modifications resulting from the negotiation of comprehensible input are more important to facilitate language learning. The research focus has shifted to interactional structure and modification devices used by NS in NS–NNS conversations, such as confirmation checks and comprehension checks, which have been used in a number of studies to determine the amount of comprehensible input made available to the learners (Long, 1983; Varonis and Gass, 1985). The lack of evidence that comprehensible input produces higher quality learner output has led to the "Out Hypothesis" (Swain, 1985) which states that pushing learners to produce comprehensible as well as grammatically accurate output is important for language acquisition because it forces learners to process language at a deeper level and to notice the "holes" in their interlanguage. Subsequent research has further argued for the centrality of output in language acquisition on the basis that it provides opportunities for negotiation of meaning. Negotiation of meaning, which happens when communication failure occurs or when learners are required to complete structured tasks involving information gaps, has been considered particularly effective for language acquisition because it connects input, and enhances attention to linguistic form and output (see Interaction Hypothesis proposed by Long, 1996; see also papers collected in Doughty and Williams, 1998). The findings of studies on the relationship between negotiation of meaning and language acquisition have been somewhat inconclusive, however.

Another strand of research on language input is the study of teachers' questions and their corrective feedback. Studies of teachers' questions in SL/FL classrooms have adopted Barnes' (1969) classification of teacher questions in L1 classrooms, mainly "open" versus "closed" and "pseudo" versus "genuine" questions. They have made similar distinctions between "display questions" (i.e., pseudoquestions) and "referential" questions (i.e., genuine questions). Referential questions have been found to elicit linguistically more complex responses from learners than display questions (Long and Sato, 1983). Modifications of questions by teachers (comprehension-oriented and response-oriented) and their impact on students' responses have also been investigated. The function of teachers' feedback has been conceived as providing information for

learners to confirm or disconfirm their hypotheses about the target language, and the notion of “error” has been reconceptualized from a developmental perspective (Allwright and Bailey, 1991). More recent research has emphasized the importance of form-focused corrective feedback and “recasts,” or reformulations, which rephrase the learners’ utterances and correct the errors without changing the meaning of these utterances are considered to facilitate learning, particularly “focused recasts” (see papers collected in Doughty and Williams, 1998), though research findings have been inconclusive (Lightbown, 2000).

Earlier studies of learner output include learners’ turn-taking behavior and oral participation in different classroom settings. Seliger (1983) found that “high-input generators” (HIGs) who generated more input by taking more turns were more effective learners compared with “low-input generators” (LIGs) who took fewer turns. Seliger’s position has been questioned on the grounds that important factors such as the cultural backgrounds of the learners which could affect learners’ interactional behavior were ignored. Investigations of learners’ oral participation have examined the effects of learning arrangements and task types on learner participation. Pair and group interactions were found to generate more negotiation of meaning and a larger variety of speech acts than teacher-fronted settings (Doughty and Pica, 1986). Tasks which required obligatory information exchange yielded more modified interactions and learner output in pair and group work than those where the information exchange was optional (Plough and Gass, 1993).

### *The Unobservables*

The studies reviewed so far pertain mainly to the observable in the classroom. By the late 1980s and early 1990s, it had become clear that studies of the observable needed to be illuminated by the unobservable in the classroom. Researchers suggested that learners’ participation in the classroom could be affected by their learning styles, psychological states, cultural backgrounds, and beliefs about classroom behavior (Allwright and Bailey, 1991; Tsui, 1996). Studies of Asian learners’ participation in the classroom have noted that they are less willing to volunteer answers and they take fewer turns than their non-Asian counterparts (Johnson, 1995), and that their observable behaviors are partly shaped by the cultural values, identity and differences of the learners (Duff, 2002). Similarly, the way teachers pose questions and provide feedback, and the kind of interaction they engage with learners are shaped by their conceptions of teaching and learning, and their lived experiences of classroom events. Subsequently, classroom research have adopted an ethnographic approach and have analyzed classroom

discourse data in its sociocultural contexts from an emic perspective (Bailey and Nunan, 1996; Johnson, 1995; van Lier, 1988). Instead of simply focusing on classroom discourse data, a variety of qualitative data, such as lesson plans, teachers' and learners' journals, interviews and stimulated recall protocols have been used to make sense of the discourse data. The wider educational and sociopolitical contexts, such as educational policy, school curriculum, socioeconomic background of learners and school culture, have also been taken into consideration.

### *Sociocultural Perspectives*

In the 1990s, the shift in research paradigm in general education from information processing to sociocultural perspectives of learning, influenced by the work of the Soviet sociohistorical school (Vygotsky, 1978), began to make an impact on SL research (see Lantolf, 1994). This shift has led to a reconceptualization of language, context, and learning in profound ways. A sociocultural theory (SCT) of learning conceptualizes the relationship between the learner and the social world as dialectical rather than dichotomous and as mediated by cultural artifacts, of which language is primary. Learners are not just passive recipients of language input and teachers are not just providers of input. Rather, the learners, the teacher, and the sociocultural context in which the discourse takes place are constitutive of what is being learned. Classroom discourse studies based on the input–output model have been criticized for presenting an impoverished and reductionist view of SL/FL learning (see papers collected in Lantolf and Appel, 1994 and in Lantolf, 2000).

A number of recent classroom-centered studies have adopted SCT, and classroom discourse has been reconceptualized as a major semiotic resource that mediates learning in the classroom. Similarly, curriculum materials, pedagogical activities, and tasks have been conceptualized as semiotic resources rather than ways of packaging target language input (see papers collected in Lantolf, 2000). Key concepts in SCT have been used as interpretive frameworks for analyzing classroom discourse data, including the Vygotskian concepts of zone of proximal development (zpd), mediated learning and scaffolding (Bruner, 1983). Several studies have adopted the notion of scaffolded instruction in the learners' zpd and noted that scaffolding facilitates learning only if the teacher is sensitive to the learners' level of linguistic competence and their specific interlanguage features. They have also pointed out that scaffolding can be mutual rather than unidirectional (i.e., from expert to novice), and can be provided by peers, even among very young FL learners (Lantolf and Appel, 1994). Adopting the notion of mediated learning, Swain (2000) has extended the notion of "output" as external

speech. She has argued that external speech in collaborative dialogues is a powerful mediational tool for language learning because it encourages learners to reflect on “what is said” in language-related episodes while still being oriented to making meaning, and helps learners to monitor their own language use, to notice the gaps in their interlanguage and to set goals for themselves.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Current research on classroom discourse appears to cluster around two concerns. One concern is to address issues where research findings have been inconclusive. For example, the conflicting findings of the effect of form-focused corrective feedback such as focused recasts on learners’ output have led researchers to investigate other effective strategies. For example, Ellis, Basturkmen and Loewen (2001) have proposed that preemptive rather than corrective focus on form by the learner was more likely to result in learner uptake. Similarly, the inconclusive relationship between negotiation of meaning and language acquisition has led to more recent studies on the relationship between the two. For example, Nakaham, Tyler, and van Lier (2001) have found that compared to structured activities such as information gap tasks, unstructured conversations provided more opportunities for language use at a higher level of linguistic complexity even though they triggered fewer negotiation repairs. Foster and Ohta (2005) have found that learners engaged in output modification and form-focused negotiation with supportive peer assistance even when they were not required to fill information gaps or repair communication breakdowns. In addressing these issues, a number of studies have drawn on various theoretical perspectives and have yielded interesting insights.

The second concern is to advance the field by adopting conceptual frameworks in a variety of disciplines, most of which are sociocultural in orientation. A number of classroom discourse studies have drawn on insights from Activity Theory (Lantolf and Appel, 1994) which conceptualizes goal-oriented human action as part of a larger activity that is driven by motive and shaped by the broader sociocultural system in which the activity is situated. The individual’s participation in these socially meaningful activities is mediated by the cultural tools, which he or she appropriates. In the course of the interaction, the cultural tools, the nature of the activity and the modes of participation are transformed; the same activity may be realized by different actions mediated by different tools. Conversely, the same action may be driven by different motives, hence realizing different activities. According to this perspective of learning, the same task may be operationalized as different activities with different goal-oriented actions by different learners and by the same

learner in different contexts. The dialogic interaction that emerges in task completion plays an important part in shaping the way learners orient themselves to the task and to each other. It is the orientation of learners as agency, not the task per se, that determines the way the task will be performed and the learning that will take place (Lantolf and Appel, 1994). Hence, tasks should be understood as emergent interactions and not as the packaging of language input.

Also working within the sociocultural paradigm, a number of researchers have adopted an ecological perspective of language learning. For example, van Lier (2000) has emphasized the totality of the relationships between the learner and all other elements or participants of the context with which he or she interacts. He has proposed “affordance” as an alternative conception of “input”. He has pointed out that the environment makes available opportunities for learners to engage in meaning-making activities with others (a “semiotic budget”), and what is perceived as relevant and acted on by the learner becomes an “affordance”. In other words, “input” has been reconceptualized as the linguistic affordances perceived and used by the learner for linguistic action. Input is therefore not something standing outside the learner waiting to be acquired, but rather the interaction between the learner and the environment.

Classroom discourse research has also begun to draw on the conceptual framework of learning as social participation (Lave and Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998), which is also sociocultural in orientation. For example, Donato (2004) has distinguished “interaction” in the second language acquisition (SLA) literature from the notion of “collaboration” in a social theory of learning which entails mutual engagement in a joint enterprise that is socially meaningful to members of a community of practice. He has noted that the relational dimension of collaboration has been largely ignored in SL/FL classroom research. He has argued that the analysis of discourse generated by isolated task completion in short time frames by group members who are new to group work does not capture the reality of how learning is co-constructed in collaborative work because it takes time to establish relationships. Drawing on the notions of “community of practice” and “legitimate peripheral participation,” Donato has further maintained that the value of collaboration is not to enable learners to acquire more language knowledge, but rather to move from peripheral to full participation as competent members in their communities of practice.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

From the above review of major contributions to the field, including work in progress, it is apparent that classroom discourse research has

made significant progress in addressing issues germane to understanding the complex interplay between factors that impinge on what appear to be simple classroom interchanges. Research on classroom discourse in the last decade has begun to move away from being “data-heavy but theory-light” (Donato, 2004, p. 299). The appropriation of research methods and theoretical frameworks in other disciplines has enriched our understanding of classroom discourse. However, the field is faced with a number of challenges of which only a few obvious ones have been outlined here. One challenge is whether there is a propensity to adopt methodologies without understanding their origins and theory-method relationships, and to use the same terminology with different theoretical assumptions in the discussions. For example, the terms “social” and “context” have been widely used with assumptions which are not shared. Similarly, the term “community” has been used by different researchers in different ways, and the term “community of practice” has been adopted without regard to the way it has been defined in Wenger’s theoretical framework (see papers collected in Duff, 2002). There is also a potential danger of appropriating uncritically some of the key notions in other disciplines. For example, the notion of scaffolding might be taken uncritically as assistance which necessarily leads to more effective learning. As the preceding discussion has shown, scaffolded instruction does not necessarily facilitate learning and overscaffolding might inhibit learning. Another example is the notion of “collaboration” which seems to have been taken as implicated by “interaction”. As Donato (2004) has pointed out in his review of current studies of collaborative work, not all forms of classroom interaction are collaborative and conducive to the development of discourse competence.

Another challenge is that the analysis of classroom discourse as situated in its sociohistorical context typically involves an eclectic approach in research methodology and a triangulation of qualitative and quantitative data collected from different sources over a period of time. A rigorous analysis of data requires an iterative process of data interpretation and theory generation which is extremely time-consuming. It is sometimes difficult to present a full account of the research processes within the word limit of a journal article (see, e.g., the exemplars of research methodologies presented in Duff, 2002). This is probably one of the reasons why, as Donato (2004) has pointed out, research studies from a sociocultural perspective are rich in theoretical concepts but thin on data.

Yet another challenge is the substantiation of claims made about the relationship between language learning and the classroom discourse data analyzed. For example, claims have been made about the effect of input on learners’ output, and the effect of pushed output on language

acquisition. However, in many cases, there is a lack of substantial evidence to support such claims. In some cases, the evidence is confined to the learners' language output in the adjacent discourse units. There is little evidence of the long-term effect of input on language learning. Similarly, claims made about collaborative learning or co-construction of knowledge have been based on the analysis of the co-construction of discourse between the teacher and learners and among learners. Although one can argue that the discourse is evidence for co-construction of knowledge, it is not always clear that such co-construction facilitates SL/FL learning.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Since the 1990s, research on classroom discourse has advanced the field in several aspects. First, as Kramsch (2002) has observed, there has been a revival of the emphasis on context, an aspect which was minimalized in the 1970s and 1980s. Moreover, instead of focusing on specific aspects of classroom interaction, there is emergent research which takes a more holistic view of classroom interaction, integrates micro- and macroanalyses, and attends to the multiple dimensions of context and the multiple levels of discourse in the classroom. Issues such as power, identity, culture, and gender are beginning to appear on the research agenda. For example, Duff (2002) has investigated the co-construction of cultural identity and difference in the classroom where learners are linguistically and socioculturally heterogeneous. The question of the (mis)representation of self in classroom situations through the discourse in which ESL learners are typically engaged is an area which has begun to draw greater attention.

Second, the theoretical frameworks drawn on from neighboring disciplines to illuminate the complexity of classroom data continues to widen. For example, the collection of papers in Lantolf (2000) has advocated a pluralistic approach to SLA and has brought together the work of Vygotsky and Bakhtin, social philosophers such as Bourdieu and Habermas, cognitive psychologists such as Rommeveit, and psychologists such as Gibson, Bateson and Bronfenbrenner. Van Lier (2000) has proposed in that volume that the input-output model should be replaced by an ecological perspective. This has been echoed by Kramsch (2002) who considers an ecological approach to language learning as a powerful way of capturing the symbiotic relationship between the language user and the environment. This approach not only reconciles the tension between language acquisition and language socialization, but also offers a new way of bringing together theoretical frames from other disciplines to enhance our understanding of the

complexities of classroom discourse. In the collection of chapters in Kramsch (2002), concepts in the sociology of language such as Goffman's frame analysis and participatory structures have been adopted to analyze the multiple discourse units and levels that are recursively embedded in classroom discourse and the variety of speaker and addressee roles. Papers in the volume point out the need to unravel the cultural, institutional, and interactional dimensions of the contexts in which classroom discourses are embedded.

Finally, there are an increasing number of studies which have adopted an eclectic approach to research methodologies in which qualitative and quantitative data are collected from a variety of sources for triangulation, and have provided both etic and emic perspectives in their data analysis.

While classroom discourse research is likely to continue along the trends outlined earlier, there appear to be three areas that need strengthening. First, as mentioned before, as the field draws on theoretical concepts and research methodologies from a variety of disciplines, it becomes all the more important that the methodologies and terminologies adopted are explicitly and rigorously defined, with full awareness of their theoretical assumptions, irrespective of whether they have been adopted wholesale, extended or redefined.

Second, there has been relatively little in the classroom discourse literature that examines critically the methodological assumptions made in the analysis of data. The issue of *Applied Linguistics* (Volume 23 (3), 2002), which is devoted to methodological issues in the microanalysis of classroom discourse, is necessary and timely. It presents a collection of papers containing exemplars and critiques of three influential and well-defined methodologies within which classroom discourse analysis have been conducted: ethnography of communication, conversational analysis, and systemic functional linguistics, which have emerged respectively from anthropology, sociology, and functional linguistics. The discussions do not advocate a particular methodological approach, but rather raise researchers' awareness of methodological issues. More discussion of this kind is necessary to move the field forward.

Third, the teachers' and the learners' voices in the analysis of classroom data continue to be a very important aspect of future research. This is necessary not only because it is crucial for both teachers and learners to be aware of the implications of the classroom discourse that they are involved in co-constructing, but also because they provide an emic perspective on the data, an aspect which still needs strengthening. In particular, as Cazden points out, classroom discourse should be the object of focal attention for students as well, because "all students' public words become part of the curriculum for their peers" (Cazden,

2001, p. 169). How learners' engagement in the discourse contributes to the ESL/EFL curriculum constructed in the classroom and how their awareness can be raised are still underexplored.

**See Also:** Hilary Janks and Terry Locke: *Discourse Awareness in Education: A Critical Perspective (Volume 6)*

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## CULTURAL AWARENESS IN THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE CLASSROOM

### INTRODUCTION

This article discusses the development of the role that culture plays in foreign language teaching and learning, mainly in Europe. Over the past 15–20 years, the emphasis on cultural competence and awareness has increased. This heightened focus is largely the result of work instigated by the Council of Europe and the influence on foreign language teaching of the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (2001).

Despite the vast influence of the *Framework*, different traditions related to cultural awareness in European language teaching can still be seen: on the one hand, the originally German concept of *Bildung* as an overall aim of education, on the other, a tradition that focuses more on skills and competences. The former reflects a philosophical view of cultural relationships in which the roles of Self and Other take centre stage. The latter is based on a more instrumental and utilitarian view of foreign language learning with an emphasis on skills. In most European countries, national curricula reflect both these traditions, often with the former as a general aim for all subjects. Recently also a third direction can be distinguished: the development of cross-cultural didactics (Krumm and Müller-Jacquier, 2002).

Culture is a complex concept and different approaches to studying culture have influenced language teaching. Risager (2003, p. 84) distinguishes between three main categories of the concept: the individual, the collective and the aesthetic, all of them relevant to foreign language teaching. Recent research on culture in this context has concentrated on anthropological approaches because these are primarily concerned with the collective and because of their focus on ‘the Other’ (p. 89). In foreign language teaching it is, however, important to include the individual aspect. According to the phenomenologist Peter Berger, culture ‘is at base an all-embracing socially constructed world of subjectively and inter-subjectively experienced meanings. Culture must be constructed and reconstructed as a continuous process’ (Berger in Wuthnow, Hunter, Bergesen and Kurzweil, 1984, p. 25). Here culture

is defined as both dynamic and dialectic, in other words, learners are influenced by a culture, but they also influence that culture.

This article discusses the transition from regarding cultural awareness in the classroom as an addition to foreign language teaching to seeing it as an integral part of language learning. It is a matter of learning *through* culture as well as learning *about* it. Only by gaining insight into the Other can learners gain an outside view of themselves.

As with any culture teaching and learning, this article is influenced by the writer's own background. One's own culture shapes the way one experiences the outside world, it is the glasses through which one sees things. Thus it also shapes the arguments in an article.

#### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS: FROM BACKGROUND KNOWLEDGE TO SOCIO-CULTURAL COMPETENCE

Culture has always played an important part in foreign language teaching, especially at higher levels of education. Historically, the focus was mainly on knowledge of the target culture: society, history, geography, institutions and literature. At lower school levels, cultural knowledge included knowledge of everyday life, focusing on home, school and spare time. At university level, the subject area is still aptly referred to as *background*, *civilisation* or *Landeskunde*. It provides a backdrop to language learning and is not regarded as an integral part of it. This view of culture and language is largely based on the eighteenth-century German New Humanist ideal of *Bildung*: the broadly and well-educated citizen who could read and write foreign languages. The methods for teaching modern foreign languages were similar to the philosophy behind the teaching of Latin and Classical Greek. The view of culture in foreign language learning was primarily elitist, focusing on the individual and regarding culture as a static entity.

During the first half of the twentieth century, new methods of foreign language teaching were introduced, primarily at early stages of language learning. The Direct Method was prevalent in textbooks for beginners and the view of culture in language learning changed. With the widespread introduction of the audio-lingual method after the second World War, foreign language learning became accessible to large numbers of learners and it was no longer just the 'culture of the elite' which was interesting, but also the 'culture of the people'. These are loaded words, but the distinction has to be made when discussing cultural awareness in the classroom. Gradually travelling became one reason for learning languages and there was a gradual shift from emphasising only knowledge of the target culture to also including cultural competence: being able to act in the foreign language culture.

In the 1970s, a paradigmatic change in foreign language teaching occurred, from behaviourist, audio-lingual teaching to communicative language teaching. Chomsky's theories of language and meaning and his distinction between linguistic competence and performance were important contributions to this change. Hymes opposed Chomsky's narrow definition of linguistic competence as it 'left a major gap in not dealing with the issue of appropriacy' (Spolsky, 1989, p. 139) and introduced the term *communicative competence* to allow for socio-cultural factors (Hymes, 1972, 1985; see also Alcón and Safont Jordà, *Pragmatic Awareness in Second Language Acquisition*, Volume 6). Although Halliday rejected the term competence, his linking of the meaning of language to the social and situational contexts also strongly influenced communicative language teaching (Halliday, 1979). In his book *Scope*, van Ek defined what he calls *communicative ability* as consisting of the following components:

- linguistic competence
- socio-linguistic competence
- discourse competence
- strategic competence
- socio-cultural competence
- social competence

In addition to these, he stated another aim for language learning: *optimal development of personality*, which consists of two components, cognitive and affective development (van Ek, 1986).

Foreign language curricula in Europe changed radically within a fairly short period of time to include van Ek's definition of communicative competence. Knowledge of the target language culture was no longer the sole cultural focus in the foreign language classroom. Through communication gap exercises, role-plays and other simulated activities, students were in addition required to develop socio-cultural competence.

Misinterpretations of the communicative approach made teachers in many countries focus on oral activities, believing that communication was largely to be understood as oral communication. Up to this period, the main focus in the classroom had been on reading and writing, not on speaking. Gradually the focus on cultural knowledge, including the role of literature, decreased and foreign language classrooms became the playground for oral activities centred around acting out every-day situations and dialogues. Students acted out visits to shops, restaurants, simulated phone calls, arguments with parents, etc., situations they could identify with and which they might need when travelling.

Textbooks during the 1970s, 1980s and early 1990s reflected this view of foreign language learning. At lower school levels, they had

previously contained constructed texts written by source culture authors, reflecting specific language problems. With the increased focus on communication, they were now full of constructed dialogues as examples of what people might say in specific situations.

Another aspect of the communicative approach, which took longer to appear in textbooks, was the focus on authentic texts. Definitions of authentic texts and their use in foreign language learning were debated widely (Little, Devitt and Singleton, 1989; Widdowson, 1979). Teachers and textbook authors treated these texts mainly with the aim to teach language and not as representations of culture, but gradually the view that authentic texts represent the voice of a culture gained ground in the classroom. As far as literary texts are concerned, however, the view which Kramsch presents in the quotation ‘language teachers seem constrained to teach these texts for their information value only’ (1993, p. 8), is still predominant.

The introduction of socio-cultural competence as an aspect of communicative ability was the start of regarding culture, not only as ‘information conveyed by the language’ but ‘as a feature of language itself’ (Kramsch, 1993, p. 8). Changing foreign language classroom practice, however, takes a long time.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS: FROM SOCIO-CULTURAL TO INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCE

In an attempt to define and clarify the concept of socio-cultural competence in education, Byram, in cooperation with Zarate, presents the following categories:

- savoir: knowledge of self and other; of interaction: individual and societal
- savoir comprendre: skills—interpret and relate
- savoir être: attitudes—relativising self, valuing other
- savoir apprendre/faire: skills—discover and/or interact
- savoir s’engager: education—political education, critical cultural awareness (Byram, 1997a, p. 34)

These five categories show a shift of focus from teaching to learning and from declarative to procedural knowledge (Neuner, 2003). It is no longer just a matter of aims, but also how the learner is going to achieve these aims.

The focus on *savoir être* has greatly increased during the 1990s. Until this relatively late emphasis on awareness, many foreign language teachers, curricula and textbooks seem to believe that cultural awareness is an automatic result of foreign language learning; that positive attitudes and tolerance develop alongside knowledge and

competence. Those language teachers who have taken students on school trips abroad can vouch for the opposite when students return to the classroom with more prejudiced views than before they left. According to Allport prejudice is ‘an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization’ (1954, p. 9). Developing intercultural awareness means to fight the human tendency to simplify by overgeneralising (p. 13). It requires encountering ‘the Other’ not only at the group level, but also as individuals (Eagly and Diekmann, 2005, p. 19). Stereotyped attitudes and beliefs have to be expressed and consciously worked on in the foreign language classroom; they do not automatically occur as a result of language learning and knowledge about the foreign culture (Fenner, 2003).

Byram and Zarate’s categories have been further developed and form part of the classification used in the *Common European Framework of Reference* (CEF). Unfortunately, the 2001 edition of the *Framework* presents the ‘savoirs’ under the heading of ‘general competences’ and not as an integral part of language learning, as follows:

- savoir—declarative knowledge, which includes: knowledge of the world, socio-cultural knowledge, intercultural awareness
- savoir faire—skills and know-how, which includes practical skills and know-how and intercultural skills and know-how
- savoir être—‘existential competence’
- savoir apprendre—ability to learn (CEF, 2001, pp. 101ff.)

In this edition of the *Framework*, the concept *cultural* has been replaced by *intercultural*, both relating to skills and awareness. Based on a constructivist view of learning and the realisation that the foreign language learner encounters the target culture from a stance founded on his or her habitus and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1994, pp. 12–14), the term *intercultural* has gradually replaced the term *cultural* in foreign language learning and teaching. The learners encounter the foreign culture as members of their own cultural community, and the encounter thus implies two cultures.

The development from *cultural* to *intercultural* shows a development of the view of culture in foreign language learning away from a focus solely on the target culture towards regarding it as an interrelationship between two cultures: one’s own and the other. In order for learners to step back and reflect on a culture different from their own, they have to be consciously aware of the culture of which they are an integral part. Awareness of differences as well as of similarities between the native culture and the target culture is essential for the development of intercultural awareness. While learning a foreign language, the learner brings his own culture into the communication process with the foreign culture. Intercultural awareness can consequently

'be seen as an interdependent relationship between cultures which constitutes a dynamic enrichment for self as well as the other' (Fenner, 2000, p. 149). Communication is an open-ended process dependent on the context and the situation in which the communication takes place. Without knowledge and understanding of both native and target cultures, intercultural communication is hardly possible.

Communicating with the other means entering into a dialogue where one has to be willing to adjust one's own attitudes and perspectives to understand the other, even if a complete understanding can never be achieved (Fenner, 2000; Rommetveit, 1992). Bakhtin defines dialogue as follows: 'To live means to participate in dialogue: to ask questions, to heed, to respond, to agree, and so forth' (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 293). It is this type of dialogue that is required in the classroom if intercultural awareness is to develop.

Intercultural encounters can be seen as negotiating meaning in a process, where meaning 'is constructed between [the two participants] as a kind of ideological bridge, is built in the process of their interaction' (Bakhtin and Medvedev, 1985, p. 152). In order for the participants to understand each other, or at least establish what they do not understand, openness towards the other is necessary. Discussing ideological bridges, Kramsch argues that '[w]hat we should seek in cross-cultural education are less bridges than a deep understanding of the boundaries' (1993, p. 228). Building ideological bridges in the Bakhtinian sense, however, does not mean blurring differences, but attempting a temporary, contextual understanding of both self and other. Both cultures in the encounter must also be regarded as dynamic and polyphonic; any culture is 'a living mix of varied and opposing voices' (Bakhtin, 1984), and learners have to acknowledge this also when it comes to their own culture.

According to Ricoeur, it is through interaction with others that we experience our own identity, not through introspection (Kvalsvik, 1985). The aim of *savoir être* can only be achieved through a learning process based on reflection on and understanding of the other as well as of self. It is an on-going process where students develop not only as language learners but as human beings, or in Ricoeur's words, they 'extend [their] existence' on the basis of 'le mode de cet être qui existe en comprenant' (Ricoeur, 1969, p. 11).

Byram and Zarate (1997) introduce the concept 'intercultural speaker' or 'locuteur culturelle' to describe foreign language learners as 'interlocutors involved in intercultural communication and action' (Byram, 1997b, p. 4), stating the importance of developing critical thinking 'about one's own and other cultures and their taken-for-granted

values and practices' (Byram, 1997b, p. 10). Developing critical thinking is dependent on reflection, that is, a meta-level of language learning, which is often sadly lacking in many foreign language classrooms where the focus of teaching is solely on language skills.

Learning a foreign language is not merely a matter of becoming proficient in the language, but also of developing personality. In a study related to the development of the CEF, the authors challenge the assumption that the ultimate aim of language learners is to become indistinguishable from native users:

... language learners should not be trained as ersatz, native speakers, but should develop as intercultural personalities, bringing the two cultures into relation and becoming more mature and complex people as a result. (Byram, Zarate and Neuner, 1997)

Seeing intercultural awareness as an integral part of foreign language learning indicates that one of many aims is the development and enrichment of the student's identity. This is a dynamic process. When learning a foreign language, the learner brings his own culture into the communication process with the foreign culture, whether it is in reading a foreign text or in speaking to a representative of that particular language community. It is not only a matter of negotiating meaning, but of interpretation in the hermeneutic sense. Interpreting the meaning of texts or personal encounters also means interpreting oneself: '... in the hermeneutical reflection—or in the reflexive hermeneutic—the building of the self and the meaning (*sens*) are simultaneous' (Ricoeur, 1992b, p. 55).

It is a dialectic and dialogic process where the learner is influenced by the foreign culture at the same time as he or she is influencing that culture (Foucault, 1983). This cannot be done passively or by the teacher presenting learners with knowledge about the foreign culture. Foucault states that

The idea that the other can simply reveal or disclose itself to us, without any work whatsoever on our part, is ultimately unintelligible. There can be no access to the other without our actively organising the other in terms of our categories. (Foucault in Falzon, 1998, p. 37)

Reorganisation of categories entails change and developing identity in the learning process. Developing intercultural awareness means being confronted with one's own as well as the foreign culture, and in Kramersch's words the goal of developing such awareness 'is not a balance of opposites, or a moderate pluralism of opinions but a paradoxical, irreducible confrontation that may change one in the process' (Kramersch, 1993, p. 231).

PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES/WORKS  
IN PROGRESS: CULTURAL AWARENESS  
IN A TEST CULTURE

Interestingly, the 2001 edition of the *Framework* includes intercultural awareness in the first category, *savoir* or knowledge, and lists *savoir être* or existential competence as a separate concept. One can always hope that this will lead to an increased focus on intercultural awareness, although it is more difficult to implement in teaching programmes than the other components, as it is not something that can be taught and as it is difficult to assess. That it now appears in a category with components that can be taught, might cause a problem, though, because teachers as well as learners might revert to the old misconception that developing intercultural awareness will be an automatic result of gaining cultural knowledge rather than a learning process that requires conscious reflection upon such knowledge, that is a meta-level of knowledge. Developing awareness is an aspect of foreign language learning which the learners have to take charge of themselves. But teachers are of vital importance when it comes to organising learning situations and mediating the individual's learning processes in order for the learner to develop intercultural awareness.

There is, however, another possible reason for intercultural awareness having been placed in the *savoir* category. In recent years, there has been an increasing focus on assessment and testing in foreign language learning; one can almost talk about an assessment and test culture developing with a large number researchers involved. It is, consequently, important to ask what it is possible to test in the foreign language classroom. Although it is relatively easy to teach and test knowledge and skills, it is far more difficult, if not impossible, to test awareness. Do we want attitudes to be tested?

As stated before, developing accepting attitudes towards the other culture is a vital part of language learning. Working in the classroom on stereotyped views, getting learners to express these to work on them and to challenge them, is one of the foreign language teacher's tasks. This involves encounters with 'the Other' as an individual, not only as a group, for instance through literature. But teachers have no guarantee that stereotyped views will disappear. In many classrooms, teachers never offer scope for learning processes that include reflection and discussion. If the focus is merely on teaching knowledge and skills and not on the learner's awareness, learning processes that challenge the students' views of their own and the target culture will not take place.

The difference between learning foreign languages in the classroom and acquiring language outside school lies in the fact that in the

classroom the teacher can mediate the learning processes, including the development of attitudes. Outside the classroom attitudes develop accidentally, based on personal experience, inside the classroom attitudes can be challenged through a number of cognitive processes like comparing, contrasting, problem-solving, etc. (Camilleri, 2000). Through a qualified choice of texts and tasks, discussions and reflection the teacher can mediate dialogues between the source and the target culture as well as between learners (Fenner, 2001, 2005). Through such classroom dialogues the learners' attitudes can develop and change, but it requires that the teacher becomes acquainted with the individual learner's zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1978) and it requires training in intercultural mediation (Zarate, Gohard-Radenkovic, Lussier and Penz, 2004). It also requires time, as attitudes are not changed overnight.

Over the last few years, work within the Council of Europe has focused on how to assess intercultural awareness and this assessment has caused debate. Various forms of self-assessment have been discussed. At the Moscow meeting on the European Language Portfolio a mode of self-assessment was proposed in preliminary form: an *Autobiography of key intercultural experiences*. So far, no solutions have been decided upon and maybe one should hope that none is. Placing intercultural awareness as a subcategory of knowledge is no solution, it can only serve the purpose of confusing it with cultural knowledge. Defining *savoir être* as existential competence and not as attitudes might blur the whole concept, especially in learning cultures where views on language learning are mainly instrumental and where the development of self is not explicitly expressed as an overall aim of foreign language learning.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS: QUO VADIS?

The two educational traditions, on the one hand a tradition where personal development is an overall aim of learning, especially of language learning, on the other hand a tradition where skills and testing are more heavily emphasised, will influence the views on cultural or intercultural awareness and its place in foreign language teaching in the coming years. These are matters for policy makers and are, to a certain extent, dependent on educational policies. A shift in political direction will influence the emphasis between utilitarian and instrumental aims of language teaching and long-term general educational aims. Short-term aims for the business community will also influence the focus in the foreign language classroom. International trade needs competent foreign language speakers who know how to behave in a foreign culture.

Although it is not easy to predict how intercultural awareness will develop in the foreign language classroom, some major trends can be pointed out. The first of these is the role played by literature. This article has not discussed the cultural content of foreign language teaching and learning, except by briefly mentioning 'high' culture versus 'low culture'. With the demand of authentic texts, non-fictional texts fairly quickly appeared in textbooks. In recent years, literature seems to have edged its way back into foreign language classrooms, not only at higher-school levels, but also at lower levels.

Along with a shift of focus from teaching to learning, came a shift in literary theory towards receptionist theory and the learner's text (Fish, 1980). This has resulted in an altered attitude to teaching literature in the classroom. From methods largely based on New Criticism and structuralism, the focus in many classrooms has shifted to approaches based on hermeneutics and the individual's interpretation of the literary text as a basis for classroom reflection and discussion. With the view that the aim of reading literature is not only to discover the author's intention or the accepted meaning of a literary artefact or even the teacher's interpretation of it, the literary text has again become important in foreign language teaching and learning. Teachers cannot compete with the cultural influences learners are exposed to outside the classroom, like music, television and other forms of entertainment. For the development of cultural awareness, it is important that teachers do not feel they have to compete, but can use and add something to the outside influence. Many young people do not read extensively outside the classroom, and hence foreign language education can assist the enhancement of the learners' cultural capital by spending more time on reading, reflecting on and discussing literature as the personal voice of a culture (Fenner, 2001) in the foreign language classroom and thus develop the learners' cultural awareness and identity.

A second recent development is citizenship education, expressed through CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning, see also Marsh, *Language Awareness and CLIL*, Volume 6) and Human Rights teaching. Although Human Rights have been a part of curricula in all subjects in some countries, there is now a need to focus on these subject areas in foreign language learning in, for instance, the new democracies of Europe. Such subject matter can only emphasise the importance of content in the process of developing intercultural awareness as well as emphasising the interdependence of language and culture. The aim of teaching and learning through discussing Human Rights extends the development of self to include the development of communities. Human Rights education, promoted in particular by the British Council, almost ironically reflects the opposite of what Foucault calls the oppressor's role (Falzon, 1998): 'Learning a new language gives access

to potential new identities. This challenges any notion of citizenship as associated primarily with monolithic national identities' (Starkey, 2005, p. 66).

A third fairly recent development related to cultural awareness, which concerns English as a foreign language, is the debate on what is termed international English. There is a strong linguistic and educational movement towards removing the language from its cultural roots and regarding it as a globalised lingua franca. Up to now, the work done on cultural awareness is based on the interrelationship between language and culture where culture and language cannot be regarded as separate. Risager sees a much more complex relationship between language and culture: 'language *practice* can have a thematic (cultural) content, 'the language', on the other hand, is a discursive construction and can, consequently, have no thematic content' (Risager, 2003, p. 422).<sup>1</sup> Up until now, foreign language learning has mainly been bilateral. English as a foreign language has been linked to the cultures of the countries where the language is spoken. In many countries, the main focus has been on Great Britain and the USA. Recently this narrow view of English-speaking cultures has been extended to also include Australia and some African and Asian cultures. Extending it further to include English as an international language will be a huge challenge. It means redefining the relationship between language and culture, and it also means redefining language learning in many countries as a national educational project to see it as part of a globalisation process (Risager, 2003, pp. 48–49). Teaching and learning language as separate from its cultural roots and not as integral part of cultures of a specific community, seems an almost impossible task.

**See Also:** *Eva Alcón and Maria Pilar Safont Jordà: Pragmatic Awareness in Second Language Acquisition (Volume 6); David Marsh: Language Awareness and CLIL (Volume 6); Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Robert Phillipson: A Human Rights Perspective on Language Ecology (Volume 9)*

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<sup>1</sup> My translation from Danish.

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## TEACHER LANGUAGE AWARENESS

### INTRODUCTION

Teacher language awareness (TLA) is a label applied to research and teacher development activity that focuses on the interface between what teachers know, or need to know, about language and their pedagogical practice. In principle, the concerns of TLA are relevant to teachers of all subjects. Generally, however, although by no means exclusively, most TLA activity relates to teachers of language (L1 or L2—in this review L2 refers to any language other than L1), their cognitions (knowledge, beliefs and understandings) about the specific language they teach and the ways in which those cognitions might potentially impact upon their teaching. The conceptualisation of TLA in the literature is constantly evolving: it has moved on from a rather narrow concentration on knowledge about language (KAL) to incorporate teachers' cognitions more broadly, both about language in general and about the specific language they teach, as well as (in the case of L2 teachers) their awareness of their students' developing interlanguage (see, for example, Wright, 2002). While acknowledging the wide-ranging relevance of TLA, this chapter focuses on teachers of language, with particular reference to the subject matter cognitions of L2 teachers, since these have been the focus of most published TLA work.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Teachers' KAL and the potential importance of that knowledge in teaching and learning is now an area of attention and concern worldwide, especially in relation to debates about teacher professionalism (see, for example, Fillmore and Snow, 2000, for discussion in the US context). However, much of the early systematic attention towards such issues in relation to language teaching emerged in Europe, especially in the UK. Although a number of factors may have contributed to this development, two unrelated stimuli seem to have been particularly significant: the growth of interest in Language Awareness (LA) among teachers of the L1 and/or modern foreign languages, especially from the early 1980s (see the various chapters on LA in this volume for a more detailed discussion) and the development of private-sector pre-service TEFL courses incorporating a focus on language analysis.

LA came to prominence in the UK as a 'grassroots' movement in the late 1970s/early 1980s, as teacher frustration with learner underachievement in both L1 and L2 led to the creation of local schemes aimed at inspiring learners' curiosity about language as a uniquely fascinating characteristic of human behaviour. The term 'Knowledge About Language' (KAL) is used in much of the related literature of that time, especially in the UK (see, for example, Carter, 1990; Van Essen, *Language Awareness and Knowledge about Language: A Historical Overview*, Volume 6 and *Cots, Knowledge about Language in the Mother Tongue and Foreign Language Curricula*, Volume 6). According to van Lier (1996), the range of interpretations of both terms makes it difficult to decide whether they are synonymous or whether one is a subset of the other.<sup>1</sup> Whichever the preferred term, however, those involved with LA/KAL share a common assumption that there is a link between knowledge of formal aspects of language and performance when using that language (L1 or L2), and that therefore fostering learners' ability to analyse and describe a language accurately is likely to help them become more effective users of that language. Arising from this is the belief that teachers of a language (L1 and L2) need an understanding of how that language works and an ability to analyse that language to function effectively as teachers. As Hawkins noted, one of the principal challenges for the LA movement was to provide adequate preparation for teachers '... to guide their pupils in the kind of discovery-based learning that is required' (Hawkins, 1994, 1938). The nature of the language-related knowledge and preparation required by L1 and L2 teachers continues to be a major pre-occupation for those who work in the area of TLA.

The inclusion of LA ('Language Analysis' or 'Language Awareness') as a core component of the International House, London (IH) pre-service training courses for native-speaker (NS) TEFL teachers was an unconnected earlier development (such courses having first been offered in 1962), but it was motivated by a similar belief, and was further stimulated by the realisation that the vast majority of target NS trainees had no experience of analysing language from the perspectives of learning and the learner. The expansion of the EFL industry from the mid-1970s onwards created an increasing demand for short, intensive pre-service training. The original IH 2-week course evolved into the more familiar '4-week course', which in the late 1970s became the blueprint for the scheme of initial TEFL training

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<sup>1</sup> In the remainder of this chapter, the terms LA and KAL are treated as if they are synonymous. Where one term is used instead of the other, this is a reflection of the terminology used by the authors of the original work(s) being discussed.

administered by the Royal Society of Arts (RSA). This training scheme, popularly known as the 'Prep Cert' or simply the 'RSA', and leading to the award of the RSA Preparatory Certificate in the Teaching of English as a Foreign Language, was subsequently updated (as CTEFLA and CELTA) under the administration of that part of the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (UCLES) now known as Cambridge ESOL. LA continues to have a centrally important prescribed role in courses leading to this certificate wherever they are taught.

Much of the early published work relating to the language awareness of teachers seemed to focus primarily on teachers' knowledge about grammar, either on enhancing that knowledge (in the case of teaching materials) or on analysing and measuring such knowledge. In the TEFL/TESL field, for example, a number of LA materials targeted mainly at teachers have been published in the past 25 years, the first being Bolitho and Tomlinson's (1980) pioneering work *Discover English*. In the main, these materials (see also Thornbury, 1997; Wright, 1994) use data-based language analysis tasks to promote a growing understanding of the way language (particularly grammar) is used. However, rather than attempting to transmit KAL, they employ a consciousness-raising approach.

Most of the early research on teachers' KAL or TLA involved primary teachers, L1 teachers and teachers of modern foreign languages in the UK. These studies generally sought to measure aspects of teachers' KAL, and to find out about their understandings of KAL, rather than to examine the effects of their KAL on pedagogical practice. Research in EFL/ESL from the same period typically has a similar orientation, without necessarily employing the KAL terminology. Palfreyman (1993) is an early example of research analysing the subject matter cognitions underlying teachers' pedagogical practice (in this case the cognitions of trainee EFL teachers as revealed in their planning of a grammar lesson).

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The first major research focusing on KAL (TLA) in the classroom was the Southampton KAL project (1991–1993), which looked at the beliefs and classroom practices of UK L1 and L2 teachers in relation to five dimensions of KAL: language as system, language learning and development, styles and genres of language, social and regional variation and language change through time (Brumfit, Mitchell and Hooper, 1996). The research suggests that, among the teachers studied, there were distinctive subject-specific approaches to KAL: the L1 teachers focused mainly on whole texts, whereas the L2 teachers worked

on language as system, in the belief that such activity would contribute to the development of learners' target language proficiency.

Brumfit, Mitchell and Hooper (1996) conclude that a long-term programme of research is needed to explore the basis for teachers' beliefs about the merits or otherwise of different kinds of KAL in classroom language development. Alderson (1997) expresses scepticism about the value of giving language teachers '... a good dose of current linguistics' (Alderson, 1997, p. 11), which he sees as a common assumption of the LA movement. According to Alderson, what we need instead are more studies of the implicit and explicit models of language that already exist among teachers and learners. Bolitho and Tomlinson (1995) seem to concur when they say that 'In the classroom the only views of language that really matter are the ones that teachers and learners have built up in their heads' (p. iv). Much of the TLA-related research in the past 10 years has sought to shed light on the beliefs and models of language that underlie language teachers' practices (see, for example, the studies of teacher cognition in grammar teaching reviewed by Borg, 2003a, including his own).

An early major contribution to thinking about TLA was made by Edge (1988) in a short paper, in which he outlines the three competences that the TEFL trainee needs to develop: language *user*, dependent on the teacher's language proficiency, and determining that teacher's adequacy as a model for students; language *analyst*, dependent on the teacher's language systems knowledge base, and referring to ability to understand the workings of the target language; and language *teacher*, dependent on familiarity with a range of TEFL procedures and possession of sufficient theoretical knowledge to make appropriate decisions about using those procedures.

TLA has obvious connections with the second of these competences, but it is much more than just subject knowledge about the language systems. Andrews (2001) emphasises the importance of distinguishing what he refers to as the two dimensions of TLA (knowledge being the declarative dimension and awareness the procedural), noting that the teacher's possession of a high level of subject matter knowledge is no guarantee that such knowledge will be used appropriately in the classroom. At the same time, Andrews (2001) points out that both dimensions are crucial: just as there are teachers who have knowledge but lack awareness (i.e. the sensitivity to use that knowledge appropriately), so there are others who have awareness but whose attempts to engage with content-related issues are undermined by a lack of knowledge.

In teaching, Edge's three competences are interconnected, as Wright and Bolitho point out in a series of papers about LA in English Language teacher education (see, for example, Wright and Bolitho, 1993). Wright and Bolitho (1993) outline a methodological framework for

LA activities, based on the linkage between Edge's three competences. However, they do not equate LA to the adequacy of any particular model of language: rather than delivering pre-digested answers, they see the goal of LA work on teacher development courses as being to enhance participants' sensitivity to the richness, complexity and diversity of language by promoting reflection on their existing understandings. Borg (1994) explores the implications of such an approach for teachers and teacher training, arguing that a reflexive training methodology is an effective way to develop in teachers the kinds of awareness that LA as methodology presumes.

The significance of the interrelationships between Edge's three competences continues to pre-occupy researchers and teacher educators involved with TLA. Andrews (forthcoming), for example, explores a number of aspects of TLA in teaching and learning, including the intertwining of language proficiency (knowledge *of* language) and subject matter knowledge (knowledge *about* language—the declarative dimension of TLA), as well as the relationship between TLA and pedagogical content knowledge, one of the generic teacher knowledge categories proposed by Shulman (1987) as a central part of the professional knowledge base for teaching. Drawing particularly on data from a study of 17 teachers in Hong Kong, Andrews examines the ways in which TLA may affect pedagogical practice, arguing that the significance of TLA comes from its potential impact upon teachers' ability to perform their role as mediators of 'input for learning'.

Although they do not refer explicitly to TLA, Johnston and Goettsch (2000), also draw on Shulman's (1987) model in their investigation of the knowledge base of language teaching as exemplified in the grammar explanations of four experienced ESL teachers in the USA. Their research highlights the importance in ESL teaching (at least for the teachers in their study) of knowledge about grammar, the complex interrelationship in practice of the different elements of teacher knowledge and the '... situated, process-oriented, contextualised nature of the [ESL teacher's] knowledge base' (Johnston and Goettsch, 2000, pp. 464–465).

Tsui, in her ground-breaking study of expertise in language teaching, also emphasises the situated nature of teacher knowledge and what she describes as the dialectical relationship between teachers' knowledge and their world of practice (2003, p. 64). Tsui does not refer directly to TLA, but her study has considerable implications for those seeking to understand the field, not least in her analysis of the knowledge embedded in her four case study teachers' enactment of the grammar area of their ESL/EFL curriculum.

Tsui emphasises the overlap between knowledge and beliefs, speaking of the powerful influence of conceptions of teaching and learning

(i.e. teachers' metaphors, images, beliefs, assumptions and values) on pedagogical practice (2003, p. 61). Recognition of this overlap links TLA research with studies of teacher cognition in language teaching more generally. According to Johnson (2006), the most significant factor over the past 40 years in advancing our understanding of L2 teachers' work is the emergence of research in the area of teacher cognition (see Borg, 2003b, for a wide-ranging review of studies of language teacher cognition).

This link between TLA and language teacher cognition is particularly apparent in studies of teacher cognition in grammar teaching. Borg (2003a) provides a detailed review of research in this latter area relating to both L1 and L2 classrooms. Among the papers discussed are several of Borg's own, based on the study of EFL teachers in Malta. Each of Borg's papers explores aspects of '... the complex, personalised pedagogical systems which teachers draw on in teaching grammar' (Borg, 2003a, pp. 102–103), offering insights into teachers' instructional practices when talking about language (including their use of grammatical terminology) and the factors shaping those practices, as well as the connections between teachers' knowledge about grammar and their approaches to formal instruction.

Although TLA-related research has tended to focus primarily on grammar, there has been work in other areas. McNeill (2005), for example, focuses on vocabulary, examining teachers' sensitivity to students' language difficulties as revealed in their ability to anticipate the problems learners encounter when exposed to particular texts. Meanwhile, Derwing and Munro (2005) have explored issues relating to teachers' phonological/pronunciation awareness.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Because TLA is a comparatively new research area, many of the major contributions are inevitably recent, and much of the work in progress is linked to or draws inspiration from studies already mentioned. The volumes edited by Trappes-Lomax and Ferguson (2002) and Bartels (2005) illustrate the increasing interest worldwide in the language dimension of language teacher education, with both books offering a range of examples of teacher–trainers/applied linguists reflecting on and researching their TLA/KAL practices. The variety of contexts featuring in these books underlines the extent of the current active involvement with TLA and the intellectual engagement with TLA-related issues. Trappes-Lomax and Ferguson (2002) contains papers relating, for instance, to the language awareness of teachers of ESP and of modern foreign languages, as well as EFL teachers in the UK, Europe and Asia. Meanwhile, Bartels (2005) includes 21 studies from around the

world focusing on different aspects of KAL (the term used by Bartels in preference to TLA), in which the authors examine their own theories about language teachers' knowledge and language teachers' learning, and the use of KAL in pre-service and in-service teacher training. The breadth of focus in the Bartels volume is indicative of the vitality of this area, with the reported research focusing not only on grammar and lexis, but also on phonetics and phonology, discourse analysis and pragmatics. Although the majority of the studies concern EFL/ESL, there are also papers dealing with the preparation of teachers of L1 English, as well as L2 Spanish and Chinese.

One area of continuing interest in TLA-related research is the relationship between TLA and the professionalism of language teachers. Andrews (2005), for example, explores the issue of professional standards in TEFL, with specific reference to subject-matter knowledge, arguing that professionalism for teachers of EFL entails the possession of adequate knowledge *of* the language (language proficiency), adequate knowledge *about* the language (content knowledge: the declarative dimension of TLA) and the ability to make effective use of such knowledge in pedagogical practice (procedural TLA). The paper outlines the experiences and the difficulties in the Hong Kong context of attempting to set appropriate standards in the first two of those areas.

The measurement of aspects of TLA, whether or not linked to standards setting, has formed part of TLA-related research for some time and is an on-going concern for practitioners. In the TEFL context, for example, centres offering pre-service training courses have commonly used LA tests to screen applicants, while subject knowledge is a major part of one module of the 'Teaching Knowledge Test' launched by Cambridge ESOL in 2005 as a basic level qualification for EFL/ESL teachers worldwide. One particularly interesting strand of measurement-focused TLA research has been focusing on the predictive value of LA tests (see, for example, Morris, 2003), as part of an investigation of the knowledge base, learning and performance of undergraduate TESL trainees in Quebec, aimed at identifying valid and reliable criteria for selecting course participants, and providing them with appropriate support once they have joined the course. Morris (2003) examines the correlations between different forms of linguistic and metalinguistic knowledge and the academic performance and progress of two groups of TESL undergraduates. The study provides confirmation of the predictive value of vocabulary profiles, as suggested by earlier phases of the investigation, and finds metalinguistic knowledge (as measured by results on a grammatical explanation task) to be an especially good predictor of academic performance.

A noticeable characteristic of much current TLA-related research is that it is pushing back the boundaries of what has hitherto been treated

as TLA. As a result, it obliges us to re-examine what we mean by TLA, and to reflect on the usefulness of TLA as anything more than a rather loose umbrella term, given the complexity of the language teacher's language-related cognitions to which the label refers and of their interaction with other domains of teacher cognition. Walsh (2003) is a case in point. Based on the evidence from his study of seven teachers' use of language in L2 classes, Walsh suggests that teachers' enhanced understanding of interactional processes can facilitate learner involvement and increase opportunities for learning, leading him to argue that a crucial component of the TLA of L2 teachers is their interactional awareness. Meanwhile, Song (2005), based on a study of L2 teachers' beliefs and practices regarding their L1 use in the L2 classroom, proposes that the conceptualisation of TLA should be broadened to include awareness of the role of the medium of instruction (MOI) in the language class. Song argues that, in L2 classes where the students and teacher share the same L1, the TLA concerning the role of MOI has the potential to play a crucial role in pedagogical decision-making.

#### PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES

The previous section has noted the growth in TLA-related research activity. At the same time, however, TLA is still a comparatively new focal area of research within the larger domain of language teacher cognition. As a result, it faces a number of the challenges that might confront any research area at a similar stage of development:

1. Although there is a considerable and ever-growing body of research relating to this rather loosely defined area that some refer to as TLA, there is at present no unifying conceptual framework (see, for example, the discussion in Borg, 2003b, p. 106). The relationship between language teachers' subject-matter cognitions and other aspects of their cognition and practice is clearly very complex, as is that between TLA and language proficiency. Further work is needed both to develop a conceptual framework and to explore these relationships.
2. There is also a lack of a common language in the literature relating to this area. Andrews, for example, uses both teacher metalinguistic awareness (TMA) and TLA to refer to the same aspect of teacher cognition. Meanwhile, Borg does not use either term, although his 1994 paper refers to teachers' awareness of language and the need for teachers to be linguistically aware.

Within the restricted focal area of language teachers' subject-matter cognitions, there are on-going challenges for those involved with TLA, either as researchers or as teacher-trainers. One such challenge concerns the interconnection between the declarative and the procedural

dimensions of TLA. In TLA-related research, this has been explored to some extent, but there is clearly a need for further investigation, particularly of the factors that seem to impact positively and negatively on the language-related pedagogical decisions (i.e. the procedural dimension of LA) of teachers in various contexts, and of the congruence (or otherwise) between their language-related beliefs and actions. Meanwhile, in teacher development, this interface between declarative and procedural TLA, the creation of the ‘... shift from new knowledge to classroom reality’ (Wright, 2002, p. 128), which represents the vital stage in the LA learning cycle, continues to challenge both trainers and trainees. As Wright (2002) acknowledges, the LA materials published up to now have not always succeeded in making the link required to promote knowledge transfer.

For researchers, exploring the relationship between TLA and students’ learning outcomes also poses particular challenges. It is an article of faith among those involved in TLA that ‘the more aware a teacher is of language and how it works, the better’ (Wright and Bolitho, 1993, p. 292), the implication being that learners are likely to benefit from being taught by a language-aware teacher or conversely suffer at the hands of the teacher who lacks such awareness. There is, however, little or no empirical evidence for such an assumption: for all we currently know, language learning may (or may not) take place regardless of any TLA. The methodological challenges for researchers seeking to shed light on the nature of the relationship between TLA and the quality of the learning that takes place as a result of formal instruction are formidable, given the complex interplay of potential influences on learning. They are nevertheless challenges that need to be confronted, particularly in light of a conceptualisation of TLA that incorporates an awareness of the learner’s developing interlanguage.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

According to Freeman (2002), the meeting of teacher and student views of language that takes place in the language classroom sets up the possibility of three potentially conflicting levels of subject-matter representation: the teacher’s linguistic knowledge, the students’ language background and the classroom language interactions. Those involved with TLA would probably argue that the language-aware teacher possesses the understanding and sensitivity to resolve any such conflicts. However, the exploration of those views of language, of the classroom consequences as they potentially come into conflict, and of the qualities teachers need to handle such conflicts is likely to continue to occupy the attention of TLA researchers, while fostering teachers’ language-related understandings and sensitivities will continue to be

a primary goal for LA-focused professional development work with teachers.

As the present chapter has shown, there is a growing body of TLA-related research. The area is nevertheless still under-researched, and there is scope for a wide variety of research activity focusing on aspects of language teacher cognitions about subject matter, as well as on the interface between Freeman's (2002) three levels of subject-matter representation and the interaction between TLA and other domains of teacher knowledge. Key issues for further research in this area include: the role of subject-matter knowledge in L2 teaching; the nature of the knowledge that L2 teachers need about language in general and the target language in particular to teach; and the amount and type of subject-matter knowledge needed to teach different types of learner at different stages of their learning.

In addition to these, and the questions (mentioned earlier) of the relationship between declarative and procedural TLA, of the transfer of knowledge from the declarative to the procedural, and the impact of TLA on learners and learning, there are a number of other issues that would be valuable foci for future TLA-related research. These include comparisons of the TLA of native-speaker and non-native-speaker (NNS) L2 teachers (the papers in Llurda (2005) reflect the growing interest in the characteristics and competences of the NNS L2 teacher); influences upon the development of TLA (including professional training); teachers' awareness of aspects of the language systems apart from grammar; their awareness of the stages and processes of learners' interlanguage development; factors affecting the impact of TLA on pedagogical practice; and ways in which TLA might best be developed (focusing in particular on the procedural dimension and the issue of knowledge transfer).

In the continuing search for improved approaches to TLA development, advances in technology are likely to play a significant role in suggesting and supporting future directions, via the use of corpora, increasingly user-friendly concordancing tools, and improved communication networks. Action research linked to innovative approaches to TLA development represents another exciting avenue for future research related to TLA.

*See Also:* Arthur Van Essen: *Language Awareness and Knowledge about Language: A Historical Overview (Volume 6)*; Josep M. Cots: *Knowledge about Language in the Mother Tongue and Foreign Language Curricula (Volume 6)*

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## TECHNOLOGY AND THE STUDY OF AWARENESS

### INTRODUCTION

A concise, comprehensive, and singular definition of language awareness in second language acquisition (SLA) is not easily found, nor constructed. Given the inclusive nature of the Encyclopedia, however, and for the purposes of this article, we accept the broadest definition possible to incorporate all knowledge of and about language. Language awareness is an internal phenomenon that can be externally affected by consciousness-raising or attention-focusing techniques.

The implementation of technology in the study of second language (L2) awareness is a recent development: the field caught full speed only recently, in the mid-1990s, becoming one of the most innovative areas in SLA research. Technology is used to address questions about external conditions leading to awareness, levels of awareness attained during input processing, the association between awareness and language development, and individual variables (such as cognitive capacity) that are posited to explain the differential effects that the same conditions have on the development of awareness. The range of technology used in this subfield of SLA research—which began with audio and video recordings and old-fashioned overhead transparencies—today includes computers that deliver multimedia treatments and tests, as well as recording performance (both accuracy and reaction time), and which are fast replacing paper-and-pencil materials. Computers are also used as tools to record verbal (think-aloud) protocols and to track performance (e.g., click behavior). Furthermore, more complex devices are now being adapted from cognitive psychology and neurolinguistics for use in research on second language awareness.

Computer-based research on language awareness can be classified into descriptive, question-generating designs, descriptions of procedures or best practices, reviews of specific technology or software, and quantitative, hypothesis-testing studies with designs borrowed from cognitive psychology.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Early studies involving technology and awareness are summarized in Levy (1997) and Chapelle (2001). Levy's volume is one of the first

books devoted entirely to the field of computer-assisted language learning (CALL). It describes projects from the sixties and seventies (PLATO, TICCIT), as well as advances in the eighties (Hypercard, The Athena Language Learning Project) and nineties (The International Email Tandem Network, CAMILLE). The author discusses implications of the role of computers—either as a tool, as in computer-mediated communication (CMC), or as a tutor, as in CALL—in terms of learning environment, methodology, the role of teacher and learner, implementation in the curriculum, and evaluation. Chapelle (2001) goes back to the fifties in evaluating different computer applications to the study of SLA, including research, language learning, and language testing. Her volume draws on different disciplines, such as Educational Technology and Computational Linguistics, and applies primary concerns in those fields to CALL in order to better address the question of how computers can improve language learning. An evaluation of the different theoretical and empirical issues suggests the need to develop an integrative approach that incorporates ideal cognitive and socio-affective conditions for L2 learning.

A brief overview of the role of technology in L2 learning is provided by Blake (1998), who explains the changes the field has undergone in the last 30 years with regard to the hardware base, the role of the learner, and the presentation format. In addition, Blake provides suggestions for teachers on how to use CALL materials and on how to benefit from CALL research that is related to SLA.

Focusing on the use of computers for research, Hulstjin (1997) reviews 20 published studies that have used computers for input presentation, learning instructions, feedback, and the elicitation and registration of responses, with or without reaction times. Hulstjin (2000) describes the various ways in which computers have been used to elicit L2 data, including grammaticality judgment tasks, the preferred technique for measuring metalinguistic awareness, and others, such as sentence matching tasks, and word recognition. Research conducted by Hulstjin himself during the nineties included computer-aided designs that investigated the use of electronic dictionaries in language learning and measured reaction times in word and sentence recognition.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Major contributions to the field have appeared both in acquisition journals (*Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, *Modern Language Journal*, *Language Learning*, *System*), usually focusing on awareness and its operationalization and measurement, as well as in technology journals (*CALICO*, *Language Learning & Technology*, *ReCALL Journal*), usually focusing more on technological details. As opposed to a more

descriptive approach in the earliest reviews, the field has recently taken a more analytical point of view. Warschauer (2004) argues that the discipline started with a structuralist standpoint during the seventies, then moved on to a more communicative position during the eighties, and eventually led to the present integrative content-based approach. However, Bax (2003) claims that Warschauer's classification is ambiguous and does not account for aspects such as the evolution of the software or the type of activities implemented in CALL. As a consequence, Bax proposes an alternative analysis in which he includes three approaches (restricted, open, and integrated) that incorporate, among other elements, the following: the type of task, the teacher's role, and the feedback offered to the student.

Zhao's metaanalysis (2003) concludes that technology-based language instruction can be as effective as teacher-delivered instruction in almost all areas of language education, and suggests several issues that need to be addressed, including curriculum and content development, as well as empirical evaluations.

Studies implementing computerized treatments in their designs have addressed a current concern in SLA, namely, whether language development is possible without attention or awareness during input processing (Schmidt, 2001). Attention and awareness in relation to language development has been measured either online, with think-aloud protocols (Rosa and Leow, 2004), or offline, with debriefing questionnaires (Robinson, 1997b). Robinson (1997b) investigated whether different computerized treatments (i.e., implicit, incidental, and rule search) on simple and complex grammatical rules in English could lead to different levels of awareness (i.e., noticing, looking for rules, ability to verbalize rules). The results revealed that participants in the rule-search and instructed conditions looked for rules more than those in the implicit condition. Moreover, it was found that only awareness at the level of looking for rules and ability to verbalize the rules positively affected learners' accuracy. Rosa and Leow (2004) further investigated the role of awareness in L2 development by implementing verbal protocols. Participants were exposed to [+/- explicit] computerized treatments (LIBRA cards) to teach Spanish contrary-to-fact past conditional sentences. The study concluded that greater explicitness in learning conditions led to a higher level of reported awareness, and that higher levels of awareness were related to greater L2 development.

Technology has also been implemented in studies that attempt to investigate the roles of type of practice, feedback, and grammar explanation in L2 development under an attentional framework. Some of these studies are reviewed briefly in the later paragraphs, whereas others are presented in [Table 1](#). Computer-assisted research has compared input-based and output-based practice (Morgan-Short and Bowden, 2006;

Table 1 Implementing technology to the study of pedagogical variables: four studies

|               | Awareness   |  | Design  |  |  | Sample         | Technology  | Variables   |                     | Results  |
|---------------|---|--|---|--|--|----------------|---|---|---------------------|--|
|               | Internal  | External   | Construct   | Measurement  | Procedure                                      |                |   | Dependent   | Independent         |  |
| Ayoun (2001)  | Grammaticality judgment<br>Assumes positive relationship between noticing and language learning | Learning conditions (implicit negative feedback [recasts], positive evidence [models], traditional explicit positive evidence and negative feedback) | Role of negative feedback promotes noticing (Ortega and Long) | Accuracy on grammaticality judgment and production tasks | Pretest, treatment+ task, posttest             | 145 undergrads | Tasks designed on HyperCard for Macintosh                         | Production of French (PC and IMP)   | Learning conditions | Learning occurs in all conditions<br>Implicit negative feedback in the form of recast is the most effective  |
| Nagata (1998) | Assumes attention to form   | Learning conditions (practice): -input-focused -output-focused   | Role of input and output practice in SLA                      | Accuracy on tests  | Four tutorial sessions, post and delayed tests | 14 undergrads  | Two computer programs developed in HyperCard (BANZAI: HONORIFICS) | Achievement and retention test (comprehension and production tasks)<br>Oral production test | Learning conditions | No significant difference between groups for the recognition tasks<br>Output-focused group outperformed input-focused group for the production tasks |

|                  |   |   |  |   |   |            |   |   |   |   |
|------------------|---|---|--|---|---|------------|---|---|---|---|
| Robinson (1996)  | Grammaticality judgment-aware of rules (able to verbalize rules)        | Learning conditions (implicit, incidental, rule-search, and instructed) | Role of conscious learning and unconscious incidental acquisition of rules | Speed and accuracy of judgments of new items and hard rules sentences in the target language (grammaticality judgment)<br>Answers to questionnaire to measure awareness | Speed and accuracy tests in GJ posttest following training<br>Debriefing questionnaire at the end of experiment | 104 adults | Training and transfer programs written using Mindlab software (Meike, 1988) | Grammaticality judgment<br>Questionnaire asking for statement of rules  | Learning conditions<br>Rules (complex vs. simple) | For simple rules: Instructed group outperformed all other groups<br><br>For complex rule: Instructed groups outperformed all other groups for grammatical sentences only<br><br>No difference between groups when verbalizing easy or hard rule |
| Robinson (1997a) | Grammaticality judgment-aware of rules: noticing, verbalizing the rules | Learning conditions (implicit, incidental, enhanced, and instructed)    | Role of conscious learning and unconscious incidental acquisition of rules | Speed and accuracy of judgments of old and new items in the target language<br>Answers to questionnaire to measure awareness  | Speed and accuracy tests in GJ posttest following training<br>Debriefing questionnaire at the end of experiment | 60 adults  | Training and transfer programs on a Macintosh computer                      | Grammaticality judgment of old and new exemplars<br>Questionnaire asking for noticing, searching, and/or statement of rules | Learning conditions                               | All conditions = on old sentences<br>Instructed outperformed all other conditions on new grammatical sentences<br><br>Instructed outperformed all other conditions, and enhanced outperformed implicit on new ungrammatical sentences           |

Nagata, 1998). Implementing Authorware 5, Morgan-Short and Bowden (2006) observed that although there was no difference between groups on interpretation measures, the output-based group outperformed the input-based group on the production of Spanish preverbal direct-object pronouns, although this difference disappeared after a three-week period.

Research on feedback includes various consciousness-raising or Focus on Form conditions (Ayoun, 2001; Nagata and Swisher, 1995; Sanz, 2004). Nagata and Swisher isolated the effects of explicit (i.e., with metalinguistic information) and implicit written feedback. After four computer sessions of practice with a translation task, type of feedback had not affected production of verbal predicates, but metalinguistic information was beneficial for the production of particles. Sanz (2004) showed that explicit feedback provided for input-decoding performance during online sentence processing did not enhance the acquisition of morphosyntax as measured by interpretation and production tasks. She concluded that the effects of explicit feedback appear to depend on whether it is provided during production or input processing, and in combination with task-essential practice or simple exposure.

Other studies have investigated a combination of feedback and grammar instruction (DeGraaff, 1997; Robinson, 1996, 1997a; Sanz and Morgan-Short, 2004). In addition, the effects of rule presentation have also been studied without feedback (DeKeyser, 1995; Ellis, 1993). Ellis (1993) examined rule presentation of a grammar structure (Welsh soft mutations) with or without examples and concluded that provision of computerized explicit grammar with instances of the target form allowed for generalization at both explicit and implicit levels, thus facilitating language development. Likewise, DeKeyser (1995) showed that explicit rule presentation, as opposed to more implicit conditions, had beneficial effects for the acquisition of categorical rules, and that rules, in fact, were not acquired by the implicit group. In this study, computers were used to expose participants to combinations of written sentences in an artificial language and their corresponding pictures. De Graaff (1997) assessed the effects of explicit rule presentation when participants practiced target forms in eXperanto through interaction with a computer lesson developed using TAIGA (1987). Although the results revealed that explicit rule presentation was beneficial, only one of the types of practice proposed required learners to make form-meaning connections during practice, and the amount of feedback was not controlled. To avoid this problem, Sanz and Morgan-Short (2004) isolated the effects of explanation and feedback in their investigation of the acquisition of Spanish word order by comparing four groups combining [+/- explanation] and [+/- explicit feedback]. All groups were exposed to structured input through practice tasks.

The implementation of LIBRA allowed for provision of feedback that was immediate, individualized, and focused on the target form. Contrary to previous studies, results from Sanz and Morgan-Short showed that no group outperformed any other group on the interpretation and production tests. The authors concluded that exposing L2 learners to structured input through task-essential practice was sufficient to promote acquisition, and that in such a context, providing rule explanation, feedback, or both, does not significantly add to the knowledge gained through practice.

The rest of this section summarizes research on electronic glosses and incidental vocabulary learning, on CMC, and on the field of data-driven learning and the use of corpora and concordances in language learning and awareness. Research conducted in the nineties concluded that the use of electronic glosses had a positive effect on incidental vocabulary learning, and thus, recent contributions have explored the cognitive processes involved. Bowles (2004) compared computerized with traditional paper-and-pen glosses. Analysis of verbal protocols did not identify differences in noticing, and no differences were identified regarding L2 vocabulary development. A study by Nagata (1999) compared annotations with or without feedback and concluded that computerized feedback leads to deeper lexical processing. Laufer and Hill (2000) investigated the relationship between different dictionary lookup preferences and incidental learning, concluding that lookup behavior differed depending on learning style and multiple glossing options seemed to be more beneficial than single options. Finally, DeRidder (2005) explored the effects of enhanced glosses on incidental vocabulary learning, text comprehension, and word retention over time. Results suggested a lack of relationship between enhancing and the three variables, and enhancing was not shown to decrease the degree of attention.

CMC research has often taken an interactionist perspective, addressing the role of negotiation in fostering conscious processing mostly through feedback. Kötter (2003) examined negotiation of meaning and codeswitching in online tandems between English and German learners, and found that clarification requests were the most common types of repairs used. A recent study by Morris (2005) showed that when nonnative speaker children interacted with each other, they provided mostly implicit negative feedback in the form of negotiation of meaning and recasts. Finally, Smith (2003) observed that negotiation of meaning also occurred in CMC between nonnative speakers, although the effects varied depending upon the type of task.

Corpus linguistics is leading to the development of theories about language, which challenge existing orthodoxies in applied linguistics. It also raises a number of questions, such as how corpus data should be interpreted and how it can be applied to areas in which applied

linguistics is active, including language teaching. Hunston as well as Granger, Hung, and Petch-Tyson, both published in 2002, are accessible introductions to corpus linguistics and essential for anyone interested in corpora and its impact on applied linguistics. Granger, Hung, and Petch-Tyson (2002) analyzes the advantages and disadvantages of automated and semiautomated approaches and the capabilities of linguistic software. It describes in detail the corpora and compilation processes, thus giving practical insight to those planning on compiling a corpus of L2 data or working with such a corpus. Finally, Gaskell and Cobb (2004) presents preliminary results from an empirical study with intermediate classroom learners on concordance information as feedback to sentence-level written errors, while describing a URL-link technology that allows teachers to create and embed concordances in learners' texts.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

A substantial number of projects that implement technology in the study of language awareness are currently underway. Some use technology to enhance the development of awareness. For others, technology allows for the observation and measurement of awareness. More integrative projects combine both motivations to include technology, an example of which is *The Latin Project*. Designed by Sanz and graduate students Bowden and Stafford, it is an investigation of the interaction between prior experience with language (bilingualism), and type of input (varying in degrees of explicitness) that includes cognitive variables (working memory and awareness) as moderating variables. The focus is on processing strategies, specifically the use of word order, case, and number morphology to assign semantic functions in L3 Latin by speakers of different L1s and L2s. The design is experimental with computer-delivered treatments and tests, including oral and written interpretation, grammaticality judgment, and production, combining old items (present in the treatment) and new items. Computers also administer a battery of working memory tests, debriefing questionnaires, and gather think-aloud data for the study of the role of awareness during online processing. The design consists of a web-based application combining Flash and ColdFusion programming tools that delivers oral and written input combined with images. The application also gathers reaction time and accuracy data and stores it in a database available online. Web delivery allows for data gathering wherever a personal computer can access a high-speed network. While the goal of the input-based treatments is to promote language development, in designing the tests the researchers strived to provide the most comprehensive picture of language knowledge and its degrees of automatization to include both explicit and implicit knowledge.

Within the most promising group of studies that implement technology to enhance awareness, there is research on CMC, and specifically on the potential long-term effects of computer-delivered recasts now underway at Penn State University (Sagarra). In combination with CMC, and within Mackey and Gass' stimulated recall technique to elicit awareness of recasts, Mackey (December 2005, personal communication) suggests "enhanced stimulus recalls" using a split screen (picture in picture) with a close-up of, for example, participants' hands during typing. For contexts other than CMC, such as classroom interaction or pair work, Mackey suggests a close-up of the participants' gaze or some other nonverbal cue to prompt verbalizations when subjects exhibit traces of memory decay.

Mackey's ideas, like the studies described in this and the next paragraph, address the use of technology to operationalize and measure awareness. We provide short descriptions of designs that use click-tracking techniques, eye-tracking devices, and neuroimaging. In computerized task-based instruction, the combination of concurrent verbal protocols and software applications designed to track learners' interactions with the task at hand provides the researcher with valuable insights into the cognitive strategies deployed by learners in their interaction with both the task and L2 input. Cerezo's study, in particular, shows whether a task really achieves its goals in terms of pursued degrees of processing, or whether, on the contrary, it may be "decomplexified" and redefined by the learner; also, it is a good informer of the learners' motivation toward the task, and reveals how often-overlooked intervening variables such as boredom may decrease learners' attention to L2 input. The data from the computerized tracking protocols consist of succession of clicks of all the participants in complex conditions. Sagarra and Dussias have brought to the study of SLA the eye-tracking technique, which they use to study attention and specifically the competition between lexical and morphological cues to assign tense at the sentence level during online processing across different proficiency levels.

Recently, SLA researchers have begun to discover the potential contributions of neuroimaging techniques to the study of SLA (see also Ellis, *Explicit Knowledge and Second Language Learning and Pedagogy*, Volume 6). Two such techniques are event-related potentials (ERPs) and functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI). ERPs measure the brain's electrical activity and provide precise temporal information that reflects the neural processing of a preceding event. fMRI measures the brain's hemodynamic response to an event and can provide spatial information about what part of the brain is activated in response to an event. Currently, research such as Bowden and Morgan-Short's dissertations use ERPs to investigate the role of experience in the neurocognition of adult SLA. Specifically, they use ERPs to

compare the neurocognitive bases (i.e., declarative vs. procedural memory systems) of L2 learning at various levels of experience/proficiency and after exposure to implicit vs. explicit evidence.

The earlier-mentioned research by Cerezo, Mackey, Morgan-Short, Sagarra, and Sanz and colleagues was presented in the year 2005 at the *Second Language Research Forum (SLRF)*, the *Georgetown University Round Table (GURT)*, and the *Association Internationale de Linguistique Appliquée (AILA)*. Other related topics addressed at the SLRF conference included more research on computerized feedback in relation to task-essentialness, to reactivity, and in comparison to natural or classroom environments.

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Researchers find in technology an array of tools that allow them to go further than ever in their attempt both to induce language awareness and to measure it. These researchers face practical, methodological, and theoretical challenges. Practical challenges relate to the availability of samples, hardware, software (programming tools), and technical help. Finding samples that are large and homogeneous is no easy task. Also, institutional review boards often make sampling even more difficult. Participants are not always available or willing to participate; they have to be compensated to go to laboratories as data-gathering usually takes place outside of class time. Often compensation for programmers, equipment rental and acquisition make this research much more expensive than classic paper-and-pencil designs, and requires patience and time spent waiting within those institutions in which different researchers share laboratories. These conditions make the availability of institutional funding a determining factor.

We began this article with the theoretical statement that there is not one definition of language awareness but many, and that, for the purposes of the article, we accepted the broadest definition possible to incorporate all knowledge of and about language. A narrower definition would include only conscious knowledge of the language, that is, knowledge of which the learner is aware. An even narrower use of awareness, linked to Schmidt's noticing hypotheses, distinguishes between language information that has been processed in working memory under attention, a required condition for input to become intake ready to feed the acquisition process, and that which has not (see also Robinson, *Attention and Awareness*, Volume 6). Confusion over terminology is a serious problem: awareness, consciousness, and explicitness are often used as synonyms. Sometimes they are applied to input processing, to knowledge, to input, even to pedagogical techniques. Naturally, because constructs are hard to define, measurements will also be challenging.

Most constructs, not just awareness, are elusive identities, difficult to define and thus equally or more challenging to operationalize in order to be measured. It is often necessary to reformulate tests, revise coding procedures, and recode after discussion among raters to avoid interrater reliability problems. Researchers have to make decisions about which technique to include in the design: online measures, such as concurrent think-aloud protocols, might turn against the researcher by altering the very same processes under investigation (i.e., reactivity). Offline measurements, like debriefing questionnaires and stimulated recalls, have problems of veridicality: is the participant making up processes that never took place while completing the task? And, of course, that researchers cannot conclude that awareness was not present from lack of verbalization is also a significant caveat within the measurement schemata. Distinguishing between explicit and implicit knowledge of language is not any easier. Most acquisitionists hold that competence is equivalent to implicit knowledge, so the litmus test for effectiveness of a pedagogical technique is whether it positively affects implicit knowledge. The problem is how to determine that performance is not tainted by explicit knowledge, i.e., that learners did not use their conscious knowledge of rules to monitor their responses. Including multiple tests (interpretation, production, judgments), measures like latency (i.e., reaction time), and techniques such as eye-tracking and neuroimaging in the design are ways in which researchers are taking advantage of technology to avoid these limitations. Finally, a common limitation that L2 researchers outside the cognitive approach associate with the studies reported here is that of validity. Often, researchers have to choose between a preference for naturalistic language behavior at the risk of complexifying analysis and even eliciting too few exemplars to be able to proceed with the analysis and controlled collection procedures that result in highly restricted, sentence-level data. In those studies that compare teacher-directed versus computer-assisted language instruction, the Hawthorne effect is almost unavoidable. And to conclude, as in most SLA research, the disparity of methods implemented and the lack of replication are a challenge for any scholar trying to draw general conclusions for the research (Sanz, 1997).

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

In cognitive psychology, laboratory studies that use technology (including computers) for data collection are the norm as technology allows for tighter control of individual and environmental variables as well as finer measures of the effects of treatments. For example, response time, gaze (direction), time spent on particular portions of written input (eye-tracking), response tracking for the analysis or

frequency and type of errors during treatment, in addition to classic accuracy scores are all measurable thanks to the use of technology. Research on awareness in SLA is nowadays intimately connected with advances in cognitive psychology, but it is less advanced on the methodological side. Acquisitionists are striving to adapt to the study of SLA techniques that are common in cognitive psychology. In terms of measurements of awareness, including all its varied definitions, this is the direction researchers are following into the future.

As for treatments, technology is rapidly replacing paper-and-pencil delivery. Rather than instruction delivered by one individual to a group of students, the application of technology to the instructional design allows for individual exposure to the treatment. This facilitates randomization of participants to different experimental treatments including the placebo, which makes the study truly experimental. It is also possible to control key variables in the treatment, such as the amount and type of feedback to which each participant is exposed, and even to individually adapt treatments based on performance, something that is impossible in a group situation, thus leading to a fine-grained analysis of the effects of the treatment. Incorporating computers into the design of a study also make it more convenient: Instead of simultaneous use of an overhead projector, a VCR, TV sets, and multiple copies of the testing and treatment materials, all that is needed is a computer. If the application is web-based, as in *The Latin Project*, both data gathering and access to the database are possible in multiple sites simultaneously. Other advantages are also important: Multimedia capabilities make the lesson far more attractive to the user and allow for provision of video and audio input simultaneously, thus accommodating different learning types.

To conclude, laboratory research on language awareness will continue to increase the implementation of computers in the design as more and larger laboratories become available, research institutions hire information technology technicians, and software becomes more adaptive and affordable. Furthermore, the field is moving beyond computers to make use of specialized devices such as eye-tracking machines and advances in neuroimaging techniques.

**See Also:** Nick Ellis: *Implicit and Explicit Knowledge about Language (Volume 6)*; Peter Robinson: *Attention and Awareness (Volume 6)*

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## **Section 4**

### **Knowledge about Language, Bilingualism and Multilingualism**

## KNOWLEDGE ABOUT BILINGUALISM AND MULTILINGUALISM

### INTRODUCTION

For many decades, one of the key questions about bilinguals and multilinguals has been about their implicit and explicit knowledge not only of each language they speak, but especially their understanding of the linguistic and psychological contact between their two languages. This has mostly been researched as the ‘metalinguistic awareness of bilinguals’.

This chapter begins by presenting research up to the 1970s on bilingual’s metalinguistic awareness. It then outlines the last two decades of research, particularly from Ellen Bialystok and colleagues, which suggests that bilinguals have specific advantages over monolinguals in analyzing knowledge of language and in controlled attention to their language processing. Research on a bilingual’s knowledge about language goes wider than metalinguistic awareness. Hence, this chapter includes a synopsis of research on bilingual’s sensitivity to communication, social uses of codeswitching, language interpretation and brokering. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the limitations of research in this area, and likely future directions (e.g. cultural and aging aspects of a bilingual’s knowledge about language).

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Leopold’s (1939–1949) case history of the bilingual (German–English) development of his daughter, Hildegard, noted a looseness of connection between word sound and meaning which he attributed to bilingualism. Favourite stories, songs and rhymes were not repeated with exactly the same wording. Instead, vocabulary substitutions were made, thus showing that the meaning predominated over exact repetition of words. This suggested to Leopold that Hildegard’s bilingualism gave her an advantage: there was implicit knowledge that meanings of words resided separately from the sounds of the words. A possible metalingual advantage (see Berry, 2005, for a discussion of ‘metalingual’ terminology) for bilinguals was thus hypothesized.

It is Ianco-Worrall (1972) who is usually credited with the initial experimental evidence for such metalinguistic awareness in bilinguals.

Researching on 30 Afrikaans–English bilinguals aged four to nine, the bilingual group was matched with monolinguals on IQ, age, gender, school grade and socio-economic group. In the first experiment, a typical question was: ‘I have three words: CAP, CAN and HAT. Which is more like CAP: CAN or HAT?’ A child who chooses HAT would appear to be making a choice based on the meaning of the word, as HAT and CAP refer to similar objects. A child who says that CAN is more like CAP would be classed as making a choice determined by the sound of the word.

Ianco-Worrall found that there was no difference between bilinguals and monolinguals in their choices by age seven. Both groups chose HAT indicating development in concentrating on meaning and not sound. However, she found that with four- to six-year-old bilinguals tended to respond to word meaning, whereas monolinguals more to the sound of the word. In a further experiment, Ianco-Worrall asked the following type of question: “Suppose you were making up names for things, could you call a cow ‘dog’ and a dog ‘cow’?” Bilinguals mostly felt that names could be interchangeable. Monolinguals, in comparison, more often said that names for objects such as cow and dog were not interchangeable. Thus bilinguals tend to implicitly know that language is more arbitrary. This appears to be a result of owning two languages, giving the bilingual child awareness of the free, non-fixed relationship between objects and their labels.

Ben-Zeev (1977a, 1977b) suggested that bilinguals and multilinguals subconsciously analyze and implicitly scrutinize their languages. This stems from the need to separate their two or more languages. Using the symbol substitution test with 5 to 8 year olds, Ben-Zeev (1977a) asked children to substitute one word for another in a sentence. For example, they had to use the word ‘macaroni’ instead of ‘I’ in a sentence (e.g. ‘Macaroni am warm’ thus avoiding saying ‘I am warm’). She found bilinguals to be superior in this kind of test, demonstrating a knowledge about language in advance of monolinguals. Bilinguals appeared to be more flexible and analytical in language skills.

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

### *Early Beginnings*

The foundations of knowledge about bilingualism start very early. From 22 to 24 weeks, and especially in the late stages of pregnancy, the foetus can discriminate between different voices and speech sounds. Mehler et al. (1988) found that newborns can distinguish their parents’ native language sounds from unfamiliar foreign language sounds. Maneva and Genesee (2002) showed that language-specific patterns and some

speech differentiation may thus occur before the first birthday. Research has found that bilingual children (two years old or earlier) know which language to speak 'to whom' and in 'what situation' (Deuchar and Quay, 2000; Meisel, 2004). Such foundations of knowledge about bilingualism are important as they derive from the foetus stage and the first two years after birth. However, research on bilinguals and their knowledge about languages tends to wait until they are around three to five years old.

### *Metalinguistic Awareness*

The metalinguistic awareness advantages of bilingual children has been studied in some depth (Bialystok, 2001a, 2001b: see also Jessner, *Language Awareness in Multilinguals: Theoretical Trends*, Volume 6). In research comparing bilingual and monolingual children on metalinguistic awareness, Bialystok found that bilingual children were superior on the cognitive control of linguistic processes. For example, Bialystok (1987a) conducted three experiments each involving around 120 children aged five to nine. The children were asked to judge or correct sentences for their syntactic acceptability irrespective of meaningfulness. Sentences could be meaningfully grammatical (e.g. why is the dog barking so loudly?); meaningful but not grammatical (e.g. why the dog is barking so loudly?); anomalous and grammatical (e.g. why is the cat barking so loudly?); or anomalous and ungrammatical (e.g. why the cat is barking so loudly?). The experimental protocols required the children to focus on whether a given sentence was grammatically correct or not. It did not matter that the sentence was silly or anomalous. Bialystok (1987a) found that bilingual children in all three studies consistently judged grammaticality more accurately than did monolingual children at all the ages tested.

Bialystok (1987b) also found that bilingual children were ahead of monolingual children in counting the number of words in sentences. It can be surprisingly difficult for children under about seven years old to count how many words there are in a sentence as it depends on knowledge of the word boundaries and the relationship between word meaning and sentence meaning.

A synopsis of research on bilinguals' metalinguistic abilities can be summarized as follows (Bialystok, 2001a, 2001b; see also Jessner 2005, and Jessner, *Language Awareness in Multilinguals: Theoretical Trends*, Volume 6 for research on multilinguals). While bilinguals do not have all-embracing metalinguistic advantages or universally superior metalinguistic abilities, bilinguals whose both languages are relatively well developed have increased metalinguistic abilities particularly in those tasks that require *selective attention* to information (e.g. when there is

competing or misleading information). Such selective attention relates to two components: bilinguals' enhanced *analyzing* of their knowledge of language; and their greater *control* of attention in internal language processing. Bilinguals tend to show superiority in control but not necessarily in analysis, but this is 'a formidable advantage in cognitive processing' (Bialystok, 2001b, p. 179). This may be due to bilinguals need to differentiate between their two languages. Since both languages remain active during language processing (rather than a switch mechanism occurring), there may be control of languages when in conversation so as to avoid incursions (Bialystok, 2001a).

Such research findings have important implications for bilingual children beyond the experimental tasks, particularly in literacy and biliteracy development. For example, phonological awareness and the cognitive skills of symbolic representation are needed to read and write. Letters are symbols without inherent meaning and do not resemble the sounds they represent. Bilinguals appear to understand the symbolic representation of words in print earlier than monolinguals as they see words printed in two separate ways. In turn, this may facilitate earlier acquisition of reading. Metalinguistic awareness is a key aspect in the development of reading in young children (Bialystok, 1997; Bialystok, 2001a). This suggests that bilinguals may be ready slightly earlier than monolinguals to learn to read. However, there are many intervening variables that make statements about bilingual's metalinguistic advantages and early literacy dangerous. The child's experience and level of proficiency in each language, the relationship between the two languages and the type of writing systems employed by each language are examples of intervening variables.

### *Communicative Sensitivity*

In Ben-Zeev's research (1977b) on the comparative performance of bilingual and monolingual children on Piagetian tests, she found that bilinguals were more responsive to hints and clues given in the experimental situation. That is, bilinguals seemed more socially and linguistically sensitive in an experimental situation. This gave rise to a hypothesis that bilinguals have social (and not just cognitive) advantages in 'communicative sensitivity'.

Bilinguals need to be subconsciously (and occasionally consciously) aware of which language(s) to speak with whom in which situation. They implicitly monitor the appropriate language(s) in which to respond, or in which to initiate a conversation (e.g. on the telephone). Not only do bilinguals often attempt to avoid socially unacceptable mixing of their two languages, they also have to pick up clues and cues when to switch languages. The literature suggests that this may give a

bilingual increased sensitivity to the social nature and communicative functions of language.

An experiment on sensitivity to communication by Genesee, Tucker and Lambert (1975) compared aged 5 to 8 year old children in bilingual and monolingual education on their performance on a game. In this simple but ingenious research, the children were asked to explain a board and dice game to two listeners. One listener was blindfolded, the other not. The listeners were classmates and not allowed to ask any questions after the explanation. The classmates then attempted to play the game with a person giving the explanation. It was found that bilingual children were relatively more sensitive to the needs of listeners than monolinguals. The bilinguals gave relatively more information to the blindfolded children than to the sighted listener compared with the monolingual comparison group. The authors concluded that the bilingual children 'may have been better able than the control children to take the role of others experiencing communicational difficulties, to perceive their needs, and consequently to respond appropriately to these needs' (p. 1013).

In a variety of cognitive tests with bilingual and monolingual samples among the Konds (Kandhas) in Orissa, India, Mohanty (1994) found an increased sensitivity to messages among bilinguals. This links with sociolinguistic competence and suggests a heightened social awareness among bilinguals of verbal and non-verbal message cues and clues in communication. This implies that bilingual children may be more sensitive than monolingual children in a social situation that requires careful communication. A bilingual child may be more aware of the needs of the listener. But much more research is needed to define precisely the characteristics and the extent of the sensitivity to communication that bilinguals may share. Research in this area is important because it connects cognition with interpersonal relationships. It moves from questions about the 'knowledge about language' cognitive abilities of a bilingual to their 'knowledge about language' social abilities. The social abilities of bilinguals that derive from their knowledge about languages are illustrated in the social purposes of codeswitching.

### *Codeswitching*

Codeswitching reveals knowledge about languages in contact that is distinctive among bilinguals and multilinguals. Codeswitching will vary according to the people in the conversation, the topic, and the context in which the conversation occurs. Such variations imply a knowledge about languages that is needed by competent bilinguals and multilinguals. Familiarity, projected status, the ethos of the context and the perceived linguistic skills of the listeners affect the nature

and process of codeswitching (Martin-Jones, 2000; Simon, 2001). This suggests that codeswitching is not just linguistic; it relates to social and power relationships. The bilingual needs to have implicit knowledge about these factors to perform appropriately in moving between languages.

Some illustrations follow

- Words, phrases and sayings in languages may not correspond exactly and the bilingual may switch to a language (especially if the listener is bilingual) to express an idea that has no exact equivalent in the other language.
- Codeswitching may be used to express identity, communicate friendship or family bonding. For example, moving from the common majority language to the home language or minority language both the listener and speaker understand well may communicate friendship and common identity. Stroud's (2004) research shows that codeswitching between Portuguese and Ronga in Mozambique relates to social identities that are constructed in tensions between competing political, economic and cultural pressures.
- Codeswitching may be used to signal a change of attitude or relationship. For example, a codeswitch signals there is less or more social distance, with expressions of less commonality or a growing affinity indicated by the switch. A change from a minority language or dialect to a majority language may indicate the speakers' wish to elevate their own status, create a distance between themselves and the listener, or establish a more formal relationship.

These illustrations suggest that the perceived status of the listeners, familiarity with those persons, atmosphere of the setting and perceived linguistic skills of the listeners are examples of variables that may foster or prevent codeswitching. Such factors operate in children as young as two years of age. Whereas a two-year-olds mixing of language has tended to be seen as 'interference' or a lack of differentiation between languages, research has shown that codeswitching by two-year-olds can be context-sensitive, for example according to who is being addressed (Deuchar and Quay, 2000). Thus, a very young bilingual has knowledge about language that affects codeswitching.

### *Language Interpreters and Brokers*

Such early knowledge about languages in contact is also found in children acting as interpreters for their parents and others (Kaur and Mills, 1993; Valdés, 2003). Bilingual children (and adults) are frequently expected to act as go-betweens and language brokers by interpreting from one language to another (Valdés, 2003). Such an interpreter's

role requires a particular knowledge about the relationship between languages.

For example, in immigrant families, parents may have minimal or no competency in the majority language. Therefore, their bilingual children act as interpreters across a variety of contexts. When there are visitors to the house, a parent may call a child to help translate. The child interprets for both parties (e.g. the parent and the caller). Similarly, at school, stores, hospitals, the doctor's, dentist's, optician's and many other places where parents visit, the child may be taken to help interpret (Valdés, 2003). Interpretation may be needed in more informal places: watching the television, reading a local newspaper or working on the WWW. Rather than just transmitting information, children act as information and communication brokers (Tse, 1996b), often ensuring the messages are 'acceptably culturally translated' as in the following example:

Father to daughter in Italian: '*Digli che è un imbecille!*' (Tell him he is an idiot!)

Daughter to trader: 'My father won't accept your offer.'

Such language brokering depends on more than fluency in two or more languages. It requires knowledge about the relationship between the two languages that influences the message. For example, children may be expected to be adult-like when interpreting (e.g. medical information) and child-like at all other times. Such brokering also affects their knowledge about the status of the two languages. Children may quickly realize when language brokering that the language of power, prestige and purse is the majority language. Negative attitudes to the minority language may result.

Language brokering has potential positive outcomes for the child, including in creating extra knowledge about languages in contact. First, it can bring parental praise, reward and status within the family for playing a valuable and much prized role. Such translation ability may gain both esteem from others and raise self-esteem. Second, the child learns adult knowledge quickly and learns adult language and communication. Early maturity has its own rewards in the teenage peer group. Third, Kaur and Mills (1993) found that children accustomed to acting as interpreters learned to take the initiative. For example, a child may give the answer to a question rather than relaying the question to the parent. This puts children in a position of some power, even of control. Fourth, the cognitive outcomes for child language brokers may be valuable. Children who are regular interpreters for their parents may realize early on the problems and possibilities of translation of words, figures of speech and ideas. For example, such children may learn early on that one language never fully parallels another, and that it is hard to translate exactly the inner meaning of words and metaphors. This may lead

such children to be more introspective about their languages. Thus, interpretation may both require and stimulate metalinguistic awareness (Tse, 1996a).

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Before concluding, it is important to state the potential limitations of our current understanding about a bilingual's implicit and explicit knowledge about their languages.

1. Not all cognitive processing studies are 'favourable to bilinguals' (Bialystok, 2001a). Some research locates differences that favour monolinguals in language specific processing (e.g. reaction times, an initial developmental lag in vocabulary knowledge specific to a language). For example, Gollan, Montoya and Werner (2002) suggest that a monolingual's semantic fluency is a little faster than that of a bilingual (e.g. as bilinguals need to ensure the correct word is chosen from their two languages) and that bilinguals are more likely to report a 'tip of the tongue' state (unable to immediately retrieve a word) possibly because they use some words in each language less often (Gollan and Acenas, 2004). However, none of these studies suggest that bilinguals have a mental overload, process inefficiently or in everyday thinking have weaknesses compared with monolinguals. In areas such as speed of reaction in retrieving words, the milliseconds difference is of little or no importance in everyday functioning.
2. Researchers who find cognitive advantages mostly focus on relatively balanced bilinguals. Carlisle et al. (1999) found that the degree of bilingualism constrains or enhances metalinguistic performance. Those in the early stages of bilingualism do not share the benefits until sufficient vocabulary development, in both languages, has occurred. Similarly, Bialystok and Majumder's (1999) research showed that balanced bilinguals in Grade 3 were superior to partial bilinguals on non-linguistic problem-solving tasks requiring selective attention. Galambos and Hakuta (1988) suggest that a certain level of proficiency in both languages must be attained before the positive effects of bilingualism on metalinguistic awareness can occur. This is usually termed the thresholds theory (Cummins, 2000).
3. Causal relationships and delineation of the key influencing variables may also be problematic. For example, parents who want their children to be biliterate, bicultural and bilingual may emphasize particular thinking skills, encouraging creative thinking in their children and fostering metalinguistic skills. The parents of bilingual children may be the ones who want to accelerate their

children's knowledge about language. Such parents may give high priority to the development of languages and metalinguistic abilities within their children compared with monolingual parents. So is it bilingualism per se in a child that is more or less influential than the socio-cultural and parenting environment? This suggests taking care about defining what are the determining factors in a bilingual's knowledge about languages. It may be that it is not only language that is important. Other non-language factors may be influential as well (e.g. the immigrant experience, political pressures, subtractive and additive contexts).

4. We need to ask which types of bilingual children share the metalinguistic benefits of bilingualism? Do children below average in cognitive abilities also gain the advantages of bilingualism? There is a tendency in research to use children from the middle classes, particularly those of above average ability. Do the findings relate to bilingual immigrants in subtractive (assimilative) language environments? Further research is needed.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Is it the case that different languages, or combinations of languages, influence the thinking of individuals? For example, does the structure, concepts (e.g. of time, number, space) and discourses of a particular language affect thinking (the neo Whorfian hypothesis, see Pavlenko, 2005a)? Does someone who learns a second language also acquire new meanings, concepts and enhanced perspectives? Do they change the thinking of the individual? Do such new insights become only partially translatable across a bilingual or multilingual's languages?

Pavlenko (2005a) argues that research on bilinguals assumes that such cognitive effects of bilingualism are universal. But, do different languages and cultures (and their multilingual combinations) have specific cognitive effects? The contested Sapir-Whorf hypothesis has been that different languages may give their speakers different views of the world (linguistic relativity). Learning a second language is thus partly a socialization into new understandings, perspectives and ways of speaking. Recent neo-Whorfian views suggest that different languages may variedly influence individual's thought contents (e.g. concepts) and processes (e.g. selectively attending, remembering, reasoning). Evidence for this can be located in the experiences of colour, number, space, motion, time, autobiographical memory, personhood and the Self in different languages (Pavlenko, 2005a). Such evidence is also present in cross-linguistic differences in terms and understandings about emotion. Pavlenko (2002) showed that in English, emotions are relayed through adjectives as emotional states, whereas in Russian the tendency

is to convey emotions more via verbs as actions and processes, with for example, more attention to body language. Bilinguals may therefore have access to different conceptual representations, experience different imagery and index more varied discourses and identities (Pavlenko, 2005a and b).

Pavlenko (2005a) reviews studies on the concepts of colour, shape, number, motion, space, time, emotions, personhood (e.g. egocentric, socio-centric), discourse and autobiographical memory. For example, while a monolingual Hindi has no term for 'gray', an English–Hindi bilingual is likely to have the concept of gray. She shows that a specific language will sensitize and socialize speakers to particular aspects of a concept. That sensitization will vary from language to language. It will also vary between bicultural simultaneous (early) bilinguals, late bilinguals and incipient language learners (e.g. in a 'foreign' context). She concludes that bilingualism can be advantageous for enriching a person's linguistic repertoire. Bilingualism can provide varied and alternative conceptualizations which enable flexible and critical thinking (Pavlenko, 2005a).

Are the metalinguistic advantages of relatively balanced bilinguals temporary and located mainly with younger children? Do they give a child an initial advantage that soon disappears with growing cognitive competence? Are the effects in any way permanent? Current research is turning its attention to older bilinguals and possible longer term metalinguistic advantages.

De Bot and Makoni (2005) examine the relationship between aging (in its physical, psychological and social dimensions) and language. One suggestion is that being bilingual may allow access to additional cognitive processes and storage as memory functions decline with age. Bialystok, Craik, Klein and Viswanathan (2004) provide some early evidence across a series of experiments that a metalinguistic advantage persists into adulthood, and furthermore helps lessen some of the negative cognitive effects of aging in adults.

In a much publicized study, Bialystok, Craik, Klein and Viswanathan (2004) used the Simon Task to compare groups of younger and older bilinguals and monolinguals. In the Simon Task, coloured stimuli are presented on either the left or the right side of a computer screen. Each of two colours (or two pairs of colours) are associated with a response key on the two sides of the keyboard underneath the stimuli. A subject has to press the key on the correct side. For example, a correct 'congruent' response occurs when the person presses the left key when red is presented on the left side of the screen. A correct 'incongruent' response is when the subject presses the left key when red is presented on the right side of the screen. An incorrect response is when red is presented on the right side and the person presses the right key. The

time taken to respond is an important measurement (i.e. 'incongruent' trials have longer reaction times and this is termed the Simon effect). Longer reaction times tend to occur with aging.

Across a series of experiments, Bialystok, Craik, Klein and Viswanathan (2004) found superior performance among bilinguals on the Simon task. This result was apparent in younger and older bilinguals. Bilinguals tended to perform the Simon Task quicker than 'matched' monolinguals, irrespective of age, and showed less interference in the 'incongruent' trials. A key finding was that bilingualism reduced the age-related lower performance as older bilinguals performed significantly better than the older monolinguals. This implies that 'the lifelong experience of managing two languages attenuates the age-related decline in the efficiency of inhibitory processing (Bialystok, Craik, Klein and Viswanathan, 2004, p. 301). Thus, lifelong bilingualism may provide a partial defence against the normal decline in cognitive control associated with aging.

The Simon effect is similar to advantages found in bilingual children who appear to be superior in selective attention to problems, plus inhibition of attention to misleading information. The bilingual advantage appears to be in complex cognitive processing that requires executive control. This advantage may be due to bilinguals working in one language while both their languages are active. 'The joint activity of the two systems requires a mechanism for keeping the languages separate so that fluent performance can be achieved without intrusions from the unwanted language' (Bialystok, Craik, Klein and Viswanathan, 2004, p. 291).

From these experiments, such inhibitory control appears to last for a lifetime (Bialystok, Craik, Klein and Viswanathan, 2004). 'The simple experience of bilingualism that relies on some aspect of these processes to control the production of the relevant language appears to yield widespread benefits across a range of complex cognitive tasks' (Bialystok, Craik, Klein and Viswanathan, 2004, p. 302). This suggests that future research can valuably engage the range and boundaries in the metalinguistic profiles of bilinguals across the lifespan, from fetus to fading.

**See Also:** *Ulrike Jessner: Language Awareness in Multilinguals: Theoretical Trends (Volume 6)*

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LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND MINORITY  
LANGUAGES

INTRODUCTION

As the research literature throws up a variety of definitions of attitudes, the general and relatively straightforward definition provided by Sarnoff (1970, p. 279) is widely used as a starting point—for him an attitude is ‘a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects’. In the case of language attitudes, the ‘class of objects’ which instigate such reactions are, of course, always language related. Baker (1992, p. 29, cited in Garrett, Coupland and Williams, 2003, p. 12) has observed that some or all of the following ‘objects’ have formed the focus of language attitude studies: language variation, dialect and speech style; learning a new language; specific minority languages; language groups, communities, minorities; language lessons; parents of children learning languages; language preferences and language use. Even this list is not exhaustive. Giles, Hewstone and Ball (1983, p. 83), for example, would also include ‘opinions concerning . . . language policies’. This vast research corpus has already generated several integrative studies and reviews (e.g. Baker, 1992; Bradac, Cargile and Hallett, 2001; Garrett, Coupland and Williams, 2003; Giles and Billings, 2004; Giles and Coupland, 1991; Ryan, Giles and Sebastian, 1982). It is not possible, within the confines of this chapter, to review this literature in detail, but an attempt will be made to collate the more important elements and to add some priorities of my own.

Language attitudes, as defined earlier, are clearly important in a variety of minority language policy contexts. For school pupils from minority language backgrounds, it is frequently the case that their second language rather than their first is the dominant language in the community, and the associated attitudes arising from this juxtaposition greatly changes the dynamics involved in learning the second language (Gardner, 2002). For similar reasons, language attitudes held by both the majority and minority groups affect the success or failure of entire minority language planning strategies. Typically, the dominant language group promotes its patterns of language use as the model required for social and economic advancement. This may not only affect the resources made available by the state for minority language policies, but the attitudinal response of minorities themselves is often even more complex. A minority language

that is valued for its identity and solidarity functions may simultaneously be seen, even by its own speakers, as weakly endowed in terms of status (or linguistic capital, Bourdieu, 1991). The tension set up by these competing evaluations can be extremely difficult for individuals and communities alike to contain and resolve.

More than 20 years ago, in a review of attitudinal research at the time, it was observed that 'in every society the differential power of particular social groups is reflected in language variation and in attitudes toward those variations' (Ryan, Giles and Sebastian, 1982, p. 1). This statement rather neatly captures the principal relationships which have formed the focal points in the field of research under review ever since—between language attitudes and language variation; between social structures and language variation and, finally, between language attitudes and social structures. While there has been a considerable degree of continuity in the central concerns of those working in the field, the emphasis over this period has shifted from the first set of relationships noted earlier towards the second, and more recently still, towards the third.

Not surprisingly, therefore, the contributions of several different disciplinary perspectives are of relevance. Attitudes in general, and language attitudes in particular, are of considerable interest to social psychologists, sociologists, sociolinguists and political scientists.

Lastly, in these introductory comments, it should be noted that while studies of attitudes towards major world languages forms a considerable part of the language attitudes literature, it is with regard to minority languages that the most pressing policy concerns arise. For this reason, the following review is presented primarily from a minority language perspective. In this context, 'minority language' is understood as the language spoken by a socially—and usually numerically—subordinate group within the total population of a given society. While it is recognized that minorities, so defined, can vary widely in demographic and sociolinguistic terms, the implications of such variations for language attitudes cannot be explored in a chapter of this length (see, however, the case studies in Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001; Schieffelin et al., 1997).

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The methodological and theoretical foundations for researching attitudes were established in the parent disciplines of sociology and psychology in the first half of the twentieth century. In the inter-war years, research into attitudes was a central, if not defining, focus of the emerging discipline of social psychology. In this period, interest in attitudes centred on issues of content and method (in particular on the construction of scaling techniques). In the same period, the work

of Lazarsfeld and his associates pioneered several of the main techniques of survey research within the sociological field. This phase of research was characterized by significant developments in attitude measurement, methods of questionnaire construction and sampling technique.

However, while Giles and Billings (2004, p. 188) cite an 1931 study as an early example of language-related attitudinal research, it is generally agreed that systematic empirical research into the relationship between attitudes and language variation dates primarily from the 1960s and 1970s (Bradac, Cargile and Hallett, 2001). This suggests a relationship between the conduct of this type of research and other policy and technical developments which occurred at this time. Firstly, technical developments in the computer industry made it possible to process large volumes of data quickly and cheaply. Secondly, the emergence of language issues on to the policy agenda of many states, and a simultaneous shift to the operational procedures of planning in governmental decision making, all created a demand for reliable, up-to-date data about public attitudes and the attitudes of specific groups such as teachers and school pupils. Attitudinal research was seen to meet this need in the process of formulating and implementing language policy. Since then a large volume of descriptive data has been collected and methodological and theoretical approaches are being continuously developed and refined.

Within the sociological perspective, the first specifically language attitude surveys in the developed world were conducted in Canada in 1965 for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (see Pool, 1973 for a detailed account). Two national sample surveys were conducted in 1965 among adults and teenagers. The surveys were primarily designed to collect information about opinions on a wide range of language policy issues, but they also collected considerable additional information about the language background of the respondents, their competencies, behaviours and attitudes. In, or about the same time, Fishman, Cooper and Ma (1971) were using similar methods to examine the attitudes of the Spanish-speaking community in New York.

The foundations of the social psychological perspective on language attitudes were established with the introduction of the 'matched guise' technique by Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillenbaum (1960). Lambert's (1967) review of a series of matched guise studies, in which the same speakers are heard using the contrasting varieties, provided the impetus for the many so-called indirect studies which have been conducted in language-contact settings across the world. The approach based on this work has become, arguably, the dominant element of language attitude work. While 'certain methodological and substantive assumptions have proven extremely tenacious', 'many things have

been added to the paradigm in the last quarter century' (Bradac, Cargile and Hallett, 2001, p. 141).

From a sociolinguistic perspective, researchers have followed the lead of Labov in focusing on the association between specific linguistic features and characteristics of the social group and situational contexts in which they occur, and understanding the inferences listeners make about these associations (Ryan, Giles and Sebastian, 1982). However, Giles and Billings (2004, p. 190) have argued that Labov's explorations in the attitudinal area owe much to the innovations of Lambert.

Finally, several of the earlier reviews of the field of language attitudes (e.g. Ryan, Giles and Sebastian, 1982) distinguish yet another type of attitudinal study, which they term 'content analysis of societal treatment'. Fishman's (1966) study of language loyalty in the USA is cited as an early example of the genre.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Over the past 40 years, the social scientific study of language attitudes has relied mainly on three investigative approaches: 'societal treatment or content analyses, direct measures, and speaker evaluations' (see Ryan, Giles and Sebastian, 1982).

The societal treatment approach is in fact often overlooked in contemporary discussions of language attitudes research (Garrett, Coupland and Williams, 2003, p. 15), but 'it is undoubtedly an important source for gaining insights into the relative status and stereotypical associations of language varieties'. The rather heterogeneous group of studies includes studies using anthropological techniques such as participant observation and ethnographic studies, as well as studies of language use in various official and private domains. It is regrettable that the attitudinal data in many ethnographic studies, in particular, are rarely reviewed in the social psychological literature, despite the frequent pleas for 'an interdisciplinary' approach (Knops and van Hout, 1988).

The direct approach to investigating language attitudes is characterized by survey and interview techniques in which the informants themselves report their attitudes. One central methodological issue here, which distinguishes the quantitative nature of this research from the qualitative ethnographic approach, is whether subjects' verbal statements of their attitudes and their behavioural reactions in concrete situations can both be interpreted as manifestations of the same underlying dispositions.

However that question is resolved, both policy makers, sociologists and political scientists have continued to use quantitative survey methods to measure and collect data on language attitudes. The Canadian research was followed in 1973 by the national language attitudes surveys conducted in Ireland (see Ó Riagáin, 1997 for details) and, later

in the 1970s, by a number of surveys conducted in Finland. In the 1980s, the Minority Languages Survey Project was undertaken in the UK among immigrant groups. The 1990s saw the geographical spread of language use surveys become yet wider with surveys in The Basque Country, Ireland, Friesland, Wales and in a number of other regions such as Galicia, Languedoc-Roussillon and Sorbia (see Garrett, Coupland and Williams, 2003 for details of these and other surveys).

As already noted, within the social psychological perspective, the speaker evaluation approach—using the indirect matched guise procedure—has been used most widely (Cargile, 2002). In this procedure, selected samples of listeners are told that they are to hear the voices of different speakers, reading some neutral passage of text and are then asked to form an impression of these speakers using a series of person perception rating scales (e.g. intelligence, sincerity, etc.). Unknown to the listeners, all of the speech extracts are, in fact, produced by one speaker using realistic guises of different languages or speech characteristics. The first study using this indirect method was that of Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillenbaum (1960). English Canadian and French Canadian subjects rated in-group and out-group speakers (i.e. English Canadian and French Canadian speakers, respectively). English Canadians were found to view speakers of their own ethnic group as superior to those of the other ethnic group whereas the French Canadian subjects seemed to have adopted the inferior position assigned to them by the majority culture around them. This first study precipitated an outpouring of further speaker evaluation studies, the findings of which have recently been reviewed by Giles and Billings (2004) among others.

The findings of this research have been generally consistent. ‘Speakers of “high” or “powerful” languages or speech styles tend to be rated highly on competence and traits related to socio-economic status, while speakers of “low” or “powerless” languages or speech styles are evaluated less favourably along these dimensions, even by judges who themselves have “subordinate” ethnic speech markers’ (Giles, Hewstone and Ball, 1983). Attitudes are not, however, one dimensional. Edwards (1999, p. 102) suggests that ‘two particularly salient evaluational categories account for most of the variance: social status (which is, here, more or less equivalent to competence) and solidarity (roughly combining integrity and attractiveness)’. Thus, although lower-class, minority and ‘provincial’ speech styles often have positive connotations in terms of integrity and attractiveness, their speakers are typically assessed as being less competent, less intelligent and less ambitious than are those who enjoy some regional, social or ethnic majority status (see Edwards, 1995, for a review). More recent matched guise research has incorporated this finding by using factor

analysis to confirm the clustering of personal traits along these two dimensions (Woolard and Gahng, 1990, p. 312).

It might be noted in passing, that this general finding, established with the 'indirect' approach, is not far removed from the conclusions of those researchers using more direct methods. For example, the Irish language attitude surveys report that 'public support for Irish is shown to be very positive when attitudinal questions in surveys tap into the role the Irish language is perceived to have in defining and maintaining national cultural distinctiveness. While there is a weak relationship between this dimension of the attitudinal pattern and actual language use, . . . the general population is willing to accept a considerable commitment of state resources to ensuring its continuance and even to support a considerable imposition of legal requirements to know or use Irish on certain groups within the society, such as teachers and civil servants. (However) for most people, it is within the educational system that they have the most direct contact with Irish language policy. Not surprisingly, given the relationship between educational achievements and the qualifications needed for entry into the largely English-speaking labour market, the public are not prepared to support policies which would discriminate strongly in favour of Irish' (Ó Riagáin, 1997, p. 279).

Finally, it might be noted that there have been numerous studies of the relation between attitudes and achievement in language learning. The basic premise underlying attitudinal research in second language acquisition studies is that language is a major defining attribute of a group of people, and, thus, to learn a language involves some degree of identification with the group that speaks it. That is, language is more than a symbolic system that facilitates communication. Language is a defining behavioural feature of a cultural group, and thus acquiring the language involves taking on patterns of behaviour of that group. As a consequence, an individual's attitudes toward that group and toward other cultural groups in general will influence his or her motivation to learn the language, and thus the degree of proficiency attained (see Gardner, 1985, 2002 for a more detailed review of this literature).

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

One feature of the language attitudes research that has changed in recent decades is the theoretical basis of research. Whereas the early research was largely atheoretical, recent studies are more likely to invoke theory, e.g. accommodation theory (Giles and Coupland, 1991), models of the language-attitude process (Bradac, Cargile and Hallett, 2001). Also, theories not focusing specifically on language

have been extended to language attitudes, creating new theoretical perspectives (see Bradac, Cargile and Hallett, 2001 for a review).

However, perhaps the more striking feature of work involving language attitudes over recent decades has been the emergence of a number of theoretical perspectives which subsume language attitudes within larger frameworks. Among these new developments may be mentioned those perspectives built around the concepts of *ethnolinguistic vitality* (Harwood, Giles and Bourhis, 1994), *language ideology* (Schieffelin, Woolard and Kroskrity, 1998), *linguistic habitus* (Bourdieu, 1991) and, more specifically within the field of language education, *language awareness* (van Lier, 1995).

Before commenting on these developments, it must also be noted that there has been a degree of continuity as well as change within the social psychological field. Although the features outlined earlier represent enduring features of a small scientific paradigm, many things have been added to the paradigm in the last quarter century. Specifically, message recipients' reactions to variables beyond whole languages and dialects have been examined. The newer variables focus on specific language features *within* languages and dialects, and primarily syntactic and semantic as opposed to phonological (Bradac, Cargile and Hallett, 2001). These developments lie at the interface between sociolinguistics and social psychology (Milroy and Preston, 1999).

The notion of 'ethnolinguistic vitality' provided a conceptual tool to analyse the socio-structural variables affecting the strength of ethnolinguistic communities within intergroup settings. The vitality of an ethnolinguistic group was defined as 'that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and collective entity within the intergroup setting'. It was proposed that the more vitality an ethnolinguistic group has, the more likely it will survive and thrive as a collective entity in the intergroup context. Conversely, it was suggested that ethnolinguistic groups that have little or no vitality would eventually cease to exist as distinctive linguistic groups. Three broad dimensions of structural variables were proposed as most likely to influence the vitality of ethnolinguistic groups: these were demographic, institutional support, and status factors.

In a subsequent development, questions were included to measure respondents' assessments of in/out-group vitality on each of the items constituting the demographic, institutional support and status dimensions of the objective vitality framework (Harwood, Giles and Bourhis, 1994).

Williams (1992, p. 211) is critical of the ethnolinguistic vitality approach because of the 'omission of any discussion of power' and the reduction of the majority-minority relationship to measures of

demographic, institutional and status factors as they relate to individual evaluation. By contrast, works conducted within the *language ideology* perspective deal explicitly with the exercise of power, and the reproduction of dominant/subordinate relations.

While *language ideology* is emerging as an important concept for understanding the politics of language in multilingual situations, the term 'ideology' is used in different ways, but as Schiefflin, Woolard and Kroskrity note (1998, p. 58), 'What most researchers share, what makes the term useful in spite of its problems, is a view of ideology as rooted in or responsive to the experience of a particular social position ...'. Language ideologies are thus about more than individual speakers' attitudes to their languages, or speakers using languages in particular ways. Rather, they include the values, practices and beliefs associated with language use by speakers, and the discourse which constructs values and beliefs at state, institutional, national and global levels (Blackledge and Pavlenko, 2002, p. 122).

The operationalization of the term *language ideology* in this context, and its relationship to language attitudes, raises some methodological issues. The approach has been described as 'sociolinguistic ethnography' (Heller, 1999) with a preference for studies that link analyses of interactional practices to what might more broadly be understood as ethnography (Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001, p. 12).

The complex ways in which language ideologies are produced and reproduced can also be understood in relation to Bourdieu's (1991) concepts *habitus* and *market*. Like the concept of the 'market', the 'habitus' derives from Bourdieu's wider sociological programme. It is understood as a system of lasting, transposable dispositions and attitudes which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks (Thompson, 1991, p. 12). These dispositions are formed primarily in childhood, especially in the home and school, by the internalization of the practices of adults which in turn reflect the family's social position. It is thus a group or class phenomenon. While the linguistic habitus reflects past and present conditions, it is also informed by the 'social trajectory', that is, realistic expectations of the upward or downward mobility facing the family or social group to which they belong. 'What expresses itself through the linguistic habitus is the whole class habitus of which it is one dimension, which means in fact, the position that is occupied, synchronically and diachronically, in the social structure' (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 83).

The relationship between the linguistic habitus and the linguistic market thus works to define the acceptability of a language. The durable dispositions, perceptions and attitudes which constitute the

linguistic habitus are linked to the market as much through their conditions of acquisition as through their conditions of use. It follows therefore, that strategies of language ‘assimilation and dissimilation’ (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 64) are inevitably and unavoidably linked to the more general strategies of social reproduction adopted by groups and individuals (i.e., the strategies by which each generation endeavours to transmit to the following generation the advantages it holds).

However, the field of language ideology is not tied to a particular methodological tradition of research. And Van Dijk (1998) presents a widely held view when he observes that ‘in a theory of ideology, the notion (of attitude), when properly analysed, is crucial’. Therefore, language attitudes research ‘constitutes a coherent and, we would argue, central set of methodological options for ideology analysis’ (Garrett, Coupland and Williams, 2003, p. 11).

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Notwithstanding the importance of the attitude concept, there is a lack of consensus among researchers as to its nature, definition, measurement (Giles, Hewstone and Ball, 1983). This problem is compounded by the theoretical and methodological differences between the various disciplines that are involved. As Garrett, Coupland and Williams (2003, p. 219) have noted, the central problem concerns the latent quality of language attitudes as constructs. In practical terms, when questions are asked about language attitudes in large-scale surveys, it is often unclear whether the replies elicited from respondents really express the attitudes the researcher is attempting to identify and measure. There remains the possibility that the survey responses have been influenced or inhibited by other processes. On the other hand, indirect methods such as the matched guise procedure have their own problems of validity (Giles and Billings, 2004), and ethnographic-based approaches have the usual problems associated with qualitative research of representativeness.

These difficulties may be responsible for the lack of accord sometimes found between attitude and behaviour. As Garrett et al. (2004) observe, this ‘discrepancy may be due more to a failure to gather reliable and valid data on attitudes, than to a real disjuncture in the everyday practices of individuals. In other words, although there may be a gap at times between what we take to be someone’s attitude on the one hand, and what we know to be their behaviour on the other, it may be the case that there is no discord whatsoever between their behaviour and their “real” or dominant attitude, but that we have simply failed to identify what their “real” or dominant attitude is’ (Garrett et al., 2004, p. 9).

One of the functions of language attitudes concerns ‘identity maintenance’ and refers to the evaluative biases laid down in cognitive structures which maintain the self-esteem or the group identity. Language attitudes often serve to differentiate in-group from out-group on positive dimensions, maintain social distance and justify intergroup differences. This has wide-ranging implications for public policy in that proper and full appreciation of existing circumstances, which is always vital for successful policy, must include examination of the functions fulfilled by community attitudes towards languages (Giles, Hewstone and Ball, 1983). In this regard, it has to be noted, with some concern, that many studies conducted in this field draw their respondents from a narrow segment of student and/or middle class sub-samples of minority communities. However, it is apparent from a number of studies that there is, or can be, quite dramatic variation in attitudes towards minority languages. Not only do differences exist between minority groups, but there are also differences within groups (Giles, Hewstone and Ball, 1983).

In much of the research reviewed in this chapter, there is an on-going emphasis on speakers, particularly on their many styles and forms of language (Bradac, Cargile and Hallett, 2001). Investigators have not, however, gone very much beyond such fairly gross explanations; that is, they have typically not related speech evaluations to particular speech attributes (Edwards, 1999). ‘Speech samples submitted for judgment have differed broadly, and rarely has the inquiry extended to consider which linguistic elements (or which combinations or frequencies of elements) were chiefly responsible for the judgments elicited. This lack of linguistic detail and sophistication has been one of the criticisms leveled at attitude studies’ (Preston and Milroy, 1999, p. 5).

Other researchers would place an emphasis on the listener rather than the speaker, arguing that ‘a hearer’s evaluations or communication strategies may be influenced as much by factors internal to the hearer as by speaker behaviors’ (Bradac, Cargile and Hallett, 2001). Relations between and within groups do not occur in a vacuum but rather are influenced by a range of socio-structural and situational factors which can fundamentally affect the nature and quality of contact between and within groups. Given the importance of language in intercultural relations, it appears prudent to allow for the complexity of language attitudes (Giles, Hewstone and Ball, 1983).

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Language attitudes can be viewed as playing two crucial roles in the implementation of language planning. First, in *all* situations, attitudes

will have an effect on the degree to which policies calling for changes in language behavior are implemented, once adopted by governmental authorities. And second, in *certain* situations, language attitudes will have an effect on whether or not a given language policy is officially adopted in the first place (Pool, 1973, p. 55). From a policy perspective a number of matters need urgent attention.

More than 20 years ago, Ryan, Giles and Sebastian (1982, p. 19) pointed out that their particular publication was concerned with the social psychological perspective, they stressed that the ultimate goal was 'an interdisciplinary approach which has social policy implications'. It cannot be said that that goal has yet been achieved. One recent work, which set out with the admirable ambition 'to show how particular methods in the study of language attitudes, in combination with each other, can build richly differentiated accounts of the ideological forces at work in a community' is still ultimately a product of the social psychological approach (Garrett, Coupland and Williams, 2003).

As Giles and Billings note (2004, p. 188), while academics from many disciplines agree that language attitudes are an important enterprise, they differ widely with regard to the theories and methods which they have chosen to analyse such attitudes. All research methods have their advantages and their limitations. There is currently an urgent need for research approaches which combine several methods in a single piece of research, on a scale not heretofore attempted, and using each to supplement and check on the others.

Secondly, there is a need to track changes in language attitudes over time in a more systematic and organized way. One example of changing language attitudes comes from Woolard and Gahng (1990) who collected speaker evaluation data in Barcelona in 1980 and then again with a matched sample in 1987. Since the first piece of research, a law was passed giving the Catalan language co-official status alongside Castilian in the public sector. When replicating the study in the wake of these language policies, Woolard and Gahng found an even stronger status superiority for Catalan yet a 'loosening of the bond between the Catalan language and native Catalan ethnolinguistic identity'. Such examples are not very common, and this is possibly a task more suited to research institutes and centres, rather than individual researchers, as the former have both the resources and longevity to engage in long-term programmes of this nature.

Finally, in evaluating the findings of language attitudinal research it is necessary to avoid the tendency to regard the incidence and distribution of attitudes as autonomous phenomena. The dangers of such an approach are widely appreciated. Gardner (2002, p. 167) is not alone among social psychologists in calling for more attention to environmental factors that influence second language acquisition. He argues,

inter alia, that characteristics of the cultural milieu can affect the opportunities to use and experience the language, as well as to know and have personal experiences with members of the other language community. But the point is of wider relevance, and needs to be approached in a more structured way. The social uses of language owe their specifically social value to the fact that they are organized in systems of social interaction which reproduce the system of social differences (Bourdieu, 1991). The various dimensions of language attitudes are heavily conditioned by the way the economy and, in turn, society are structured. The state plays a very dominant role in shaping socio-economic development and thus it is necessary to examine state policies which relate to economic, and social (particularly education) issues. It is probable that, in total, their consequences for language attitudes were, and are, extensive and of more importance than language policies per se.

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## KNOWLEDGE ABOUT LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE

### INTRODUCTION

The linguistic landscape is around us all the time. We can see language signs on the streets, in the countryside, in hospitals, at schools and in shops. Are we aware of the language on street signs, billboards, graffiti, or posters? It is difficult to believe that everybody has a full knowledge of the linguistic landscape but most of us sometimes notice the language(s) used and the specific linguistic characteristics of the linguistic landscape.

Nowadays, with an increasing predominance of visual information there are more signs than ever before. When one takes a look at pictures or postal cards of shopping streets of 100 years ago it is obvious that the number of linguistic signs has increased enormously. The highest density of signs can be found in cities and towns, in particular in the main shopping streets, commercial and industrial areas. This era of visual information is also reflected in school classrooms, corridors and halls where official boards, children's work, teaching material, notices and ads fill the walls that were barely used in the past.

The study of the linguistic landscape focuses on the analysis of the written information that is available on language signs in a specific area. This chapter summarizes the main findings in this field, the work in progress and future directions. The linguistic landscape can provide important insights and a different perspective on our knowledge about language.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The interest in the study of signs has a long tradition in semiotics but the specific study of the linguistic landscape in its own right is a relatively recent development. This increasing interest is shown in the number of recent publications and special colloquia at conferences that we refer to in the other sections. The study of the linguistic landscape focuses on the identification of the informative and symbolic functions of linguistic signs. Nowadays most research studies are based on the analysis of digitized pictures.

Before researchers conducted systematic analyses of language signs there was also interest in the linguistic landscape and the use of different languages in public signs has been regulated in many areas as part of language planning. Some states, provinces or cities have developed specific recommendations and even legal measures to regulate the use of languages in the linguistic landscape. Among the more famous cases is the Charter of the French Language of 1977, better known as ‘Bill 101’ in Québec (Bourhis and Landry 2002). The bill required, among others, that advertising be done in French alone and that all commercial signs be in French. Later these measures have been relaxed and English is now acceptable in signs provided that French be given priority. Another well-known case is the so-called ‘Toubon-law’ introduced in France in 1994. The law insisted on the use of the French language in official government publications, advertisements and other contexts in France.

Some other regulations try to limit the spread of signs in order to avoid the presence of an abundant linguistic landscape everywhere. In particular the sprawl over natural areas is an issue that gets attention of policy makers. The European Landscape Convention—better known as the Florence Convention (Council of Europe 2000) which entered into force in March 2004, points to the importance to recognize the value and importance of landscapes, and to adopt measures to maintain and improve the quality of natural, rural but also of urban landscapes.

Some specific studies to analyse the use of different languages were also carried out some years ago. The two included in this section were carried out in Israel.

One of the first studies of the linguistic landscape was reported by Rosenbaum, Nadel, Cooper and Fishman (1977). They analysed language signs, transactions, planted encounters and interviews in Keren Kayemet Street a street in West Jerusalem. The data were collected in 1973 and the part of the street selected for this study included 30 shops, 3 restaurants, 10 private offices and 9 government offices. The main focus of the study is the spread of English and in the case of language signs the three categories identified were the following: no Roman script, some Roman script but Hebrew script dominant and Roman and Hebrew script with equal prominence. The results indicate that approximately one-third of the signs belongs to each of these three categories and that the Roman script corresponds in most cases to the English language. The results of the analysis indicate that the Roman script is more common in private (bottom–up) signs than in public (top–down) signs. Rosenbaum, Nadel, Cooper and Fishman (1977) acknowledge what they call the ‘snob appeal’ of English and also consider that there is a gap between the official language policy and the tolerance towards other languages and mainly towards English in language signs.

Another interesting study on linguistic landscape also took place in Israel and it is reported in Spolsky and Cooper (1991). This study analyses 100 language signs in Jerusalem. Apart from the interest of the results of the analysis this study also contributes to the development of the study of the linguistic landscape in other ways. First, it provides different criteria to establish taxonomies of language signs and gives three possible taxonomies: (i) according to the function and use of the signs (street signs, advertising signs, warning notices, building names, informative signs, commemorative plaques, signs labelling objects and graffiti); (ii) according to the materials from which the sign is made or its physical form (metal, tile, poster, wood and stone) and (iii) according to the language used in the sign and the number of languages (monolingual signs, bilingual signs and multilingual signs).

Spolsky and Cooper (1991, pp. 81–84) also give three sign rules. These rules focus on the motivation for using some languages and not others on language signs. The sign rules are also of different types.

- *Sign rule 1 ('sign-writer's skill' condition—necessary, graded): write signs in a language you know.*
- *Sign rule 2 ('presumed reader' condition—typical, graded): prefer to write signs in the language or languages that intended readers are assumed to read.*
- *Sign rule 3 ('symbolic value' condition—typical graded): prefer to write signs in your own language or in a language with which you wish to be identified.*

According to Spolsky and Cooper (1991) sign rule 1 is a necessary graded condition, that is, the sign-writer must have knowledge of the language(s) on the sign to a certain degree of proficiency. This rule is closely related to the skills of the sign-writer.

Rules 2 and 3 are considered typical but not necessary. They are both graded, so it is possible to consider readers with different degrees of proficiency (rule 2) and also different degrees of identification with a language (rule 3). Rule 2 has an economic motivation and it is informative while sign rule 3 is symbolic. It has a more political and socio-cultural motivation and is related to language loyalty. According to Spolsky and Cooper (1991) rules 2 and 3 can be in conflict with each other but rule 1 is a necessary condition. It would be interesting to analyse if these rules apply to different contexts because it seems that in some cases the symbolic value condition can be so important that even rule 1 may not apply.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

As it has already been said there is a growing body of research on the linguistic landscape in the last 10 years. This research has been

published in different journals including a special issue of the *International Journal of Multilingualism* (Gorter, 2006) and language signs have also been the focus of attention of the geosemiotics approach (Scollon and Scollon, 2003).

One of the most influential studies of the linguistic landscape is the one by Landry and Bourhis (1997). These authors provide a definition of the linguistic landscape that is followed by many other researchers:

*The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration.* (Landry and Bourhis, 1997, p. 25)

Landry and Bourhis (1997) make a clear distinction between the informative and the symbolic functions of language signs. This distinction was already pointed out by Spolsky and Cooper (1991) but Landry and Bourhis approach it from a social psychological perspective focusing on relationships between the ingroup and the outgroup. The informative function of language signs indicates the borders of the territory inhabited by a linguistic group and also the availability of a specific language to communicate in that territory. On the other hand the symbolic function refers to the perception that members of a language group have of the value and status of their languages as compared to other languages. When language is the most salient dimension of ethnic identity the linguistic landscape becomes the most 'observable and immediate index of the relative power and status of the linguistic communities inhabiting a given territory' (p. 29)

Landry and Bourhis (1997) explore the relationship between linguistic landscape and specific aspects of vitality beliefs, ethnolinguistic identity and language behaviour in multilingual settings. Their study includes 2,010 Canadian Francophone students and their findings indicate that the linguistic landscape emerges as an independent factor in the individual network of language contacts and that it is strongly related to the subjective vitality scores. They consider that the linguistic landscape can be a very important factor in promoting the use of one's own language and therefore in the processes of language maintenance and language shift.

The importance of the linguistic landscape as related to different areas has also been highlighted in other studies conducted in different parts of the world. In the rest of this section, we focus on the most prominent areas discussed in a number of recent papers on the linguistic landscape: multilingualism, the spread of English, differences between public and private signs and the effect of language policy.

### **The spread of multilingualism**

Different factors including globalisation, immigration, the revitalization of minority languages and tourism have influenced the development of multilingualism and multiculturalism at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Ethnic, socio-cultural, religious and commercial diversity contribute to cultural diversity and linguistic diversity in many parts of the world. Studies on the linguistic landscape conducted in different settings indicate that there is cultural and linguistic diversity in the use of different languages when studying language signs. For example, Ben Rafael, Shohamy, Amara and Trumper-Hecht (2006) compare patterns of linguistic landscape in Jewish, Palestinian Israeli and non-Israeli Palestinian settings in Israel. They report that multilingualism is one of the characteristics of language signs either when considering different signs in different languages or bilingual and multilingual signs. The main languages used in these settings are Hebrew, Arabic and English but other languages such as Russian also contribute to multilingualism. There are important differences in the use of the three main languages in these settings and the use of Hebrew and Arabic is completely different in Jewish and non-Israeli Palestinian settings.

The use of different languages is also reported in two studies conducted in Asia. Huebner (2006) analysed different areas of Bangkok and reported the use of different languages including Thai, Roman and Chinese scripts but also Arabic and Japanese. Backhaus (2006) analysed bilingual and multilingual signs in Tokyo, which were a surprising 20% of the total number of signs. The most common languages in these signs were English and Japanese but in some cases the signs also included Chinese and Korean and many other languages.

Cenoz and Gorter (2006) conducted a comparative study of two cities, Donostia-San Sebastian in the Basque Country (Spain) and Ljouwert-Leeuwarden in Friesland (The Netherlands). They found that 55% of the signs in Donostia-San Sebastian and 44% of the signs in Ljouwert-Leeuwarden were bilingual or multilingual.

These studies show that the study of the linguistic landscape can contribute to the study of multilingualism because language signs are indicators of the languages used in a specific setting. The study of the linguistic landscape in these studies and the early studies also confirm the spread of multilingualism.

### **The spread of English**

The linguistic landscape usually includes English as one of the languages used in different contexts in different parts of the world. The spread of English, due to different causes including historically the

spread of the British Empire and more recently the important influence of the USA in different fields is visible in language signs. Globalisation and modernity are nowadays important reasons as well. At first sight, the use of English in commercial signs could be interpreted as informational mainly aimed at foreign visitors but it is obvious that its increasing presence has a strong symbolic function for a non-English speaking local population. The use of English can activate values such as international orientation, future orientation, success, sophistication or fun orientation (see Piller, 2001, 2003). Nevertheless, the use of English can also raise issues of identity and power and can have consequences regarding the balance between the languages in bilingual and multilingual situations (see Ammon, Mattheier and Nelde, 1994; Fishman, Conrad and Rubal-Lopez, 1996; Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 2003). For example, English spoken in India has its own characteristics that identify its speakers with the upper layers of society.

The process of globalisation is made visible through the presence of English in the linguistic landscape in all the studies mentioned earlier. For example Ben Rafael, Shohamy, Amara and Trumper-Hecht (2006) reported that between 25% and 75% of the items analysed in their study were in English, depending on the specific area. Backhaus (2006) and Huebner (2006) also reported the extensive use of English in Tokyo and Bangkok. Cenoz and Gorter (2006) found that English was present in 28% of the signs in Donostia-San Sebastian and 37% of the signs in Ljouwert-Leeuwarden. The earlier studies on linguistic landscape also report the extensive use of English. These data indicate that the spread of English is clearly reflected also in the linguistic landscape.

### **The differences between public (top–down) and private (bottom–up) signs**

Studies on the linguistic landscape have found important differences between these types of signs.

- a. Public signs are ‘government’ signs such as official signs for street names. These signs reflect a specific language policy: road signs, building names, street names, etc.
- b. Private signs are mainly commercial or informative signs such as the signs on shops and they may be influenced by language policy but mainly reflect individual preferences: shops, advertising, private offices, etc.

Both early studies and more recent studies on the linguistic landscape indicate that there are important differences between the two types of signs and as Landry and Bourhis (1997) point out there is more diversity in private signs.

Ben Rafael, Shohamy, Amara and Trumper-Hecht (2006) reported differences between public (top-down) and private (bottom-up) signs in all the areas where they collected the data and they found very interesting patterns. They reported interesting differences between the different languages used in public and private signs in the different areas mainly in the case of Hebrew and Arabic. Huebner (2006) reported that official signs were generally in Thai or in Thai and English but other languages were used in commercial signs. Backhaus (2006) found that the languages eligible to be used on official signs were Japanese, English, Chinese and Korean. Other languages were also used in non-official signs. Cenoz and Gorter (2006) also found differences between public (top-down) and private (bottom-up) signs mainly regarding the use of English.

### **The effect of language policy**

Some state and regional authorities have included signage as one of the targets of their language policy. In such cases there is usually also a well developed language policy for the use of languages in the media or in education. As Landry and Bourhis (1997) point out the use of different languages in language signs in bilingual and multilingual countries or regions can be of great symbolic importance.

The use of place names in a minority language or in the dominant state language has been a regular issue of linguistic conflict in some areas (Gorter 1997, Hicks 2002). Painting over of signs with the 'wrong' names has been popular among language activists in many minority regions of Europe. This clearly tells passers by about the struggle over language rights and ensuing claims to the territory. The conflict may be not only over which place names to use but also about the prominence and the position of the languages on the signs. Governmental language policy is mainly seen in official signs but it can also affect commercial, non-official signs. For example, in Catalonia there is a legal obligation to have at least some presence of the Catalan language on all public and private signs. The use of different languages in the signs not only reflects the use of the languages but also their power and status. Cenoz and Gorter (2006) found that a relatively strong language policy in the case of Basque had a measurable effect on the linguistic landscape as compared to Frisian where no such effect was found. Basque on its own or in combination with other languages appeared in over 50% of the signs while Frisian only appeared in 5% of the signs even though the percentage of speakers who are fluent in Frisian is higher than those fluent in Basque. The effect of language policy to promote the use of Basque in language signs is reflected in both public and private signs even though there is more Basque used in official signs.

## WORK IN PROGRESS

The study of the linguistic landscape can be approached from different perspectives and it is related to different disciplines: linguistics, communication studies, sociology, sociolinguistics, economics, social geography, landscape architecture, psychology and education. Most studies conducted so far have focused on the linguistic and sociolinguistic aspects of the linguistic landscape but other work in progress is using other approaches as well.

For example, Diane Dagenais from Simon Fraser University and her colleagues from the University of Montreal are studying the linguistic landscape in the context of education. They are looking at the linguistic landscape in the environment of different schools and they are using the signs recorded as pedagogical material for the development of language awareness. This is indeed a very interesting perspective in the study of the linguistic landscape and it can open a new line of research.

A different approach in the context of second language acquisition studies is that taken by Gorter and Cenoz (2004). They are interested as Landry and Bourhis (1997) were in the perception of the linguistic landscape but from a second language acquisition perspective rather than a social psychological approach. The basic questions they ask are the following: ‘How is the linguistic landscape perceived by L2 users?’, ‘What is the role of the linguistic landscape as an additional source of language input in SLA?’ or ‘What attitudes do these L2 users have towards the linguistic landscape?’ The basic assumption is that the linguistic landscape contributes to the construction of the sociolinguistic context because people process the visual information that comes to them. This approach also considers that the language in which signs are written can certainly influence L2 learners’ perception of the status of the different languages and even affect their own linguistic behaviour. Therefore, the linguistic landscape or parts of the linguistic landscape can potentially have an influence on our knowledge about language and language use.

A different approach to the study of the linguistic landscape is that conducted in the ‘Sustainable Development in a Diverse World’ European Commission FP6 network of excellence ([www.ebos.com.cy/susdiv/](http://www.ebos.com.cy/susdiv/)). Adopting an interdisciplinary approach based on sociolinguistics and economics the aim is to apply theoretical models of environmental economics which can contribute to the discovery of non-market benefits and the added value of the multilingualism. The methodology does not only include the analysis of digital pictures but also comprises interviews with shop-owners and authorities, who are responsible for putting up the signs, and with customers and tourists so as to see their perception and preferences of the signs. This line of research can contribute to

our better understanding of the ways in which the linguistic landscape is an important part of the preservation and the continued existence of different languages.

More work in progress in the study of the linguistic landscape was presented at the symposium 'Linguistic landscape and multilingualism: theoretical and methodological issues' at the Aila 2005 conference in Madison, Wisconsin and at the two symposia 'Linguistic Landscape: Advancing the Study of Multilingualism' and 'Semiotic Landscapes, Tourism, Mobility, and Globalisation' at the Sociolinguistics Symposium 16 in Limerick 2006 (see also Edelman, 2006; Hult, 2003). Some of the papers presented at these symposia approach the study of the linguistic landscape from different new perspectives such as language ecology, social actors' behaviour, socio-political relationships, or communication as a multimodal phenomenon. Some papers also extend the studies on multilingualism in the linguistic landscape to other areas such as Ireland, Sweden, Ethiopia, Belarus, Taiwan or the USA (see also Shohamy and Gorter, forthcoming).

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

The study of the linguistic landscape is a recent area of interest, which faces some problems and difficulties both at the theoretical and methodological levels. The main problems are the following:

*Theoretical problems.* As the study of the linguistic landscape is multidisciplinary, it can be related to different theories in sociolinguistics, city planning, language mixing, language policy and other disciplines. Some studies (Ben Rafael, Shohamy, Amara and Trumper-Hecht, 2006) have used existing sociological theories (Boudon, 1990, Bourdieu, 1983, 1993; Goffman, 1963, 1981) to the study of the linguistic landscape but there is still a lot of work to be done at the theoretical level. Many studies of the linguistic landscape so far are mainly descriptive and not explanatory; future studies could certainly profit from the application of existing theoretical concepts of the different disciplines.

*The unit of analysis.* The large number of language signs next to each other makes it difficult to decide what each linguistic sign is. Are all the linguistic items in a shop window part of 'one' language sign or should they be considered separately? What about other ads, graffiti or posters next to the shop window? Can a whole street be considered a unit of analysis? There are indeed advantages and disadvantages with each of these choices. Decisions regarding the unit of analysis are important because it is a crucial methodological issue to allow for comparability between studies.

*The dynamic nature of the linguistic landscape.* Some signs are fixed for many years but many others change over time and in some cases

from one day to the next or from one hour to the next. Signs on buses and cars are also part of the linguistic landscape but there are not usually included in studies. Some signs such as posters or graffiti can also change very quickly. This dynamic nature of the linguistic landscape makes its study more difficult.

*The problem of sampling and representativity.* It is impossible to take pictures of all the language signs in one city or in one area but it is important to establish criteria that improve the representativity of the language signs under analysis. One possibility is to select areas or streets that share the same characteristics but are placed in different cities and countries and to analyse all the signs. It may also be important to select localities, which represent the different ethnocultural communities in the same country or city so as to see their differences. Interesting methodological work on these problems has been done in Italy by Barni (2006).

*The use of different taxonomies.* Researchers distinguish between public (or ‘top–down’ or ‘official’) and private (or ‘bottom–up’ or ‘non-official’) signs, and they usually analyse the language or languages used in the sign and the type of establishment where the sign is located. There are many other aspects of the signs that can be considered when coding. For example, we can look at the location on the sign, the size of the font used, the order of languages on multilingual signs, the relative importance of languages, whether a text has been translated (fully or partially), the material of the sign, etc. The use of similar coding schemes can facilitate comparability between studies conducted in different parts of the world.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The different studies we have discussed in this article prove that research on linguistic landscape can certainly contribute to the knowledge about language in different ways. For example, they can give us insights on the development of multilingualism, the spread of English, the effect of linguistic policy or language awareness in schoolchildren. The study of the linguistic landscape has had a very important development in recent years in different directions and all of them are likely to develop in the near future. The theoretical development of studies in the linguistic landscape will also develop further and in different directions. The directions which are very likely to develop are the following.

*Education.* More research on the linguistic landscape in education is certainly necessary because the linguistic landscape is present both at school and in its environment (see Garcia, *Multilingual Language Awareness and Teacher Education*, Volume 6). Schools are not isolated from the environment in which they are placed and schoolchildren see

language signs on the streets and these signs may be in the language(s) of instruction or in language(s) studied at school or not. Schools also use signs for advertising or to name their buildings and these signs contribute to having a specific image. Nowadays language signs inside the school are very common. The differences between official and non-official signs can also apply to the educational setting. Even though there can be more control on the use of the languages in students' signs in the case of students' work the characteristics of the private signs can also be seen in these contributions to boards where students put their own ads or notices. The use of the linguistic landscape as teaching material to develop language awareness has already been referred to in the 'Work in progress' section. Another approach to the study of the linguistic landscape in education focuses on language ads in the educational setting and has been carried out in India (Ladousa, 2002). This study shows that there are differences in language use when the advertisements of different schools are compared and also when these advertisements are compared to those of private tutors. There is a trend to use more English in advertisements of private schools than in the case of public schools and private tutoring.

*Historical dimension.* The linguistic landscape is dynamic and changes over time and can be very informative about the role of different languages in different periods. This approach was already discussed in Spolsky and Cooper (1991) who give very interesting examples about signs in from different periods in Israel. Backhaus (2005) also focuses on the diachronic development of the linguistic landscape in Tokyo. The study of the linguistic landscape contributes to the study cultural heritage because languages are part of this heritage and the sustainable development of linguistic diversity is seen as an important aspect of it.

*Language contact.* The study of language contact from a linguistic perspective in language signs is also another area that needs to be developed in the near future. As Huebner (2006) points out the use of different kinds of contact phenomena on language signs poses several questions regarding the boundaries of speech communities or even the boundaries between languages. Many signs are examples of highly creative displays of language mixing, innovation or hybridization.

The major contributions to the study of the linguistic landscape along with the work in progress and the future directions show that the study of language signs can significantly increase our knowledge about language in different ways.

***See Also:*** *Ofelia Garcia: Multilingual Language Awareness and Teacher Education (Volume 6)*

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## LANGUAGE AWARENESS IN MULTILINGUALS: THEORETICAL TRENDS

### INTRODUCTION

Interest in language awareness or knowledge about language has grown over the last twenty years, mainly stimulated by the language awareness movement in the UK. A literature survey reveals considerable discrepancies in definition and terminology (language awareness, metalinguistic awareness, linguistic awareness, etc.) and the reasons seem to be linked to the vast theoretical scope of the field with studies stemming from linguistics, developmental psychology and education (Pinto, Titone and Trusso, 1999). Over the last decade the growing interest in multilingualism has given rise to a wave of research emphasis on the role of language awareness in multilingual learning and education.

In the following sections I try to bring together the various strands of research, from their beginnings to their current works. Problems in the field will be discussed with regard to terminological confusion and various dichotomies in relation to the consciousness-debate. In the final section I discuss a number of issues that present a challenge for future studies on multilingualism covering first, second and third language learning and use. The main focus of this contribution is on studies of the contact between two or more languages.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

In his review article Van Essen (1997 and *Language Awareness and Knowledge about Language: A Historical Overview*, Volume 6) goes back to the works by Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835) to mark the beginnings of the early history of language awareness studies. Jespersen (1904) followed as another prominent scholar dealing with foreign language teaching. Like Humboldt he assumed that conscious reflection on language form and use would be beneficial for the language-learning process.

Apart from Leopold's famous study of the German-English development of his daughter Hildegard (1939–1949), for a long time most studies of language awareness focused on the onset of metalinguistic awareness in monolingual children and formed part of cognitive psychology. Most influential contributions stem from Flavell (1979),

who stated that metalinguistic abilities form an integral part of metacognition, and Tunmer, Pratt and Herriman (1984) who dealt with questions concerning the relationship between metalinguistic awareness and literacy or language acquisition (see review by Gombert, 1997, Volume 6). Tunmer, Pratt and Herriman (1984, p. 12) defined the onset of metalinguistic awareness as 'to begin to appreciate that the stream of speech, beginning with the acoustical signal and ending with the speaker's intended meaning, can be looked at with the mind's eye and taken apart'.

That emergent metalinguistic abilities form the reflection of underlying changes in cognitive abilities was already pointed out by Piaget and Vygotsky who stated out that '... a child's understanding of his native language is enhanced by learning a foreign' (Vygotsky, 1986, p. 160). Interestingly enough, the publication of Vygotsky's book 'Language and Thought' in English in 1962 (1934 in Russian) coincided with the publication of the meanwhile classical study by Peal and Lambert. Their work introduced a rather enthusiastic attitude towards bilingualism, following a detrimental phase which described the bilingual as cognitively handicapped (!), and a neutral phase where no differences between monolinguals and bilinguals were reported (for a historical overview see Baker, 2006, pp. 144–148). Although the study of Peal and Lambert has been subject to criticism, as described in Baker (2006, p. 148ff), it evidenced the positive relationship between bilingualism and intelligence for the first time. The authors related the cognitive advantages of 10-year-old middle-class bilingual children over their English-speaking counterparts, on both verbal and non-verbal measures in the Montreal area to the metalinguistic abilities of their subjects. Since then various studies conducted in other sociolinguistic contexts, such as Ianco-Worrall (1972) on Afrikaans-English bilinguals and Ben-Zeev (1977) on Hebrew-English bilingual children in New York and Israel followed and proved the superiority of the bilingual groups on measures of cognitive flexibility and analytic thought. Mohanty (1994) summarized several investigations carried out between 1978–1987 in an Indian context which showed that bilingual Kond tribal children proficient in Kui and Oriya performed significantly better than unilinguals (Kui) on a variety of metalinguistic tasks. Hamers and Blanc (1989, p. 50) published a list of the cognitive benefits of bilingualism, including a variety of metalinguistic tasks which all function at the higher level of creativity and reorganization of information. Translation, a natural characteristic of bi- and multilingualism, which was described as a 'composite of communicative and metalinguistic skills—skills that are 'translinguistic', in the sense that they are not particular to any one language' by Malakoff and Hakuta (1991, p. 142), also has to be included in a comprehensive listing.

Since the 1980s an increase in interest in the topic has been stimulated by the pedagogically motivated 'language awareness' movement (see e.g. Hawkins, 1984; James and Garrett, 1991; Van Lier, 1995). Language awareness was posited both as a new bridging element and as a solution to illiteracy in English, that is, failure to learn foreign languages and divisive prejudices as failures of the UK schools (for a history of the movement in the UK see Donmall-Hicks, 1997).

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

As noted in the introduction, in a survey of research on metalinguistic awareness one has to take account of several approaches linked to the theoretical background which the research is embedded in. We can find work rooted in (i) linguistics, (ii) developmental psychology and (iii) educational linguistics (Pinto, Titone and Trusso, 1999). However, frequently research interests have also been of an interdisciplinary nature.

Over the last years the 'language awareness' has intensified due to a number of research activities from different theoretical backgrounds, many of which have been published in *Language Awareness*, the official journal of the Association of Language Awareness. The aims of the journal have been described as exploring the role of explicit knowledge about language in the process of language learning, in language teaching and in language use (e.g. sensitivity to bias in language, manipulative aspects of language, critical language awareness and literary use of language).

#### **Linguistics**

Both the creation of the adjective 'metalinguistic' and its noun form 'metalanguage' is rooted in linguistics. For instance, Jacobson (1963) included metalanguage among the secondary functions of language and referred to it as an activity consisting in speaking of the word itself and language itself becoming its own content. In contrast to a psychological perspective which describes things from the point of view of the human subject by concentrating on processes, abilities and behaviour, a linguist is interested in metalanguage only in terms of words, referring exclusively to other words and classes of meaning such as in linguistic terminology. Metalingual and metalinguistic are both used as adjectives of metalanguage but not always as synonyms (for an overview of the discussion on metalanguage see Berry, 2005).

#### **Developmental Psychology**

Metalinguistic abilities, which expand along with the cognitive and linguistic development of children, can be observed in children as young as two years of age when they are capable of self-corrections of word form, syntax and pronunciation, show concern about the proper word

choice, pronunciation and style and comment on the language of others (for an overview see Birdsong, 1989). Gombert (1992, p. 13) described metalinguistic activities as 'a subfield of metacognition concerned with language and its use—in other words comprising: (i) activities of reflection on language and its use and (ii) subjects' ability to intentionally monitor and plan their own methods of linguistic processing (in both comprehension and production)'. Karmiloff-Smith's RR-model (1992) could be seen as the most influential contribution to the field. Representational Redescription is defined as 'a process by which implicit information *in* the mind subsequently becomes explicit knowledge *to* the mind, first within a domain, and sometimes even across domains' (Karmiloff-Smith, 1992, p. 17f). The RR-model attempts to account for the emergence of conscious access to knowledge and for children's theory building. This involves a cyclical process by which information already present in the organism's independently functioning, special-purpose representations is made progressively available, via redescriptive processes, to other parts of the cognitive system.

Differential development of metalinguistic awareness can be related to numerous variables, one of which has been identified as the exposure to other languages (e.g. Van Kleeck, 1982, p. 260). As pointed out by Baker (2006, p. 156) recent work on the development of bilingual thinking has focused on the process rather than the product of thinking as known from earlier work. Since the early 1990s research of metalinguistic awareness in bilingual children has been influenced by Bialystok's work (for an overview see e.g. 2001). This research has recently been extended to investigations of adult processing which found that lifelong bilingualism protects older adults from cognitive decline with growing age (Bialystok, Craik, Klein and Viswanathan, 2004, see also Baker, *Knowledge about Bilingualism and Multilingualism*, Volume 6). In a number of her earlier studies Bialystok focuses on analysis and control as the metalinguistic dimensions of bilingual proficiency, thereby showing accelerated mastery of specific processes for bilingual children. Analysis of control is the process by which mental representations of information become increasingly structured and through the process of analysis, contextually embedded representations of words and meanings evolve into more abstract structures. Analysed knowledge is structured and accessible across contexts; unanalysed knowledge exists only to the extent that it is part of familiar routines or procedures. Bialystok (2001) concludes that there are no universal advantages, but that bilinguals who have attained high levels of proficiency in both languages have an advantage on tasks which require more analysed linguistic knowledge (see also Mohanty, 1994). Bialystok has also applied her work on analysis and control to second language acquisition (e.g. Kellerman and Bialystok, 1997).

### **Educational Linguistics**

By taking into account the British model, in a number of European countries such as Germany (e.g. Edmondson and House, 1997), France (e.g. Candelier, 2003) and Austria (e.g. Matzer, 2000) educationalists have focused on awareness-raising in the classroom. Several terms in education-oriented SLA studies dealing with consciousness raising, input enhancement and focus on form have been used to refer to similar concepts which all imply the use of metalanguage and the facilitation of learning through an attention to form (see e.g. Sharwood Smith, 1997). A number of studies have concentrated on the metalinguistic knowledge, often expressed as terminology, of both teachers (e.g. Andrews, 2003, see also Andrews, *Teacher Language Awareness*, Volume 6) and students (Fortune, 2005).

Swain's output hypothesis (1995) which is based on metalinguistic skills developed in language learning has exerted considerable influence in the field. According to Swain output can, under certain conditions, promote language development since language learners become aware of their linguistic deficits during language production in the L2. The language output serves three functions that are noticing, hypothesis formulation- and testing and the metalinguistic function, enabling the learner to control and internalize linguistic knowledge or in other words, when learners reflect on the language they produce, learning would result.

Finally, it has to be emphasized that the theoretical background of the studies has also been reflected in the methodology chosen for investigation. For instance, in the field of educational psycholinguistics one of the most comprehensive testing battery of metalinguistic abilities in children was developed by Pinto (e.g. Pinto, Titone and Trusso, 1999). On the other hand, in second language acquisition research grammaticality judgement tests to elicit metalinguistic data have been widely acknowledged as predictors of success or failure in the language-learning process and to judge interlinguistic competence (Birdsong, 1989). The differences in scientific backgrounds have also resulted in controversial attitudes towards testing methods. For example, whereas applied linguists accept intro- and retrospective methods to test metalinguistic awareness, (psycho)linguists would rather call them speculative.

### WORK IN PROGRESS

In the study of language awareness the distinction between implicit and explicit learning and/or knowledge, is fundamental but presents at the same time a rather controversial issue related to the consciousness-debate (see also section on problems later). Whereas knowledge refers to a product, that is knowledge existing in the mind of a learner, learning

refers to a process of how other language knowledge is internalized (R. Ellis, 1997, see also Ellis, *Explicit Knowledge and Second Language Learning and Pedagogy*, Volume 6). Whereas Krashen (1982) opposed to the interface between implicit and explicit knowledge, in his weak-interface model R. Ellis (1994) claimed that explicit L2 knowledge functions as a facilitator of implicit L2 knowledge. And nowadays pedagogical research of language awareness focuses on the contribution that formal instruction can make to language learning, and if so, how implicit learning can be made explicit and vice versa, a highly ambitious goal if we take the following studies into consideration. Steel and Alderson (1995) stated that metalingual knowledge is not related to general language proficiency. In contrast Renou (2001) found that the increase in metalinguistic awareness is concomitant with an increase in L2 proficiency. However, as noted by R. Ellis (1997, p. 113), it might be that 'it is explicit knowledge as awareness rather than as metalanguage which is important'.

In recent years, the study of language awareness has also been intensified in research on third language acquisition and trilingualism which have concentrated on the detection and identification of differences and similarities between second and third language learning. One major interest has concerned the effects of bilingualism and/or the qualitative changes in language learning. Additive or catalytic effects in language learning have been linked to enhanced metalinguistic awareness in multilinguals as one of the key variables contributing to the advantages of bilinguals over monolingual learners (Cenoz, 2003).

According to holistic approaches to the study of multilingualism the bi- or multilingual speaker is not two or more monolinguals in one person. Cook (2002), who bases his ideas on multicompetence on Grosjean's bilingual view of bilingualism (2001), describes the L2-user, the term that he prefers to bilingual, as having a different perspective of her/his L1 and L2, a different kind of language awareness and a different cognitive system. In consequence, the bi- or multilingual's communicative competence is not comparable to a monolingual's and is constantly changing as pointed out by Herdina and Jessner (2002) in their dynamic model of multilingualism (DMM). According to the systems-theoretic approach the concept of multilingual proficiency is defined as a cumulative measure of psycholinguistic systems in contact (LS<sub>1</sub>, LS<sub>2</sub>, LS<sub>3</sub>, etc.), their crosslinguistic interaction and the influence that the development of a multilingual system shows on the learner and the learning process. These effects of multilingualism, which the authors refer to as M(ultilingualism)-factor, contain an enhanced level of metalinguistic and metacognitive awareness, language management and language maintenance. Hence, the learner develops skills and

qualities that cannot be found in an inexperienced learner and this change of quality is related to the catalytic effects in third language learning. Crosslinguistic interaction as defined in DMM is intended to cover linguistic and cognitive transfer phenomena with non-predictable dynamic effects of a synergetic and interferential nature which determine the development of the multilingual system.

Since DMM is a theoretical model, researchers have started to explore its validity, in particular the effects of the M-factor, by applying it to particular multilingual contexts (Brink, 2005; Moore, 2006). In her book on linguistic awareness in multilinguals Jessner (2006) focuses on crosslinguistic interaction in third language learners of English with the aim to contribute to our understanding of the emergent properties of multilingual systems. She suggests that the construct of metalinguistic awareness, which most commonly refers to grammatical knowledge, has to be widened to meet the requirements of research on multilingual learning and use. In her introspective study on lexical search in third language production Jessner found that crosslinguistic awareness and metalinguistic awareness, tested in the form of explicit metalanguage, exerted influence on the activation of the individual languages in the multilingual mental lexicon.

New approaches to multilingual education describe how to raise the pupils' awareness of other languages in the classroom (e.g. Candelier, 2002 and "Awakening to Languages", and Educational Language Policy Volume 6), how to teach related languages, how to teach learning strategies and how to make use of prior linguistic knowledge in the classroom (see, e.g. Hufeisen and Lindemann, 1997; Cenoz, Hufeisen and Jessner, 2001). In a number of projects, the concept of multicompetence as defined by Cook (see earlier) has been applied—although quite often without drawing on the concept or without even being aware of its existence—to multilingual learning contexts. These new approaches, which take into account the cognitive differences between mono- and bilingual thinking, treat the L2 or L3 student as a learner who has developed a different perspectives of both L1 and L2 and whose prior language knowledge should be integrated into the language-learning process (for a more detailed discussion see Jessner, *Multicompetence Approaches to Language Proficiency Development in Multilingual Education*, Volume 5). In his discussion of a crosslinguistic approach to language awareness James (1996) suggested including the metalinguistic dimension in classroom-based contrastive analysis. The experienced learner is more aware of structural similarities and differences between languages, and able not only to expand her or his repertoire of language-learning strategies but also to weigh the strategies, as originally discussed by Mc Laughlin (1990) and later on supported by Mißler (1999) and O'Laoire (2001). The number of language-learning strategies

available to a learner turned out to depend on prior linguistic experience and the proficiency levels in the individual languages and today there is no doubt about the usefulness of learning strategy training in order to make students aware of how to learn a language during language apprenticeship (Hawkins, 1999). The EuroCom (European Comprehension) project ([www.eurocom-frankfurt.de](http://www.eurocom-frankfurt.de)) for instance, aims to provide European citizens with a solid linguistic basis for understanding each other, at least within their own language family. Optimal inferencing techniques have been developed in typologically related languages to help develop at least receptive skills in the new language. Other projects have advocated a cognitive approach to language teaching, that is, creating synergy in language learning by learning and teaching beyond language borders (e.g. Hufeisen and Neuner, 2003; see also Clyne, 2003).

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

As already mentioned at the beginning of this entry, one of the main problems that scholars who start working in the field of language awareness have to become acquainted with is the sometimes confusing terminology, related to the various theoretical and linguistic backgrounds of the studies. In the following the main terminological and conceptual differences resulting in a number of dichotomies and competing terms will be discussed.

According to Pinto, Titone and Trusso (1999, p. 35) the terminological and conceptual variation is based on

- a. different scientific backgrounds or conceptual orientations to explore metalinguistic consciousness and awareness;
- b. different signifiers such as metalinguistic awareness, language awareness, declarative knowledge of the rules of a language, metalinguistic ability, etc. which refer to the same ability;
- c. different signifiers which refer to different concepts, that is metalinguistic ability refers to a specific ability; metalinguistic task refers to a specific task or test.

James (1999) referred to four competing terms, that is, language awareness, linguistic awareness, metalinguistic awareness and knowledge about language. He concluded from a comparison between language awareness and the other terms that language awareness is broadly constituted of a mix of knowledge of language in general and in specific, command of metalanguage (standard or *ad hoc*), and the conversion of intuitions to insight and then beyond to metacognition. According to James (1999:102) there are two versions of language awareness, that is consciousness-raising and language awareness proper.

The first kind, LA [language awareness] as cognition, works from the outside in, so to speak: one first learns about

language or something about a language that one did not know before. You can stop here, in which case you have done some linguistics. Or you can go on and turn this 'objective' knowledge towards your own language proficiency, making comparisons and adjustments. This is to personalise the objective knowledge gained. The second variant, LA as metacognition, works in the opposite direction: one starts with one's own intuitions and through reflection relates these to what one knows about language as an object outside of oneself. (see also Preston, 1996 on the notion of availability).

Other scholars have provided different definitions such as Masny who proposed a distinction between language awareness as a concept driven mainly by applied linguistics theory and pedagogy, and linguistic awareness based on psycholinguistic and cognitive theories (see also Rampillon, 1997, p. 176). Lately Jessner (2006) stated that the study of metalinguistic awareness in bi- and multilinguals has shown that the two types of awareness present overlapping concepts (see also James, 1999, p. 102) and therefore proposed linguistic awareness (a) to include both dimensions of awareness and (b) as a synonym for metalinguistic awareness in multilingualism.

Different terminology is also linked to languages. Whereas in Italian there are two interchangeable terms *consapevolezza* and *coscienza*, in English 'awareness' and 'consciousness', although clearly rooted in metacognition, are not regarded as synonyms. In French *conscience* and *prise de conscience* are used to mark notions of a process whereas in German *Sprachbewusstsein* is the term most commonly used and a terminological distinction between awareness and consciousness is not possible. As a consequence, translations of the individual terms into English have also led to confusion.

This confusion is also linked to the long-lasting interdisciplinary consciousness-debate. Nowadays Schmidt's (1994) distinction between four rather different senses of consciousness in language-learning studies is the main point of reference. He refers to

- a. consciousness as intentionality (the intentional/incidental learning context);
- b. consciousness as attention (focal attention and noticing versus peripheral attention);
- c. consciousness as control (controlled versus automatic processing, automaticity, explicit/implicit memory);
- d. consciousness as awareness (contrasts between explicit/implicit learning and knowledge).

At the same time he warns against the use of 'conscious' and 'unconscious' as umbrella terms.

All these kinds of consciousness have been discussed in the language-learning context where the idea of consciousness is clearly related to the distinction between implicit and explicit learning (cf. R. Ellis, 1997: Volume 6; N. Ellis, 2002; *Implicit and Explicit Knowledge about Language*, Volume 6; Van Essen, *Language Awareness and Knowledge about Language: A Historical Overview*, Volume 6).

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Since the study of language awareness is rooted in a variety of theoretical backgrounds, the number of steps towards a better understanding between the individual research trends is certainly high. To reach a definition of language awareness which could be acknowledged by all linguistic disciplines might present an unrealistic albeit wishful endeavour.

In future research of language awareness, to focus on the boundaries between consciousness/awareness and explicit/implicit learning and/or knowledge would seem to lead to fruitful contributions. This discussion might result in redefinitions or new approaches following a discussion of the usefulness of such categorizations in hitherto neglected language-learning contexts.

The definition of the role that language awareness plays in multilingual learning and use certainly presents a challenge to research on language learning in general and to common theoretical paradigms in particular. Multilingualism has been defined as an umbrella term to include first, second and third language-learning processes and products (e.g. Cenoz, Hufeisen and Jessner, 2001), and would accordingly provide the adequate framework for a synthesis of interdisciplinary studies on language awareness. New methodological approaches to the study of language awareness are needed. One such promising path is rooted in neuroimaging studies, but a lot more of that kind of research is needed for firm conclusions (Franceschini, Krick, Behrent and Reith, 2004). Better insights into learning artificial languages might also prove fruitful. Apart from the effects that bi- and multilingualism show on the cognitive system, certain social skills such as communicative sensitivity and metapragmatic skills which also seem to develop to a higher degree in the multilingual system, also deserve further attention in the study of language awareness. More suggestions for new designs in language teaching which focus on the essential part of metalinguistic knowledge to language learning are certainly welcome.

Questions which need to be addressed in research to come could include the following (partly based on Jessner, 2006):

Is there a relationship between monitoring and metalinguistic awareness?

Does a heightened level of metalinguistic awareness relate to a high level of attention in multilingual production?

What is the exact role of metalinguistic awareness in a model of TLA?

How does metalinguistic awareness relate to crosslinguistic interaction in multilinguals?

What is the difference between the constructs of language aptitude and metalinguistic awareness?

Which part does metalinguistic knowledge play in the organization of the (multilingual) mental lexicon?

How can language awareness be integrated in language testing?

**See Also:** Arthur Van Essen: *Language Awareness and Knowledge about Language: A Historical Overview (Volume 6)*; Colin Baker: *Knowledge about Bilingualism and Multilingualism (Volume 6)*; Stephen J. Andrews: *Teacher Language Awareness (Volume 6)*; Rod Ellis: *Explicit Knowledge and Second Language Learning and Pedagogy (Volume 6)*; Michel Candelier: "Awakening to Languages" and *Educational Language Policy (Volume 6)*

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## AWARENESS RAISING AND MULTILINGUALISM IN PRIMARY EDUCATION

### INTRODUCTION

The study of language awareness raising and multilingualism in primary education is a very recent domain of investigation and is linked to two key contextual factors: increasing globalisation and the increasing mobility of populations. Both these factors have resulted in greater linguistic and cultural diversity among pupils in our classrooms and thus set challenges to the monolingual habitus of most education systems. Two main questions will be addressed here:

1. Are there models of language education, at primary level, which are able to accommodate the plurilingual repertoire of a growing number of pupils without threatening the place of the school language (or standard national language in monolingual states), while at the same time fostering motivation for foreign language learning (FLL) and developing positive attitudes towards plurilingualism?
2. Can such models help teachers to shift their representations of multilingualism from being a problem to being a resource and in which way?

Multilingualism in the primary classroom can be discussed from two points of view: (i) the languages known by the pupils and (ii) the number of languages offered by a school system. In other words, do schools value the languages spoken by their bi/multilingual pupils and what steps do education systems take to help all pupils to become multilingual citizens? While these questions relate to other domains within the larger framework of language education (such as mother tongue education, second language support for curriculum learning, bilingual education and foreign language education), there is one model of language education which attempts to address these issues at the classroom level: the model is known as “language awareness”.

The main goal of language awareness is to support multilingualism both at the institutional and at the individual level, through educating all pupils together (monolinguals and bi/multilinguals) to respect linguistic and cultural diversity and through taking into account all the languages of the pupils in a class, or in the environment of a school. Thus language awareness is quite distinct from all the models mentioned earlier and particularly from FLL.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The term “language awareness” (LA) was first used by Hawkins (1984) who felt that the traditional teaching about language in Britain was incoherent, that there was a lack of co-operation between teachers of English and other language teachers, as well as excessive eurocentrism in traditional approaches to foreign languages. At the same time, various state reports had also pointed to major problems in mother tongue and foreign language teaching and Hawkins challenged the absence of any investigation into the phenomenon of language itself. He then proposed to develop a “bridging subject” which aims were “to stimulate curiosity about language as the defining characteristics of the ‘articulate mammal’, too easily taken for granted, to integrate the different kinds of language teaching met at school, and to help children to make an effective start on their foreign language learning” (Hawkins, 1999, p. 413). Throughout the 1980s, many secondary schools in Britain included language awareness courses in their curriculum but the advent of the National Curriculum in 1989 put a stop to such courses with the introduction of the “literacy hour” (see also Cots, Knowledge about Language in the Mother Tongue and Foreign Language Curricula, Volume 6; Van Essen, Language Awareness and Knowledge about Language: A Historical Overview, Volume 6).

However, the pioneering work of Hawkins was of much interest to researchers in Europe. As early as 1980, Eddy Roulet in Switzerland had proposed a theoretical framework to bridge the gap between the pedagogical approaches for learning the school language and those for the foreign language (German). His assumption was that pupils needed to be exposed to linguistic diversity if they were to understand how language works. A few years later, Dabène in France developed two major projects on the role of metalinguistic awareness in FLL and on multilingualism and the learning “problems” of pupils from ethnic minority background. Dabène (1991) proposed the French translation of “éducation au langage” and one of her students (Nagy, 1996) wrote the first thesis on LA in France.

During the 1990s, several projects developed throughout Europe under different denominations: *Begegnung mit Sprachen in der Grundschule* (Haenisch and Thürmann, 1994; Oomen-Welke, 1998) which was not solely about teaching foreign languages in the primary but made a point of including migrant languages and cultures. Very attractive pedagogical booklets were published with different languages presented in a parallel way to illustrate various themes (e.g. proverbs). In Austria, the “Zentrum for Schulentwicklung” developed a project called *Sprach- und Kulturerziehung* with teachers’ books and classroom materials. In Switzerland, Perregaux and Magnin-Hottelier (1995) and De Pietro

(1995) elaborated their own approach called *Education et ouverture aux langues à l'école* (EOLE),<sup>1</sup> which was followed up in 1998 by a bigger project under the responsibility of COROME<sup>2</sup> (Perregaux, De Goumoëns, Jeannot, and De Pietro, 2003). In France, Macaire (1998) started a project called *Education aux langues et aux cultures*, involving approximately 100 primary schools; some teacher education modules were developed alongside classroom materials. Finally, a bigger project was funded by the European Commission from 1997 till 2001, "EVLANG, l'éveil aux langues à l'école primaire"<sup>3</sup> (Candelier, 2003a, see also "Awakening to Languages" and Educational Language Policy, Volume 6) in which approximately 2,000 students took part in 5 countries (Austria, France, Italy, Spain and Switzerland), which provided the first wide-scale evaluation of the LA model in the primary sector in Europe.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

In 1994, Dabène and Coste organised a conference on the notion of language awareness with colleagues from France, Switzerland, Germany and the UK. The contributions published by Moore (1995) dealt with the concept of LA from a theoretical point of view as well as with the difficulties in translating the term language awareness in French and German. These researchers (and others a few years later, see Billiez, 1998), did much to define the aims of LA and to explain how different they are from FLL. LA aims to develop a first awareness of the workings of language and languages in different contexts. Thus LA does not mean learning many different languages but learning about language in general and languages in the plural. LA activities confront learners with a multiplicity of languages which are not usually taught in schools and eventually make them aware of linguistic variation, without neglecting a necessary reflexion on the school language.

Furthermore, as Dabène (1989) insisted early on, LA also has a "welcoming" function because the pedagogical activities are meant to welcome pupils into the very diversified world of languages and into the diversity of their own language(s). This means the languages of children from ethnic minority backgrounds are included in the activities.

<sup>1</sup> [http://www.unige.ch/fapse/SSE/teachers/perregau/rech\\_eole.html](http://www.unige.ch/fapse/SSE/teachers/perregau/rech_eole.html)

<sup>2</sup> Commission Romande des Moyens d'Enseignement, situated in Neuchâtel, Switzerland.

<sup>3</sup> See [http://jaling.ecml.at/english/welcome\\_page.htm](http://jaling.ecml.at/english/welcome_page.htm) for more details on the EVLANG evaluation. The EVLANG project was a Socrates Lingua Action D programme. EVLANG is now followed by another project for older learners called Janua Linguarum-The Gateway to Languages (JALING) (Candelier, 2003b) run by the European Centre for Modern Languages (ECML) based in Graz, Austria. This project is run in ten European countries.

This dimension is central because as Byram (2000, pp. 57–58) argued: “We have to admit that the fact of teaching foreign languages is not enough to guarantee either the development of a multilingual identity or other values such as tolerance, understanding of others and the desire for justice as is often proclaimed as a declaration of intent”.

Most researchers in the field today (Candelier, 2003a, b; Hélot and Young, 2006; Perregaux, 1998) see LA as Hawkins did, not as a new school discipline but as a bridging subject which holds three main dimensions: a cognitive dimension dealing with reflecting upon language and languages (including the school language), an affective dimension addressing attitudes such as opening to others, developing tolerance, etc. and a sociocultural dimension aiming at developing a form of plurilingual socialisation.

The main difference between LA and FLL lies in the fact that FLL usually means pupils are being confronted with two languages, the school language and one foreign language (English predominantly in most non-English speaking European countries<sup>4</sup>), whereas LA approaches are centred on the notion of diversity (the EVLANG and EOLE projects include pedagogical materials based on approximately 70 different languages) and on adopting a comparative approach of linguistic systems.

LA activities are inclusive of diversity in the sense that they make it possible to include all the languages or varieties of languages spoken by pupils in a class, irrespective of their status in society. Thus, it enables bilingual learners to see their first language legitimised at school, it gives speakers of regional and minority languages a new role since their competence in their L1 becomes visible, and through giving all languages an equal place, more positive attitudes towards multilingualism can be promoted. LA activities can also help young learners to move away from the ideal of the native speaker (always implicit in FLL) and to understand that different languages can serve different functions and work as resources for speakers who know them.

LA activities are usually task-based, centred on comparative information about the functioning of several different languages and cultures with exercises meant to develop metalinguistic reflexion within a larger framework than just one or two languages. Thus, the approach can be said to be translinguistic; it is also cross-curricular in that it is closely related to other school subjects such as history, geography, music, art, literacy, etc. These activities usually include materials to help pupils reflect upon the relationship between languages and cultures, the history of languages, language borrowing, the relationship between

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<sup>4</sup> See Eurydice: 2005, Key Data on Teaching Languages at School in Europe, Brussels, <http://www.eurydice.org>

oral and written forms of language, the different writing systems, the question of languages and states, of language acquisition by children, of bilingualism and plurilingualism in the world, etc.

Hélot and Young (2006) carried out an ethnographic and longitudinal study of a primary school LA project run from 2000 till 2004 in Southern Alsace (Didenheim, France). They give a detailed evaluation of the sociocultural dimension of LA and explain the impact such a project can have on the learning community as far as changing attitudes towards multilingualism. The project was started because of an increasing number of racist incidents in the school and because the pupils did not show any motivation for the learning of German<sup>5</sup> as a foreign language. The teachers decided on a collaborative approach based on parents' participation and on confronting linguistic and cultural differences in a constructive way. Thus the Didenheim project was mainly about developing in children the ability to understand our multilingual and multicultural world and to learn to live in it.

Each of the 18 different languages proposed was encountered through the personal testimony of a parent of one of the pupils in the school. The use of the word personal here is key, because by linking language and culture, through the personal, the human, the affective, greater participation and a better adherence to the objectives of the project were achieved by both the pupils and the teachers. Castellotti and Moore (2002) explain that when children learn a FL at school they imagine themselves on their own, as if the speakers of the FL did not really exist and they note that this is reinforced when young pupils do not meet native speakers.

The personal encounters in Didenheim also meant that the relationship between the languages and their sociolinguistic context was stressed as well as the cultural dimension inherent to language. The heuristic approach allowed the children to ask a lot of questions directly to the parents, not only about language, but also about life styles, about reasons for migration as well as more controversial questions about race and colour. In other words, new spaces were open where pupils were given plenty of opportunities to widen their horizons, to distance themselves from the school language, and even to "decentre", which means being able to view one's own culture through the eyes of someone who does not belong to the same cultural group, to distance oneself from one's own cultural cocoon. In this sense, the kind of competence developed through such activities can be referred to as "cross-cultural awareness".

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<sup>5</sup> German is the only FL offered in this school as in most schools in Alsace. This is part of the national and regional education policy to support the German language in the face of the growing hegemony of the English language.

The danger of tokenism is sometimes invoked in relation to the LA model. But LA activities, when they are part of a project based on promoting tolerance and on teaching the values of democratic citizenship, involve much more than just exposing pupils to different languages and cultures. More than just language education, it meets the goals of intercultural education (Perregaux, 1998) because “intercultural education seeks to prepare students for a life in a heterogeneous and complex world where they have to interact with various kinds of differences” (Sjögren and Ramberg, 2005, p. 31).

Another very important point should be made concerning pupils from ethnolinguistic minorities: LA activities allow for the languages spoken by these pupils and their families to be used for the pedagogical activities. The psychological effects were very clear: once their language had been presented to their class and as a result their bilingualism revealed, the pupils started participating more in learning activities in general, “they started to exist in the class, before they did not really exist” one teacher in Didenheim said. As they were given the opportunity to be language models for their peers and their teachers, they witnessed their home knowledge (and their parents’) legitimised at school, and they saw their teachers depending on their parents for the lessons. The first step was taken towards bridging the gap between home and school cultures: “the walls of the school have come down” commented another teacher, and in the process, the school integrated linguistic and cultural diversity and changed its outlook on multilingualism.

The Didenheim project is quoted here as an example of good practice and also to illustrate that at the ground level, the process of moving from a monolingual habitus to one where multilingualism is valued is complex and takes time. The teachers in Didenheim were not aware at the outset of all the implications their project would have but they were prepared to build a collaborative approach with parents which meant that they were open enough to welcome the parents’ knowledge as central to reaching their goals. As most of the parents were from ethnic minority background, a process of empowerment (Cummins, 2000) could be observed, with positive effects on the children who saw their teachers valuing their language, their culture and their families.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

European policy makers see two goals for language education: plurilingual awareness as a value and education for plurilingualism as the targeted competence. While both aspects are closely linked and interact with each other, plurilingual awareness does not actually involve

the acquisition of language skills but focusses more on education for linguistic tolerance. This is the precise domain where LA activities find their *raison d'être*: they constitute a first basis for plurilingual education because they make it possible to welcome and value the repertoire of multilingual pupils, even if the different languages do not have the same function and even their language abilities are of a different level or nature.

Looking at linguistic diversity positively and recognising the plurilingual repertoires of speakers at an individual level are the two main components of the notion of “plurilingual education” as it is defined in recent publications of the Council of Europe, such as *The Guide for the Development of Linguistic Policies* (Beacco and Byram, 2003) and the *Common European Framework for Language* (CEFL, Council of Europe, 2001). Apart from insisting on the notion of plurilingualism as the form of language education appropriate to European reality, the authors reexamine (at the individual level) the concept of a “plurilingual repertoire”. They argue that all the languages known by a speaker should be recognised and then developed so that the various linguistic competences of a speaker find their legitimate place. This means that languages learned outside of formal schooling are also recognised and links made between the various languages which make up the speaker’s repertoire. “The plurilingual approach emphasises the fact that as an individual person’s experience of language in its cultural contexts expand, from the language of the home to that of society at large and then to the languages of other people (whether learnt at school or college or by direct experience) he or she does not keep these languages and cultures in strictly separated mental compartments, but rather builds up a communicative competence to which all knowledge and experience of language contributes and in which languages interrelate and interact” (Council of Europe, 2000, p. 4).

Beacco and Byram (2003) put forward the hypothesis that a necessary first step of awareness of plurilingualism will enhance motivation for learning languages. They write: “Education for plurilingual awareness, which aims to make people aware of the way the various natural languages function in order to bring about mutual comprehension among the members of a group, may lead to increased motivation and a curiosity about languages that will lead them to develop their own linguistic repertoires” (p. 65).

As far as recognising multilingualism, it is clear that the LA model meets this objective but as to developing multilingualism, the question is more complex. Indeed, the possibilities for developing one’s own linguistic repertoire (in the case of young learners in particular) are constrained by the choice of languages offered in a school. And even when this choice is ample, as is the case in the French primary

curriculum<sup>6</sup>, the availability of certain languages, like Arabic for example remains very rare.

Even if it were shown that LA activities have an effect on the motivation to learn languages, one should not forget that in most education systems the unequal power relationships across languages mean that it is far easier to learn dominant languages in schools and far more difficult to develop one's literacy in a minority language (Hornberger, 2003). However, as a model of language education, LA is clearly not about acquiring knowledge that will give more power to those who already have it, it is about transforming the knowledge of those who have no power into a resource. As argued by Hélot (2006), LA activities can help teachers change their perception of linguistic and cultural diversity in their classroom and go beyond the power relationships at work in the curriculum and in the wider environment of their schools.

It should be stressed that LA activities are aimed at all children irrespective of their social origins and that it envisages languages in a perspective of exchange, enrichment and openness to others, even if such activities do help in particular bi/multilingual learners to negotiate their identities, for one of the aims of LA is also to address the affective dimension in language use.

It is hoped that initiatives across Europe (like the projects being run by the European Centre for Modern Languages in Graz<sup>7</sup>), added to the policy work developed by the European Commission and the Council of Europe to promote language learning and to ensure the protection of linguistic and cultural diversity will eventually make some headway towards the recognition of the value of multilingualism also at primary level. More and more researchers are involved in different projects, as attest the numerous participants present at the conferences run by the Association for Language Awareness<sup>8</sup> and the publications in its journal *Language Awareness*<sup>9</sup>. We cannot mention them all here, suffice it to say that there are projects being run in many different parts of the world. In Europe, the “Janua Linguarum—The Gateway to Languages (JALING)”<sup>10</sup> counts 15 countries which aims are to disseminate the LA model widely and to integrate in the curriculum activities promoting linguistic and cultural education in their diversity (see Candelier, “Awakening to Languages” and Educational

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<sup>6</sup> The choice is theoretical because most schools only offer one language and at the most two, even if in the curriculum eight FLs are included (Arabic, Chinese, English, German, Italian, Portuguese, Russian and Spanish) along with some regional languages.

<sup>7</sup> ECML: <http://www.ecml.com>

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.lexically.net/ala/>

<sup>9</sup> <http://www.multilingual-matters.com>

<sup>10</sup> [http://jaling.ecml.at/english/welcome\\_page.htm](http://jaling.ecml.at/english/welcome_page.htm)

Language Policy, Volume 6). ELODIL<sup>11</sup> (Eveil au langage et ouverture à la diversité linguistique) is another project, started in Quebec in 2002, and later implemented in British Columbia, which plans to investigate with children the notion of linguistic landscapes.

The European Commission in Brussels also supports many projects in the domain of teacher education. We shall quote one here which deals specifically with supporting multilingualism in the primary. In 2004, the University of Hanover started to develop a Comenius Project for teachers working with 3–10-year-old pupils in six European countries. The 2-year project called TESSLA<sup>12</sup> aims to produce pilot courses in each country for teachers to understand why and how they should support bi/multilingual pupils. The objectives of the course are the following: to raise awareness among student teachers of the rich linguistic and cultural diversity of their schools, to support them to develop a critical awareness of language discrimination and the attitudes underlying it, and to equip them with strategies to maximise the potential of children from ethnic minority backgrounds. The underlying principles of the course are that student teachers should learn to critique the monolingual/monocultural habitus of schools and to model strategies to transform it. The curricula designed in the various countries are planned for a module of 24 hours and final evaluation will be available on the web site in the fall of 2006.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

One of the main difficulties regarding innovative approaches like LA lies in the area of evaluation: what do the children learn and how does one evaluate it? So far, the only evaluation report available has been carried out by the members of the EVLANG project (Genelot, 2001). The 800 page report shows a rather limited impact on metalinguistic aptitudes: no positive effect on L1 competence and only pupils who were part of the long programme (40 hours) improved their oral discrimination and memorisation of non-familiar languages. Concerning motivation to learn foreign languages, the results were contrasted but on the whole in France and Spain for example, the desire to learn minority languages grew while interest in dominant languages diminished. As to attitudes towards linguistic and cultural diversity, not surprisingly, the pupils who had taken part in the EVLANG project were more open

<sup>11</sup> <http://www.elodil.com/>

<sup>12</sup> See web site at: <http://cms.phil.uni-hannover.de/org/tessla/www/htdocs/>. The modules will be available on DVD support in English, Estonian, French, German, Swedish and Turkish and a handbook will be published in English with summaries and abstracts in the six languages of the partner countries.

and curious than their peers who had not. Furthermore, the pupils who showed the greatest motivation were the ones coming from a multilingual family background. Perhaps, the most interesting result of this evaluation is to be found in the fact that the EVLANG activities had more positive benefits for low achieving pupils. Finally, the results show a clear link between positive effects and the length of the programme: Genelot concludes that a LA curriculum should last a minimum of 40 hours if it is to have any impact on the pupils. But such a statement begs the practical question of where in the primary curriculum one is going to find 40 hours on top of the time devoted to FLT?

As a model of language education LA does not preclude FLL, on the contrary, it is envisaged as a complementary model which should foster a taste for languages and motivation to learn them, but the integration of LA alongside the FL curriculum has yet to be worked out. This problem is rather salient when one addresses the issue of teacher education: how and where does one find the spaces to integrate LA? Dabène (see Billiez, 1998) suggested moving beyond the didactics of one FL to a “didactics of plurilingual situations”, a proposition taken up in recent European policy documents but not easy to implement in the face of the priority given to the teaching of one FL at primary level. Perhaps, more promising is the notion of educational sociolinguistics argued by Perregaux (2006) who does not envisage LA only in relation to FLL, but as a means to develop a different relationship to language and languages within the perspective of intercultural education.

Intercultural education is still rather marginal in most teacher education institutions, but a growing body of research (Akkari, Changkakoti, and Perregaux, 2006) is investigating the pedagogical challenges of cultural diversity and the strategies and practices in teacher education. For LA is not just a matter of having a first encounter with “otherness”, it is also vital to place diversity at the heart of the learning process, be it language learning, citizenship education or any other subjects.

Both the EVLANG and the Didenheim evaluations have shown that most of the teachers who participated in these projects became more open to linguistic diversity. However, Candelier (2003a, b) admits that some of them questioned the relevance of the reflective dimension of metalinguistic activities, and others were at a loss on how to develop a real dialogue based on the diversity of pupils. It seems obvious that giving very attractive materials to teachers is not sufficient to make them aware of what it means to transform a basically monolingual approach into one which makes space for many different languages and cultures, often totally unknown to teachers.

This is the reason why the parents’ participation in Didenheim made all the difference: not only could they answer the children’s questions but, over 3 years, the teachers got to learn about the experience of

diversity from real people who were prepared to share their own history of migration, their schooling difficulties, their hesitations towards their competence in French, etc. And it is through these encounters that the teachers' points of view and attitudes towards diversity and multilingualism were transformed. Now they have changed their mind about the use of the home language, now they advise parents to speak and to read to their children in their L1, and now they understand the cognitive value of making the pupils' L1 legitimate at school.

LA approaches obviously demand different kinds of competence from teachers than FLT: while FLT focusses on aptitude in the given language, LA is more concerned with attitudes towards pluralism. And we know that working on attitudes demands more in terms of teacher education than designing activities with teachers and reflecting upon them. Alleman-Ghionda, De Goumoëns, and Perregaux (1999) write that in Switzerland for example, many teachers still have a very limited personal experience of linguistic and cultural diversity. My own experience as a teacher educator in France for 15 years would attest the same: most teachers in France continue to teach as if all their pupils were white, middle class and monolingual. But how can teachers change the monolingual habitus of our school systems when they are asked to implement top-down curricula which, on the whole, do not address the question of societal pluralism?

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Today most European countries have introduced early FLL in their primary curricula, even if researchers who have studied the age factor in FL acquisition remain hesitant towards the supposed benefits of starting early (Gaonach, 2002; Singleton, 1995; Vogel 1995). In France, Blondin et al. (1998) even showed that if there are benefits, they do not last and they only concern high achievers.

The introduction of FLT in the primary curriculum tends to be interpreted by the learning community as a move on the part of educational authorities to tackle the growing multilingualism of our societies. While this cannot be argued here, one should not forget that some languages have found their place in the primary curricula and some have remained excluded. Even in France, where the Ministry of Education has made a point of diversifying the languages on offer, in reality, 85% of pupils choose English. Everywhere in Europe, English is the most taught language and its dominant position is becoming even stronger and one wonders whether learning a dominant language like English from a very early age does not inhibit motivation to learn other languages later on.

It could be argued that the LA model is particularly well suited to counterbalance the hegemony of a dominant language like English, because it presents children from the start of their language education with a large pallet of languages, and it includes regional and minority languages which often find it hard to find a place in formal schooling. In other words, as a model of language education, LA can be instrumental in protecting minority languages which are always at risk in the face of the importance given to the school language and to dominant FLs. The Didenheim project showed that schools can indeed play a role in the transmission of these languages when it gives them some legitimacy at school and when parents are supported to keep using them at home.

In this sense, LA can be said to be an “ecological” model of language education, because it values all languages equally as resources to be respected and nurtured, it sows the seeds for learning languages which are not necessarily the most well-known, and it shows children that languages like all resources on earth should be shared. LA activities can be envisaged for young learners in particular as learning to grow one’s own language garden, where variety makes for beauty, where patience and hard work make for bountiful harvests and where creativity means reaching out to others.

*See Also:* Arthur Van Essen: *Language Awareness and Knowledge about Language: A Historical Overview (Volume 6)*; Josep M. Cots: *Knowledge about Language in the Mother Tongue and Foreign Language Curricula (Volume 6)*; Michel Candelier: “Awakening to Languages” and *Educational Language Policy (Volume 6)*

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MULTILINGUAL LANGUAGE AWARENESS  
AND TEACHER EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

In the last two decades, we have developed a substantial, although incomplete, body of knowledge about what teachers need to know and be able to do, to build on and/or develop many languages and literacies present in twenty-first century classrooms and communities. Less understood, however, is how to educate teachers in ways that ensure not only the acquisition of those understandings, but also the teachers' enactment of those understandings in their teaching, as well as the relationship that this kind of teaching holds for their children's learning. This chapter starts out by describing different kinds of language awareness that are necessary in diverse schools, specifically focusing on what we call multilingual awareness (MLA) for today's multilingual schools. The chapter focuses on the pedagogy of MLA that must be the core of ALL teachers education programs. Although the discussion that follows is relevant for the entire world, we focus here on North America and Europe.

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS: LANGUAGE AWARENESS  
AND AWARENESS OF LANGUAGE

Since the publication of Bolitho and Tomlinson's *Discover English: A Language Awareness Workbook* in 1980, the term "language awareness" has been increasingly used in the language teaching field, especially as a result of the burgeoning of the TESOL profession. Generally, language awareness (LA) or knowledge about language (KAL) in teaching is used to encompass three understandings: about language, its teaching, and its learning (Andrews, 1999, 2001; Wright, 2002; Wright and Bolitho, 1993, 1997; building on the roles described by Edge, 1988):

1. *Knowledge of language (proficiency)*. (*The language user*)  
Includes ability to use language appropriately in many situations; awareness of social and pragmatic norms.
2. *Knowledge about language (subject-matter knowledge)*. (*The language analyst*)  
Includes forms and functions of systems—grammar, phonology, vocabulary.

### 3. *Pedagogical practice. (The language teacher)*

Includes creating language learning opportunities; classroom interaction.

The Association for Language Awareness (ALA) defines language awareness as “explicit knowledge about language, and conscious perception and sensitivity in language learning, language teaching and language use” (ALA home page). Its journal *Language Awareness*, published since 1992, states its goal as the study of, the role of explicit KAL in the process of language learning; the role that such explicit KAL plays in language teaching and how such knowledge can best be mediated by teachers; the role of explicit KAL in language use: e.g., sensitivity to bias in language, manipulative aspects of language, literary use of language, etc.

Wright (2002) distinguishes two roles for language awareness:

1. As a goal of teacher education, it develops the teachers’ sensitivity to language, what Wright calls their “linguistic radar.”
2. As a method, a task or activity type, students work with authentic language data.

Language awareness has been mostly used for teachers of second languages (most especially ESL teachers), as well as teachers of foreign and modern languages. The focus has been on the target language, that is, the language the teacher was trying to teach in the classroom, with little understandings of the students’ language, except as it “interfered” with the language being taught. The understandings that these teachers must have in these classrooms can be rendered as in [Table 1](#); that is, the

Table 1 Language awareness for second/foreign language teachers

|   | Language #1 | Language #2/3 | Bilingualism |
|---|-------------|---------------|--------------|
| Knowledge of (proficiency)                                  | +           |               |              |
| Knowledge about (subject-matter)                            | +           |               |              |
| Pedagogical practice  | +           |               |              |
| Understandings of social, political, and economic struggles |             |               |              |

*Note:* Because I am writing from a multilingual perspective, I will not refer to an L1 or L2 because these are inaccurate concepts from the perspective of multilingual communities, or to target language because a multilingual education has multiple target languages as objects of attention. Instead I refer to Language #1 and Language #2/3, etc. pointing to the language which is the object of attention of the teacher.

teacher must have knowledge of and knowledge about the language she is teaching, as well as knowledge of pedagogical practice. The teacher does not need to have any knowledge of or knowledge about the “other” language, or of bilingualism, or of understandings of social struggles. She is simply a language teacher.

In his classic book, *Awareness of Language*, Eric Hawkins (1984) describes “awareness of language” as a way of bridging all aspects of language education (native language/foreign language/second language/ethnic minority language/classical language) that presently takes place in isolation. Although language focused, Hawkins interest is not on teaching languages per se, but in promoting questioning about language to develop linguistic understandings and challenge linguistic prejudices (see also Cots, *Knowledge about Language in the Mother Tongue and Foreign Language Curricula*, Volume 6; Van Essen, *Language Awareness and Knowledge about Language: A Historical Overview*, Volume 6). Hawkins proposes a series of topics for such a curriculum, one for all teachers, and not just language teachers: (1) human language and signals, signs and symbols, (2) spoken and written language, (3) how language works, (4) using language, (5) languages of the UK, Europe, and the world, and (6) how do we learn languages. In 1988, the Committee of Inquiry into the Teaching of the English Language in England (the Kingman report, 1988) developed KAL as a possible component of the English National Curriculum. The purpose was to have teachers improve their competence in their mother tongue, improve their language learning through comparisons between other languages and their own, and increase their linguistic sensitivity to other languages (Tulasiewicz, 1997). The understandings and awareness of language that teachers must have to work in these educational contexts can be rendered as in [Table 2](#); that is besides all the understandings of the target language, the teacher also needs to know about bilingualism and to teach bilingual children.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS/PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES: MULTILINGUAL AWARENESS

This chapter builds on concepts of language awareness (LA), awareness of language, and KAL to examine the MLA needed by teachers for multilingual schools. Multilingual schools bring to the foreground, more than any other type of schooling, language practices that often differ significantly from the ways in which the standard variety of the nation-state is used in school. Additionally, these different language practices are often manifestations of social, political, and economic struggles. MLA then must always build a fourth understanding—“the *understanding of the social, political and economic struggles surrounding the use*

Table 2 Awareness of language for all teachers

|   | Language #1 | Language #2/3 | Bilingualism |
|---|-------------|---------------|--------------|
| Knowledge of (proficiency)                                  | +           |               |              |
| Knowledge about (subject-matter)                            | +           |               | +            |
| Pedagogical practice  | +           |               | +            |
| Understandings of social, political, and economic struggles |             |               |              |

of the two languages—what has become known as *critical language awareness*” (see Fairclough, 1990, 1999). Although this fourth understanding is very important for all teachers, it is crucial for anyone working in multilingual schools.

In talking about *language awareness* in the context of multilingual schools, Shohamy (2006, p. 182) refers to understanding the ways in which languages are used “in undemocratic ways to exclude and discriminate.” She further posits that “language awareness needs to lead to language activism.”

But *multilingual schools* are of many kinds and have different goals and needs. Thus, they employ at least three different kinds of teachers who impart diverse instructions and need diverse degrees of MLA.

1. Teachers who actively draw on children’s multilingualism to educate.
2. Bilingual teachers using one of two languages in instruction, the result of team-teaching with a teacher using the other language, either in the same classroom or in a side-by-side model.
3. Bilingual teachers using two languages to educate.

As we will discuss, these three kinds of teachers need different MLA to effectively educate.

### *Teachers Actively Drawing on Children’s Multilingualism*

Schools in countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, have had to contend with multilingual populations being schooled in languages

other than their mother tongues throughout the twentieth century. But schools in the USA and Europe have until recently most often ignored the multilingualism of their autochthonous and indigenous peoples. However, as a result of the movement of people both physically and ideologically occasioned by wars, poverty, globalization, and new technologies, schools in the developing world have had to face the multilingualism of their school-aged children. Twenty-first century classrooms throughout the world have students who speak many different languages, often languages different from those spoken by the classroom teacher. Thus, classrooms teachers most often teach content in languages other than those the children speak at home and in communities. These teachers are not language teachers, and yet, to be successful content teachers they need to have specialized knowledge of language, and especially of the bilingual and multilingual contexts in which the children live, and of the social practices that produce certain discourses.

When teaching second language learners, these content teachers need to have deep understandings about the language system in which they are teaching. They also need to be thoroughly familiar with pedagogical practices surrounding bilingualism and the development of bilingualism. They need to understand, for example, the important role that the first language has on the development of the second, and of the interdependence of both languages (Cummins, 1979). And beyond psycholinguistic understandings, these teachers need to know how to build on their students' first language and literacy to develop literacy in the second. This has been shown, for example, by the work of Danling Fu (2003) in the New York Chinatown as teachers build on their recently arrived students' Chinese literacy to write English language texts. Teachers also need to understand the importance of scaffolding (Gibbons, 2002) for these students.

But beyond teaching second language learners, most children in the world today speak languages at home that are different from that which the school system calls the "standard." Thus, I would argue that all teachers need to have specialized knowledge about the social, political, and economic struggles that surround the languages, about pedagogical practices surrounding bilingualism, and about bilingualism itself. For example, Cummins (2006) has recently shown us how important the school's use of "identity texts" are in the teaching of children who speak languages other than that of the school at home and in community. We can render the MLA these teachers need as in [Table 3](#). Of course, it would be desirable that these teachers have knowledge of and knowledge about the students' many languages, but given the linguistic heterogeneity present in today's classroom, this might be a theoretical impossibility. However, it is not impossible to require that

Table 3 Multilingual awareness for teachers in true multilingual classrooms

|   | Language #1 | Language #2/3 | Bilingualism |
|---|-------------|---------------|--------------|
| Knowledge of (proficiency)                                  | +           |               | +            |
| Knowledge about (subject-matter)                            | +           |               | +            |
| Pedagogical practice  | +           |               | +            |
| Understandings of social, political, and economic struggles | +           | +             | +            |

all teachers be bilingual and thus knowledgeable of how two languages function in one's life.

#### *Bilingual Teachers Using One of Two Languages in Instruction*

Where bilingual or multilingual schools have been organized, teachers may teach only in one language. In effect, these teachers are individuals with different degree of bilingual proficiency who serve as monolingual teachers often in a team-teaching situation within the same classroom or in neighboring classrooms. It is the combination of two of these bilingual individuals/monolingual teachers who make a child bilingual (Table 4). This is often the arrangement in elite enrichment bilingual education programs. This is also the preferred way of staffing multilingual schools teaching in more than two languages, including bilingual schools for autochthonous and indigenous groups who are also interested in teaching their children English (see, Cenoz and Genesee, 1998), as well as European multilingual schools (Baetens Beardsmore, 1993). Immersion bilingual schools often use this type of staffing.

Although full proficiency in and full knowledge about Language #2 is not required (although desired), having some degree or proficiency in Language #2, knowledge of bilingual development, contrastive features among languages, and especially full knowledge of how the other language is taught (a result of team-teaching), as well as the interdependence of the two languages in pedagogical practice is extremely important. For these teachers, I would outline the understandings they need as in Table 4.

Table 4 Multilingual awareness for teachers in bilingual/multilingual schools

|   | Language #1 | Language #2/3 | Bilingualism |
|---|-------------|---------------|--------------|
| Knowledge of (proficiency)                                  | +           | +             | +            |
| Knowledge about (subject-matter)                            | +           |               | +            |
| Pedagogical practice  | +           | +             | +            |
| Understandings of social, political, and economic struggles | +           | +             | +            |

### *Bilingual Teachers Using Two Languages in Instruction*

Finally, we find bilingual schools that employ only *one teacher* for whom knowledge of two languages, that is, bilingualism and biliteracy is an absolute necessity. The teacher serves as both the content teacher and the language teacher. These schools use two languages in instruction, sometimes with the goal of developing the children's bilingualism and biliteracy (developmental bilingual education programs or two-way dual language bilingual education programs), but other times with a transitional goal of encouraging language minority children's shift to a majority language (transitional bilingual education programs) (Table 5). Most of the developmental bilingual schools are for indigenous or autochthonous peoples, or for language minority students when they are fortunate, and two-way dual language classrooms encompass both language minority and language majority children. But this pedagogical arrangement is very prevalent in transitional bilingual education classrooms.

For these teachers, the four understandings about language identified earlier: (1) Knowledge of language (proficiency) in both languages, (2) Knowledge about the two languages (subject-matter knowledge), (3) Pedagogical practice in the two languages, (4) Understandings of the social, political, and economic struggles surrounding the use of the two languages—are absolutely necessary. In addition, however, these teachers need to develop understandings of and about *bilingualism* itself, since the two languages spoken by the teacher and the students are often in contact and in code-switching interaction. Developing pedagogical practices building on the students' bilingualism and biliteracy, for example, ways of translanguaging in the Welsh sense (see Baker,

Table 5 Multilingual awareness for bilingual teachers

|   | Language #1 | Language #2/3 | Bilingualism |
|---|-------------|---------------|--------------|
| Knowledge of (proficiency)                                  | +           | +             | +            |
| Knowledge about (subject-matter)                            | +           | +             | +            |
| Pedagogical practice  | +           | +             | +            |
| Understandings of social, political, and economic struggles | +           | +             | +            |

2003), or of code-switching with pedagogical intent (see Van der Walt, Mabule, and de Beer, 2004), would be extremely important. The understandings these true bilingual teachers need are then the same as identified in Table 5 including full knowledge about language #2 as in table 5.

#### *From Language Awareness to Multilingual Awareness*

Clearly, the language awareness programs of the past are not relevant for teacher education in the twenty-first century, for in most of the world, the multilingualism of children is evident in today's classrooms. It is thus important to think of how to teach teachers in ways that develop their "MLA" and that empowers them to use this MLA in their teaching. From least to most complex MLA needed for different kinds of teachers, one can identify the following continuum:

1. Language awareness for language teachers
2. Awareness of language for all teachers
3. MLA for teachers with multilingual populations (all teachers)
4. MLA for bilingual teachers in bilingual/multilingual schools
5. MLA for sole bilingual teachers.

Because of the higher complexity of situations (3–5), and because there has been little attention given to how these understandings of MLA can be developed through teacher education, the rest of this chapter focuses on these three cases. I discuss teacher education for MLA first from the perspective of the nonspecialized situation, that is, situation #3. I deeply believe that this is needed by ALL teachers in today's classrooms. I end with what else is needed in the specialized bilingual/multilingual schools of situations #4 and #5.

WORK IN PROGRESS/FUTURE DIRECTIONS:  
BUILDING TEACHERS' MULTILINGUAL  
AWARENESS IN INCLUSIVE TEACHER EDUCATION  
PROGRAMS

*The Why of the Centrality of Multilingual Awareness Pedagogy  
and Curriculum for ALL Teachers*

Given the complex multilingualism of the school-aged population throughout the world, teacher education programs must do much more than just “adapt” what they have done in the past for second language learners and bilingual children. When public school systems throughout the world are increasingly populated with multilingual children, it behooves teacher educators to put language difference *at the center* of the educational enterprise. Most teacher education programs pay little attention to multilingual differences, educating their teachers as if all students were native speakers of the dominant language of the nation-state. Sometimes, they include a requirement of a course in the teaching of the majority language as a second language or in bilingual education. But a single course is not enough to acquire the sophisticated MLA that teachers need today, especially in developed societies with increased immigration. Instead, MLA must be a thread that runs throughout the entire teacher education curriculum.

*The How of the Pedagogy of Multilingual Awareness for ALL Teachers*

The question for teacher education, however, is how teacher education programs can go about instilling and developing these understandings of, and disposition towards, MLA, and abilities of how to use this MLA pedagogically. With Freire (1973), Cummins (2001) and other transformative educators, I believe in a critical pedagogy that is situated in practice. I base our transformative pedagogy on the four elements developed by the New London Group (1996) for their multiliteracies pedagogy:

1. *Authentic situated practice* and immersion of students in such practice
2. *Overt instruction* to develop awareness and understanding of practice
3. *Critique of practices* as socially particular through critical framing
4. *Transformed practice* through experimentation with innovative practices that are a result of reflection, overt instruction, and critical framing.

In the following section, I develop how our transformative pedagogy works with teachers to develop appropriate MLA.

*The What of a Curriculum for Multilingual Awareness for ALL Teachers*

It is clear from the earlier discussion that a course in MLA, or even a linguistics course, can do little to transform the MLA of teachers. Instead, the explicit instruction about the system of language that students get in a language-focused course—be it a linguistics course or language/literacy courses that focus on what Schulman (1987) has called pedagogical content knowledge (PCK)—must be combined with authentic situated practice, critique of practice, and the resulting transformed practice in order for learning to take place.

Throughout the years, I have developed ways to immerse teachers in language and literacy practice, critique of such practice, and transformed practice, as well as building in explicit instruction at times. I developed such ways especially as Dean of a School of Education in Brooklyn, New York that had a large bilingual and bidialectal student body who wanted to become teachers, extending them when I joined Teachers College, Columbia University, as faculty in bilingual education. The six strategies that I share later, however, were developed with my colleagues at the Brooklyn Campus of Long Island University, most especially Cecelia Traugh.

**Descriptive Review of a Bilingual Child's Language Use.** Elsewhere (García and Traugh, 2002) we have described how descriptive inquiry, a disciplined process of research in teaching and learning, can enable a group to cut through generalities and abstractions, make the complexity of the lived reality more visible, and enlarge understandings that can generate ideas for action. One way of enabling teachers to understand bilingualism in its complexity is to engage them in observing children closely and describing them fully, working to withhold judgment or interpretation and being respectful of the child as the maker of words and worlds. Basing ourselves and extending the Descriptive Review of the Child process proposed by Carini (2000), prospective teachers are taught to describe one child fully under six headings—physical presence and gesture, disposition and temperament, connections with others, strong interests and preferences, modes of thinking and learning, and use of languages with different interlocutors and in different contexts (for more on the Descriptive Review of the Child, see also, Himley and Carini, 2000).

The purpose of this close observation and careful description is two-fold. On the one hand, the child's language use is seen and described within the context of other activities and student characteristics, and not in isolation. This is important in not reifying language, forcing ourselves to see language not as object in itself, but as an instrument used by the child and used by the teacher in describing the student. On the

other hand, the child's language use is seen and described from the child's own perspective, and not from a sociopolitical or sociohistorical context, contexts that may shape how the child uses language, but that are important to separate from the child's language use.

Another purpose of the Descriptive Review of the Bilingual Child is to bring this detailed description back to the community of practice, sharing it with fellow prospective teachers. Fellow prospective teachers (and the teacher educator) listen attentively as the reviewer shares observations. Afterwards, they first ask information questions, opening up possibilities for further reflection. The process ends with participants, one at a time, giving recommendations to the reviewer to generate new ideas, new practices, new viewings and re-viewings of the child's language and literacy use.

The advantage of the Descriptive Review of the Bilingual Child is that it enables the prospective teacher not only to become a better observer of language, but also a better user of language, as s/he works to be descriptive and withhold judgment of the child's language use. Another advantage is that based on what Carini calls "human capacity widely distributed," it builds a community of practice, a collaboration, in which the changing ways in which language is used is the spur for further action.

**Ethnography of Speech Communities and Sociolinguistic Study of the Linguistic Landscape.** Prospective teachers are also given the tools to look closely and describe richly the "linguistic landscape" (Shohamy, 2006) of the school community or of those from which the children come from (see also Gorter and Cenoz, *Knowledge about Language and Linguistic Landscape*, Volume 6). To do so, they are initially sent out to document—using photography and videos—the languages they see in the community public signs, in the newspaper and magazine stands. They listen to conversations and sounds in the street, and make recordings of that discourse. They interview leaders in the community, as well as common folk, about ways of using languages, and about the sociopolitical and socioeconomic struggles the community faces. They also gather information of the institutions/organizations that support the use of those languages, and of the struggles those organizations face. An important part of this language ethnography is the home of the child itself, and in particular, the funds of knowledge of the parents (Moll and Gonzalez, 1997). In the twenty-first century, it is also important that prospective teachers develop a broad understanding of language use, and that they include in their descriptions the multicode *within* one language, that is, the images, music, art, graphs that make up today's ways of using language, especially by youth—what others have called varied ways of *linguaging* (Kress and Leeuwen, 1996).

Prospective teachers are then encouraged to compare the language data and the information they have gathered with the print and information they find in the internet, and with readings they have done for class. Based on this authentic data that prospective teachers have gathered, the teacher educator provides explicit instruction about aspects of language that are found naturally in what students have collected. It is this explicit instruction that gives prospective teachers the tools to analyze their material further. Prospective teachers become familiar with internet sites, and with translation capabilities of the Internet, tools that will enable them to become lifelong learners about the languages and literacies that they will continue to encounter in their changing communities.

Problem sets for different language use situations are collaboratively generated in class. For example, banks of examples of code-switching in media and print, as well as in oral discourse could be generated. Video clips of different language and literacy uses in the home could also be developed. These problem sets would then be subjected to further analysis and could be the focus of explicit language and literacy instruction. These problem sets also serve as ways of building social, political, and economic consciousness about language use in different contexts and for diverse purposes.

**Descriptive Review of Language and Literacy Practices in Teaching.** Using descriptive inquiry as the process which we described earlier, prospective teachers are also engaged in close observation and description of how language and literacy is used by the teacher and the students inside the classroom in different contexts and practices—class arrangements, lessons, assignments, and testing. In sharing the description with other prospective teachers in other classrooms, complex views and understandings are generated. Collaboratively, the group examines how the particular discourse is used by the teacher and students to include or exclude and how discourse works within particular social practices.

Occasionally, the prospective teacher tapes herself with the children, again describing closely the language used, and sharing it with the collaborative group as a way to build texts of practices that could be subjected to explicit analysis, and as a way to encourage transformation of practices. Again, as a collaborative group, the prospective teachers with the teacher educator review the practices to generate new and transformed practices. The teacher educator explicitly points to promising practices and strategies and provides microanalyses of some discourses.

In describing language and literacy practices within the classroom, the prospective teachers can draw from the data they have gathered outside the classroom and in the community. This comparison can serve

well to help teachers anchor language use in particular domains and for specific purposes. Critical framing of the different events can generate transformed practices.

**Makers of Multicultural and Multilingual Texts.** Both in the more theoretically oriented courses, as in the more practice-oriented courses, students are engaged in producing multicultural and multilingual texts. Specifically, this is done by encouraging the use of double-entry journals, where students react to the academic texts they are reading from their own personal perspective, contributing their experiences, their cultural and linguistic understandings to make sense of the text. Sometimes, these reactions/reflections are written in the students' many languages. At other times, they are written in the class language, with the hybrid use that a personal reflection enables.

Again, these double-entry journals are shared with their fellow classmates and the teacher educator, as a way to build multicultural and multilingual understandings of the same text and to generate different understandings from multiple perspectives.

**Curriculum Meaning-Makers.** As prospective teachers are made "wide awake" (see Greene, 1995) by the attention paid to detail and description of the language use of the child, the speech community, the classroom, and themselves, they start to develop ways of developing curriculum that build on these understandings. The curriculum courses use all this authentic material in creating true multilingual and multicultural curriculum for actual classes and for student teaching.

Prospective teachers try out curriculum in actual classrooms where the cooperating teacher and the college supervisor serve as sounding boards for further reflection and transformation of practices.

**Language and Social Activists.** All descriptions, collaborative sharing of understandings, materials, products, and explicit teaching practices developed through the strategies described earlier result in action that has the potential not only to transform practice, but also to transform the lives of children and communities. This action is sometimes at the individual level, i.e., helping a child's family with translation services, but sometimes it is at the level of local and even national policy. For example, one semester a group of prospective teachers learned about the difficulty of immigrants learning English, since there were no free English language classes available. They gained understandings not only of the inequity that this presented, but also of how this affected their children's learning and their own teaching. With the help of a local immigrant rights organization, they organized a letter campaign, went on radio programs, spoke to politicians. As a result,

funding for adult classes in English was increased the following funding year.

*The What of a Curriculum for Multilingual Awareness for Bilingual Teachers*

In addition to everything that has been said before, bilingual teachers need additional abilities and understandings—in particular, proficiency in Language #2, and sociocultural understandings of the groups who speak Language #2.

With regards to proficiency in Language #2, bilingual teachers (whether one of two or the sole teacher) need to already have some degree of bilingual proficiency before being accepted in a program to educate bilingual teachers. This is because it is almost impossible for a teacher education program to develop the specialized curricular and pedagogical knowledge needed, as well as linguistic ability in a second language. However, bilingual education programs must assess the candidates' bilingual ability upon admissions. And they must provide contexts for students' development of that initial proficiency so that they are capable of teaching academic subjects in Language #2. In every teacher education course for bilingual teachers, readings in two languages are included, and writing assignments in the two languages are required. Student teachers are also required to develop curricula in two languages and to become familiar with instructional material in two languages. This is especially important in the area of children's literature where prospective bilingual teachers should be deeply familiar with children and young adults literature in the two languages. In addition because of the possibility that a bilingual teacher will be hired to teach in the two languages, the prospective teacher is given practice teaching in the two languages and is observed and evaluated doing so in two languages.

Beyond familiarity with the language and all its language varieties, bilingual teachers must gain deep understandings of the sociohistorical and sociocultural contexts of the group that speaks the second language. This is done by requiring that prospective teachers not only take courses that cover such issues, but also by ensuring that this is an integral part of the ethnography of the speech communities and the interviews with community participants.

## CONCLUSION

In the twenty-first century, it is MLA that all teachers need. This article has placed MLA within the framework of language awareness, extending it to include other important abilities and dispositions for the twenty-first

century. In particular, however, this article describes ways in which teacher education programs can develop these understandings in all their students, building more specific ones for specialized bilingual teachers.

**See Also:** *Arthur Van Essen: Language Awareness and Knowledge about Language: A Historical Overview (Volume 6)*; *Josep M. Cots: Knowledge about Language in the Mother Tongue and Foreign Language Curricula (Volume 6)*; *Durk Gorter and Jasone Cenoz: Knowledge about Language and Linguistic Landscape (Volume 6)*

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# **Section 1**

## **Assessing Language Domains**

## ASSESSING ORAL AND LITERATE ABILITIES

## INTRODUCTION

What does a language assessment assess? Defining the domain of a language assessment involves:

- conceptualizing what a language is
- demarcating the purpose and scope of the assessment
- specifying relevant components and contexts of language use and knowledge
- analyzing empirically how people perform in such contexts
- establishing ways of evaluating and reporting
  - on these performances, as well as reflexively
  - on the effectiveness of the assessment instrument and procedures.

There are many ways to cut each of these pies, and complex combinations of ingredients within and among them, as the subsequent chapters in this volume demonstrate. The present chapter reviews research and practices of assessment that conceptualize second and foreign language abilities comprehensively in respect to oral and literate modes of communication.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The long-standing convention for designating domains of language assessment comprehensively has been to assess the four ‘skills’ of reading, writing, listening, and speaking (see Purpura, *Assessing Communicative Language Ability: Models and their Components*, Volume 7). Typically, each of the ‘four skills’ is assessed separately through batteries of tests for reading, writing, speaking, and listening. Individual scores are reported for each skill component and/or compiled as an aggregate score. This approach conveys a sense of comprehensiveness about examinees’ abilities to perform across a range of oral/aural and literate modes of communication. Distinctions are also made between receptive (reading, listening) and productive (writing, speaking) modes of communication. Further distinctions are made between subcomponents of knowledge or performance associated with each skill domain (e.g., pronunciation, intonation, and fluency for speaking; or grammar, vocabulary, and discourse functions for reading). Rationales for this approach were elaborated by Lado (1964) and others applying concepts

from descriptive and structural linguistics to establish formal principles for language test design in the 1960s.

This manner of demarcating and assessing the so-called “four skills” was articulated influentially in Carroll’s (1975) model of skill learning and applied to his comparative assessments of students’ achievements in French in secondary schools in eight countries. It has since become so entrenched as the foundation for language education throughout the world that most accounts of language assessment, policy, or pedagogy are, to some degree, framed in respect to them (Cumming, 1996). Precedents for this fourfold distinction have a relatively lengthy history. Spolsky’s (1995) authoritative history of language testing shows that they coincided with the expansion of formal education systems and refinement of psychometric methods over the past century. They were also concurrent with the spread of teaching of a select (formerly colonial) set of international languages (e.g., English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, but also increasingly Arabic, Chinese, and Japanese) around the world as well as increasing migration to programs of higher education, settlement, and work in Europe, North America, and Austral-Asia (see Spolsky, *Language Assessment in Historical and Future Perspective*, Volume 7). Various concerns have been raised to challenge the premises and practicality of the “four skills” model. But these challenges tend to have been incorporated within, rather than to serve as genuinely alternative options to, the guiding framework for defining language assessments broadly as literate domains of reading and writing and oral domains of listening and speaking.

Challenges to the “four skills” model started in the 1980s as researchers conceptualized language abilities in respect to new models of communicative competence (e.g., discourse, grammatical, lexical, sociolinguistic, and strategic competencies) that spanned oral and literate modes of communication (Bachman, 1990, 2000; Harley, Allen, Cummins, and Swain, 1990). A widely cited concept is Cummins’ (1984) distinction between “basic, interpersonal communication skills,” which students can develop relatively rapidly for simple conversational interactions in a second language, and the “cognitive, academic language abilities,” required for literate tasks and tests of academic achievement, which develops more slowly over several years.

The purpose of most language education is to develop students’ general capacities to use a language in a multidimensional range of oral and literate activities (Widdowson, 1983). Surveys invariably show that students need high levels of proficiency in almost every oral and literate aspect of a language to be able to function effectively in education in that language (North, 2000; Rosenfeld, Leung, and Oltman, 2001). Accordingly, in most educational systems, the primary basis for defining

language abilities, both in curricula and assessments over the past decade, has become a broad set of standards or benchmark competencies in reading, writing, listening, and speaking. These are usually demarcated by a range of attainment or proficiency levels, as described later (and see Fulcher, *Criteria for Evaluating Language Quality*, Volume 7; Kunnan, *Large Scale Language Assessments*, Volume 7). The remaining sections of this chapter describe the considerable knowledge that has accumulated over the past two decades to inform these standards for language education as well as to validate formal tests of language proficiency.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Research and development on the assessment of oracy and literacy have concentrated on the consolidation of knowledge about language assessment generally and about test validation particularly. During the 1990s, most leading researchers on language testing produced books, suitable for course texts in programs of teacher education or graduate studies, that articulated principles and practical advice about the design and techniques of assessment for oral and literate language abilities: Bachman (1990), Davies (1990), Rea-Dickins and Germaine (1992), Weir (1993), Cohen (1994), Alderson, Clapham, and Wall (1995), Bachman and Palmer (1996), Brown (1996), Genesee and Upshur (1996), McNamara (1996), O'Malley and Peirce (1996), and Bailey (1998). In addition to these books in English, standard references likewise appeared in languages such as French: Chaudeson (1995) and Lussier and Turner (1995). Increasingly, books have focused on specific components of oral and literate language assessment, such as books on reading (Alderson, 2000), writing (Ferris, 2003; Hamp-Lyons, 1991; Weigle, 2002), listening (Buck, 2001; Flowerdew, 1994), speaking (Fulcher, 2003; Luoma, 2003), and vocabulary (Read, 2000) (see Purpura, *Assessing Communicative Language Ability: Models and their Components*, Volume 7).

As these latter topics suggest, the trend toward consolidation has reinforced the fourfold division of language ability (into the skills of reading, writing, listening, and speaking) while continuing to emphasize knowledge about language (such as vocabulary). Assessment of literacy is conventionally taken to mean the assessment of reading or writing. Assessment of oracy is conventionally taken to mean the assessment of listening and speaking. Studies of language assessment have given surprisingly little emphasis to current conceptualizations of the ways in which human interactions increasingly tend to cross and combine modalities of communication as multiliteracies (Cope and Kalantzis, 2000). For example, language assessments seldom

account for the prevalent uses of new multimedia technologies, such as the Internet or text messaging, and the resulting concepts of visual or media literacy (Cummins and Sayers, 1995; Kelly, 2005; Lankshear, Gee, Knobel, and Seale, 1997), nor respond to the widespread questioning of standard varieties of languages and fixed sociolinguistic categories as norms for assessment (Canagarajah, 2006; Lowenberg, 2002), nor address arguments that literacy is negotiated through local, culturally and historically defined activities—many of which may in fact be multilingual—rather than established as universal or monolingual behaviors or attributes (Martin-Jones and Jones, 2000; Street, 1993; Triebel, 2005). These notions of hybridity, contextualization, and multimodality challenge the very idea of there being unique constructs for particular language skills, let alone distinctions between oral and literate abilities.

Other consolidating steps have included

- the appearance of specialized scholarly journals (*Language Testing*, *Assessing Writing*, and *Language Assessment Quarterly*)
- the formation of an international professional association, the International Language Testing Association (ILTA) and its code of ethics for language testing practices and web site: <http://www.dundee.ac.uk/languagestudies/lttest/ilta/ilta.html> (see Davies, Ethics, Professionalism, Rights and Codes, Volume 7)
- an annual forum to share research on language assessment, the Annual Language Testing Research Colloquium, held in various locations around the world
- the compilation of a dictionary of technical terminology (Davies et al., 1999)
- extended historical analyses (Barnwell, 1996; Spolsky, 1995; Weir and Milanovic, 2003)
- published critiques of major language tests (e.g., Stoyloff and Chapelle, 2005; ongoing reviews of tests in journals and in annual and online editions of Buros' Mental Measurement Yearbook: <http://buros.unl.edu/buros/jsp/search.jsp>).

Consolidation of conventional concepts about oracy and literacy has probably also appeared because a major focus of theory and research has been test validation. Conceptualizations have converged on Messick's (1989) unified theory of construct validation to establish that a test assesses what it intends to assess (Alderson and Banerjee, 2001/2002; Bachman, 1990; Chapelle, 1999; Cumming and Berwick, 1996; Kunnan, 1998; see Xi, *Methods of Test Validation*, Volume 7). Rather than assuming that any one set of evidence might suffice to assert the validity of a test, professional expectations are now that test validation is a continuing process that involves precise specifications of the construct that the test intends to assess and the ongoing accumulation of multiple sources of

empirical evidence to demonstrate that it does so. Professional agreement on this responsibility has, in addition to improving the bases for evaluating the quality of formal language assessments, had at least three general effects.

One effect has been to acknowledge that the long-term consequences or washback of language tests are integral to their validity (Bailey, 1999; Cheng, Watanabe, and Curtis, 2004; see Cheng, Washback, Impact and Consequences, Volume 7). This matter is vitally important for tests that evaluate students' literate and oral abilities comprehensively, particularly when the stakes of a test are high—in determining students' grades, certification, or entry to educational programs or career opportunities. Limited test formats (e.g., multiple choice) and limited content sampling (e.g., grammatical knowledge) may narrow the focus of studying and teaching in preparation for the test and thus students' opportunities to practice or improve their language abilities. In turn, a restricted set of literate routines are highlighted and privileged over diverse forms of oral communication. This concern has led educators increasingly to emphasize performance, task-based, and alternative assessments, though such forms of assessments that integrate oral, literate, and other abilities have tended to appear more in innovative curricula than in formal tests (Darling-Hammond, Aness, and Falk, 1995; see Fox, *Alternative Assessment*, Volume 7; Wigglesworth, *Task and Performance based Assessment*, Volume 7). Nonetheless, a prevailing expectation is that assessments should require examinees to produce extended written and spoken discourse creatively in test contexts rather than to respond simply to fixed test items in a way that might be coached or narrowly rehearsed.

A second effect of the professional consensus on the centrality of construct validity has been to diversify and extend the types of research that establish the validity of language tests. Psychometric methods to evaluate language tests have become increasingly sophisticated, for example, accounting for the combined effects of test content and methods as well as the characteristics of test-takers and raters over time, through techniques such as structural equation modeling (Bachman, 2000; Kunnan, 1999) or Rasch scaling (McNamara, 1996) (see Chalhoub-Deville and Deville, *Utilizing Psychometric Methods in Assessment*, Volume 7). In turn, qualitative methods of inquiry have assumed an important role. For example, data collected through verbal reports reveal examinees' thinking processes while taking language tests (e.g., strategies for responding to test items, Yamashita, 2003) or describe raters' decision making while either evaluating spoken or written texts (Brown, 2003; Cumming, Kantor, and Powers, 2002; Lumley, 2005). Likewise, discourse analyses have evaluated whether the linguistic qualities of examinees' oral or written production correspond to that intended in test

specifications. Such inquiry, however, has tended to treat separately analyses of speaking, for instance through conversation analysis (e.g., Lazaraton, 2002; Young and He, 1998), from analyses of writing, for instance through text and rhetorical analyses (e.g., Cumming et al., 2005) (see Lazaraton, *Utilizing Qualitative Methods for Assessment*, Volume 7).

A third effect is that substantial resources are required to conduct systematic programs of validation research. Such resources tend to be available only to large, internationally oriented testing organizations (such as the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate, Educational Testing Service, or the Paris Chamber of Commerce) or to national or state level agencies, funded or compelled by examination requirements or other legislation for public education or by policies for higher education programs, professional qualifications, or immigration. This situation may well lead to improved validity in a select set of language tests administered on large scales. But the impact may also be to reduce the number, types, and local relevance of tests that evaluate students' oral and literate language abilities comprehensively because of the extensive resources required to develop, validate, and administer them on a local or regional basis. Wesche (1987), for example, described the development of a comprehensive battery of English proficiency tests that a consortium of universities in Ontario could not afford to maintain because of the ongoing costs of developing, validating, and administering them. The concentration of resources and activity within a few international language tests may be yet another reason for the continuing tendencies to define oracy and literacy as they are operationalized—as reading, writing, speaking, and listening—in the main components of these tests, rather than, for example, as multiliteracies or other recent concepts of literate or oral communications.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Much recent attention in the assessment of oral and literate abilities has focused on innovations to integrate modalities of communication (i.e., reading, writing, listening, and speaking) and to understand better classroom formative assessment and self-assessment. The developers of major language tests have conscientiously adopted particular approaches to respecting the conventional domains of 'four skills' (described earlier), while addressing the inherent interdependency of these language modalities by adopting more integrated views of literate and oral abilities. For example, a person has to read to be able to write, speaking inevitably involves listening, and subcomponents of language ability such as vocabulary or grammar span separate skills and media. Educational Testing Service has conducted a major program

of research over the past decade to revise its Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) to “include more tasks that integrate the language modalities tested” in order to be “more reflective of communicative competence models” and to provide “more information” about “students’ abilities to use English in an academic environment” (Jamieson, Jones, Kirsch, Mosenthal, and Taylor, 2000, pp. 3–6; and see numerous monographs and research reports at [www.ets.org/pub/toefl](http://www.ets.org/pub/toefl)). In contrast, Cambridge initially designed its International English Language Testing Service (IELTS) to integrate “the four skills” but recently separated their measurement into unique components. This step aimed to improve the test’s construct validity and to eliminate “the potential for confusing the assessment of reading ability with the assessment of writing ability” (Charge and Taylor, 1997, pp. 375–376). It accompanied other developments in their First Certificate in English (Weir and Milanovic, 2003; and see diverse research reports at [www.cambridgeesol.org/rs\\_notes/index.cfm](http://www.cambridgeesol.org/rs_notes/index.cfm)). These contrasting approaches may reflect different cultures of assessment in North America (valuing formal tests) and in Europe (valuing public examinations), as suggested by Bachman, Davidson, Ryan, and Choi’s comparative analysis (1995; see Inbar-Lourie, *Language Assessment Culture*, Volume 7). A wholly different conceptualization was adopted for the Certificates in Spoken and Written English (cf. Brindley, 1998, 2000; NSW AMES, 1995) for adult migrants in Australia. This assessment focuses primarily on people’s language production (i.e., speaking and writing) in the context of integrated tasks (that involve reading and listening), based on competency descriptions derived from theories of systemic–functional linguistics.

Publications about language assessment have mostly focused on formal tests of language proficiency or achievement. Greater understanding is needed about ordinary practices of assessment in classrooms and other informal contexts of learning and teaching. Assessment is integral to teaching. It requires considerable expertise and knowledge as well as specific techniques to address students’ development of oracy and literacy (see Malone, *Training in Language Assessment*, Volume 7). The extent to which practicing language teachers may separate or combine assessments of students’ oral and literate abilities is unclear, and it probably varies, though an orientation toward written, rather than oral, tests appears evident from most analyses and documentation (e.g., Grierson, 1995; Rea-Dickins, 2001). Certain books have highlighted classroom formative assessment to address the interests of language teachers, aiming to develop their knowledge and abilities for assessment, for example, in respect to portfolio assessments or responding to students’ written or oral language production (e.g., Ferris, 2003; Genesee and Upshur, 1996; O’Malley and Peirce, 1996). Moreover,

authors such as Lynch and Davidson (1994), Brindley (1998, 2000), Brown (1998, 2002), and TESOL (1998a, 2001) have demonstrated the value of criterion-referenced and performance assessments for interrelating assessment, curricula, teaching, and learning. But research has only started to describe systematically teachers' usual practices for formative language assessment (Cumming, 2001; Ferris, 2003; Rea-Dickins, 2001; Wigglesworth and Elder, 1996) and the conditions under which this expertise may develop or be promoted (Bailey, 1998; Edelenbos and Kubanek-German, 2004). It remains unclear to what extent teachers' classroom practices for assessment actually combine or separate modalities of communication, acknowledge multimodalities or mixing of first and second languages, or capitalize on multimedia technologies—in contrast to the relatively uniform constructs that reading, writing, speaking, and listening are presumed to be in most formal language tests, curricula, and textbooks.

A related issue is self-assessment of oral and literate language abilities. There has been a long-standing acknowledgment of the importance of learner autonomy and strategy development in language learning. But the principles for learners' self-assessment established in Oscarson (1978) have only recently been elaborated upon by Ekbatani and Pierson (2000), evaluated in Ross' (1998) meta-analysis, and made technically feasible on a large scale by the Council of Europe's Dialang project: [www.dialang.org](http://www.dialang.org) (Alderson, 2005; see Fox, *Alternative Assessment*, Volume 7). Recent initiatives in self-assessment have continued to treat the "skills" of oral and literate abilities as primarily separate rather than integrated components.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

A major dilemma for comprehensive assessments of oracy and literacy are the conceptual foundations on which to base such assessments. On the one hand, each language assessment asserts, at least implicitly, a certain conceptualization of language and of language acquisition by stipulating a normative sequence in which people are expected to gain language proficiency with respect to the content and methods of the test. On the other hand, there is no universally agreed upon theory of language or of language acquisition nor any systematic means of accounting for the great variation in which people need, use, and acquire oral and literate language abilities. For example, language tests tend to specify tasks to represent a construct, then examine the performance of testees on these tasks in order to determine empirically what the range of abilities are on these tasks. No theories guide or explain these interpretations of difficulty or success in language test performance, as Fulcher (1996)

demonstrated for the construct of fluency in oral interviews or as Jarvis, Grant, Bikowski, and Ferris (2003) demonstrated for the progression of text features in ESL written compositions. Moreover, most language tests are written, and in highly conventional, literate genres, rather than informal oral modes of communication (Peirce, 1992). For this reason, accounting for the comprehensive range of oral and literate abilities expected in most programs of second or foreign language education is a dilemma of daunting complexity and uncertainty. This is particularly so around the world as educators are increasingly required to account for their activities and the outcomes they may produce.

To resolve this dilemma, most educational systems have developed their own sets of benchmarks, standards, or competencies to define the domains of a language to be taught and learned and, in turn, to be assessed (Brindley, 1998; North, 2000). Typically, these standards have been established through professional consensus among committees of educators, and so are grounded more in perceptions of educational practices than in empirical evidence or theories about language acquisition. There are innumerable sets of curriculum standards at a state, national, or even institutional level for public education. Most tend to separate reading, writing, listening, and speaking as fundamental organizational units, though many combine oral and literate abilities and some add elements of visual or media literacy as well. Notable international examples are the Council of Europe's Common Framework of Reference (2001), TESOL's Standards (1998b), or ACTFL's Proficiency Guidelines (1986). Such standards may suffice for educational purposes, particularly to guide classroom instruction in a uniform way or to provide a common framework of reference within an educational system. But they are contingent on the quality of professional judgment and confidence in the standards. Moreover, the approach involves a logical circularity (Brindley, 1998; Johnson, 2001). The abilities that learners are expected to acquire are defined by the standards, which are taught and then assessed in reference to the standards, as a kind of achievement testing. But such standards themselves seldom have independent theoretical or empirical validity, or firm construct definitions of oracy or literacy, other than through professional consensus and status as an educational policy. So their applications may appear to function as assessments of achievement in relation to, although without direct verification of, what has been taught or studied in a curriculum. In turn, such standards are general frameworks for curriculum, not actual instruments of assessment, so their applications should not be misinterpreted as evaluations of proficiency or competency generally or by extension to contexts other than the curriculum standards or local educational conditions.

## FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Future developments are bound to continue in most of the directions outlined earlier. Particularly important will be research, such as that of Brindley (2000) or North (2000), to validate and refine empirically the curriculum standards that now inform major language education programs and assessment instruments related to them. In particular need of substantiation are the ad hoc conceptualizations of literacy and oracy that now feature in these standards and accompanying assessments. Equally important are guidelines such as TESOL (1998a, 2001) to orient educators to using these standards effectively in their pedagogical and assessment practices. As Luke (2005) has argued for education generally, diverse and multiple forms of evidence need to be incorporated into curriculum and assessment frameworks and to address new multimedia literacies critically (Cope and Kalantzis, 2000). New technologies will surely feature in future developments of language assessments in both literate and oral media, as they have increasingly in recent years (Chapelle, 2001) (see Chapelle, *Utilizing Technology in Language Assessment*, Volume 7). The potential for innovations in assessment via the Internet are only now being established in such projects as Dialang (Alderson, 2005; for comprehensive self-assessments in multiple languages related to the Council of Europe's Common Framework of Reference, 2001) and the new Internet-based version of the TOEFL, accompanied by diverse preparatory and instructional materials. But as noted earlier, these major tests continue to feature conventional constructs of reading, writing, listening, and speaking—though in multimedia formats. So they may offer relatively little change from conventional notions of oral and literate abilities. Look for advances particularly in computer-adaptive testing (Chalhoub-Deville and Deville, 1999), tailored to individual abilities and interests, as well as computer-generated scoring of written and oral language performances (Shermis and Burstein, 2003) as well as challenges that such technical advances may reduce, rather than enhance, assessments by replacing sophisticated human judgments with routine mechanical procedures (Ericsson and Haswell, 2006).

At the same time, knowledge about language assessment needs to continue to accumulate and be evaluated professionally. Such knowledge is required worldwide because of the pressures for public accountability about education and other public policies (such as immigration or professional certification), which are often implemented through assessment programs, and because of trends toward greater international mobility. Attention should, in turn, continue to shift in education to knowledge about ongoing formative assessment practices, of both

oral and literate abilities, to supplement and prepare learners for the present emphasis on summative assessment in formal language tests.

In sum, much knowledge has accumulated in recent decades about particular as well as general aspects of language assessment. Numerous assessment practices and instruments have been established and refined. A bifurcation remains, however, between the professionally determined standards that inform language education and the empirical research that informs international suites of language proficiency tests. Existing knowledge and debate now focus either on curriculum standards, established as formal policies for language education, or on major language tests, validated by scientifically oriented investigations. In between these established pillars of the comprehensive assessment of oral and literate abilities are spaces that need to be described more precisely and conceptualized more thoroughly—to help the pillars support language education constructively. Key dimensions of these spaces are ordinary practices of language learning and teaching as well as theories and policies that integrate, explain, and evaluate their relations as evidenced in formal and informal language assessments.

Multiple approaches are needed to understand these spaces in ways that compare to the knowledge that has accumulated, over the past two decades, about formal language tests and curriculum policies. Ordinary practices of language assessment in teaching contexts need to be documented and analyzed through case studies, ethnographies, and action research, and their findings synthesized and evaluated. Balanced attention needs to be given to oral as well as literate dimensions of language abilities as well as hybrid or multimodal relations among them and other media and technologies. Theories of literacy, oracy, and learning need to be applied rigorously to understand these assessment practices and determine their value, such as Hornberger's (2003) continua of biliteracy or sociocultural theories of learning (Wells, 1999). Comparative studies need to describe and assess commonalities and differences in language assessment policies and practices internationally, as in Dickson and Cumming (1996). Policies for language assessment need to be informed, and extended, by multiple forms of evidence, as Luke (2005) has argued, encompassing historical, sociological, linguistic, psychological, and philosophical sources. Moreover, practical means need to be established to integrate, apply, and evaluate them in relation to fundamental educational purposes as well as diverse societal and international contexts.

*See Also:* James E. Purpura: *Assessing Communicative Language Ability: Models and their Components (Volume 7)*; Bernard Spolsky: *Language Assessment in Historical and Future Perspective (Volume 7)*;

*Glenn Fulcher: Criteria for Evaluating Language Quality (Volume 7); Antony Kunnan: Large Scale Language Assessments (Volume 7); Alan Davies: Ethics, Professionalism, Rights and Codes (Volume 7); Xiaoming Xi: Methods of Test Validation (Volume 7); Liying Cheng: Washback, Impact and Consequences (Volume 7); Janna Fox: Alternative Assessment (Volume 7); Gillian Wigglesworth: Task and Performance based Assessment (Volume 7); Micheline Chalhoub-Deville and Craig Deville: Utilizing Psychometric Methods in Assessment (Volume 7); Anne Lazaraton: Utilizing Qualitative Methods for Assessment (Volume 7); Ofra Inbar-Lourie: Language Assessment Culture (Volume 7); Margaret E. Malone: Training in Language Assessment (Volume 7); Carol Chapelle: Utilizing Technology in Language Assessment (Volume 7)*

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## ASSESSMENT IN MULTILINGUAL SOCIETIES

### INTRODUCTION

The issue of assessment in multilingual societies has become important especially in the last three decades as we realize that multilingualism is now a legitimate reality around the world. Given that multilingualism is the norm rather than the exception, maintaining and developing multilingual competence (MC) becomes a necessity. Shohamy (2006) makes a strong case for encouraging MC and arguably so, since a majority of students arrive in schools with MC and hold multiple identities; and even if they arrive as monolinguals, it is imperative that they have opportunities to acquire additional languages from peers or from instruction. There is also evidence to suggest that multilinguals may have advantages over monolinguals in areas such as negotiating, working with people from culturally diverse backgrounds, interpreting and communicating information and thinking creatively (see Baker and Jones, 1998; Bialystok, 2001; Graddol, 2006).

The present chapter looks mainly at assessment of English language (henceforth assessment) in a multilingual environment and suggests that the assessment issues and concerns discussed here can also be extrapolated to other languages. Assessment here refers to all methods of testing and assessment, including alternative assessment. Testers sometimes make a distinction between testing as a standardized, large-scale exercise that fulfils the requirements of validity and reliability as opposed to assessment as school based tests that might not be consciously guided by such requirements. This distinction is not maintained here and therefore the terms testing and assessment are used interchangeably. Further, a multilingual society is one where more than one language or language variety is spoken. In this sense, multilingualism also includes multidialectalism. In what follows, this chapter discusses the various assessment issues that are relevant to multilingual societies.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Work on assessment in the last several decades has centred around the notions of ‘what’ and ‘how’ in testing, i.e. what constitutes language proficiency and therefore what aspects of proficiency one needs to test and how to test it. In tracing the early developments in the area, it is

necessary to understand the developments that different models of language proficiency have undergone vis-à-vis the kind of norms that are applied in a given testing situation. We will examine the issues in turn and look at what obtains at the present moment and what the future promises for the testing field.

### *Models of Language Proficiency*

The discussions about models of language proficiency in the area of language testing have been vibrant with ongoing debate in the last three decades. McNamara's (1996) comprehensive review provides a trajectory of developments in this area. Beginning with the theory proposed by Hymes (1967) on communicative competence and its implications, and Savignon's (1972) experiment based on the premise that language skills should be assessed in an act of communication with 'native speaker' as the reference point, we seem to have come a long way in our understanding of the concept of language proficiency. Morrow (1979) emphasized the notion of behaviour in a communicative context, i.e., the candidate's ability to use the language to translate the competence (or lack of it) into actual performance in ordinary situations. Responding to this discussion, Wesche (1992) stressed the importance of including non-linguistic factors in performance assessment instead of a vain effort to develop context-neutral, universally fair language tests. According to Jones (1979) a performance test is more than a basic language proficiency test, since it is possible for someone to compensate for inadequacies in one area with astuteness in other areas.

The seminal work done by Bachman (1990) based on Canale and Swain (1980) proposed a model of *Communicative Language Ability* in which three components were: language competence, strategic competence and psychophysiological mechanism/skills. His model has two important dimensions that are of interest to the issue in question. One, the notion of strategic competence which is understood as ability, capability or capacity in an area of knowledge that differentiates the performance of native speakers as well as of non-native speakers. In tasks requiring negotiation, it may be that performance is affected more by strategic competence than by the specific areas of competence the test was originally intended to measure. Strategic competence then seems to include factors other than language ability, for example, "language users' willingness to exploit what they know and their flexibility in doing so" (Ibid, p. 105). The second is the notion of interaction of the components of communicative competence: "... it attempts to characterize the processes by which the various components interact with each other and with the *context in which language use occurs*" (Bachman, 1990: p. 81; emphasis mine). Even illocutionary competence

is supposed to be a sentence type whose interpretation depends very heavily on the circumstances under which the act is performed (p. 91).

Bachman and Palmer's model (1996) adds another dimension, that of affect. "The affective schemata determine, to a large extent, the language user's affective response to the task and can either facilitate or limit the flexibility with which he responds in a given context" (p. 65). This is a significant development over the earlier model and deals with Hymes' ability for use in terms of affective or volitional factors.

The foregoing account of the development of language proficiency models point to the following main features (with my emphasis) in the concept of proficiency:

1. The *context* in which language use occurs or circumstances under which the communication takes place;
2. Language users' *willingness* to exploit what they know and their *flexibility* to adapt to a given situation, with the *affective factor* facilitating or limiting this flexibility;
3. Ability to *translate* one's competence into *actual performance* in contexts that correspond to *real life*;
4. Performance as *more* than language proficiency; and
5. The importance of *non-linguistic factors* instead of *context-neutral, universally fair* language tests.

It is to be noted that while these 'models' essentially emphasize the importance of context and go beyond language, including flexibility, willingness, affect etc., they do not in any conscious or explicit manner take account of the multilingual environment to which the language user might belong, nor the purposes for which s/he might be using English. The notion of looking at language use in intra- and inter-language communities had not gained currency, although, interestingly, the models seem to have provided for it.

What emerges is a model that has taken into account the 'context' in which communication takes place. The problem, however, is what counts for correct and appropriate language use in a given context. This has been informed by monolingual native speaker norms since the debate about World Englishes (WE), English as an International Language (EIL) and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) is only recent. Still more recent is the discussion about what kind of English is valid in assessment procedures.

### *Norms for Assessment*

Closely linked to the notion of language proficiency is the norm for assessment, i.e. the kind of English that tests expect test takers to aim for. In the early days of testing, the language proficiency continuum was seen to lie from zero to ultimate attainment, i.e. 'native-speaker'

competence. Lado's (1961) comment that "when the (test) items have been written and the instructions prepared the test is ready for an experimental administration to native speakers of the language. . . ." (p. 93), clarifies the position abundantly. The assumption was that any language test should assess proficiency in Standard English, i.e. American or British English. Further the principal goal of Modern Language teaching was teaching and testing of the written language. Although oral proficiency was valued, it is only recently that oral proficiency testing was considered an important part of foreign language testing. The Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) did not include a section on writing until recently let alone an oral component. The oral component was a much later addition on the insistence of various state politicians whose children couldn't understand the speech of the foreign teaching assistants who taught beginning courses in mathematics and computers (Spolsky, 2006). The notion of the native speaker (or Standard English) as the norm for assessing proficiency has continued to dominate the English language testing scene: on proficiency scales such as Foreign Service Institute (FSI), the Australian Second Language Proficiency Ratings (ASLPR), the highest level of competence described is that of an educated native speaker (see Davies, 2002 for a discussion of this point).

The issue of choosing a model for language tests was fairly simple and straightforward as scores on English tests were needed largely for use in English speaking, i.e. inner circle countries. Therefore the question of which or whose English is an ideal candidate for deciding on the norm was not relevant until recently when the global spread of English brought into focus the need to examine the consequences of such a spread.

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The last few years, the last decade in particular, have witnessed a growing interest in issues related to multilingualism in assessment. A major development with regard to the English language is the way it has spread globally and its implications for language tests in terms of what counts for a norm. This section presents briefly the kind of debate that sociolinguists, educationists and language specialists around the world are currently engaged in which in turn take us to a discussion of assessment issues in multilingual contexts (see Rubdy and Saraceni, 2006 for a very lively debate on the issue).

### *The Spread of English*

Since the second half of the twentieth century, the spread of the English language has been unprecedented. This is a result of post-modern

globalization which is a geo-political relationship, and is a consequence of different social and technological forces that has generated a new relationship among communities visible through diaspora groups, trans-national travel, internet, media, international business and the like (cf. Quirk, 1985). One result of this spread is that sociolinguists have begun to recognize the growing varieties of English known now as EIL and WE resulting in an emergence of a range of legitimate non-native varieties. More importantly, the NNS language variety is distinguished from *interlanguage* implying thereby, first of all, that since new norms for ELF are being developed, there is no reason why multilingual speakers should defer to exonormative standards dictated by the 'inner circle' (Kachru, 1986) when they communicate with each other in English (for a comprehensive discussion see Jenkins, 2003; McArthur, 1998; Seidlhofer, 2000). This means that the inner circle speakers are no more 'norm-providing', and the other two circles not 'norm-developing' or 'norm-dependent'. The statistic provided by Crystal (2003) and Graddol (1997) are even more convincing in that English is used in multilingual contexts more than in homogeneous contexts of monolingual speakers making the notion of 'periphery' questionable. Canagarajah (2006) suggests therefore that while we need not necessarily announce the 'death' of the native speaker, we need to first of all start working with Crystal's notion of English as a 'family of languages' or McArthurs' egalitarian model (quoted in Canagarajah) where different varieties relate to each other. A second corollary, as Lowenberg (2002) demonstrates, seems to be that the creative processes involved in NS and NNS linguistic innovation tend to be the same, although some may label the NNS creativity as 'error', a case of linguicism. Jenkins (2006) provides a persuasive argument for the spread of English vis-à-vis its implications for testing.

While Kachru's (Ibid) concentric circles provide for a movement of English from the inner circle to the other circles, it is to be reckoned, in principle at least, that they are concentric circles and are therefore separate. Canagarajah (2006) identifies the features that are characteristic of the globalized world, i.e. the international involvement at diverse levels, the porous nature of the national boundaries with a flow of social and economic relationships resulting in a hybrid language, communities and cultures. In the light of these, he questions the Kachruvian model that brings about a crisis in the previously held assumptions underlying the three concentric circles. He argues that each variety, such as Indian English, is valid not only in the respective country, but even outside it since business obligations such as the BPO industry require it. Similarly, even in expanding circles, English is used even within the country to a much larger extent making the ESL/EFL distinction invalid.

This view, however, represents one perspective. Another equally persuasive viewpoint discussed is that while the definition of native speaker competence is widening, a question that needs urgent attention is what 'English' is being taught and learnt (and therefore assessed) in different teaching and learning contexts around the world. Seidlhofer (2000) argues that this issue has not been on the agenda so far, as is clear, for example, when Medgyes (1994) confides about his inferiority complex because of glaring defects in his knowledge of English, or when Crystal (1997) considers himself fortunate to be a fluent user of the language (he means English), and dreams of an ideal world where everyone would have that kind of command over the language. Within the ELT context, Davies, Hamp-Lyons, and Kemp (2003) quote Lukmani who reports that teachers of English in India aim for standard English, although it is not clear whether they provide a Standard English model for their students at all educational levels. It seems that Indian tests (may) have a non-standard variety in tests and exams but teachers may not be aware that it is a non-standard variety; they would like to have a standard and just believe that they do have one, not knowing that it is not standard. According to Spolsky (2006), the position that there exists a single correct form of English, derivable from a study of the best authors (with their occasional lapses removed) and enshrined in standard grammar books and dictionaries is based on a traditional and Classical approach, still widely believed by lay people and linguistically untrained teachers. At the same time, the power of this belief makes it a significant factor in setting goals for English teaching.

### *Assessment in Multilingual Settings*

An important milestone in the assessment of language proficiency that is of relevance to us is the Assessment of the Language Proficiency of Bilingual Persons (ALPBP) project, carried out in the USA. The Language Proficiency Assessment (LPA) symposium, a component of the ALPBP project, represented a major effort toward integrating the insights from the research conducted and the implementation of the teacher training programme of the project. This is captured in three volumes (see, for example, Rivera, 1983). Of particular relevance to the issue in question is the framework proposed by Cummins which initiated a dialogue among other scholars in the field (see Rivera, 1984). They pointed out that from a sociolinguistic perspective, it lacked a detailed and serious understanding of the broader social context in which language development and use occur.

Other major activities that reflect a growing interest in the area are: the 'Symposium on Assessment Issues in Multilingual Settings' in 2000, organized by ACROLT (Academic Committee for Research on

Language Testing) at Kiryat Anavim, Israel. Although the papers presented at the symposium have not been published, the papers, as is evident from some of the titles, addressed some key issues in the area: issues and challenges in assessment of multilingual societies, testing indigenous languages, reforming language policy through assessment, among others. Recently ALTE's 'International Conference on Assessment in a Multilingual Context: Attaining Standards, Sustaining Diversity' discussed, among others, issues such as equity, the role of smaller languages in the face of the spread of English, language tests as covert policy tools in multilingual societies.

A significant development that seems to be promising is in the area of English language teaching in multilingual settings which indicates that work in the area of testing may not be far behind. In India, for example, the three-language formula ensures national unity, and facile intra-state, inter-state and international communication (see Biswas, 2004). The National Curriculum Framework developed by the National Council of Educational Research and Training (2005) promotes multilingualism in schools since the positive relationship between multilingualism, cognitive growth and educational achievement is well established. There are thus indications that classrooms are becoming more multilingual and democratic allowing for plurality and heterogeneity in terms of the different languages, cultures, and understandings that learners bring to the classroom. Agnihotri (1995) makes a strong case for using multilingualism as a classroom resource and recommends moving away from monolingual norms and practices for better education and social change. Elsewhere (1996) he asserts that "enforcing monolingual norms involving homogenization and standardization will only be indicative of ethnocentrism and authoritarianism. Both in our society and in our schools, we need to create space for different languages represented in our society" (p. 43).

Jacob (2001) illustrates a set of five discourse functions in a context specific methodology for the English Studies curriculum in two urban university situations at Pune University, India. An ethnographic study of a series of classroom encounters revealed five central discourse functions, directed towards nurturing equitable social access to the educational process and collective advancement of competencies. This also enabled the polarities between advantage and disadvantage to dissolve as the apparently disadvantaged learner at one stage could occupy a position of advantage.

In the area of language assessment, Shohamy (2004) has been particularly influential in proposing a model of critical language testing (CLT), an area that applies critical pedagogy and critical applied linguistics to testing which emerges from the need to examine, question and monitor the uses of assessment tools in education and society,

especially since they are often introduced in undemocratic and unethical ways mostly for carrying out the policy agenda of those in power. The power of tests to define knowledge in narrow ways and to manipulate educational systems is unquestionable. The social and educational consequences of such powerful uses are of special significance in multicultural societies, as tests are often used to force minority groups to accept the knowledge of the dominant group (see Bourdieu, 1991). Shohamy (Ibid) discusses three conceptions of knowledge that are an important outcome of multiculturalism, i.e. the assimilative model, the recognition model and more recently the interactive model, where the knowledge of the minority groups is seen to affect that of the dominant group and enrich it in a two-way interaction. Clearly the interaction model is not simple to apply as there is often resentment by the dominant group who are eager to maintain and preserve their identity in society and who view the other forms of knowledge as challenges to their existence. Even in situations where multiculturalism is recognized, tokenism prevails and education systems use a variety of overt and covert mechanisms to strive for homogeneous knowledge. In a multilingual country like India, for example, many Indian English medium schools demand that students use only English while in school and not any of the other languages they come with. They are penalized if they do so.

In a similar vein, Shohamy (2001a) calls for democratic assessment which requires shared authority, collaboration, the involvement of different stakeholders including test-takers, and monitoring the use of test results. Assuming that tests are neutral only allows those in power to misuse tests. Studying the use of tests as part of test validation on an ongoing basis is essential for the integrity of the profession.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

The growing interest in issues related to multilingualism in assessment in the past decade has been phenomenal. The inclusion of a chapter on this topic in the present edition of the volume on Language Testing and Assessment of the Encyclopedia of Language and Education but not in the first, testifies to this. It is since then that there has been a spurt of research activity along with the development of a theoretical base, which has enriched the area substantially. There are a number of areas in which work is in progress.

##### *Test Development Based on Local and 'Native' Norms*

As multilingual speakers focus more on meaning rather than grammatical correctness they are developing new norms of English that are different from both the local and the metropolitan varieties. Tests in

English are being developed according to local norms and the objective is the need to assess one's ability to use ELF in the local community. The test developed for English teachers in Indonesia is a good example of this (Brown and Lumley, 1998). On the other hand, for contexts that demand inner circle norms (as is the case with TOEIC, TOEFL and IELTS) one has to adopt international norms. Language assessment has moved from the traditional 'deficit' model based on how far away the test taker is from the top of the scale to giving credit to what s/he can do. The development during the 1990s of the can-do statements developed by the Association of Language Testers of Europe (ALTE) and the Common European Framework (Council of Europe) exemplify this approach (Taylor, 2006).

### *Studies in Cross-Cultural Variability*

The CCSARP, a project concerned with the notion of pragmatics in cross-cultural speech act realization patterns, requests and apologies, in eight languages or varieties: Australian English, American English, British English, Canadian French, Danish, German, Hebrew and Russian, raises the issue of universality: to what extent is it possible to determine the degree to which the rules that govern the use of language in context vary from culture to culture and from language to language? The analysis of the data revealed rich cross-cultural variability (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984). With a modified version of the discourse completion questionnaire (DCQ) used on the CCSARP, Durairajan (2000) tested the proficiency of the same set of Indian learners in two languages, namely, Tamil and English to examine the nature and amount of codeswitching and found that code switching is not attempted out of deficiency but is carried out for effect. The fact that the more proficient speakers of the language code switched more than the less exposed highlighted this effectively.

In a similar attempt in India, Mehrotra (1995) found that verbalization of politeness in Indian English varies considerably from British and American English. Based on a small study, he generated data on how students studying at a University used expressions they would use in borrowing a pen. Interestingly, they listed 75 verbal ways of borrowing a pen, out of which 52 expressions showed a single occurrence each. This clearly indicated a relatively lower percentage of standard and fixed forms of verbalizing simple request in Indian English than is the case with British or American English. The study highlights certain 'special qualities' and 'regional characteristics' of sociolinguistics in India as distinct from sociolinguistics in other parts of the world.

Cohen (2004) reported on work related to the notion of inter-language pragmatics, i.e. it is not enough to know the equivalent

words and words in a second language, but one needs to determine situationally appropriate utterances. Pragmatics is at the intersection of language culture. He discusses the ‘what’(whether learners are able to deploy appropriate modifications of the speech act) and the ‘how’ (open and closed types) of assessment of speech acts as well as the rating of oral and written production. He suggests that since pragmatic behaviour by its very nature varies, it is best to use more than one approach such as portfolio assessment rather than the one-size-fits-all approach.

Intachakra (2004) investigated the notion of intercultural competence, i.e. knowledge of culturally appropriate ways of communicating in a cross-cultural context using a second or foreign language. The study of the characteristics of conversational routines in British English and Thai with a focus on apologies and thanks revealed a number of subtle differences between the two speech communities. It was found that while some situations may prompt the British to apologize, the Thais would make do without saying anything at all. Also, the British may have many direct strategies to choose from when it comes to expressing thanks whereas the Thais have less explicit strategies, each with minute sociocultural overtones.

More recently, Spolsky (2006) quotes Derwing, Rossiter and Munro (2002), who look at the question of training people to understand second language learners, and show that linguistic instruction and cross cultural awareness training makes social workers much more confident in their ability to interact with Vietnamese speakers of English.

### *Test Development Methodology*

Cambridge ESOL’s tests of writing and speaking have used qualitative methods of test development using multiple investigators, multiple theories or multiple methods, as well as different sources of data in order to cross-check the validity of findings (Taylor, 2005). Some of the methodologies used are discourse/conversation analysis, verbal protocol analysis, observational checklists. These have also helped to understand the test-taking processes with benchmarking and standard-setting exercises that are ongoing and help us in the development of new speaking tests and the revision of existing tests in relation to format, content, examiner training and the procedures necessary to monitor and evaluate how oral assessments are carried out.

### *Impact of Testing*

McNamara (1998) discusses a particular area of concern, i.e. the impact of language testing on minority language students in school settings.

He quotes Elder who shows that the supposedly ethically neutral bias detection techniques used in fact inevitably involve questions of values in the choice of the criterion adopted as benchmark in the group comparisons; in other words, bias depends on the definition of the test constructs, in this case, defined politically. Elder's work on the value of dimension of test constructs is a concrete example of Messick's point about the impossibility of value-free test constructs. The context of her studies-language study in ethnically diverse populations as a result of immigration-is relevant in settings beyond the Australian one.

### *Development of Corpus*

The compilation of a corpus of ELF on different aspects is in progress (see, for example, Jenkins, 2000; Seidlhofer, 2000, 2005). The insights from the body of work describing the features of English will allow for the economical use of valuable teaching time to focus on features that are teachable, not teachable but learnable and the like. It would also have implications for curriculum design, and for textbooks and tests. It should be stressed however that linguistic descriptions alone cannot determine what needs to be taught and tested in particular settings; that would be a pedagogical decision (Widdowson, 2003).

### *Other Developments*

In a radical proposal, Makoni and Pennycook (2005) suggest strategies of 'disinvention' to combat the concept of monolingualism, the norm that underlines all mainstream linguistic thought. Here, multilingual norm is simply a pluralization of monolingualism. Language testing also plays a crucial role in this process. That a critical approach to language testing 'implies the need to develop critical strategies to examine the uses and consequences of tests, to monitor their power, minimize their detrimental force, reveal the misuses' (Shohamy, 2001b, p. 131), emphasizes the need to look at how all forms of language testing imply very particular versions of language.

Empirical work by Hamp-Lyons and Zhang (2001) has attempted to examine the behaviour of raters of university-led exam essays focussing on the rhetorical patterns found in EFL test essays, specifically at how raters' judgements of the essays interact with their perceptions of the culture-specific or nativized rhetorical features. Issues are raised regarding the raters' degree of tolerance for rhetorical diversity, the appropriacy of 'non-nativelike' rhetorical patterns in university students' written work, and training of essay writers, and the implications of the study for English language writing assessment in localized and international contexts.

Davies, Hamp-Lyons, and Kemp (2003) formulate three questions which frame their ongoing research:

- How possible is it to distinguish between an error and a token of a new type?
- If we could establish bias, how much would it really matter?
- Does an international English test privilege those with a metropolitan Anglophone education?

Work in this area is in progress.

There have been publications that are going to play a significant role in the ongoing work in the area: the publication by Cambridge University of Multilingual Glossary of Language Testing Terms in 2005 which contains a glossary of entries in 10 European languages and will encourage language testing in those languages.

The Spanish National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) aims to assess twelfth-grade students, who have learned Spanish in a variety of ways and for different lengths of time, at the national level only (i.e. in the USA). In this framework, listening, speaking, reading, and writing skills are assessed within three modes of communication: the *interpersonal* mode, the *interpretive* mode, and the *presentational* mode. The goals of assessment include the following:

- gaining knowledge of other cultures;
- connecting with other academic subject areas to acquire knowledge;
- developing insights into the nature of language and culture through comparisons; and
- participating in multilingual communities at home and around the world.

Performances will be evaluated on how well the student understands (comprehension) and can be understood (comprehensibility). The criterion of comprehension/comprehensibility subsumes language knowledge, the appropriate use of communication strategies, and the application of cultural knowledge.

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

An issue that has constantly plagued language testing specialists is that of the tension between validity-reliability. It seemed to surface quite seriously during the communicative language testing era; now in the current scenario where English takes on different forms in different contexts in a chameleon-like fashion, this issue is even more crucial and needs to be addressed in a careful and informed manner. Language testing has had a history of being slow to catch up on advances in teaching. If we do not keep pace with the way the world (and therefore languaging) is changing, we may find ourselves lagging behind in the implementation of notions such as accommodation, bias, fairness,

equity and, more importantly, multicultural competence in specific but varying situations. This is going to be a challenge for testers in the years to come.

More specifically, implementation of scoring criteria by exam bodies seems to be trailing behind theoretical advancements. They would first of all need to decide whether ELF or EIL is the norm in question and this distinction is not as clear-cut as it appears. Secondly, we would need detailed descriptions of the different kinds of Englishes we may want to capture in interactive situations. While it is necessary to set testing criteria based on empirical evidence from actual instances, waiting for the corpus to be of use let alone be exhaustive would delay valid assessment in multilingual contexts. Further, unless testing procedures change, there is little hope teaching will, since tests, especially high-stakes tests, have a powerful washback effect (see Cheng, Washback, Impact and Consequences, Volume 7). Even if certain varieties of English have not been codified to a considerable extent, that is not an argument against developing tests based on local norms.

Developing locally appropriate tests sets difficult but not impossible challenges for those testing companies that want to sell their tests internationally. One of the most important aspects of globalization is that it requires local adaptation.

The question of which Englishes should be privileged on tests is particularly problematic and interesting in academic contexts where traditionally standard forms of English are the only ones accepted (see Davies, Hamp-Lyons, and Kemp, 2003; Hamp-Lyons and Zhang, 2001). This is especially true in countries like India where there is ambivalence about what people want, i.e. Standard English (British English) or Indian English even for internal purposes, more so since there are varieties of Indian English which therefore defy any definition or description. As Davies (2002) asserts, the attempt to ascertain a standard and fix it forever is a vain ambition. Of course, there will always be uncertainty as to the meaning of the term. He feels that the claims of the native speaker from those of proficiency cannot be separated and they seem to be dependent on one another. He has no doubt that “while . . . our models should be educated standard English, it does not absolve us from taking a position on whether the debate about different educated standard Englishes is as linguistic as it is political” (p. 8).

Many proposals have been put forward, some more radical than others that need to be operationalized seriously and implemented in actual situations: ways of acquiring language awareness, linguistic activism, disinvention strategies, democratic approaches to test development and use, to name a few. This is a challenge in the face of established traditional views that might resist new or innovative ways of assessing.

## FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Assessment of MC it seems is a more complex and difficult task than assessing in monolingual settings. Nevertheless, research in the area points to several future possibilities.

Models of language proficiency have already provided for context and for language use in actual situations, which include strategic as well as pragmatic competence. We will need to concretise these notions in multilingual contexts focusing on cross-cultural competence. If multilinguals, as research indicates, are good at negotiating, speech accommodation or shuttling between English varieties and speech communities, working with people from culturally diverse backgrounds, interpreting etc., the assessment procedures would need to focus on these aspects rather than on just linguistic skills, as Canagarajah (2006) has demonstrated. He describes modifications to the different aspects of the First Certificate of English examination, in order to make it a multilingual test. For example, he suggests a broadening of strategic competence to include sociolinguistic and pragmatic skills in multilingual communication such as crossing, speech accommodation and code alternation. For assessing the performance of candidates, he recommends that the raters should be from different English language communities, for example, one from the candidate's own community and the other from the inner-circle community. This would enable the raters to examine whether the candidate is able to negotiate the different varieties they use. With regard to the tasks in the test, i.e. monologue, dialogue and conversation, topics related to candidates' areas of interest and specialization could be chosen in order to make the test discourse specific; further, candidates from different language communities could be paired to examine their proficiency in communicating in different situations and negotiating dialectal differences.

This proposal clearly points to a language construct different from the one we have been working with: there is nothing called a 'general' or 'universal' proficiency, and performance in such tests is only an approximation of the candidates' performance in other situations. This also redefines the notion of subjectivity that should not be shied away from but incorporated into the testing procedure. Given that tests can't be culture free, no single procedure can capture language knowledge and requires multiple and alternative assessment procedures, such as portfolio assessment. An assessment system that has as its guiding principles open and flexible language, interactivenss, multiple approaches, dynamic assessment, and integration of assessment with instruction is recommended. In sum then, assessment has to adopt a multiple approach: multi-task, multi-rater, multi-candidate and multi-norms. We need to move from the 'either/or' orientation to a 'both

and more' perspective. We need to shift the emphases from language as system to language as social practice, from grammar to pragmatics, from competence to performance in our attitude to proficiency.

We would also need to articulate a developmental view of language proficiency (see Durairajan, 2003), which captures different stages of learning especially in a multilingual setting, that would help with the notion of assessment *for* learning, not just assessment *of* learning. This in a sense contrasts with proficiency statements that reflect only end-products. Further, until EIL criteria are established, testing agencies would have to refrain from penalizing the use of those NNS variants, which are emerging through their frequent and systematic use as acceptable EIL variants. Jenkins (2006) also cautions us against EIL/ELF becoming just labels in that the EIL-based criteria should not turn out to be the old native-English criteria.

Constructing local tests for intra-national use would be the need of the hour. The Indonesian test for English language teachers is a good example (see Brown and Lumley, 1998). In the mean time adapting international tests to local norms may be a way forward, especially since these tests are standardized and fulfill the requirements of validity, reliability, usability and the like and would be economical. Other parameters such as impact could be investigated as an ongoing research question while these tests are in the process of being localized.

Another future trend in our testing procedures could be to (i) focus on the candidate in *interaction* rather than on the individual candidate (also see Jacoby and Ochs, 1995 for work on co-construction, Kasper, 2001 for developing pragmatic ability through assisted performance within a sociocultural perspective and de Almeida Mattos, 2003 for evaluation through scaffolded interaction in collaborative settings). The study of interaction has its roots in the traditions of ethnography, ethnomethodology and conversation analysis; and (ii) more importantly, determine beforehand, what we can test and what we cannot; we need to identify the limits of testability (McNamara, 1998).

The whole exercise of test development and use should adopt a democratic approach: involvement of stakeholders, including test-takers, involving teachers for example, in the observation of learners, to monitor language development and map their observations onto the descriptions to come up with provisional ratings in the development of ESL band scales (Scott and Erduran (2004).

Another area of interest is the effect of different accents on work (Spolsky, 2006). One would like to see an exploration of the effect of the different foreign accents on judgements, for example, by asking whether U.K. or Australian or U.S. or assorted non-native judges have observable biases towards specific non-native varieties. Similarly, variables related to performance contexts need to be identified and

investigated. For example, in a speaking test, is the interlocutor a peer candidate, a trained/untrained, NS or a proficient NNS? All these are likely to be significant in influencing the candidates' performance. Again, given the differences that exist among native speaking communities (Scotland, Australia, different groups in the U.S.) would WE be more disadvantaged?

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## ASSESSING CONTENT AND LANGUAGE

### INTRODUCTION

A salient feature of the assessment of content knowledge in the context of L2 acquisition and use is that many fundamental aspects await specification by educational practitioners and assessment specialists. Several factors contribute to the late-comer status of content assessment in L2 assessment practice. First, the L2 profession has a long history of describing learners' L2 knowledge in terms of formal features, independent of and separate from knowing a content area. Second, knowing a foreign or second language was typically modeled as a cognitive ability on the part of the individual learner that emphasized processing of sentence-level morpho-syntactic rules and retrieval of lexical knowledge from memory. The kind of discourse or textual environment necessary for handling sophisticated content could not be readily accommodated within such a focus. Third, while communicative language teaching foregrounded language use over knowledge of language forms and conceptualized that use in terms of communicative tasks, even the most elaborated assessment framework, that by Bachman and Palmer (1996), upheld the separation of language knowledge from topical or content knowledge and highlighted the role of strategic competence and affective factors in performance. As a result, even performance tests, the hallmark of the communicative era, focus on aspects of *language* rather than task performance in a deeper sense, where quality performance of a task would require content knowledge (see McNamara's, 1996 discussion of this issue, pp. 45–46). Finally, even the assessment of writing, with its obvious connection to issues of content, has largely confined itself to exploring textual organization, coherence, and cohesion, and the nature of an academic lexicon, rather than addressing how particular language choices themselves contribute to content being communicated more or less successfully.

However, most recently, the need to assess content knowledge in relation to language knowledge has become a pressing issue due to increasing individual and societal multilingualism, demands for integrating L2 learners into existing mainstream curricula with diverse content expectations, the call for proof of the attainment of learning goals made by the outcomes assessment movement, and, last but not least, the use of a second language in diverse professional contexts that

characterizes globalization, in short, the demands for fostering the development of L2 literacy and, by extension, of assessing it.

As a result, the following general questions arise: What exactly is the nature of the content-language link? What kinds of theoretical frameworks are available for imagining and specifying it with an eye to the effects of learner age and level of L2 development? To what extent does education itself help or hinder learners in making the kinds of content-language links that will enable them to express their content knowledge in the L2, what we refer to as L2 literacy? Explicitly focusing on assessment, how might the assessment field carve out a recognizable, delimited, and legitimate testing domain of content within L2 assessment that would differ from assessment of content in mainstream educational assessment? What assessment domains and what assessment instruments would be particularly well suited to the assessment of content knowledge? What additional interpretive and reporting responsibilities might the assessment community need to assume vis-à-vis students, programs, and society given the repercussions of judgments of L2 learners' content knowledge on their educational careers and, ultimately, their ability to lead rewarding and flourishing lives in society? To begin to answer these questions, a look at the kinds of challenges arising in three areas is instructive.

*First, classroom-based content assessment.* Classroom-based content assessment is particularly strong in content-based bilingual programs that strive to enable learners to succeed in mainstream education with its expectation of adequate content knowledge and language abilities. In that case, the results of classroom-based content assessment not only have direct consequences for pedagogies in a particular classroom, but they also have a strong external link into the overall curriculum, something that is likely to affect their very nature. In addition, depending on learners' age and the length of a particular program, increasingly complex and diverse content areas must be assessed (e.g., baccalaureate programs that are conducted bilingually), a challenge that requires a sophisticated awareness of the nature of academic language form and use.

*Second, program- or curriculum-based content assessment.* In content assessment in relation to program or curricular goals, content is typically expressed relatively broadly and abstractly, e.g., in the sciences, social studies, or mathematics. Assessment results are interpreted by constituencies that represent diverse positions, have diverse interests, and different ways of affecting educational practice and policies. Such assessments tend to be particularly important for immigrant and minority student populations. For example, in the USA the federal No Child Left Behind (NCLB) legislation rigorously demands that learners, whether native speakers or English language learners (ELLs), must meet a certain threshold of learning outcomes. Because of its

punitive qualities of funding being withheld from so called ‘failed’ schools and entire school districts, content-based assessment has recently become an extraordinarily high-stakes activity.

By contrast, FL programs generally have neither particular content-learning expectations nor external assessment mechanisms. For example, neither the comprehensive K-16 framework of the Standards for Foreign Language Learning in the United States (*the Standards*) nor the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) state content areas in a binding fashion comparable to the curriculum documents that govern bilingual educational programs. As a result, in the US program outcomes assessment that addresses content knowledge in FL programs is just beginning to be considered under the pressures of general outcomes assessment (see the contributions in Byrnes, 2006).

*Third, content assessment in a professional community.* Frequently independent of particular instructional contexts, the kind of knowledge and know-how that characterizes membership in a professional community, e.g., business, law, health care, or commerce and trade, needs to be assessed for purposes of certification, licensure, or hiring (and firing). Here content-knowledge tends to be given greater weight than pure language knowledge and tends to be framed in terms of diverse professional practices that frequently are realized in and through and with language as well as by accumulated professional knowledge and diverse nonlinguistic practices. For that reason close contact between the assessment community and the professional community seems necessary for determining these practices and relating them to the assessment of content knowledge. The particular qualities and challenges of that area have for some time been considered under the rubrics of language for special purposes (LSP) or, more narrowly, English for special purposes (ESP). Assessment of language for academic purposes (i.e., LAP/EAP) is at times grouped with these concerns.

Implied in the previous descriptions is the special role of English. In many contexts around the globe English is both a foreign and second language; it is also crucial for access to many professional contexts in a globalized world. As a consequence, discussion of the assessment of content often assumes English as the L2 in question. For example, high demand for English instruction already in the primary grades in Israel has not only strengthened the link between curricular content, language instruction, and content assessment; it has also questioned the continued dominance of form-focused instruction by many language teachers.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Personal communication from Elana Shohamy, May 27, 2006. Because of the resultant shortage of trained ESL teachers, homeroom teachers who take on the role of “English teachers” tend to emphasize content more than their ESL colleagues do, by using the regular content curriculum in those classes as well.

Increasingly, around the world, certain disciplines conduct their tertiary education in English, thus necessitating increased content assessment in an L2 environment. At the same time, content assessment is a prominent concern in immersion programs and in heritage language education.

#### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS IN THE ASSESSMENT OF CONTENT AND LANGUAGE USE

Given the above background, it is not surprising that assessing content in L2 settings first became a central concern in K-12 ESL programs. As bilingual education needed to show that ELLs were acquiring the mandated curricular content, it shifted from communicative to content-based instruction (CBI) and initiated a number of approaches for the assessment of curricular content. Revealing the competing interests of content-based assessment, Brinton, Snow, and Wesche (2003) state that in CBI programs evaluation “should, in theory, be similar to what is done with native speakers in similar courses” (p. 184) but also caution that such a demand must not disadvantage ELLs from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds whose limited command of English might lead to unfair evaluation of their content knowledge. Initially, the assessment of content tended to be expressed in terms of general academic abilities or ‘skills’ that any student would need to handle the academic demands of content learning. For example, learners ought to be able to put scrambled sentences into a coherent paragraph, find the central point of a reading and locate its supporting arguments, present academic or complex ideas clearly and without help in both speaking and writing, and have adequate note-taking abilities for academic lectures.

However, recognizing the great variety of emphases in bilingual programs, Weigle and Jensen (1997) call for greater specificity regarding what might be reasonable outcomes for content and language. Thus, sheltered content instruction and adjunct courses show a greater content focus. By contrast, a language focus goes with theme-based CBI instruction. Even as they affirm that all three models foreground the interaction of content and language, they suggest that assessment of content can take different forms, particularly with regard to the role of L1 and L2 in the test instrument. This includes the possibility of testing language and content separately or applying different scoring criteria for different learner groups. In other words, the extraordinary external pressures that can be exerted when L2 learners do not perform well contribute to a continued decoupling of content and language. On the one hand, then, teachers may have good reason to follow well-established assessment practices, even though these were not intended

to assess content knowledge (see Weigle and Jensen's recommendation that teachers follow Bachman and Palmer's assessment framework). On the other hand, careful practitioners recognize the inherent tensions in such an approach. Thus, Short (1993) concludes that it seems impossible to isolate language features from content features in a manner that does not adversely influence the other. Therefore, she opts for alternative forms of assessment, such as checklists, portfolios, interviews, and performance-based tasks, measures that are presumed to have positive effects as well on motivation due to their connection with real-life performance and, in the case of the portfolio, also trace longitudinal development.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Three areas have strongly influenced developments in the testing of content: the challenges inherent in various external demands for learning outcomes assessment, particularly in bilingual education, the assessment of Language for Special Purposes (LSP), and the assessment of Language for Academic Purposes (LAP).

#### *Program Learner Outcomes Assessment*

Beginning with external outcomes assessment regimes of content knowledge (e.g., in key subject matters areas under the NCLB legislation), one response from the US testing community has been in terms of accommodation. Thus Abedi (2004) shows that modification of non-content vocabulary and linguistic structures while retaining the task and terminology of the test enabled limited English proficiency (LEP) students consistently to show higher performance. Similarly Butler and Stevens (2001), questioning the validity of the assessment results of commercially developed large-scale content assessment of ELL/ESL students, modified both the form of tests and test procedures. For them such modifications include the possibility of testing in the L1.

However, such recommendations would not merely change the tests themselves. They also affect the very definition of such ubiquitous terms as ELL, LEP, bilingual student, even academic language use and, by implication, how curricular content knowledge and knowledge of a first or second language should be related to each other in educative assessment. Thus, the finding in Stevens, Butler, and Castellon-Wellington (2000) of only modest correlations between the language and performance of seventh-grade ELLs on two tests, a language proficiency test based on the widely used Language Assessment Scales (LAS) and a standardized test used in the assessment of social studies knowledge within the Iowa Tests of Basic Skills (ITBS), points to

serious shortcomings in the conceptualization and realization in testing practice of the term ‘academic language.’ Specifically, “the language of the LAS is less complex, more discrete and decontextualized, and more limited in its range of grammatical constructions than the language of the ITBS” (19). Accordingly, Butler et al. (2004) highlight the need for operationalizing academic language across different data sources to provide a more solid basis for test development. Following evidence-based methodology they systematically collected evidence for the nature of academic language from three data sources—national and local standards documents, textbooks, and a short excerpt from a classroom video—and analyzed these materials. One may question their structure-based operationalization of academic language (e.g., in terms of average sentence length, average length of noun phrases, and frequency of embedded clauses within a sentence) and their approach to lexical analysis (in terms of frequency of words with three or more syllables, frequency of morphologically derived words, and percent of words that are low frequency according to both general and fifth-grade corpus collections). But their specification of grammatical and lexical features begins to chart a way toward specifying the kinds of language features that are necessary for validly assessing content knowledge (e.g., in the area of reading), and demonstrates how, on that basis, one might develop prototype test specifications and prototype tasks. At the same time, the recently Revised PreK-12 English Language Proficiency Standards developed under the auspices of TESOL retain a purely functional approach. The new document considers four content areas (language arts, mathematics, science, and social studies), differentiates five proficiency levels (from “starting up” to “bridging over”), and includes the four language modalities. But, in the absence of a specification of the kind of language resources L2 learners will need to express and interpret these content areas, teachers and assessment specialists most likely will continue to find it difficult to develop appropriate forms of assessing and evaluating content knowledge *in terms of* an L2.

### *Assessing Content in Language for Academic Purposes Programs*

While this volume separately addresses both the assessment of language for academic purposes (LAP) and the assessment of language of the workplace and language for special purposes (LSP), these two areas are also central to the assessment of content. Thus, Douglas (2005) highlights the necessity of including nonlinguistic elements, specifically background knowledge, in the definition and assessment criteria of LSP. Because that makes it difficult to distinguish LSP assessment from general language assessment that includes situational

features (as the 1996 Bachman-Palmer model does) Douglas recommends that we “interpret test performance in terms of a composite construct of specific purpose language ability that includes both specific purpose language knowledge and field specific content knowledge” (p. 860).

Addressing the same dilemma, Jacoby and McNamara (1999) recommend the inclusion of the “indigenous criteria used in the specialist community: in the study in question, the physicists’ criteria all relate in some way to the communicative challenges set by the genre of the multimodal scientific report and the task of performing such a report before a live audience” (p. 233), that is, they are “inextricably intertwined with the content, argumentation structure, and multimodality of a physics conference presentation” (p. 234). The authors make a dual recommendation for an ethnographic and discourse analytical approach to capture the embeddedness of specialist knowledge within a particular discourse community in ways that can inform testing practices. By comparison, Bhatia (2004) takes a strong genre perspective in his analysis of language use in business, law, and the sciences. He finds both text-organizational and lexicogrammatical stabilities in the genres in question (i.e., “generic integrity”) and also diverse border crossings (e.g., the infomercial or the advertorial in the marketing world). At the same time, forms of language use in the profession are also a fundamentally important expression of identity. Taken together, these findings identify important challenges and also chart possible routes for obtaining the kind of information about language use in professional context that is necessary for the assessment of content knowledge in an L2.

Finally, the extent to which the field is still looking for consensus in these matters can be seen in Clapham’s (2000) recommendation to abandon altogether an English for Specific Academic Purposes category of tests in favor of testing general academic ability. In her proposal what she calls “specific samples of English grammar” (p. 519) would be bolstered by “aptitude tests to find out whether L1 and L2 students would be capable of rapidly acquiring the requisite academic discourse practices once they had embarked on their academic courses” (p. 511). In other words, her approach privileges language-based features, as contrasted with environmental features of language use such as those identified by Bhatia or Jacoby and McNamara, in order to capture fundamental aspects of academic language abilities in relation to content knowledge.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Building on this kind of ferment in the assessment of content, work in progress probes these matters even more deeply. In an internal critique

of the prevailing communicative competence model and its consequences for assessment, Widdowson (2001) points to a fundamental flaw in the Hymes model and its extension by Canale and Swain: it fails to specify the relationship between these components in actual performance. According to Widdowson, by proliferating the number of categories in their assessment model, Bachman and Palmer only exacerbate matters. Rather than basing assessment on a psycholinguistically conceived notion of competence that inheres in learners, Widdowson suggests that the construct of 'knowing a language'—and by implication being able to use language to interpret and convey content—might be more appropriately expressed in terms of a 'meaning potential', a notion he adopts from Halliday's meaning-oriented systemic-functional theory of language (SFL). That would involve directing attention to identifying salient features in language in functional terms, with an eye toward establishing a strong implicational value or high probabilities for them in certain environments of language use; in other words, a way of explicitly linking form and meaning, or language and content.

Just such an approach was taken in the teaching of language and content and the assessing of content and language abilities in a disadvantaged school district in Sydney where learners' educational progress in the content mandated by the curriculum was at stake and needed to be documented (cf. Christie and Martin, 1997; Rothery, 1996). Using the theoretical framework of Hallidayan systemic functional linguistics (SFL) with its strong emphasis on meaning, assessment of content begins with the notion that language, like other semiotic systems, resides within social activities. Extensive research has uncovered patterned relationships between those meaning- and content-oriented social activities and language forms at all levels of the language system, from the textual to the lexicogrammatical level. For that reason such a theory seems well suited to supporting a principled approach to the *assessment of content within L2 language environments*. Furthermore, in as much as these patterns have been elaborated not only for English but also for other European and non-European languages, they can help set the stage for a much-needed expansion of the discussion surrounding the assessment of content in assessment practice.

Specifically, the constructs of register and genre, as elaborated by SFL, take on an important role: they can provide textually- and meaning-oriented, rather than sententially- and formally-oriented ways of analyzing language. Thus, Rothery (1996) investigated the language forms that characterize diverse genres of schooling in the sciences, history, and English, differentiating major genre types according to precise linguistic features. She demonstrated that, even if it refers to the same classroom scientific experiment, the 'content' of a text is different when it lists procedures or when it is presented as a lab report that links

the activities to principles valued in the scientific community. If that is so, the extent to which learners' own language use echoes that fact is one way of assessing content knowledge as socially and linguistically construed.

However, because content knowledge in an L2 learning environment is even more a developmental matter than is the case for native language instruction, content assessment would benefit from principles that identify how content and language abilities develop simultaneously in language learning. Coming from instructional practice, and using the construct of genre as typified rhetorical action—that is, content and language being intimately intertwined—Rothery proposes how one might imagine such a movement in the middle school years within the macro-genre of narratives (p. 112). A sophisticated awareness of such progressions would be one way of relating content assessment to learner development. Furthermore, disciplinary genres as structured ways of presenting information in specific content areas might offer a particularly favorable environment for dynamic forms of assessing content, knowledge, and meaning in all modalities.

By exploring the relation between instruction and assessment (see also the recommendations in Norris, 2006; Shohamy, 2006), a genre-based approach might foster the translation of educational tasks that link content and textual language into assessment tasks. As Macken and Slade (1993) summarize, (1) assessment should be a linguistically principled procedure; (2) there is a need to be explicit about the kinds of language resources learners require for performing tasks in different disciplinary contexts; (3) a language-oriented metalanguage facilitates the performance of tasks in particular subjects; and (4) achievement must be linked to specific criteria in different assessment tasks. When content and language are specified in relation to each other content-oriented assessment might be embraced by both teachers and assessment specialists.

Taking these insights from an L1 to an L2 context and from the K-12 environment into collegiate FL education, the curricular project *Developing Multiple Literacies* in the German Department at Georgetown University developed elaborated statements about language features in genres that instantiate the content areas addressed within its integrated genre-based and task-oriented curriculum (see Byrnes, Crane, Maxim, and Sprang, 2006). That effort had both instructional and assessment implications. In the context of writing development and assessment, Byrnes (2002) reports on three interrelated criterial areas. Task performance was expressed through breadth of obligatory and optional genre moves; task content was conceptualized in terms of depth of information provided in each of these moves; and the nature of task language was conceptualized as the quality of language use at the discourse, sentence, and lexicogrammatical level in line with genre expectations.

For example, the final writing task in the fourth semester of an intensive sequence, requires students to prepare the script for a speech to be delivered at a German Rotary Club meeting: they are to argue, either pros or cons, about the comparability between federalist or state-oriented tendencies in the creation of the US constitution and similar issues in the creation of the EU constitution. Assessment guidelines for content state the need to establish the reason for their stance regarding comparability in the first place, to present three to five specific areas that explicate that stance by comparing the situation in the young US with that in the current EU, supported by passages from four previously read texts, and to offer concluding recommendations that might sensibly and sensitively be made by an American guest speaker. Linked to the requirements of the genre public speech in a cross-cultural environment and its registerial and lexicogrammatical expectations, assessment of content is thus, simultaneously and explicitly, tied to features of language that are appropriate for the genre's realization.

Yet another extension of SFL explores how the content-language link can be explored through logico-semantic knowledge structures (KS) that reflect the macrostructures of the expository texts of that situation (cf. Mohan, 1989, p. 103) in their particular language forms. On the theoretical side KSs include classification, principles, and evaluation; on the practice side, an activity includes KSs like description, time, sequence, and choice. Mohan and Huang (2002) illustrate how such an approach can elevate the beginning-level classroom activity of discussing daily routines in a primary school Chinese classroom to an early exploration of such genres as report, recount, description, and procedure genres. While the authors do not specifically address assessment of content they state that "it was possible to see how these learners constructed sequence and classification discourses differently . . . in other words, we assess the use of language as a resource for meaning" (p. 430).

Similarly, Mohan (1998) suggests a content- and meaning-focused reorientation for assessment through oral interviews such as the OPI. Rather than ascertaining what speakers can say, it is more insightful to probe what speakers can mean, particularly when an oral interview is understood as co-constructed between the interviewer and the candidate, a stance that is akin to principles of dynamic assessment (see Lantolf and Poehner, *Dynamic Assessment*, Volume 7): in that case the candidate approaches a content area with a particular kind of knowledge structure and the interviewer follows up by probing its development on the part of the candidate. Assessment then establishes at what depth and breadth the candidate is able to pursue, through language use, the content and meaning opportunities this presents.

Finally, in the increasingly important area of heritage language education, contributions in Schleppegrell and Colombi (2002) show how an explicitly textual and functional approach can enable adult ESL and heritage learners to acquire the language abilities necessary for academic level work. Expanding this approach to the language of schooling in general, Schleppegrell (2004) presents grammar as a meaning-making resource that expresses ideational and interpersonal meanings. More important, she identifies various linguistic means (see Chapter 3) used in different disciplinary areas to establish coherence and cohesion of argument. For a textually oriented understanding of the nature of academic language, her detailed look at school genres and their register features (Chapter 4) constitutes valuable work in progress for furthering the assessment of content.

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

While the previous sections provided brief glimpses of difficulties encountered in the assessment of content in an L2 environment, this section addresses them more directly. The focus is on larger conceptual concerns.

The most obvious and most consequential difficulty lies in the fact that the L2 community cannot as yet readily draw on a theory of language that places meaning and content in the center of its interests and, therefore, its conceptual apparatus and its analytical procedures. That fact has not only made it difficult to specify the link between language form and content, it has also meant that sophisticated assessment practice has been directed elsewhere. Thus, even though the recent sociocultural turn in applied linguistics, the impact of cognitive semantic linguistics, and functionally oriented L2 programs have begun to expand the field's conceptual framework in a way that would make content-oriented assessment more likely, to date only sporadic work exists that explicitly targets the implications of that reorientation for assessment practice in classrooms, much less for large-scale assessment of content.

Second, and related to the previous concern, what is needed are dynamic forms of assessment in line with the dynamic nature of the shaping of content through language. Shohamy (2006) has highlighted what such a dynamic approach might look like in the context of advanced language learning. With regard to the assessment of content knowledge a similar approach that acknowledges that language performance is not individually owned but fundamentally socially construed and passed on through discourse communities may be advantageous. Through a socially based understanding of knowing and learning it might be possible to shape a criterion domain for content learning that could suitably underpin content assessment.

Third, a social semiotic understanding of context and culture in relation to language as exemplified through the construct of genre might also expand how classroom practitioners and assessment specialists can imagine what aspects of content knowledge can be assessed in an L2 setting and what aspects are outside of its proper domain. For example, within SFL the context of culture is related to language as a system of meaning potentialities; context of situation leads to specific instances of language use in specific texts (Halliday, 1999b). Such a theory of meaning relations may be necessary for recognizing the importance of context and for harnessing it for plausible approaches to assessment.

Fourth, combining and extending these aspects, the assessment of content requires a language-based theory of knowing and learning that addresses characteristics of literate language use in all modalities. The issue is not the assessment of content in and of itself, but the assessment of content knowledge in various disciplines, professions, and areas of knowledge in relation to what we call literate L2 language abilities. That means recognizing and understanding educational knowledge as shaped through language that fundamentally differs from language used to transact life's tasks in, for example, social encounters or to seek or provide information—areas of language use that have dominated communicatively oriented educational practice.

Finally, L2 learners are expected, over time, to approximate the abilities of the L1 user in diverse academic, institutional, and professional contexts with their respective content foci. That necessitates a conceptual framework for language-based knowing that shifts from social, interactional, and oral language use to literate language use. To specify that shift, SFL identifies two ways of making sense of the world: what is referred to as a congruent form of semiosis that makes meaning of our experiences in commonsense ways by highlighting functions, processes, and flow, is distinct from a noncongruent form of semiosis that foregrounds structure and stasis and literally reconstrues our world through texts. Developed very much under the influence of education, a key linguistic tool for that second form is grammatical metaphor (Halliday, 1999a, pp. 80–84.). Diverse linguistic phenomena, but particularly nominalization and its consequences for the construal of reality *in language forms*, thus become central features of what educational jargon frequently calls higher-order thinking. Inasmuch as content assessment requires tapping into this form of semiosis as part of academic language abilities, detailed understanding of the phenomenon is crucial. For example: a discussion of weather is fundamentally reshaped in its content whether it is expressed congruently by saying that “in summer it rains a lot” or stated congruently, in terms of general qualities, functions, and categories within a scientific framework, such as in “the frequency of precipitation during the summer months.”

## FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Returning to the three prominent environments for assessing content, the following future directions might enable the young field of content assessment to gain an intellectual and practical foothold.

Classroom-oriented instructional assessment is likely to have the greatest flexibility regarding whether, how, and for what purposes content will be incorporated into assessment practices. This appears true for ESL as well as FL contexts. At the same time, ESL contexts and FL instruction in the primary grades can be expected to be influenced by the extraordinary power of standardized assessment. For the foreseeable future that influence is likely to be constrictive rather than expansive, thereby attenuating what is otherwise the greater creativity of classroom-based assessment, particularly when teachers tackle the task of creating assessment instruments collaboratively. At the same time, its difficulties notwithstanding, externally mandated assessment might well foster innovative approaches to what constitutes academic language in the middle school and upper school years.

By contrast, inasmuch as FL education, particularly at the secondary level, is largely bound to textbooks, the assessment of content will require special initiatives on the part of teachers or program administrators. At the tertiary level favorable program size and institutional context and ethos can spur innovative approaches to content assessment, perhaps within internationally-oriented programs and heritage learner tracks. A potential boost to the assessment of content might also come from various professional and licensing demands, as an international and globalized environment increasingly makes them (e.g., the demands for recognition of degree programs and licenses within the European Union). Even so, the majority of faculty members in collegiate language programs around the world have little interest in the assessment of content in terms of language knowledge. Those that do, among them those concerned with business courses or courses for heritage speakers, are often isolated from professional discussion that might enable them to venture into the assessment of content in an informed and creative way.

Developments for standardized approaches to the assessment of content can be presumed to make further inroads into specifying the nature of academic language. As shown in the Butler et al. study, some directions for further research are already being charted. Absent a comprehensive meaning-oriented theory of language, that route may be arduous and circuitous. But an evidence-based methodology, particularly when its evidence is capaciously conceived, should be able to uncover patterned links between functions and language forms in textual environments that address disciplinary content.

Such a bottom-up approach can be complemented by the work of an increasingly critical group of assessment specialists, who are questioning many of the constructs of assessment. Though they have, to this point, not explicitly addressed the assessment of content, their probing into such central concepts as the generalizability of assessments and their findings, the role of validity in language testing, the fixity of the construct of language performance and, by extension, the notion of variation in different social contexts, should create increasingly favorable environments for the assessment of content.

The insights gained in LAP and LSP assessment, the initiatives toward dynamic assessment, an orientation toward capacity rather than competence or performance, the urgent need to consider the special qualities of advancedness (see Shohamy, 2006), and greater interest in literacy assessment—all these developments permit a cautious optimism about future developments in the assessment of content and language.

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ASSESSING COMMUNICATIVE LANGUAGE ABILITY:  
MODELS AND THEIR COMPONENTS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines various approaches to the assessment of communicative language ability (CLA) by discussing their starting points—the models of language ability used to generate second language (L2) assessments. It also brings to the forefront the ongoing discussion about what components comprise CLA and how learning and assessment can be differentially affected by these components.

In the quest to understand the nature of CLA and how second or foreign (L2) language knowledge can be used successfully to communicate a variety of meanings in different social and academic contexts, language testing researchers have proposed an array of theoretical models of L2 ability as a basis for assessment. Some of these models (e.g., Bachman and Palmer, 1996; Canale and Swain, 1980; Chapelle 1998; Douglas, 2000; Purpura, 2004) explicitly represent the components of the L2 ability construct along with their presumed interrelationships. Examples of knowledge components specified in these models include, among others, grammatical knowledge, lexical knowledge, discourse knowledge, sociolinguistic knowledge, and pragmatic knowledge. These models aim to reflect the most scientifically credible ways in which learners represent L2 knowledge and the ability to use this knowledge for communication. These models also aim to provide a broad theoretical basis for the definition of CLA in creating and interpreting language tests in a variety of language use settings. Rather than providing a prescription for test development, they represent potential targets of assessment that can be adapted to a range of test purposes and contexts—while at the same time, sharing certain common principles with a unifying framework.

In another approach to assessing CLA, the components of language ability are derived not so much from empirical research or a theoretical model of language ability, but from the opinions of experts with first-hand experience teaching the local curricula and assessing student performance. These experts are believed to have clear ideas about the knowledge and skills needed for successful communication in the target language. In this approach, curriculum and assessment standards are often developed to describe levels of student achievement without

explicit guidance of learning theories or models of language proficiency, or the systematic empirical inquiry needed to verify these standards and their use.

This approach was used, for example, to construct the *ESL Standards for Pre-K-12 Students* (TESOL, 1997). Based on eight working principles of language acquisition identified by language experts, this framework outlines the goals, performance levels and descriptors of the behaviors underlying each standard, and observable indicators of how progress on these standards might be assessed. In other words, these standards for achievement aim to specify, in a generalized way, what learners should be able to do with the language at different proficiency levels within a given grade level. The emphasis is on language use (i.e., “request information and assistance”), with little explicit mention of the components of the language or their role as a resource for achieving successful communication. For example, Goal 1, Standard 2 involves the ability to: “Use English to communicate in social settings. Students will interact in, through and with spoken and written English for personal expression and enjoyment” (p. 31). To meet this standard, an intermediate student in Grade 2 should then be able to “ask WH questions about types of books and storylines from peers” (p. 31). When it comes to assessing levels of proficiency within each standard, however, the components of the L2 knowledge (especially lexis, syntax, and cohesion) are explicitly identified.

Similar to the TESOL Standards, the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFR) (Council of Europe, 2001) represents another attempt to specify, in a generalized way, what learners need to know and be able to do with the language at various proficiency levels. According to the authors, the CERF was based on a set of general competencies (e.g., sociocultural knowledge, intercultural awareness) and a set of language-specific competencies (e.g., linguistic, sociolinguistic, and pragmatic) required for successful L2 communication. For example, the CERF descriptor for overall oral production at C2, the highest proficiency level, states that students “can produce clear, smoothly flowing, well-structured speech with an effective logical structure which helps the recipient to notice and remember significant points” (p. 58). While not explicitly noted in the framework, the first part of this descriptor for this standard clearly aims to tap into a component of L2 knowledge (discourse knowledge).

In yet another approach to assessing CLA, the components of language ability are not so much defined in terms of the formal elements of language knowledge (e.g., grammatical or pragmatic), but rather in terms of how language is used in the context of a language skill (listening, reading, writing, speaking). For example, the *Internet-Based Test of English as a Foreign Language* (ETS, 2005) claims to measure both

the ability to communicate in academic settings and readiness to pursue academic coursework by assessing all four skills. This test measures these components through both independent and integrated tasks. In other words, listening ability is measured separately in some tasks and in others it is assessed together with speaking and/or writing ability.

In each approach to characterizing CLA, separate components of the L2 construct have been identified, either explicitly or implicitly, with the assumption that each component can to some degree be isolated, taught, and assessed independent of the other components, if needed, or each component can be measured in combination with other components. The notion of ‘separate’ and ‘integrated’ reflects the beliefs that a student’s L2 knowledge and ability in one component can be expected to change as a function of deliberate study (Carroll, 1993) or other learning conditions (e.g., exposure) (Kunnan, 1995), while her knowledge and ability in another component may remain stable. It also suggests that her knowledge and ability in one component (e.g., grammatical form) can develop at a different rate and to a different extent from her knowledge and ability in another (e.g., semantic meaning) (Purpura, 2004), and that her L2 knowledge and ability in one component may vary as a function of their interaction with her knowledge and ability of another. Finally, it implies that her L2 knowledge and ability in one component may fluctuate across the contextual attributes of test or language use tasks (Chapelle, 1998).

Currently, most researchers (e.g., Chalhoub-Deville, 1997, 2003; Kunnan, 1998) generally endorse the claim that CLA is multicomponential. This has framed how assessment is organized in both classroom and large-scale assessment contexts. Researchers have not, however, reached a consensus on the specific components that constitute CLA. Some define them in terms of the formal elements of the language, others in terms of standards, and still others in terms of the language skills. Researchers also do not agree on how knowledge of these components is organized in the mind, how the components interact, how learners develop conceptual understanding of these components over time, or how knowledge might develop differentially with diverse learners under different conditions. A related question for assessment researchers concerns whether these discrete components of CLA should be assessed independently or together in the context of performing meaningful social and academic activities. In this chapter, I attempt to shed some light on these issues.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Influenced by theories of behaviorism and structural linguistics, Lado (1961) posited a “skills-and-elements” model of L2 proficiency that

specified three elements (a.k.a. components) of language knowledge (i.e., phonology, structure, and the lexicon) that could be assessed separately in the context of four language skills (i.e., listening, reading, speaking, and writing). In other words, testers could design tasks to assess each discrete component through one or more skills. For example, in the *Comprehensive English Language Test* (Harris and Palmer, 1970), lexical knowledge was tested in the context of listening activities. L2 proficiency was then inferred by the sum of the component scores for each skill.

Following Lado, Carroll (1968) proposed a skills-and-components model of proficiency including phonology and orthography, grammar (morphology and syntax), and lexis to be measured through the same four skills. Carroll, however, argued that the assessment of language by “discrete-point” tasks (i.e., those which attempt to isolate and measure the formal knowledge components separately) needed to be complemented by integrative tasks (i.e., those which assess the capacity to use several components of language knowledge at the same time—usually while performing some real-life task). Carroll’s work had widespread influence in the field, providing a basis for the design of the first TOEFL, which included both discrete-point and integrative tasks.

Influenced by Carroll’s (1968) call for integrative tasks, Oller (1979) rejected Lado’s skills-and-components approach in favor of a view of proficiency as one unitary global trait underlying L2 performance. He defined this trait in terms of “pragmatic expectancy grammar,” which refers to a learner’s ability to “relate sequences of linguistic elements via pragmatic mappings to the extralinguistic context” (p. 38). This definition of ‘grammar’ thus embodied not only grammatical form (involving phonology, lexis, and morphosyntax) on the sentence and discourse levels, but also involved grammatical form on a pragmatic level through extralinguistic reference elicited by the suppliance of language, appropriate for a particular context. Given this unitary view of language proficiency, Oller argued that one integrative task (e.g., the dictation or cloze) could be interpreted as a measure of language ability if it were administered under normal time constraints.

Oller’s (1979) claims generated much debate and numerous empirical studies on the nature of language ability (see Oller, 1983; Oller and Jonz, 1994), and eventually, the strong version of unitary trait hypothesis was rejected in favor of a multicomponential depiction of language ability. Oller’s hypothesis was refuted on the basis of both analytic flaws in the use of factor analysis (Vollmer and Sang, 1983) and on findings from empirical studies which examined the factorial structure of language knowledge (e.g., Bachman and Palmer, 1982; Harley, Allen, Cummins, and Swain, 1990; Sasaki, 1996). In each study, a multicomponential model of knowledge was better supported by data, with

results showing that language knowledge consisted of a general higher order factor along with several distinct factors.

In sum, while researchers are less likely to agree on the specific nature of the components of L2 ability and their interaction, they have accepted claims of a multicomponential model of language ability. As a result, the days of constructing assessments of language ability solely by means of discrete-point tasks of grammatical knowledge or discrete-point tasks of grammatical knowledge elicited through the skills are long gone. Most current assessments of language ability measure multiple components of L2 knowledge, whether these components are defined in terms of the formal elements of the L2 or in terms of the language skills, or both.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Inspired by Hymes' (1971) theoretical descriptions of language use, Canale and Swain (1980) and later Canale (1983) proposed a multicomponential model of communicative competence consisting of grammatical, sociolinguistic, discourse, and strategic competence (i.e., defined as compensatory communication strategies). This model refuted Chomsky's (1965) notion of competence for failing to account for the sociolinguistic appropriateness of utterances expressed in context. Canale and Swain's widely accepted model of communicative competence significantly broadened our understanding of the L2 ability construct by specifying features of grammatical form alongside other components of communicative competence. While empirical investigation found only partial support in the data for this model (Harley, Allen, Cummins, and Swain, 1990), Canale and Swain's model is credited today for providing the main theoretical framework underlying communicative language teaching and testing.

Building on the work of Canale and Swain (1980) and that of others, Bachman (1990) and later Bachman and Palmer (1996) proposed a multicomponential model of CLA that provided the most comprehensive conceptualization of language ability of the time. This model specified both the linguistic and nonlinguistic components of CLA underlying language use. In this model, a test taker's language knowledge, along with his topical knowledge (e.g., knowledge of facts) and personal characteristics, is hypothesized to interact with his strategic competence (i.e., defined as metacognitive strategies) and his affect. These components, in turn, interact with the characteristics of the language-use or test-task situation. In other words, language ability, consisting of both language knowledge and strategic competence, interacts with what an interlocutor knows about the topic, his personal characteristics, and the attributes of the language-use context.

In Bachman and Palmer's (1996) model, language knowledge consists of two general interacting components: (i) *organizational knowledge*, or how individuals control language to produce grammatically correct utterances and texts, and (ii) *pragmatic knowledge*, or how individuals communicate meaning and how they produce contextually appropriate utterances, sentences, and texts. Organizational knowledge is further divided into *grammatical knowledge* (e.g., knowledge of vocabulary, syntax, and phonology/graphology) and on the discourse level, *textual knowledge* (e.g., knowledge of cohesion, rhetorical organization, and conversational organization). Pragmatic knowledge is defined in terms of *functional knowledge* (i.e., knowledge of how to use organizational resources to communicate language functions) and *sociolinguistic knowledge* (i.e., knowledge of how organizational resources relate to features of the language-use context). This model is considered by many (e.g., Alderson and Banerjee, 2002) to represent the current state-of-the-art, and has been a resource for test development in numerous assessment contexts such as the *Test of Spoken English* (published by the Educational Testing Service).

Despite its currency, the Bachman and Palmer model has not been without its caveats. McNamara (1990) claimed that this model may be somewhat difficult to fully apply in the implementation of performance tests since raters may disproportionately assign importance to one component of language knowledge on a scoring rubric (e.g., grammatical resources) over that of another (pragmatic appropriateness). Also, Purpura (2004) contended that given the central role of 'meaning' in CLA, the Bachman and Palmer model would be strengthened by a theoretical definition of 'meaning' and a clearer explanation of how grammatical resources can be used to convey literal and intended meaning on the one hand and a range of pragmatic meanings (e.g., sociocultural meanings or psychological meanings) on the other. Finally, Chapelle (1998), taking an "interactionist" perspective to construct definition, argued that models of L2 ability in which the construct is defined from a trait perspective (e.g., Bachman and Palmer's model), would benefit from an examination of the construct from a behaviorist perspective, where the relevant attributes of context, credited for influencing variation in response patterns, are carefully specified as part of the construct. Chapelle states that: "Trait components can no longer be defined in context-independent, absolute terms, and contextual features cannot be defined without reference to their impact on underlying characteristics" (p. 43). However, according to Douglas (2000), this is a controversial position since it implies that language knowledge would change from one domain of language use to that of another. Influenced by Chapelle and others, Chalhoub-Deville (2003) argued for a "social interactional" perspective to L2 construct representation, asserting that

by maintaining a separation of the language use situation and the abilities underlying performance, the Bachman and Palmer model failed to account for how a person's CLA might be mediated by the characteristics of context, where knowledge construction is "contextual, culturally embedded, and socially mediated." While Chalhoub-Deville's views on a close consideration of context resonate with language testers, it is unclear how a "social interactional" perspective to L2 construct representation is feasible in large-scale testing situations since elements of context (e.g., the interlocutors, topics) might vary considerably within an assessment context. At issue then is which sources of variability due to context are considered construct-relevant or construct-irrelevant, and how do we make theoretical sense of empirical data beyond the local context? In other words, if the characteristics of assessment tasks (and context) are not, to some extent, controlled so as to provide observation consistencies, then a test might actually be sampling different aspects of CLA for each individual. This complicates how testers can then use such performance samples to generalize about an individual's CLA beyond a particular assessment context to broader domains of language use, and how these assessments might be interpreted with relation to a theoretical model of the construct? On the other hand, in the context of performance assessment in educational contexts, Upshur and Turner (1999) remind us that a one-size-fits-all, construct-only approach to assessing complex performance may mask the influences that task demand (i.e., context) and discourse may have on how raters interpret rating scales in the assessment of CLA. As Upshur and Turner show, our understanding of "how particular aspects of method [e.g., context] affect discourse, how those discourse differences are then reflected in ratings, and how task features influence the basis of judgment" (p. 82) is still woefully lacking.

In my opinion, these theoretical positions should not be viewed as competitive. Instead, they should be seen as aspects of each position that can be combined to generate a more complete picture of CLA for assessment purposes.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Since Bachman and Palmer put forward their model of CLA, some researchers have proposed modifications or extensions to it; others have explored alternative perspectives on the components of language ability. I discuss this work in this section.

Influenced by Chapelle's (1998) "interactionist" perspective of L2 construct definition and Clapham's (1996) work on the relationship between background knowledge and language ability, Douglas (2000) proposed an interesting modification of Bachman and Palmer's model

to account for specific purpose language use. His goal was to understand how language ability interacts with test takers' special purpose background knowledge by means of their strategic competence (i.e., their cognitive and metacognitive strategies). In the context of language for specific purpose assessment, and arguably in a wide range of other language assessment contexts, test takers' background knowledge in some contextual domain is inextricably related to how they construct responses in the target language. Therefore, unlike in Bachman or Palmer's model, where topical knowledge may or may not be a part of the L2 ability construct, depending on the purpose of the exam, in Douglas' view background knowledge is defined as a component part of the specific purpose language ability construct (alongside language knowledge and strategic competence). Douglas also argued convincingly that under some conditions (i.e., test takers at the intermediate level of proficiency reading texts with a high level of specificity), specific purpose language performance is strongly influenced by background knowledge. Consequently, he maintained, language testers interested in measuring language through content must understand the contextual conditions impacting test performance, so that the relevant contextual features can be clearly accounted for in test design and in test score interpretation, and not, as others might have it, as part of the L2 knowledge construct.

In another extension of Bachman and Palmer's model, Purpura (2004) addressed the ambiguous role of 'meaning' and 'meaning conveyance' in CLA. He proposed a model of language knowledge with two interacting components: grammatical knowledge and pragmatic knowledge. *Grammatical knowledge* embodies two highly related underlying dimensions: grammatical form and semantic meaning. *Grammatical form* accounts for knowledge of several possible forms at the sentence and discourse levels (e.g., phonological or graphological, lexical, morphosyntactic, cohesive, information managerial, and interactional forms). The individual components of grammatical form can, in some assessment contexts, be assessed separately in terms of grammatical *accuracy* or *precision*, or, as is often the case in performance-based tasks, grammatical form can be assessed globally. *Semantic meaning* (also referred to as 'grammatical meaning') encompasses "the literal and intended meaning of an utterance derived both from the meanings of the words arranged in syntax and the way in which the words are used to convey the speaker's [propositional] intention" (p. 74) in a given context. Semantic meaning is often the default meaning when utterances lack sufficient context for extension, such as in single-sentence grammar tests, or in reading tests that, according to Alderson (2004), focus on "reading the line" and not "reading between or beyond the lines." Semantic meaning accounts for knowledge

of several possible meanings at the sentence and discourse levels (e.g., phonological or graphological, lexical, morphosyntactic, cohesive, information managerial, and interactional meanings). Similar to grammatical form, the individual components of semantic meaning can, in some assessment contexts, be assessed separately in terms of the phonological/graphological, lexical, morphosyntactic, cohesive, information managerial, and interactional meaning conveyed by one or more forms, or as is commonly the case in performance assessments, semantic meaning can be assessed globally in terms of *meaningfulness*, or the student's ability to use grammatical resources to communicate ideas. The assumption underlying the form and meaning dimensions is that L2 learners may know the meaning, but not the form (e.g., \*I shutting the window), or may know the form, but not the exact meaning (e.g., when a Spanish speaker says: "I'm *assisting* class" for "I'm *attending* class").

*Pragmatic knowledge* in Purpura's model refers to knowledge structures that enable learners to understand or communicate meanings *beyond* what is explicitly expressed by the grammatical forms and their literal meanings. For example, a person wanting a window shut has several ways of expressing this request:

1. "Shut the window!"
2. "Can you shut the window?"
3. "Would you mind shutting the window?"
4. "I'm cold."

In the first example, the speaker's intended meaning of the utterance (a request) can be derived from the literal meaning of the words arranged in syntax. In the second and third sentences, the intention can be derived from the literal meaning of the words once the hearer understands the speaker is not asking a question *in this context*, but making a request. Until then, the meaning is potentially ambiguous, and may be lost on L2 learner's ears. In the fourth sentence, however, the speaker's intended meaning can *only* be derived by an extension of the literal meaning of the words in association with the context. In short, pragmatic knowledge involves the ability to understand and use context to map a range of contextual, sociolinguistic, sociocultural, psychological, or rhetorical meanings onto the grammatical and semantic resources of an utterance. Each of the four response choices simultaneously encodes one or more possible implied meanings depending on interpersonal relationships of the interlocutors (sociolinguistic meaning), their emotional and attitudinal stance (psychological meaning), their presuppositions about what is known to each other (contextual meaning), and the norms and expectations of interaction in this setting (sociocultural meaning). Again, the underlying assumption is that the components of pragmatic knowledge can be assessed separately

in terms of the contextual, sociolinguistic, sociocultural, psychological, or rhetorical *appropriateness, acceptability, naturalness, or conventionality* of the utterances, or the components of pragmatic knowledge can be assessed in combination.

Chang (2004) investigated the relationships between the grammatical and pragmatic components of L2 knowledge by studying 682 students' performance on a test of English relative clauses. His test included items designed to measure knowledge of relative clause forms and their semantic meanings on the one hand, and knowledge of how the forms were used to convey pragmatic meanings of sociolinguistic formality on the other. Using covariance structure analysis to model the data, he found that knowledge of relative clause forms was very highly related to knowledge of the relative clause meanings ( $r = .93$ ), and that the ability to use these grammatical and semantic resources was highly related to the ability to convey sociolinguistic meanings of formality ( $r = .78$ ). In examining the difficulty order of the relative clauses, he found that when *only* the grammatical form was considered, the observed difficulty order for relative clauses followed, to some degree, the order predicted by Keenan and Comrie's (1977) noun-phrase accessibility hypothesis (NPAH); however, when both form and semantic meaning were modeled, the results strongly supported the NPAH, suggesting a more complex path to development—one that includes meaning.

Researchers interested in the language skills have explored alternative perspectives on the components of CLA. In the context of writing, Hamp-Lyons and Henning (1991) defined L2 writing ability in terms of communicative quality, organization, argumentation, language accuracy, and language appropriacy. Sasaki (2002) proposed a model of the major factors underlying L2 writing ability which included, among other components, composing processes; and Hinkel (2002) examined the grammatical (syntax and lexis) and rhetorical components of advanced writing achievement. In the context of reading, the componentiality of L2 reading comprehension has generated considerable research, theory and debate. Some researchers have argued against the divisibility of reading comprehension into discrete reading strategies, given the paucity of empirical support, either through the analysis of reading test items (e.g., Weir, 1997) or through expert judgments in content analyses (Alderson and Lukmani, 1989). Others (e.g., Grabe and Stoller, 2002; Lumley, 1993; Purpura, 1999; Weir, 1997) maintain that reading comprehension involves more than a single unitary trait. In fact, Rost (1993), examining the underlying structure of L1 reading, found that while general reading comprehension accounted for 55% of the variance, a second factor, vocabulary knowledge, accounted

for 35%. This pattern has been seen in many studies, thereby questioning the single factor depiction of reading ability.

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Testing researchers have devoted considerable attention to understanding the theoretical components of CLA. From these efforts they would generally agree that CLA is better seen as multicomponential and that the discrete components of CLA can develop differentially. They would also agree that the components of CLA can be difficult to operationalize in specific contexts and that the decision to assess one or more components at a time depends on the purpose of the test, the constraints in the testing context, and the inferences needed to be drawn from the scores. Finally, testers would concur that full empirical substantiation of the underlying models of these components can be complex (Harley, Allen, Cummins, and Swain, 1990). Contrarily, no consensus has been reached as to what exact components constitute a comprehensive model of CLA, how the components might interact, how the components of CLA are acquired and develop—alone or together, how knowledge of these components is organized in the test-taker's mind or how these knowledge representations generally change as test-takers advance along the interlanguage continuum, or how knowledge of these discrete components might integrate in ways that they can be used as resources for accomplishing meaningful activities under different conditions across diverse contexts. In short, much research still remains.

In assessing the discrete components of CLA, questions often arise as to whether the discrete components of language knowledge should be assessed 'independently' or whether they should be 'integrated' with other components and evaluated through meaningful, social, and academic activities. Despite blanket claims that the purpose of language learning is communicative and, therefore, should not be assessed as a set of unrelated bits, but rather as integrated (Oller, 1983) or that "assessment practices need to move beyond a focus on component skills and discrete bits of knowledge to encompass the more complex aspects of student achievement" (National Research Council, 2001, p. 3), I would argue that in choosing test method, language testers must defer to the purpose of the test, the contextual constraints of assessment, and the supposed claims we wish to make about what learners know and can do. Therefore, if the test purpose is to obtain information about only one discrete component of L2 knowledge, then, it is logically justified to assess that component in isolation—provided that inferences from the scores are appropriately limited. And if the test

purpose is to measure more than one component of L2 knowledge (e.g., accurate use of grammatical forms, meaningful conveyance of ideas, and contextually-appropriate pragmatic meanings) in the context of performing some integrated, meaningful activity, then, it is obviously reasonable to construct such a task.

The call for tests to forego the measurement of component skills and the discrete measurement of language bits for tests that elicit *only* complex aspects of student achievement is curious. In my opinion, both approaches provide complementary assessment information, especially if testers are serious about not only measuring, but also enhancing future learning. In assessing the components discretely, testers can better identify specific lacunae in a test-taker's understanding and use of a range of critical language knowledge features. This information should ultimately translate into targets of further instruction. In assessing the knowledge components together, testers can determine the extent to which test takers are successful in using these components as resources for effective communication.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Since the early 1960s, theoretical models of the components of CLA have broadened substantially, fostering empirical research and reflection on what it means to have CLA and on how to elicit demonstrations of CLA from test takers. They have also helped us make sense of evidence from observations to identify key sources of variability in assessments and to draw meaningful score-based inferences on what test takers know and can do in the L2. Our expanding knowledge of the components underlying CLA along with renewed conceptualizations of the L2 construct will hopefully promote new efforts in theory building along with empirical data to support them. However, the models of L2 proficiency posited thus far all suffer from one problem, I believe. They have generally been constructed in the absence of a strong connection to a theory of L2 learning and development, based on cognitive findings and SLA research. If the primary goals of assessment are to understand how students represent the components of L2 knowledge at any particular proficiency level, to use these components to perform meaningful activities in diverse contexts, and to develop expertise in these components, then new efforts in theory building must consider the learning perspective. According to the National Research Council (2001):

In any particular assessment application, a theory of learning in the domain is needed to identify the set of knowledge and skills that is important to measure for the task at hand,

whether that be characterizing the competencies students have acquired thus far or guiding instruction to increase learning (p. 44).

To date, few studies in language assessment have attempted to integrate theories of L2 proficiency with theories of learning and development. One exception to this Chang's (2004) which drew on SLA theory to construct a relative clause test and then used the data to compare the components of L2 knowledge from competing models of L2 ability. Also, Purpura (1999), drawing on a model of information processing to examine L2 strategy use, compared the impact of L2 strategy use on grammar and reading performance across high and low proficiency groups. Finally, Shin's (2005) study, while not technically rooted to a theory of cognition or SLA, examined development by investigating whether or not the components of L2 ability grew more or less differentiated as a function of proficiency level (beginning, intermediate, advanced).

Another promising way to investigate how models of CLA can be informed by a model of learning and development is to examine knowledge structures from research on expertise (National Research Council, 2001). In other words, testers might examine how expert users of the L2 components differ from novice users, not only in what they know about the L2, but also how they know it, how they are able to use this knowledge to perform a wide range of simple and complex tasks, and how this knowledge transfers when students are presented with new situations. An understanding of expert-novice differences in different language use contexts could highlight some of the critical features of the components of CLA and provide a more grounded basis for assessment at different proficiency levels.

With regard to future directions in assessing the components of CLA, remarkably little research has been devoted to the assessment of pragmatic knowledge. Research to date (e.g., Hudson, Detmer and Brown, 1995; Roever, 2000; Yamashita, 1996; Yoshitake, 1997) has concentrated on the assessment of pragmatic meanings rooted in contextual meanings (strategies to realize situationally-bound speech intentions) or in sociolinguistic meanings (knowledge of language use based on power, social distance or degrees of imposition), but has virtually ignored the assessment of pragmatic meanings based on psychological (e.g., stance and affect) and sociocultural meanings.

In the end, we still have much to learn about the components underlying CLA and how the assessment of these components, alone or in combination, can provide better information for not only determining whether or not learners have succeeded in meeting achievement standards, but also for providing specific information on which areas of a

component present particular challenges to individual learners, which need to be improved and which do not.

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## ASSESSMENT AT THE WORKPLACE

### INTRODUCTION

The assessment of second language skills at the workplace is an important part of Language for Specific Purposes (LSP), which is an established branch of applied linguistics. Within LSP a common distinction is made between languages for academic purposes and languages for occupational purposes. Assessments in language for academic purposes generally focus on whether students have the language skills to commence higher or vocational education whereas assessments in language for occupational purposes (or the workplace) are typically designed to assess whether an individual has the language skills to assume the relevant professional or vocational duties. Most well-known assessments of LSP are proficiency tests that aim to assess an individual's readiness to operate successfully in a particular academic or workplace setting. These tests are normally performance-based assessments in the sense that they require test-takers to achieve particular communicative functions rather than simply display their linguistic knowledge (Basturkmen and Elder, 2004). Workplace assessments in particular often include tasks designed to simulate the demands of particular real-world employment situations. The increased use of performance assessments in employment contexts can be understood as part of a global trend towards demonstrable outcomes of learning in concrete, practical and relevant skills (McNamara, 1996).

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Although LSP testing began in the first half of last century (see Spolsky, 1995, for early examples) major developments since the 1970s can be traced firstly, to the evolution of non-language based performance assessment in occupational contexts and secondly, to the rise of the concept of communicative competence (Hymes, 1967, 1972).

The field of occupational training and personnel selection provided the initial momentum for second language workplace testing through the development of practical tests. Jones (1979), for instance, identified the need for performance as opposed to knowledge (pencil-and-paper) assessments in personnel measurement. He recommended that the approach be extended to the testing of second language proficiency for people such as teachers, airline workers and medical graduates.

Later, Jones (1985) distinguished three main types of performance tests: (a) *direct assessments* involving observation of normal workplace behaviour; (b) *work sample methods* involving more standardised assessment of set tasks again at the workplace and (c) *simulation techniques* involving set tasks completed outside the workplace where performance on these tasks is used to predict performance on similar real-world tasks. The term *work sample tests* is now often used to include both work sample methods and simulation techniques. Jones (1985) recommended the following three stages in the development of work sample tests: (a) make a job analysis, (b) select tasks to represent the job and (c) develop a rating form. These stages have formed the basis of future test development work.

The use of performance assessments in second language contexts was greatly enriched by the theory of communicative language testing which provided a much-needed rationale for their use. Whereas there had been some work on performance assessment before the 1970s, the communicative testing era ushered in new theoretical perspectives on their use (see McNamara, 1996). This perspective was underpinned by the work of Hymes (1967, 1972) including his notion of sociolinguistic appropriateness but, more importantly, his model of language knowledge and language performance which included the abilities that underlie actual instances of communication. Hymes' introduction of the notion of communicative competence has had a far-reaching impact on the theory and practice of performance assessments in the workplace and elsewhere.

Possibly the first modern LSP test which attempted to tap communicative competence in either a workplace or academic setting was the *Temporary Registration Assessment Board* (TRAB), a test introduced in 1975 by the British General Medical Council for the purpose of evaluating the professional and language abilities of medical practitioners trained outside the UK who were applying for temporary registration to practice medicine in Britain (Rea-Dickins, 1987). The language component of the test consisted of a taped listening task, a written essay, and an oral interview in which both professional knowledge and language ability were assessed. All three sections were based on the analysis of the language used by doctors, nurses and patients in British hospitals. In addition, the language testing specialists worked with medical experts to construct the test. The test materials included richly contextualised features which promoted the engagement of the test-takers' language ability and background knowledge in the test tasks. The TRAB bore the essential features of modern LSP test development: analysis of the target language use (TLU) situation, authenticity of task, and interaction between language and content knowledge. It was eventually replaced by the Professional and Linguistic Assessment (PLAB) but "stands as a worthy prototype of the art of LSP development" (Douglas, 2000, p. 4).

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

McNamara (1996) provides a detailed account of the theory and the practice of second language performance assessment in LSP contexts, particularly the workplace. As an illustration, he focuses on the development and the validation of the *Occupational English Test* (OET), which was introduced in its current form in 1991. Designed as a work sample test administered outside the workplace, the OET assesses the English language competence of medical and health professionals wishing to study, migrate or practice in Australia. These professionals include doctors, veterinarians, occupational therapists, nurses, dieticians, radiographers, dentists, optometrists, speech pathologists and pharmacists. The content of the test is derived from a series of job analyses for each of the professions involved, and simulates a number of job-related performance tasks. The test includes separate assessments of listening, reading, writing and speaking skills that are all task-based in orientation.

In the speaking component of the OET, test-takers are required to participate in role-plays by performing their own professional role (e.g. doctor, nurse) with a trained interlocutor who acts as the patient. The assessment of the test-takers' performance takes into account their overall communicative effectiveness, intelligibility, fluency, comprehension, appropriateness of language and resources of grammar and expression. A rating scale format scoring grid of the semantic differential type is employed to assess candidates' performance: a six-point bipolar rating scale, with each extreme defined by an adjective (such as intelligible or unintelligible, or appropriate or inappropriate), is used for each of the above criteria. These evaluation criteria are restricted to aspects of language performance and do not include non-linguistic factors such as background knowledge, personality, presentation, ability to persuade or reassure. McNamara (1996) argues that such factors are essentially unrelated to an individual's language ability and therefore they do not need to be taken into account in a test such as the OET.

The main issue in test validation for all performance assessments is how and to what extent we can generalise from the test performance to the criterion workplace behaviour. McNamara (1996) suggests that, from their introduction, there has been too much emphasis on *a priori* analyses of the content validity (the representativeness of content) of performance tests at the design stage and not enough on the broader notion of construct validation that is examined both before and after the test is operational. McNamara (1996) provides a detailed account of the construct validation of the OET including the use of Rasch measurement to analyse test scores. He also argues that the predictive validity (how well the results predicted actual workplace performance) and

consequential validity (the extent of their impact on the educational and the training contexts in which they were used) of performance assessments need to be studied empirically and not simply assumed because of their verisimilitude.

Douglas (2000) provides a comprehensive introduction to the theory and the practice of assessing LSP. His work draws strongly on Bachman and Palmer (1996). An LSP test is one in which (a) the test content and methods are based on an examination of a specific purpose target language use situation so that (b) tasks are authentic, that is allowing for an interaction between the test-taker's language ability, their specific purpose content knowledge and the test tasks. Douglas (2000) argues that this kind of test permits inferences about a test-taker's capacity to use language in the relevant domain. His book covers a wide range of topics including the nature of specific purpose language ability and specific purpose contexts, discourse domains, characteristics of target language use and test tasks, strategic competence and its role in mediating between the external context and the learner's content and language knowledge, developing test tasks and the future of the field. Of particular importance is his detailed characterisation of target language use and test tasks as well as the transition from one to the other in the test development process.

Douglas (2000) posits that there are three key distinguishing features of LSP assessments: authenticity, specificity and the inseparability of language and content. In terms of test development, authenticity relates to the question of how to achieve the best fit between the test and the relevant target language use domain, specificity to the issues of how specialised the test content should be and how to ensure that the test-taker's performance is indicative of their ability in the 'real world' target language situation and finally, inseparability of language and content to the important matter of identifying and measuring the relative contributions of language knowledge and specific purpose background or content knowledge. While he agrees with McNamara (1996) that LSP testing should be restricted to making judgements about language ability and not job performance, he sees content or background knowledge as an integral part of the construct to be assessed.

Douglas (2000, 2001a) argues that in LSP testing the test-takers' performance needs to be judged in terms of communicative competence rather than simply their linguistic ability. From this perspective, it is important to interpret test performance from the perspective of test users such as employers or accreditation bodies, not just language experts. Focusing exclusively on linguistic criteria may therefore fail to satisfy the purpose of the test user. Douglas (2000) supports the use of 'indigenous' criteria (Jacoby and McNamara, 1999) identified by professionals within the relevant field of work to supplement linguistic criteria chosen by the language test developer. This work

entails a close but not always easy collaboration between discipline specialists and test developers (Douglas, 2001b).

Douglas (2000) includes detailed reference to a number of workplace assessments in the fields of (a) business: *the Business English Performance Test* (BEPT), the Certificate/Diploma in Spanish for Business, *the Oxford International Business Certificate* (OIBEC), *the Test of English for International Communication* (TOEIC) and *the Certificate in English for International Business and Trade* (CEIBT); (b) teaching: *the Cambridge Examination in English for Language Teachers* (CEELT), *the Proficiency test for Language Teachers—Italian*, *the Taped Evaluation of Assistants' Classroom Handling* (TEACH) and *the English Language Skills Assessment* (ELSA); (c) interpreting and translating: *the Diploma in Public Service Interpreting* (DPSI) and *the Listening Summary Translation Examination* (LSTE)—Spanish; (d) health: The TRAB and the OET both discussed earlier and (e) other highly specialised areas: *the Japanese Language test for tour guides* and *the Proficiency Test in English Language for Air traffic Controllers* (PELA).

It should be noted that McNamara (1996) and Douglas (2000) focus on the use of proficiency tests for assessing second language skills in the workplace. Competency-based assessment (CBA), on the other hand, emphasises the competencies required by the learner to perform a particular job adequately (Davies et al., 1999, p. 27). CBA is widely employed in various countries to ensure that standards of professional competence have been met, for example, in teaching. However, because the focus is on an individual's ability to perform workplace tasks, there is normally no serious attempt to separate out non-language factors such as occupational knowledge and personal qualities from language competence in the assessment. As a result, it is difficult to determine the precise contribution of language ability to these performances and therefore how to assess it.

Finally, an important achievement in workplace assessment is the development of an exit proficiency test of university graduates—*the Graduating Students' Language Proficiency Assessment-English* (GSLPA), a standardised exit test of English for university students in Hong Kong (Lumley, 2003). The content of this test is explicitly geared to the types of professional communication that new graduates face in their careers and includes writing business correspondence and making spoken presentations and summaries. Despite its potential usefulness, the introduction of the GSLPA was resisted in Hong Kong. Berry and Lewkowicz (2000) suggest a number of reasons for its lack of popularity including its potential negative washback and impact on university education and graduation. Nevertheless, the GSLPA provides a very useful model for assessing the language proficiency of university graduates in other countries in the future.

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Douglas (2001b) acknowledges that the three defining features of LSP assessments he identified in his earlier work—specificity, authenticity and the inseparability of language and content—are also problematic.

In terms of specificity, a very difficult question is to determine what degree of specificity is actually possible in a test. Is it possible or desirable, for example, to produce different tests for different kinds of engineers, given the various branches of the field in existence? Another problem here is whether test performance can be reliably predictive of performance in the target language use situation, given the complexity and the unpredictability of 'real-life'. The key issue here is whether a test can ever claim to be truly representative of the target situation.

Douglas (2001b) suggests that two aspects of authenticity in LSP tests, situational and interactional, need to be present in an LSP test. The first aspect relates to the target language use situation, features of which are then factored in as test method characteristics. The second aspect involves the interaction of the test-taker's specific purpose language ability with the task. It is not always a straightforward enterprise to ensure that both elements are realised in a test, particularly the interactional dimension.

In relation to the issue of the inseparability of language and content, a problem for language tests is to establish the relationship between language knowledge and background knowledge in test performance. This involves understanding how they interact with and influence each other. The fundamental question here is whether they can be separated at all. Douglas (2001b) argues that they are indistinguishable. He suggests that for the moment we can only define specific purpose ability in terms of both language knowledge and background knowledge until further insights into the issue are available.

Despite the advances in thinking about LSP testing in recent years, there is still strong debate about whether an adequate theory of LSP testing has yet been developed or even whether it is possible to do so. In a special issue of the journal *Language Testing* devoted to the topic of LSP testing, Hamp-Lyons and Lumley (2001, p. 129) assert that Douglas' (2000) "simple characterisation" of LSP tests in terms of specificity, authenticity and the inseparability of language and content "does not equal, or lead to, a theory". In the same issue Davies (2001) supports this view suggesting that there is still no adequate theoretical distinction between LSP and general purpose testing. He argues that the use of LSP tests can only be justified in pragmatic rather than theoretical terms.

Drawing on her research into the performance-based assessment of the language proficiency of teachers, Elder (2001) finds all three

of Douglas' characteristics deficient in terms of their conceptual and practical usefulness. In relation to specificity, she questions whether the domain of teacher proficiency can be distinguished from other areas of professional competence on the one hand and 'general' language proficiency on the other. In terms of authenticity, she questions what appropriate task design should be in this kind of test and to what extent 'teacher-like' language can be elicited in the artificial environment of a test. Examining the issue of inseparability from a broader perspective than Douglas (2001b) she also asks whether it is possible to differentiate between non-language factors (such as, in this case, subject knowledge and general teaching skills) that may influence test performance and actual language ability in the assessment.

In terms of the success criteria used in judging performance assessments, Elder (2001) demonstrates that indigenes (and perhaps more authentic) criteria may not always be useful in the LSP testing context as they may be too task-specific to allow for generalisation across tasks. In addition, while making use of both occupational experts and language experts as raters of workplace assessments may be a good idea in theory, their judgements may not always be compatible. Elder suggests that recent research points to the "indeterminacy of performance-based tasks as a means of measurement and a realisation that the LSP testing enterprise of the 1980s and 1990s, in spite of its laudable attempt to capture the particularities of real world communication, raises more questions than it answers" (Elder, 2001, p. 164).

Despite these reservations, Basturkmen and Elder (2004) suggest that there are strong practical arguments for LSP testing: the nature of the assessment is more transparent and thus convincing than general-purpose testing to test-users, LSP tests are more likely to lead to teaching activity that is seen by learners as relevant to their needs. In terms of theory-building, direct measures of language competence have resulted in "greater reflection about the nature of language ability as it is enacted in the world" and "the value of separating language ability from other aspects of communication" in these assessments (Basturkmen and Elder, 2004, p. 688–689).

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

New workplace assessment instruments continue to evolve. Recent examples include tests in the fields of aeronautical radiotelephony, nursing and business.

In 2003, the International Civil Aviation Authority (ICAO), a division within the United Nations, adopted a new set of standards for English language proficiency for pilots and air traffic controllers engaging in international communications. All pilots and air traffic controllers

operating in English-speaking telephony contexts are required to demonstrate adequate proficiency in English by 2008 (Mathews, 2004). A six-band proficiency scale has been adopted by ICAO including the following specific criteria: pronunciation, structure, vocabulary, fluency, comprehension and interactions. The band descriptors are expressed in general rather than in specific terms. All personnel are required to demonstrate proficiency in both standard radiotelephony phraseology as well as plain English at level 4 (operational) or above. As Basturkmen and Elder (2004, p. 684) note, a test that only tapped test-taker's ability to use standard phraseologies would represent an under-representation of the relevant occupational language construct in this context. An example of a recent test that aims to meet these specifications is the *RMIT English Language Test for Aviation* (RELTA), which consists of separate task-based listening and speaking sub-tests. A recent study based on the trialling of the test with representative cohorts of civil airline pilots has shown the test to be valid and reliable, with the test sections adequately reflecting the construct associated with a highly specific and codified language for communication in routine air-ground contexts and natural English for communication in non-routine contexts including emergencies. The results of the study also suggested that exposure to radiotelephony facilitates the acquisition of vocabulary for communication in routine contexts, but not vocabulary outside the radiotelephony language domain (Kay, 2005). Other new tests in this field continue to be developed in response to the ICAO standards.

Another recent initiative is the *Canadian English Language Benchmark Assessment for Nurses* (CELBAN), which is designed to assess the communication skills of internationally educated nurses whose first language is not English (CELBAN, 2006). The test has been introduced to help ease the current shortage of nurses in Canada. Like the OET, it is a task-based evaluation of speaking, listening, reading and writing skills in English. Test results align to the Canadian Language Benchmarks (CLB), a descriptive scale of communicative proficiency in English as a second language. The context and the content of the test tasks of the CELBAN are based on data gathered from the analysis of the English language demands of the nursing profession across Canada. These tasks were created by the test developers with input from nursing instructors or consultants to ensure authenticity. A particularly new feature of this test is the CELBAN Readiness Self-Assessment. Before registering for the CELBAN, prospective test-takers can assess their English language communication skills online free of charge. This ensures that they are ready to take the test.

In the UK, Cambridge ESOL has recently produced two new assessments of Business, the *Business Language Testing Service* (BULATS)

and the *Business English Certificates* (BEC) (Cambridge ESOL, 2006). The BULATS is a multilingual assessment service for companies that require a rapid, accurate means of assessing language skills in English, French, German and Spanish. It is now used by businesses in over 30 countries for recruitment, training, benchmarking and staff development. The BEC consists of a suite of three exams—BEC Preliminary, BEC Vantage and BEC Higher—which test English language ability used in the context of business. They are directed particularly at people preparing for a career in business. The BEC exams are linked to the Council of Europe's *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*, an important new initiative providing a "a common basis for the elaboration of language syllabuses, curriculum guidelines, examinations, textbooks etc. across Europe" (Council of Europe, 2001). It is likely that an increasing number of workplace assessments will be linked to this framework in the future (see the special issue of *Language Testing* edited by Alderson, 2005, for further discussion).

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

There has recently been a renewed interest in the area of needs analysis within LSP which has important implications for workplace assessment. As Basturkmen and Elder (2004, p. 681) suggest, LSP testing activity is based on the premise that "different domains of language use draw on different areas of knowledge and are associated with distinct varieties of language, the characteristics of which can be identified through needs analysis." Long (2005) examines key methodological issues in learner needs analysis including the sources of information and methods for obtaining it. This discussion has clear relevance for the development of workplace assessments, particularly at the job analysis stage. The chapters in his book highlight the usefulness of assessments in needs analysis more broadly to assist with syllabus development, student placement, diagnosis, achievement and program evaluation in occupational language programs. There is a clear need for assessments designed locally for these different purposes to be better documented as the literature has focused almost exclusively on proficiency tests.

Recent literature on English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) has significant implications for assessment in the global workplace and other international contexts in which English is mainly used. While ELF itself is currently researched and theorised (see, for example, Jenkins, 2006; Nickerson, 2005; Seidlhofer, 2004), there has been very little discussion about how it might be assessed. Elder and Davies (in press) propose two different approaches to the assessment of ELF. The first

approach can be distinguished from existing international tests of English by the use of accommodations in delivery and scoring such as using expert ELF users as interlocutors in speaking tests and ensuring that only errors that actually impede communication are penalised in the rating of spoken and written performance. This model assumes that test-takers use varieties of English based on Standard English. Tests based on the second approach assume that ELF is not related to Standard English but is a code in its own right. In this approach, strategic competence takes precedence over linguistic accuracy. In other words, the crucial ability in this case would be the test-taker's capacity to communicate effectively with a range of other non-native speakers including their ability to make appropriate linguistic accommodations (such as rate of speech and adjustment of accent) to the different varieties and proficiencies of their interlocutors. Elder and Davies (in press) suggest that neither approach involves a radical reconceptualisation of current language testing practices while recognising the symbolic and the practical importance of advances in the area. However, they argue that further test development work should be postponed until EIL has been more fully described and understood.

This review ends on a cautionary note. Despite recent initiatives such as those described here, the future of workplace assessment is unclear as occupation-specific tests are increasingly forced to compete with more large-scale tests that may have been originally developed for an entirely different purpose. For example, despite being developed solely as university selection tests of academic English, the *International English Language Testing System* (IELTS) and the *Test of English as a Foreign Language* (TOEFL) have recently been employed for the accreditation of health professionals and also proposed as university exit tests without any serious attempt to validate them for either purpose. The uses of both tests are therefore considered by many language-testing specialists to be unethical. It remains to be seen whether this trend will continue. To a large degree, the future of workplace assessment will depend on whether LSP assessment more generally can establish itself as a legitimate professional activity, both theoretically and practically.

**See Also:** Gillian Wigglesworth: *Task and Performance Based Assessment (Volume 7)*; Glenn Fulcher: *Criteria for Evaluating Language Quality (Volume 7)*; Micheline Chalhoub-Deville and Craig Deville: *Utilizing Psychometric Methods in Assessment (Volume 7)*; Xiaoming Xi: *Methods of Test Validation (Volume 7)*; Jamal Abedi: *Utilizing Accommodations in Assessment (Volume 7)*; Alan Davies: *Ethics, Professionalism, Rights and Codes (Volume 7)*; Bernard Spolsky: *Language Assessment in Historical and Future Perspective (Volume 7)*

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## TESTING APTITUDE FOR SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING

### INTRODUCTION

In the past, second language (L2) aptitude research was conducted largely to better the placement and selection processes utilized by governmental language programs. Today, L2 aptitude is also assessed to diagnose and treat L2 learning problems (Ganschow, Sparks, and Javorsky, 1998; Sparks and Ganschow, 2001), to inform curricular design (Robinson, 2007; Sawyer and Ranta, 2001), and to see how other cognitive factors, such as working memory, which were not identified or assessed by earlier aptitude tests, are related to L2 learning (Erlam, 2005; Miyake and Friedman, 1998). Underlying this expanded research agenda is the understanding of the differences and similarities between general aptitude (intelligence) and specific components (or factors) of aptitude for language learning (Gardner and Lambert, 1965; Wesche, Edwards, and Wells, 1982; see also Dörnyei, 2005, pp. 45–47 for a recent discussion on L2 aptitude and intelligence). Although the exact nature of these factors is a current subject of theoretical and empirical debate, researchers agree that L2 aptitude is a subset of the cognitive abilities that are related to general intelligence, and that it is a key component of L2 learning success. There is also a current desire to understand L2 aptitude in terms of current communicative, task-based instructional contexts.

### HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Since the 1950s, linguists have used L2 aptitude tests to predict success in the foreign language classroom (Carroll, 1981). The Modern Language Aptitude Test (MLAT, Carroll and Sapon, 1959), one of the tests first developed for such purposes, is still in use today (Carroll, 1981; Skehan, 1998, 2002). The MLAT, developed through a grant from the Carnegie Corporation, has been called the “benchmark test of FL aptitude” against which new measures must be compared (Grigorenko, Sternberg, and Ehrman, 2000, p. 397). It consists of a selection of 5 weakly-to-moderately intercorrelated test parts (out of 30 that were trialed) that were shown, through factor analyses, to predict L2 learning relatively well. Carroll concluded that there were four components of

language aptitude: phonetic coding ability, grammatical sensitivity, rote memory, and inductive language learning ability. Carroll's MLAT does not directly test the fourth component, inductive language learning ability, because adding another part would make the overall test too lengthy, while the increase in predictive validity would be minimal. Carroll's contributions to a theory of language aptitude were seminal and laid the foundation upon which current aptitude research can build, although there is a desire among researchers to revisit the long-standing construct of aptitude as defined by Carroll and to take a fresh look at individual differences related to success in language learning.

In the 1960s, more aptitude tests were created. Pimsleur created the Pimsleur language aptitude battery (PLAB) (Pimsleur, 1966; <http://www.2LTI.com/htm/plab.htm>). Pimsleur, who was perhaps more interested in maximizing prediction than in constructing a pure measure of aptitude, viewed aptitude as consisting of three factors: verbal intelligence, auditory ability, and motivation. Other measures created included the MLAT-Elementary for grades three to six (<http://www.2LTI.com/htm/mlate.htm>), and the Army Language Aptitude Test (ALAT, see Grigorenko, Sternberg, and Ehrman, 2000, for a short review of the ALAT). The Defense Language Aptitude Battery (DLAB) (Peterson and Al-Haik, 1976) and the VORD were created in the 1970s by the US Department of Defense. The VORD (which means "word" in the artificial language on which the test was based) was an attempt to improve upon the MLAT and ALAT for predictive aptitude to learn non-European languages. However, in a study conducted by the developer (Child) of the VORD, the test's predictive validity was less than that of the MLAT (Parry and Child, 1990).

From the early 1970s when work on the DLAB was being completed, until the 1990s, there was very little interest in language aptitude among academics. The major exceptions were the publication of an edited volume by Diller (1981) that presented a multidisciplinary perspective on L2 aptitude, an article by Wesche, Edwards, and Wells (1982) that investigated L2 aptitude and intelligence, and an article by Genessee and Hamayan (1980) that looked at individual differences (aptitude, teachers' ratings of pupil behavior, the cognitive factors of field independence, etc.) affecting L2 achievement in schoolchildren. These early articles all focused on defining what L2 aptitude is and how it fits within the paradigms of intelligence and individual differences. Many of these works confirmed hypotheses established by Carroll—that L2 aptitude is a subset of the abilities defined by general intelligence, and that individual differences and the language-learning context may affect a learner's ability to maximize his or her L2 aptitude potential. The 1990s began with the publication of the proceedings of a conference that was motivated by an effort to take another look at

language aptitude (Parry and Stansfield, 1990). This was motivated by two thoughts: (a) there has been a great deal of work done in cognitive psychology that might inform the creation of improved measures, and (b) ideas about language teaching methods have changed, and this has affected instructional goals and classroom practice.

#### DEVELOPMENTS IN L2 APTITUDE TESTING

Today, individual parts of the MLAT and PLAB are often used to measure aptitude factors in research studies concerning second language acquisition (SLA) (e.g., Erlam, 2005; Harley and Hart, 1997; Nagata, Aline, and Ellis, 1999). Adaptations of these traditional tests into other languages have been made (French, Italian, Dutch, German, Spanish, Turkish, Thai, Japanese, Indonesian, Hungarian) but, unfortunately, few of these (French, Japanese and Hungarian) can be located today, and among them only the French version is commercially available (see Stansfield and Reed, 2004, footnote 8). Hebrew, Polish, and Chinese versions are currently being developed for research purposes that involve testing the aptitude of native speakers of languages other than English.

In 2000, Grigorenko et al. published an article on the rationale behind, and construct validity of, a new aptitude test, the Cognitive Ability for Novelty in Acquisition of Language (Foreign) Test (CANAL-FT). This aptitude test, grounded in the belief that one of the central abilities required for L2 learning is the ability to cope with novelty and ambiguity, correlates significantly with the MLAT ( $r = 0.75$ ). Thus, Ellis (2004, p. 533) noted that the CANAL-FT “appears to perform very similarly to earlier tests.” In addition, he opined that the theory behind the CANAL-FT may provide a close match between L2 aptitude and specific psycholinguistic processes involved in SLA, and thus may be a useful tool for researching connections between aptitude, classroom-based tasks, and L2 development, which Robinson (2001) has reported as being necessary.

L2 aptitude alone is not enough to predict L2 success in the classroom setting; rather, it is just one of the major factors. It has been shown time and time again that another factor contributing to L2 success is motivation (Dörnyei and Skehan, 2003; Gardner, 1985, 2002; Kiss and Nikolov, 2005), which can override the effect of aptitude (Dörnyei, 2005, p. 65). Whereas high aptitude may not necessarily lead to higher motivation, high motivation may lead to more strategies and time on task, which interplays with the learner’s existing aptitude and maximizes the learner’s potential. This is essentially what Pimsleur (1966) believed and why he included a survey of motivation and study habits in the PLAB. Aptitude tests are rarely used in isolation when administered for practical reasons. For example, in assessing the L2

aptitude of military recruits and governmental personnel, the US Government's Foreign Service Institute and the Defense Language Institute use a motivation questionnaire and a survey of background variables in conjunction with aptitude test scores to select and place students into language programs.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS IN THE LAST 10 YEARS

Existing L2 aptitude tests are mostly administered for placement or selection purposes. The primary users of such tests continue to be government agencies and other organizations that must first select individuals who can learn foreign languages and, secondly, assign them to a language whose difficulty is commensurate with their aptitude. For example, the DLAB is used by most agencies of the U.S. government for selecting employees to attend a language school, such as the Defense Language Institute in Monterey, California. The MLAT is used for the same purpose by government agencies in Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand, and by the U.S. Foreign Service Institute in Arlington, VA. It is also used by international organizations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The MLAT is used by many missionary organizations to screen missionaries for language learning aptitude and then to assign them an appropriate language to learn based on their aptitude scores.

In addition to these traditional uses, a growing body of research is pushing the field of L2 education to expand upon the utility of L2 aptitude as a concept. Today, researchers are assessing aptitude in research studies to investigate why some who succeed are not identified as high aptitude learners, why L2 aptitude appears more or less important in different learning situations or contexts, and how (or if) those with low aptitude can succeed despite the odds. Classroom implications include varying tasks and curricula to match the abilities of learners with differing aptitude complexes or profiles (Robinson, 2002; Wesche, 1981). Empirical research along these lines within the field of SLA has focused mainly on questions concerning the role of individual cognitive differences and how they interplay with the L2 learning environment. Several research projects have contributed to this investigation, five of which are reviewed later.

Harley and Hart (1997) investigated whether studying an L2 at an earlier age results in higher language aptitude. Looking at students who started studying French in an immersion classroom either in the first or seventh grade, Harley and Hart found that those who had an early (first-grade) start to the immersion program did not have higher aptitude test scores than those who started later (in seventh grade), thus showing that early L2 exposure does not necessarily contribute to

higher aptitude. This finding agreed with Carroll's definition of L2 aptitude as a relatively fixed or stable trait resistant to prior education or training and aligned with the idea that L2 aptitude is concerned with the relative rate or speed of learning in an L2 classroom environment. Two studies continued this line of inquiry, but looked at the construct of L2 aptitude from the point of learning in a naturalistic setting. Using the Weschler Memory Scale (memory for text) and the PLAB 'Language Analysis' subtest, Harley and Hart (2002) tested the aptitude and the L2 proficiency of 27 native-English-speaking secondary school students who participated in a 3-month French exchange program to Quebec City. They found a nearly significant relationship between age of learning and language analysis (what Carroll defined as "grammatical sensitivity") but no significant association with memory for text. The authors suggest that analytical language ability (Carroll's grammatical sensitivity) is more important for older learners when learning an L2 than younger ones, thus suggesting that although aptitude may remain constant, what features of aptitude are important for L2 learning may change depending on one's age or education level.

Similarly, in an earlier study investigating ultimate attainment and critical period effects in SLA, DeKeyser (2000) tested the hypothesis that adult learners from Hungary, who arrived in the U.S. after the age of 16, could perform English grammaticality judgment tasks (testing Carroll's grammatical sensitivity component) as well as adults from Hungary who arrived in the USA as child learners. Of the six adult learners who scored as high as those who learned English as a child, five scored high on the grammatical sensitivity part of a Hungarian adaptation of the MLAT. DeKeyser argued his study showed that foreign language teaching methods for the adult classroom that do not employ explicit focus on form techniques (i.e., explicit grammar instruction) are denying adults access to one of the mechanisms they need to succeed in the L2—their aptitude for grammatical sensitivity.

Ranta (2002) tested the hypothesis that language analytic ability is important for L2 learning in the classroom environment even when the classroom is truly communicative in nature. The participants in her study were 135 Francophones in sixth grade learning English. Ranta found that students who had strong verbal analytic ability tended to be strong on all L2 tests. Conversely, those with weak verbal analytic ability were also weak on L2 tests. Ranta suggested that perhaps those with low proficiency scores but with relatively high verbal analytic ability were too early in their L2 development to benefit from their higher verbal analytic ability. She concluded that communicative language learning programs do not counteract the effects of learner aptitude; rather, language analytic ability and strategic competence (the ability to put language knowledge to use) may help students learn in any context.

In a study comparing instructional contexts and L2 aptitude, Erlam (2005) assigned 60 secondary school students to three different instructional contexts. The aptitude measures administered were the PLAB Sound Discrimination subtest, the MLAT Words in Sentences subtest, and a written, working memory test that assessed word recall. All students received instruction on direct object pronouns in L2 French in their respective instructional contexts. Erlam concluded that deductive instruction that gives students opportunities to engage in language production minimizes any effect that aptitude may have in L2 development. Looking at the students' L2 writing proficiency test scores, Erlam noted that those with higher language analytic ability and higher working memory capacity benefited most from structured input instruction, which did not have students participate in any language output.

The five empirical studies reviewed above demonstrate how researchers in cognitive linguistics and SLA are investigating aptitude as a multi-componential construct, which interacts with the learning environment differentially depending on individual differences such as the learners' age and/or instructional context. L2 aptitude is now often researched in terms of identifying learners' specific L2 aptitude or aptitudes, and seeing how those complexes of aptitudes (Corno et al., 2002; Robinson, 2002; Wesche, 1981) relate to the instructional setting and how changing the mode of instruction or varying the instructional tasks may affect certain learners' abilities to learn.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Recent work in L2 aptitude testing has concerned itself with investigating the components of L2 aptitude, how to most reliably measure L2 aptitude for different populations of L2 learners (such as children or those with non-English L1s), and the role of L2 aptitude in the process of SLA (Dörnyei, 2005). In essence, some researchers no longer consider L2 aptitude an umbrella term. Rather, they view L2 aptitude as being made up of various cognitive factors and processes, including working memory. Dörnyei mentions that there are five purposes for L2 aptitude testing today: (a) for research, (b) for selection, (c) for resource allocation, (d) for program evaluation, and (e) to tailor instruction according to the L2 aptitude of the learners. This list is a somewhat expanded list of the reasons for L2 aptitude research and test development in the 1950s and 1960s, and it articulates the relationship between L2 aptitude as a concept and current SLA research.

Undoubtedly, the growing interest in understanding individual differences in L2 learning has motivated renewed interest in L2 aptitude. A fundamental question is whether certain combinations of cognitive abilities are particularly conducive to learning under certain conditions.

More specifically, do some L2 learners have ‘aptitude complexes’ that function better when faced with specific types of learning tasks or situations? Robinson (2001) theorized that ‘aptitude complexes’ must be a dynamic interrelationship between the learning tasks, techniques for raising awareness of the L2 form, and conditions for practice. He suggested that specific aptitudes must be matched to specific learning conditions and the learning processes that they imply. He also stated that “aptitude, awareness, and age are important learner variables, and that any general theory of second language acquisition is incomplete without an explanation of how, and under what conditions, individual differences in each impact on learning” (Robinson, 2001, p. 369). Robinson’s line of research has described L2 aptitude as a dynamic construct that relates to the learning conditions and instructional techniques at hand. With his view of L2 aptitude in mind, learners no longer possess more or less L2 aptitude. Instead, they have different kinds of aptitude (or aptitude complexes), which relate in unique ways to various types of instructional methodologies. His main suggestion is to change or adapt instruction to fit the aptitude profiles of the L2 learners. Of course, to do this would require a variety of very sensitive new aptitude measures.

As SLA researchers move toward investigating the cognitive processes involved in SLA, better, more streamlined, and accurate tests of L2 aptitude are needed to measure specific populations of L2 learners. Parallel to the developments of the theory of L2 aptitude in SLA contexts is the recent development in L2 aptitude testing, including the CANAL-FT (Grigorenko, Sternberg, and Ehrman, 2000), the Menyet, an MLAT-based test of L2 aptitude for Hungarian learners of English (Ottó, 1996), and a lower level version of the Menyet (Kiss and Nikolov, 2005). In the latter test, MLAT Part 2 (phonetic coding ability) was changed so that it is based on the Klingon language associated with Star Trek, a popular science-fiction television program. Examinees hear and see a transcription of four numbers. Then they hear a large Klingon (composite) number containing one of the numbers heard. The examinee then identifies which of the four numbers was included in the large number. The test contains only 45 items yet yielded a concurrent validity coefficient of 0.63 with an English proficiency index that involved listening, reading and writing. The researchers concluded the test is a valid measure of language aptitude.

There is considerable interest in adapting existing language aptitude tests to other languages because the need to identify those with a high probability for success in language learning exists throughout the world. Stansfield and Reed (2003) developed a framework for adapting the MLAT and the PLAB to other languages. The framework examines the cognitive abilities measured by each subtest of the MLAT, the

MLAT-E, and the PLAB and how the parts address the four components identified by Carroll. The major steps and considerations include: designing appropriate item types in the non-English language that assess Carroll's components, making use of subtests from the MLAT and the PLAB that are not English based, field-testing and then norming the adapted versions, and carrying out studies to establish the validity of the new versions.

In 2005, Second Language Testing Inc. (SLTI) developed and published the MLAT-ES, a Spanish language adaptation of the MLAT-Elementary (<http://www.2lti.com/htm/mlates.htm>). The MLAT-ES is for children in grades 3–7. The MLAT-ES was field tested in Costa Rica and then revised. An initial set of norms on the performance of some 1,200 children in Spain, Costa Rica, Mexico, and Colombia appears in the first edition of the test manual. Norms tables for part and total scores appear for each of five grade levels. The reliability of the MLAT-ES and its part scores is very high and the inter-part correlations are similar to those attained on the MLAT-E, suggesting a successful adaptation of the instrument. However, adequate evidence of its predictive validity still needs to be collected.

The MLAT-ES is envisioned for use in both English- and Spanish-speaking countries. As a measure of foreign language aptitude for native Spanish speakers, it can be used for placement and diagnosis, as well as to identify both those with high aptitude and those with low aptitude. In the case of those with low aptitude, the part scores may be useful in understanding the student's cognitive abilities relevant to language learning and in adjusting to meet the student's needs. For example, low scores on parts 3 and 4 will help the teacher understand that the child has a low propensity for auditory learning, whereas low scores on part 2 indicate that the child is weak in analytic learning ability (Stansfield and Reed, 2005).

Other current L2 aptitude test development projects at SLTI include an MLAT-E Korean and a computer-based version of the MLAT.

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

In the 1980s and 1990s, ideas emerged regarding the use of the MLAT and other L2 aptitude tests for diagnosing language learning difficulties and disabilities. Wesche (1981) suggested that scores on the MLAT and PLAB, along with information on the test taker's individual background, experience, attitude and motivation for language learning, could be used for placement into intensive foreign language programs and for streaming (tailoring instruction to the student's cognitive profile in order to improve learning). Ehrman (1996) described how the MLAT or other language aptitude tests can be used along with measures of

motivation, anxiety, learning styles, strategies, and personality types to assess learner difficulties and to help improve the learning environment for students.

Gajar (1987) investigated the use of the MLAT to identify students with a foreign language learning disability. She administered it to both regular and learning-disabled (LD) students at her university and found a significant difference ( $p < 0.0001$ ) in their scores on all MLAT subtests. The LD group mean was one standard deviation or more below the university mean on all subtests, particularly the subtests relating to grammatical sensitivity and rote learning. The two decades following Gajar's study saw an emerging awareness of the problems that learning-disabled students experience in the foreign language classroom (Ganschow, Sparks, and Javorsky, 1998). Colleges began to offer reasonable accommodations to foreign language students who had been previously identified as learning-disabled or who claimed a learning disability. One common accommodation is the creation of a special section of a language course for such students. Such special sections might include a slower pace when presenting material to be learned, individual pacing, instruction tailored to students' strengths, instruction that addresses students' weaknesses, or simply the careful selection of a teacher who is interested in teaching such students. Other accommodations might include substitute courses, such as descriptive linguistics, survey of world languages, literature in translation, or courses in the foreign culture.

The last decade has seen increasing use of language aptitude tests to determine if a given individual has a foreign language learning disability. Today, at least 150 colleges and universities review MLAT scores in an effort to respond to requests for accommodations for students who claim or suspect they have a foreign language learning disability. Such students typically meet the criteria of having failed one or more foreign language course while doing quite well in other subjects, and they reportedly studied hard to pass their foreign language course. In most cases, colleges and universities will not consider a request for an accommodation unless a student matches the above profile. Perhaps due to the concern about the growing number of students who claim a foreign language learning disability, or perhaps due to a concern for maintaining common graduation standards, the concept of a foreign language learning disability has recently become the subject of some controversy. Sparks, who has published widely on L2 aptitude and its correlates, believes that students who are unable to learn a foreign language are lacking in cognitive skills and in mastery of their native language. Surprisingly, he does not perceive this circumstance as relating to a foreign language learning disability. He and his colleagues also criticize the MLAT for having outdated norms

(Sparks, Jarvorsky, and Philips, 2005), although there is no reason to suspect that the distribution of foreign language aptitude in the population has changed since the MLAT was normed. Sparks has also pointed out that the MLAT was not created specifically as a measure of foreign language learning disability, although a low score on a measure of cognitive abilities strongly suggests a cognitive disability. Reed and Stansfield (2004) have discussed the ethics of using the MLAT for this purpose. Given the long-term nature of the political controversy surrounding accommodations for certain students, especially at the tertiary level, the discussion of using L2 aptitude tests for identifying those who may need accommodations is likely to continue. The PLAB and the MLAT-Elementary are used for similar purposes in secondary and elementary schools—diagnosing and understanding the causes of students' difficulties in learning a foreign language.

### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

A new respect for and interest in the role of L2 aptitude in SLA has emerged in recent years, and this is resulting in the creation of new measures for research. A recent statement by the American Educational Research Association (2006) calls language aptitude the second most important factor (after age) in language learning. SLA researchers will continue to investigate the involvement of individual differences in SLA for some time to come. An outline of future directions for the field of L2 aptitude testing is presented below. While this list is by no means exhaustive of the research agenda lying ahead of us, it represents some of the directions that are already underway and which appear to be of utmost need.

1. For selection purposes, we need to know which aptitude components are most important for achieving high-level proficiency in a language. Prior research has validated L2 aptitude tests mostly with those who have acquired low and intermediate levels of language proficiency. Studies need to be done on those who acquire a high level of L2 proficiency to determine if they have any special cognitive traits. The same applies to aptitude for learning specific languages.
2. For research purposes, there is a need to determine which constructs of working memory are most important for the different aspects of L2 learning. Working memory has been shown to be an important variable in the SLA process; however, there are multiple views on how to define working memory, and multiple ways to test for working memory as a construct of L2 aptitude. L2 aptitude test developers need to follow working memory research being conducted in the fields of SLA and cognitive psychology

very closely to better streamline the development of working memory tests used as part of L2 aptitude research.

3. Curriculum developers and teachers need to keep in mind the results from L2 aptitude studies that show that different instructional techniques and different classroom tasks may be responded to differently by learners who rank differently in the underlying components of L2 aptitude. Rather than teaching just to those who are strong in all aspects of L2 aptitude, teachers should adjust, rotate, and vary their teaching methodologies to benefit all learners in the classroom. In this regard, faster rates of learning for the few may need to give way to a higher quality of learning and a lower attrition rate overall. Research studies that show the long-term effects of such tailored programs and demonstrate successful learning in spite of low aptitude are also needed. These would allow universities to more effectively handle students with low aptitude for language learning.
4. It remains to be demonstrated that better aptitude tests can be developed. Nonetheless, researchers interested in L2 aptitude should continue to search for more valid, reliable, and practical L2 aptitude tests. Carroll himself expressed skepticism that greatly improved measures could be developed, although he invited researchers to try and even suggested some ideas they might pursue (Carroll, 1990). In order for them to be most helpful, new measures should be clearly and unambiguously connected to or differentiated from the framework of L2 aptitude defined by Carroll and others. As Spolsky (1995, p. 338) has said, "In seeking to make further advances in the field, it is unwise not to build on the work of our predecessors."
5. New L2 aptitude tests are needed for specific populations of learners that are of interest in the field of SLA, such as child learners and older learners. The U.S. Government is interested in measures that can identify those who are likely to reach high levels of language proficiency (Reed, 2005). L2 aptitude tests are also needed for native speakers of languages other than English.
6. The use of the computer to deliver L2 aptitude tests will improve the access and deliverability of such tests. In addition, it will facilitate the collection of examinee background data, the reporting of scores, the introduction of new test items, the creation of databases and norms for specific groups. The databases will also provide fertile ground for additional research. The MLAT has recently been put on the computer and a computerized version of the DLAB is underway.

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# **Section 2**

## **Methods of Assessment**

## ALTERNATIVE ASSESSMENT

## INTRODUCTION

How the term “alternative assessment” is defined depends largely on what it is providing an alternative to. In the 1997 edition of this encyclopedia, which did not include a separate chapter on alternative assessment, McNamara observed that increasingly performance testing was viewed as a “feature of alternative assessment,” as part of “the move to base assessment not on multiple-choice format tests but on actual instances of use by learners” (p. 132). As McNamara suggested, alternative assessment is most often contrasted with traditional testing (Gipps, 1999; Huerta-Macías, 1995; Maslovaty and Kuzi, 2002; Shephard, 2000), specifically, single event, discrete-point, multiple-choice tests that result in numerical scores and the ranking of individuals.

However, as Birenbaum (1996) points out, alternative assessment has become the “most generic term currently used in the assessment literature” (p. 3)—an umbrella term applied not only to performance testing, but also to other potential alternatives to traditional, discrete-point tests such as ‘authentic’ test tasks, portfolios, conferences, simulations, self- or peer-assessment, diaries, inquiry based learning projects, etc.—all of which are identified as types of alternative assessment.

The term ‘alternative assessment’ is also used to refer to continuous assessment or alternative classroom assessment (Hargreaves, Earl, and Schmidt, 2002), which is used by teachers on a day-to-day basis. Such assessment is characteristically ongoing and informal, and may be accumulated as evidence of learning alongside traditional, formal assessment. As such, some argue (e.g., Bailey, 1998; Brown and Hudson, 1998) that *alternatives in assessment* is a more accurate description of the continuum of assessment approaches that individual teachers use—traditional tests being one of these approaches. This perspective is actively opposed by others (e.g., Lynch, 2001; Lynch and Shaw, 2005) who argue that alternative assessment represents a conception of language that is diametrically opposed to that of traditional tests; that language is “best understood as realms of social life that do not exist independently of our attempts to know them. Judgments or decisions about language ability and use cannot, therefore, be accomplished as measurement tasks: there is no ‘true score’ waiting to be

approximated” (Lynch, 2001, p. 362). These conflicting perspectives are further discussed in the Work in Progress section below.

Yet another use of the term alternative assessment relates to accommodations or alternatives for students who have special needs (see the chapter Abedi, Utilizing Accommodations in Assessment, Volume 7). Such accommodations (including alternative testing) create conditions that will allow students with special needs to best demonstrate their acquired knowledge and competence. For example, alternative testing procedures have been devised in some cases for bilingual, English Language Learners (ELLs) with lower levels of English language proficiency, who are studying in English-medium contexts. Some alternative tests allow ELLs to be tested for achievement in content areas with the use or support of their first language. An extension of this view of alternative assessment links it directly to issues of ethics, fairness, and educational equity (see, for example Darling-Hammond, 1994; Lacelle-Peterson and Rivera, 1994; Lynch and Shaw, 2005; Shohamy, 2001; Taylor, 1994). This view holds that all assessment is value laden, because what is valued in a test defines what is worth knowing or doing, and thus, alternative assessment offers what is potentially a more “ethical” (Lynch and Shaw, 2005), “democratic” (Shohamy, 2001) or “equitable” (Lacelle-Peterson and Rivera, 1994) approach, if the outcome of the assessment process values individual diversity.

#### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Shohamy (1996) views traditional testing as part of a “discrete point era” and contrasts it with what she identifies is the current “alternative era.” She links developments in language testing and the onset of the alternative era to changing theoretical definitions of “what it means to know a language” (p.143), arguing that eras in testing reflect changing (or evolving) definitions of the language construct. She identifies three other key eras in a sequence of development that corresponds to changing conceptions of language: the integrative era, the communicative era, and the performance testing era. In defining the alternative era, Shohamy addresses the problem of domain representation arguing that, “there are different types of language knowledge and mastering one type is no guarantee for mastering another, as different instruments are capable of ‘seeing’ different things” (p. 152). She argues that it is impossible for a single test to measure the complex phenomena of language knowledge and thus, there is a need for “multiple assessment procedures” (p.152). She then refines the term ‘alternative assessment’, preferring ‘complementary assessment’ as a more precise label.

Shohamy’s reinterpretation of alternative assessment as multiple or complementary assessment is in sync with others, who conclude that

authentic/alternative assessment is best exemplified by portfolio approaches to assessment. Indeed, there has been a long-standing association of portfolio assessment with alternative assessment in both the educational research literature in general and the second language research literature in particular (see Darling-Hammond, 1994; Hamayan, 1995; Lynch and Shaw, 2005; Shohamy, 1996; Wolf, Bixby, Glenn, and Gardner, 1991). Such assessment involves a collection over time of multiple performances to provide evidence of growth and learning. It requires learners to: actively shape the assessment process by selecting which of their performances will be evaluated; collaborate with other students and the teacher in identifying criteria for evaluation; engage in self- and peer-assessment; and reflect on an ongoing basis on their learning. There have been a number of attempts to use portfolio assessment as an alternative to traditional tests in large-scale, high-stakes contexts (see particularly, the Vermont Portfolio Assessment Program, discussed in the Problems and Difficulties section below).

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Major contributions to alternative assessment have occurred at two levels: at the procedural or strategic level, and at the conceptual or paradigmatic level.

#### *The Procedural or Strategic Level*

Huerta-Macías (1995) identifies tools that provide alternatives to traditional testing such as observational checklists, journals, work samples, anecdotal records, and day-to-day activities, which are “non-intrusive to the classroom, because they do not require a separate block of time to implement” (p. 9). Thus, she argues assessment activities are “authentic” because they are the same as learning activities. Such activities engage students in ongoing and active learning. Assessment is an inevitable and inseparable requirement for learning. Performance testing is often cited as an alternative approach to traditional/discrete-point testing. However, portfolios (as discussed earlier) are the most frequently identified example of alternative assessment (see Bailey, 1998; Darling-Hammond, 1994; Hamayan, 1995; Shohamy, 1996; Wolf, Bixby, Glenn, and Gardner, 1991).

Many researchers point out, however, that it is how portfolios are used that determines whether they are truly alternative assessment tools. It is more than a matter of form or format. Portfolios have been used “top down” as “lever[s] of external control” (Darling-Hammond, 1994, p. 5) with foci on product and predetermined content coverage (rather than learning process and growth); on sorting and ranking

(rather than developing learner's individual strengths and addressing their weaknesses); on monitoring, surveillance and accountability (rather than self-directed inquiry); and on externally directed performance for others (rather than reflection and individual or local learning); and on perpetuating the norms of the powerful majority (rather than validating the unique contributions of the minority). Such product-focused purposes are consistent with traditional rather than alternative assessment.

A number of recent approaches associated with alternative assessment are task-based (Bachman, 2002; Brindley, 2001) and include, for example, "embedded assessment tasks" (Spence-Brown, 2001, p. 466) in which assessment is integrated within teaching tasks to enhance interactivity and authenticity of engagement (Bachman and Palmer, 1996); and "dynamic assessment" (for a comprehensive discussion, see Lantolf and Poehner, *Dynamic Assessment*, Volume 7). Dynamic assessment also seamlessly embeds assessment within an instructional activity. It draws on Vygotsky's (1934/1986) notion of the *zone of proximal development*, namely that learning develops from and is embedded in social interactions with others, e.g. people, texts, objects, events etc. Vygotsky observed that what we are unable to do in isolation, we may be able to do in interaction, and that our ability to respond to assistance provided by others suggests our potential for future performance. In dynamic assessment, examiners provide predetermined or spontaneous assistance or mediation for learners to support assessed performances.

Many proponents of alternative assessment argue for multiple-sources of assessment evidence that are drawn "democratically" (Shohamy, 2001) or "pluralistically" (Birebaum, 1996) to reflect the unique and varying strengths (and weaknesses) of individual learners. They argue that, "in a multicultural, multilingual society, assessment policies must seek excellence and equity simultaneously, or they will accomplish neither" (Lacelle-Peterson and Rivera, 1994, p. 57). However, they point out that alternative assessment approaches are not inherently more equitable by design (Darling-Hammond, 1994; Lynch and Shaw, 2005) because they may also be used for traditional purposes, namely, to sort, sanction, and control, and to define which (and whose) knowledge counts, and which (and whose) does not. They note that alternative assessment has the potential to create opportunities for students to actively shape learning outcomes in relation to their unique and individual backgrounds. If the goal of the assessment is to "educate all children well, rather than the talented tenth to be prepared for knowledge work" (Darling-Hammond, 1994, p. 25), then alternative assessment is viewed as a means to greater educational equity, and richly detailed narrative profiles (rather than numerical scores) are the appropriate outcomes of assessment (Delandshere and Petrovsky, 1994; Valdés and Figueroa, 1994). Lynch (2001) links this view of alternative

assessment to critical approaches in applied linguistics. Shohamy (2001) has heightened awareness of the power of tests as mediating tools in the exercise of power, both overt and/or covert. From critical perspectives, alternative assessment is seen as a means of sharing power when it involves collaborative, dialogic interchange between assessor and assessed. It allows for greater equity and fairness in testing by potentially valuing uniqueness and difference (Darling-Hammond, 1994).

*At the Conceptual Level or Paradigmatic Level*

Wiggins (1989) has been a leader in the authenticity movement, which is linked directly to alternative assessment (Kane, Crooks, and Cohen, 1999), in that the performances elicited for the purposes of assessment do not differ in appreciable ways from those that are typical of the target domain. Some equate authenticity in alternative assessment with both reliability and validity: "Alternative assessments are in and of themselves valid, due to the direct nature of the assessment" (Huerta-Macías, 1995, p. 10). In keeping with these notions, Moss (1994) argues for a reconceptualization of reliability based on a "hermeneutic approach," which acknowledges the situated, unique, and varying contexts of assessment. She views arguments for validity as internal to the assessment process itself, and reliant upon dialogue and consensus reached among key stakeholders—learners, raters, teachers, parents, etc. She also challenges the traditional notion that generalization from single (or multiple) performance(s) to the universe of possible performances is the ultimate goal of assessment.

Her perspective is deeply rooted within an interpretive or constructivist tradition, which views language as socially constructed and situated in contexts of use—rather than an underlying trait or ability which remains stable across contexts. Maslovaty and Kuzi (2002) argue that, "alternative assessment is based on the principles of constructivism in that it rests on authentic inquiry tasks which give significance to learning and are relevant to the real world of the learner" (p. 200). Alternative assessment is also linked to sociocultural theory, as Gipps (1999) notes: "By combining interpretive and sociocultural perspectives, we can begin to cast new light on the relationship and power dynamics between pupil and teacher in the context of assessment" (p. 356). These perspectives view language development and learning as interactive, collaborative, and embedded in the social and cultural life of the individual. Key sociocultural concepts, such as Vygotsky's (1978) '*zone of proximal development*' (see above) and 'scaffolding' (Bruner, 1975), or mediated support for cognition and communication, are theoretically consistent with alternative assessment approaches which occur over time and evolve in relation to individual

learner interactions (see the chapters on Lantolf and Poehner, *Dynamic Assessment* in Volume 7). Such concepts are diametrically opposed to traditional testing, in which test takers act in isolation, in response to tests that are external, formalized and hierarchical (Birenbaum, 1996; Gipps, 1999; Lynch and Shaw, 2005).

Alternative assessment, then, is considered by some to be part of a new 'assessment culture' (Wolf, Bixby, Glenn, and Gardner, 1991) that values processes of learning and the unique performance of individuals. In sum, the move to an assessment culture (see Birenbaum, 1996; Lynch, 2001; Wolf, Bixby, Glenn, and Gardner, 1991) is evident in: (1) the centrality of the classroom (teaching practice and learning process); (2) the active role played by students/learners in assessment processes including standard setting, identification of evaluation criteria, procedures, etc.; (3) a heightened valuing of process; and (4) outcomes characterized by summaries of learner competencies which are detailed, descriptive and informative, rather than a single, quantifiable score. A movement to assessment culture is viewed by some as a movement away from traditional 'testing culture' (Wolf, Bixby, Glenn, and Gardner, 1991; Gipps, 1999). Testing culture is associated with positivist or post-positivist perspectives and assumptions (Lynch and Shaw, 2005) and rooted in measurement/psychometric theory, which emphasizes replicability and generalizability (Broadfoot, 1994). Such generalizable measurement at-a-distance, values objectivity by focusing on the measurement of products of learning, which are quantifiable and homogeneous, and allow for the ranking of individuals in relation to degree of mastery, proficiency, ability, etc. Testing culture disallows the unique or the situated nature of individual performance that is typical of learning process. Rather it attempts to control for context or culture as variables in test performance, because they contribute to error in the measurement. (*Note: For a comprehensive discussion of theoretical and practical issues regarding alternative assessment across a range of language learning and teaching contexts, see recent special issues of the journal *Language Testing: Assessing Young Language Learners*, 2000; *Re-thinking Alternative Assessment*, 2001; and *Exploring Diversity in Teacher Assessment*, 2004).*

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Although currently, much of the attention regarding alternative assessment is directed at either the issues that arise or the challenges that are addressed as a result of its use, some of the most innovative research is occurring in relation to dynamic assessment (see above) and mediated or co-constructed assessment tasks. Another promising line of research relates to issues of equity, fairness, and accommodation. Equity issues

related to traditional tests, particularly high-stakes, external, standardized tests, have been widely discussed in the research literature (Abedi, 2002; Solano-Flores and Trumbull, 2003). There has been a corresponding call for comprehensive and flexible alternative assessment systems (Lacelle-Peterson and Rivera, 1994); for assessment based on ‘overlapping’ information from multiple sources (Genesee and Hamayan, 1994); for assessment systems that culminate in conferences involving key stakeholders (e.g. teachers, parents, students) that lead to “conclusions, recommendations and pedagogical strategies” (Shohamy, 1996, p. 154). Lacelle-Peterson and Rivera (1994) argue for alternative assessment systems for language learners that “provide evidence of what students have accomplished, that facilitate achievement of educational goals, and that meaningfully inform instruction” (p. 66). Hargreaves, Earl, and Schmidt (2002) also argue for a systemic approach: an interactive and collaborative assessment system in which all stakeholders – learners, teachers, parents, schools, policy makers, etc. – make “assessment, learning, and teaching more technologically sophisticated, more critical and empowering, more collaborative and reflective, than they have ever been” (p. 92). One innovative example of an interactive and collaborative system of assessment is the Diagnostic English Language Needs Assessment (DELNA) (Elder, Erlam, and von Randow, 2006). This diagnostic assessment system provides individualized language and academic support on an ongoing basis for university-level students-at-risk.

It is possible to link the complementary or multiple performance view of alternative assessment to a continuum view of assessment approaches (Bailey, 1998; Brown and Hudson, 1998). Proponents of this view (see particularly Brown and Hudson, 1998) argue that although for heuristic purposes it is possible to view alternative assessment and traditional assessment as polar opposites, such a view misses “an important point: that there may be many increments between these poles, and that shades of gray are possible” (Bailey, 1998, p. 207). Thus, Brown and Hudson (1998) argue that such assessment procedures should be viewed not as alternative assessments but rather as alternatives in assessment, noting that “language teachers have always done assessment in one form or another and these new procedures are just new developments in that long tradition” (p. 657).

Brown and Hudson (1998) take a pragmatic position, arguing that portfolios, performance assessments, observations etc. are simply new options in the assessment repertoire. However, Lynch and Shaw (2005) take aim at this position, arguing that assessment can only be considered alternative if it is rooted in a paradigm and culture that is fundamentally different from that of traditional testing. Alternative assessment, they argue, differs: (1) in its requirements for reliability and its arguments

for validity; (2) in the nature of the relationship it presupposes between tester and test taker (teacher and learner); and (3) in its focus on learning and the processes of learning rather than their outcomes or products. They argue along with Birenbaum (1996) that traditional testing culture (see above) with its reliance on test-only strategies, products or outcomes, must give way to an assessment culture, which draws on multiple-sources of evidence to support learning and decision-making.

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Alternative assessment (in all of its guises) has become a highly conflicted area of debate. Challenges regarding the reliability/consistency and validity of alternative assessment, implementation, cost, uneven assessment expertise, unintended consequences, and the danger that alternative assessment will increase levels of surveillance and control, are widely discussed in the research literature.

The amount of time required for alternative assessment is one of the most frequently cited problems associated with its implementation (Hargreaves, Earl, and Schmidt, 2002). Portfolio assessment, performance assessment, anecdotal comments on learning progress, communication with stakeholders, development of learning profiles, conferences, etc. not only require a great deal of time, but also potentially increase the costs of assessment. Further, such approaches require levels of expertise that may not be fully developed in practice. Students may not have sufficient experience with alternative assessment to value “authentic” learning, and may instead subvert the intended purposes of an assessment (Spence-Brown, 2001), living up to what they perceive are external expectations to perform for marks—to ‘simulate’ reflection, thinking, learning, rather than to actually reflect, think or learn. Teachers may neither be able to connect ongoing assessment in support of individual learning with curricular goals, nor to effectively communicate information about development and growth to parents and other stakeholders. Perrone (1994) warns that “without a growing discourse about curriculum purposes, student understandings, and ways teachers can foster student learning, assessment measures such as portfolios and exhibitions will not have a very long or inspiring history” (p. 13).

Many other issues remain unresolved and contentious:

#### *Issues Related to Conceptions of Reliability*

Much debate regarding alternative assessment is focused on issues of reliability. A number of researchers (Brown and Hudson, 1998; Hamp-Lyons and Kroll, 1996) take issue with Huerta-Macías (1995) and others, who argue that the ‘trustworthiness’ of alternative assessments

(i.e., their credibility and auditability) is sufficient for claims of reliability. Kane, Crooks, and Cohen (1999) argue against Moss's hermeneutic approach to reliability. They see a dilemma with regard to the potential value of alternative assessment, pointing out that if reliability is lost, the relevance of the performance is questionable, because it cannot be measured as a result. Kane, Crooks, and Cohen. argue that the goal, therefore, is to "achieve relevance without sacrificing too much reliability/generalizability" (p. 12).

Indeed, it is the unique and varying nature of the evidence collected through alternative assessment that challenges raters—a challenge faced in all constructed response measurement. When alternative assessment has been used in large-scale, high-stakes contexts, such as Vermont's Portfolio Assessment Program, there have been difficulties identifying scoring guides with an appropriate level of specificity—neither too brief nor too detailed. Indeed, some alternative assessment proponents (Darling-Hammond, 1994) argue that it is inappropriate and misguided to use alternative assessments for norm-referenced purposes—purposes associated with traditional testing culture. They argue that what is essential, is a reconceptualization of appropriate criteria (Birenbaum, 1996; Taylor, 1994 ) or a movement away from measurement models which are detached from situated practice and learning process, to models or criteria which are embedded in the processes of learning.

### *Issues Related to Conceptions of Validity*

There is also considerable discussion regarding the validity of inferences drawn from alternative assessment—particularly in high-stakes contexts. Some argue that alternative assessments must meet the same "requirements of responsible test construction and decision making" (Brown and Hudson, 1998, p. 657) as are expected of traditional tests. Many criticize (see, for example Kane, Crooks, and Cohen, 1999) proponents of alternative assessment who argue that characteristics of authenticity or fidelity are sufficient conditions for claims of validity. Many unresolved issues remain with regard to, for example, the consistency of scoring, the equation of different forms of assessment, the sampling adequacy of performances, and the plausibility of the inferences that are drawn from alternative assessments. Further, questions of task-driven assessment versus construct-driven assessment (Bachman, 2002; Messick, 1994) are raised in relation to alternative assessment. Some argue that alternative assessment is essentially task-driven assessment and ultimately risks under-representation of constructs of interest. Further, issues regarding how to define a 'task', how assessment tasks affect performance assessment, and how test takers interact with assessment tasks remain largely unresolved and problematic (Bachman, 2002).

Proponents argue (as they have in response to issues raised regarding reliability) that expectations for validity must be rooted in an assessment culture rather than a testing or measurement culture. They argue that when the focus is on situated learning and the processes of learning, the nature of the evidence that supports the validity of inferences drawn from performance(s) is different from that of traditional tests. They argue that current conceptions of validity must be extended to reflect the purposes of alternative assessment. “In these models, assessment is used as a learning tool for schools and teachers rather than as a sledgehammer for sorting and sanctioning” (Darling-Hammond, 1994, p. 2). Birenbaum (1996) identifies the “dilemma” (p. 23) resulting from high-stakes alternative assessment programs used for traditional, measurement purposes such as accountability. She points out that alternative assessment tends to “compare unfavorably with traditional assessment devices when evaluated with respect to traditional conceptions of validity and reliability” (p. 23), and argues that the scope of these conceptions must be extended. She observes that the goals of measurement and instruction are in conflict, and considers that the type of testing or assessment that is used must be tied to its purpose, “as one assessment type cannot serve a multitude of purposes and audiences . . . one assessment type does not fit all students” (p. 23). She concludes that issues of validity may best be addressed by collecting evidence from multiple assessment types.

### *Issues Related to Implementation*

There are many challenges to the implementation of alternative assessment particularly with regard to the sociopolitical contexts in which they occur (see, for example Brindley, 1998). As Brindley (2001) notes, politicians are often at odds with alternative assessment procedures because such assessments take more time, draw on more resources, and are more complex to implement than traditional tests. Further, as Brindley (2001), Teasdale and Leung (2000), and others point out, many teachers and administrators are grossly under-prepared to carryout assessment agendas in either high- or low-stakes contexts.

## FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The issues raised regarding alternative assessment will no doubt be debated for years to come. The fact that for the first time alternative assessment is accorded a separate chapter in this encyclopedia is an indication of its growing importance. Whether an assessment culture replaces the current, dominant testing culture remains to be seen. This is the key point in Lynch and Shaw’s (2005) response to Brown and

Hudson (1998). If the issue is 'alternatives in assessment,' testing culture may well remain dominant and traditional measurement-driven notions of reliability, replicability, and generalizability will limit the role that nontraditional/alternative assessment can play. If, however, the trend is toward an assessment culture, we may well be entering an alternative era in testing and assessment, as Shohamy (1996) indicates we are. Alternative assessment, rooted in an assessment culture, will elicit multiple, ongoing performances; draw inferences from collections of evidence of language learning that are dynamic, situated, and unique to individual learners; and necessitate continuing dialogue and debate as part of the process of reconceptualizing reliability and validity within a framework of sociocultural theory.

**See Also:** *Jamal Abedi: Utilizing Accommodations in Assessment (Volume 7); James P. Lantolf and Matthew E. Poehner: Dynamic Assessment (Volume 7)*

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## TASK AND PERFORMANCE BASED ASSESSMENT

### INTRODUCTION

A performance test is “a test in which the ability of candidates to perform particular tasks, usually associated with job or study requirements, is assessed” (Davies et al., 1999, p. 144). In the assessment of second languages, tasks are designed to measure learners’ productive language skills through performances which allow candidates to demonstrate the kinds of language skills that may be required in a real world context. For example, a test candidate whose language is being evaluated for the purposes of entry into an English-speaking university or college might be asked to write a short academic essay, or an overseas-qualified doctor might participate in a job-specific role play with a ‘patient’ interviewer. These kinds of assessments are increasingly used in specific workplace language evaluations, and in educational contexts to evaluate language gains during a period of teaching.

The relationship between task and performance testing is a complex one. In the context of language testing and assessment, performance assessment has become increasingly important over the last two decades, and has been the focus of substantial empirical investigation. Performance based assessments can be more or less specific in terms of the language skills they are designed to assess. Tests such as the IELTS or TOEFL tests are large-scale, high-stakes tests that are designed to evaluate largely academic language skills, while others have proven valuable tools for assessing candidate performance in specific vocational contexts (for example, the Occupational English Test which is used for assessing the language skills of overseas-trained medical professionals prior to accreditation in Australia). The role of tasks in performance based assessments has recently attracted considerable attention, both from theoretical and practical perspectives. Generally, there is little agreement about where ‘task-based language assessment’ sits in relation to language testing more generally; Bachman (2002) uses the term ‘task-based language performance tests’ (TBLPA); while others (e.g., Mislevy, Steinberg and Almond, 2002; Norris, 2002) refer more generally to task-based language assessment, or TBLA. However, Brown, Hudson, Norris and Bonk (2002) define task-based language testing as a subset of performance based language testing, clearly distinguishing

between performance based testings, in which tasks are merely vehicles for eliciting language samples for rating, and task-based performance assessments in which tasks are used to elicit language to reflect the kind of real world activities learners will be expected to perform, and in which the focus is on interpreting the learners' abilities to use language to perform such tasks in the real world.

#### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Performance assessments have been used for the evaluation of second languages for at least half-a-century. McNamara (1996) argues that their development has been the result of two factors. The first stemmed from the need to evaluate the language of second language learners for the purposes of study in English-speaking universities, and from the need to ascertain the language abilities of second language learners entering specific workplace contexts (e.g., doctors, nurses, flight controller, pilots, teachers, tour guides). The second has resulted from the increasing focus in second language learning and teaching of communicative language ability with its focus on the ability to use language communicatively and appropriately in different contexts. Bachman's (1990) model of language proficiency, further developed in Bachman and Palmer (1996), with its focus on the learners' abilities to use language, has been hugely influential in developing the agenda for research into task and performance based language assessments. For test candidates, this trend toward task and performance based assessment means that they are evaluated on a much greater range of language skills than those traditionally measured by the more discrete, paper and pencil-based tests. Thus second language task and performance assessments have evolved in parallel with increasingly multicomponential models of language ability. The more communicative approaches to language learning and teaching have been necessitated by the need to assess language in use, rather than language as object. Building on Bachman's (1990) model of language ability, Bachman and Palmer (1996) articulate a detailed framework of task characteristics intended as the basis for both test design and test-related research. These characteristics focus on the setting, the test rubrics, the input to the task (both in terms of format and language input), the expected response (again in terms of format and language), and the relationship between the input and the response.

Second language performance assessments can be conducted in a variety of contexts. One option is *in situ* (e.g., in the classroom, in the workplace) through observation. McNamara (1996, following Jones, 1985; Slater, 1980) calls this a 'direct assessment' of the way in which language behaviour is evaluated since the language is being evaluated

in the context in which it is being used. Alternatively, second language performance assessments may be evaluated through simulations of real world performance, i.e., tasks tailor-made for the particular communicative purpose of the assessment. McNamara (1996) argues that there are two factors which distinguish second language performance tests from traditional tests of second language: the fact that there is a performance by the candidate, and that this is judged using an agreed set of criteria. Norris, Brown, Hudson and Yoshioka (1998) add a third criterion arguing that the tasks used in performance assessments should be as authentic as possible.

McNamara (1996) argues for a distinction between *strong* and *weak* forms of second language performance assessment, based on the criteria used for judging the performance. In the 'strong' sense, assessment is made on the basis of the extent to which the actual task itself has been achieved, with language being the means for fulfilling the task requirements rather than an end in itself. In the 'weak' sense, the focus of the assessment is less on the task and more on the language produced by the candidate, with the task serving only as the medium through which the language is elicited—successful performance of the task itself is not the focus of the assessment. This distinction is revisited in the later work of Brown, Hudson, Norris and Bonk (2002, pp. 9–11) in which the term *performance based testing* was used where the tasks are used to elicit language samples for the purposes of rating—in McNamara's terms, 'weak' performance assessments—and *task-based performance assessments* involve assessments in which tasks are used to elicit language to reflect the kind of real world activities learners will be expected to perform, and in which the focus is on interpreting the learners ability to perform such tasks in the real world (p. 11)—'strong' performance assessments in McNamara's terminology. This provides two very different ways of defining the construct. In the 'weak' version, the construct is defined as language ability. In the 'strong' version, it includes everything that might contribute to the successful completion of the task, which means that there are more likely to be a range of confounding factors including task characteristics and test-taker interactions with these, which might affect score interpretation and use.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

In the SLA literature, the properties and characteristics of tasks, and the different conditions under which they can be administered, have been the subject of intense scrutiny. A major focus of this research has been on how learners manage the differential cognitive load associated with different types of tasks and the extent to which these varying conditions and characteristics influence learner productions (see, for example, Ellis, 2003; Ellis and Yuan, 2004; Foster and Skehan, 1996; Skehan

and Foster, 1997; Yuan and Ellis, 2003). Different variables have been systematically investigated incorporating the conditions under which the tasks are administered, i.e., those conditions external to the task. A task condition which has received considerable attention is the provision, or not, of varying amounts of planning time (see, for example, Ellis, 2005). The internal characteristics of tasks have also attracted substantial attention. In particular, the series of studies by Foster and Skehan (Foster and Skehan, 1996, 1999; Skehan and Foster, 1997, 1999) indicate that different task characteristics (e.g., dialogic vs monologic, structured vs unstructured, simple vs complex in outcome) have differential impacts on measures of fluency, complexity and accuracy in the learners discourse (Skehan, 2001).

Much of the earlier work has been motivated by information processing models of second language acquisition (SLA) (see Skehan, 1998) and has used detailed analyses of elicited discourse (written or spoken) to evaluate changes in measures of complexity, accuracy and fluency, which might result from different task conditions and characteristics. However, as Chalhoub-Deville (2001) points out, while the task has been a focus of discussion and empirical investigation for some time in the second language literature, it has not always been the case with the tasks used in performance testing and assessment. Recently, however, a spate of studies have begun to examine task properties in relation to how they might impact on candidate performance in the context of assessment. This research has been conducted in two distinct paradigms: in relation to classroom-based assessment practice and in relation to high-stakes assessments, such as TOEFL and IELTS. The approach taken by many of these studies has been to evaluate learner performances on two levels—externally through rating, and internally through analyses of candidate discourse.

Task-based performance assessments in teaching programmes have proven particularly valuable because task-based assessments can be linked to teaching outcomes, provided outcomes are defined in terms of task fulfilment, rather than purely in terms of language ability. A further consequence can be that well-designed assessment tasks have the potential to provide positive wash-back into the classroom. However, the issues raised by the use of tasks for these types of assessments are considerable. Brindley and Slatyer (2002) examined the effect of varying the characteristics and conditions in listening assessment tasks used in the context of an outcomes-based reporting system in which teachers themselves developed tasks for assessment purposes, and Wigglesworth (2001) undertook a similar investigation of speaking tasks by manipulating a series of task conditions and characteristics. Both studies found small effects as a result of manipulating the variables,

but also point out that interaction affects impact on the variables in ways which are difficult to separate. Such studies, which systematically manipulate different task variables, are of crucial importance since teachers are often involved in the development of assessment tasks, and must understand how these work in order to produce comparable and defensible judgements of students for classroom assessment purposes. As Brindley (2001) points out, in the outcomes-based systems of assessment which are used in some teaching programmes (e.g., the Adult Migrant English Program in Australia), guidelines are needed to assist teachers in developing appropriate assessment tasks. Such guidelines are required to identify for teachers, or for test developers, the ways in which different variables may affect candidate outcomes on the tasks.

In the high-stakes testing context, the recent focus on task properties and characteristics has been addressed in a series of studies which used test scores to investigate potential differences, as well as measures of complexity, accuracy and fluency to determine whether finer distinctions imperceptible to raters are marked in the candidate discourse (see, for example, Elder, Iwashita and McNamara, 2002; Elder and Wigglesworth, 2005; Iwashita, Elder and McNamara, 2001; Wigglesworth, 1997). The general outcome of these studies has been that raters perceive no differences; in general very few, if any, differences have been detected in the discourse. Necessarily, given the testing focus, task difficulty has been a particular focus of these studies, since for testing purposes it would be useful to be able to design tasks of predictable levels of difficulty which can be manipulated to elicit appropriate performances across candidates. Norris, Brown, Hudson and Yoshioka (1998) and Brown, Hudson, Norris and Bonk (2002) provide a comprehensive empirical investigation of the problems of the comparability of real world performance tasks by systematically manipulating three cognitive processing variables (code complexity, cognitive complexity and communicative demand) in a series of test tasks. In summarising their findings in relation to task difficulty, Norris, Brown and Bonk (2002, p. 414) point out the importance of individual responses to tasks, which may impact on measures of task difficulty. They argue that:

initial evidence from this study did not support the use of the cognitive processing factors – as operationalized in our original task difficulty framework – for the estimation of eventual performance difficulty differences among test tasks. While there was some indication that average performance levels associated with the three cognitive task types differed in predicted ways, these differences did not extend to individual tasks. What is more, evidence suggests that examinees may have been responding to tasks in idiosyncratic ways,

in particular as a result of their familiarity with both task content and task procedures.

Elder, Iwashita and McNamara (2002) asked candidates about their perception of task difficulty and found they too were unable to estimate the difficulty of a task even after they had performed it. Indeed, Bachman (2002) argues that the complex nature of task performances, which involve large numbers of interactions (e.g., between candidate and task, task and rater, candidate and interlocutor, etc.) means that task difficulty cannot be conceptualised as a separate factor.

While both writing and speaking performance test tasks need to be subjectively rated, with all that rater variables entail, performance testing in the assessment of speaking skills brings the additional variable of the interlocutor. As Brown (2003) shows the same candidate can produce qualitatively different performances when interviewed by different interviews, and these may mean that the raters interpret the candidate's performance differently. Other studies (e.g., Morton, Wigglesworth and Williams, 1997; McNamara and Lumley, 1997), where raters evaluated not only the candidate, but the interlocutor performance as well, have found that raters tend to compensate for what they view as deficient interviewer behaviour. However, as Brown (2003) points out, such differences in interlocutor behaviour, and how they might impact on the candidate's performance, are not easily predictable. Moreover, it is "simply not appropriate to assume that the variation that is allowed to occur is not relevant to the construct, especially where the construct can be interpreted as encompassing interpersonal communication skills" (Brown, 2003, p. 20).

Another aspect of a task which may influence test scores is the nature of the rating scale used to judge performance. Since judgements are by nature subjective, raters require well-defined rating scales. Rating scales consist of a set of criteria upon which a performance can be judged. They are necessarily limited in scope because no rating scale can attend to all possible aspects of performance, and thus choices about *what* to rate (intelligibility, accuracy, complexity, clarity) must be made, as well as choices about what *proportion* of the score is appropriate to allocate to each rating criterion—in other words are some criteria weighted more heavily than others? Rating scales need to be designed to allow accurate judgements of the speech or writing samples elicited, and need to be valid in terms of the relevant language construct. Rating scales may rate task performance globally, based on a holistic impression, or analytically on a feature-by-feature basis. However, there is considerable debate, although limited empirical investigation, about the advantages and disadvantages of the different types of scales (Weigle, 2002). Real world judgements may vary widely, however, with potential consequences for test fairness. It is now widely

acknowledged that raters differ in both self-consistency and in their severity (Upshur and Turner, 1999) and also in the way they construe the different elements of the rating scale (Lumley, 2002). Rater training thus becomes a critical component in task-based performance assessment. While ideally, rater training may aim to reduce differences in severity across different raters, where this is not achievable, training needs to ensure that raters discriminate consistently in terms of severity across different levels of performance. As a result of these inherent differences in rater severity, best practice in assessment advocates double rating, or even multiple ratings in the event of discrepancy between pairs. Statistical analyses of scores can then be used to gain a greater understanding of how different raters behave or to compensate for individual rater differences.

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

A central tenet of task-based language assessments is that the tasks are designed to represent authentic activities which test candidates might be expected to encounter in the real world outside the classroom. In particular, as Douglas (2000) points out, authenticity is central to the assessment of language for specific purposes, and is part of what differentiates it from more general types of language testing. This is because a “specific purpose language test is one in which test content and methods are derived from an analysis of a specific purposes target language use situation, so that test tasks and content are authentically representative of tasks in the target situation” (p. 19). However, the issue of authenticity is not a trivial one, and the extent to which specific tasks can represent authentic real world activity has attracted considerable debate and empirical investigation, using a variety of different approaches (see, for example, Cumming, Grant, Mulcahy-Ernt and Powers, 2004; Lewkowicz, 2000; Spence-Brown, 2001; Wu and Stansfield, 2001). While there is broad agreement that a needs analysis is a crucial step in addressing issues of authenticity of task (e.g., Bachman and Palmer 1996; Brown, Hudson, Norris and Bonk, 2002; Douglas, 2000; Norris, Brown, Hudson and Yoshioka, 1998), the extent to which inferences can be made from the language elicited by particular test tasks as a reflection of the candidates’ ability to manage the task in a subsequent real world context is not fully resolved.

Concerns that need to be addressed in relation to authenticity relate to the problem of the generalisability of the outcome. In the ‘weak’ view of language testing, where concern is with the underlying language abilities, a criterion of task fulfilment may not be considered of great importance. In the ‘strong’ view of performance testing, a task designed to assess the ability of candidates to carry out the activity in

a real world setting would need to be assessed on a criterion of task fulfilment rather than for its linguistic accuracy, for example. At issue here is who should decide whether the task has been carried out successfully—language specialists, or specialists in the field of the task activity? There are a number of studies which have examined this issue (e.g., Brown, 1995; Elder, 1993; Elder and Brown, 1997) but the question remains one of balancing authenticity and generalisability. While the ‘weak’ view is likely to assess underlying language skills in ways which are relatively broadly generalisable, the ‘strong’ view is likely to produce judgements which are more authentic and relevant to the real life situations toward which the candidate may be moving. These judgements about the quality of performance may not, however, be replicable in other contexts.

Bachman (2002) argues that because tasks in real life are both extremely complex and diverse, and they are subject to great variation depending on a range of factors, it is very difficult to use tasks in a test situation to predict performance in real life. Wu and Stansfield (2001) are less sceptical, but nevertheless argue that the authenticity of task-based assessment instruments need to be verified by eliciting comments and critiques from those who undertake such tasks in the real world at every stage of the test development procedure. This points to the difficulty of task selection—who decides which tasks should be selected, and on the basis on what criteria are these decisions made. The extent to which the tasks in an assessment adequately sample the target language use domain must be evaluated since this impacts on the content relevance and coverage of the test.

The use of integrated tasks goes beyond the notion of assessing skills independently of one another. Thus, reading might be used as a stimulus for tasks which also involve either writing or speaking, or both. This is true of the new internet-based TOEFL (iBT), a test of academic English for candidates intending further study at English-speaking institutions. In addition to enhancing the authenticity of the tasks, integrated tasks also mitigate against some candidates having greater familiarity with the topic than others, since a common source of input can be provided in the form of either a listening and/or reading text for a writing or speaking task. The written script by the candidate must then be based on the information provided in the text. A study by Cumming et al. (2002) of the TOEFL iBT prototype tasks found that ESL instructors viewed such tasks positively, considering that the performances elicited were similar to those produced by the same students in their classes. However, rating such tasks may also be difficult because comprehension (or not) of the input texts may influence the quality of the writing.

Task-based performance testing is attractive as an assessment option because its goal is to elicit language samples which measure the breadth of linguistic ability in candidates, and because it aims to elicit samples of communicative language (language in use) through tasks which replicate the kinds of activities which candidates are likely to encounter in the real world. As a test method, however, it remains one of the most expensive approaches to assessment, and in terms of development and delivery, one of the most complex. There is also the potential for reduced generalizability since tasks used in such assessments tend to be complex and context specific, which means that inferences which are based on them may not always extrapolate to the domains they are intended to represent. An additional difficulty is that of replicating tasks in a way which ensures consistency of measurement.

### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The development of appropriate tasks for use in performance assessment must be underpinned by an understanding of how the tasks relate to the construct, and of which factors may potentially interfere with their validity and reliability. There is currently only a relatively limited amount of empirical research which systematically examines the types of tasks used in task and performance based assessments, and which can illuminate how different tasks work for assessment purposes. The complex nature of tasks, and their relationship to real world performances, makes it crucial that we understand more about how the various different elements of the task, which impact on candidate performance with the task, interact. As has been pointed out elsewhere (see, for example, Bachman, 2002; Iwashita, Elder and McNamara, 2001), these interaction effects need to be explored in much greater depth. There is a long list of complex interactions which may impact in varying ways on test performance. These potentially include interactions between, among others, the test taker and the task, the interlocutor and test taker, the test takers themselves (in the case of paired or group orals) the interlocutor and task, the rater and rating criteria and the rater and interlocutor. In addition to this there are the affective factors which may impact on the test score, for example, the rater or interlocutor's reaction to the test taker's personality (and possibly vice versa). Other affective factors which may impact on test scores include anxiety and motivation and other characteristics which may impact on an individual performance, or on how an individual rater or interlocutor reacts to a performance on a particular day.

Testing is a socially situated activity although the social aspects of testing have been relatively under-explored (see McNamara and

Roever, forthcoming). Testing and assessment activities take place in a social context, and this is particularly the case with task and performance based assessment. In speaking assessments, the role of the interlocutor has a crucial role to play. However, while the interlocutor is often a trained interviewer, this role may also be taken by another test candidate, or a group of test candidates. In relation to paired and group test activities a whole raft of variables are ripe for exploration since “we can hypothesize that the sociocultural norms of interaction . . . contribute significantly to variability in performance” (O’Sullivan, 2002, p. 291). The extent to which they contribute in systematic ways to the way tasks are interpreted and undertaken is yet to be determined.

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## UTILIZING TECHNOLOGY IN LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT

### INTRODUCTION

Most people associate technology with efficiency. Accordingly, applied linguists might consider technology in language assessment by discussing ways in which it streamlines the testing process. Indeed, much progress can be identified with respect to this worthwhile goal, as many language tests today are delivered on microcomputers and over the Internet. An equally important strand of language assessment concerns its effects on language learning, language teaching, and knowledge within the field of applied linguistics. The story of technology in language assessment, therefore, needs to encompass both the efficiency of technical accomplishments, which is evident in part through the success of testing programs in constructing technology-based tests, as well as the effects of these tests. Technology can encompass a broad range of devices used in the testing process, from recording equipment, statistical programs, and data bases, to programs capable of language recognition (Burstein, Frase, Ginther, and Grant, 1996). However, here the focus will be on the use of computer technology for delivering tests and processing test takers' linguistic responses because these are the practices with the most direct impact on test takers and educational programs. The use of computer technology in language assessment is referred to as Computer-Assisted Language Assessment or Computer-Assisted Language Testing (CALT), two phrases that are used interchangeably.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Early developments in computer-assisted language assessment consisted of a few demonstration projects and tests used in university language courses. Many of these were reported in two edited collections, *Technology and Language Testing* (Stansfield, 1986) and *Computer-Assisted Language Learning and Testing: Research Issues and Practice* (Dunkel, 1991), but others had been published as journal articles before or in the same time period as these. Three important themes were prevalent in this early work.

One was the use of a psychometric approach called item response theory (Hambleton, Swaminathan, and Rogers, 1991; Lord, 1980), which provides a means for obtaining robust statistical data on test

items. These item statistics, obtained from pre-testing items on a large group of examinees, are used as data by a computer program to help select appropriate test questions for examinees during test-taking. Item response theory, which offers an alternative to calculation of item difficulty and discrimination through classic true score methods, entails certain assumptions about the data. The use of these methods, the assumptions they entail, and the construction and use of the first computer-adaptive tests comprised the major preoccupation of the language testers at the beginning of the 1980s. This was the time when the first microcomputers were within reach for many applied linguists, and item response theory seemed to appear at the ideal time to make use of the new technology. Most of the papers in the early edited volumes in addition to journal articles (e.g., Larson and Madsen, 1985) focused on issues associated with computer-adaptive testing.

Other early developments appeared in a few papers exploring possibilities other than adaptivity, which were presented through the use of technology. The first issue of *Language Testing Update* at Lancaster University entitled "Innovations in language testing: Can the micro-computer help?" addressed the many capabilities of computers and how these might be put to use to improve language assessment for all test users, including learners (Alderson, 1988). A paper appearing in *CALICO Journal* at that time raised the need to reconcile the computer's capability for recording detailed diagnostic information with the test development concepts for proficiency testing, which are aimed to produce good total scores (Clark, 1989). A few years later, Corbel (1993) published a research report at the National Centre for English Language Teaching and Research at Macquarie University, *Computer-Enhanced Language Assessment*, which also raised substantive questions about how technology might improve research and practice in language teaching and testing.

These papers, in addition to some in the edited volumes, expressed a similar vision and quest concerning the potential significance of technology for changes and innovation in second language assessment. They presented what appeared to be an agenda-setting collection of questions about how technology might provide the impetus and mechanisms for developments in theory and practice for language assessment. However, a technology agenda for language assessment requires considerable infrastructure in addition to cross-disciplinary knowledge dedicated to problems in language assessment. At this time, decision makers at the large testing companies, where such resources resided, apparently did not see technology-based assessment as a practical reality for operational testing programs, and therefore, substantial resources were not devoted to exploring a broad technology agenda. Instead, discussion of just a few innovative projects produced in

higher education appeared; they described how assessments had been developed to support language instruction (Boyle, Smith, and Eckert, 1976; Marty, 1981).

Despite the handful of projects and reports, early developments in this area comprise a short story relative to other areas in applied linguistics; moreover, what might have been the most significant advances involving computer recognition of examinees' constructed responses remained in research laboratories and out of reach for assessment practice (Wresch, 1993). This frustrating reality coupled with technical hardware and software challenges and the intellectual distance between most applied linguists and technology resulted in a slow start. By 1995, many applied linguists were voicing doubts and concerns about the idea of delivering high stakes language tests by computer, fearing that the negative consequences would far outweigh any advantages. As it turned out, however, the technologies affecting language assessment did not wait for the approval and support of applied linguists, and consequently by the middle of the 1990s, many testing programs were beginning to develop and use computer-assisted language tests.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The rocky beginning for technology in language assessment is probably forgotten history for most test users, as major contributions have now changed the assessment landscape considerably. Evidence of the impact of technology appears in each of the volumes in the *Cambridge Language Assessment Series*. Whether authors are writing about vocabulary, writing, or speaking, technology is brought up by authors as an important and practice-altering phenomenon. Contributions are complex and varied, but they might be summarized in terms of the way that technology has changed and improved three aspects of testing method.

The use of computer-adaptive testing is perhaps the clearest success for technology in language assessment. Computer-adaptive language tests have been developed and are used routinely for proficiency and placement testing. Many computer-adaptive testing projects have been reported regularly in edited books (i.e., Chalhoub-Deville, 1999, and the ones cited earlier) and journal articles (e.g., Burston and Monville, 1995). By evaluating examinees' responses immediately as they are entered, a computer-adaptive test avoids items that are either too easy or too difficult; such items waste time because they provide little information about the examinee's ability. In addition to creating efficient tests, these projects have raised important issues about the way language is measured, the need for independent items, and their selection through an adaptive algorithm. Therefore, results from this work have prompted conceptual discussion and empirical research which serves

to better understand the use of computer-adaptive testing. One line of research, for example, examines the effects of various schemes for adaptivity on learners' affect and test performance (Vispoel, Hendrickson, Bleiler, 2000). Another seeks strategies for grouping items in a manner that preserves their context to allow several items to be selected together because they are associated with a single reading passage, for example.

A second advance has resulted from the use of multimedia in testing listening. In the past, the testing of listening comprehension was limited to the examiner's oral presentation of linguistic input, either live or prerecorded, to a room full of examinees. They were required to listen and respond according to the timing controlled by the examiner. Such constraints on the input and the expected response are desirable for some test situations, but in view of the variety of situations for which one might wish to test listening, most test developers and users feel empowered by technology that allows them to design listening tests that more accurately assess the specific aspects of listening of interest to their purposes. The use of multimedia provides test developers with the opportunity to contextualize aural language with images, and to allow examinees to control their test-taking speed and requests for repetition. The fact that one can choose multimedia for assessment of listening does not mean that test developers always choose to do so. The availability of this option for construction of a test, however, brings interesting research questions about the nature of listening and the generalizability of listening across different listening tasks.

The third contribution is the use of natural language-processing technologies for evaluating the learners' spoken and written language. One of the most serious limitations with large-scale testing in the past was the over-reliance on selected response items. Dichotomously scored selected response items were chosen in large part because they could be machine scored. Research was focused on developing the best possible selected response items to assess language, but the fact is that language assessment for most situations is better achieved if examinees produce language. After many years of research on natural language processing for language assessment, a number of testing programs have put natural language processing technologies to work to make learners' constructed linguistic responses machine scorable as well. Analysis of learner language by the computer is not widely used and this remains the most advanced technology applied to language testing, but tests of English as a second language now exist with some machine scoring of examinees' constructed linguistic responses, both speech (Ordinate, 2002) and writing (Powers, Burstein, Chodorow, Fowles, and Kukich, 2001).

These technical advances in test methods need to be seen within the social and political contexts that make technology accessible and viable to test developers, test takers, and test users. For test developers, the fact of CALT implemented in large high-stakes testing is a significant accomplishment. Not long ago most test developers felt that the operational constraints of delivering language tests by computer may be insurmountable. Today, however, many large testing organizations are taking advantage of technical capabilities that researchers have been investigating for at least the last 20 years. As computer-assisted language assessment has become a reality, test takers have needed to reorient their test preparation practices to help them prepare for new test items, procedures for registering, and increased fees associated with increased costs for test delivery. Language teachers who have not embraced the use of computer-assisted language learning in their classes need to reconsider the scope of their test preparation. While the effects of technology in language assessment ripple through the educational system, researchers continue to investigate the many issues it raises.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

The primary impetus for using technology in language assessment has been to improve the efficiency of current testing practice and thus much of the work in progress has centered on this objective. Computer-adaptive testing is one efficiency-oriented practice. Reporting on a computer-adaptive test developed to increase efficiency of placement, Madsen (1991, p. 245) described the goal as follows: "intensive-English directors confirmed that the instrument they needed was an efficient and accurate ESL proficiency test rather than a diagnostic test." He describes the results of the research and development efforts in terms of the number of items required for placement, the mean number of items attempted by examinees, the mean amount of time it took students to complete the test, and students' affective responses to taking the test on the computer. The motivation of efficiency continues to be apparent in much of the work in progress, which extends beyond computer-adaptive testing to the use of natural language processing for evaluating learners' written and oral language.

A related strand of research appears in situations where existing testing practices are targeted for replacement by computer-assisted testing. The objective in these cases is to demonstrate the equivalence of the computer-assisted tests to the existing paper-and-pencil tests. For example, such a study of the Test of English Proficiency developed by Seoul National University examined the comparability of computer-based and paper-based language tests (CBLT and PBLT, respectively).

Choi, Kim, and Boo (2003) explained the need for assessing comparability in practical terms: “Since the CBLT/CALT version of the [Test of English Proficiency] TEPS will be used with its PBLT version for the time being, comparability between PBLT and CBLT is crucial if item statistics and normative tables constructed from PBLT are to be directly transported for use in CBLT” (Choi, Kim, and Boo, 2003, p. 296). The study, which used multiple forms of analysis to assess comparability of the constructs measured by the two tests, found support for similarity of constructs across the two sets of tests, with the listening and grammar sections showing the strongest similarities, and the reading sections showing the weakest.

In addition to the practical motivation for assessing similarity, the scientific question is an important one. Unfortunately, few studies have investigated the comparability of examinees’ performance on computer-assisted tests with their performance on what appears to be comparable paper-and-pencil tests (Sawaki, 2001). The use of technology for test delivery is frequently a decision that is made before research, and therefore the issue for practice is how to prepare the examinees sufficiently so that they will not be at a disadvantage due to lack of computer experience. This was the approach taken by researchers concerned with the computer-based version of the TOEFL. Taylor, Kirsch, Eignor, and Jamieson (1999) gave the examinees a tutorial to prepare them for the computer-delivered items before they investigated the comparability of the computer-based and the paper-and-pencil versions of test items for the TOEFL. In this case, the research objective is to demonstrate how any potential experience-related difference among test takers can be minimized.

Beyond the issues of efficiency and comparability, another area of great interest is the use of technology to expand the uses and usefulness of language tests. Language tests delivered through the Web offer the potential for testing that is readily accessible to learners (Roever, 2001). For high-stakes testing the potential advantages of Web-based testing are offset by the need for security, and therefore the accessibility of the Web is of greatest interest in low-stakes testing. Educators hoping to increase the impact of low-stakes testing are putting technology to work in helping learners to identify their accomplishments and learning needs. The most visible evidence of this is DIALANG. Alderson’s (2005) extensive description of results from the DIALANG project explores its usefulness in offering diagnostic information to learners and increasing their understanding of their language learning. Whereas DIALANG is intended to have extensive impact on language learners due to its accessibility on the Web, other assessments aimed at learning appear in computer-assisted language learning materials. *Longman English Interactive* (Rost, 2003), for example, includes assessments

regularly throughout the process of instruction to help learners to know how well they have learned what was taught in each unit. Such assessments, which also appear in many teacher-made materials, use technology to change the dynamic between test takers and tests by providing learners a means for finding out how they are doing, what they need to review, and whether they are justified in their level of confidence about their knowledge.

All of this work in progress relies on significant software infrastructure for constructing language tests, and therefore another area of current work is the development of authoring systems. Due to limitations in the existing authoring tools for instruction and assessment, most language-testing researchers would like to have authoring tools intended to address their testing goals directly, including the integration of testing with instruction, analysis of learners' constructed responses, and capture and analysis of oral language. As such capabilities are contemplated for authoring tools, so are new methods for conceptualizing the assessment process. Widely used psychometric theory and tools were developed around the use of dichotomously scored items that are intended to add up to measure a unitary construct. The conception of Almond, Steinberg, and Mislevy (2002) underlying their test authoring tools reframes measurement as a process of gathering evidence (consisting of test takers' performance) to make inferences about their knowledge and capabilities. The nature of the evidence can be, but does not have to be, dichotomously scored items; it can also be the results from a computational analysis of learners' production (Holland, 1994). Inferences can be made about multiple forms of knowledge or performance. The emphasis on evidence and inference underlies plans for developing authoring tools for computer-assisted testing that can include a variety of types of items and can perform analysis on the results that are obtained—all within one system.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

With the intriguing potentials apparent in current work, many problems and challenges remain in this area. The most evident is the infrastructure to which test developers, researchers, and test takers must gain access. Changing technologies makes it difficult to create a system for authoring that takes advantage of current technical knowledge. Testing programs need to have built-in mechanisms for updating software, hardware, and technical skills of employees. Keeping up with the realities of technology use requires substantial financial investment. It is not surprising then that the large testing companies with the most resources have been the first to move forward with substantial progress in technology. To some extent they have done so by increasing fees for

those using their tests. In some cases costs are borne by language programs, but in many other cases, the costs are passed on to those who are least able to pay—the test takers themselves. The technology-driven cost increases for language tests that are required for admission to higher education present a potentially significant hurdle for many test takers. Small testing organizations, publishing companies for whom testing is just one part of their overall profile, as well as school-based testing programs have to rely on strategic partnerships to combine expertise, limited resources, and technologies. Navigation of these waters in a quickly changing environment requires exceptionally knowledgeable leadership.

Challenges that may be less evident to test users are those that language testing researchers grapple with as they attempt to develop appropriate tests and justify their use for particular purposes. As Bachman (2000, p. 9) put it, “the new task formats and modes of presentation that multimedia computer-based test administration makes possible raise all of the familiar validity issues, and may require us to redefine the very constructs we believe we are assessing.” Chapelle (2003) provided two examples of how technology complicates questions about what a test measures. One example centers on how strategic competence is defined and assessed. For example, in a computer-assisted reading test, the test tasks might allow the test takers access to a dictionary and other reading aids such as images. In this case, the construct tested would be the ability to read with strategic use of online help. The reading strategies entailed in such tasks are different from those used to read when no help is available, and therefore the definition of strategic competence becomes critical for the construct assessed. Should test takers be given access to help while reading on a reading test? One approach to the dilemma is for the test developer to decide whether or not access to help constitutes an authentic task for the reader. In other words, if examinees will be reading online with access to help, such options should be provided in the test as well. However, the range of reading tasks the examinees are likely to engage in is sufficiently large and diverse to make the authentic task approach unsatisfactory for most test uses. The reading construct needs to be defined as inclusive of particular strategic competencies that are required for successful reading across a variety of contexts.

A second example of how technology intersects with construct definition comes from tests that use natural language processing to conduct detailed analyses of learners’ language. Such analyses might be used to calculate a precise score about learners’ knowledge or to tabulate information about categories of linguistic knowledge for diagnosis. In either case, if an analysis program is to make use of such information,

the constructs assessed need to be defined in detail. A general construct definition such as ‘speaking ability’ does not give any guidance concerning which errors and types of disfluencies should be considered more serious than others, or which ones should be tabulated and placed in a diagnostic profile. Current trends in scoring holistically for overall communicative effectiveness circumvent the need for taking a close linguistic look at constructed responses. One of the few studies to grapple with this issue (Coniam, 1996) pointed out the precision afforded by the computational analysis of the learners’ responses far exceeded that of the construct of listening that the dictation test was measuring. To this point assessment research has not benefited from the interest that second language acquisition researchers have in assessing detailed linguistic knowledge; it remains a challenge (Alderson, 2005).

Another challenge that faces language testing researchers is the need to evaluate computer-assisted language tests. As described earlier, current practices have focused on efficiency and comparability. However, one might argue that the complexity inherent in new forms of computer-assisted language assessment should prompt the use of more sensitive methods for investigating validity. When the goal of test development is to construct a more efficient test, then efficiency should clearly be part of the evaluation, but what about computer-assisted tests that are intended to provide more precise measurement, better feedback to learners, or greater accessibility to learners? If the scores obtained through the use of natural language processing analysis are evaluated by correlating them with scores obtained by human raters or scores obtained with dichotomously scored items (e.g., Henning, Anbar, Helm, and D’Arcy, 1993), how is the potential additional value of the computer to be detected?

In arguing for evaluation methods geared toward computer-assisted language tests, some language-testing researchers have focused on interface issues (Fulcher, 2003; Noijons, 2004). This approach focuses on an important area that is distinct for computer-assisted tests. It seems that the challenge is to place these interface issues within a broader perspective on validation that is not overly preoccupied by efficiency and comparability with paper-and-pencil tests. Chapelle, Jamieson, and Hegelheimer (2003), for example, frame their evaluation of a Web-based test in broader terms, looking at a range of test qualities. Chapelle and Douglas (2006) suggest the continued need to integrate the specific technology concerns into an overall agenda for conceptualizing validation in language assessment that includes the consequences of test use. Technology reemphasizes the need for researchers to investigate the consequences of testing. Such consequences might include benefits such as raising awareness of the options for learning through

technology. In this way, CALT may offer a kind of positive washback if, as many teachers and researchers argue, students should have access to learning materials online to increase computer literacy and literacy in the target language.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

These two sets of challenges—the obvious ones pertaining to infrastructure and the more subtle conceptual issues evident to language testing researchers—combine to create a third issue for the field of applied linguistics. How can improved knowledge about the use of technology be produced and disseminated within the profession? What is the role of applied linguist in resolving the complex issues associated with computer-assisted language assessment? What is the knowledge and experience that graduate students in applied linguistics should attain if they are to contribute positively to the next generations of computer-assisted language tests? At present, it is possible to identify some of the issues raised through the use of technology that might be covered in graduate education, but if graduate students are to dig into the language-testing issues, they need to be able to create and experiment with computer-based tests.

Such experimentation requires authoring tools that are sufficiently easy to learn and transportable beyond graduate school. Commercial authoring tools that are widely accessible are not particularly suited to the unique demands of language assessment such as the need for linked items, the evaluation of learners' oral and written production, and the collection of spoken responses. As a consequence, many students studying language assessment have no experience in considering the unique issues that these computer capabilities present to language testing. In a sense, the software tools available constrain thinking about language assessment.

Limitations in accessible authoring tools may account in part for limits in the use of technology in language assessment today. Based on a review of the state of research and practice in computer-assisted language assessment, Chapelle and Douglas (2006) conclude that progress has been evolutionary rather than revolutionary. The evolutionary changes are grounded in maximizing efficiencies by using technology to improve the same testing practices that have been in place for years. Revolutionary changes may be on the horizon based on recent developments such as DIALANG that offer assessment to learners for their benefit, but such developments are likely to come hand in hand with increases in our understanding of language acquisition.

In the meantime, can technology make language assessment more efficient? Probably for those test developers with the resources and

knowledge to take advantage of current computer capabilities. For test users and test takers, the response would have to be more equivocal. However, efficiency is only part of the issue. The question about technology is also about the extent to which computer-assisted assessments have helped to increase the usefulness of assessment throughout the educational process, strengthen applied linguists' understanding of language proficiency, and expand their agendas for test validation. Some signs of progress in these areas are evident.

**See Also:** *Do Coyle: CLIL—A Pedagogical Approach from the European Perspective (Volume 4)*

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## LARGE SCALE LANGUAGE ASSESSMENTS

### INTRODUCTION

Large-scale language assessments have become increasingly important in the last 25 years in many parts of the world in the school, college, and university contexts. This type of assessment is used in the school context mainly to monitor student progress through standardized test administration, scoring, and reporting, to collect uniform baseline information from a large group of students across geographical areas, to provide diagnostic information to all stakeholders (teachers, students, parents, school, administrators, etc.), and for state level accountability purposes. At the college and university levels, this type of assessment (popularly known as the entrance examination) is used primarily in the screening and selection of applicants to these institutions, in measuring student achievement across geographical regions for accountability purposes, to encourage competition, and to ensure equal opportunities (as only the highly able can be rewarded with admission to colleges and universities and job opportunities). As varied as these purposes are, the main feature of large-scale language assessment is the uniformity of tests and testing practice (including test administration, scoring, reporting, and score interpretation) across geographical regions, administration time, test raters and score interpretation. This has been largely possible because of the influences of modern educational measurement theory on large-scale assessment practice. While this emphasis on uniformity has served large scale language assessment reasonably well, there have been criticisms regarding the inflexibility of test conceptualization and design, a lack of fairness research, and inadequate skills diagnosis and feedback to test score users. These topics and challenges are discussed after a brief examination of the early developments of large-scale language assessment.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

It can be argued that the prehistory of large-scale assessment system started with the Chinese Civil Service examination system instituted in Imperial China as early as the Han Dynasty (202 BCE to 221CE), continued during the Sui emperors (589–618CE) and T'ang (618–906), with heavy reliance during the Ming (1368–1644) and the Qing emperors

(1644–1911). In all the dynasties, the examination system was primarily created as a way of identifying merit and capability, and offering equal opportunity as an alternative to privilege and patronage in the selection of civil servants, but also to reduce the power of the aristocracy and create a bureaucratic class that was obedient to the emperor. In the examinations at the district, prefectural, qualifying, provincial, metropolitan and the palace levels, the examinations included language tasks such as the ability to write an essay on a political topic, to write poetry on given subjects using set poetic forms or rhymes, calligraphy (called the Imperial rescript or exact article reproduction), along with knowledge of the classics based on questions from the Four Books<sup>1</sup> (Miyazaki, 1976).

In Europe on the other hand, as Durkheim (1938) states “in the university and the colleges of the Middle Ages, the system of competition was completely unknown. In those days, there were no rewards to recompense merit and induce effort. Examinations were organized in such a way that for conscientious pupils they were little more than a formality” (trans. Collins, 1979, p. 261). According to Amano (1983), in the seventeenth century,

“government offices were virtually the property of the aristocracy. Important families directly participated in the sale and purchase of government offices and in the reassignment of officials . . . however superior the Chinese competitive examination system might have been, the necessary social and political conditions for its import were not found in Europe. It was not until the eighteenth century that a competitive examination system became linked to the system for employing government officials” (trans. Cummings and Cummings, 1990, p. 10).

In England’s Victorian era, the idea of examinations took root under the influence of utilitarian thinkers like Bentham, Mill, and Macaulay. Macaulay who entered parliament in 1830 also became a noted supporter of the use of examinations for entry to public office. He developed the argument that early promise in youth is a good predictor of people’s potential for future tasks and examinations were the best way to measure this potential. The examination boards of Oxford and Cambridge had their origins around the same time in the 1850s. In 1857, the University of Oxford Delegacy of Local Examinations was established by statute to conduct examinations as part of a movement to reform universities and make them more socially involved. The University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (UCLES) was established

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<sup>1</sup> The Four books are: *Confucian Analects*, (*Lun Yü*), *Mencius*, *The Great Learning* (*Ta Hsiieh*), and *The Doctrine Of The Mean* (*Chung Yung*).

in 1858. The first school level examinations were held in December that year, but it was not until 1913 when the *Certificate of Proficiency in English* (CPE) was developed and administered. The first examination was twelve hours long and was composed of the following sections: translation from English to French, translation from French or German into English, questions of English grammar, English essay, English literature, English phonetics, dictation, reading aloud and conversation. Admittedly, the number of test-takers was small, but by 1946 about 1400 test takers took the examination in many parts of the world (Weir and Milanovic, 2003). It can therefore be said that the ground work for administering a large-scale assessment was set with the CPE.

In the USA, the earliest language testing activity can be traced to French language examinations in 1876. According to Barnwell (1996), the questions included translations from French into English and vice versa, and grammar questions on verb conjugation. Barnwell states “in 1896 the Modern Language Association created a committee to study existing conditions of modern language teaching and make recommendations for improvements in syllabus and teacher training” [and the committee also] “offered some specimen examinations in French and German for college entrance” (p. 2). The College Entrance Examination Board (now known as the College Board) was subsequently set up in 1900 and standardized examinations were offered a year later in French and German, and later Latin and Spanish. Soon, hundreds and thousands of students were taking language examinations. However, the examination questions were still dominated by translation of classical texts (e.g., French translation to English of a Victor Hugo poem), followed by grammar (mainly conjugation of verb tense, possessive adjectives, and pronouns). Barnwell (1996) points out that the College Board was criticized for the content of the tests and for unreliability in the examinations. This type of format was soon replaced in the 1920s with a new design that used different response formats such as true–false, multiple-choice, matching, completion, correct the error, and rearrangement. Vocabulary and grammar testing benefited from these new formats and they were used widely because of increased reliability of scoring. The scope of language examinations expanded somewhat as can be seen in the College Board’s 1934 French examination sections: reading comprehension, objective grammar test, French to English translation and English to French translation, and free composition (Barnwell, 1996).

Although many universities used such tests in their courses and thousands of students took such examinations in the 1930s and 1940s, it was the Army Specialized Training Program of teaching languages (and the testing that accompanied it) during World War II that can be truly considered the beginnings of large-scale language teaching

and assessment. According to Barnwell (1996), the ASTP administered over 500 language courses to military personnel in a wide variety of languages and because the army was keen on continuous assessment, there was a lot of assessment going on. He states that grammatical knowledge dominated tests although at some institutions used other question types such as “paraphrasing spoken anecdotes or situations, oral responses to questions, dictation, and written responses to auditory comprehension questions were used” (p. 81). However, with the cancellation of the ASTP in 1944, scarcely a year after the program began, large-scale language assessment lost momentum until the 1950s when the US government created the Cooperative Research Program which helped the Modern Language Association (MLA) develop standards for linguistic proficiency for teachers of foreign languages. According to Barnwell (1996), the MLA administered 26,000 language tests in 1960 and 43,000 in 1961 on a pilot basis. The tests that came out of these pilots were the MLA Proficiency tests for Advanced Students in 1962 and the MLA Cooperative Tests in 1964. This was truly the beginning of large-scale language assessment in the USA.

#### MAJOR MODERN CONTRIBUTIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS

Three organizations that have made important modern contributions to large-scale language assessments are the University of Michigan’s English Language Institute, the University of Cambridge’s ESOL Division, and Educational Testing Services’ Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) Program. The major tests from these organizations are discussed in turn and other contributors are briefly mentioned.

The *Michigan Test of English Language Proficiency* was the first large scale assessment that was developed in the USA at the *English Language Institute (ELI) of the University of Michigan* in 1961. It consisted of three parts: the oral rating by the examiner, a written composition and 100 objective four-choice items on grammar, vocabulary, and reading comprehension. This was the beginning of the array of tests that the ELI has developed over the years. It currently administers one admissions test, the *Michigan English Language Assessment Battery (MELAB)*, a four-part test designed to measure proficiency in advanced-level language skills for admission to English-medium colleges and universities particularly in North America; and the *CPE*, a multi-skill, advanced-level test battery that provides successful examinees with an official certificate that can be used as evidence of English-language proficiency for education and employment purposes in the examinee’s home country; and the *Certificate of Competency in English*, a multi-skill, intermediate-level test battery that provides successful

examinees with an official certificate that can be used as evidence of English language competency. The MELAB, the flagship test of the ELI, in its current version has three sections: a 30-min impromptu essay on one of two assigned topics scored by two raters on a 10-step holistic scale; a 50-item listening test delivered via audio-tape in multiple-choice with two the distracter format; and a 100-item section on grammar, cloze, vocabulary, and reading comprehension.

*The University of Cambridge's Cambridge ESOL* (English for Speakers of Other Languages) Division offers a variety of tests for learners of English. The Cambridge ESOL Main Suite exams are designed for learners at all levels from the very elementary level *Key English Test* to the most advanced *CPE*, which was first developed in 1913. The *Key English Test* is an elementary level exam, which tests the ability to cope with everyday written and spoken English communication at a basic level. The *Preliminary English Test* is an intermediate level exam, which tests the ability to cope with everyday written and spoken communications at a slightly higher level. The *First Certificate in English* is an upper intermediate level exam, which aims to test ability to deal confidently with a range of written and spoken communications. This test is the most widely taken exam of this set of examinations. The *Certificate in Advanced English* is an advanced exam, which tests the ability to communicate with confidence in English for work or study purposes. The *CPE* is an advanced-level exam, for learners who have achieved a high level of language skills and are able to function effectively in almost any English-speaking context. In addition, the *Certificates in English Language Skills* introduced in 2002 provide modular assessment of English language skills and are ideal for people who do not need to achieve the same level across all four skills (reading, writing, listening, or speaking). Each skill is assessed separately at each of three levels, and candidates can enter for any combination of skills and levels.

Cambridge ESOL also offers two sets of business English examinations. The *Business English Certificates* (BEC) at the preliminary, vantage, and higher levels. These tests are designed to test English-language ability used in the context of business and they are suitable for adults who are either preparing for a career in business or already in work. The *Business Language Testing Service* (BULATS) is a multi-lingual assessment service for companies that require a rapid, accurate means of assessing language skills in English, French, German, and Spanish. The BEC and BULATS are popular in India and China. A relatively new set of tests titled *Young Learners English* (YLE) *Tests* has also been developed by Cambridge ESOL. The Cambridge *Young Learners English Tests* are designed to assess the English of primary learners between the ages of 7 and 12 at three levels: flyers, movers, and starters. Finally, the *International English Language Testing System*

(IELTS), (administered jointly by Cambridge ESOL, the British Council and IDP Education Australia), is a language test for people who need to demonstrate their level of proficiency in English for a specific purpose, mainly for admission to universities and colleges in the UK and USA, and by employers, immigration authorities, and professional bodies. The test covers all four skills of listening, reading, writing, and speaking and uses multiple response formats with a variety of test input materials.

The TOEFL, developed and administered by the Educational Testing Service (ETS), Princeton, is arguably the most well-known and widely used large-scale language assessment in the world. The idea of the TOEFL formed at the founding conference sponsored by the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) of the Modern Language Association of America in cooperation with the Institute of International Education (IIE) and the National Association of Foreign Student Advisors (NAFSA) in 1961. According to Taylor and Angelis (in press),

“the first TOEFL was administered in 1964 at 57 test centers to 920 test candidates. In the following year, ETS and the College Board were given responsibility for continuing the operational program, which they changed gradually to meet growing demand for the TOEFL. In 1973, ETS was given sole responsibility for TOEFL test development, operations and finances.”

In terms of the construct of the test, the decision was to have four separate subsections each providing a separate sub-score: listening comprehension, English structure, vocabulary, and reading comprehension. According to Taylor and Angelis (in press),

“the decision of how to test speaking was deferred to later versions of the test and the recommendation was made that research on techniques for measuring oral production skill be undertaken at once for the possible inclusion of such devices in later test forms. Writing ability was to be tested by objective techniques, not by the scoring of writing samples. However, it was decided that an unscored composition would be furnished to test users to use as they pleased.”

The subtests and item formats followed the discrete-point testing approach (which emphasized isolating skills and components as much as possible and testing one discrete point of language item at a time).

The TOEFL program was revised to include the *Test of Written English* (TWE), a direct assessment of writing ability, and the *Test of Spoken English* (TSE), a tape-mediated speaking ability, two decades later due to the public demand for assessment of writing and speaking. Over the years, the TOEFL (and to a lesser extent the TWE and the TSE) became mandatory for non-American and non-Canadian non-native speakers of English applicants to undergraduate and graduate

programs in U.S. and Canadian English-medium universities. With the phenomenal increase of such applicants in the early 1980s and 1990s, the TOEFL was being administered to close to one million test-takers annually. Although this was a new watermark for large-scale language assessment, the TOEFL content and structure remained more or less the same over the decades (despite the addition of the TWE and the TSE). Thus, a significant project titled New TOEFL (later known as the TOEFL 2000) began with TOEFL staff and the TOEFL Committees of Examiners and Researchers in the 1990s with the intention of revising the TOEFL to include more communicative constructed-response tasks, direct assessments of speaking and writing, integration of skills and modes, more diagnostic information to score users, and the possibility of computer delivery. This project first resulted in 1996 in the development of the computer-based TOEFL (TOEFL CBT) which was more or less the delivery of the existing TOEFL on computer. The internet-based TOEFL (known as the *ibTOEFL*), a more innovative test, was launched in 2005; more about this test in the next section.

A large-scale language assessment that is not widely known, but deserves wider recognition is the *National Matriculation English Test* (NMET) in the People's Republic of China. The NMET is the university entrance test of English and its purpose is to make inferences about candidates' English language ability, which are used in university admission decisions together with the scores from university entrance tests in another five or six secondary school subjects. In 2005, the test was taken by about eight million secondary school students who wished to gain entrance to Chinese colleges and universities. Another test from China that is increasingly important is the *College English Test* (or the CET). Many colleges and universities require the CET certificate as a requirement for a Bachelor's diploma; a new form of the test in 2005 includes listening and oral sections. It is reported that 11 million test takers took the CET in 2006 arguably making this test the largest in terms of test taker volume in the world.

The *Language Testing Research Center in Melbourne*, Australia, is a major center that is exclusively dedicated to language assessment development and research. The Center specializes in development of tests and other instruments for language proficiency measurement, evaluation of programs for language learning and teaching, and delivery of education and training in language assessment and language program evaluation. Among their well-known tests are the *Occupational English Test for Health Professionals (OET)* which assesses and certifies the English language proficiency of overseas-trained, health professionals wishing to gain accreditation to practice in Australia; the *English Proficiency Test for Indonesia*, a test for teachers of English to improve the quality of English language teaching in Indonesian

schools; the *Special Test of English Proficiency (STEP)* used by the Australian Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs to assess the functional English proficiency of certain classes of refugees wishing to obtain permanent residence in Australia; the *Australian Assessment of English Communication Skills (access:)* used to assess functional English for use in a range of everyday and professional settings was used to assess the English proficiency of intending immigrants to Australia. Foreign-language tests developed include the *Bilingual Health Language Proficiency Test* (a telephone-based test, available in Arabic, Cantonese, Greek, Italian, Mandarin, Spanish, and Vietnamese), assesses how well bilingual health professionals are able to interact with patients with limited English skills; *Teacher Proficiency Tests: Japanese, Italian and Indonesian* used to identify appropriate standards of language proficiency for the teaching of Indonesian, Italian, and Japanese in schools; the *Japanese Language Test for Tour Guides*, a practical assessment of Japanese-speaking guides' linguistic ability when interacting with tourists in a variety of situations.

*The CAL, Washington DC*, an important test developer has developed several simulated oral proficiency interviews (SOPI) in Arabic, Chinese, French, German, Japanese, Hebrew, Hausa, Indonesian, Portuguese, and Spanish starting in 1985. The SOPI is a performance-based, tape-mediated speaking test and follows the general structure of the oral proficiency interview (OPI) used by government agencies and the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) to assess speaking proficiency. According to the CAL website [[www.cal.org](http://www.cal.org)], "Whereas the OPI is a face-to-face interview, the SOPI relies on audio-taped instructions and a test booklet to elicit language from the examinee. Unlike many semidirect tests, the SOPI contextualizes all tasks to ensure that they appear as authentic as possible." In recent years, the computer-based oral proficiency interview (COPI) has been envisioned to be the next generation of the SOPI. According to the CAL website, "the goal of the COPI was to use the advantages of multimedia computer technology to improve the SOPI by giving examinees more control of various aspects of the testing situation and by increasing raters' efficiency in scoring the test". The COPI allows examinee choice in the following: thinking and response time, speaking functions and topics, level of task difficulty, and language of directions. The COPI also enables the rater to 'rewind' or 'fast-forward' an examinees' response with a single click, and easily navigate from one task to another, or from one examinee to the next." CAL is currently working on a project to develop and deliver professionally prepared listening and reading proficiency tests in Arabic and Russian via the Internet.

A somewhat similar organization is the *ACTFL* in the USA. It offers oral proficiency testing in more than 65 languages and writing proficiency

testing in 12 languages. The Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI) is offered in popular languages like English, Mandarin, French, German, Spanish, Italian, Japanese, and Russian but also less commonly taught languages in the USA like Albanian, Arabic, Cambodian, Cantonese, Croatian, Czech, Hindi, Hmong, Hebrew, Khmer, Korean, Lao, Swahili, Urdu, and Vietnamese. The writing proficiency testing is offered in Albanian, Arabic, English, French, German, Italian, Japanese, Spanish, and Russian. Many researchers have been critical of the OPI (e.g., see Bachman and Savignon, 1986) but the ACTFL continues to serve major university and governmental agencies.

*The National Institute for Testing & Examination* in Israel constructs and administers standardized tests for entrance to universities. The *Inter-University Psychometric Entrance Test* (PET) administered nation-wide is used as a tool for predicting academic performance. It is used for selecting applicants to institutes of higher learning when these institutes are unable to admit all applicants and can only select those who are most likely to successfully complete their studies. The English test section is part of the PET and the Hebrew proficiency test is an optional test.

Another active organization in language testing is the Association of Language Testers in Europe (ALTE), an association of institutions within Europe, each of which produces examinations and certification for language learners. Started in 1989, today there are 31 members representing 26 European languages including the lesser known languages such as Basque, Bulgarian, Catalan, Estonian, Irish, Latvian, Lithuanian, Slovenian, and Welsh. According to the ALTE website, “the principal objectives of ALTE are to establish common levels of proficiency in order to promote the transnational recognition of certification in Europe, to establish common standards for all stages of the language testing process (for test development, task and item writing, test administration, marking and grading, reporting of test results, test analysis and reporting of findings) and to collaborate on joint projects and in the exchange of ideas and know-how.”

The *Language Training and Testing Center (LTTC)* in Taiwan, Republic of China is an organization that develops and administers large-scale, foreign language proficiency tests in English, Japanese, French, German, and Spanish locally in Taiwan. The LTTC developed the *General English Proficiency Test (GEPT)* in 1999 as part of the Government’s push to promote and encourage the general study of English. The GEPT is divided into five levels with content as appropriate to each level, and each level incorporates listening, reading, writing, and speaking components. The GEPT is used by various government institutions and also by many universities in Taiwan and other schools for entry, classroom achievement, and graduation requirements.

Additionally, the Center administers language tests in Japanese, French, German, and Spanish, administered since 1965. These tests are used by public and private institutions as an element in decision-making on promotion or selection for work or study overseas.

Similarly, there are many other tests developed and administered nationally or internationally. Examples include the *Japanese Language Proficiency Test*, a four-level test of writing-vocabulary, listening, and reading-grammar administered by the *Japan Foundation* in coordination with local host institutions; the Instituto Cervantes' *Diplomas de Español examinations* developed and administered by the *University of Salamanca*, and conducted on behalf of the Spanish Ministry of Education and Science; and the *Sookmyung Women's University's Multimedia-Assisted Test of English* for the Korean context.

Large-scale language achievement tests (based on school-curriculum standards) although not as well-documented as proficiency tests are used in school exit examinations around the world (e.g., in schools in California and New York in the U.S., and schools in India, Egypt, Singapore, and Taiwan). These tests are typically based on set texts and tend to be focused on reading and writing and, in some cases, literature-oriented.

In summary, these large-scale proficiency and achievement assessments (and many more that are not reported here due to lack of space) show that this type of assessment has become increasingly popular and will continue as colleges and universities need to find ways to select and place students, and employers need to offer equal opportunities. Most of the tests listed here (and many in operation) have been reviewed in journals such as *Language Assessment Quarterly* and *Language Testing*. A recently published collection of 20 ESL test reviews by Stoyonoff and Chapelle (2005) provides brief evaluations and necessary background to understand the reviews. From all these reviews in general, it is obvious that while some well-known agencies allocate resources for research, maintenance, and the writing of test manuals, and also execute these projects in a timely fashion, many others develop tests and administer them without ever conducting research, or writing a test user's manual or a technical manual that defend the claims they are making regarding their tests.

#### NEW DEVELOPMENTS AND WORKS IN PROGRESS

One of the most important new developments was the launching of the new TOEFL, now known as *iBTOEFL* (short for internet-based TOEFL) in 2005. It is an important new development as it is a significant step in large-scale language assessment because the test design, content, structure, and delivery are quite different from the TOEFL

and the TOEFL CBT. The main features of the iBTOEFL are a new speaking section in which there are independent and integrated skills tasks, a listening section with longer lectures and conversations with note-taking, a reading section that has questions that ask test-takers to categorize information and fill in a chart or complete a summary, and a writing section that has both an independent and an integrated task.

These tasks were designed, created, piloted, and finally assembled in a five-year long deliberate process. To begin with, project staff and consultants from outside the TOEFL Program developed a series of documents known as TOEFL Framework papers. The general TOEFL Framework paper (Jamieson, Jones, Kirsch, Mosenthal, and Taylor, 2000) outlined the task characteristics in terms of situation (participants, content, setting, purpose and register), text material (grammatical, pragmatic and discourse features), and test rubric (questions/directives, response formats, and rules for scoring). Each of the skill teams (listening, speaking, reading, and writing) then developed separate frameworks [see the TOEFL website for details: [www.toefl.org](http://www.toefl.org)]. The result was a test design that favored assessing language performance in terms of independent and integrated skills, thus eliminating the grammar/structure section.

In addition, the project placed a great deal of emphasis on investigating the language of academic tasks and language use in academic contexts through commissioned research. Biber, Conrad, Reppen, Byrd, and Helt (2002) undertook a study to describe the language of academic tasks by identifying the linguistic features of spoken and written registers that are encountered by North American students in English-medium university classes, to construct tools for test developers to explore the grammatical characteristics of the corpus during task design, and to serve as a potential source for aural texts for listening tasks. Rosenfeld, Leung, and Oltman (2001) conducted a study to understand language use in academic environment through a job analysis of students in North American, English-medium universities. Researchers will have their hands full with similar research studies for the next few years before they can defend their claims regarding the validity of score interpretations, fairness, access, and consequences of the iBTOEFL.

Another important new development is Ordinate's *Spoken English Tests* (SET) which are automated tests of spoken English and the new *Spoken Spanish Test* (SST), which assesses spoken Spanish and ability to understand spoken Spanish. The SET tests are delivered over the telephone and scored by computer in a matter of minutes. Responses to four item tasks are currently used for automated scoring: reading aloud, repeating sentences, building sentences, and giving short answers to questions. According to Ordinate's website, [see [www.ordinate.org](http://www.ordinate.org)], scoring "one correct word sequence is expected for each response to

the reading and repeat items. Expert judgment was used to define correct answers to the short-answer question and sentence-build items. Most of the short-answer and some of the sentence-build items have multiple answers that are accepted as correct. All short-answer questions were pretested on diverse samples of native and nonnative speakers. All items retained in the item banks were answered correctly by at least 90% of the native sample.” Based on research in speech recognition, statistical modeling, linguistics, and testing theory, the Ordinate testing system uses a speech recognition system that is specifically designed to analyze speech components from native and nonnative speakers of the language of the test. It then uses statistical modeling techniques to assess the spoken performance. Ordinate claims that its SET tests are more objective and reliable in operation than today’s best human-rated tests, including one-on-one oral proficiency interviews. Its main advantage over other speaking tests is its practicality; it is computer-scored in a matter of minutes and is available via the phone or the internet. There are questions however, regarding the comprehensiveness of the tasks (considering the test is supposed to assess general speaking ability), the authenticity of the tasks in terms of assessing speaking ability in the workplace (e.g., see Chun, 2006), and the breadth of acceptable responses, keeping in mind the many dialects of American English.

#### INFLUENCES FROM EDUCATIONAL MEASUREMENT<sup>2</sup>

Large-scale language assessment owes a great deal to the developments and advances made in educational measurement and testing over the last 100 years. From the earliest days of normative psychometrics with Cattell, Galton, and Binet in the late nineteenth century, and especially Yerkes and the psychological examination through the Army Alpha exam in the early twentieth century, the focus was on systematic and rigorous assessment of the skills to be tested. According to Stigler (1986), Edgeworth, influenced by Galton’s anthropometric laboratory for studying physical characteristics, articulated the notion of *consistency (or reliability)* in his papers on error and chance. Further, as testing became more popular in the twentieth century, modern measurement theory (with influential treatments from Spearman, Pearson, Stevens, Guilford, and Thurstone) developed techniques including

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<sup>2</sup> I’m not including equally important influences from other areas such as psychology, discourse and critical theory due to lack of space. These fields have enabled language assessment researchers to use analytical techniques such as verbal protocol analysis (see Cohen, 2006), conversational analysis (see Lazaraton, 2001) and critical language testing (see Shohamy 2001).

correlation and factor analysis. These statistical procedures became the primary evaluative procedures for test development and test evaluation. A quick examination of test reviews in the *Mental Measurements Yearbooks* of previous decades will show how deeply influential reliability and correlational techniques were in the field of educational and psychological testing. Over the years, language assessment researchers also used these rigorous procedures for test development and statistical techniques, including factor-analysis and structural equation modeling, to examine, among others, construct validation and the validity of score interpretations (Bachman and Palmer, 1982; Bachman, Davidson, Ryan, and Choi I.-C., 1995a; Carr, 2006), and relationships between several test-taker characteristics and test performance (Kunnan, 1995; Purpura, 1999). More recently, when item response theory was available as an alternative to classical true score theory, language assessment test developers and researchers embraced it and it is now widely used in both test development and research (McNamara, 1996). Further, when generalizability theory, grounded in factorial design and the analysis of variance, was developed by Cronbach and his colleagues (Cronbach, Gleser, Nanda, and Rajaratnam, 1972), it was used in the field of language assessment to examine sources of measurement error between different facets of measurement (Bachman, Lynch, Mason, 1995b; Lumley and McNamara, 1995). Finally, the development of statistical procedures for criterion-referenced tests by Brennan (1984) saw the application of such procedures to criterion-referenced language tests (Brown and Hudson, 2002; Kunnan, 1992).

In the area of validation, the American Psychological Association's (1954) *Standards* movement (recommendations for educational and psychological tests and manuals) influenced language assessment test development and research. Lado (1961), the first author in modern language assessment, mirroring the *Standards*, wrote about test evaluation in terms of validity (in terms of face validity, validity by content, validation of the conditions required to answer the test items, and empirical validation in terms of concurrent and criterion-based validation) and reliability. Later, Davies (1968) presented a scheme for determining validities listing five types of validities: face, content, construct, predictive, and concurrent, and Harris (1969) urged test writers to establish characteristics of a good test by examining tests in terms of content, empirical (predictive and concurrent), and face. The *Standards* were reworked during this time (APA, 1966, 1974) and the interrelatedness of the three different aspects of validity (content, criterion-related, and construct validities) was recognized in the 1974 version. This trinitarian doctrine of content, criterion-related and, construct validity (reduced in number as concurrent and predictive validity of the 1954 version were combined and referred to as criterion-related) continued to dominate

the field. In 1985, the *Standards* were reworked again titled “Standards for educational and psychological testing” (instead of *Standards for Tests*). This new reworking included Messick’s unified and expanded conceptual framework of validity that was fully articulated in Messick (1989) with attention to values and social consequences of tests and testing as facets of validity of test-score interpretation. Language-assessment researchers like Bachman (1990) and McNamara (1998, 2006) have presented and discussed Messick’s unified and expanded view of validity. Empirical research using Messick’s framework was also popular (see Cumming, 1995; Kunnan, 1998). In the last decade, there have also been advances in how this expanded view of validity has included the concept of fairness (see *Standards for Educational and Psychological Testing* (APA, AERA, NCME, 1999), as well as argument-based validation (see Kane 1992). Bachman (2005) has presented a case for a test use argument in language assessment.

#### CHALLENGES AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

One of the main challenges in large-scale assessment research facing the field now is the fairness of language assessments. Several organizations have defined the notion of fairness: the *Code of Fair Testing Practices in Education* (1988, 2004), the *Standards for Educational and Psychological Testing* (APA, AERA, NCME, 1999), and the many versions of the *ETS Standards for Quality and Fairness* (2002, 2003, and 2004). In addition, several educational and psychological researchers have defined the concept from the American perspective (Willingham and Cole, 1997; Zieky, 2006) and the British perspective (Gipps and Murphy, 1994; Goldstein, 1993). In the field of language assessment, Kunnan (2000, 2004) has defined fairness in language assessment as the use of fair means (both in test content and test method) for assessing language abilities and the fair use of test scores obtained from tests and has proposed a Test Fairness Framework for conducting fairness reviews of tests. The framework includes the following test qualities: validity, absence of bias, test access, test administration, and test consequences. For example, from the point of view of validity, a fairness review is a way of collecting evidence for construct-relevance, construct-representation, and reliability. In addition, from the point of view of absence of bias, fairness reviews need to be conducted so that evidence of fairness can be collected through empirical analysis of test performance in terms of group membership (gender, race, ethnicity, national, or regional origin, native language, disability, age, and economic status), and in the U.S., particularly for historically disadvantaged groups (such as women, Native Americans, African Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Asian Americans). Evidence of appropriate test access in terms of appropriate

accommodations and modifications for test takers with disabilities, appropriate test administration in terms of physical conditions and test security, and positive social consequences of tests in terms of washback and remedies need to be collected for a fairness review. Thus, a thorough fairness review research is necessary to provide multiple pieces of evidence regarding the fairness of a language test. As Zieky (2006) points out, “the driving force behind fairness review is validity, not political correctness” (p. 363).

When this concept of fairness (and the types of evidence necessary to support it) is applied to large-scale language assessments, many of the assessments may be found wanting in terms of sufficient evidence. Language test reviews published in the *Mental Measurements Yearbook*, *Language Testing*, *Language Assessment Quarterly* and other publications have pointed out weaknesses of tests when measured against traditional notions of validity and reliability which are much narrower in scope (Stoynoff and Chapelle, 2005). And when the scope is broadened to include the notion of fairness, most tests are found to have insufficient evidence (Callet, 2005; Cheng and Qi, 2006; Gorman and Ernst, 2004). In part, this is due to the fact that fairness in testing is relatively new to educational, psychological and language tests and when this concept was used in the past, it was only to conduct item bias reviews and differential item functioning analysis of test performance data. One way to remedy this situation is to bring the notion of fairness in to test development and research: from the test design and creation stage, to construction selection, item writing, test assembly, administration, scoring, and finally to the research stage. Thus, to ensure fairness in language assessment, fairness should be a key consideration in the entire test development and research process along with ethical and professional standards (Kunnan and Davidson, 2003).

A second important challenge is that testing consumers have called for more descriptive test information that allows for meaningful interpretations and fair use of test results in order to improve instructional design and guide students’ learning. Traditionally, the main goal of language tests has been to make quantitative assessments of an individual test-taker’s language ability relative to other students in the normative group. Such norm-referenced interpretation of test results have been criticized for its lack of pedagogically meaningful information because teachers and test-takers cannot understand the meaning of such scores or their strengths and weaknesses in specific academic domains. This has led to a lack of constructive guidance in instructional remediation. Therefore, while a great deal of effort has been made in integrating advances in theories of second and foreign language learning into assessment practice, the use of aggregated test scores as an overall measure of language proficiency or achievement levels has made such

efforts less useful to test score users including principals, teachers, parents, and test takers. This concern has drawn much attention among educational researchers and practitioners (Alderson, 2005; Buck and Tatsuoka, 1998). Recently, several cognitive skills diagnosis models have been applied to second language assessment in reading and listening. For example, the Rule Space Model was applied to a short-answer listening comprehension test administered to Japanese college students (Buck and Tatsuoka, 1998). More recently, the College Board used the Rule Space Model to provide “*Score Report Plus*” to students who took the Preliminary SAT (PSAT) and National Merit Scholarship Qualifying Test (NMSQT). Jang (2005) and Alderson (2005) provide new examples of diagnosis in language proficiency. While these isolated examples are reassuring that researchers are continuing their efforts in this direction, the motivation and the research capabilities of testing agencies to provide such diagnostic feedback to test takers on a routine basis will continue to be a major challenge.

A third important challenge is the development and use of Code of Ethics or practice for the profession. In the last few years, momentum has gathered through publications such as the special issue of *Language Testing* and the special issue on ethics for language assessment in the *Language Assessment Quarterly* both guest-edited by Alan Davies (1997, 2004). The International Language Testing Association (ILTA) recently published a report of the task force on testing standards (1995) which was followed by ILTA’s Code of Ethics (2000) that lays out some broad guidance of how professionals should conduct themselves. In 2006–2007, ILTA is conducting workshops in several locations world-wide to collect ideas for a more inclusive and elaborate Code of Ethics and Practice.

Yet another challenge facing testing agencies that develop large-scale language assessments is the multitude of operational and practical matters that have to be mastered. The best equipped agencies make the operation look simple but there is a great deal that has to be taken care of in a large-scale language assessment. For example, there are many practical and operational matters such as: conceptualizing and designing the test, developing adequate numbers of items and forms, planning and scheduling test administrations to test building parallel test forms, contracting and training item writers, test raters, establishing standard-setting, developing score reports, and dealing with test security, and writing test manuals. Testing agencies can master these challenges with a clear set of steps for test development (Downing, 2006) and with adequate, competent, and trained staff.

Other new challenges that are now surfacing due to the advent of computer and Internet technology include the delivery of tests on

computers and the Internet and innovative item formats that are technically possible on computer (as in *ibTOEFL*), speech recognition, automated computer scoring of essays, test accommodations for test takers with disabilities, test security, and limitations and weaknesses of test score reports of proficiency tests.

Finally, the role of assessment in society or the wider context of a community into which an assessment is deployed or imposed cannot be ignored. Broadfoot (1996) and Spolsky (1995) have raised this concern from different educational contexts. Shohamy (2001) shows empirically how some of these contexts (and the players in them) negatively affect test takers, schools, parents, and the community at large. More recently, Kunnan (2005, 2006) presented a Test Context framework, which includes the political and economic, the social, cultural, and educational, the technological and infrastructural, and the legal and ethical contexts. He argues that these salient contexts should be used to explain the motivations, expectations and successes, and failures of assessments.

There are also many promising ideas on the horizon that could take us forward in the next decade: corpus linguistics (Biber, Conrad, Reppen, Byrd, and Helt, 2002), computer-assisted automated scoring, evidence-centered design (Mislevy and Riconscente, 2006) and assessment use argument (Bachman, 2005; Kane, 2006).

## CONCLUSION

It has been almost 50 years since the start of the TOEFL in 1961. It was probably the first language test in high enough volume to truly deserve the title of the first large-scale language assessment. Tests from Cambridge ESOL and the University of Michigan among others have followed and now these too could be called large-scale language assessments. The key feature of this type of assessment has been the ability of the test developers to design, develop, and administer assessments in such a manner that they are uniform, stable, consistent, valid, and fair across geographical areas and time periods so that test takers have equal opportunity to demonstrate their abilities. New developments in the field including software make it easier to develop and launch tests relatively quickly. As a result, there are many more large-scale language assessments today. However, not all test developers are able to defend the claims of their tests as they do not invest in test research. This is a critical component of test development; without this part tests will not be worth anything. In order to be able to do this, language assessment agencies need to have the motivation and resources so that they can conduct research to defend the claims of their tests, to continue to improve their

operations to meet current needs, and to continue to use advances from educational and language assessment research.

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## CRITERIA FOR EVALUATING LANGUAGE QUALITY

### INTRODUCTION

The desire to establish criteria for the assessment of language quality in performance tests dates from the Second World War. The goal of performance testing since then has been to predict the test-taker's ability to function under 'real life conditions', first in a military and then in an academic context (Fulcher, 2003). To invest numerical test scores with 'real world meaning', language testers have argued that it is necessary to anchor scores in observable behaviour. Performance tests developed since the Second World War have therefore been by definition criterion referenced, and have involved an implicit validity claim that the quality of performance on test tasks, as reflected in the test score, can be generalised to an explicitly defined non-test domain.

Qualitative descriptions of language have been variously described as the scoring *rubric*<sup>1</sup> (U.S.) or the band/level *descriptors* (UK). These are normally placed in a *rating scale* consisting of two or more bands/levels on a nominal or ordinal *scale*. Each level on the rating scale has a descriptor and usually a number of *benchmark*<sup>2</sup> samples that are claimed to typify performances at that level. The rating scale is normally used to match a performance with the most relevant description to generate a score. However, it may also be used for reporting the meaning of test scores to decision makers, or less frequently for guiding the writing of test tasks (Alderson, 1991).

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS AND THE ACTFL GUIDELINES

Military performance tests suggested by Kaulfers (1944, p. 137) were to be graded on a three-level rating scale, the rubrics of which described what an expert and competent test taker could do with the language

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<sup>1</sup> In Europe the term rubric is most often used to refer to instructions for test takers (Davies, Brown, Elder, Hill and Lumley, 1999, p. 206).

<sup>2</sup> Benchmark is the process of establishing a standard against which to measure progress (Davies, Brown, Elder, Hill and Lumley, 1999, 15), but the two terms are frequently misused and confounded when used interchangeably as nouns. Benchmark samples are samples of performance (spoken or written) judged to be at a particular level within a descriptive system, that typify performances at that level.

in a non-test military context. Although it is still frequently claimed that what emerged from the US military as the Foreign Service Institute (FSI) rating scale was decontextualised (devoid of context, content or performance conditions) (see Hudson, 2005, p. 209), as early as 1958 descriptors were attached to the FSI scale. The following example shows that from the earliest days some contextualisation was critical for performance testing.<sup>3</sup>

*FSI Level 2: Limited Working Proficiency*

Able to satisfy routine social demands and limited work requirements. Can handle with confidence but not with facility most social situations including introductions and casual conversations about current events, as well as work, family and autobiographical information; can handle limited work requirements, needing help in handling any complications or difficulties; can get the gist of most conversations on non-technical subjects (i.e., topics that require no specialised knowledge) and has a speaking vocabulary sufficient to express himself simply with some circumlocutions; accent, though often quite faulty, is intelligible; can usually handle elementary constructions quite accurately, but does not have thorough or confident control of the grammar (reproduced in Fulcher, 2003, p. 226).

During the 1960s the use of rating scales to anchor scores in the 'real world' became standard throughout the military and security agencies in the USA, resulting in a description of language performance known as the Interagency Language Roundtable (ILR) that was adopted in 1968 and is still in use today (Lowe, 1987).

In the 1970s anchoring test scores in descriptions of what learners can do in non-test situations spread throughout the educational sector, and questions started to be asked about whether the number of levels on existing rating scales were sufficient to describe progress in classroom language learning. In the early 1980s the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) and Educational Testing Service (ETS) received federal grants to adapt the FSI and ILR to create a description of language performance that could be used nationally and across languages (Liskin-Gasparro, 2003). The ACTFL *Guidelines* were published in 1986 and the speaking *Guidelines* revised in 1999.

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<sup>3</sup> The initial FSI scale with only weak descriptors for the top and bottom levels appeared in 1952, but work on the scale was abandoned until 1956 when there was once again a political imperative to assess what military and diplomatic personnel could do with language following the war in Korea.

They are the de facto framework for describing language performance in the USA in both education and the workplace (Swender, 2003).

These descriptions combine linguistic and non-linguistic criteria. They are also assumed to be relevant to all languages and therefore *common* in application. The sequence of descriptors on the scale represents an intuitive understanding of the order of second language acquisition and the increasing complexity of real world tasks that learners can perform (see, for example, Fradd and McGee, 1994, pp. 130–134), but for which there is little empirical research evidence (Brindley, 1998; Chalhoub-Deville and Fulcher, 2003).

#### *ACTFL Guidelines 1999. Intermediate Low*

Speakers at the Intermediate-Low level are able to handle successfully a limited number of uncomplicated communicative tasks by being creative with the language in straightforward social situations. Conversation is restricted to concrete exchanges and predictable topics necessary for survival in the target language culture. These topics relate to basic personal information covering, for example, self and family, to daily activities and personal preferences, as well as to some immediate needs, such as ordering food and making simple purchases. At the Intermediate-Low level, speakers are primarily reactive and struggle to answer direct questions or requests for information, but they are also able to ask a few appropriate questions (ACTFL, 1999).

What we term the ‘FSI tradition’ of description has influenced the structure of later scales as well as the wording of descriptors.

The fact that we have concentrated on developments in the USA is notable, and for some may be surprising. While it is certainly true that the Certificate of Proficiency in English (CPE) has had an ‘oral’ component since 1913, the assessment of production was a matter for examiners who had an implicit experiential understanding of the link between performance and score (Roach, 1945; Weir, 2003, p. 10). A review of early work by Lazaraton (2002) similarly concentrates on the USA. Describing student performance in rating scales was a later development in the UK (Weir, 2003, pp. 28–29).

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS: TWO IMPORTANT DESCRIPTIVE SYSTEMS

As many descriptions of language performance are produced by researchers and language teachers for specific purposes, they tend to have little impact beyond the immediate context of use, even if the research and development work is published (see, for example, Chalhoub-Deville, 1995; Fulcher, 1996; Upshur and Turner, 1995). National or trans-national

systems have had the main impact on assessment because they have become institutionalised. As Liskin-Gasparro (2003, p. 484) says of the ACTFL *Guidelines*:

They have been institutionalized in foreign language professional circles in the United States through their prominence in the textbooks used in foreign language teacher preparation programs and, more recently, in the Standards for Foreign Language Learning in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. The national standards document has, in turn, served as the basis for the curriculum frameworks for foreign language instruction developed by 49 of the 50 states (as of writing this, Iowa is the only holdout).

The process of institutionalisation has led teachers, publishers, and test developers to use a system of description because it is the only *common* language they have, irrespective of whether this language has any relationship with the ‘real world’ it intends to describe. As we have already discussed the FSI tradition, here we will focus on two more recent systems, the Canadian Language Benchmarks (CLB) (Pawlikowska-Smith, 2000, 2002a, b) and the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) for Languages: Teaching, Learning, Assessment (Council of Europe, 2001).

### *Canadian Language Benchmarks*

Developed to assess the English of adult immigrants to Canada, it is claimed that the CLB is

1. a descriptive scale of communicative proficiency in English as a Second Language (ESL) expressed as 12 benchmarks or reference points;
2. a set of descriptive statements about successive levels of achievement on the continuum of ESL performance;
3. a statement (descriptions) of communicative competencies and performance tasks in which the learner demonstrates application of language knowledge (competence) and skill;
4. a framework of reference for learning, teaching, programming and assessing adult ESL in Canada (as a framework, the benchmarks provide a common professional foundation of shared philosophical and theoretical views on language education);
5. a national standard for planning second language curricula for a variety of contexts, and a common ‘yardstick’ for assessing the outcomes (Pawlikowska-Smith, 2000, p. 7).

Pawlikowska-Smith (2002a) argues that the CLB is based on a model of communicative proficiency, drawing specifically on notions of linguistic, textual, functional, socio-cultural and strategic competence,

adapted from Bachman and Palmer (1996) and Celce-Murcia, Dörnyei and Thurrell (1995). Competencies and tasks are said to be observable and measurable at each benchmark level, and within the framework there are three general levels (basic, intermediate and advanced), each with four subdivisions, for each of the four skill competencies (speaking, listening, reading and writing). This provides 12 benchmark levels for each of the competencies.

The core of each benchmark is the standard statements that describe what the learner should be able to do at each benchmark. They describe the four selected competencies or 'what the person can do' in the areas of social interaction, instructions, suasion and information, under specific conditions (including situational variables). In situations of a CLB-aligned curriculum, they are 'outcomes' after a session of study, which the learner should demonstrate to achieve the benchmark. The learner's performance is assessed against a mastery criterion (standard of adequate/satisfactory performance). Each benchmark lists some satisfactory performance indicators of effectiveness and quality of communication that a learner can realistically demonstrate to meet each standard. They are specifications of the mastery level of performance. Again, 'mastery' is not to be interpreted as 'perfection'; it is defined as 'satisfactory' or 'adequate' performance. Finally, each benchmark also provides examples of types of communication tasks, which may help demonstrate the required standard of proficiency. They are suggestions for communication tasks that enable the learner to demonstrate the skills or 'what the learner can do' (Pawlikowska-Smith, 2002a, pp. 22–23).

The confusion between 'standard' and 'benchmark' is typical of the literature, but the important aspect of each level descriptor is that it contains not only what a learner can do at that level, but under what *performance conditions* the learner can successfully communicate. Stage 1 of the basic proficiency level is provided as an example in [Table 1](#), from Pawlikowska-Smith, 2000, p. 7.

The associated performance conditions are given as:

1. Interactions are short, face to face, informal and with one person at a time.
2. Learner's speech is guided by questions from the interlocutor.
3. Learner's speech is encouraged by feedback from the interlocutor (e.g., *um, aha, I see, nod*).
4. Instruction is a short two- to three-word utterance.

This is extensively supplemented at each level with characterisations of learners, tasks, discourse and social interaction (CLB, 2006).

Within this framework, language quality is assessed through descriptions of each benchmark level. Stage 1 of basic proficiency in speaking is provided as an example:

Table 1 Basic proficiency stage 1

| What the person can do   | Examples of tasks and texts   | Performance indicators  |
|--|---|---|
| Social interaction <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Use and respond to basic courtesy formulas.</li> <li>• Indicate problems in communication.</li> </ul>  | <i>Hello, how are you?</i><br><i>My name is Li.</i><br><i>Thank you. Bye. Sorry.</i><br><i>Pardon?</i><br><i>Repeat please.</i><br>(negative + understand), (negative + speak English).<br>Use the above phrases and others in short informal conversations, as needed. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Responds to greetings, courtesy, leavetaking.</li> <li>• May initiate the above.</li> <li>• Apologises.</li> <li>• Indicates problems in communicating verbally or non-verbally.</li> </ul>  |
| Instructions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Give two- to three-word basic everyday instructions/directions/commands.</li> </ul>  | <i>Please come in, wait.</i><br><i>Please sit down.</i><br><i>Please repeat. Tell me.</i><br><i>Show me.</i><br><i>Give me.</i><br><i>Tea, please</i> (in a cafeteria).   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Uses single directions and commands.</li> <li>• Listener can follow the information.</li> </ul>  |
| Suasion (getting things done) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Attract attention.</li> <li>• Request assistance.</li> <li>• Inquire about and state time.</li> </ul>   | <i>Excuse me, Bob.</i><br><i>Help me, please.</i><br><i>What time is it? It is ...</i>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Attracts attention to a situation.</li> <li>• Requests assistance in a situation.</li> <li>• Asks about and tells time.</li> </ul>   |
| Information <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provide basic personal information related to the context.</li> <li>• Express ability/inability.</li> <li>• Answer questions about basic personal information in short interviews with teachers, other learners and counsellors.</li> </ul> | <i>What's your name?</i><br><i>Where do you live?</i><br><i>What language do you speak?</i><br><i>Where are you from?</i><br><i>Can you read this?</i>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Responds to questions regarding basic personal data with required information; uses cardinal and ordinal basic numbers.</li> <li>• Expresses ability/inability (can, can + negative).</li> <li>• Listener can understand and use the information.</li> </ul> |

B1 learner can speak very little, mostly responding to basic questions about personal information and immediate needs in familiar situations. Speaks in isolated words or strings of two to three words. Demonstrates almost no control of basic grammar structures and verb tenses. Demonstrates very limited vocabulary. No evidence of connected discourse. Makes long pauses, often repeats the other person's words. Depends on gestures in expressing meaning and may also switch to first language at times. Pronunciation difficulties may significantly impede communication. Needs considerable assistance (Pawlikowska-Smith, 2000, p. 4).

The CLB is a comprehensive system with a range of applications as a heuristic to aid teaching and assessment; its foundations lie in our current understanding of language competence, but it does not have any empirical underpinning, a problem that it shares with previous systems such as the ACTFL Guidelines.

### *Common European Framework of Reference*

The CEFR aims to be a pan-European framework for teaching and testing languages, and claims to provide a common basis for the elaboration of language syllabuses, curriculum guidelines, examinations, textbooks, etc. across Europe. It describes in a comprehensive way what language learners have to learn to do to use a language for communication and what knowledge and skills they have to develop so as to be able to act effectively. The description also covers the cultural context in which language is set. The framework also defines levels of proficiency, which allow learners' progress to be measured at each stage of learning and on a life-long basis (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 1).

Like the CLB it has three general levels of Basic, Independent and Proficient, each subdivided into two levels, providing a six-level system. The system comprises of two parts. The first is a qualitative description of each level. For speaking and writing, it is elaborated in productive, receptive, and interactive modes. This is 'horizontal' in that it does not attempt to help distinguish between levels; it is a taxonomy of the things that language learning is about. The second part is a quantitative description of the levels in terms of 'can-do' statements. This is 'vertical' in that the levels are defined in terms of statements that could be scaled into the six levels. However, there is a confusion of the qualitative and quantitative, in that some of the levels are partially defined by pre-existing qualitative descriptions, so that Waystage (Van Ek and Trim, 1990a) is attached to level A2, Threshold (Van Ek and Trim, 1990b) to level B1 and Vantage (Van Ek and Trim, 2001) to level B2. This provides the descriptive system in [Figure 1](#).

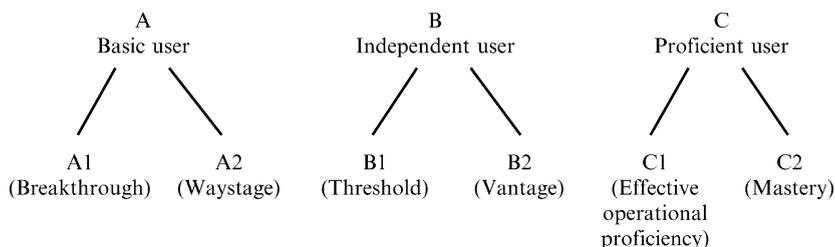


Figure 1 CEFR reference levels.

It is claimed that for assessment this system can be used for:

1. The specification of the content of tests and examinations.
2. Stating the criteria for the attainment of a learning objective, both in relation to the assessment of a particular spoken or written performance and in relation to continuous teacher-, peer- or self-assessment.
3. Describing the levels of proficiency in existing tests and examinations thus enabling comparisons to be made across different systems of qualifications (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 19).

The CEFR itself is not a test or a testing system. However, the document suggests that the scales contained in the CEFR may be used to evaluate the performance of test takers on tasks contained in the tests. The CEFR contains a range of illustrative scales that could be used, including that for spoken interaction (see [Table 2](#)).

While the CEFR has an empirical basis to the construction of the scales that the CLB lacks (see Fulcher, 2003, pp. 107–113), the CEFR does not contain performance conditions for levels, stating that as a *common* system it provides a taxonomy of potentially relevant tasks, situations and domains that could be applied to any level as considered relevant by a user of the framework.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Checklists of student progress using can-do statements have been used in classroom assessment for some time (see Genesee and Upshur, 1996, p. 88), but have recently become the basis for a larger programme of research in anchoring performance to levels on a scale. This approach is at the heart of the CEFR scales, as well as the development of the descriptive system of the Association of Language Testers in Europe (ALTE). The ALTE framework is an attempt to allow member testing agencies to claim across languages and tests that these are the ‘typical’ things a student can do. As a European organisation ALTE also wishes

Table 2 Illustrative sample from overall spoken interaction

|    |  |
|----|--|
| B2 | Can use the language fluently, accurately and effectively on a wide range of general, academic, vocational or leisure topics, marking clearly the relationships between ideas. Can communicate spontaneously with good grammatical control without much sign of having to restrict what he/she wants to say, adopting a level of formality appropriate to the circumstances. |
|    | Can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction, and sustained relationships with native speakers quite possible without imposing strain on either party. Can highlight the personal significance of events and experiences, account for and sustain views clearly by providing relevant explanations and arguments.                    |
| B1 | Can communicate with some confidence on familiar routine and non-routine matters related to his/her interests and professional field. Can exchange, check and confirm information, deal with less routine situations and explain why something is a problem. Can express thoughts on more abstract, cultural topics such as films, books, music, etc.                        |
|    | Can exploit a wide range of simple language to deal with most situations likely to arise whilst travelling. Can enter unprepared into conversation on familiar topics, express personal opinions and exchange information on topics that are familiar, of personal interest or pertinent to everyday life (e.g. family, hobbies, work, travel and current events).           |

Source: Council of Europe, 2001, p.74.

to map its own framework onto the CEFR, as can be seen in the extract from the ALTE can-do statements in [Table 3](#).

The methods for constructing the CEFR and ALTE can-do statements and then establishing their measurement properties are similar, using teacher judgements of statement difficulty and learner self-assessments, which are then subjected to scaling using Rasch modelling.

Also of interest is the development and use of ‘can-do’ statements in the context of the new Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL iBT), generated by the analysis of self-assessments in relation to score data. Here they are explicitly used to “. . . indicate the likelihood that a test taker with that score would be able to perform the language task described” (ETS, 2005, p. 65). This specifically links describing the quality of performance to enhancing score meaning for users. Unlike other sets of can-do statements, however, ETS states the probability that a student at a certain score level will be able to do what the statement describes. This makes the statement less of a level definition and

Table 3 Extract from the ALTE can-do statements

| Levels        | Listening/<br>Speaking   | Reading   | Writing  |
|---------------|--|---|--|
| B2<br>Level 3 | CAN follow or give a talk on a familiar topic or keep up a conversation on a fairly wide range of topics.  | CAN scan texts for relevant information, and understand detailed instructions or advice.                                    | CAN make notes while someone is talking or write a letter including non-standard requests. |
| B1<br>Level 2 | CAN express opinions on abstract/cultural matters in a limited way or offer advice within a known area, and understand instructions or public announcements. | CAN understand routine information and articles, and the general meaning of non-routine information within a familiar area. | CAN write letters or make notes on familiar or predictable matters.                        |

Source: Available from [http://www.alte.org/can\\_do/general.php](http://www.alte.org/can_do/general.php).

more of a heuristic for the interpretation of the test score. This is a welcome step forward in avoiding absolute interpretations of level descriptors.

This ongoing work on both sides of the Atlantic is promising, but is likely to need sustained research for a long period of time before the potential use of these statements becomes clear. The statements are generated and scaled before the collection of performance data, and benchmark samples are then sought to typify performance at levels defined by the statements.

Indeed, this work has hardly begun in the case of the CEFR even though it has rapidly become institutionalised within Europe (see Figueras, North, Takala, Van Avermaet and Verhelst, 2005, p. 275). The methodology in all of this work presupposes that individual performances can in fact be fitted to clusters of general statements aligned in a hierarchy scaled by Rasch measurement techniques, an assumption that remains to be demonstrated. This is very different from data-based methodologies that construct level statements from the direct analysis of performances (see Fulcher, 2003, pp. 88–113). It has been suggested that the former approach makes score meaning generalisable, but less

meaningful to any given individual, whereas the latter may be less generalisable but highly meaningful within specified domains—this is an issue that has not yet been resolved.

An alternative approach is taken through the description and scaling of test tasks, so that success on a task can be evaluated in terms of real world outcomes (Hudson, 2005, pp. 218–221). Of particular note in this work is the evaluation of task-dependent and task-independent rating instruments for the same performance to investigate score generalisability.

With particular reference to the CEFR, one of the claims of the framework is that performances on different language tests, across different languages, can be compared by linking scores on these tests with the framework (Figueras, North, Takala, Van Avermaet and Verhelst, 2003, 2005) primarily using a process of social moderation. For framework developers the question is: how do we know that a level means the same thing for two different people if they have taken different tests on different languages in two different countries? “This follows from the simple logical rule that (a) and (b) are equivalent to each other if they are both equivalent to a third term (c). The CEFR is intended to play the role of (c)” (Figueras, North, Takala, Van Avermaet and Verhelst, 2005, p. 271). This question will inevitably engage language testers within Europe for some time, as there is a political imperative to harmonise a disparate qualifications system for the purpose of cross-border recognition.<sup>4</sup>

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

### *Frameworks or Models?*

It is uncertain that ‘framework’ documents can be used to fulfil their stated aims in their present form. The larger problem is that

... the meta-objective of providing proficiency descriptors that are applicable across languages requires a framework so abstract that it is not a framework, but a model (Fulcher, 2004, p. 258).

Generic models of language proficiency are encyclopaedic and far removed from any given testing situation, whereas frameworks are attempts to mediate between models and actual tests, making it possible both to construct test content and assess the quality of production (Chalhoub-Deville, 1997). Frameworks select from models and provide a rationale for an operationalisation in a specific testing context. It has now been shown that the CEFR is too abstract to fulfil the role

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<sup>4</sup> The waters are further muddied when political and institutional ‘recognition’ is termed ‘validation’, and ‘recognized’ interpreted as ‘validated’, which is becoming more common in apologies for institutionalized systems, such as Heyworth, (2006).

of a 'framework' in the context of test development (see discussion in Alderson et al., 2006; Fulcher, 2004, p. 259; Weir, 2005, p. 295).

While there is little published material on the application of the CLB, more is now becoming available on the CEFR. Weir (2005a) is explicit in stating where research shows the CEFR to be lacking for direct application in language testing:

1. The scales are premised on an incomplete and unevenly applied range of contextual variables/performance conditions.
2. Little account is taken of the nature of cognitive processing at different levels of ability.
3. Activities are seldom related to the quality of actual performance expected to complete them.
4. The wording for some of the descriptors is not consistent or transparent enough in places for the development of tests (summarised from Weir, 2005).

If there is no way to investigate the quality of performance from a model like the CEFR, it seems highly unlikely that in its present form it could be used to equate tests through a process of social moderation.

### *Describing Performance and Second Language Acquisition*

The CLB documents are clear about what is claimed with regard to the relationship between descriptions of language quality and second language acquisition.

The CLB scale does not claim to reflect the 'natural' sequence of ESL development. The CLB is based on a theory of language proficiency rather than on a theory of second language acquisition: an adequate model based on a description of a natural sequence in the development of adult second language acquisition is not available. The CLB scale does not imply linear, sequential, additive or incremental learning/acquisition processes.

Language learning and acquisition are not just cumulative but integrative processes. The CLB proficiency framework makes no claims as to when and how specific language features in the competencies should be achieved. Its focus is on description of the outcomes, nor on the process and the timing to achieve them. The hierarchical structure of the Benchmark stages implies progressively demanding contexts of language use. Such contexts require increasing levels of quality of communication (e.g., accuracy, range, fluency, appropriateness and an increasingly more sophisticated relationship between function, form and context) (Pawlikowska-Smith, 2002a, p. 32).

In other words, it is the increasing difficulty of a task that defines the scale, and the performance conditions are the task facets that can be manipulated to alter task difficulty. The task descriptions are therefore critical. Although there is no published empirical evidence to suggest that the tasks or performance conditions are ordered according to difficulty in the CLB (Pawlikowska-Smith, 2002b), these claims allow the generation of a feasible research agenda.

The CEFR, on the other hand, avoids the issue of acquisition by reference to the ‘principles of pluralist democracy’, which apparently forbid taking a position in ‘theoretical disputes’.

In accordance with the basic principles of pluralist democracy, the framework aims to be not only comprehensive, transparent and coherent, but also open, dynamic and non-dogmatic. For that reason it cannot take up a position on one side or another of current theoretical disputes on the nature of language acquisition and its relation to language learning, nor should it embody any one particular approach to language teaching to the exclusion of all others. Its proper role is to encourage all those involved as partners in the language learning/teaching process to state as explicitly and transparently as possible their own theoretical basis and their practical procedures. To fulfill this role it sets out parameters, categories, criteria and scales, which users may draw on and which may possibly stimulate them to consider a wider range of options than previously, or to question the previously unexamined assumptions of the tradition in which they are working (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 18).

Although Chapter 6 of the CEFR deals with issues of language acquisition, no guidance is given other than in text boxes, which invite the user to consider issues for themselves. Nevertheless, the fact that the CEFR levels are referred to as “natural levels”, and as the “conventional, recognized, convenient levels found in books and exams” (North, 1992, p. 12), it is not surprising that the level descriptors in the CEFR are mistakenly understood to reflect discrete stages of language acquisition by practitioners in Europe.

There is therefore a very real problem in understanding precisely what a level descriptor is. Is it a stage of language acquisition? An ability to communicate in specified generic situations? Or is it simply an enumeration of useful (non-hierarchical) proficiency descriptors? The temptation is always to treat level descriptors as the former, for this opens the way for institutions to make unsubstantiated, but appealing claims about the amount of time needed to ‘progress’ from one level to another, and to arbitrarily associate tests with specific levels as achievement ‘pegs’.

### *Standards*

This raises the issue of the standard that needs to be achieved to “be in” (have reached?) a level, defined as the “level of performance required” or the “performance criterion, level or cut-score”.<sup>5</sup>

Levels are described by a range of descriptors and/or tasks with specified performance conditions. The key question is ‘how many of these things, at what level of performance, need to be achieved for a learner to be in this level?’ In the CLB Pawlikowska-Smith (2000, p. 38) says that successful completion of 70% of a level’s content is required for membership in that category. For ALTE (ALTE, 2002) the figure is 80%. The CEFR does not address this issue. This is problematic because in the descriptors for the quality of performance it is difficult to know what a percentage of successful completion would look like, whether some aspects of performance are more salient at a particular level and should therefore be weighted, or how performance varies with the task type and performance conditions set in eliciting the performance.

With the rise of what has come to be known as ‘standards based assessment’ and the high stakes that it now carries in many countries, language testers need to be extremely careful in their treatment of such issues. It is a short step for policy makers from ‘the standard required for level X’ to ‘level X is the standard required for . . .’, a step, which has already been taken by immigration departments in a number of European countries. This illegitimate leap of reasoning is politically attractive, but hardly ever made explicit or supported by research.

### *Benchmark Samples*

Samples of spoken and written language that typify descriptive levels should be annotated to show precisely how they exemplify can-do or other level descriptors. This proved difficult within the ACTFL system (Fulcher, 2003, p. 174), and it is uncertain that “international benchmarking conferences” (Figueras, North, Takala, Van Avermaet and Verhelst, 2005, p. 275) will fare any better, unless there is rigorous training of judges *before* the benchmarking exercise. Indeed, the language of the preliminary Manual (Figueras, North, Takala, Van Avermaet and Verhelst, 2003) stresses that extensive ‘familiarisation’ with the CEFR is needed, and that further work can only be undertaken if individuals show high agreement with CEFR descriptor levels (Figueras, North,

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<sup>5</sup> See Davidson et al. (1995, p. 15) and Davies, Brown, Elder, Hill, Lumley, (1999, p. 185). The use of the term ‘standards’ in language testing is confusing; the only other meaning as a technical term is reserved for language testing standards, interpreted as guidelines for good practice.

Takala, Van Avermaet and Verhelst, 2005, p. 268). This throws us back into the circular validity paradox—training in the system is necessary to agree on benchmark samples, and benchmark samples are needed for training. In short, the ability to agree on benchmark samples is part of a validity argument for a system, but if the agreement is pre-determined by training, the agreement can no longer be used in a validity argument (Fulcher, 2003, pp. 145–147). Training is only legitimate (and necessary) after validation evidence has been collected. Noijons (2006) epitomises this paradox: 25 judges are trained in the use of the CEFR, and then asked to match tasks to CEFR levels. They are then shown recorded performances on the tasks and asked to rate these *using the criteria at the estimated level of the task*. The only thing that is surprising is that there is only 76% agreement between judges when matching a benchmark sample to a level using this method. Such research practices interfere with the subjective probability inherent in judges allocating samples to arbitrary levels, and create the illusion that the allocation somehow flows ‘naturally’ from the level descriptions. The result is the reification of a system that is claimed to be ‘agreed upon’ within Europe.<sup>6</sup>

## FUTURE DIRECTIONS

### *Political Imperatives for Regional Frameworks*

The most influential approaches to describing language quality are those with the support of governments or cross-border institutions, where there is great pressure for systems to become institutionalised. The dangers associated with this have been outlined (Fulcher, 2004), but the motivations for the institutionalisation of ‘frameworks’ need further investigation at the level of policy. Of particular concern is the need of bureaucrats to create or defend regional identities or language economies.

For example, we have recently seen that history is being pressed into the service of creating a European identity (Black, 2005). The teleology of European politics asserts a European identity and European interests in the search for a basis on which to advance political union. The obverse, the creation of an ‘otherness’ for non-European institutions, not only enhances a sense of internal cohesion, but leads to more stringent language-based immigration policies. Within this frame of thought, voters who rejected the European constitution in 2005 were deemed to have ‘made mistakes’ because they did not understand the ‘reality’ of the goal of European integration. This is fundamentally anti-democratic

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<sup>6</sup> Noijons also argues that there is potential for global agreement on the grounds that five of the raters in the study were US citizens.

despite the constant claims of pluralism. The situation is no different with regard to language testing and the CEFR, which is proposed as *the European system* on which language learning across Europe will be planned, evaluated and compared. When ETS undertook two studies in Utrecht during February 2004 to link the score meaning of TOEFL to the CEFR, some language educators in Europe proclaimed the construct of the CEFR (sic) so different (and superior) to anything from North America that any outcome was meaningless. Similarly, critiques of the CEFR are increasingly labelled ‘polemical’ rather than ‘academic’. Such labelling is the first step to censorship.

This may be closely related to economic concerns. European test providers routinely claim that their tests are linked to the CEFR because many European institutions are requiring such a link for qualification recognition—an original goal of the CEFR. As Figueras, North, Takala, Van Avermaet and Verhelst (2005, pp. 276–277) note, “linkage to the CEFR may in some contexts be required and thus deemed to have taken place . . . .” and this is indeed what is happening, even if evidence of linkage is not provided, or not possible. The claim and acceptance of linkage however, while rejecting the claims from non-European agencies, essentially acts to protect the European testing market from external competition.

The politics of identity and language economies are significant drivers of systems of evaluation of language performance. This is simply more obvious in Europe than in other national systems such as ACTFL, CLB or the Australian Second Language Proficiency Ratings (now the International Second Language Proficiency Ratings), because Europe is not a single state.

### *Traits, Tasks and Construct Irrelevant Variance*

Systems for describing the quality of language performance tend to reflect a trait approach in language testing, where the scale and its descriptors are divorced from task or performance conditions. The latter has traditionally been seen as construct irrelevant, test method facets. The CLB represents an interesting case where the descriptors are still essentially trait oriented, but task difficulty and performance conditions define learner progression. The issue is one of generalisability. It appears that the CLB wishes score meaning to be generalisable beyond the test task to social and work conditions in Canada by not linking descriptors to specific tasks or conditions, while acknowledging that it is the specific context of the task that impacts on performance and test score.

Future research in this area needs to address the socio-cultural approaches to performance assessment, including interactional competence theory, that posit a very close link between the context of speech or

writing and performance. We need to know which aspects are critical to performances *and also* impact on scores. Of particular importance is the effect of the interlocutor in speaking tests, and whether interlocutor related variation is part of the trait of interactional competence or a construct irrelevant feature of test method (Brown, 2003).

### *Domains of Inference*

Changes to our understanding of the relationship between language performance and context should lead us to extend the discussion of specific purpose testing and to consider the roles of new contextual variables in score variation (Douglas, 2000; Krekeler, 2006). In large-scale testing, the extent of score generalisability is very important, but if certain contextual variables are seen to be critical to performances, how they differ across domains may help to find a new meaning for 'specific'. A corollary to this would be that it may also help us to limit the generalisability of some tests, showing that they are not relevant to domains to which they were never originally intended to apply. I have termed the tendency to extend the purpose of a test (usually for opportunistic commercial reasons) the 'retrofitting of test purpose'. Language testers need to develop techniques for investigating the legitimacy of the practice, and deciding what would count as evidence for a successful retrofit (Fulcher and Davidson, 2007).

### *Research on Scale Development*

Directly related to the previous issues is how we develop rating scales. The efficacy of task-dependent and task-independent rating scales requires further investigation (Chalhoub-Deville, 1995; Hudson, 2005; Jacoby and McNamara, 1999). Developmental methods have traditionally been intuitive (using expert judges or relying on experience within an institution) or empirical (describing student performances, establishing binary choices using judges or scaling existing level descriptors) (see Fulcher, 2003, pp. 88–113 for a full description). Holistic and analytic scales have traditionally been written intuitively and applied in proficiency testing, whereas primary- and multiple-trait scales have tended to be empirically derived and applied where a more specific purpose is intended. As we have found it more difficult to apply general scales to specific instances of language use, it becomes more pressing to show that descriptors adequately characterise the performances actually encountered. The question is whether scale descriptors should be written to correspond to performances (e.g. as behaviours), or whether tasks can be designed to elicit performances that provide evidence of competence on the trait or construct as defined

in the rating scale. The most promising way forward is through specification driven testing, in which specifications for tasks hypothesised to elicit construct-relevant language are generated from constructs embedded in rating scales (Davidson and Lynch, 2002; Fulcher and Davidson, 2007).

### *End Note*

Establishing criteria for evaluating the quality of language produced on performance tests has been high on the agenda of language testers for over half a century. Creating a validity argument to show that a test score relates directly to ability to perform on a range of non-test tasks remains the Holy Grail of performance testing. It is therefore not surprising that there are multiple quests, each with its own route and followers. At the present time it would be unwise to ignore any of the attempts to provide enhanced score meaning through better description of language quality; at the same time we must remain critically aware of the social and political agendas that drive some descriptive systems. In the near future, research to demonstrate relationships between evidence elicited through specific tasks and scale descriptors is likely to be much more fruitful than the post-hoc expansion of all-embracing, multi-purpose systems.

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## METHODS OF TEST VALIDATION

## INTRODUCTION

Test validation methods are at the heart of language testing research. Validity is a theoretical notion that defines the scope and the nature of validation work, whereas validation is the process of developing and evaluating evidence for a proposed score interpretation and use. The way validity is conceptualized determines the scope and the nature of validity investigations and hence the methods to gather evidence. Validation frameworks specify the process used to prioritize, integrate, and evaluate evidence collected using various methods. Therefore, this review delineates the evolution of validity theory and validation frameworks, and synthesizes the methodologies used to validate language tests.

In general, developments of validity theories and validation frameworks in language testing have paralleled advances in educational measurement (Cronbach and Meehl, 1955; Cureton, 1951; Kane, 1992; Messick, 1989). Validation methods have been influenced by three areas in particular. Developments in psychometric and statistical methods in education have featured prominently in language testing research (Bachman, 2004; Bachman and Eignor, 1997). Qualitative methods in language testing (Banerjee and Luoma, 1997) have been well informed by second language acquisition (Bachman and Cohen, 1998), conversation analysis, and discourse analysis (Lazaraton, 2002). Research in cognitive psychology has also found its way into core language testing research, especially that regarding introspective methodologies (Green, 1997) and the influence of cognitive demands of tasks on task complexity and difficulty (Iwashita, McNamara, and Elder, 2001).

## EARLIER DEVELOPMENTS

The validation of the discrete-point language tests popular in the 1950s and 1960s, including language aptitude tests, was mostly couched in the validity conceptualization by Lado (1961). Taking up the term of criterion-related validity from educational measurement (Cureton, 1951), Lado argued that the validity of a language test can be established indirectly if scores on the test are reasonably correlated with

those of another test or criterion which is valid. When addressing item validity, Lado discussed the content and performance evaluation of multiple-choice items in particular. According to Lado, content validity concerns the degree to which an item contains a language problem that is representative of the problem in real life. The correlation between the performance on an item and on the same problem in the criterion measure constitutes criterion-related validity evidence. Seeing reliability as a prerequisite for validity, Lado introduced the concepts of test-retest reliability and internal consistency of test items.

The 1970s witnessed a trend toward more direct and communicative language tests, yet the focus still centered solely on face or content validity and predictive or concurrent validity (Clark, 1975, 1978). Clark proposed that direct and indirect language proficiency tests begged for different validation techniques because of their different characteristics (Clark, 1975). A direct language test has to show face or content validity by demonstrating its resemblance of 'real-life' language situations in the setting and linguistic content. The validity of indirect language tests as indicators of language proficiency can be established through their high correlations with more direct measures of language proficiency (Clark, 1975). A well-known example is the cloze test, the validity of which was shown through its strong relationships with various direct language tests (Oller, 1972). Another example is semidirect oral tests. Their high correlations with other more direct oral tests, such as oral interviews, were considered as strong validity evidence (Clark and Swinton, 1980). During this time, inter-rater reliability also became a focus of validation research for tests that required subjective scoring (Clark, 1975).

To summarize, earlier conceptualizations of validity, represented by Lado and Clark, focused on a few limited types of validity that support primarily score-based predictions, rather than theoretically and empirically grounded explanations of scores that provide the basis for predictions. Treating validity as different types invited researchers to select only one type as sufficient to support a particular test use. Further, test-taking processes and strategies, and test consequences were not examined.

In keeping with how validity was conceptualized from the 1950s through late 1970s, the validation methods were limited to correlational analyses and content analyses of test items.

Another fairly common line of validation research in the 1960s and 1970s employed factor analytic techniques to test two competing hypotheses about language proficiency, that is, whether language proficiency is a unitary trait or made up of several divisible competences (Oller, 1983).

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The late 1970s and early 1980s saw the first hint of the notion of construct validity (Cronbach and Meehl, 1955) in language testing (see Palmer, Groot, and Trostler, 1981, for one of the earliest collections of construct validity studies). During the 1980s, there was a shift of focus from predictive or concurrent validity studies to explorations of test-taking processes and factors affecting test performance (see Bachman, 2000, for a review of relevant studies). These studies attested to the growing attention to score interpretation based on empirically grounded explanations of scores.

As validity theories in educational measurement advanced in the 1980s and culminated in Messick's explication of validity (1989), different types of validity became pieces of evidence that supported a unitary concept of construct validity, highlighting the importance of combining different types of evidence to support a particular test use. Messick also formally expanded validity to incorporate social values and consequences, arguing that evaluation of social consequences of test use as well as the value implications of test interpretation both "presume" and "contribute to" the construct validity of score meaning (p. 21).

Messick's unitary validity model quickly became influential in language testing through Bachman's work (1990) (Cumming and Berwick, 1996; Kunnan, 1998a). However, although theoretically elegant, Messick's model is highly abstract and provides practitioners limited guidance on the process of validation, that is, how to prioritize validation research and gauge progress.

To make Messick's work more accessible to language testers, Bachman and Palmer (1996) proposed the notion of test usefulness. They discussed six qualities: validity, reliability, authenticity, interactivity, and impact, as well as practicality, which functions to prioritize the investigations of the six qualities. Due to its value in guiding practical work, this framework quickly came to dominate empirical validation research and became the cornerstone for language test development and evaluation (Weigle, 2002). Nevertheless, this formulation of test usefulness does not provide a logical mechanism to prioritize the six qualities and to evaluate overall test usefulness. Since the trade-off of the qualities is dependent on assessment contexts and purposes, evaluations of overall test usefulness are conveniently at the discretion of test developers and validation researchers.

Following the shift in focus of validity investigations to score interpretation for a particular test use (rather than the test itself), theories of validity, impact, ethics, principles of critical language testing (Shohamy, 2001), policy and social considerations (McNamara, 2006),

and fairness (Kunnan, 2004) have been formulated to expand the scope of language test quality investigations (Bachman, 2005). Although some aspects of their work contribute to the validity of test score interpretations or uses, others address broader policy and social issues of testing, which may not be considered as qualities of particular tests (Bachman, 2005).

During this period, empirical validation research flourished to address more aspects of validity including factors (test, test-taker, and processes and strategies) affecting test performance, generalizability of scores on performance assessments, and ethical issues and consequences of test use (Bachman, 2000; Cumming and Berwick, 1996; Kunnan, 1998a). Furthermore, the maturity of sophisticated methodologies, both quantitative (Kunnan, 1998b, 1999) and qualitative (Banerjee and Luoma, 1997), and triangulation of different methodologies (Xi, 2005b) took place.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

The search for a validation framework that is theoretically sound but more accessible to practitioners continues. The major development of an argument-based approach to test validation in educational measurement (Kane, 1992; Kane, Crooks, and Cohen, 1999) has recently inspired parallel advancements in validation frameworks in language testing, represented by Bachman (2005) and Chapelle, Enright, and Jamieson (in preparation).

The notion of a validity argument is nothing new to the field of educational measurement. Nearly two decades ago, Cronbach (1988) started to think of validation as supporting a validity argument through a coherent analysis of all the evidence for and against a proposed score interpretation. Kane and his associates have taken up on this and formalized the development and evaluation of the validity argument by using practical argumentation theories (Toulmin, 2003). They see validation as a two-stage process: constructing an interpretive argument, and developing and evaluating a validity argument. They propose that for each intended use of a test, an interpretive argument is articulated through a logical analysis of the chain of inferences linking test performance to a decision, and the assumptions on which they rest. The assumptions, if proven true, lend support for the pertinent inference. The network of inferences, if supported, attaches more and more meaning to a sample of test performance and the corresponding score, so that a score-based decision is justified. The plausibility of the interpretive argument is evaluated within a validity argument using theoretical and empirical evidence. Their approach also allows for a systematic way to consider potential threats to the assumptions and

the inferences, and to allocate resources to collect evidence to discount or reduce them.

This conceptualization has not expanded the scope of validity investigations beyond that of Messick (1989), which provides the most comprehensive and in-depth discussion of values of score interpretations and consequences of test uses (McNamara, 2006). However, the major strength of Kane's approach lies in providing a transparent working framework to guide practitioners in three areas: prioritizing different lines of evidence, synthesizing them to evaluate the strength of a validity argument, and gauging the progress of the validation efforts. It has considerable worth in helping them answer three key questions: where to start, how strong the combined evidence is, and when to stop. These issues may have been touched upon in passing in past work but have not been addressed with the same level of structure and clarity as in Kane's work.

Although test use and consequences were omitted in the earlier developments of his framework, Kane has increasingly paid more attention to them and extended the chain of inferences all the way up to a decision (Kane, 2001, 2002, 2004). Bachman (2005) and Chapelle, Enright, and Jamieson (in preparation) have adapted Kane's framework in somewhat different ways, but both highlight test use and consequences. In the former, they are dealt with in an assessment utilization argument linking a decision to an interpretation, which is linked by a validity argument to test performance and scores. This conceptualization builds on the distinction between the descriptive part (from test performance to interpretation) and the prescriptive part (from interpretation to decision) in a validity argument in Kane (2001). In the latter, it is seen as an inferential link from an interpretation to a decision in the validity argument, with a more elaborate discussion of the pertinent assumptions than in Kane's work.

Figure 1 illustrates the network of inferences linking test performance to a score-based interpretation and use. The first inference, evaluation, connecting test performance to an observed score, hinges on the assumptions that performance on a language test is obtained and scored appropriately to measure intended language abilities, not other irrelevant factors. The second link, generalization, relates an observed score to a universe (true) score, and assumes that performance on language tasks is consistent across similar tasks in the universe, raters, test forms, and occasions. The third link between a universe score and an interpretation involves two inferences, explanation and extrapolation. It bears on whether examinees' test performance provides adequate evidence about their language abilities that underlie their language performance in a target domain. The assumptions are that language test tasks engage the same abilities and processes as those used in real-world

language tasks in the target domain (explanation) and that test scores reflect the quality of language performance on relevant real-world tasks (extrapolation). The fourth link, utilization, connects a score-based interpretation and a decision. The assumptions are: test scores and other related information provided to users are relevant, useful, and sufficient for making intended decisions; the decision-making processes are appropriate; and the assessment process does not incur any negative consequences.

This argument-based approach to test validation has motivated the development of a validity argument for the new Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) to organize and evaluate a whole program of validation research (Chapelle, Enright, and Jamieson, in preparation).

Now that the major developments in validity theories and validation frameworks and trends in validation methods have been outlined, the most common validation methods—those that provide evidence for the assumptions on which the inferences rest—are presented. Major review pieces and more recent publications are cited to demonstrate the application of each method.

#### AN OVERVIEW OF EMPIRICAL VALIDATION METHODS

The methods for collecting evidence are discussed with reference to the support they provide for the inferential links in [Figure 1](#).

##### *Evaluation: Linking Test Performance to Scores*

Evidence supporting the evaluation inference is based on the conditions under which the test is administered and the care with which the scoring rubrics are developed and applied.

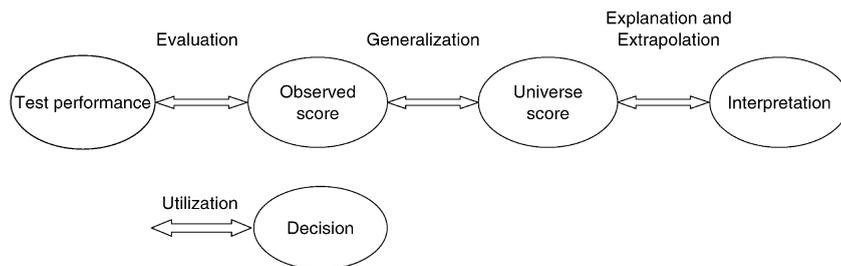


Figure 1 Links in an interpretative argument (modified after Bachman, 2005, and Kane, Crooks, and Cohen, 1999).

**Impact of Test Conditions on Test Performance.** Test conditions may impact the demonstration of intended language skills. Research has been conducted to examine the impact of test conditions on test performance to ensure that the test scores are not influenced by construct-irrelevant factors such as familiarity with computers in a computer-based test (Taylor, Kirsch, Eignor, and Jamieson, 1999). O'Loughlin (2001) examined the equivalence of scores between face-to-face and tape-mediated versions of an oral test and supported his conclusion with analyses of the features of candidates' discourse elicited under the two conditions.

**Scoring Rubrics.** Rubrics that do not reflect the relevant knowledge and skills could lead to erroneous scores. Rater verbal protocols and analysis of a sample of test discourse (Brown, Iwashita, and McNamara, 2005) are commonly used to develop rubrics that are reflective of the underlying skills the test intends to elicit.

Other studies have employed quantitative methods to validate rating scales. Because a rubric with well-defined score categories facilitates consistent scoring, some studies have examined whether differences between score categories are clear using multifaceted Rasch measurement (McNamara, 1996). In addition, multidimensional scaling has been applied to the development of scales for different tests and rater groups (Chalhoub-Deville, 1995).

**Systematic Rater Bias Studies.** In assessments that are scored subjectively, inconsistencies within and across raters is another potential source of error in scores. Analysis of variance and multifaceted Rasch measurement have been used to investigate the systematic effects of rater backgrounds on the scores they assign (McNamara, 1996). Rater verbal protocols, questionnaires, or interviews have been employed to investigate rater orientations and decision processes (Lumley, 2002). Such analyses allow insights into whether raters have failed to note the salient relevant features in students' responses or tuned into any construct-irrelevant factors.

More recent studies have combined quantitative analysis of score reliability and rater self-reported data to account for rater inconsistencies (Xi and Mollaun, 2006).

A related rater bias issue concerns the use of automated engines for scoring constructed response items. Automated scoring may introduce systematic errors if the scoring algorithm underrepresents the intended constructs by not including some highly relevant features or using irrelevant features. Systematic errors may also occur if the scoring model favors or disfavors certain response patterns typically associated with certain groups and the causes for the response patterns are not related to the constructs (Carr, Pan, and Xi, 2002).

*Generalization: Linking Observed Scores to Universe Scores*

**Score Reliability Analysis.** In addition to estimations of interrater reliability and internal consistency of tasks in the framework of classical test theory (CTT), two more sophisticated methodologies have dominated score reliability studies in language testing: generalizability (G) theory and multifaceted Rasch measurement. Both methods provide overall estimates of score reliability. G theory provides useful information about the relative effects of facets, such as raters or tasks and their interactions on score dependability so as to optimize measurement designs (Bachman, 2004). Multifaceted Rasch measurement is more suited to investigate the influence of individual raters, tasks, and specific combinations of raters, tasks, and persons on the overall score reliability (McNamara, 1996). Given that these two techniques complement each other, studies that compared these two methods have argued for combining them to ensure score reliability (Lynch and McNamara, 1998).

In recent years, multivariate G theory has emerged as a technique to estimate the dependability of composite scores based on multiple related measures (Lee, 2006) or dimensions (Xi and Mollaun, 2006). A multivariate G study decomposes covariances among the universe scores and among errors on the composite measures, as well as variances. The covariance components provide additional information about how students' universe scores and errors on composite measures covary. An important application is to estimate the dependability of composite scores with different schemes to weight the composites.

*Explanation: Linking Universe Scores to Interpretations*

The explanation inference rests on the assumption that test tasks engage abilities and processes similar to those underlying performance on real-world language tasks indicated by a domain theory, and therefore can account for performance in the domain. A wide array of methods—both quantitative and qualitative, judgmental and empirical—have been developed to gather evidence to support this assumption.

**Correlational or Covariance Structure Analyses.** Correlational or covariance structure analyses can be used to explore the empirical relationships among items of a test or between the test and other measures of similar or different constructs and methods for measuring them. These analyses can determine if the relationships are consistent with theoretical expectations of item homogeneity, and the convergence and discriminability of constructs and methods (Bachman, 2004).

Factor analysis and structural equation modeling (SEM) are powerful techniques to test theories. Compared with experimental designs,

they have the advantage of investigating a large number of variables in a single analysis.

Exploratory and confirmatory factor analytic techniques have been frequently used to confirm hypotheses or to test competing hypotheses about the factors underlying test performance. These factors may reflect common abilities and processes, concurrent learning of different language skills, or common language learning interests or experiences. Therefore, it is important to look into which one of these really causes the observed score patterns before coming to conclusions about these factors indicating underlying abilities.

SEM subsumes confirmatory factor analysis but can also model relationships between constructs (factors) and measured variables and among constructs that may represent intended abilities, other test taker characteristics, or test methods. Kunnan (1998b) reviewed SEM studies that investigate several research questions, which include (1) identifying the theoretical components that underlie test performance and self-reported test-taker attributes, (2) examining the relationships between test-taker characteristics (both intended abilities and extraneous factors), test-taking strategies, test task characteristics (methods or manipulated task features), and test performance, and (3) investigating factorial structures and invariance across learner groups. For example, in one such study, Purpura (1999) investigates the relationships between learner strategy use and performance on second language tests using an SEM approach.

**Experimental Studies.** In experimental studies, instruction or learning interventions can be carefully planned and task features and testing conditions systematically manipulated (Bachman, 1990). Therefore, they are sometimes more powerful than correlational or covariance structure analyses in establishing causal effects due to treatment interventions or conditions. The effectiveness of an intervention, as measured by gains in test scores, attests to the soundness of the theoretical construct (Messick, 1989). Research on the influence of manipulated task features on task performance can either unveil the relationship between task difficulty and task features (Iwashita, McNamara, and Elder, 2001), or disambiguate a task feature suspected to be construct-irrelevant (Xi, 2005b). In the former case, information about complexity of tasks can guide test design. In the latter case, possible construct-irrelevant sources can be identified and controlled to rule out certain rival interpretations about the invalidity of the tasks.

**Group Difference Studies.** Group differences in test scores can either support score-based interpretations and uses or compromise the validity of a test for a proposed use if caused by construct underrepresentation

or construct-irrelevant factors. Therefore, group difference studies can test theories that groups with certain backgrounds and characteristics should differ with respect to the construct being measured. They can also forestall rival interpretations that construct underrepresentation or construct-irrelevant factors are associated with a test. Group differences can manifest in generalizability of scores, item or test performance (differential item or test functioning), the underlying structures of scores (differential factorial structure), strengths of relationship between the test and the criterion measures (differential criterion-related validity), or score-based decisions (differential utility) (see Xi, 2005a, for a synthesis of methods used to investigate group differences).

Quantitative methods, although powerful in testing hypotheses, are limited in generating new hypotheses and do not offer insights into processes (Bachman, 1990). Qualitative methods can reveal processes and strategies used by examinees during assessment, that is, whether intended abilities and knowledge are engaged by examinees, or whether any factors compromise score-based interpretations and decisions. They help us to better understand and articulate the constructs, or refine them if necessary, which subsequently impact test design.

**Self-Report Data on Processes.** Green (1997) discussed ways verbal protocols can contribute to language test validation and reviewed studies that employ this method. In cases when concurrent verbal protocols are not possible, such as with speaking tasks, stimulated recall (Gass and Mackey, 2000) and retrospective interviews have been used to explore processes and strategies involved in completing language tasks.

Generally, self-report data on processes can help answer the following validity questions (Green, 1997): Does the test engage the abilities it intends to assess? Do specific construct-relevant or construct-irrelevant task characteristics influence performance? Which task types are more effective measures of the intended skills? Do different tests that are assumed to measure the same skills actually do so?

**Analysis of Test Language.** Conversation and other discourse-based analyses of test language also reveal test-taking processes and strategies, although less directly than self-report data. In addition, analysis of the discourse of interaction-based tests, such as oral interviews, can inform the nature and the construct of such test instruments and reveal potential construct-irrelevant factors.

Lazaraton (2002) provided a comprehensive review of studies that employ conversation analysis in language testing. Some examined the conversational features of oral interview discourse to inform understanding of the nature of the interaction, as compared with that of real-life interactions. Others looked at interlocutor and candidate behavior

in oral interviews and the influence of variation in interlocutor behavior on candidate performance.

Other discourse-based analytic techniques including rhetorical analysis, functional analysis, structural analysis, and linguistic analysis have been used to examine whether the distinguishing features of candidate language reflect test specifications and scoring criteria, whether oral interviews and semidirect tests are comparable (Lazaraton, 2002), or whether scores assigned by raters reflect qualitative differences revealed by discourse analysis (Cumming, 1997).

**Questionnaires and Interviews.** Questionnaires have been frequently used to explore test-taking processes and strategies and to elicit examinees' reactions to test tasks and the whole tests. Interviews have been used alone or in conjunction with verbal protocols of test-taking processes to follow up on interesting points (see Banerjee and Luoma, 1997, for relevant studies that use these two methods).

**Observation.** Observational data on test-taking processes are usually combined with post-test interviews to reveal processes or strategies engaged by test-takers or to examine whether the structure of a test or process of test-taking introduces any bias. For example, O'Loughlin (2001) used observation followed up by interviews with test-takers to examine the quality of the interaction between the candidate and the interlocutor and identify potential bias in the way the oral interview was conducted.

**Logical Analysis of Test Tasks.** This kind of analysis usually involves judgmental analysis of the skills and the processes required by test tasks (Grotjahn, 1986). Although experts may experience difficulty in judging what an item measures (Alderson, 1990), their judgmental analyses support the generation of hypotheses that can subsequently be tested by experimental or introspective studies. Logical analysis has also been used to interpret factors or to understand performance differences across groups or experimental conditions.

#### *Extrapolation: Linking Universe Scores to Interpretations*

Two types of evidence may support the extrapolation inference: judgmental evidence that test tasks are representative samples of the domain and empirical evidence that test scores are highly correlated with scores on criterion measures.

Needs analysis to specify the domain and logical analysis of the task content by content specialists (Weir, 1983) are typically used to establish the content-relevance and representativeness of test items in

relation to the domain. Corpus-based studies have recently emerged as a new technique to check the correspondence between the language used in test materials and the real language use in academic settings to establish content relevance (Biber, Conrad, Reppen, Byrd, and Helt, 2002). These studies constitute fairly weak evidence of validity, unless substantiated by further empirical evidence such as analysis of test data and experimental controls. However, they are very useful in identifying an item pool, which can then be tested empirically (Messick, 1989).

The relationships between tests and criterion measures are usually investigated with correlational analyses (see Bachman, 1990, for relevant studies). However, selection of criterion measures that are valid indicators of performance in the domain and the reliability of them are two major issues that need to be addressed.

#### *Utilization: Linking Interpretations to Uses*

Score-based decisions and test consequences presume and build on sound score-based interpretations. Therefore, methods to collect evidence for the explanation and the extrapolation of inferences can support the relevance of an assessment for an intended use. The utilization inference rests on several more assumptions: the score and other information provided to users are useful and sufficient, decision-making processes are appropriate, and no negative consequences are incurred as a result of the assessment process. The relevant methods are those that examine score reports and other materials communicated to users, the decision-making processes, and consequences of test use.

**Score Reporting Practices and Other Materials Provided to Users.** Score reports and supplementary materials provided to score users are the only information that they base their decisions on. Therefore, care should be taken to ensure that they are useful and sufficient for decision-making. The relevant research questions are: If a composite score is reported, are the constructs measured by the components in the composite similar enough to justify aggregating the scores? Are subscores distinct and reliable enough to warrant reporting them separately? Do the subscores and composite scores support intended decisions? Factor analyses (Sawaki, Stricker, and Oranje, in preparation; Shin, 2005) and generalizability studies (Xi and Mollaun, 2006) have been conducted to address the first and the second questions, yet the last question requires more attention from the field.

**Decision-Making Processes.** Decisions based on selection, placement, or licensure test scores usually involve setting the cut scores for minimal requirements. Although score-based interpretations may

well be valid for the intended decision, inappropriate cut score models or cut score requirements may lead to inappropriate decisions, thus compromising the utility of the test scores serving their intended purposes. Collective judgments of a wide range of stakeholders (Sawaki and Xi, 2005) or approaches that make use of test-takers' score data (Stansfield and Hewitt, 2005) have been used to establish appropriate cut scores on language tests.

**Consequences of Using the Assessment and Making Intended Decisions.** Empirical research on consequences of language tests has mostly focused on washback, the impact of language tests on teaching and learning. Since the landmark Sri Lankan impact study (Wall and Alderson, 1993) and description of Alderson and Wall (1993) of a series of washback hypotheses in need of investigation, washback research has blossomed. Both theoretical frameworks and methodologies (including interviews, surveys, classroom observations, and focus groups) to investigate washback have emerged (see Alderson and Banerjee, 2001, for a review).

#### PROBLEMS, DIFFICULTIES, AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

In the last several decades, language testing has evolved into an independent field that is characterized by well-articulated theories of validity and sophisticated validation methodologies. Nevertheless, a few major issues need to be addressed to move the field forward.

##### *Refining the Argument-Based Approach to Test Validation*

In the next decade, we expect to see refinements of the argument-based approach to validation requiring more rigorous conceptual thinking and more empirical research, as well as a reconciliation of different formulations and terminologies (Bachman, 2005; Chapelle, Enright, and Jamieson, in preparation) to provide a common ground for practitioners. This new validation approach has inspired empirical research and will certainly inspire more. In particular, much more efforts to integrate validity evidence into a coherent argument to support a particular test use, rather than on a piecemeal basis, are expected to take place.

##### *Articulating a Clear, Coherent, and Complete Interpretive Argument*

The argument-based approach offers exciting promise in guiding empirical validation research. However, applying this logical mechanism for

prioritizing and organizing validation research without rigorous thinking can by no means get us as far as intended.

For each assessment use context, the interpretive argument, the network of inferences, and the pertinent assumptions must be adequately articulated through a careful logical analysis of all aspects of the assessment process. A selective argument driven by availability of resources and tendency to collect evidence likely to support a preferred interpretation may very likely have weak assumptions or even more seriously, weak hidden assumptions that are not even articulated in the argument (Kane, 1992). The omission of weak assumptions in an interpretive argument in turn offers validation researchers the convenience to focus on confirming evidence in support of validity, while placing less emphasis, or ignoring potentially disconfirming evidence. This contradicts the very principles of the argument-based approach. Using an argument-based approach can by no means gloss over sloppiness in the validation efforts, or even worse, disguise attempts to cover the loopholes or weaknesses in an argument.

The network of inferences has been fairly well developed and codified for language tests (Bachman, 2005; Chapelle, Enright, and Jamieson, in preparation). However, the pertinent assumptions, which provide support for each inference if proven true, may be specific to an assessment context and be affected by design decisions made in a particular assessment. Therefore, it relies much more on the researcher to make sure that the conclusions or claims follow reasonably from the assumptions specified. Bachman has begun articulating some of the assumptions in an assessment utilization argument; however, a specific challenge for the field is to develop a list of assumptions for each inference that is both comprehensive to guide practitioners and flexible to accommodate individual assessment uses.

### *Test Consequences and Validity*

A few decades of washback research has created a shared understanding that many forces in the educational system have to work in concert for the intended washback effects to take place (Alderson and Banerjee, 2001). Due to the complexity of the washback concept, it may not be feasible to contain all washback and test consequences research in a validity framework.

Messick (1996) contended that washback is a form of test consequences that impacts validity only if it occurs as a result of the assessment itself, rather than other forces in the educational system. This view confines testers' responsibility to producing good assessments.

To disentangle this issue, Bachman (2005) proposed an assessment utilization argument as a complementary and necessary extension to

a validity argument. He asserted that any given test may support multiple interpretations and uses, constitute only one of several pieces of evidence for a decision, or be misused for unintended purposes. Beneficial consequences are considered as a warrant that needs to be backed by evidence in Bachman's utilization argument; however, since intended consequences cannot be engineered by test design alone, it may be difficult to argue all test consequences as being part of test quality.

A model is thus needed to guide testing organizations on best practices of producing and introducing tests that lead to beneficial influences on teaching, learning, the education system, and society. Once this model is established, testing practitioners' responsibilities in ensuring beneficial consequences should be clearly defined. They can be held accountable for negative consequences caused by their failures to fulfill some of them. Bachman (2000), McNamara (2006), and Shohamy (2001) discuss different views of the responsibilities of testing organizations. The 'social responsibility view' advocates that testing organizations have a larger social mission to fulfill and should assume all responsibilities for social consequences. They have an obligation, for example, to ensure their tests are not misused for unintended purposes. The 'professional responsibility view' attempts to regulate testing practitioners by codes of professional ethics and argues that testing organizations be held for "limited and predicted social responsibilities" that are manageable (Davis, 1997). However, what has not been clearly defined is how far exactly these manageable responsibilities should extend and what the dividing line is between testing responsibilities of organizations and test users. In addition to producing good tests, reporting scores in ways that support intended decisions, and explicitly communicating to users the appropriate uses of their tests and test scores, should testing practitioners be responsible for recommending good decision-making procedures based on their test scores given their expertise? Until testing practitioners' roles are clearly defined, it is difficult to provide a proper linkage between test consequences, validity, and test quality, because it remains uncertain how negative consequences should be used as evidence to evaluate a validity or a utilization argument.

In addition, although Bachman (2005) has proposed a preliminary list of warrants in need of backing to support score-based decisions, empirical methods to collect relevant supporting evidence are urgently needed. As Bachman has argued, research on test use, including wash-back studies, critical language testing theory, ethics and professionalism, has been conducted rather independently of validity. Systematic ways to investigate test use and consequences that provide evidence to evaluate the strength of the validity or utilization argument need to be developed and documented.

### *Linking Qualitative Results to Quantitative Results*

The last two decades have seen both pleas (Bachman, 1990; Grotjahn, 1986) and real efforts to triangulate different methodologies to support more conclusive findings (Xi, 2005b). However, multiple independent sources of evidence may strengthen a validity argument, only if they are carefully and appropriately integrated to support a conclusion.

Endeavors to better link and integrate quantitative and qualitative results are fundamental to ensure that qualitative differences result in measurable quantitative differences. First, there should be more discussion and thinking about which quantitative and qualitative methods complement each other and how. Second, general guidelines need to be established regarding the size and representativeness of the sample for specific types of qualitative investigations in relation to the quantitative analyses. In addition, some general guidance in quantifying qualitative results or citing qualitative results to support conclusions is necessary. The argument-based approach to validation provides the conceptual framework for combining quantitative and qualitative methods, because they can be used to support different yet interconnected inferential links in [Figure 1](#).

### *Defining the Role of Performance-Based Language Tests*

Performance-based language tests have introduced complexities in designing both their tasks and scoring criteria, because successful performance in the target domain may require more than language skills. McNamara (1996) notes that most performance-based language tests are actually ‘weak’ in the sense that the scoring criteria are primarily linguistically driven, since using ‘real-world’ criteria that include non-language factors may bring about equity issues. Because test tasks simulate real-world language use scenarios, non-language factors such as knowledge about the topic, job competence, and personality may affect the demonstration of language skills, even when linguistically driven criteria are used. This also adds difficulty for the raters to tease out examinees’ language skills. Theoretical work is required to redefine the constructs of performance-based language tests that reflect the richness in the performance sample elicited while ensuring equity in using the scores for decision-making. However, the conceptual work must be informed by a better understanding of the various factors at play and the complex processes and strategies involved in a performance-based language test.

### *Expanding the Contexts of Language Testing Research*

As Cumming (2004) points out, the knowledge base of language assessment needs to be expanded to include research on contexts and learner

populations other than academically-bound young adults at universities in English-speaking countries. These unique contexts and populations may present us with new challenges in developing validation research paradigms and methods.

### *Summary of Future Directions*

In summary, the argument-based validation approach that is unfolding in language testing has made a major contribution in elucidating the process of validation. Continued work is expected to refine it to suit the specific needs in language testing. This approach has also provoked us to advance our thinking on murky issues such as test use and consequences in relation to validity. In particular, Bachman's proposal to extend the validity argument to a utilization argument has provided us with an effective mechanism to link test use and consequences to validity. Finally, this argument-based approach can serve as a conceptual framework for linking quantitative and qualitative results to make a coherent and convincing argument.

With performance-based language assessments gaining more popularity and momentum, the constructs of language tests have become increasingly more complex and may go beyond what has traditionally been defined. This presents both challenges and opportunities for us to redefine the constructs of language tests and design validation research in light of the expanded constructs.

The horizon of language testing research will also be broadened through expansion to contexts and populations that have been underexplored.

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## UTILIZING QUALITATIVE METHODS FOR ASSESSMENT

### INTRODUCTION

In a state-of-the-art paper published in *Language Testing*, Bachman (2000) argues that the field of language testing has shown ample evidence of maturity over the last quarter century—in practical advances such as computer-based assessment, in our understanding of the many factors involved in performance testing, and in a continuing concern over ethical issues in language assessment. However, an equally important methodological development over just the last fifteen years has been the introduction of qualitative research methodologies to design, describe, and validate language tests. That is, many language testers have come to recognize the limitations of traditional statistical methods for language assessment research, and have come to value these innovative methodologies as a means by which both the assessment process and the product may be understood. In what follows, I discuss a number of notable studies that use qualitative methods for assessment, with particular focus on oral language testing; consider some of the problems and difficulties that face the qualitative researcher in language assessment; and conclude with thoughts on how the adoption of these methods reflects the central concern of language assessment—test validity.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

An examination of the body of research on language testing suggests that it can be grouped, methodologically, into two main periods: pre-1990 and post-1990. The earlier period was defined by research that was almost entirely quantitative and outcome-based, and, with respect to speaking assessment, based especially on the Foreign Service Institute Oral Proficiency Interview (the OPI). Construct validation studies, comparisons of face-to-face versus tape-mediated assessments, and analyses of rater behavior were undertaken on not only the OPI, but also on the International English Language Testing System (IELTS), the Occupational English Test for Health Professionals, and the Australian Assessment of English Communication Skills (access Lazaraton, 2002, for a review of this literature). Generally speaking, much of this research (particularly on the OPI) examined issues of test

reliability, that is, consistency in performance elicitation and ratings. However, because reliability is a necessary but not sufficient condition for establishing test validity, criticisms of this early research were put forward for not considering test validity insufficiently, if at all.

Leo van Lier, in his seminal 1989 paper on the assumed but untested relationship between oral interviews and natural conversation, took this early research to task and redirected the attention of a number of language-testing researchers, by stimulating an interest in analyzing empirically the nature of discourse and interaction that arises in face-to-face oral assessment. Specifically, van Lier called for studies that would even go beyond detailing the oral assessment *process*, to inform us about the turn-by-turn sequential interaction in oral interviews and how oral test discourse is structured by the participants. Work along these lines would allow us to determine whether or not conversational processes are at work in the oral interview, and thus whether (and if so, how) test discourse resembles nontest discourse.

The post-1990 period in oral language assessment research dates from this seminal paper, and it is such studies that use qualitative research methods to which we now turn our attention.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

As noted by various applied linguists (e.g., Banerjee and Luoma, 1997; McNamara, Hill, and May, 2002; Richards, 2003), qualitative research in the discipline (and, by extension, in language testing) is comprised of the following ‘tools’:

- Discourse/Conversation Analysis (CA)
- Questionnaires
- Observations
- Verbal Protocol Analysis (VPA)
- Software Programs
- Interviews

The first of these, discourse analysis, has been the most frequently employed qualitative methodology in language testing, as discussed later. Questionnaires and observations have been less frequent, and VPA has begun to emerge as a viable methodology; each of these techniques is discussed in turn. A brief discussion of software programs and interviews concludes this chapter.

#### *Discourse Analysis*

Since 1990, there has been a proliferation of studies that analyze aspects of the discourse and interaction in oral interview contexts, with an eye toward determining features of interview talk, examining innovative testing methods and the variables that may influence interview

language, training and monitoring interviewer behavior, and standardizing test administration. Two features that unite this body of work are that analyses are first based on careful transcriptions of actual language test data, and second reflect a theory of language use, such as conversation analysis, sociocultural theory, or accommodation theory (Celce-Murcia, 1998). A compendium of this research can be found in Young and He (1998); some representative studies are summarized later under three broad headings that capture the ongoing preoccupations of oral language assessment researchers: interviewer discourse, test-taker discourse, and the group oral.

**Interviewer Discourse.** Analyses of interviewer discourse have been particularly fruitful, and particularly important for identifying features of interviewer talk that may compromise the consistent delivery of an oral interview. As a direct result of van Lier's paper, Lazaraton (1991) undertook an examination of the structure and the interaction that took place in a set of ESL course placement interviews at a major American university using Conversation Analysis, an inductive method for finding recurring patterns of talk-in interaction. Though even a cursory overview of CA is beyond the scope of this paper (but see Atkinson and Heritage, 1984; Schegloff, Koshik, Jacoby, and Olsher, 2002; see also Mori and Zuengler, *Conversation Analysis and Talk-in-interaction in Classrooms*, Volume 3), it can be noted that CA, in its pure form, is guided by the following analytic principles:

- Using authentic, recorded data that are carefully transcribed
- 'Unmotivated looking' at data rather than prestatng research questions
- Using the 'turn' as the unit of analysis
- Analyzing single cases, deviant cases, and collections thereof
- Disregarding ethnographic and demographic particulars of the context and the participants
- Eschewing the coding and quantification of data

Videotapes of 20 interviews were transcribed using CA conventions and were microanalyzed for several structural and interactional features that had been well-documented within conversation. For one, the overall structural organization of the interviews was clearly identifiable, in that they proceeded through distinct phases that correspond to the structural boundaries of the interview agenda used by the interviewers. A second finding was that self-assessments of language ability by the interviewees were prevalent and adhered to a systematic modification of the preference organization system in conversation—where agreement with such assessments is preferred and disagreement is dispreferred—as a result of and to accomplish certain interactional goals. Finally, three forms of interviewer question modification in the face of perceived 'trouble' for

the interviewees were found, including question recompletion, or-choice questions, and question turn reformulation. As a result of these findings, Lazaraton concluded first that the interviews import their fundamental structural and interactional features from conversation, but are characteristically and identifiably instances of 'interviews' for the participants, and second that the study suggested a promising approach to the systematic analysis of oral interaction in both testing and nontesting contexts. That is, both the approach and the findings seemed to have the potential to provide support for claims about (oral) test validity (see Xi, *Methods of Test Validation*, Volume 7).

Insights from the SLA theory of accommodation supported Ross's (1992) analysis of OPIs in Japan. Transcribed interviews were coded for seven types of accommodation and five types of 'antecedent triggers' for such accommodation. Ross found that the most salient triggers were candidate response (and its structure) to the previous question, level of the testtaker, and whether the interviewer had used accommodation in the previous question. Ross argues that the amount of accommodation that occurs should be taken into account in assigning final ratings in order for such ratings to be valid. Ross and Berwick (1992), analyzing the same data from a cross-cultural perspective, hypothesized that there is systematic cultural variation in interviewer approaches to conducting an OPI. The discourse of the Japanese interviewer they analyzed indicated "instructional care-taking" with a focus on form; the American interviewer was more focused on content and expected the test-taker to be willing to "engage the issues."

Finally, Brown (2003) analyzed variation between oral interviewers by looking at the discourse of two interviewers who tested the same candidate in an IELTS Speaking Test. Her microanalysis shows the degree to which the interviewers differed in the ways they structured topical talk, the techniques they used in questioning, and the sorts of feedback they provided. Brown concludes that interviewers are inextricably implicated in the construction of the test discourse, and thus, impressions of testtaker ability may be confounded by an interlocutor effect. Again, this finding has implications for the validity of scores derived from a speaking test.

**Test-taker Discourse.** With respect to what test-takers produce in speaking tests, Yoshida-Morise (1998) looked at the effect of proficiency level on the use of communication strategies on the OPI by seven Japanese native speakers. Samples of discourse representing a number of such strategies, gleaned from recent SLA research, showed that six of these strategies showed significant differences in use according to proficiency level. However, the author qualifies her findings by noting that her interrater reliability for classifying discourse segments into

strategy types was low and classification seemed to be affected by the researchers' knowledge of and proficiency in the test-taker's first language (L1).

The consequences of interlocutor familiarity was studied by Katona (1998), who analyzed the meaning negotiation that took place in the Hungarian English Oral Proficiency Examination. By coding the interview transcripts for communication strategy use, she found that the variety of negotiation sequences and exchanges present accounted for a more natural interaction when the interviewer knew the testtaker, while a more formal, stilted interaction containing misunderstandings resulted when the two were unfamiliar to each other.

Lastly, Young and Halleck (1998) looked at the effect of "conversational style" on test-taker behavior in the OPI. Using a topical analysis methodology, they compared the talkativeness of three Mexican Spanish and three Japanese speakers representing different proficiency levels on the OPI. They argue that the transfer of conversational style from the L1 can negatively impact a test-taker's score if that style requires or prefers underelaboration of answers in a setting where elaboration is valued.

**The Group Oral.** One area of current concern is the potential partner effect in the group or pair oral test. Cambridge ESOL, for example, has gone to a speaking test format where two candidates are paired for the assessment, interacting with each other in two of the four phases of the examination, for almost all of its international English language tests. Recent research on the interlocutor effect in this context has shown contradictory findings. Although characteristics such as the gender, cultural or L1 background, and language proficiency of one's interlocutor likely affects the *discourse* produced with a partner, the question remains as to how such an 'interlocutor effect' influences *scores* on the test.

Dimitrova-Galaczi (2004) analyzed the discourse of 30 dyads that took the First Certificate of English (FCE) Speaking Test. The pairs represented a range of L1s, with female-female dyads the most common. Data from the third part of the test, a two-way collaborative task based on a visual prompt, were transcribed using CA conventions. Her two main findings were as follows. First, the conversation analysis of testtaker discourse indicated that paired speakers engaged in collaborative, parallel, and asymmetric talk, which she arrays along various continua. Second, by comparing the scores on the Interactive Communication rating subscale of the FCE and the discourse produced, she was able to determine that high scorers engaged in predominantly collaborative talk, while the talk of low scorers was mainly parallel in nature. In addition to implications for rater or interlocutor training and standardization, Dimitrova-Galaczi provides crucial information for the development of performance-based

descriptors on the Interactive Communication rating scale, a current validation concern in ongoing FCE research.

Davis (2005), in a multilevel analysis of oral performance within a paired classroom speaking task, looked at spoken data obtained from 24 first-year students at a Chinese university, divided into groups of relatively high and low oral English proficiency. Each student was examined three times; once paired with a partner of similar proficiency, once paired with someone of different proficiency (higher or lower), and once working alone in a monolog format. The speaking tasks consisted of photographs combined with a discussion question, similar to tasks used in the Cambridge FCE Speaking Test. Student scores obtained in these three test formats were quantitatively compared; language output from a subsample of participants was also transcribed, and specific linguistic and discourse management features were examined for each test condition. The results indicate remarkably similar discourse features *and* outcome scores across formats. Davis suggests that, at least for lower-stakes classroom testing, the paired format is an acceptable, if not desirable means of assessing oral proficiency, given that it takes less time than one-on-one testing and it mirrors much classroom ELT instruction.

To summarize, then, discourse analysis is a tool that allows for a deeper understanding of the nature of talk in oral assessment contexts, which was for too long overlooked in the test validation process. Discourse or conversation analysis has much to offer as a means of providing validation evidence for oral language tests. One important contribution that such analyses can make is that the data are accessible, as are the claims based on them. That is, for a number of applied linguists, highly sophisticated statistical analyses are comprehensible only to those versed in those analytic procedures. The results from discourse analysis are *observable*, in the form of transcribed data fragments, even when one does not agree with the conclusions at which an analyst may arrive. As such, qualitative research in language testing has the potential to reach a much larger, less exclusive readership.

Discourse analysis has proved a fruitful methodology for understanding the nature of oral assessment. Other qualitative techniques are only recently gaining recognition and respect in the language testing community; three of these—questionnaires, observations, and VPA—are discussed in the next section.

## WORK IN PROGRESS

### *Questionnaires*

Although questionnaires that seek demographic information from test-takers have been around for some time, it is only recently that they have

been used in supporting testing policy in large-scale language assessment. Taylor (2005) reports on a small-scale survey of European language test providers to determine perceptions, policy, and practice regarding native speaker norms and native-speaker and non-native-speaker language varieties. The 4-page questionnaire was comprised of 3 parts with 16 open-ended questions. Nine respondents, representing 8 languages, who described the challenges facing their organizations in determining a common standard which is socially meaningful and useful, which acknowledges linguistic diversity, and which avoids linguistic imperialism. From the results, Taylor formulates several principles for good language testing practice that cover the selection of test input, evaluation of test output, and training and standardization of interlocutors and raters. Taylor argues for a principled and well-conceived approach to testing policy and practice—one which is both transparent and well articulated.

### *Observations*

One of the more innovative qualitative research techniques in language testing has been developed by Cambridge ESOL to study the nature of testtaker language output in its speaking tests: the Observation Checklist (OC) developed by O'Sullivan, Weir, and Saville (2002). This approach is intended to complement the discourse analysis of fine-tuned transcripts as discussed earlier, which require both significant expertise and a great deal of time to produce and analyze. As an instrument that can be used in real time, the OC allows for a larger number of performances to be scrutinized, thus providing more information for test development and interpretation. The features on the checklist were derived from spoken language, SLA, and assessment literature, and are characterized as *informational*, *interactional*, and *management of the interaction* in nature. Based on piloting, revision, and a mapping of the checklists onto transcriptions of candidate talk, it was concluded that they were working well, and they offer a promising avenue for understanding testtaker output in other contexts.

### *Verbal Protocol Analysis*

VPA is another innovative research methodology, used in the field of cognitive psychology, which generates inferences about cognitive processes based on what respondents report verbally, either by talking aloud or thinking aloud. Verbal protocols may be generated either 'concurrently'; that is, while the respondent is completing a task, or 'retrospectively' after task completion. Respondents may be asked questions to stimulate responses, or may be allowed to respond freely. The verbal

protocol (or verbal report) is comprised of the verbal utterances that a respondent makes. Multiple protocols from one respondent or different respondents form the dataset for analysis. A fundamental underpinning of VPA is the tenet that such verbalizations constitute “an accurate record of information that is (or has been) attended to as a particular task is (or has been) carried out” (Green, 1998, p. 2).

According to Green, there is a series of phases involved in VPA. These include:

- Task identification
- Task analysis
- Selecting an appropriate procedure
- Selecting subjects
- Training subjects
- Collecting verbal reports
- Collecting supplementary data
- Transcribing verbal reports
- Developing an encoding scheme
- Segmenting protocols
- Encoding protocols
- Calculating encoder reliability
- Analysing data
- (Green, 1998, p. 15)

Obviously, there are disadvantages to this approach. As Green (1998, p. 117) notes, VPA is time-consuming, may disrupt natural behavior, and may suffer from variability in the respondents’ ability to produce protocols. Nevertheless, the results of VPA can provide insights into what testtakers and raters attend to during an assessment task in ways that other research techniques cannot, because it can “capture the dynamic nature of skilled performance” (see also Lumley and Brown, 2005, on this point).

Not many empirical studies employing VPA have been published, but two can be mentioned here. Orr (2002) examined how FCE Speaking Test raters reported their thoughts while scoring four FCE performances (and immediately after watching a video recording of each test). Orr found a great deal of variety and numerous contradictions in the ratings of the same performance: different raters applied different rating standards, they “did not focus on scoring criteria in the same way” (p. 149), and they considered various ‘noncriterion’ information in rating each performance. Raters particularly commented on three aspects of testtaker performance: “the candidate’s presentation her/himself, for example, effort, body language preparedness for the test; how the candidate compared with another learner; and the global impression formed of the presentation” (p. 151). Orr concludes that the raters found it difficult to adhere to the stated assessment criteria, and

suggests more explicit training in the nature of the assessment criteria as well as the process of rating.

In a study with a different focus, Milanovic and Saville (1994; as cited in Green, 1998, p. 61) examined rater strategies in assessing written compositions on the Cambridge ESOL Certificate of Advanced English (CAE) examination. The researchers posed the following questions:

- (i) Is it possible to abstract a model of good marking behavior?
- (ii) What distinguishes good examiners from poorer examiners?
- (iii) What influences rater consistency?
- (iv) Do raters adjust their marking behavior according to the level of the script?

Twenty raters who were pretrained and then trained further on-site marked 20 scripts, using a scale of 0–5 in a think-aloud, concurrent format. They also completed a short retrospective written report and a background questionnaire.

In developing a coding scheme, Milanovic and Saville generated categories that captured commonalities between behaviors so that a range of common classes of behavior could be identified for a given task/situation. They identified three primary categories on a first pass of the data: Marking behavior (e.g., initial reaction to script, personal response), Evaluative responses of the rater, and Metacomments. The protocols were then segmented and coded.

Based on their VPA, Milanovic and Saville concluded, among other things, that “good scripts elicit attention to details such as register, style, layout, and content. Raters focus less on these features as script quality declines. Instead they focus more on composition elements, such as spelling and grammatical accuracy, task understanding, and task completion” (1994; as cited in Green, 1998, p. 115).

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

The drawbacks of these qualitative methodologies for language assessment are much the same as they are for the larger field of applied linguistics. First, both discourse or conversation analysis and VPA require a large time commitment to master; expertise in them can take years to acquire. Engaging in the techniques themselves is quite time consuming as well. Careful transcriptions of data can take hours, if not days, and the iterative, cyclical nature of analysis requires a sustained time investment.

A second problem is the sheer volume of data that are collected and analyzed. A set of careful transcriptions can run 10, 25, even 50 pages, and to select representative examples that meet the space requirements of publication outlets is quite a challenge. In the near future, authors

may be able to provide text links to transcripts or audio or video files, but until that time the reader of this work must rely on what the author chooses to include. This task itself—of choosing prototypical examples—must be made transparent to readers.

On a more basic level, of course, is the question of whether the intensive nature of the qualitative research enterprise really pays off. The often-heard criticism that this work is impressionistic and subjective—it is not ‘generalizable’—is perhaps even more loudly voiced in a discipline, which since its inception has been enamored of high-powered statistical techniques to answer questions about language test reliability and validity. Qualitative research in language assessment may be tolerated by some testing researchers, but it is really embraced by very few.

Finally, the value placed on qualitative research is not helped by the fact that it remains unclear how this sort (in fact, many sorts) of research is to be judged—What are the criteria for evaluation? Clearly, this is a pressing issue for discussion, not just for language testing but also for applied linguistics in general. Lazaraton (2003) reviews various criteria that have been proposed for applied linguistics, such as those in *TESOL Quarterly* (which have since been revised and expanded; see the 2003 issue, Volume 37, No. 1), and concludes that the goal of defining one set criteria for different types of qualitative research cannot be met. Even within one qualitative approach, for example, which criteria should be privileged—“methodological rigor? Sociopolitical impact? Substantive contribution? Report accessibility?” (p. 8). These are questions that must be grappled with by the research community.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

One area where qualitative research in language assessment has barely delved is into computer software for data analysis. Séror (2005) refers to these tools as Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS), and include programs such as NUD\*IST, NVivo, and others he describes.

Generally speaking, CAQDAS makes for easy databasing and data retrieval.

According to Séror, qualitative researchers can easily change and build on their analyses; ‘project unity’ is also created by having all information in one place and easily accessible. Furthermore, current software packages allow more than just ‘code and retrieve’ tasks—researchers can now record memos, create formats to visualize the analysis, and the like.

However, Séror points out that the “tactile-digital divide” means that not everyone is comfortable working with computers; learning to use this software is also quite time consuming. Seror also notes that “CAQDAS also creates perceptions of closeness to and distance from the data that require caution” (p. 324). The researcher may in fact worry that his or her analytical processes may be influenced, or even worse, dictated by the design of the software.

Green’s (1998) book on VPA does describe how software programs such as NUD\*IST allow the researcher to structure and index verbal protocol data by dividing protocols into text units, to browse for text or search for words, and to create and modify hierarchical coding schemes.

A second area where qualitative methods seem particularly suitable in language assessment is in understanding the *consequential validity* of language tests; that is, their impact and social uses (see McNamara, *The Socio-political and Power Dimensions of Tests*, Volume 7). According to Lumley and Brown (2005), “research concerned with the consequences of test use tend to draw heavily on ethnographic research methods such as observation, interviews, and questionnaires, with stakeholders in the test under examination as the main sources of data. Impact studies, as they are termed, are typically case studies of single-test implementations” (p. 841). Shohamy (2001) suggests questions such as the following for these studies:

How do decision-makers use the test?

Are language tests used according to their intended purposes? Are they used fairly?

What are the consequences of tests? What is their impact on learning and teaching?

I do hope that we can look forward to more work on these and other important questions in the future, as language assessment continues to undergo a change in perspective on the utility of various complementary research methodologies for validating language tests. It seems clear that the established psychometric methods, with their emphasis on score data, are certainly effective, but they are also limited in their ability to shed light on questions about the assessment process, its impact, and its consequences (Lumley and Brown, 2005). I am optimistic that the language testing community will continue to welcome those whose research expertise and interests lie outside the conventional psychometric tradition. Discourse analysis, VPA, and impact studies—along with other qualitative research methods—now offer language testers complementary evidence for, if not viable solutions, to a range of test validation tasks.

**See Also:** *Junko Mori and Jane Zuengler: Conversation Analysis and Talk-in-interaction in Classrooms (Volume 3); Xiaoming Xi: Methods of Test Validation (Volume 7); Tim McNamara: The Socio-political and Power Dimensions of Tests (Volume 7)*

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UTILIZING PSYCHOMETRIC METHODS IN  
ASSESSMENT

INTRODUCTION

The *Dictionary of Language Testing* (Davies et al., 1999) defines ‘psychometrics’ as:

The *measurement* of psychological *traits* such as intelligence or language *ability*. In addition to deciding about *item types* and *test content*, the test developer needs to consider the psychometric or measurement properties of the *test items*, such as the *level* and range of *item difficulty* and *discrimination*. . . . It is based on assumptions of normal distribution. . . . Psychometric tests have properties such as *objective scoring* . . . (italics in original, p. 157).

This definition is quite encompassing, incorporating the whole enterprise of measuring the language construct, which includes the development of test items, the analysis of items, and the interpretation of scores.

Bachman (1990) provides a similar all-inclusive interpretation of the term and emphasizes the link to measurement theories and analyses, such as generalizability theory and item response theory. In addition, Bachman indicates that norm-referenced tests are considered psychometric tests because they are often constructed so that scores conform to a normal distribution and maximize the variability among test-takers. Bachman, therefore, clearly underscores the quantitative aspects of psychometric activities.

Hamp-Lyons and Lynch (1998) portray the psychometric approach as belonging to the positivistic paradigm. They maintain that “positivist/psychometric denotes an approach to research that assumes an independently existing reality that can be discovered (and measured) using objective, scientific methods” (p. 254). They note that psychometrics refers to objective item types and scoring, quantitative or quantifiable ability measures, empirical inquiries, and statistical methods, with a heavy emphasis on reliability. They distinguish psychometrics from other types of research that are qualitative, ethnographic, discursive, or narrative in nature.

The wide-ranging definitions of psychometrics make it challenging to use them as a guiding principle to organize the present investigation. Our delimited, operational definition focuses on the measurement and

statistical procedures aspects of the term. Thus, for our purposes, we eschew an expansive definition of psychometrics and concentrate instead on the term as it applies to quantitative analytical techniques. This definition allows us to examine language testing journals to determine to what degree psychometric methods are present in journal publications and what trends are apparent in the journals across the years.

#### EARLY PERSPECTIVES ON PSYCHOMETRICS

Language testing very often involves psychometric procedures and quantitative methodologies. This orientation is evident from early publications in the field. For example, the back cover of Davies' (1968) book publicizes the chapters as dealing with topics that "range from the particular application of language aptitude tests to more widely relevant statistical methods of measurement and evaluation." In the *Introduction* section of the TESOL 1978 language testing colloquium, the editors, Brière and Hinofotis (1979), remark that "the field of language testing is desperately in need of a great number of experimental studies in order to provide us with some empirical answers to the complex and nagging questions involved in language proficiency" (p. viii). Similarly, Oller and Perkins (1980) emphasize in the *Preface* of their edited volume the importance of performing "appropriate empirical research to obtain answers" (p. ix).

In the earlier years of the field, many Language Testing Research Colloquium (LTRC) presentations were compiled into book publications, for example, Palmer, Groot, and Trosper (1981). A quick survey of the chapters of this Volume shows the dominance of a psychometric approach and the use of a variety of statistical item analysis methods to language test development and research, for example, multitrait-multimethod (Stevenson, 1981), principal component analysis (Engelskirchen, Cottrell, and Oller, 1981), as well as analysis of variance and multiple regression (Hinofotis, Bailey, and Stern, 1981).

Early journal publications in the field also tended to emphasize empirical, quantitative evidence to support the quality of language test instruments. In the very first issue of *Language Testing (LT)* a range of psychometric procedures were employed, for example, statistical estimates of error in reliability (Krzanowski and Woods, 1984), multiple regression and discriminant analysis (Fletcher and Peters, 1984), and latent trait measurement or Rasch procedures (Perkins and Miller, 1984).

Spolsky (1977) discusses the early structuralist-psychometric trend in language testing and laments the triumph of psychometric objectivity and reliability at the expense of integrative, communicative testing.

He portrays the interplay between the structuralist approach to test content or test items and the emphasis on objectivization in psychometrics in negative terms:

The quantifiable results provided by the mechanistic scoring of short true-false or multiple-choice questions, and the opportunity that large numbers of marks afforded of replacing judgments of individual performances by statistical norms, gave every appearance of solving the problem of reliability. Whatever it was that was being measured, at least it was being measured consistently (p. 53).

The use of more sophisticated statistical procedures and the embrace of more communicative tasks compelled Bachman (1990) to redefine Spolsky's structuralist-psychometric trend in language testing in more positive terms. He labels this trend as a psychometric-communicative approach. Bachman argues that "theoretical advances generate the need for more powerful tools, and the availability of more sophisticated tools can lead to advances in theory. Such a relationship can be seen, for example, in the history of research into human intelligence and factor analysis, as well as in econometrics and causal modeling" (p. 299). In other words, the psychometric-communicative approach symbolizes a productive relationship that enables us to document the quality of our tests and the resulting scores, and affords us robust tools to pursue research about the nature of the language construct.

#### RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS

Our charge in this chapter was to report on the use of psychometric methods employed by language testers over the years. Several such review articles have appeared on this topic already (Bachman, 2000; Bachman and Eignor, 1997; Hamp-Lyons and Lynch, 1998; Lumley and Brown, 2005). Reviews of Bachman (2000) and Bachman and Eignor (1997) focused primarily on quantitative methods, while Lumley and Brown (2005) also included substantial information on the growing body of work in the field employing qualitative methods. In each review article, the authors cited specific publications that made use of a particular methodology or analytical technique. Hamp-Lyons and Lynch (1998), on the other hand, took a systematic and historical look at abstracts submitted to LTRC. They discussed the notion that language testers have traditionally adhered to a positivist paradigm in their research philosophy and practice and demonstrated how the LTRC abstracts reflect that perspective.

Basically, the reviews indicate that the empirical, psychometric orientation in language testing publications persists as researchers

embrace various and often novel statistical methodologies. These methodologies include generalizability theory (Bolus, Hinofotis, and Bailey, 1982), multidimensional scaling (Chalhoub-Deville, 1995), structural equation modeling (Kunnan, 1995), multifaceted Rasch (Weigle, 1998), rule-space methodology (Buck and Tatsuoka, 1998), as well as new approaches to test development and administration that capitalize on technological innovations, for example, computer-based or adaptive testing (Chalhoub-Deville and Deville, 1999).

Rather than once again survey the use of psychometric methods and discuss their capabilities and limitations, we chose in the present review to examine all articles published in the field's premier—and until recently, only—journal, *LT*, since its launch in 1984. We also looked at the publications from the field's new journal, *Language Assessment Quarterly (LAQ)*. We undertook this review of articles in these journals to determine (1) the relative frequency of published work that could be considered psychometric, and (2) the discernible trends in these frequencies over the years. (Admittedly, any analysis of trends in *LAQ* is somewhat premature at this time.) Our goal was to ascertain the extent of published psychometric research in the field's journals. Our concern is that publication of a single, dominant research and epistemological approach may eventually limit the field's progress.

#### LANGUAGE TESTING JOURNALS

To focus on the psychometric, quantitative aspects of our profession is to address fundamental, dominant approaches to how language testers undertake their research and test development. We have chosen to explore the use of psychometrics in articles published in the two principal journals in the language testing field, *LT* and *LAQ*. With its first issue in 1984, *LT* is the older, more established journal. In 1993, *LT* was formally acknowledged as the “house-journal” of the International Language Testing Association (Davies and Upshur, 1992, p. i). *LAQ*, first published in 2004, is a more recent publication. *LAQ* represents not only growth in the field, but also new perspectives and opportunities (Cumming, 2004). Before we delve into an examination of the journal articles themselves, it is productive to examine the editorial statements, which encapsulate the research (essentially quantitative) orientation promoted in the journals. In examining the statements, more space is dedicated to *LT* simply because the journal has had a longer life, over 20 years, and has experienced multiple sets of editors. *LAQ*, on the other hand, is only 2 years old and has had one editor.

In the inaugural *LT* issue of 1984, Hughes and Porter state in their *Editorial* that:

Intending authors should note that our preference will be for articles which bear upon theoretical issues and which are based on empirical research . . . . Our concern will also be with more than purely statistical significance of results. . . . we might wish to publish work which throws up interesting issues, even if results are not statistically significant, or no clear conclusions can be drawn (p. 1).

Clearly, the founding *LT* coeditors encouraged the submission of articles that followed an empirical, quantitative approach to language testing investigations.

A review of the subsequent *LT* editors' statements over the years shows that while the mission of the journal continued to expand and embrace diverse research paradigms, its empirical, psychometric orientation continued to dominate. For example, in 1994, Davies and Upshur quote the founding editors' position on the research orientation espoused by the journal (see quote above) and indicate their commitment to that original vision. They state: "These aims continue to represent the present editors' views of the role of the journal. We reiterate them here while at the same time extending them" (Davies and Upshur, 1994, p. i). A similar affirmation of the psychometric paradigm was expressed by Alderson and Bachman when they took on the role of coeditors in 1997 and by Douglas and Read, who assumed the editorship in 2002. One might question, however, if *LT* did actually extend the scope of research orientation in the journal (see tables in Results and Discussion).

*LAQ* publishes not only research articles, but also interviews and commentaries (in addition to the traditional test and book reviews), as well as special issues. It presents itself as an alternative to what has traditionally been published in language testing (Kunnan, 2004). *LAQ* promises to deepen and broaden the theory, research, and practice within the field, and to invite cross-fertilization from related disciplines (Cumming, 2004). *LAQ* explicitly endorses methodologies beyond the empirical, quantitative approach. In his editorial statement, Kunnan promotes "novel ways of thinking about emerging issues (conceptual, empirical, clinical, historical, methodological, or interdisciplinary), the use of varying research methodologies (quantitative, qualitative, ethnographic) and narrative styles . . ." (p. 1).

The editorial statements, in essence, set the scene for the type of research to be expected in each journal. With these statements in mind, we now move into the main part of our survey, that is, examining the nature of the articles published in *LT* and *LAQ*. The editorial statements lead us to hypothesize that *LT* publications rely more on quantitative procedures. Additionally, we expect this psychometric orientation to have less of a presence in *LAQ* articles, where we anticipate finding more diverse approaches and methodologies based on the editorial statements.

## METHODOLOGY AND ANALYSES

The methodology employed in the present study follows a commonly used approach of surveying research published in the literature and documenting how the variable of interest has been represented. For studies using this approach, albeit investigating a different variable, see Lazaraton (2005) and Rex et al. (1998). Lazaraton, for example, whose focus is somewhat similar to the present investigation, surveyed articles published over the period of 11 years in 4 applied linguistics journals. The purpose of the survey was to “determine what the actual research methods employed were” (p. 209).

The present review of psychometrics surveys all articles that appeared in *LT* and *LAQ* starting with their first issues of 1984 and 2004, respectively, and ending with the last issues published in 2005 (see Tables 1 and 2 ). Until 1992, *LT* produced two issues annually. In 1993, the journal was expanded to three issues per year and in 1999 to four. Given *LAQ*'s young age, only seven issues were available for review. Three issues were published the first year (issues 2 and 3 were published jointly in one document) and four were available in 2005. Despite the wide gap in the ages of the two journals, it may still be informative to compare the trends or orientations of the articles that appear in the two journals. The present analysis focuses on the *Articles* sections of the two journals and does not consider the other sections in these journals, for example, test and book reviews, responses or commentaries, and interviews.

In selecting the articles to be reviewed for her study, Lazaraton (2005) excludes special issue articles. She argues special issue articles do not typically provide “an accurate reflection of normal editorial policy or normal submissions to the publication” (p. 213). While we understand Lazaraton's reasoning and agree that special issues represent somewhat of a departure from normal journal review procedures, we maintain that editors seek and approve of these special topic issues and thus the articles signify an aspect of the journal's general policy. Moreover, special issues could be dedicated to exploring new areas of growth or highlighting research using a specific methodology, for example, the *LT* (1998, Issue 3) issue on structural equation modeling, and as such, they are pertinent to the present investigation. Therefore, to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of the nature of articles published in *LT* and *LAQ*, our survey includes both regular and special topic issue articles. We anticipate, however, differences between regular and special topic issue articles in terms of their incorporation of psychometric, quantitative procedures.

We settled on our criteria to classify an article as psychometric or not only after having gone through all of the *LT* publications, culling out

Table 1 Counts and percentages of *Language Testing* articles employing psychometric methods

| Year    | 1984              | 1985               | 1986                 | 1987                 | 1988               | 1989               | 1990  | 1991  | 1992  |
|---------|-------------------|--------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| Issue 1 | 5(6) <sup>a</sup> | 2 (7) <sup>b</sup> | 5 (5)                | 5 (5) <sup>b,c</sup> | 7 (7)              | 5 (6) <sup>b</sup> | 5 (6) | 4 (4) | 5 (5) |
| Issue 2 | 4 (5)             | 5 (7) <sup>b</sup> | 3 (6) <sup>b,c</sup> | 5 (5)                | 4 (6) <sup>b</sup> | 5 (5)              | 4 (5) | 5 (5) | 6 (6) |
| Percent | 82%               | 50%                | 73%                  | 100%                 | 85%                | 91%                | 82%   | 100%  | 100%  |

| Year    | 1993               | 1994               | 1995               | 1996               | 1997                 | 1998               |
|---------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| Issue 1 | 5 (5) <sup>a</sup> | 6 (6)              | 6 (6)              | 4 (5)              | 3 (4)                | 2 (4)              |
| Issue 2 | 5 (5)              | 4 (5) <sup>b</sup> | 6 (6)              | 4 (5)              | 4 (5)                | 5 (5)              |
| Issue 3 | 7 (7) <sup>b</sup> | 5 (5)              | 2 (5) <sup>b</sup> | 3 (6) <sup>b</sup> | 3 (9) <sup>b,d</sup> | 3 (3) <sup>b</sup> |
| Percent | 100%               | 94%                | 82%                | 69%                | 56%                  | 83%                |

| Year    | 1999               | 2000               | 2001               | 2002               | 2003               | 2004               | 2005               |
|---------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Issue 1 | 4 (4) <sup>a</sup> | 4 (4)              | 3 (4)              | 4 (4)              | 3 (4)              | 4 (4)              | 4 (4)              |
| Issue 2 | 4 (4)              | 2 (5) <sup>b</sup> | 0 (5) <sup>b</sup> | 4 (4)              | 4 (7) <sup>b</sup> | 4 (4)              | 3 (4)              |
| Issue 3 | 4 (5) <sup>b</sup> | 2 (4)              | 3 (3)              | 3 (4)              | 4 (4)              | 3 (6) <sup>b</sup> | 1 (7) <sup>b</sup> |
| Issue 4 | 3 (3)              | 2 (3)              | 0 (7) <sup>b</sup> | 5 (7) <sup>b</sup> | 2 (5) <sup>b</sup> | 2 (2)              | 4 (4)              |
| Percent | 94%                | 63%                | 32%                | 84%                | 65%                | 81%                | 63%                |

<sup>a</sup>Numbers in parentheses are the total number of articles in the issue.

<sup>b</sup>Special topics issue.

<sup>c</sup>Comments and panel papers are not considered in the survey.

<sup>d</sup>The introductory article is not counted. In other special issues, introductions are Editorials.

Table 2 Counts and percentages of *Language Assessment Quarterly* articles employing psychometric methods

| Year    | 2004                 | 2005  |
|---------|----------------------|-------|
| Issue 1 | 0 (2) <sup>a</sup>   | 0 (1) |
| Issue 2 | 1 (8) <sup>b,c</sup> | 2 (2) |
| Issue 3 |                      | 2 (2) |
| Issue 4 | 0 (1)                | 1(1)  |
| Percent | 9%                   | 83%   |

<sup>a</sup>Numbers in parentheses are the total number of articles in the issue.

<sup>b</sup>Issues combined.

<sup>c</sup>Special topics issue.

the various analysis techniques, and discussing how we view the piece in terms of its ‘psychometricness.’ For our purposes, a publication was considered psychometric if it included statistical analyses, simple counts, or frequencies. We recognize that the dichotomizing approach we employed, that is, the article has a psychometric orientation or not, is somewhat tenuous. While it served our purpose here in allowing us to provide a rather crude categorization, the dichotomy is a bit misleading. Indeed, the publications could probably be placed on a continuum according to how psychometrically ‘loaded’ they are. That said, any continuum of ‘psychometricness’ would be just as arbitrary as the present dichotomy. In the end, any such classification of articles serves a heuristic—not stringent research—purpose.

In need of specific mention is how we dealt with think pieces that did not provide specific analyses but which did rely heavily on psychometric literature as an important foundation in the discussion of the particular topic (see Mislevy, 1995; North and Schneider, 1998). While these articles did not present analyses from a particular study, we classified them as psychometric because of their reliance on and compatibility with quantitative research techniques. Moreover, we maintain that our familiarity with the authors of such articles and their body of work justifies our placing their work in the psychometric category.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The present survey focuses on identifying the articles in both *LT* and *LAQ* deemed to have a psychometric approach. This involved a straightforward tallying of the number of psychometrically based articles. In discussing the results of the tally, a comparison is made

between the number of psychometric articles published in *LT* versus *LAQ* and those that appear in the regular versus the special topic issues.

An initial glance at [Table 1](#) might lead one to conclude that overall, the number of *LT* articles using quantitative procedures is high. One would also observe that the percentages fluctuate from year to year, most notably in more recent years. These deductions, however, should be qualified by examining the impact of the special issues on the counts and percentages.

From the very beginning, *LT* dedicated issues to special topics, for example, IRT (1985, 2) and the 25th anniversary of the field (1986, 2; 1987, 1). At the time, these were not called special issues. The *LT* editors did not designate an issue as a special topic until 1993, when Davies and Upshur (1993) indicated that Volume 10, Issue 3, was to be “the first of the special issues we are planning to publish annually” (p. i). Over the years, these special issues have addressed diverse themes. The themes tended to: showcase projects or practices in certain regions, for example, language assessment in Australasia, *LT* (1993, 3); introduce research employing specific methodologies, for example, structural equation modeling (1998, 3); highlight topics not been widely represented in *LT* publications, for example, speech–language pathology (1999, 3); bring focused attention to particular, emerging topics, for example, ethics (1997, 3); or commemorate special occasions, for example, the 20th anniversary of *LT* (2003, 4). For the most part, and as [Table 1](#) shows, articles published in the special issues have been less psychometric in their orientation.

In the special issues from 1993 to 2005, only 43 of 89 articles (48%) were seen as psychometric. Even when we include the special issue articles that predate the official commencement of the policy, the figures do not change considerably, that is, 67 out of 126 articles (53%) are categorized as psychometric. Obviously, if we were to remove the special issues from the tally, the counts and percentage of psychometric articles would increase drastically. The tally shows that 172 out of 187 articles (92%) that appear in the regular issues from 1984 to 2005 are psychometric in nature. These counts and percentages are comparable for the periods 1984–1992 and 1993–2005, with 60 out of 64 (94%) and 112 out of 123 (91%), respectively. The bottom line is that while the special issue articles employ fewer quantitative procedures, overall the psychometric tradition appears to be alive and well in *LT*.

In terms of *LAQ*, [Table 2](#) shows that the number of psychometric articles is quite different for 2004 and 2005. One of the 11 articles (9%) published in 2004 is considered psychometric. This psychometric article appears in the special issue on ethics. It was surprising to note that 5 of the 6 articles (83%) in the 2005 issue can be classified as

quantitative, number-wise hardly different from *LT*. Overall, 6 of the 17 *LAQ* articles (35%) have a psychometric orientation. If we exclude the special issue, 5 of the 9 (56%) were seen as psychometric.

*LT* and *LAQ* counts and percentages seem to *partially* corroborate our stated hypotheses. The results support our expectation that, overall, *LT* articles incorporate more psychometric, quantitative procedures than *LAQ*. This conclusion, however, would need to be considered with caution, given *LAQ*'s young publication life and the drastically different figures available for 2004 and 2005. Finally, it is important to keep in mind that *LAQ* includes other sections such as interviews that play a central role in serving the mission of the journal (not being research articles, these were not included in the present compilations). Four have been published so far. For both *LT* and *LAQ*, we anticipated a difference between the articles published in the general versus the special topic issue journals. This hypothesis was borne out in the present investigation. The special issue articles appear to be less psychometric in their approach.

#### CHALLENGES AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

It is important to mention LTRC in conjunction with *LT* because the orientation of the journal has been, to a large extent, dependent on the orientation of the researchers in the field who have presented at LTRC since its inaugural meeting in 1979.

LTRC has been crucial for the journal in the sense that a considerable number of our articles have originally been presented and discussed at the colloquium before being submitted for publication, as indicated in the following quote:

“... the initial LTRC had a substantial role in setting the research agenda that has been pursued through the pages of the journal in the last two decades” (Read and Douglas, 2003, p. 351).

In other words, as long as LTRC presentations rely on a psychometric paradigm, *LT* will continue to have a source of publications that meet this orientation. If LTRC presentations put forward other perspectives and paradigms, then *LT* would likely embrace these as well. The field can only benefit from broader perspectives as to what constitutes research and what is published in its journals, for example, as exemplified in the special issues. *LAQ*, with its distinct focus, at least as articulated in the editorial statement, represents a timely journal that may well meet the needs of less quantitatively focused researchers. While we believe that the field, and its journals, have been well-served by the emphasis on psychometric research over the years, we also recognize the exciting research emerging from others (e.g., Brown, 2003,

who uses discourse and conversational analyses techniques) and hope to see more such work in our journals.

Given its young life, it is difficult ascertain the capability of *LAQ* to engender a paradigm shift and an expansion of methodologies employed in language assessment research and development. Future surveys should examine what the impact of *LAQ* might be on expanding the publication of studies employing various research methodologies and on the sorts of research questions investigated. Future investigations could also document whether scholars who have typically shied away from the LTRC community and have not published in *LT* because of the dominant psychometric orientation of the field, find *LAQ* to be an appropriate and welcoming outlet for their work. The challenge for *LAQ* in this undertaking is to reach those communities not traditionally represented in our field. Two sound strategies that *LAQ* is pursuing in this regard is populating the editorial board with professionals from those nonrepresented areas and targeting presentations at conferences beyond those at LTRC.

In terms of *LT*, it will be interesting to observe whether the existence of *LAQ* results in a repositioning of *LT* publications, perhaps most notably in terms of the special issues targeted. In addition, broadening the statistical methodologies, and concomitantly the professionals employing them, should continue to be a goal for *LT*. One methodology has shown promise for diagnostic testing and we anticipate that publications using this approach will appear in *LT* publications in the near future (Henson and Templin, 2004). New methodologies can open the door for new questions and sometimes even answers.

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## TRAINING IN LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT

### INTRODUCTION

This chapter addresses major issues involved in training language instructors to make informed decisions throughout the assessment process. Within the context of the chapter, the ‘assessment process’ refers to developing, scoring, interpreting and improving classroom-based assessments as well as selecting, administering, interpreting and sharing results of large-scale tests developed by professional testing organizations (Stoynoff and Chapelle, 2005). This chapter also explores the gap between language testing practice and the training of language instructors in language assessment, and the importance of bridging this gap for improved learning, teaching and assessment (Trim, 2005). The term ‘assessment literacy’ has been proposed to describe what language instructors need to know about assessment (Boyles, 2005; Stiggins, 1997; Stoynoff and Chapelle, 2005). This chapter closes with a discussion of this term.

As pressure for language instructors and educational institutions to provide information on students’ progress has increased since the 1880s and skyrocketed in the past decade (Brindley, 1997; Spolsky, 1995), attention has focused on testing within language teaching and learning. The 2001 passage of *No Child Left Behind* (NCLB) legislation in the US mandates annual assessment of the English language proficiency of all English language learners in K-12 and highlights the need to track student outcomes (Alicea, 2005). Although Europe and other countries have followed a less “legislative” approach than the USA (Stoynoff and Chapelle, 2005, p. 6), in that member nations are not mandated to adopt it, the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR), exerts great influence on the teaching and assessment of language (Alderson et al., 2006) not only in Europe but beyond.<sup>1</sup>

Despite the growth of standards-based education, standards for teacher certification and an increase in tests administered, there is no consensus on what is required or even needed for language instructors to reliably and validly develop, select, administer and interpret tests. Therefore, the question remains as to what can be done to support

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<sup>1</sup> Versions of the CEFR have been translated into a number of languages, including Japanese (Trim, 2005).

and train those who “have to do the real work of language teaching” (Carroll, 1991, p. 26) when they assess their students.

In addition to the practical and pedagogical concerns about assessment knowledge, the political arena also impacts student assessment. With the arrival of NCLB in the USA and the CEFR in Europe and beyond, assessment of language learners’ progress has only strengthened in political, practical and pedagogical importance. This chapter examines how the underlying philosophies of training in assessment have changed over time, in response to societal and educational changes in policy and practice. It also examines how different formats for training in language assessment, from textbooks to distance learning, have altered such training. Finally, it examines ongoing challenges and future directions for increasing the ‘assessment literacy’ of language instructors to improve how teacher training meets the pre-service and in-service needs of language instructors.

### EARLY CONTRIBUTORS

This part of the chapter describes the three early periods of language testing and discusses how each period’s philosophies were reflected in available assessment training. Spolsky (1977) has divided language testing into three major periods: pre-scientific, psychometric and sociolinguistic.<sup>2</sup> The pre-scientific approach, as practiced in the USA and Europe, relied mainly on the judgments of instructors as they assessed a translation, composition or oral performance, or another open-ended task presented to students. The very term ‘pre-scientific’ judges this approach ‘unscientific’; the lack of science as applied to language testing during this period resulted in debates as to the reliability of written and oral exams administered to large groups of students and rated by different instructors. The literature does not reveal any systematized, required training for instructors on how to develop the questions for these tests, guidelines for rating the test results or available training for the instructors in rating the examination performances.<sup>3</sup> As far back as 1888, debates ensued as to the reliability of these written (or oral) exams administered to large groups of students and rated by different instructors with varying understanding of expected outcomes (Spolsky, 1995). Despite these criticisms, it is important to note that such exams, such as the Indian Civil Service Exam, supplemented patronage alone for candidates to the civil service. Early language tests, though their

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<sup>2</sup> Spolsky (1981), Barnwell (1996) and others have alternative names for this period; this piece uses the original terms.

<sup>3</sup> While some large-scale tests for admittance to universities or professions included oversight by committees, there is no evidence of such oversight for classroom assessment.

developers and raters may have lacked rigorous formal training in language assessment, were often viewed as a more democratic means of admitting students to university and the workplace than simply using personal connections to secure university places and professional positions (Spolsky, 1995).

By contrast, the second, psychometric period, emphasized statistics and measurement and moved away from open-ended test questions to test items focusing on discrete aspects of language, such as vocabulary, grammar, pronunciation and spelling. The format for testing also changed; while in the pre-scientific period, students may have responded to one or two questions by essay or oral response, tests in the psychometric period included more, but shorter items. It was at this time that item types such as multiple-choice, true/false and similar short-answer questions gained popularity in testing. As this approach became popular, it was reflected in course offerings at institutions of higher education; Joncich (1968, as cited by Spolsky, 1995) reports that by 1920, courses in educational measurement were being offered by most US state universities.

Therefore, the shift from fewer test items with long responses that took time to score to more test items with short, easy-to-score test items, was underway. While this new phase in language testing addressed some of the criticisms of the pre-scientific phase, it introduced new challenges. Despite Joncich's (1968) reference to the development and availability of educational measurement courses, there is no indication that such courses were uniformly required of teachers. During this period, the work of testing and teaching was divided; testing organizations developed large-scale tests to measure student progress and teachers provided instruction to students (Stoynoff and Chapelle, 2005). Therefore, a gulf developed between instructors and tests.

By the 1970s, changes in society, educational measurement and theories of language learning resulted in a shift toward the sociolinguistic period.<sup>4</sup> During this period, a new shift occurred from discrete-point testing toward tests meant to measure meaningful communication (Omaggio Hadley, 1993). A great deal of literature is devoted to how language instructors should (and should not) be trained to assess according to variations of this approach (Bachman and Savignon, 1986; Lantolf and Frawley, 1985). One of the most popular approaches to assessing communicative competence during this period in the USA was the *ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines*, while in Europe, work began on what would become the *Common European Framework of Reference*. By the early 1980s, training in various approaches to assessing communicative competence became available to instructors.

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<sup>4</sup> Canale and Swain (1982) and other refer to this as "communicative competence" or "the proficiency approach" (Barnwell, 1996).

As effects of the sociolinguistic period in testing spread into the 1980s, educational reform in the United States and efforts by the Council of Europe to reform language teaching prodded the testing field toward measuring outcomes based on shared standards for language learning (Stoynoff and Chapelle, 2005). Standards-based learning was viewed as so important in the United States at this time that, when the U.S. Department of Education did not fund the development of standards for English as a Second Language, Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) provided funding for the *Standards for ESOL preK-12*, as well as *Scenarios for ESL Standards-Based Assessment*. *Scenarios*, a companion piece to the *TESOL Standards*, included both basic information an assessment as well as real-life assessment scenarios for preK-12 learners of English. The standards movement had a tremendous impact on training of instructors; over 2,000 instructors had participated in workshops on the CEFR by 2005; (Trim, 2005); an equal number of US instructors have been introduced to or trained on the TESOL preK-12 standards (Smallwood, 2006, personal communication).

The gap in knowledge of assessment between teachers and test developers that developed during the psychometric period was reduced during the sociolinguistic period and narrowed further with the introduction of and incorporation of standards in the language classroom during educational reform. With the 1980s and 1990s, a new era of language testing with roots in the education reform movements in Europe and the USA emerged.

### *Current Trends*

Overlapping the sociolinguistic period, the literature shows an increased emphasis on authentic, performance- (or outcomes-) based assessment, to reflect what students need to do with the language in real-life settings (Wiggins, 1994) as well as an increased importance on shared, common standards with which to assess students. During this time, methods of collecting information from students gained popularity, such as portfolios of student work, student self-assessment and increased emphasis on the authenticity of the task the student was to perform with respect to language use in daily life (Moore, 1994). Since the 1990s, emphasis on testing, including language testing, has risen steadily. The release of the CEFR in Europe and beyond and the passage of NCLB in the USA have only magnified the importance of testing worldwide. Not only has the importance of language testing increased, but these new trends in general and the CEFR in particular have allowed approaches such as portfolios and self-assessment to be clearly exemplified for use in the language classroom (Trim, 2005). The connection between assessment, standards and politics

highlights the importance of training language instructors so that they can adequately assess their students' progress toward local, national and/or international goals and standards.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS

Any history of language testing will readily name a number of influences on language assessment; it is more difficult to pinpoint at what point changes in the language testing arena begin to impact the training of classroom teachers. The impetus for the three periods described in the previous section began with primarily large-scale assessments, such as admission to university and professions; the extent to which results and lessons learned from large-scale assessments are passed on to instructors and incorporated into pre-service teacher texts differs, but it has clearly strengthened in recent years. This emphasis is reflected in not only the volume of assessments available throughout the world but also in the number of texts available for training instructors in assessment.

In this section, I will address two major contributions to training in language assessment: traditional text-based materials, and technology-mediated materials and information that became available in the 1990s and beyond.

#### *Text-Based Materials*

To examine contributions to professional development in language assessment, the first place to look is at teacher training programs and the instructional texts used. There are several ways to examine language testing textbooks, including length, content and quantity of available textbooks. Cohen (1994) references seven other textbooks on language testing available at the time of printing, and points out that there were not as many available in the edition published 15 years earlier. This gap shows the crux of the issue of training in language assessment; during the psychometric period, "large-scale standardized instruments [were] prepared by professional testing services to assist institutions in the selection, placement and evaluation of students" (Harris, 1969, p. 1) and the focus was on training professionals to develop items for standardized tests rather than training language instructors to assess their students. Looking at the bibliographies of over 50 language testing texts, the author selected ten published from 1967 to 2005 to contrast on page lengths, number of references and number of times the book has been cited as listed in GoogleScholar<sup>5</sup> (see Table 1).

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<sup>5</sup> GoogleScholar is an online search engine that searches for scholarly texts ([www.google.com](http://www.google.com)).

Table 1 Language testing textbooks by date, page length, references and citations

| Author/text  | Date of publication | Page length | Number of references | Citations on Googlescholar |
|--|---------------------|-------------|----------------------|----------------------------|
| Valette, R.<br><i>Directions in Foreign Language testing</i>   | 1967                | 200         | 21                   | 18                         |
| Harris, D. <i>Testing English as a Second Language</i>   | 1969                | 146         | 7                    | 40                         |
| Oller, J.W.<br><i>Language Tests at School</i>   | 1979                | 421         | 370                  | 140                        |
| Cohen, A.D.<br><i>Testing language ability in the classroom</i>  | 1980                | 132         | 172                  | 56                         |
| Henning, G. <i>A Guide to Language Testing</i>   | 1987                | 158         | 117                  | 37                         |
| Hughes <i>Testing for Language teachers</i>  | 1989                | 154         | 66                   | 343                        |
| Bachman, L.<br><i>Fundamental Considerations in Language testing</i>                                       | 1990                | 359         | 751                  | 751                        |
| Weir, C.<br><i>Understanding and Developing language tests</i>   | 1995                | 170         | 83                   | 65                         |
| Brown, H.D.<br><i>Language assessment: principles and classroom practice</i>                               | 2004                | 160         | 302                  | 9                          |
| Stoynoff and Chapelle<br><i>ESOL tests and testing: A resource for teachers and program administrators</i> | 2005                | 166         | 180                  | 1                          |

While [Table 1](#) includes only a very small sample of textbooks available in language testing from the late 1960s until present, it shows differences and similarities over time. For example, while Valette and Harris were contemporaries, the lengths of their textbooks were different; however, they had far more similarities in their number of references. By contrast, Oller (1979) included more references than any other work until Bachman’s (1990), which includes more references than any two textbooks listed above, indicating the amount of research that guided the work. A quick search on GoogleScholar reveals that the two most cited language testing textbooks are Bachman (1990) with 751 citations and Hughes, with 343. Obviously, newer texts would have fewer references relative to their time in the field.

In preparing this chapter, the author examined over 100 language testing publications; [Table 2](#) shows the countable differences in Hughes’ and Cohen’s textbooks over time. Besides the gap between page length and number of citations that exists between various texts, there is also a difference between earlier and later editions of texts, as Cohen (1994) points out.

The differences in length and references mirror additions of content to the text. While all texts referenced earlier include descriptions of reliability, validity, basic statistics, item development and practicality, the later versions include more references to assessments such as portfolios and other practices that became widespread in the 1980s. Discussions of validity also grew, in part due to the incorporation of new theories of validity (Messick, 1989). In addition, Hughes added a chapter on assessing children because of the increased emphasis on testing this age group (Hughes, 2004). Cohen (1994) more than doubled the number of references and pages, suggesting that teachers required more information in the 15 years that passed between publications. As assessments change, the field shows us, textbooks used in teacher training have changed as well.

Table 2 Changes in Hughes’ and Cohen’ textbooks

| Author | Date of publication | Page length | Number of references |
|--------|---------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| Hughes | 1989                | 154         | 66                   |
| Hughes | 2004                | 217         | 186                  |
| Cohen  | 1980                | 132         | 172                  |
| Cohen  | 1994                | 362         | 433                  |

However, as assessment methods became standard classroom practice, the texts needed to move beyond theory to provide instructors with tangible, usable examples. While early textbooks often combined theoretical explanations with sample assessment tasks, the 1990s saw an explosion of texts that could supplement or supplant existing ones by providing examples that could be readily included in the classroom. These texts included both variety and quantity in the examples of assessment provided for instructors.

O'Malley and Valdez Pierce's (1996) *Authentic Assessment for English Language Learners: Practical Approaches for Teachers* combined theory and practice in an accessible volume for classroom teachers. Its rubrics, checklists and practical advice on applications could easily be incorporated into the classroom. Similarly, Brown (1998) produced a volume with 18 different activities, which included input from three to eight contributors from around the world for each activity type. Others in language testing also joined forces to model and explain solid theories of language testing coupled with practice. Bachman and Palmer (1996) and Genesee and Upshur (1996) published textbooks on language testing geared toward classroom teachers in both their titles and tone. Unlike previous language testing textbooks, both volumes emphasized the specific issues and problems faced by classroom teachers and aimed to combine a theoretically strong approach to language testing with practical help. For example, Genesee and Upshur (1996) included conferencing and portfolios, both approaches that gained popularity in the 1990s.

In the spirit of combining the information of a language testing textbook and the practicality of a 'how to' manual for teachers, Davidson and Lynch (2002) have produced *Testcraft: A Teacher's Guide to Writing and Using Language Tests*. They emphasize the importance of developing solid test specifications based on language testing research as well as practical issues of teamwork in the test development process and ways to approach inevitable conflicts. *Testcraft* also includes scenarios applicable to situations their readers may encounter.

Most recently, Stoyhoff and Chapelle (2005) published *ESOL Tests and Testing*, a volume which includes reviews of common English Language tests, as well as chapters on the 'basics' that language instructors should know before using any test. Stoyhoff and Chapelle stress the importance of making informed decisions in all aspects of the testing process, and the structure of the volume supports this approach. The reviews are embedded in the book, rather than appearing at the beginning or the end, and this sequence emphasizes the importance of contextualization in test selection. This volume points to the issue of 'assessment literacy' in language instructors, and the need to

provide practical and usable resources to language instructors to ensure that tests are selected and used properly.

While the above provides only a glimpse into the kinds of text-based materials offered to classroom teachers, the very existence of such materials points to the importance of assessment for language instructors, as well as an understanding on the part of textbook authors and publishers that theoretical texts were insufficient to provide a broad understanding of both testing and classroom applications to language instructors.

### *Beyond Text-Based Assessment Training*

In addition to training provided by written texts, other formats have become available for training language instructors on assessment. While one format for training in assessment has always been the workshop, this format can be expensive and time-consuming and limited in its ability to reach all language instructors. Technology can provide new responses to the growing need for more training. For example, CEFR materials, while readily available in print, have been translated into a variety of languages and are accessible via the web for downloading (<http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/Linguistic/>). Not only are the materials downloadable, but the CEFR includes a number of interactive materials, such as self-assessments, that make use of the Internet for training in language assessment. This section outlines self-access materials, or materials that instructors can access on their own, including both earlier, pre-Internet formats and newer formats available by computer.

### *Self-Access Materials*

Professional development workshops are frequent approaches to help instructors in all subjects supplement their formal training and improve their classroom effectiveness. In the USA, the communicative competence movement afforded to language instructors opportunities to participate (for a cost) in 4-day training on oral proficiency assessment; a format that was previously restricted primarily to government employees. However, as mentioned, such workshops cannot possibly reach all language instructors. Therefore, self-instructional materials can and have supplemented workshops for training in language assessment.

Earlier technologies afforded opportunities for such supplements. As tape-recorded materials, accompanied by text materials, could begin to replace live, face-to-face workshops, Kenyon and Stansfield (1993) and Kenyon (1997) investigated a new format: allowing potential language

raters to participate in training through use of a kit rather than a live training workshop. Such self-instructional approaches allowed teachers, educators and language instructors to participate in training on new formats of language assessment to use in with their students. Similarly, ETS developed self-training kits for raters of the SPEAK test; these kits included tapes and ancillary materials. These new formats allowed instructors to participate in training on new types of assessment; just as student self-assessment allows students to take responsibility for their own learning, self-instructional materials allow instructors to learn about topics in assessment in which they are interested. However, monitoring the outcomes of self-instructional materials is far more difficult than tracking face-to-face encounters. It is easy to count the number of workshop participants; it is far more difficult to determine how many instructors have used the self-instructional materials ordered and sent.

As access to the Internet increased, computer-based approaches gained in popularity throughout education. So too, did access to more information on language assessment training. Since 1995, Fulcher (2006) has hosted the *Resources in Language Testing* webpage (<http://www.le.ac.uk/education/testing/ltrfile/ltrframe.html>, retrieved 1/10/07), which includes references, relevant organizations and streaming video of well-known language testers responding to frequently asked questions in language testing on topics such as reliability, validity, test impact, item writing and statistics (Fulcher and Thrasher, n.d.). This page contains a great deal of useful information; the extent to which language instructors regularly consult this page is unknown.

Another internet-based format includes portfolio-based 'passport' to demonstrate student progress on the CEFR that students and instructors can complete to show student growth (CEFR, 2005). These resources are available on the web and can be downloaded for use by instructors, and the self-assessments can be completed online. An important point here is that such formats are not limited to Europe, but, with the Internet, can be used worldwide. The Centre for Canadian Language Benchmarks provides resources for learners and assessors on its website, including guidelines and resources for test development ([www.language.ca](http://www.language.ca), accessed December, 2006). However, unlike the internationally based CEFR, the Centre for Canadian Language Benchmarks includes fewer interactive and more downloadable materials.

#### WORKS IN PROGRESS

Many of the current projects described are simultaneously works in progress. As CEFR grows and questions about its use continue to be discussed, available resources and applications of these resources

may change. The CEFR webpage reveals regular updates of policies, materials and resources for its users as does the Centre for Canadian Language Benchmarks. In the USA, NCLB affords a number of opportunities for language instructors to receive training online with both access to policy and position papers as well as online training in test administration for some tests developed to meet NCLB ([www.wida.us](http://www.wida.us), accessed March 11, 2007).

However, additional materials and resources fail to inform the language testing field as to the level of assessment literacy of language instructors. To address this need, Swender et al. (2006) reported on a web-based survey of assessment uses and needs of 1,600 US foreign language instructors. In addition to highlighting tests currently being used and needed for language instructors, the survey also highlighted a lack of understanding of many testing concepts, such as appropriate test use, by those who responded (Swender, Abbott, Vicars, and Malone, 2006). In response to requests from users, the results of ACTFL's survey and other reports, the Center for Applied Linguistics is updating its current foreign language test database and developing an online tutorial for users in test selection. While this work has just begun, early focus groups of language instructors from pre-school to university level have indicated that such a tutorial will help them to make informed decisions about language assessment (Gallagher, Montee and MacGregor, 2006).

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Although the landscape for including more stakeholders in the language assessment process and educating these stakeholders about language assessment is encouraging, it is nonetheless a daunting task. The amount of resources available in print and online is bewildering, and a language instructor inexperienced in language assessment might not understand how to select from among the many resources in the world.

The first major problem is providing instructors with consistent and relevant pre-service training in language assessment (Taylor and Nolan, 1996). Such a restructuring would reflect the importance of assessment in language instruction. At the same time, more training alone is insufficient to meet the needs of training in language assessment. It is important that such training includes the necessary content for language instructors to apply what they have learned in the classroom and understand the available resources to supplement their formal training when they enter the classroom.

A second issue is that of regular in-service training. Language instructors should benefit from regular in-service training to supplement what

they learned (or did not learn) in their pre-service teacher training program. Such ongoing professional development can keep teachers abreast of current developments in language assessment and allow them to apply new developments to the language classroom.

Perhaps the most serious issue, though, is that of assessment literacy and the field's lack of knowledge as to the extent of this professional knowledge about assessment among language instructors. Swender, Abbott, Vicars, and Malone (2006) have revealed that major gaps exist in the applications (or perceived applications) of foreign language tests by language instructors. This survey does not define all the issues and gaps in instructor knowledge of assessment. Perhaps the first step is to determine what language instructors need to know about assessment in order to perform their jobs and secondly, to determine how to provide such training.

### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

This chapter has briefly outlined the challenges and opportunities of training in language assessment. Assessment training has changed over time to reflect trends in language testing as defined by Spolsky (1995). Currently, outcomes-based assessment aligned with shared standards is the primary focus of language assessment. These changes have been reflected in the content of texts on language assessment, as well as in the number of texts that have become available over time. As information has become available, text-based materials have been supplemented and even supplanted by self-access materials; this media has created new opportunities to inform teachers about assessment. At present, two of the major forces in language assessment, the CEFR and NCLB, have shaped and will continue to impact trends in language assessment.

Challenges still exist, however Swender, Abbott, Vicars, and Malone's (2006) survey report of a small sample of language instructors indicates that misconceptions about test use abound among language instructors. Future studies using more observational, ethnographic or longitudinal data could provide greater insight into the actual state of professional knowledge and practices surrounding language testing.

However, the Swender, Abbott, Vicars and Malone (2006) study provides initial support for the need for improved and expanded pre-service training to increase the assessment literacy of language instructors as they prepare to develop, select, administer and report the results of assessments. An equally taxing problem is that of professional development for in-service teachers in language assessment to fill earlier gaps in their training and to keep them abreast of current developments. Online approaches to training in assessment have proven helpful; future projects may be tailored to the specific needs of a group.

As this work continues, it is important to identify the gaps that exist, namely: what do instructors know about assessment, what do they need to know and how can this information best and most effectively be shared?

Despite the many challenges of training in assessment across the world, there is much promise, particularly with the CEFR in Europe and beyond, practical training of language instructors to meet NCLB in the USA, and new formats and content for language testing texts, such as that by Stoyhoff and Chapelle (2005), to empower language instructors in their language assessment development and decision-making. While suggestions have been made to mandate participation by pre-service language instructors in practical, theory-based courses in language assessment, both pre-service and in-service training must address current issues in language assessment. Hopefully, changes made in training for pre-service and in-service instructors will improve the language assessment being conducted and promote positive wash-back to teaching and learning.

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## USING CORPORA FOR LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT

### INTRODUCTION

Since the early 1990s the term ‘corpus’ has been used to refer to a large collection of texts stored in a computer database which can be subjected to various types of linguistic analysis (see Stubbs, 2004). Language corpora containing millions of running words sampled from hundreds or thousands of written or spoken texts are still used for large-scale lexicographic research, although these are now balanced by an increasing number of smaller, more specialised corpora which are used for qualitative research. Corpus content may be selected according to specific sociolinguistic or text-type parameters (e.g., Cambridge Learner Corpus, see Barker, 2004), or it may aim to capture a broad and balanced language sample (e.g., COBUILD Bank of English, see Renouf, 1987). An essential feature of most modern corpora, whatever their size, is that they are computer-readable using specially designed software programs, such as concordancers; this allows linguistic features in the data to be identified, sorted and analysed. More sophisticated analyses are possible if a corpus has been annotated with additional linguistic information, e.g., when the content has been POS-tagged or syntactically parsed (e.g., International Corpus of English, see Greenbaum, 1996).

The 1997 *Encyclopedia of Language and Education* appeared to include no mention of the use of corpora in language education generally, let alone in testing and assessment. This suggests that in the early 1990s language corpora and corpus linguistic tools still played a relatively minor role in pedagogy and assessment despite research conducted in the fields of language and education, e.g., the work of the CHILDES (Child Language Data Exchange System) Project—an extensive speech database with accompanying tools for researching first/second (L1/L2) language acquisition and other areas (see MacWhinney, 1996), and outcomes from international organisations such as ICAME, the International Computer Archive of Modern and Medieval English at the University of Bergen, Norway. ICAME has collected and distributed corpora and software since the 1970s and shares research findings through its website, journal and annual conferences.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Small-scale, computer-readable corpora existed from the 1960s onwards (e.g., Brown University Corpus for American English (Francis and Kučera, 1964), Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen (LOB) Corpus for British English (Johansson, Leech and Goodluck, 1978)), though there is little evidence that these directly influenced language assessment. Given their original design purpose, this is perhaps not surprising. Both these corpora contain 1 million words from 15 genres of edited English prose including press reportage, biography, memoirs and fiction from 1961 and both were developed for comparative genre studies. They nevertheless established a standardised corpus format that shaped the development of many later corpora.

Alongside written corpora, collections of spoken data were also being developed throughout the 1950s and 1960s, for example the 500,000 word Oral Vocabulary of Adult Workers corpus based on Australian workers' speech (OVAW; see Schonell et al., 1956). One of the first machine-readable spoken corpora was the 500,000 word London-Lund Corpus of Spoken English (see Svartvik, 1990) which contains spoken British English from the 1950s to 1980s. This corpus developed out of the Survey of English Usage at University College London (UCL) (1959 onwards) which aimed to describe the grammar of educated adult native speakers of English, and the Survey of Spoken English at Lund University (1975 onwards). The International Corpus of English (ICE) started in 1990 at UCL to collect written and spoken material reflecting regional or national varieties for comparative studies of English worldwide (see Greenbaum, 1996).

Although corpus developments in the 1970s and 1980s provided applied linguists with valuable insights into the grammatical, lexical and discourse features of written/spoken native speaker English—of British and other varieties—they did not as yet impact significantly on the language assessment community. By the mid-1990s, however, several new large-scale corpora of English, e.g., COBUILD Bank of English launched in 1991 and British National Corpus (BNC) built in 1991–1994, were beginning to shape developments not only in applied linguistics but also in language pedagogy through the use of corpora in teaching (see Tribble and Jones, 1990) and the publication of learner dictionaries (e.g., Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary, Sinclair et al., 1987), grammars (e.g., Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English, Biber, Johansson, Leech, Conrad and Finegan, 1999; Collins COBUILD Grammar pattern books described in Hunston and Francis, 2000). Corpus-informed language teaching materials were also being developed, including general and exam-focused ELT courses and reference publications for grammar, vocabulary and other areas

(e.g., Cambridge University Press's English in Use series). In addition to collections of British English, major corpora of other varieties were being instigated by the end of the 1990s, for example, the American National Corpus (ANC, Ide and Suderman, 2004) and the American content of the Cambridge International Corpus (which informed development of Cambridge University Press's adult ELT course *Touchstone*).

More directly relevant to language testers is the development of collections of learner language, which began in the early 1990s. Pioneering work took place in Louvain-La-Neuve, Belgium, under Sylviane Granger who oversaw the development of the International Corpus of Learner English (ICLE). The Centre for English Corpus Linguistics (CECL) at Louvain was amongst the first to compile a corpus of written learner data. Separate teams are contributing 200,000 words each to ICLE from argumentative essays or literature papers from advanced learners of English (see Granger, 1998). Background data are also collected in a 'learner profile' (age, languages spoken at home, etc.). A corpus of spoken English from French L1 learners and native speakers (LINDSEI) was started in 1995 and is currently expanding to include other L1 backgrounds. The CECL team also built a comparative native writer corpus (LOCNESS) to allow direct comparisons between native speakers (NS) and non-native speakers (NNS) for their work on contrastive interlanguage analysis (CIA) (see Granger, 1996). The CECL website bibliography suggests a stronger focus on the pedagogical rather than the assessment applications of learner corpora (see Granger, *Learner Corpora in Foreign Language Education*, Volume 4).

During the same period collections of language learner texts were being assembled in other parts of the world. In 1993, the EFL Division of the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (UCLES) in the UK established the Cambridge Learner Corpus (CLC) in collaboration with Cambridge University Press. The CLC was developed to inform both test development and publishing activities. It contains exam scripts (i.e., candidates' responses) from the written component of Cambridge's General English examinations, initially at intermediate and higher proficiency levels. Scripts are keyed in exactly as candidates have written them (i.e., with errors intact) to form a computer-readable version; these scripts are accompanied by comprehensive candidate information and score data so that the corpus can be searched by variables such as age, gender, L1 or grade achieved on the written component. A distinguishing feature of the CLC is the error-tagging system (see Nicholls, 2003). The corpus is searchable through proprietary software either on particular types of error, or lexically through a concordancer, collocation search or frequency word

lists. The CLC, which grows by 2–3 million words annually, is one of the few learner corpora to have been compiled using only examination scripts selected according to candidates' L1.

Although these early learner corpora focused on English, references to learner and NS corpora of languages other than English—and proficient non-native-user corpora—appeared more frequently in conference proceedings, journals and other publications throughout the second half of the 1990s. Useful summaries of learner corpora can be found in Pravec (2002) and Granger (2004).

In the language assessment community, Charles Alderson was among the first to signal a potential role for corpora (Alderson, 1996). While acknowledging the impact they were starting to have in linguistic analysis and language pedagogy, he noted that corpora had yet to find an application in the assessment of language learning and proficiency. In 2003 a symposium on exploring the relationship between corpora and language testing at the Language Testing Research Colloquium in Reading considered the ways in which corpora are becoming increasingly useful to the language testing community and pointed to current and future uses of corpora in language assessment in the UK context (Taylor, Thompson, McCarthy and Barker, 2003). The speakers discussed uses of corpora in the testing of writing and reading (Thompson), how oral testing may benefit from recent work in spoken corpus linguistics (McCarthy) and learner corpora and their direct applications in language testing (Barker).

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

With an increasing number of NS and learner corpora available to them in the late 1990s, language testers began actively exploring their application in language assessment, particularly corpora which had been developed with an assessment focus in mind. UCLES EFL (now Cambridge ESOL) drew extensively on both the BNC and COBUILD together with their own Cambridge Learner Corpus to inform the revision of their tests (e.g., Weir and Milanovic, 2003). Other early applications included using corpora to devise new test formats (Hargreaves, 2000), and creating/revising test writer and candidate word lists (see Barker, 2004).

The English Language Institute (ELI) at the University of Michigan in the USA started developing a spoken corpus of academic texts in 1997 to investigate the characteristics of contemporary academic speech and how these might differ by speaker groups and academic disciplines. The Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English (MICASE) includes recordings and transcriptions of around 200 hours (1.7 million words) of academic speech and is used to study changes

in speech patterns over time within a university context and to develop English as a second language (ESL) and English for academic purposes (EAP) teaching and testing materials (see Gunnarsson, *Professional Communication*, Volume 4).

MICASE has been used by researchers interested in both academic speech and assessment-related research, and several papers have been given on its use in EAP tests. For example, Briggs and Lee (2002) investigated the use of a Lexical Database of Academic Spoken English (LDASE) for developing language proficiency tests. They studied a range of existing word lists for criterial features such as frequency, range, and dispersion as well as collocational and other information about words or multi-word units. Their research also reported on features of the corpora from which word lists are produced (discourse, academic domain) and grammatical word class and discourse meaning.

Also in the USA, the TOEFL 2000 Spoken and Written Academic Language Corpus (T2K-SWAL) was built to investigate university level language skills required by candidates taking the TOEFL test (Test of English as a Foreign Language), a high-stakes test offered worldwide by the Educational Testing Service (ETS) (see Biber et co-researchers, 2004; see Kunnan, *Large Scale Language Assessments*, Volume 7). The T2K-SWAL corpus contains 2.7 million words from 423 written/spoken texts and is grammatically tagged. An earlier study had shown that TOEFL reading and listening texts differed from the actual nature of the registers being tested (Biber et al., 2004, p. 2). Biber et co-researchers extended the analysis beyond the traditional academic registers (i.e., research papers, academic lectures) to institutional registers such as handbooks, web pages, service encounters and classroom management talk. The TOEFL 2000 team sought to design diagnostic tools to help test writers produce exam texts more representative of 'real-life' language use in the academic context. A further motivation was to provide an empirically-grounded alternative to the intuitions of test constructors in deciding what to test, and of test writers in writing materials. This is a familiar challenge for language teachers and language testers alike: how to obtain information about naturally occurring communicative interaction and how to decide what to teach or test in various domains or at different levels of language proficiency. For the language tester it relates directly to issues of construct definition and representation (Alderson, 1996; Douglas, 2000).

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Alderson (1996) proposed a range of applications for corpora in language assessment including test writing, test construction, test scoring and score reporting; examples of some of these are considered here

along with other uses that emerged in the past decade (see Xi, *Methods of Test Validation*, Volume 7).

Both NS and learner corpora play a useful role in the creation and validation of test materials. For example, test writers can draw on NS corpora (e.g., BNC or a corpus of business texts) as a source of original input texts for reading and listening tests, or as a means of checking the authentic features of specially written reading and listening texts (Biber et al., 2004); such corpora can also generate authentic question stems and potential distractors for test tasks with a lexico-grammatical focus, e.g. open or multiple choice cloze, sentence transformations (Weir and Milanovic, 2003). Collocation is generally recognised as a distinguishing feature of advanced learner knowledge, and both NS and learner corpora are useful for querying collocational information on words and phrases to be used in test items or tasks assessing this aspect of language proficiency (Hargreaves, 2000; see Nation, *Lexical Awareness in Second Language Learning*, Volume 6).

Learner corpora can help identify typical errors at a given proficiency level which can inform the focus of test items or tasks for a particular test-taker population as well as test preparation publications (see the Cambridge University Press website for corpus-informed examples). A learner corpus can be used routinely to validate test writer intuitions about language features and frequencies associated with different proficiency levels. Test writers and constructors often work within specified constraints relating to domain or level (e.g., appropriate topics, lexis and structures), and corpus-derived word lists based on frequency data can help to control domain coverage and proficiency level. Both NS and learner corpora therefore enable test writers to base their testing tasks more closely on authentic rather than contrived language and texts, and to target more readily those aspects of language use of direct relevance to the test-taking population of interest (see Barker, 2004).

In relation to test scoring and rating, NS corpora are sometimes regarded as a useful reference point against which to compare test-taker responses; however, the continuing usefulness of the traditional native speaker criterion for assessing L2 performance has been a matter for debate (see Taylor, 2006). Analyses of NS and learner corpora can nevertheless be useful in identifying relevant performance features to inform decisions about assessment criteria and the development of rating scales. Hasselgreen (2005) studied spoken fluency markers among adolescent learners of English in Norwegian secondary schools. She analysed a corpus of audio tapes and transcripts of over 80 students (Norwegian and British) from a paired-format speaking test of English to validate her assessment criteria and rating scales, especially in regard to assessing spoken fluency. Hawkey and Barker (2004) used learner corpus analyses to identify distinguishing features of writing

performance across different proficiency levels as part of a project to develop a common scale for assessing L2 writing.

Work is ongoing to develop increasingly sophisticated systems for the automated evaluation of essays and short answer responses in content-based tests. In 1999 ETS introduced software for scoring essays; a selected corpus of previously scored essays is used to 'train' the software to predict the holistic score for an essay. Other ETS research has explored automated scoring of short-answer, content-based responses (Burstein et al., 2001). Automated scoring of speaking test performance is a more complex endeavour but rapid developments in natural language processing (NLP) and computer-based speech technology are bringing this ever closer as an operational reality.

Corpora of language test content (input) and of test-taker performance (output) provide language testers with important archives that enable them to address key issues such as comparability across test forms, rater training and standardisation, standard setting and maintenance of standards over time, and investigation of test bias across different test-taker populations. Corpus analyses allow detailed comparison across tests at different proficiency levels (e.g., beginner, intermediate and advanced) as well as for different domains (e.g., general, study-related and work-related) in terms of lexical, structural, and functional content; they also assist in placing tests within a larger framework of reference such as the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) and support the development of performance descriptions in the form of can-do statements (Council of Europe, 2001; see Broeder and Martyniuk, *Language Education in Europe: The Common European Framework of Reference*, Volume 4).

Subsets of larger learner corpora or small-scale collections of written/spoken performance are often used to undertake more research-focused studies which can have direct or indirect relevance for language tests. For example, findings from studies of small, specially constructed corpora of International English Language Testing System (IELTS) performances informed changes to the Speaking and Writing tests in 2001 and 2005 (e.g., Taylor and Falvey, 2007; see Freed, *Second Language Learning in a Study Abroad Context*, Volume 4).

Although the focus in this review is mainly on the applications of corpora in the context of large-scale, high-stakes standardised assessment, it is worth noting that corpora are being used more widely in the language learning classroom for less formal, low-stakes or alternative approaches to assessment. For example, learners can be presented with a set of concordance lines from NS reference corpora and asked to make judgements about language data, or to correct typical examples of errors from their own classroom learner corpus (see Fox, *Alternative Assessment*, Volume 7).

## CHALLENGES AND DIFFICULTIES

A central issue in the building and use of language corpora is the sampling approach adopted, since the nature of corpus content and the criteria by which it has been selected and organised constrain what it can be used for. The representativeness and relevance of a corpus, including its size and age, need to be carefully considered when interpreting the outcomes of data analyses and using these in decision-making (Alderson, 1996). Language corpora and their exploitation face the same challenge as all language tests—their potential for generalisability.

Furthermore, the level and quality of additional information available in a corpus may constrain what it can provide. It may be important to be able to refer to background information on a writer/speaker's gender or age, for example, or the purpose or context of their writing/speech. If corpus content is not tagged for part-of-speech (POS), it will be more difficult to disambiguate whether words are being used in their noun/verb forms, for example. If they are error-tagged, learner corpora (e.g., CLC and ICLE) provide richer insights into the linguistic problems faced by language learners at different proficiency levels and across L1s. Spoken corpora benefit from the inclusion of phonological information and can be enhanced further with digitised sound or video files of the spoken interaction, to form multimodal corpora, a current trend in corpus linguistics.

Although annotated corpora provide a much richer resource for analysis, the technical challenges and the cost in terms of resources should not be underestimated. Manual tagging is time-consuming and labour-intensive, and probably most appropriate for small-scale research-focused corpora; where possible an automated or semi-automated system is preferable for tagging elements such as parts of speech and syntactic structures. Automatic error tagging and tagging at the semantic and discourse level remain more challenging, since however they are tagged the corpus data must remain analysable using the available software tools (see website links later).

Interpreting outcomes from corpus linguistic analyses requires the same care and caution as the interpretation of statistical analyses in testing and assessment. This can be a particular challenge where the corpus data are strongly influenced by a task effect, which is noticeably true for any corpus of test-taker performance. Both Granger (1998) and Hasselgreen (2005) highlight the value, and sometimes the necessity, of undertaking complementary manual analyses in addition to the automatic analyses which result from using corpus software or tools.

Corpus developments often involve substantial costs in terms of time, money, expertise and other resources. It is therefore not surprising that collaboration is commonplace between universities, examination

boards and publishers to build and exploit large-scale corpora for research, educational and commercial purposes. One example is the Cambridge International Corpus used by Cambridge University Press—of which the CLC is one component; another component is CANCODE, Cambridge University Press and the University of Nottingham's Cambridge and Nottingham Corpus of Discourse in English. Other large corpus collections include the Longman Corpus Network and Macmillan's World English Corpus. Issues of confidentiality, data protection and intellectual property rights also need to be carefully considered, especially when constructing learner corpora that store data on test-takers' performances, scores and background (see Davies, *Ethics, Professionalism, Rights and Codes*, Volume 7). Granger (2004) makes a useful distinction between commercial and academic corpora as this often has an impact on access to and results made public from a corpus. The value of small-scale, specialised corpora—both NS and learner—should not be under-estimated as these can provide language testers with useful insights into task- or domain-specific issues as well as resources for classroom testing and assessment. The British Academic Spoken English (BASE) corpus and its written counterpart (BAWE), for example, contain current academic English from lectures, seminars and assignments and were developed at Reading and Warwick Universities in the UK while the Cambridge and Nottingham Spoken Business English Corpus (CANBEC) contains formal and informal business English from a range of settings (see website links).

Although several different corpora can provide language testers (and other users) with multiple points of reference, it is important to remember that every corpus is designed with differing parameters and purposes in mind. For example, the CLC was designed as an archive and to be used for both general and specific test development and validation projects across many different types and forms of test; the T2K-SWAL corpus, however, was designed for the revision of one specific test with an academic focus. The MICASE corpus and companion corpora, such as the BASE corpus, seek to provide data for researchers rather than professional language testers, and the ICLE corpus in Belgium is also a research-focused resource.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Hunston (2002) commented that corpus studies only recently assumed significance in the world of language testing and that work in this field is in its early stages. To some extent this is true, though, as this overview shows, language testers made significant progress using language corpora in a number of areas during the late 1990s and the early part of the 21st century.

Some of the more long-established corpora are finite and, though 'frozen' in time, they remain valuable archives for linguistic research and can continue to inform the work of language testers. Most other corpora of interest to language testing are those which will expand and perhaps branch out into new directions. From 2000 onwards exam scripts from other general, business and academic English tests were added to the CLC representing a wider range of L1s; in 2006 the CLC contained 25 million words taken from 75,000 exam scripts from 20 different exams across five proficiency levels; it constitutes the largest learner corpus derived from a single source.

Field-specific reference corpora are likely to assume greater relevance as language testing becomes increasingly domain-focused, e.g., for professions such as law, accountancy, aviation, as well as the traditional academic and business fields (see O'Loughlin, *Assessment at the Workplace*, Volume 7). Douglas (2000) highlights the value to language testers of analysing field-specific corpora, arguing that these lead to a richer understanding of the linguistic properties (lexis, syntax, functions, pragmatics) of special purposes speech and writing. However, such field-specific corpora are currently relatively few in number; more will need to be constructed and analysed if valid and reliable domain-related tests are to be produced. Similarly, as the testing and assessment of younger language learners increases worldwide, age-specific NS, non-native user and learner corpora will be needed to improve our understanding of the criterial distinctions between child, adolescent and adult L2 proficiency (Hasselgreen, 2005; see Bailey, *Assessing the Language of Young Learners*, Volume 7).

There will be a continuing role for corpora in the study of L2 proficiency development in terms of lexical, grammatical, semantic, discourse and other features. For example, Cambridge ESOL is using the CLC and a spoken learner corpus under development (compiled from Cambridge speaking tests) to specify lexis at the six proficiency levels (A1-C2) of the CEFR (Council of Europe, 2001). Findings from this project are expected to feed into a much larger, collaborative project to produce a comprehensive reference level description for English. In time it may prove possible to classify and report test-taker performance against the 'norms' of a suitable reference corpus (Alderson, 1996). Corpora of test performances will also be valuable for investigating more closely the effects of task and context in performance assessment (see Wigglesworth, *Task and Performance-based Assessment*, Volume 7). A major advantage of using learner corpora in assessment is that they can help language testers keep learners in mind as the central focus of their activity.

Other corpora of growing interest to language testers will be those focusing on language varieties, particularly (but not exclusively) international varieties of English, e.g., the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE). Analyses of such corpora may help to codify new or revised models of English for teaching and testing and could inform decisions about the level of linguistic variation to be included in language tests (see Taylor, 2006, for a discussion of the issues as they relate to language assessment; see Tarnopolsky, *Non-native Speaking Teachers of English as a Foreign Language*, Volume 4).

At a practical level, the spread of computer-based testing worldwide (e.g., internet-based TOEFL and computer-based IELTS) should permit easier corpus-building in future as test-takers' written responses feed straight into a database without the need for labour-intensive keying; rapid advances in audio and speech recognition technology will make it easier to store, search and analyse speaking test data, including automatic transcription and/or tagging. The growth in accessible software programs for corpus construction and analysis means that language teachers and testers should find it increasingly easy to build and exploit their own specially designed small-scale corpora for research or practical applications in their teaching and assessment (see Winke and Fei, *Computer-assisted Language Assessment*, Volume 4).

Another application of corpora to testing and assessment which may increase in importance concerns the development of software programs for detecting cheating and malpractice. The issues surrounding plagiarism are currently receiving increasing attention in the literature and at conferences, and the use of plagiarism detection software is growing in academic and other high-stakes assessment contexts. Eventually, this may contribute to new types of assessment (see Chapelle, *Utilizing Technology in Language Assessment*, Volume 7).

Alderson (1996) cautioned against being seduced by the 'cleverness' of new technology and encouraged language testers to keep in mind in their test development and validation activity the fundamental theoretical considerations (e.g., construct definition, issues of validity and reliability) as well as the results of empirical study. The past decade can perhaps be viewed as a period of initial exploration by the language testing community into how their world interfaces with the world of corpora and corpus linguistics. Interest in and experience of using corpora to design and process language tests is reflected in increased reporting at language testing conferences and in the literature; corpus-related issues were presented and discussed during the Language Testing Research Colloquia held in St Louis, USA (2001), Hong Kong (2002), Reading, UK (2003), Temecula, USA (2004) and Ottawa, Canada (2005).

It is impossible to do justice in a review chapter to the many initiatives now taking place worldwide at the interface of corpora and language assessment. Hopefully, we have demonstrated that, after more than 40 years of computerised corpora, the application of corpora and corpus linguistics to the evaluation of L1 and L2 language proficiency is established and has a promising future.

**See Also:** Sylviane Granger: *Learner Corpora in Foreign Language Education (Volume 4)*; Carol A. Chapelle: *Utilizing Technology in Language Assessment (Volume 7)*; Britt Louise Gunnarsson: *Professional Communication (Volume 4)*; Antony Kunnan: *Large Scale Language Assessments (Volume 7)*; Xiaoming Xi: *Methods of Test Validation (Volume 7)*; Paul Nation: *Lexical Awareness in Second Language Learning (Volume 6)*; Peter Broeder and Waldemar Martyniuk: *Language Education in Europe: The Common European Framework of Reference (Volume 4)*; Barbara Freed: *Second Language Learning in a Study Abroad Context (Volume 4)*; Janna Fox: *Alternative Assessment (Volume 7)*; Alan Davies: *Ethics, Professionalism, Rights and Codes (Volume 7)*; Kieran O'Loughlin: *Assessment at the Workplace (Volume 7)*; Alison L. Bailey: *Assessing the Language of Young Learners (Volume 7)*; Gillian Wigglesworth: *Task and Performance based Assessment (Volume 7)*; Oleg Tarnopolsky: *Nonnative Speaking Teachers of English as a Foreign Language (Volume 4)*; Paula Winke and Fei Fei: *Computer-assisted Language Assessment (Volume 4)*

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#### USEFUL WEBSITES

- American National Corpus: <http://americannationalcorpus.org/>
- BASE corpus: <http://www.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/celte/research/base/>
- BAWE corpus: <http://www.warwick.ac.uk/go/bawe>
- Bookmarks for Corpus-based Linguists: <http://devoted.to/corpora>
- British National Corpus: <http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/>
- Cambridge International Corpus: <http://www.cambridge.org/elt/corpus/>
- Cambridge Learner Corpus: [http://www.cambridge.org/elt/corpus/learner\\_corpus2.htm](http://www.cambridge.org/elt/corpus/learner_corpus2.htm)
- CANBEC: [http://www.cambridge.org/elt/corpus/corpora\\_canbec.htm](http://www.cambridge.org/elt/corpus/corpora_canbec.htm)
- CANCODE: <http://www.cambridge.org/elt/corpus/cancode.htm>
- Centre for English Corpus Linguistics: <http://cecl.fltr.ucl.ac.be/>
- CHILDES Project: <http://childes.psy.cmu.edu/>
- COBUILD Bank of English: <http://www.collins.co.uk/books.aspx?group=153>
- European Language Resources Association (ELRA): <http://www.elra.info/>
- ICAME: <http://nora.hd.uib.no/icame.html>
- VOICE: <http://www.univie.ac.at/voice/>

# **Section 3**

## **Assessment in Education**

## CLASSROOM-BASED LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT

## INTRODUCTION

The evidence base in classroom language assessment has been growing over the last decade, prompted by a number of developments more generally. For example, the 1990s have witnessed considerable growth in the teaching of languages to young learners (e.g., Kubanek-German, 1998) and, inevitably, the appropriate assessment of these young language learners has been of some concern. Thus, questions that are being posed relate to the specific methods through which young learners should be assessed—through formal measures or through informal teacher assessment integrated within their teaching and learning programme. Government-sponsored English-as-an-Additional/Second Language programmes (EAL/ESL) have also flourished during this period in which there has been a need for teachers to develop an awareness of the progress of their learners informally at the classroom level as well as to track formally learner achievement for accountability purposes. A systemic demand for accountability continues to fuel the development and use of assessment frameworks, standards and examinations, only some of which have any orientation at all to the language assessment needs of teachers and learners in language learning contexts. However, it is not necessarily the case that the developments arising from such initiatives have included a classroom language assessment focus. On the other hand, classroom assessment research is very much alive in the field of educational assessment, and has been for over a decade (e.g., Broadfoot and Black, 2004) where distinctions have been made between assessment *of* learning, i.e. focused on achievement and summative in orientation, and assessment *as* learning, i.e. that is formative in purpose providing feedback to learners so that they can improve their learning. In what follows, however, I focus the discussion primarily around notable studies in the applied linguistics literature that have investigated interfaces between language assessment and classroom curricula and pedagogy, i.e. studies that have taken a classroom assessment process perspective, rather than the development of assessment tools *per se* (see Fox, *Alternative Assessment*, Volume 7 for a review). In this chapter, I am using classroom assessment in an inclusive manner, as a broad term, that includes teacher assessment, irrespective of whether it is summative or formative in purpose.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The strength of the early assessment studies is in how they have developed our awareness of issues that have subsequently emerged as central in current language assessment research. Interestingly, the unfolding research agenda for classroom language assessment has been shaped in EAL/ESL rather than in foreign language learning contexts and was originally linked, as suggested earlier, to specific policies for the language development of EAL/ESL learners that had significant resource implications. The work of Brindley has been significant in this respect. His 1989 survey of assessment practices in the Adult Migrant Education Program involved individual and group interviews with programme administrators, questionnaire responses from teachers with follow up interviews; learner perceptions had been gathered in an earlier study (1984, cited in Brindley, 1989). Two central conclusions were that teachers expressed a preference for informal observation driven approaches to assessment which they perceived as an integral part of their teaching (p. 131) and, reporting that this ongoing teacher assessment did not provide the kind of explicit information on learner achievement required by administrators, they tended to downplay the importance of satisfying requirements of external accountability. We thus observe early indications of the centrality for teachers of classroom-embedded or 'in-flight' teacher assessment and the tensions that may exist where there is a strong policy requirement for data in a standardised form for public accountability purposes—an issue to which Brindley returned in later publications, evidencing how for example the wider political context in which children are assessed may constrain desirable assessment practices (e.g., 1995a, 1998, 2001a; see also McNamara, 2001).

Subsequent research by Brindley (e.g., Brindley 1990, 1995b) has likewise contributed to the 'issues' agenda. For example, McKay (1995) drew our attention to the ways in which language proficiency Bandscales may serve as "concrete assessment tools for teachers . . ." with context and content relevant to primary and secondary phase ESL learners. Grierson (1995), through teacher interviews, raised the important issue of teacher levels of competence in assessment. Focusing on teacher understandings of 'language', he found that these were "based on a restricted and somewhat 'traditional' view of communicative language ability" (1995, p. 227; see also Gardner and Rea-Dickins, 2001). Teacher capacity-building was also addressed in the articles by Cram (1995) and Wilkes (1995), with specific reference to self- and peer-assessment. Subjectivity in assessment inevitably emerged as an issue in the classroom action study of Gunn (1995), in which she described how a small group of teachers devised, implemented, and evaluated a set of assessment procedures, observing, too, how the 'native speaker' was positioned as the norm for ESL learners (see Leung and Teasdale, 1997 later).

Similar findings have emerged through ethnographic case studies of teacher assessment practices. For example, Rea-Dickins, Gardner and Clayton (1998) identified tensions for teachers between the need for summative assessment data of learner achievement for bureaucratic reporting purposes and formative language assessment for their own instructional planning. Teachers also reported that observation and the collection of language samples were the most useful means for monitoring their learners' language progress (see Gardner and Rea-Dickins, 2002).

Further, again from research within the ESL/EAL mainstream school context, Teasdale and Leung (2000) questioned the epistemological bases of different types of assessment, highlighting the inappropriacy of mapping traditional validity criteria on to all classroom assessment activities. In this respect, Rea-Dickins and Gardner (2000), drawing on Harlen and James (1997), suggested that the validity of teacher assessment is a cumulative process that builds up over time. Leung (2004) has reiterated his position that "insufficient account has been taken of the differences in the epistemological concerns of psychometric measurement and formative teacher assessment—psychometrics treat the attributes used to be sampled as a property of the individual . . . whereas formative teacher assessment has to take account of the interactive and contingent nature of student performance in the classroom which is dynamic and co-produced with the teacher and others" (p. 22).

As a final foregrounding issue, there are methodological perspectives to consider. In a review of discourse studies in language assessment research, McNamara, Hill and May (2002, p. 231) commented on "a marked absence of studies using discourse analysis in the context of classroom assessment, a situation that matches the neglect of classroom assessment research in the field more generally." There are two points to make here. First, since McNamara's observations, a number of studies have analysed both the discourses of assessment (e.g., Rea-Dickins, 2006a) and assessment as discourse (e.g., Leung and Mohan, 2004). Second, McNamara has also signalled (e.g., 2001) the importance of researching assessment in classroom settings, that is as social practice, thereby contributing insights into the lived assessment experiences of teachers and learners, to which—as examples—the studies of Rea-Dickins (e.g., 2007), Spence-Brown (2001) and Leung and Mohan (2004) have responded. In this last respect, research in general educational assessment is highly relevant; see for example Filer (2000) and Broadfoot and Black (2004).

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Separating out 'Major Contributions' from 'Work in Progress' is not straightforward. In this section, I discuss empirical studies that raise

what I consider to be ‘established’ and substantive issues in classroom-based language assessment. In the ‘work-in-progress’ section, I present studies that are more ‘preliminary’ in nature or not yet published but which, in my view, have the potential to contribute new and emergent insights into classroom assessment processes.

### *Approaches to Researching Classroom Language Assessment*

In 2004, Cumming expressed views similar to McNamara (see earlier) in identifying the need to broaden the scope of language assessment studies beyond the core interests represented in mainstream language testing research. A number of studies have done precisely this. These are discussed, first, with reference to their methodological framing and, second, to the ways in which classroom assessment discourses have been analysed.

**A Sociocultural Perspective.** Four studies in particular have investigated teacher assessment practices and the processes with which teachers engage in the support of their learners (Leung and Teasdale, 1997; Rea-Dickins, 2003 (ESRC Grant R00238196); Scott, 2005; Yin, 2005). These have adopted a broad sociocultural approach, which emphasises the need to understand assessment practices and their language learning potential within the social and cultural context in which they take place. This theoretical approach led to a methodology in which assessment was studied in depth within the ecology of the classroom, within a relatively small number of schools, and one in which assessment practices were analysed from an interactional perspective through the analysis of classroom discourse, captured through videotaped classes. In the development of her assessment case studies, Scott (2005), for example, gathered data in both primary (elementary) school and home contexts to explore different perceptions of high-stakes statutory tests, including parents, and the ways in which washback from these measures was manifest in teaching and learning practices. The research of Spence-Brown (2001) also analysed assessment at the point of implementation, capturing the students’ on-line engagement in an assessment task through tape recordings that they made themselves and subsequent stimulated recall with the students.

**Assessment-as-Interaction.** To reveal some of the complexities of classroom-based assessment, several studies have used different approaches and/or conceptual frameworks for the analysis of classroom discourse. For example, Leung and Mohan (2004) drew on systemic functional linguistics in their analysis of a decision-making task, in

terms of whether and how students suggested an answer to the group, gave reasons for or against an answer, or responded to each other's suggestions. Scott (2005) used a reiterative process of analysis to arrive at thematic categories (see Holliday, 2002), narrative descriptions of assessment episodes, as well as deductive coding of data for instances of negotiation of meaning, focus on form and learner scaffolding. A further example is Edelenbos and Kubanek-German (2004) who reported the development of a systematic observation scale used in 50 lessons to analyse teachers' diagnostic and corrective feedback strategies. This data set was subsequently enriched by retrospective teacher interviews held immediately after the classroom observations.

### *Conceptualising Classroom Language Assessment*

**Underlying Constructs.** Until recently, the constructs of formative and summative assessment have been undertheorized and oversimplified in the language assessment literature. Ongoing research, however, suggests some rather complex interactions between these two purposes for assessment. Rea-Dickins (2006a), for example, has shown that an assessment planned by the teacher to be summative may also provide formative assessment opportunities for learners. This is interesting, given the typical positioning of these constructs as performing quite distinct functions. There is, too, a tendency in the literature to write about assessment activities as being intrinsically formative or summative (e.g., Ke, 2006, p. 212). However, whilst a teacher may select a particular assessment activity for its formative potential, it is only at the point of implementation and use that the characteristics of an assessment become apparent (e.g., Rea-Dickins, 2006a).

**Teacher Roles, Responsibilities and Cognitions.** In classrooms, teachers are expected both to develop and to measure their learners' language learning (e.g., Rea-Dickins, in press, 2007). In shifting between these two roles—of facilitator of language development and assessor of language achievement—tensions arise, as suggested by the much earlier research of Brindley (1989). In respect to rating practices, there is now an accumulating knowledge base about teachers' underlying decision-making processes. For example, Arkoudis and O'Loughlin (2004) have shown how teachers draw on their implicit knowledge about students in the rating of written work and how this may differ from externally prescribed rating Bandscales. Thus, tensions may arise from competing agenda within the rating process when, for example, the stakes for positive achievement data are linked to funding from an external authority. Through a 'think aloud' study of teachers' rating processes, Davison (2004) also observed conflicts

between teachers' own professional judgments of learner performance and the external standards they were required to use on the rating task. She posited a cline of teacher rating orientations (e.g., assessor as 'technician', as 'arbiter of community values', as 'God') and noted that these differed across two different assessment contexts: teachers in Melbourne and in Hong Kong. Both these studies have brought in-depth understandings of teacher rating processes and dilemmas.

Two other relevant studies are those of Reali et al. (2000, cited in Yin, 2005, p. 20) and Leung and Teasdale (1997). In the former study, 25 school teachers plus two senior staff members were invited to provide a written rationale for the grades they each assigned to samples of student writing. These teachers showed "four assessment patterns, varying in how they judged aspects internal and external to the text, and how secure they were in their judgments" (Yin, 2005, p. 20). In the latter study, Leung and Teasdale explored the extent to which teachers shared a common set of assessment criteria and whether these criteria were congruent with those in the national (i.e., for England) assessment scheme. They found that teachers did have some shared understandings of general criteria to assess speaking and listening, particularly around the concept of being 'native speaker-like' (see Gunn, 1995) and that these were not covered in the national assessment scheme.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

As indicated earlier, much research on classroom language assessment is recent and, thus, constitutes 'work-in-progress'. Later, (see Future Directions), I also mention five emergent areas of importance to our understandings of effective school-based language assessment processes.

##### *Teacher Beliefs, Capacities and Knowledge*

This first has to do with teachers' assessment cognitions. Within an EAP context, Yin (2005) investigated the mental activities behind teachers' assessment practices and the sources of these activities. He found "a wide array of mental processes, resources, and considerations were involved" (p. 144) as teachers assessed their students. He posited an "assessment cognition network," comprising "interactive cognitions": for example, teachers' assessment principles and the constructs they use when assessing learner performance, their projections about what a student might be able to do in target language use situations, and the development of emergent profiles of their students. Yin also located the sources of such cognitions to be teacher training handbooks, previous teaching experience, colleagues, and other personal

experiences (p. 146). Rea-Dickins has explored teachers' assessment cognitions through a focus on decision-making, in particular those teachers take when planning their assessments (2007). She also found curriculum documentation and professional contexts to be influential in the formation of teacher assessment cognitions (2001, 2003).

In reference to understandings of language, Gardner and Rea-Dickins (2001) showed how the teachers in their study drew partially on many different models and views of language: for example, traditional grammar (see Grierson, earlier), notional functional grammar with its concepts of functions and their linguistic realisations (e.g., contrast/differs from), discourse and genre theory. These teachers represented language as complex, amenable to analysis from a range of perspectives and for a variety of different assessment-related purposes.

In their 2004 study, Edelenbos and Kubanek-German posited the concept of 'teacher diagnostic competence', providing exemplar features at six different levels. This included the skill with which a teacher can guess what a child wants to say from a fragmentary sample of language and be able to reword this or motivate the child to do so. Another feature is a teacher's ability to provide concrete examples of an individual child's language growth over a given period of time. The points they make resonate with Shohamy (1998a) and the implications of a 'multiplism approach' (i.e., one that is required in classroom assessment contexts) for the development of teacher capacity. Their concept, in my view, would be an excellent starting point for the development of teachers' knowledge about, and skills and strategies in, classroom language assessment.

### *Language Acquisition and Formative Assessment*

This second area has to do with the interface between formative assessment and second language acquisition (SLA) (e.g., Shohamy, 1994), in particular the nature of feedback to learners. Afitska (2004)<sup>1</sup>, in her study of two Literacy and two Numeracy lessons, found that teachers provided implicit corrective feedback 3–4 times more frequently than explicit feedback and that general rates of learner uptake in all classrooms regardless of the subject-matter of the lessons was very low. Rea-Dickins (2006b) in a detailed analysis of three lessons found that in some cases rates of successful learner uptake followed peer-rather than teacher-feedback (see Future Directions later).

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<sup>1</sup> Afitska used data from ESRC funded research (R000238196), see Rea-Dickins, 2003.

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

There are several challenges facing the effective and fair implementation of assessment, one of which has to do with the nature of teacher expertise and what teachers need to know to support effective and fair classroom language assessment. Three others are signalled: policy as a constraint, assessment systems and standards and approaches to researching classroom assessment.

*Teacher Capacity Building*

This is not restricted to the technical skills that teachers may or may not have in the development of appropriate assessment procedures but embraces their understandings and awareness of language, constructs underlying effective classroom assessment practices and processes both of assessment and of learner language acquisition. The research to date (e.g., Grierson, 1995; Gardner and Rea-Dickins, 2001; Oliver, Haig and Rochecouste, 2005; Yin, 2005) suggests a real need for teacher capacity building (see also Bachman, 2000). That teachers may not be equipped for their different classroom assessment roles is not to be interpreted as a criticism. As Brindley (2001b, p. 127) observes, teachers “assess constantly through such means as observation, recycling of work, diagnostic testing, learner self-assessment, various forms of corrective feedback and *ad hoc* tests. With experience, many teachers will become skilled judges and observers capable of evaluating the quality of language performances and making fine-grained diagnoses of learners’ difficulties.” The challenge, then, is for appropriate and wider availability of professional development opportunities for teachers.

*Policy as a Constraint*

As we have seen earlier, policy agendas may constrain or distort assessment practices. First, bureaucratic requirements for achievement data may have the consequence of creating an imbalance in the range of assessment opportunities that teachers provide for their learners, leading to an orientation towards ‘language display’ rather than ‘language development’ opportunities. Second, although policy and the accompanying documentation may be seen as a trigger for professional engagement and the development of theoretical understandings, the reality is that it can be a significant inhibitor to the development of enhanced professional understandings. In England, as an example, the knowledge on assessment is frequently fragmentary, contradictory, ambiguous and mixes the discourses of, on the one hand, standardised testing with its focus on the reliable measurement of learner attainment at fixed

national levels and formative assessment on the other (e.g., Leung and Rea-Dickins, forthcoming).

### *Assessment Systems and Standards*

A number of assessment frameworks and standards have developed since the early contributions by McKay, Hudson and Sapuppo (1994) and, as Leung and Lewkovitz (2006, p. 223) observe: “system-wide standards-based and outcomes-based assessment frameworks are often introduced by dint of political arguments and ideological commitments. They are not necessarily motivated by sound educational and pedagogical principles,” (see also Fulcher, 2004; McKay, 2000; McKay Hudson and Sapuppo, 1994; Scott and Erduran, 2004; and Fulcher, *Criteria for Evaluating Language Quality*, Volume 7). Some, however, notably the NLLIA bandscales (1994) and the TESOL ESL Standards (1997; TESOL, 2001), encourage teachers to assess and sample learners’ language performance in different situations through a rich diversity of interactional opportunities mediated by a wide range of activities, and exemplify how they may provide support for language learning. Yet, there are risks in the implementation of frameworks as a greater emphasis on the assessment of achievement might have unwanted consequences for classroom assessment. For example, standards and descriptors may be used normatively or operationalised as checks of a child’s language achievement against a target standard or goal, thus limiting opportunities for teachers to assist learner performance within instructional sequences. There is, then, the danger that assessment frameworks may be used reductively when translated into professional practice, but this is not necessarily the case. In one of few assessment implementation studies, Breen et al. (1997) found that Australian teachers using the NLLIA ESL Bandscales based their assessments on a synthesis of “on-going and experientially informed intuitions” (p. 96). Teachers did not have to use the exemplar assessment activities provided. They could design their own and, importantly, they also based their assessment on informal observation, collection and analysis of pupil work, discussion with pupils and peer and pupil self-assessment, as well as planned assessments (McKay, Hudson and Sapuppo, 1994). In other words, these teachers demonstrated use of the NLLIA Bandscales as originally intended, where assessment itself is integrated within instruction and normal classroom activities.

### *Methodological Approaches to Researching Classroom Language Assessment*

Lazaraton, in *Utilizing Qualitative Methods for Assessment* (Volume 7) draws attention to the drawbacks of qualitative methodologies for

language assessment on grounds of the time it takes both to acquire the requisite skills and apply the techniques themselves. This comment is equally applicable to the development of case studies of assessment implementation. This drawback should not, however, be seen as a legitimate reason for not conducting implementation studies. As Cumming (2004, p. 7) invites: “surely we need more studies that simply describe educators actually doing language assessment as well as critical analyses of the principles and variables these practices entail.”

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Classroom language assessment research is still in its infancy: it represents a ‘new’ entry for this encyclopaedia. In spite of evidence of considerable progress since the last edition (1997), there are still only a small number of studies about classroom-embedded language assessment, in particular, in *Language Testing* (cf. issues 17/2 and 21/3) and *Language Assessment Quarterly*. In several respects, therefore, McNamara’s call (2001) “for assessment to respond to the theoretical challenges presented by advances in validity theory ... [and] to make our research more answerable to the needs of teachers and learners ...” remains highly relevant. There are several directions that future classroom assessment research could take. I mention four, together with a methodological point.

The first potentially significant contribution to our understanding of language development in intact classes would be a greater alignment of research in the areas of formative assessment and SLA. Although there have been several specialist colloquia focused on the interface between language testing and SLA, (e.g., AAAL, 2006), one book (Bachman and Cohen, 1998) and several articles (e.g., Shohamy, 1998b), I am not confident that ‘tight’ connections have in fact yet been realised. My own research (e.g., Rea-Dickins, 2003) suggests that while classroom assessment has the potential to enhance language learning, it often fails to do so (e.g., Afitska, 2004).

A second, and related, line of research connects to the roles and responsibilities of learners in classroom language learning. The work of the Assessment Reform Group (<http://www.assessment-reform-group.org.uk>; see also Gipps, 1994; Tunstall and Gipps, 1996) points to the importance of learner engagement in effective classroom assessment. Should we, therefore, within the context of language assessment, be investigating more systematically learner roles and different modes of classroom participation by, for example analysing the potential for learning through self-assessment and from peer feedback (cf. Mackey, Gass and McDonough, 2000; Rea-Dickins 2006b)? Research with a learner cognitions’ focus would contribute to the emergent research

on teacher cognitions (e.g., Yin, 2005). At the same time there is a need to develop learner agency through skills development in self- and peer-assessment within collaborative working opportunities in classrooms. Byon (2005), for example, used a range of techniques to develop a sense of the classroom as a 'learning community', and to encourage students to "become more actively interested in the process of learning itself" (p. 186).

Third, firmer conceptualisations of classroom language assessment are needed, not only in terms of the constructs underlying assessment processes, such as formative, summative and dynamic assessment (e.g., Poehner and Lantolf, 2005), but also in relation to the epistemic challenges that language assessors face in determining the validity of classroom assessment processes and tools. As has been argued elsewhere (e.g., Rea-Dickins and Gardner, 2000; Teasdale and Leung, 2000), traditional and psychometric approaches are incompatible with the values underlying particular pedagogies and curricula, i.e. at the point of implementation of classroom language assessment. I would envisage such studies involving the analysis of classroom language assessment as socially situated practice (but see Problems and Difficulties earlier on the feasibility of sustained assessment implementation studies).

Fourth, I discern a trend in educational research studies towards a phasing of research in terms of an initial identification and mapping of key issues followed by specific intervention studies that are informed by the first phase. One such intervention in general educational assessment (Black, Harrison, Lee, Marshall and Wiliam, 2003) took the form of researcher guided teacher action research to develop teachers' skills in implementing effective formative assessment in English (as a subject), Maths and Science classes in secondary schools. In their study, they suggest that learner gains "equivalent to between one quarter and one half of a GCSE grade (a national examination in England for 16 year olds) per student per subject are achievable" (p. 29). In the context of language assessment, this would imply a systematic analysis of learners' language development and, hence, the relevance of closer connections between formative assessment and processes of SLA (see earlier).

Finally, implementation studies have demonstrated how, for example, teachers actually used a set of assessment standards (Breen et al., 1997) and Spence-Brown (2001) has shown how task authenticity needs to be evaluated at the point of implementation. Thus, essential to the ongoing development of our understandings of the complexity of classroom language assessment are observation driven implementation studies.

In concluding this chapter, we need also to be mindful of other central considerations: retaining sensitivity to ethical issues and fairness

through seeking to evidence the validity of our interpretations of learner performance and the consequences that our assessment practices may have, for example, ensuring that the policy and rhetoric of standardised testing do not predominate in school-based assessment. Writing of the situation in England, Safford (2003) observes: “We could have a national framework for EAL learning and assessment that is parallel to the National Curriculum. EAL could be a subject specialism in teacher training. We could be using theory, research and evidence instead of a funding formula to assess pupils’ language needs and abilities” (p. 12). At the heart of our knowledge development is a broader notion of assessment that encapsulates the social character of assessment as it unfolds through routine classroom interaction (McNamara, 2001).

**See Also:** *Janna Fox: Alternative Assessment (Volume 7); James P. Lantolf and Matthew E. Poehner: Dynamic Assessment (Volume 7); Glenn Fulcher: Criteria for Evaluating Language Quality (Volume 7); Anne Lazaraton: Utilizing Qualitative Methods for Assessment (Volume 7)*

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## DYNAMIC ASSESSMENT

### INTRODUCTION

For some time language testing researchers have recognized the potential value of bringing their field into closer contact with research on second language learning and teaching (see Bachman and Cohen, 1998). Alderson (2005, p. 4.) argues that the type of testing most relevant for teaching and learning is diagnostic assessment because it includes feedback and suggestions for improvement. For instance, Alderson's DIALANG, a computer-based language diagnostic, offers several types of feedback, including a display of missed test items along with the correct response and descriptors of a learner's current and next attainable ability level. Although we concur that a closer nexus between instruction and assessment is needed, we believe that these processes are fully integrated in an approach developed by L. S. Vygotsky known as *Dynamic Assessment* (henceforth, DA).

In DA, assessment and instruction are a single activity that seeks to simultaneously diagnose and promote learner development by offering learners *mediation*, a qualitatively different form of support from feedback. Mediation is provided during the assessment procedure and is intended to bring to light underlying problems and help learners overcome them. Lidz (1991, p. 6.) explains that DA focuses not on what individuals can accomplish on their own but on their "modifiability and on producing suggestions for interventions that appear successful in facilitating improved learner performance."

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Vygotsky's writings on the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) provide the theoretical underpinnings of DA. Central to the ZPD is the notion that higher forms of thinking (voluntary memory, attention, planning, learning, perception) are always mediated. Initially, these functions are mediated through our interactions with others and with physical and symbolic artifacts (e.g., books, computers, diagrams, language, etc.). These interactions are internalized and give rise to new cognitive functions. One's relationship with the world is still mediated, but this is accomplished on the psychological rather than social plane.

Given this view of cognition, Vygotsky (1998, p. 201.) argued that assessments of *independent problem solving* reveal only a part of a person's mental ability, namely those functions that have already fully developed. He termed this the *actual* level of development and contrasted it with the person's *future* development, which he submitted could only be understood through their responsiveness to assistance when engaging in tasks they could not complete independently. He further argued that providing appropriate mediation allows one to intervene in and guide development.

Potential development varies independently of actual development, meaning that the latter, in and of itself, cannot be used to predict the former. Moreover, the former is not an a priori prediction but is derived from concrete activity mediated by others or by cultural artifacts. Vygotsky laid the foundation for DA in his explanation of the ZPD, which he often illustrated with a case such as the following. Two seven year-olds performed similarly on tests of general ability but responded very differently when offered mediation. One of the children was able to solve items at the level of a seven-and-a-half year-old while the other progressed to the level of a nine-year-old. Vygotsky concluded that the children were equivalent in terms of their actual development but had different ZPDs. That is, their responsiveness to mediation revealed they were at different stages with regard to abilities that were in the process of developing. Given Vygotsky's construal of development in the ZPD, assessment and instruction are inseparable components of the same dialectical activity. As Lantolf and Poehner (2004) put it, assessment and instruction become as tightly conjoined as two sides of the same coin—and there are no one-sided coins.

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

### *Interventionist versus Interactionist Approaches to DA*

There are two general approaches to DA: interventionist and interactionist. In the former, mediation is standardized, thus permitting greater use of inferential statistics in analyzing and comparing results; in the latter mediation is attuned to the responsiveness of the individual (or group) and is therefore much more sensitive to the ZPD. The fundamental difference between these orientations is that interventionist approaches quantify performance as an "index of speed of learning" (Brown and Ferrara, 1985, p. 300) in terms of the amount of help required for a learner to quickly and efficiently reach a prespecified end point. Interactionists focus on ensuring individual development regardless of the effort required and without concern for the endpoint of development.

*Interventionist DA—‘Sandwich’ and ‘Cake’ Formats*

Within interventionist DA, assistance can be provided in two formats, which Sternberg and Grigorenko (2002) label ‘sandwich’ and ‘cake.’ The ‘sandwich’ format, pioneered by Milton Budoff (e.g., Budoff, 1968), differs from other versions of DA by not offering mediation during the assessment but instead introducing a training phase between a traditional pre- and post-test. Examinee performance is reported in terms of a pretraining score, post-training score and post-training score adjusted for pretest level. These profiles are then used to group learners as high scorers (i.e., those whose pretraining scores were already high, and therefore do not manifest much improvement as a result of training), gainers (i.e., those whose scores showed marked improvement as result of training), and nongainers (i.e., those who performed poorly on the pretest and did not profit from instruction).

In the ‘cake’ format, the examinee is provided with mediation drawn from a standardized menu of hints, ranging from implicit to explicit, during the administration of the assessment. The metaphor alludes to the layering of test items and hints in such a way that a menu of hints can be accessed, as required by the examinee, for each question or problem *before* moving on to the next item on the test. For example, in the *Leipzig Learning Test* (LLT) developed by Guthke (1982), learners who produce an incorrect response are first asked to reattempt it and then offered more explicit prompts, such as reminders of directions, hints to focus their attention on specific aspects of the problem, clues regarding the solution, and so on until the correct answer is provided along with an explanation. Results are reported as a score, based on the number of prompts needed and the amount of time taken to complete the test, and a profile. The latter comprises an analysis of types of errors made and forms of assistance to which the examinee was most responsive. The profile serves as the basis for subsequent instruction aimed at redressing the problems. Learners may then be re-tested.

*Interactionist DA*

Minick (1987, p. 127) points out that for Vygotsky the ZPD is neither a way to assess learning potential, nor a means of measuring learning efficiency, but “a means of gaining insight into the kinds of psychological processes that the child might be capable of in the next or proximal phase of development and a means of identifying the kinds of instruction, or assistance that will be required if the child is to realize these potentials.” Unlike in interventionist DA, which has a strong propensity toward quantification and psychometric analysis, interactionist

approaches follow Vygotsky's preference for "qualitative assessment of psychological processes and dynamics of their development" (Minick, 1987, p. 119). Indeed, Vygotsky (1998, p. 204.) insisted that "we must not measure the child, we must interpret the child" and this can only be achieved through interaction and cooperation with the child.

Reuven Feuerstein is a staunch advocate of interactionist DA (see Feuerstein, Rand, and Rynders, 1988). He argues that traditional conceptualizations of the examiner/examinee roles should be abandoned in favor of a teacher–student relationship in which both are working toward the ultimate success of the student. At the heart of Feuerstein's approach is the 'Mediated Learning Experience' (MLE), in which an adult mediator carefully selects, schedules, and repeats as necessary, culturally determined stimuli for presentation to the individual to ensure that "the relations between certain stimuli will be experienced in a certain way" (Feuerstein, Rand, and Rynders, 1988, p. 56.). This enables the learner to more easily internalize the cultural practice he or she is participating in with the mediator. This process of internalization occurs as a result of the child's imitation of the models provided by the mediator. The individual must also extend what has been internalized by anticipating outcomes that are likely to result from specific actions (Sternberg and Grigorenko, 2002, pp. 50–51). In Minick's (1987, p. 138) view, Feuerstein's model reflects Vygotsky's ZPD in allowing the assessor greater freedom to interact with the learner and thereby deploy a wide array of assistance to help the individual develop. In addition, the approach allows for a robust diagnosis of development because it brings to the surface processes that underlie performance and that often remain hidden during traditional assessments.

To provide a specific example of DA in language leaning, we will consider examples from Poehner's (2005) research with advanced learners of L2 French. Participants were asked to produce oral narratives based on clips from popular movies as well as passages from Voltaire's *Candide*. Focus was on appropriate use of verbal aspect (i.e., *passé composé* and *imparfait*) in the narratives. Mediation was carried out through flexible interaction with each learner. Following this, learners participated in an individualized enrichment program inspired by Feuerstein's MLE. They then repeated the original task and completed a series of more complex tasks aimed at what Feuerstein describes as *transcendence*, or the degree to which learners could extend their ability in using appropriate aspect to new communicative problems, a necessary feature of development.

Amanda (pseudonym) initially had difficulty producing the correct verb forms in French and was also unable to provide appropriate explanations for her choice of aspect. In the following narration, Amanda narrates a video clip in which two characters have a conversation while driving to a friend's home:

1. (A)manda: *Samuel et Rebecca \*se sont conduit chez Sean—*  
drove themselves to Sean's—

(M)ediator: so using the *passé composé*?

A: *passé composé*

M: because?

A: because driving somewhere has a specific beginning and end point? so they have a destination so there is an end point.

M, the mediator, does not correct Amanda's selection of perfective aspect but instead focuses on her reason for using it. Her explanation reveals that she does not fully understand verbal aspect. She knows that it concerns the completion of actions, but she fails to appreciate that it is not the identification of an action's beginning or end that determines aspect but the temporal perspective one wishes to take. Consequently, M's interactions with Amanda focused on developing a deeper understanding of aspect that would allow her to bring events into discourse according to the precise meanings she wished to portray.

Evidence of Amanda's enhanced understanding of aspect and improved control over the relevant forms can be found in her renarration of the same clip following the enrichment program:

2. A: . . . *ils \*se se se conduisaient et Samuel parlait de ses opinions de des*

they were driving themselves and Samuel was talking about his opinions of of

*parents et de leurs responsabilités des enfants*

parents and their responsibilities of children

M: yeah that's good just a little more

A: *et pendant pendant il parlait Rebecca a dit oui oui et enfin um il ou elle a annoncé qu'elle était enceinte et Samuel a crié quoi et il a perdu contrôle*

and while while he was talking Rebecca said yeah yeah and finally um he or she announced that she was pregnant and Samuel screamed what and he lost control.

Amanda required very little support and when questioned her explanations of aspect choice revealed that she understood how the forms conveyed the appropriate meaning. For instance, referring to (2) Amanda explained that "they were driving he was talking and then she said that she was pregnant." Two weeks later, during a transcendence assessment focusing on a complex literary passage from *Candide*, Amanda appropriately used the *passé composé* and *imparfait* throughout. When asked to reflect on her choices, she responded that she had selected aspect not based on correct or incorrect French but rather according to how she wished to temporally frame the events.

Other researchers have begun to explore the potential relevance of DA for L2 pedagogy. Kozulin and Garb (2002) report on the implementation of a DA-based EFL reading comprehension program for

at-risk young adults in Israel. The goal of the project was to assess the learning potential of the students based on the quality of mediation required for them to perform basic reading tasks with the aim of developing individual learning plans tailored to students' specific needs. For example, students with high learning potential can be given more independent learning opportunities with more challenging materials, while those with lower potential would require greater mediation with less challenging materials. Antón (2003) reports on the implementation of DA as a placement procedure in a Spanish foreign language program at a North American university. The goal of the assessment was to place students into courses where they would receive instruction more attuned to their ZPD. Students who were able to modify their performance under prompting were considered to be at a more advanced stage of development than students who could not. Therefore, instead of a generic advanced grammar course, students were placed in courses that were more adequately tailored to their needs.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

While there is a substantial body of research on DA in psychology and general education, it has only recently come to the attention of L2 researchers and very little work has been published to date in this area. That said, a number of projects are currently underway. Ableeva (2007) used a dynamic procedure in assessing listening comprehension in university-level L2 learners of French. Through mediation Ableeva was able to uncover the source of comprehension problems that in one case hinged on a single lexical item and in another on cultural knowledge. This revealed that learners' abilities were more developed than one would have surmised from unmediated performance. Erben, Ban, and Summers (2007) report on the consequences of reformulating the ESOL teacher endorsement examination at a large urban university from a traditional to a dynamic version. They discuss the reactions, both positive and negative, from the ESOL faculty, the administration of the college of education, and the preservice teachers who took the exam. The authors found that examinees expressed greater confidence in their subject matter knowledge as a result of the mediation provided during the exam and showed a great deal of interest in eventually using DA in their own teaching.

Two book-length projects are currently underway. Poehner's (to appear) is an expanded version of his 2005 dissertation that includes analysis of aspects of mediational interaction (e.g., learner reciprocity and transcendence) and includes recommendations for profiling learner development and systematically reporting results of classroom-based DA. Lantolf and Poehner (2007) provide a theoretical introduction and guidelines for implementing DA in language classrooms. The *Teacher's*

*Guide* includes a series of case studies and a video component that provides concrete examples of mediated interactions with detailed discussion and analysis. The authors are currently using the *Guide* as part of a DA initiative with primary-school students of L2 Spanish in a laboratory school affiliated with a major eastern research university. A key focus of this work is to outline principles for dialogically mediating groups of learners (see below discussion of group-based DA).

Several lines of research, while not directly tied to the L2 domain, nonetheless represent important theoretical and methodological advances in DA. The first of these deals with children diagnosed with L1 reading disabilities (Duvall, in progress). Duvall used a combination of interventionist and interactionist DA to identify and help children overcome their reading problems. One of the most interesting outcomes relates to a child who assumed that he knew very little and that the only way he was able to perform on the standard reading assessments administered by the school was to guess. Through DA he discovered that he actually did know a lot about the world and was then able to bring this knowledge to bear in his reading.

An additional site of current interest is the use of DA as a means to postpone or offset cognitive decline among elders. Researchers in Spain have been using DA with elders experiencing mild cognitive impairment (MCI) and dementia (e.g., Calero and Navarro, 2004). In one study, these authors followed a sandwich approach, administering the Spanish language version of the 'Mini Mental Exam,' *Mini Examen Cognoscitivo* (MEC), a widely used standardized test for diagnosing dementia, to a group of elders prior to introducing a dynamic intervention. The MEC was re-administered one year and two years following the intervention. Participants' initial scores were used to identify them as either healthy or MCI. The researchers found that among both MCI and healthy elders, some but not all, showed improved performance as a result of intervention. Importantly, none of the elders who benefited from the intervention showed cognitive decline on the post-tests but those who had not improved declined at statistically significant levels (Calero and Navarro, 2004, p. 657.). Thus, as the researchers suggest, elders' cognitive modifiability may prove to be an indicator of future decline, and could be used to identify individuals in need of ongoing intervention for maintenance of cognitive abilities for as long as possible.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Because of its theoretical assumptions on the nature of development, in particular the relevance of mediation for diagnosis and prognosis, DA has been open to challenge from the psychometric community, including from some who have worked with the concept. Budoff, for

example, criticizes interactionist approaches, arguing that “it is difficult to distinguish the contribution the tester makes to student responses from what the student actually understands and can apply” (Budoff, 1987, p. 56.). Budoff seems to be trying to determine how much of the performance can be attributed to the ‘environment’ as represented by the tester and how much is to be attributed to the student. Glutting and McDermott (1990, p. 300) similarly criticize the “creative latitude” in interactionist DA because some children receive more help than others. In our view, this criticism fails to appreciate Vygotsky’s call for a new ontology of the individual as a socially constituted being where the environment is not a circumstance but the very source of development (Vygotsky, 1998, p. 198.). For Vygotsky improvisation and creativity are essential to providing appropriate forms of mediation within the ZPD (Newman and Holzman, 1993).

Snow (1990, p. 1135) objects to DA on the premise that without linking assessment in some way to measurement, “fundamental in all science,” the term is “meaningless”. Bachman (1990, p. 18.) defines measurement as “the process of quantifying the characteristics [physical as well as mental] of persons according to explicit procedures and rules.” Büchel and Scharnhorst (1993, p. 101.) suggest that DA researchers can link assessment and measurement through “standardization of the examiner–subject interaction,” a characteristic of interventionist approaches to DA, but not of interactionist approaches. For Vygotsky measuring a child’s performance provides little more than “a purely empirical establishment of what is obvious to persons who just observe the child” and adds nothing new to what is already known through direct observation (Vygotsky, 1998, p. 205). This gets at the fundamental purpose behind and meaning of assessment: in Vygotsky’s view, the task of the psychologist is not to *measure* but to *interpret* the individual (Vygotsky, 1998, p. 204).

All of this points to the relevance of test reliability and validity as they relate to DA. Both psychometric concepts are built on a foundation that privileges the autonomous individual as the site from which performance and development emerge. DA, on the other hand, is built on a foundation which privileges the social individual, or as Wertsch (1998) puts it “person-acting-with-mediational-means.” It also must be remembered that DA is not an assessment instrument but is instead a procedure for carrying out assessment. Therefore, the question of concern is whether DA as a process “compromises” an assessment instrument deemed reliable and valid. We address the matter of reliability first.

Test reliability derives from a commitment to standardization (Büchel and Scharnhorst, 1993) whereby all sources of potential error, including test methods effects, such as test-taking strategies, preferences for a particular type of test, age, gender, and cognitive style are minimized to ensure that the observed score is as close to the true score

as possible (Bachman, 1990, p. 161). A test is reliable if it yields the same score through multiple administrations across different learners of similar ability at the same point in time or across different points in time for the same learner, assuming his/her abilities have not changed. Once the likelihood of error is minimized, any changes in performance for the most part can be attributable with some confidence to real change in the variable (e.g., language proficiency) under scrutiny. Tests must also be internally consistent so that performance does not radically fluctuate from one item or from one subsection of a test to another (Bachman, 1990, p. 172). The matter of generalizability also plays a major role in test reliability to the extent that one can have confidence that performance on a particular test will carry over to nontesting contexts.

Since the examiner is called upon to participate actively in an assessment administered dynamically, on the face of it, DA appears to represent a powerful test methods effect which seriously compromises the reliability of a test. From the ontology of the autonomous individual, the foundation of the psychometric approach to assessment, DA's goal of promoting development through assessment is problematic. However, from the ontology of the social individual and the clinical perspective on assessment, the examiner's participation in the process is essential and therefore cast in a positive light. As Lidz (1991, p. 18) cogently argues, "the word 'dynamic' implies change and not stability. Items on traditional measures are *deliberately* selected to maximize stability, not necessarily to provide an accurate reflection of stability or change in the 'real' world." In other words, because DA integrates teaching and assessment change is necessarily an artifact of the test.

We will limit our discussion of validity to three topics: construct, predictive, and consequential validity. While the nature of the construct under assessment (e.g., language, language proficiency) is critical in all approaches to testing (How language and proficiency are constructed is also relevant for SCT and has been discussed in Lantolf and Thorne, 2006), dynamic administrations of assessments are also very much concerned with the general construct of development. Development, as discussed in the writings of Vygotsky, is the ability to regulate oneself in carrying out any activity. This means that the person understands the nature of what is to be done, is able to bring the appropriate resources to bear, and can evaluate her or his performance in the activity. For a dynamic procedure to be truly effective it must promote development and to the extent that it succeeds in this regard, it can be considered to have demonstrated construct validity.

Closely allied with construct validity is predictive validity. The prediction of future performance, as Bachman (1990, p. 253) points out, must be linked to a valid definition of the construct that is assessed. Recall that the ZPD, which is the foundation of DA, is itself an empirically grounded

prediction of learner development—what is at one time carried out interpersonally will eventually be carried out intrapersonally. Specifically, this means that during the course of an assessment or from one assessment to another, mediation is expected to become less frequent and less explicit as learners display greater control or self-regulation over the construct under consideration. In addition, according to the principle of transcendence, learners are further expected to extend their abilities to increasingly complex activities once they have internalized the mediation (see the discussion of Poehner's research above).

Because it addresses the issue of rights and values of individuals and institutions involved in assessing, consequential validity is perhaps the most intriguing and controversial facet of validity in a dynamic framework. From the perspective of the social individual, there are serious ethical problems using the outcomes of assessments based exclusively on solo performance to make decisions that impact the lives of individuals and the institutions in which they function. For instance, how appropriate is it to place students into the same language course on the basis of their solo performance knowing that their relative mediated performance could vary significantly and that therefore the individuals in question would require different forms of instruction? Moreover, given that assessment and instruction are integrated in DA, how ethical is it to knowingly miss an opportunity to help someone develop during an assessment for the sake of maintaining psychometric principles? As Feuerstein puts it, in DA “everything is done in order to *undo* the predictive value of the initial [independent] assessment by modifying functioning through the mediational process” (Feuerstein, Rand, and Rynders, 1988, p. 199).

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Two important strands of research that, in our view, will solidify a central place for DA in the L2 domain are computerized and group-based DA. The former represents an attractive approach to large-scale assessment contexts that mandate standardization while the latter is especially relevant to classroom settings where teachers may be concerned with the feasibility of dialogically mediating twenty or more learners.

Computerized DA (C-DA) would likely follow an interventionist model with mediation offered from a menu of predetermined clues, hints, and leading questions selected in a lock-step fashion (moving from most implicit to most explicit) by the computer. While computer-based assessments typically only indicate the correctness of a response, C-DA tracks learners' errors as well as the precise forms of mediation that prove beneficial. Summers (in progress) is currently pursuing C-DA for use with university-level learners of L2 French but additional work will be needed to overcome the inherent challenge of this approach: offering learners

mediation that is standardized and yet as sensitive as possible to their emergent needs. Guthke and Beckmann (2000), for instance, have proposed a computerized LLT that is also relatively adaptable to individuals' needs whereby training tasks are introduced when examinees produce errors. After these tasks are completed, the test is resumed, but if similar problems arise later during the test it is possible to return to the training tasks. Thus, mediation cycles are determined by the nature of examinee errors. To date, Guthke and colleagues have not reported empirical results from their project but it is certainly a model language testers will wish to explore.

In group-based DA, the concept of the social individual comes to the fore in a powerful way. Vygotsky (1998) himself suggested the possibility of appropriately mediating a group ZPD, and Gibbons (2003) illustrates this notion in her analysis of a teacher's interactions with several ESL learners during a lesson that required the use of scientific terminology. Although Gibbons does not remark on the episode's potential as an assessment, she argues convincingly that through dialogue the teacher reveals the groups' level of understanding and moves them forward collectively, and this of course is the defining characteristic of DA. Further research is needed into the processes of group mediation and how the results of group DA procedures can best be reported.

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## LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT CULTURE

### INTRODUCTION

The notion of ‘culture’ represents a fundamental basic human concept that underlies historical developments and the creation of civilizations. Though there are numerous ways of defining culture, it is often perceived as referring to the shared ways of thinking and behaving, to common attitudes and beliefs that a social community shares, and to the products the social community has created (Kramsch, 1995). In management organizational literature ‘culture’ is used to indicate the internal cohesion of organizations whose members share espoused values and basic assumptions (Schein, 1992). The concept of ‘culture’ is currently applied broadly to refer to, depict and characterize sets of shared beliefs and modes of practice in diverse areas, including in the sphere of education (e.g., ‘learning cultures’; ‘school culture’) and educational assessment. Hence the relatively novel term in both general educational and language assessment domains—‘assessment culture’.

Assessment culture refers to educational evaluation practices that are compatible with current ideologies, social expectations, attitudes and values. It is grounded in and shaped by constructivist theories about how knowledge is developed and processed, critically acknowledges the social role of assessment and values its vital contribution to the teaching-learning process (Broadfoot and Black, 2004). Though initially coined as a reaction to testing cultures, assessment cultures presently refer to broader theoretical and practical frameworks for assessing knowledge. Assessment data are collected via multiple tools from various micro and macro sources, with stakeholders taking an active part in the assessment process (Shepard, 2000).

Similar beliefs and practices have recently permeated the language assessment field. These developments signify a move in the field of ‘language testing’ towards a broader assessment framework encompassing areas that have hitherto received little voice in the language testing literature. This is particularly apparent with regard to classroom and formative assessment (see Rea-Dickins, *Classroom-based Language Assessment*, Volume 7), and how they interact with external assessment measures.

The review will commence with a description of the concept of ‘assessment culture’ as it has transpired over the last decade or so in general education paradigms, followed by its recent emergence in the

area of language assessment. It will then illustrate the implementation of the concept in a number of language assessment contexts with a brief focus on research on the role of language teachers in assessment cultures.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

As cultures are grounded in the macro- and micro-levels of society (Cole, 1996), the emergence of assessment cultures needs to be discussed with reference to current views on learning and education and the social role of assessment (Broadfoot, 1996). Contemporary society is marked by an epistemological paradigm shift which redefines knowledge in the 'Knowledge' or 'Information Age': while previously the concept of knowledge was regarded as a universal, fixed and measurable commodity accessed mostly through formal schooling, massive easily accessible data are now transforming post-modern views of knowledge to an evolving, individually and contextually formed entity (Hofer and Pintrich, 1997).

This view marks a major move from previously held behaviourist models which perceive learning as the accumulation of atomized bits of knowledge hierarchically attained. New competencies are needed to process the immense amounts of knowledge, to locate, attain and efficiently utilize it for various functions. Thus the locus of studies in this millennium is shifting towards skills acquisition, rather than knowledge accumulation, for autonomous self-directed and life-long learning (Perkins, 2004). Similarly, major changes have also occurred in perceptions regarding intelligence, with intelligence currently being viewed as contextually framed (Sternberg, 1997) and multi-dimensional (Gardner, 1983).

The beliefs regarding knowledge and intelligence at different points in time are reflected in the dominant educational assessment traditions that society has endorsed. The psychometric measurement paradigms that dominated the measurement scene throughout most of the twentieth century were compatible with behaviourist perceptions of knowledge, and with views of intelligence and learners' achievements as innate. The uniform external tests employed viewed knowledge as their major goal, disregarding the learning context, with reliability and norm-referencing being of prime concern (Wolf, Bixby, Glenn and Gardner, 1991). As such, external public tests fulfilled the role assigned to assessment: ranking individuals for the purpose of gate keeping, monitoring and surveillance. The assessment focus of this measurement paradigm is described as 'assessment of learning' (Gipps, 1994), and the views and assumptions underpinning it constitute a 'culture' referred to as a 'testing culture' (Wolf, Bixby, Glenn and Gardner, 1991).

Testing cultures are at odds with the changing role of assessment, for as post-modern societies are increasingly employing more democratic inclusion and deferred selection policies in education, the role of assessment is shifting. Assessment is currently perceived as a means to promote learning (rather than monitor it), in order to facilitate social and academic mobility, hence 'Assessment for Learning' (Gipps, 1994; Stiggins, 2002):

Assessment for Learning is the process of seeking and interpreting evidence for use by learners and their teachers to decide where the learners are in their learning, where they need to go and how best to get there. (Assessment Reform Group, 2002).

This contemporary understanding of the function of assessment is gaining prominence and presently dominates approaches to assessment reforms in various parts of the world. It is grounded in the theories and assumptions that are shaping current educational practices, referred to as 'cultures of learning' (James, 2001) or 'learning cultures' (Shepard, 2000), that follow Vygotsky's cultural-historical activity theory emphasizing the cultural context of individual meaning-making. Learning cultures approaches are also rooted in Piaget's cognitive development theory and in situated practice theories, which perceive learning as "an integral and inseparable aspect of social practice" (Lave and Wenger, 1991, p. 31).

Communities which endorse the assumptions of learning cultures recognize intelligence as multi-faceted and aim to provide opportunities for all students to learn in modes consistent with their linguistic, idiosyncratic and social background, without prior labelling of predicted capacities. School tasks are closely linked to real world settings and address higher order cognitive skills. Learning is context-bound and teachers' feedback plays a major role in supporting, scaffolding and promoting students' learning (Black and Wiliam, 1998; James, 2001; Shepard, 2005). The emerging 'assessment culture' is compatible with these principles and views assessment as a value-embedded social activity (Filer, 1995) with learning and assessment intertwined (Shepard, 2000).

Though the discourse of assessment culture is closely aligned with arguments that initially supported using alternatives in assessment, the assumptions underlying it presuppose the existence of a new understanding of the interactive nature of learning and the role of assessment and assessors in the instructional-learning cycle (Black and Wiliam, 1998). Hence the change can not be confined to employing different assessment tools (rather than only tests), but rather to reconsidering the psychometric paradigm and premises which dominated testing cultures: summative-formative dichotomies as well as the positivist

traditional conceptions of validity and reliability, the role of standardization (Moss, 1994; Brookhart, 2003) and the breaking of the so-called ‘robustness of tests’ code, versus the apparent lack of scientific vigor of teacher-made assessment instruments (Leung and Lewkowitz, 2006).

Assessment culture can comprise part of the culture of educational organizations such as schools, providing that the members of the organization adopt the beliefs and assumptions regarding the nature of assessment and its role in the learning process as outlined earlier. These views are integrated with the norms, values and cultural artifacts shared by the school community, i.e., the school culture (Prosser, 1999). Since assessment culture emphasizes the link between assessment and learning, the merge between the two cultures (school and assessment), will impact the on-going practices and decision-making of all the stakeholders in the school. The school culture may then become more ‘evaluation-minded’ (Nevo, 1993) and utilize internal and external student evaluation in a meaningful manner.

The introduction of a new assessment culture has not eliminated testing cultures. With the legitimization of internal assessment by classroom teachers there is also a corresponding increase in large scale external assessment measures, a notion that Broadfoot (1996) refers to as the ‘checks and balances’ phenomenon. However, contrary to testing culture traditions which viewed external and internal assessments as dichotomous and detached, assessment cultures acknowledge the value of broadening the assessment construct by augmenting assessment data from different sources and from different informers (including learners), using an assortment of assessment tools. Some of the data are internally obtained and some realized outside the classroom or school premise. Yet both sources are recognized as equally significant for facilitating and promoting learning goals:

Each of these assessments is important—those that occur in daily classroom interactions among teachers and students, those set by teachers at the end of a particular phase in the work, and those developed and administered by external agencies. (Atkin, Black, Coffey, 2001)

Additionally, once external tests are integrated with learning and focus on higher cognitive skills and critical abilities, they can have a meaningful role in the learning-assessment cycle, as “tests worth teaching to” (Yeh, 2001). Tests which assess high cognitive skills can also induce educational changes that will foster the development of the skills the test aims to assess, what Fredriksen and Collins (1990) refer to as “systematic validity”. The shift towards the integration of external and internal assessment within a criterion-referenced framework for learning improvement is presently evident in varying degrees in a

number of national assessment systems (see, for example, Strachen, 2002, for a description of the reform in New Zealand's senior secondary assessment system).

The current trends in general education and assessment with regard to shifting paradigms and the changing role of assessment in society have also resonated through the *language* learning and evaluation domains. The emergence of language assessment cultures can initially be traced to reactions against the flaws of testing cultures and the ensued move towards using multiple assessment measures (Huerta-Macias, 1995). Subsequently and more recently there is an evident acknowledgement of the significance of formative classroom assessment (Leung, 2004; Rea-Dickens, 2004), and some discernible examples of adopting the principles of assessment cultures in language education. The assessment reform is noted to be a conceptual change, for "the true soul of assessment lies not in the components or tools, but in the perspective or set of assumptions motivating their use" (Lynch and Shaw, 2005, p. 265).

Discussion of the underlying beliefs and practices which have impacted assessment reforms in the case of language evaluation needs to be considered with reference to language-related facets, specifically definitions of language knowledge and teaching approaches. The move from an atomized view of language knowledge to what is known as communicative competence, and to communicative and task-based approaches to language teaching (see Volume 4), has accentuated the incongruity of existing assessment measures. Calls for matching language learning and evaluation have been repeatedly made since Morrow (1979) urged language testers over three decades ago, to bridge the gap between communicatively focused teaching goals and the testing procedures used to gauge them. The limitations of tests (external but also internal), have also been highlighted in view of current constructivist views of language learning (Kaufman, 2004) and learner-centered approaches, along with the growing criticism of the role of tests as powerful and undemocratic devices (Shohamy, 2001).

However, though alternative assessment practices are alluded to in the language testing literature, language testing research has by large focused on high-stakes proficiency testing, with discussion and references to the concept of assessment culture still relatively rare. An early attempt to provide a framework (in the form of proficiency guidelines) to link external testing to learning (though not to teacher-made tests), can be traced to the introduction of the American Council for the Teaching of Foreign Languages Proficiency Guidelines (ACTFL, 1983), intended to assist at "setting language learning goals, in planning learning activities and in evaluating proficiency" (ACTFL, 1983).

More focused allusions to the need for a paradigm shift in the language assessment domain can be found in the recent critical reviews of language measurement issues, particularly within the areas of ethicality, fairness and equity (Kunnan, 2005), and the conceptualization of language assessment as a social activity (McNamara, 2001). Lynch (2001) introduces the concept of 'assessment culture' in language assessment contrasting it with the paradigm of 'traditional testing culture'. Drawing on Wolf, Bixby, Glenn, and Gardner (1991) and on Birenbaum (1996), Lynch specifies the premises for assessment culture: the integration of teaching and assessment, the active role students take in the assessment process, assessing both process and product and the profile (rather than numerical score) created to report results (Lynch, 2001, p. 360). Assessment culture is grounded in the interpretivist (rather than positive) paradigm, and is underlined by socially constructed assumptions about the nature of reality.

These views are echoed in proposed assessment models which criticize centralized language testing-culture mechanisms, and take a different view of the role of assessment in society. Shohamy (2001) argues for democratic shared assessment paradigms in which local stakeholders collaborate with language testing professionals and authorities to create contextually suitable frameworks. In terms of the knowledge examined, democratic local models evaluate the relevant knowledge the stakeholders themselves uphold, rather than externally induced forms of wisdom. Solano-Flores and Trumbull (2003) likewise posit that there is a need for new paradigms for assessing language learners in view of the complexities of language knowledge and the cultural issues embedded in language acquisition, especially with regards to immigrant students learning a new language. They propose a framework which would enhance greater validity and equity in language assessment, whereby the test development process is conducted by local educators supported by professionals from different relevant areas. English language learners are offered accommodations in the form of bilingual items "in accordance with item content specifications and in alignment with state and national standards" (Solano-Flores and Trumbull, 2003, p. 9).

Thus language assessment cultures argue for the incorporation of social values and beliefs in the assessment framework. They recognize the significance and implications of political and social contexts, and offer broad assessment frameworks which promote equity and ethicality in the assessment process. Language assessment cultures (like educational assessment cultures) also question the suitability of applying traditional psychometric theory to alternative forms of language assessment, and contend for adopting different assumptions specifically in the way validity is conceptualized (Leung and Lewkowitz, 2006; Lynch and Shaw, 2005; Teasdale and Leung, 2000).

MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS AND  
WORK IN PROGRESS

The concept of language assessment culture is gradually being introduced to portray language assessment frameworks in different contexts, with summative testing of language learning outcomes increasingly integrating formative language learning assessment (e.g., see Edelenbos (2005) for a study which surveyed the assessment culture of 25 European Union countries). Examination of the reported assessment culture cases shows that they demonstrate the premises that characterize assessment cultures as set by Lynch (2001) earlier, specifically in terms of combining assessment with teaching, assessing different facets of the language learning experience, providing on-going feedback and collaborating with different stakeholders in the process. In addition, some of these assessment episodes describe the assessment practices with reference to an external criterion-based framework, emphasizing the mutual dialogue between the internal and external assessments and the empowerment of the local stakeholders.

A notable current example is assessment referenced to the Common European Framework of References to Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment (CEFR). The CEFR is described as a framework intended for facilitating teaching and learning as well as for creating assessment tools (Council of Europe, 2001). Though criticized for its suitability for test design and validation (Fulcher, 2004), the CEFR reportedly serves (along with the European Language Portfolio, ELP) diagnostic (see Alderson and Huhta, 2005), formative and summative needs of external and also local assessment systems which adapt and contextualize the CEFR levels and portfolio guidelines to fit their target population and designated purposes.

Two such examples of creating an assessment culture in schools by using modified versions of the scales can be found in reports by Little (2005) and Hasselgreen (2005). Little (2005) shows how “the CEFR and ELP can contribute to the development of an assessment culture in which self-assessment can help to bring the learning process into a closer and more productive relation to tests and examinations than has traditionally been the case” (Little, 2005, p. 324). This is illustrated in the Irish primary school context where an ESL curriculum was developed based on adapting the CEFR descriptors to the age of the learners and to the learning foci. The original CEFR benchmarks and ELP were revised in collaboration with the practicing teachers to fit the local context, with professional support and electronically available materials. Seeing that the teaching and the assessment share identical criteria, the modified benchmarks are reported to serve both assessment purposes and teaching objectives. In addition to self assessment other

instruments were developed including test batteries, with the rating scales referenced to the CEFR levels with devised sub-levels.

Likewise, the Norwegian educational system has taken on the CEFR and ELP as anchors for developing assessment frameworks and tools for language assessment (Hasselgreen, 2005). The ELP was adapted and supplemented for learners younger than the ones for which it had initially been intended. 'Can-do' statements compatible with the ELP were designed "preserving the essence of the ability described in the CEFR levels" (ibid, p. 346), but also (content-wise) reflecting the world of young teenagers. Following adjustments and modifications supplementary self and teacher-assessment materials were created. In another reported project the CEFR scale was used for reporting results and for defining writing criteria for a national test in English and in mother tongue reading and writing. The results of the assessment are reported in the form of profiles rather than scores, allowing for feedback that can lead to potential learning improvement.

References to language assessment culture are also evident in the context of assessment reforms in Hong Kong where the 'assessment for learning' approach was embraced. Davison (2004a) describes this reform characterized as "a shift from a 'culture of testing' to a 'culture of assessment'" in the English teaching domain. Currently school-based and external language assessments are both conducted within standards-referenced frameworks. Classroom assessment complements the outcomes syllabus and includes diverse formal and informal procedures to evaluate both process and product language use, with school-based assessments intended to be one of the components of the public examinations. Importantly the reform includes the school community at large and requires joint planning and discussion among the different stakeholders: "Fundamental changes in school assessment practices to bring a better balance across assessment for learning and assessment of learning need to be planned, discussed, shared, negotiated and agreed by all teachers in each school" (The Curriculum, Development Council, 2002). The enormity of the cultural (rather than merely organizational) reform is emphasized, as well as the different measures that need to be taken for the assessment revolution to transpire: changed sets of values and beliefs about the goals for assessment and the formative summative differentiation and the rethinking of psychometric paradigms (Davison, 2004a).

A move towards using internal assessment for external purposes is evident in a recent EFL assessment reform in Israel, where classroom tasks in the form of projects are included as part of the external oral EFL school leaving examination. Model tasks and materials are made available to teachers and students on an interactive site, where teachers can post their own projects for receiving feedback and for the benefit of

others, as well as acquaint themselves with the underlying rationale for the assessment framework ([http://space.ort.org.il/@home/scripts/frame.asp?sp\\_c=698806542](http://space.ort.org.il/@home/scripts/frame.asp?sp_c=698806542)). In this case, as in the other reported scenarios, the role of technology as a facilitating factor in introducing the cultural change and in supporting and professionalizing teachers, is of paramount importance.

Recognition of the indispensable mediated role that *teachers* play in the language assessment cycle has brought to the fore research-based interest in teachers' beliefs and assessment practices in contexts where the teachers are relied on to take an active part in the assessment culture (Brindely, 2001; Davison, 2004b; Leung, 2004; Rea-Dickens, 2001, 2004; Rohl, 1999). The studies survey teachers' practices and beliefs, and the impact of external norm-setting and tests on these practices. They also question the practitioners' language assessment craftsmanship and the quality of their assessments (Brindley, 2001). A number of realizations emerge from the studies. The first relates to the profound perception change involved in the move from language testing to language assessment cultures. This transformation applies to all the stakeholders but in view of the formative nature of classroom assessment it is the teachers who have the most meaningful role in instigating the new culture, a process that can not be induced by policy decisions alone (Leung, 2004). A second overriding finding is the vast individual and group differences among teachers with regard to assessment practices and espoused beliefs, impacted by context-bound variables which reflect the values and practices that the local community and the educational authorities uphold.

The third observation is the visible difficulty teachers experience when asked to align their assessment with external criteria. The conflict centres on negotiating the difference between the externally determined criteria-referenced scales and the teachers' own reactions to the students' work (Davison, 2004b). This underscores some main premises of assessment cultures and raises questions relating to the relative legitimacy and worth of contextual formative interpretations and assessments versus the external ones, and the assumed shared indicators for judging language proficiency. It also raises questions as to rethinking conventional reliability measures which presuppose rater agreement, while constructivist paradigms view variability in assessment as a valuable data source (Moss, 1994).

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Notions of language assessment culture are considered and gradually adopted to varying degrees in language learning contexts as alternatives to testing cultures. Yet their effective implementation as viable assessment frameworks is rooted in issues of power and dominance,

as well as in the ability of the internal assessment to live up to the challenge. The main question is whether and to what extent external authorities, often triggered by agendas and motives that are neither educational nor pedagogical (Brindley, 2001), will genuinely grant internally practiced assessment sites mandates for decision-making. In other words, is assessment culture discourse a lip service paid by assessment authorities, or a sincere attempt at assessment reforms? This is not clear, for at present practitioners in different contexts (some supposedly assessment culture-oriented), are expected to simultaneously function within two non-compatible cultures: encouraged to pursue an assessment culture, while concurrently required to abide by the rules of testing cultures (Arkoudis and O'Loughlin, 2004). This ambivalent predicament creates tension between two sets of sometimes contradictory beliefs and values, with high stakes external testing cultures usually prevailing over internal assessments (Hargreaves, Earl and Schmidt, 2002).

A closely related issue has to do with the criterion-referenced frameworks within which the assessment cultures function, their presumed hierarchical learning progression, and the degree of flexibility and latitude allowed for contextual modifications and collaborative practitioner construction (as is evident in Little, 2005). This is particularly relevant with regard to possible measures taken to ensure equity for specific groups, like language minority students assessed in the mainstream classes via external tests (see Abedi, 2004, on assessing LEP students under the No Child Left Behind Act, 2001), as well as for adapting the criteria to curriculum contents and goals or age relevant specifications. It is also becoming significant with regard to setting standardized language norms in view of World Englishes and the emergence of English as a Lingua Franca (Seidlhofer, 2004). Future criteria for language quality may depend to a great extent on the standards established by local experts, and hence assessment cultures will need to modify the general uniform linguistic criteria to differential context-dependent linguistic indicators (Leung and Lewkowitz, 2006).

Though teacher formative assessment, a vital assessment culture component, is favourably recognized for its value in conducting curriculum-embedded assessment and for promoting learning, questions still remain as to the nature of classroom assessment: how it differs from 'standardized language assessment' (Leung and Mohan, 2004), and how teachers interpret and use external frameworks in different contexts (Rohl, 1999). In addition, the quality measures used to ensure teacher-based assessment are in need of further critical examination, as are issues related to the integration of teacher assessment with assessment conventions such as summative marks (Rea-Dickens, 2001). Although measures to ensure teacher education and professionalization are generally part of the assessment culture initiative, not

enough is known about the value of these endeavours. More importantly, it is not clear whether (or to what extent) teachers share the beliefs of the new culture, and whether they are willing to invest in the change process that the move from the old culture to the new one entails.

### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

When discussing future directions in language assessment culture one needs to differentiate between macro- and micro-levels of assessment, between the teachers' and schools' assessment practices and those of assessment authorities and agencies. Since the language education field has been endorsing constructivist-oriented teaching and learning paradigms and task and content-focused approaches, it can be assumed that on the classroom and school levels the shift towards assessment cultures will gain momentum in the future. Not only will the role of assessment as part of the learning process be further acknowledged, but the sophisticated use of assessment data from a variety of internal and external sources will become part of the ecology of schools that have embraced assessment culture as part of their school culture.

However, at the same time on the macro-levels, it is presumed that due to social, political and economic considerations the external assessment mechanisms which accompany the culture shift, will not relinquish their gate keeping and surveillance mandates. The balance between the assessment and testing cultures will therefore most probably be tremulous, with possible shifts in either direction depending on forces in, but mostly beyond, the assessment arena. Decisions as to whether to enforce testing culture conditions with regard for example to acceptance criteria for educational institutions, may be governed by political motives on national or local levels. Similarly tests may also be used as mechanisms for enforcing gate keeping policies, and for providing or denying financial support to schools, districts or individuals.

Notwithstanding the above it is worthwhile noting that the interface between the two cultures, and the interactive dialogue they conduct, can positively impact future assessment practices in both external and internal assessment sites. In terms of external assessment, tests may form a meaningful part of the learning experience if constructed to promote critical thinking and foster and tap higher order skills along the lines suggested by Yeh (2001). Once implemented, the democratic, context-based assessment models proposed by Shohamy (2001) and Solano-Flores and Turmbull (2003) can broaden the testing framework to include different perspectives and localized relevant input. Since assessment culture views assessment as a context-relevant activity grounded in learning, the constructed tests will be sensitive to

contextual variables, to the learners' cultural and linguistic backgrounds and to the knowledge they bring with them to the assessment encounter.

In terms of internal classroom and school-based assessments, utilization of external and internal assessment data in a non-threatening manner can transform the school into a learning community that examines its current practices and achievements, linking assessment information from different subject areas in a socially interactive environment. Such practices will allow both teachers and students to get a complete picture of “where the learners are in their learning, where they need to go and how best to get there” (Assessment Reform Group, 2002).

More specifically, practitioners can benefit from the interaction and collaboration with external experts in a number of ways:

- Gaining expert knowledge in language assessment and other language-learning areas;
- Using model tasks and tests as prototypes for teacher-made tasks;
- Learning how to interpret assessment data;
- Integrating data into their own assessment and vice-versa—providing data to external authorities for decision-making purposes.

Future research needs to focus on the implementation of assessment cultures particularly on this interactive external/internal process and its impact on forms of assessment, on the way different stakeholders use data from different sources and for what purpose, on how they utilize the data, on where the students fit in, and on who stands a chance to gain or to lose in this assessment environment.

As was noted earlier technology will have an increasingly significant part to play in enhancing and maintaining the various facets of the assessment cycle: promoting and facilitating teacher development, allowing for discussion on the integration of learning and assessment according to given or modified criteria, facilitating self monitored language assessment, providing space for on-line feedback on language needs, and finally, creating a community of practice which comprises different protagonists working jointly to create an assessment culture in which assessment data is constructively employed to promote learning.

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## ASSESSING SECOND/ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE OF DIVERSE POPULATIONS

### INTRODUCTION

With increasing movements of people across international boundaries and the unabated spread of plurilingualism into national education systems, intergovernmental cooperation and multinational business enterprises, the teaching and assessment of second/additional language proficiency have continued to be a major item on the educational agenda in many world locations. In this chapter, we focus on (i) second language assessment designed to measure the second language development of linguistic minority students in a context where this language is the predominant majority language in society,<sup>1</sup> and (ii) second/foreign language assessment designed to measure language development of learners of a language in diverse contexts. These two themes are discussed in two ‘mini’ parallel themed sections on developments and problems identified to date. Although we mainly deal with English as a second or foreign language (ESL/EFL), our discussion refers to work in other languages where appropriate. We refer to some recent developments in Europe which, in our view, signal likely future directions reflecting progressive societal recognition of the value of a person’s proficiencies in different languages. ‘Assessment’ is used as a super-ordinate term through this discussion to refer to all forms of assessment, including standardized tests.

#### THEME 1: ASSESSING ESL AS A DISTINCTIVE CURRICULUM PHENOMENON

##### *Early Developments*

The ESL student populations in English-speaking countries have been growing steadily. For instance, in 2004 the ESL student population in

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<sup>1</sup> The terms ‘second language’ and ‘additional language’ are used interchangeably in some education systems. In this discussion, we do not use the term ‘additional language’ to avoid a potential conceptual overlap with ‘foreign language’. The term ‘foreign’ language is used to refer to the teaching and learning of a language where this language is not used as a medium of wider social communication. In the USA, the term English Language Learner is being used increasingly widely to refer to students from ethnolinguistic backgrounds who are learning to use English in school.

the USA was approximately five million (just over 10% of the total school population), and this represented a growth of approximately 65% over a 10-year period (NCELA, 2005). Similarly, the numbers have been increasing in England and in 2005 the ESL students constituted 11.7% of the total population in elementary schools and 9.1% in secondary schools (DfES, 2005a). Since the early 1990s, there have been two related but, paradoxically, opposite developments in the assessment of the second language development of linguistic minority students in English-speaking countries. In a number of education jurisdictions there has been a major effort to develop distinctive ESL assessment frameworks; at the same time many national systems, sometimes in the same countries where a good deal of research and development in distinctive ESL assessment can be found, have adopted an inclusive policy and practice of putting all students through large-scale standardized public assessment schemes without distinction. These two opposite developments are discussed in turn.

There has been a growing awareness on the part of some educators and policy makers that second language development in the context of mainstream schooling and social participation is different from first language development and foreign language learning (e.g., learning French as a subject in an English-medium school curriculum). ESL students enter their local school system at different ages and with varying background in English language learning. Learning English and learning to use English for curriculum learning purposes can add considerable demand to the challenges faced by individual students. For these reasons, a good deal of effort has gone into the systematic development of dedicated ESL assessment frameworks across a number of education jurisdictions.

### *Major Contributions*

One of the first of such attempts is the National Language and Literacy Institute of Australia (NLLIA) framework (McKay, 1992) which sets out to provide grade-level classroom-based ESL assessment descriptors. The descriptors take into account the use of English for subject content learning in ordinary classroom contexts in Australia (initially developed in Queensland). Another Australian framework is the ESL Scope and Scales produced by the South Australian curriculum authorities (SACSA, undated). This framework provides a link to the learning content of the mainstream school curriculum and ESL descriptors for formative assessment. The professional association Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL, 1996) in the USA has produced a set of K-12 ESL Standards that has been designed to provide teachers with broad requirements of ESL development for

social and academic purposes at different stages of schooling. Teachers are encouraged to use these descriptors to generate specific local ESL assessment criteria. (For an account of other similar developments, see McKay, 2000, 2005 for a further discussion.)

In the past decade, we have also seen that the policy move towards greater central control, public accountability and economic rationalism, which originated in the 1970s, has been further consolidated in many countries. Broadfoot and Pollard (2000, p. 13) capture this powerful trend thus:

The 1970s and 1980s had seen a growth in international economic competition. This, together with growing financial pressures and an increased demand for state institutions to be accountable, underpinned a desire to curb the professional autonomy of teachers and to replace it with a much greater measure of central control. The underlying rationale here [emphasizes] the beneficial role of market forces and competition in driving up standards, and controlling 'producer interests' . . . In such a model, assessment and measurement has a particular role in providing 'objective' information on which educational 'consumers' such as parents and governments can base their decisions.

Many education systems have adopted the use of standards-based assessment and public reporting of student performance as part of policy implementation and monitoring. The current legislation connected to the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) policy in the USA, for example, requires regular assessment and reporting of results for all school students. Similar legal requirements exist in places such as Australia and England. Second language education has not been exempted from this process. Proponents of this approach argue that this 'common treatment' contributes to social integration and equal educational opportunities (Travers and Higgs, 2004).

### *Problems and Difficulties*

This use of assessment to promote a particular kind of public policy is not, however, unproblematic in terms of potential misuse of assessment as a policy instrument and in terms of 'fitness-for purpose' issues. The recent case of use of data by the education authorities in Arizona is a case in point, especially in the context of the on-going language policy debate in the USA. In the past 10 years, there has been a good deal of public discussion on the advantages and disadvantages of bilingual education for linguistic minority students in the USA. This highly emotive and ideologically charged debate has been centred around two opposing positions: pro-bilingual education vs. English-medium education (with

some short-term ESL provision). The critics of bilingual education argue their case on grounds of educational effectiveness (i.e., bilingual education is non-cost effective, as compared with ESL, because students fail to achieve in these programmes) and social cohesion (bilingual education encourages diverse ethnolinguistic groups to remain separate, whereas English-medium education promotes social integration through a common language) (for further discussion, see Crawford, 1997; Cummins, 2000; Leung, *in press*; Thomas and Collier, 2002; Unz, 1997, 1999).

In 2004, the State Education Department in Arizona (2004) published a set of school student performance data purporting to show that the Structured English Immersion programmes were producing higher levels of achievement in English language, reading and mathematics than the bilingual programmes within the state. Structured English Immersion is “a form of English-only education that allows for the smallest amount of native-language instruction necessary to supplement an English-only curriculum” (Arizona Department of Education, 2004). These data were used by the Education Department officials to promote their preference for the Structured English Immersion programmes. This use of student assessment data to support the state’s educational policy was highly contentious and it was contested by TESOL (2004) on grounds of methodological shortcomings (e.g., a lack of clarity in the ways different programme types and student backgrounds have been operationalized), and misuse of research data (e.g., the data did not support causal relationships).

The use of assessment as a policy instrument for public accountability has also tended to be associated with the use of a set of common criteria for students of diverse language backgrounds. Common criteria that are used to assess all students are usually modelled on first language development and performance of the language majority population in society. In Australia, England and some parts of the USA, for instance, the government-sponsored assessment of English (the term ‘literacy’ is used sometimes) is based on the system-wide rating scales to be applied to ‘everyone’. The statutory assessment of elementary and lower secondary students in England requires the National Curriculum assessment criteria, with a small modification for young second language beginners, to be applied to all, irrespective of first or second language backgrounds:

Summative assessment for bilingual [ESL] pupils, as for all pupils, should be based on national curriculum measures . . . It is not recommended that additional locally developed scales of fluency are used . . .’ (DfES, 2005b, p. 6)

McKay (2000, p. 186) reports that a similar situation exists in Australia, where a set of common “Literacy Benchmarks based on

English-speaking background . . . learner progress through school are being used as a basis for monitoring literacy development.”

The use of common assessment criteria for all students without exception may be justifiable on grounds of an ‘inclusive’ approach to education. Here ‘inclusiveness’ is taken to mean common educational treatment irrespective of differences in terms of language backgrounds (see Leung, 2001, for a detailed discussion). In terms of usefulness of assessment outcome, however, the appropriateness of using first language development models for the assessment of second language development is questionable. For instance, in the English (subject) National Curriculum the attainment target for Level 4 Speaking and Listening (expected level of attainment for 11/12-year olds) is as follows:

Pupils talk and listen with confidence in an increasing range of contexts. Their talk is adapted to the purpose: developing ideas thoughtfully, describing events and conveying their opinions clearly. In discussion, they listen carefully, making contributions and asking questions that are responsive to others’ ideas and views. They use appropriately some of the features of standard English vocabulary and grammar (DfEE and QCA, 1999, p. 55).

This attainment target statement provides, arguably, a reasonably workable general description of the range and kinds of spoken language use for school purposes by first language speakers. Note that the students are not only expected to use spoken English to engage in a range of academic activities, but they are also expected to do within socio-culturally acceptable ways; qualifiers such as ‘with confidence’, ‘thoughtfully’ and ‘appropriately’ all point to the sort of language repertoire expected of someone who has had substantial exposure and use of English in a native language speaking environment. This level description would not even begin to make sense for either summative or formative purposes in the case of a 12-year-old beginner learner of English, say, from Poland. Yet, if we turn to a lower level description, there tends to be an odd sense of misfit because of the age and maturation factors built into first language scales. The Level 1 description for Speaking (threshold, officially adapted to EAL already), for instance, is as follows:

Pupils speak about matters of immediate interest in familiar settings. They convey meaning through talk and gesture and can extend what they say with support. Their speech is sometimes grammatically incomplete at word and sentence level (QCA, 2000, p. 13).

Here the level description is clearly modelled on a much younger child, about the age of 5 or 6, who may be happy to engage with others in an

uninhibited manner. A 12-year-old English beginner is unlikely to talk about matters of immediate interest in a secondary school setting. The greatest challenges for such a student are likely to be finding the necessary vocabulary and phrases, grammatically complete or not. This example shows that assessment criteria that have been developed with first language development norms and assumptions can be conceptually ill-fitting and, worse, misleading in terms of the assessment outcome yielded.

In the content areas a similar situation exists. ESL students, irrespective of their English language proficiency and schooling backgrounds, are expected to participate in standardized subject assessment, which has been devised with native speakers in mind. For those students who are still learning to use English for academic purposes effectively, the English language in standardized assessments can pose an additional linguistic challenge that distorts their ability to demonstrate their content knowledge. Whenever this happens it would make the test scores “invalid as indicators of content knowledge and achievement” (Butler and Stevens, 2001, p. 411). In a study of the test performance of approximately 15,000 Chinese- and Spanish-speaking background school students (Grade 2–11) in reading and other school subjects, Katz, Low, Stack and Tsang (2004) report that it takes 4–5 years of being in the English-medium school system before English language proficiency ceases to have a depressing effect on their test scores. All of this raises serious fundamental questions about the validity of using a set of non-differentiated criteria for the assessment of second language students’ English and curriculum achievements.

## THEME 2: ASSESSING SECOND/FOREIGN LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT OF LEARNERS IN DIVERSE CONTEXTS

### *Early Developments*

Within the diverse linguistic context of Europe, there is an increasing need to identify and recognize “the kinds of language proficiency needed by European citizens to interact and co-operate effectively” (Figueras, North, Takala and Verhelst, 2005). This has been facilitated by a number of Council of Europe initiatives, starting in 1957 with the first intergovernmental conference on European co-operation in language teaching. One of the most important early developments of the Council of Europe was the publication in 1975 of the Threshold Level, “the specification in operational terms of what a learner should be able to do when using the language interactively.” The 1990s subsequently

saw the specification of intermediate (Waystage) and higher level (Vantage) objectives and the development of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) (Council of Europe, 2001). The CEFR now provides a yardstick against which language proficiency in the different languages of Europe can be described.

### *Major Contributions*

Although the CEFR has broad educational objectives impacting on the teaching and learning of languages, it also has specific concerns relating to testing and examinations. It aims “to help partners to describe levels of proficiency required by existing standards, tests and examinations in order to facilitate comparisons between different systems of quantifications” (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 21).

The CEFR is made up of a descriptive system of language activities broken down into ‘Can-do’ statements, which, drawing on extensive research carried out by North and his colleagues (North, 2000; North and Schneider, 1998), have been placed on a common language proficiency scale. This scale is divided into three broad categories A (Basic User), B (Independent User) and C (Proficient User), each of which is further subdivided into two levels: A1 (Breakthrough), A2 (Waystage), B1 (Threshold), B2 (Vantage), C1 (Effective Operational Proficiency) and C2 (Mastery), with C1 and C2 being described as follows:

C1: Can understand a wide range of demanding, longer texts, and recognise implicit meaning. Can express him/herself fluently and spontaneously without much obvious searching for expressions. Can use language flexibly and effectively for social, academic and professional purposes. Can produce clear, well-structured, detailed text on complex subjects, showing controlled use of organisational patterns, connectors and cohesive devices.

C2: Can understand with ease virtually everything heard or read. Can summarise information from different spoken and written sources, reconstructing arguments and accounts in a coherent presentation. Can express him/herself spontaneously, very fluently and precisely, differentiating finer shades of meaning even in more complex situations (Council of Europe, undated).

A related and very significant development in the assessment of modern languages in Europe has been the introduction of the European Language Portfolio (ELP) (Council of Europe, undated). The portfolio was inspired by the Council of Europe as a result of the 1991 Rüsclikon Symposium (see Little, 2003, for more details). It was introduced at a

time when not only was the number of users of English in Continental Europe growing, but when the need for multilingualism in the UK was rising (King, 2001).

The ELP “is a personal document designed to make the language learning process more transparent to the learner and to report an individual’s achievement at any level and in any language in an internationally transparent way.” The portfolio is made up of the following three obligatory components:

- A language passport, which summarizes the owner’s linguistic identity by briefly recording second/foreign languages learnt, formal language qualifications achieved, significant experience of second/foreign language use, and the owner’s assessment of his/her current proficiency in the second/foreign languages he/she knows
- A language biography, which is used to set language learning targets, monitor progress, and record specially important language learning and intercultural experiences
- A dossier, which contains a selection of work that in the owner’s judgment best represents his/her second/foreign language proficiency. (Little, 2002, p. 182).

The ELP has a number of key features that distinguish it from other means of language assessment. First and foremost, it promotes equal recognition of all languages learned by individuals’ using a model developed after extensive piloting across a spectrum of 15 countries within the Council of Europe (Little, 2005). The established model is one that has a standardized language passport for all adults, but that allows for variability within the different sections of the portfolio, thus reflecting the Council of Europe’s ideal of ‘unity in diversity’ (Little, 2002, p. 184).

The formative nature of ELP assessment allows individuals to engage in the portfolio process from an early age and to continue updating its contents as its owner perceives necessary. It has been designed to supplement official certificates and diplomas awarded through formal education, allowing its owner to demonstrate any language learning that has taken place outside the formal educational setting, e.g., within a bilingual home or while traveling abroad.

Comparability across languages within a single portfolio or across different portfolios is made possible through the use of the CEFR. The CEFR also provides a means for self-assessment, which is an integral part of the portfolio. This central aspect of the ELP is believed to promote self-reflection and an improved understanding among learners of the assessment process: “learners gain ‘insider’ access to the processes of ‘social moderation’ that underlie the CEFR’s common reference levels and to the interaction between curriculum and assessment

that is fundamental to any worthwhile educational enterprise” (Little, 2005, p. 335).

A further European development which aims at recognizing the need for assessment across many of the diverse languages of Europe is that of DIALANG.<sup>2</sup> This is a low-stakes, computer-based and internet-delivered test of reading, writing, listening, grammatical structures and vocabulary covering all levels from beginners to advanced as articulated in the CEFR. The test can either be used by individuals who want to assess their language level in one of 14 languages, or by institutions for diagnostic or placement purposes. It is readily and freely available to users, providing them with feedback on their performance and with information on how they can improve their proficiency (for details, see Alderson and Huta, 2005).

### *Problems and Difficulties*

Despite the comprehensive nature of the CEFR, the framework is abstract and complex to apply making, *inter alia*, performances particularly at adjacent levels difficult to distinguish. Recognizing this, the Council of Europe (2005) has commissioned a manual to aid users in developing and describing their tests. This manual is likely to go some way in addressing user’s difficulties (the pilot version of the manual is currently under discussion—for more information, see Figueras, North, Takala and Verhelst, 2005). However, there are a number of inherent flaws in the system, which need to be addressed if the ideal of comparability and transparency across all language and at all levels of proficiency is to be achieved. A detailed look at the specifications provided above for levels C1 and C2 should help exemplify some of these. Although both levels are specified in ‘Can do’ terms, there is no indication as to how adequate each performance needs to be to qualify for the particular level. It is also difficult to distinguish between these two adjacent proficiency levels as it is unclear what the difference would be between ‘Can understand a wide range of demanding longer texts’ and ‘Can understand with ease virtually everything heard or read’. How long are longer texts and how wide-ranging do they need to be to qualify for C1 and not for C2? In addition, the specifications do not detail the nature of tasks that would be appropriate for each level or account for the development of cognitive and meta-cognitive processing as one progresses from one level to the next (for a comprehensive discussion of these and related issues, see Weir, 2005).

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<sup>2</sup> See [http://www.cpe.fr/ceetok/european\\_languages\\_test.htm](http://www.cpe.fr/ceetok/european_languages_test.htm); accessed on 12/01/2006.

## WORK IN PROGRESS

The inclusive use of mainstream-oriented assessment has led to the advocacy and use of a variety of test accommodations in assessment, particularly in relation to subject curriculum content. By accommodation is meant modification to an assessment, which may enable second language students to participate on a more equal footing. There are two approaches: modifications to aspects of the assessment tasks and modifications to the assessment procedure. The former includes assessment in the students' first language, vocabulary change and use of additional/different visual support and so on; the latter includes extra time allowance, oral directions in students' first language, use of dictionaries and so on (Butler and Stevens, 1997). In a study on maths performance of grade 8 students in southern California, Abedi, Hofstetter, Baker and Lord (2001) report that accommodations such as simplified English (e.g., syntax in maths items), and provision of a glossary with extra time benefited the students with limited proficiency in English. In another California-based study Castellon-Wellington (2000) finds that grade 7 second language learners' performance in a social studies test did not improve significantly even when they were given the accommodation of their choice (extra time or reading test items aloud). In a discussion on the translation of Hebrew-medium tests into other languages, Beller, Gafni and Hanani (2005) observe that, in addition to the considerable technical complexity in establishing an acceptable version of the original test in another language on content and socio-cultural grounds, the use of translated tests may not automatically benefit test-takers from linguistic minority communities because they may have varying amounts of first language literacy knowledge and skills. They report that some Russian immigrants who have studied in Israel for several years may prefer to take university entrance examination in Hebrew with a Russian glossary for key words. These and other studies on accommodations strongly suggest that the relationships between students' first and second language proficiency, the types of accommodation offered and their performance are very complex and a good deal more research is needed to unravel the intricacy (see Butler and Stevens, 2001; McKay, 2005 for a further discussion).

In the wake of the NCLB legislation, individual states (often working in consortia) in the USA are developing new English language proficiency tests. Abedi (2004) reports that there are currently six such state-level initiatives. One such effort is the ACCESS test<sup>3</sup> being developed by

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<sup>3</sup> ACCESS is the acronym for Assessing Comprehension and Communication in English State to State for English Language Learners (<http://www.cal.org/projects/wida.html>, accessed on 11/08/2005).

the WIDA<sup>4</sup> consortium. The declared purposes of ACCESS are consistent with the standards-oriented national legislation: to identify the English proficiency of students with respect to state-wide performance standards, to identify students requiring ESL services and to assess annual English proficiency gains using standards-based assessment, to provide information for local ESL programme evaluation and staff requirements, to provide data for compliance with federal and state statutory requirements, and to provide positive washback for pedagogic purposes (WIDA, 2004). As these new tests are being implemented progressively in the future interesting questions will be asked in terms of the extent to which they have been able to meet all the measurement, pedagogic, administrative and statutory goals.

Perhaps as a response to the widespread use of large-scale standardized assessment, there has been growing interest in classroom-based teacher assessment in the past few years, particularly for formative purposes. The work of the Curriculum Reform Group (2002) has been influential in setting out the general arguments for pedagogically oriented assessment of learning, in other words, assessment for learning. Formative assessment carried out by teachers is seen as part of everyday classroom activity—teachers observe student responses to questions and tasks, and use their observations to form feedback to promote desired learning. Formative assessment, at least as an educational perspective, has been publicly endorsed by a number of education systems, e.g., England (QCA, 2001), Hong Kong (Education and Manpower Bureau, 2004) and Wales (Dougherty Report, 2004). In relation to second language students, particularly in contexts where second language and first language students are integrated and follow a common curriculum, formative assessment of both English and content learning is likely to demand a high level of teacher knowledge and expertise. Not only do teachers need to be knowledgeable about models and trajectories of second language development in a curriculum context, they will also need to be familiar with the relationships between subject content and the language expressions associated with the subject content, and how such relationships bear on second language development. At the present time, there are at least three types of important questions that require further research:

- What do teachers do when they carry out formative assessment? Do teachers do something different from, or in addition to, their everyday teaching when they assess formatively? (If formative

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<sup>4</sup> WIDA is the name of a consortium comprising Wisconsin, Delaware, Arkansas, Rhode Island and many other educational jurisdictions (<http://www.cal.org/projects/wida.html> accessed on 11/08/2005).

assessment is really the same as ‘ordinary’ teaching, then the concept has no meaning.)

- What theories or benchmarks do teachers use when they make judgments and decisions?
- What do teachers look for when they are assessing? Are teachers’ theories and benchmarks translated into criteria for sampling and interpreting student performance? If yes, how?

For a more detailed discussion, see Leung (2004, 2005), Leung and Mohan (2004) and Leung and Rea-Dickens (forthcoming).

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

One of the unintended consequences of including second language students in inclusive system-wide assessment is that increasingly the fundamental question of what constitutes English language proficiency in the context of full curriculum participation is being raised. Some school-oriented second language assessment frameworks have attempted to cover mainstream subject contexts in a generic way, e.g.,

- Learners of ESL use a range of vocabulary to form complex word groups and phrases constructing specialized and complex technical fields . . .
- Expanding vocabulary in technical fields:  
nominalising processes: *developing* becomes *development*, *measure* becomes *measurement* . . . (SACSA, undated, Middle years Band: 23).

Where students are required to participate in the full range of curriculum study and assessment, it is necessary to ask the following language model- and construct-related questions: How should assessment deal with the relationship between curriculum content and classroom language use? What is English language proficiency in curriculum contexts?

A similar set of issues has arisen in relation to the ELP and CEFR. These were initially developed with adults in mind. They are, however, increasingly being applied to adolescents and young learners so necessitating adaptation to their particular circumstance. Young learners have their own interests, and assessment tasks designed for them need to reflect their needs, interests and realities as demonstrated by the Bergen ‘Can-do’ Project (Hasselgreen, 2005). In this project, initially developed for Norway, but extended to the Nordic/Baltic region, the ‘Can-do’ statements in the CEFR/ELP have been adapted in such a way as ‘to preserve the integrity of the CEFR levels, and yet take into account the particular characteristics of children and young teenagers’ (Hasselgreen, 2005, p. 351). There is evidently a need for such adaptation to be extended, ensuring that the adaptations apply not only to

English, which was the primary focus of the Bergen project, but also to a full range of European languages (as initiated at the Ganz, 2002 seminar reported in Hasselgreen, 2003).

Although considerable emphasis is being placed on alternative assessment and the implementation of the ELP, it is widely recognized that tests and examinations are also necessary. The Council of Europe's aim is to have such language assessments developed and aligned with the CEFR and there are attempts to do this as in the case of the National Testing project in Norway (see Hasselgreen, 2005 for details). However, such projects have encountered difficulties in, for example, ensuring consistency of rating among those judging pupils' performances and ensuring pupils are correctly placed on the CEFR scale. This, according to Weir (2005, p. 282), is not surprising given that:

- The CEFR scales are premised on an incomplete and unevenly applied range of contextual variables/performance conditions
- Little account is taken of the nature of cognitive processing at different levels of ability
- Activities are seldom related to the quality of actual performance expected to complete them
- The wording of some of the descriptors is not consistent or transparent enough in places for the development of tests.

In relation to English, we would also add that ELP and other similar packages will have to take account of the growing use of English as lingua franca (ELF), particularly in the European higher education context where an increasing number of courses are being offered in English (Coleman, 2006). There is now convincing evidence that ELF is a commonplace phenomenon (Jenkins, 2006; Seidlhofer, 2006). The use of ELF, normally in contexts where the majority, if not all, of the participants are non-native speakers of English and where Anglo-phone sociolinguistic rules do not necessarily apply, different linguistic forms and pragmatic practices have emerged. Any language assessment designed for transnational use will have to pay attention to these new forms and practices. The challenge in the near future will be to address these issues so that the CEFR can be applied in the way aspired to by the Council of Europe, achieving transparency, consistency and uniformity across languages and levels of proficiency.

Another issue that needs to be addressed within the context of young learners is how knowledge of all languages can be simultaneously valued. Given the virtually unrestricted freedom of movement within the European Union and high levels of immigration into Europe generally, many classrooms in Europe are faced with pupils from a range of different L1 backgrounds and with variable knowledge of second/foreign languages. Little (2005), for example, notes that in Ireland some primary schools have no non-English speaking pupils, whereas

others have as many as 100. This inevitably poses problems not only in terms of helping the migrant children in adjusting to their new learning contexts (discussed earlier), but also for teachers in being able to assess and cater for the language needs of all their linguistically diverse pupils. They require training in assessment, particularly formative assessment, which is all too often lacking (Rea-Dickins, 2000, 2001).

### CONCLUDING REMARKS

This discussion on assessment of second/additional language has focussed on key conceptual and design issues related to two domains of diverse populations: second language in mainstream education and second language across borders. Although the work in these two domains has to address different substantive issues, both share a broad common goal—to build systems and frameworks that can effectively represent language learners' achievement in a world of increasing population mobility. The school-oriented ESL assessment frameworks and the CEFR/ELP are examples *par excellence*. At the same time, the international policy trend towards public accountability has introduced conceptual challenges—in both domains language assessment criteria modeled on one kind of population is being used for another. A key problem of assessment within each domain stems from a similar issue—that of benchmarking performances in relation to inadequate or inappropriate descriptors. In the mainstream education context, the problems arise from using first language descriptors for assessing second language performance whereas in the European context adult-oriented language descriptors are being used as a model for assessing young learners. Progress towards resolving this fundamental issue is likely to require both technical and conceptual development through systematic research, and some form of public policy re-alignment to accommodate diversity in assessment criteria.

**See Also:** *Janna Fox: Alternative Assessment (Volume 7); Heidi Byrnes: Assessing Content and Language (Volume 7); Alison L. Bailey: Assessing the Language of Young Learners (Volume 7); Rama Mathew: Assessment in Multilingual Societies (Volume 7); Jamal Abedi: Utilizing Accommodations in Assessment (Volume 7); Tim McNamara: The Socio-political and Power Dimensions of Tests (Volume 7)*

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## ASSESSMENT IN INDIGENOUS LANGUAGE PROGRAMMES

### INTRODUCTION

Indigenous minority populations continue in their struggle to recover from a history of suppression and assimilation by colonising forces. That some indigenous languages have not survived while others hover on the brink of extinction, is testament to the effectiveness of such campaigns. The shared history of many indigenous languages and cultures is one where education has been used effectively as a mechanism to eradicate language and culture and where indigenous experiences have been pathologised and positioned within deficit theorising. A surge in activity by disenfranchised indigenous communities has been witnessed in the last few decades. This includes the targeting of schools as sites for linguistic and cultural recovery and regeneration with the expectation that the often well publicised underachievement of indigenous minority students will also be addressed. Assessment, and in particular formal testing, has therefore become a high stakes activity upon which the legitimacy and therefore continued existence of such programmes depend. The development of assessments to specifically meet indigenous aspirations is, however, often subsumed by demands for achievement information about students in the majority language, which is still perceived as the barometer for measuring academic success.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Bilingual education is the product of the historical socio-political experiences of language communities around the world. Language maintenance, in some places referred to as heritage language, and bilingual education, is a classification used to describe those bilingual programmes where the native, home or heritage language of language minority children is given prominence as a medium of instruction and where bilingualism, biculturalism and biliteracy are considered major goals (Baker and Prys Jones, 1998).

A variety of international examples comprise language maintenance bilingual education. Some of the most vulnerable initiatives belong to those indigenous communities whose language is struggling for survival within its ancestral territory or country of origin. Examples include

the Navajo and the Hawaiians in the United States, the aborigines in Australia and the Māori in New Zealand.

Most indigenous minority peoples share a history of subordination and domination by a colonising power. A common denominator in those histories is the systematic use of an imposed education system to engineer the replacement of indigenous language and culture with the vernacular and culture of the colonisers. Pre-existing education systems were considered inferior, particularly those rooted in traditions of orality as opposed to those that could also lay claim to an extensive written or printed literature. Furthermore, it was argued that the use of indigenous language in school settings and in communities hindered educational progress. Subsequently, educational policies and practices promoting subtractive bilingualism were encouraged and in many cases, enforced. Many indigenous people also supported the abandonment of their natal language in the hope and belief that this would improve their access to the new economic wealth and resources that had quickly become the preserve of the non-indigenous majority population.

This language imperialism not only successfully facilitated and later consolidated the power and dominance of non-indigenous majority populations but also helped create a legacy for indigenous peoples that has invariably seen them marginalised, disenfranchised and negatively overrepresented in the social indices of modern nation states.

Recent decades have seen indigenous peoples more rigorously demand and exercise their rights to self-determination in education. This has given rise to the emergence and establishment of indigenous schooling initiatives designed to reverse indigenous language loss, reconnect indigenous people with their culture and address academic underachievement by providing alternative learning programmes which reflect indigenous epistemologies and pedagogies and are delivered wholly or partly in the indigenous language.

When schooling initiatives are part of the public education system, the non-indigenous majority language population, who largely direct what happens in education, expect and assume that they should retain proprietorship over all of its domains. This means that educational priorities to support the majority language tend to dictate and determine what and how things happen for the indigenous minority language. The extent to which an indigenous language community is therefore able to exercise control over important issues such as curriculum content, curriculum delivery and assessment practices varies and is often directly related to levels of dependency upon the state for funding.

While the shift from an oral tradition to a written one has been contentious and an uneasy transition for some indigenous minority language groups, it is generally acknowledged that being able to read and write in that language is critical to its survival. As a result, literacy

instruction in the threatened language is vigorously promoted in school-based language recovery programmes. Where bilinguality and biliteracy are desired outcomes, provision for instruction in another language (usually the majority language) is also accommodated. Continuing support for such initiatives (from both majority and the indigenous population) relies heavily on the academic performance of students. This throws assessment of literacy achievement into sharp focus as this is the means by which judgements about the efficacy and legitimacy of such programmes are often made.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The underachievement of indigenous minority students in monolingual majority language programmes is well documented and often overemphasised in many western education systems. The cause of this underperformance is often attributed to deficiencies considered inherent in the indigenous minority population in particular, its attendant language and culture. Substantially less is made of the failure of those systems to cater adequately for these particular groups of students while privileging others.

Evidence is being accumulated (albeit slowly and in small quantities), that demonstrates the positive impact of heritage language bilingual programmes, on the academic performance of indigenous minority students in the majority language. Access to comprehensive information about the academic performance of indigenous students in the heritage language by comparison is very limited. This can be attributed in part, to the lower status afforded that language within its own national context. Performance in the majority (non-indigenous) language, particularly performance quantified by formal testing (as opposed to wider assessment practices), is presumed as the preferred terms of reference for measuring success and therefore more likely to be publicly reported. Assessment information in the heritage language on the other hand, is treated more as a concession to indigenous aspirations by the majority population and afforded far less importance and value. It also indicates that generally, assessment development for some heritage language bilingual programmes is still in its infancy and is characterised by local arrangements for gathering assessment information which tend to be less publicised.

Heritage language revitalisation schooling initiatives that have gained international recognition include (but are not limited to) those located in the United States and Aotearoa/New Zealand, countries where English is the majority language.

Schools at Rough Rock and Rock Point represent efforts by native American Indian communities to maintain the Navajo language in the

state of Arizona. This has become more urgent as increasing numbers of Navajo learners are becoming English dominant and losing their heritage language despite the relative geographical isolation of these two communities which in the past has afforded them some protection from this language encroachment. Recently legislated language policies that give further priority to English medium instruction continue to undermine Navajo efforts.

Rough Rock is the site of the first Indian community controlled school while Rock Point Community School is attributed with implementing one of the first modern indigenous literacy programmes in the early 1970s (McCarty, 2003). Navajo has only 'achieved literate status' within the last century with the acceptance of a particular orthography as the standard after several earlier attempts were rejected (Lee and McLaughlin, 2001; McGroarty, Beck and Butler, 1995). This has made the development and implementation of formal literacy programmes in the Navajo language possible in schools where previously print literacy related activities were only available in the English language.

It has been reported from analysis of data collected since the 1970s from Rock Point school that monolingual Navajo-speaking children who learned to read first in Navajo, outperformed their cohort of Navajo students in English-only programmes on English language literacy measures. A seven year-long study beginning in 1998, tracked levels of bilingualism and biliteracy for students in their first four years in the English-Navajo Language Arts programme at Rough Rock School and compared the performance of these students with Navajo students who did not participate in the bilingual programme. Both qualitative and quantitative methods were employed using localised standardised tests and other assessments. Although the results for both groups remained below national norms, the students in the English-Navajo Language Arts programme consistently outperformed those in the study who received instruction exclusively in English (McCarty, 2003).

In Aotearoa/New Zealand, Māori medium education has become the umbrella term to describe the various schooling options in the compulsory education sector where Māori language is used to deliver a national curriculum. Schools are funded according to the extent to which Māori is the language of instruction ranging from level 4 (0–30%) to level 1 (81–100%), the higher the levels of immersion, attracting higher levels of funding. Most bilingual units and schools invariably deliver instruction in English and Māori simultaneously (i.e., both languages are used to varying degrees in tandem). Māori immersion education on the other hand has tended to deliver the school curriculum by starting instruction exclusively in Māori and then introducing English language instruction successively (i.e., later).

The intergenerational transmission of the Māori language and culture has been interrupted to the extent that most students in immersion in Māori education, their parents and their teachers are predominantly second language speakers of Māori. Earlier reports (Cummins, 2000) describe as the norm the exclusive use of the target language (Māori) and the absence of English language instruction from total immersion in Māori programmes at elementary school levels. This no longer is the case as most programmes now make provision for explicit instruction in the English language. They continue to grapple however with how English might be accommodated without detracting from the fact that the regeneration of the Māori language is the priority.

In her analysis of the effectiveness of a home-school intervention programme to 'transition' Māori medium students in years 6 to 8 into English, Berryman (2001), reported that participating students were mostly scoring at age appropriate levels and better on a measure of reading using normative data, in stark contrast to results for Māori students in English-only programmes. This is one of the earliest indications that existing Māori immersion configurations can lead to high levels of achievement in English language. Rau (2005a) also reported similar results for year 4–8 students receiving explicit instruction in English using English language measures in three other total immersion schools.

According to McCarty (2003), reversing the plight of the Hawaiian language represents perhaps the most dramatic example of language revitalisation within the American context. A renaissance movement in the 1960s gained further momentum in 1978 with the introduction of a new state constitution that mandated that Hawaiian language, culture and history be promoted (Warner, 2001 cited in McCarty, 2003). Previously, legislation banned the use of Hawaiian language as a medium of instruction and made it compulsory that government business be conducted in the English language.

Many parallels can be drawn between the Hawaiian and the Māori experience. Similarities in orthology, morphology, phonology and syntax have also meant that indigenous educators from Aotearoa/New Zealand (where the language is in a comparatively healthier state), have been able to assist with Hawaiian efforts at language rescue. Adaptations of educational initiatives developed in Aotearoa/New Zealand such as Kōhanga Reo (Preschool Māori language nests) have been successfully implemented in the Hawaiian context, hence for example the emergence of Punana Leo, the Hawaiian version of Kōhanga Reo.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Hawaiian and Navajo Indian experiences have reported better academic achievement in English for students in immersion programmes

than their respective indigenous cohorts learning in contexts where English language is used exclusively or predominantly as the medium of instruction. Despite such promising results, the vast majority of indigenous students continue to receive instruction in English language dominant programmes by design or choice or because limited access to such initiatives restricts schooling choices.

Under the Bush administration in the United States, federally mandated standardised testing in English has been introduced for all students from the fourth grade. While providing increased opportunities for academically based comparisons to be made using language (or languages) of instruction as the criterion, this recently introduced legislation is also having a devastating effect on indigenous language revitalisation efforts in educational settings. The ‘No Child Left Behind Act’ (Public Law 107–110, January 2002) designed to improve public education has placed the spotlight on accountability by requiring that all students annually meet set academic standards. The consequences of not meeting these standards impacts negatively on such things as funding to schools and grade promotion of students with teachers and administrators held directly responsible (Romero-Little, 2006). In particular, the renewed prominence given to English language proficiency leaves educators and parents alike questioning the viability and value of heritage language programmes. Such policies demand significant concessions to be made by heritage language initiatives and represent a reconstitution of assimilatory practices that have characterised the histories of indigenous minority peoples. For languages like Navajo, the situation is further complicated by the fact that in Arizona (as with some other states) the use of languages other than English in schools is prohibited. Up until now, Navajo language programmes have been exempt but recent changes mean that they are no longer protected by the 1990 and 1992 Native American Languages Acts and must therefore also comply with this English-only approach (Romero-Little, 2006). Such moves have been interpreted by educators involved in Navajo and Hawaiian indigenous language education as tacit language discrimination policies. Unfortunately, the effects of such policies are far reaching and are likely to persist even in the event that there is a future softening of these language policies or, alternatively, they are abandoned. There is a real danger that the demise of these indigenous languages will be accelerated and recovering from the impact will be even more difficult than it has been in the past.

While Māori medium programmes in Aotearoa/New Zealand are not (yet) subject to mandatory nationwide testing regimens, they are every bit as vulnerable to internal and external factors as their American counterparts. All schools funded by the government are required to conform to the National Curriculum Framework that “sets out national

directions for schooling and provides for consistency in classrooms” (Ministry of Education, 1993, p. 3). English medium education invariably provides the terms of reference which is why the current curriculum documents in Māori so closely parallel those developed in English. They have therefore been criticised by Māori medium educators because even though there is opportunity for the inclusion of indigenous knowledge, the majority of these documents default to and privilege knowledge valued by the majority language. Because pedagogical and assessment practices are expected to be aligned to curriculum requirements it means for Māori medium that western derived understandings infiltrate all aspects of school academic activity. As Te Aika (1997) warns, care must be taken when English language ideologies and practices are modified for other linguistic groups as these can undermine and transform those of the indigenous language and culture. There appears to be a genuine attempt to allow a more independent development for Māori medium with the review of the curriculum documents currently taking place. According to Carr et al. (2000), the development of a curriculum should ideally encompass the simultaneous development of an assessment programme which reflects and fulfills the intentions of the curriculum. Potentially then, the review may enable other Māori medium-specific responses to emerge.

There has been unprecedented development and growth in Māori medium education, in the last decade. Māori medium education is still considered a relatively new initiative. This has coincided with an increased nationwide emphasis on accountability leaving Māori medium educators ‘scrambling’ for instruments to provide information about student achievement. This has created forces that conspire against the imperative of Māori medium for self-determination and autonomy manifesting itself in ways that are less than satisfactory. For example, one of the early solutions for addressing a shortage of assessment procedures in Māori was to translate standardised tests originally designed for measuring the competencies of first language speakers of English. Often carried out by novice test developers (mainly teachers) unaware that psychometric properties do not readily transfer or translate from one language to another, these tests would quickly circulate other Māori medium classrooms in other schools where further changes would often be made seriously compromising the reliability and validity of the tests. Even test development under ‘laboratory type’ conditions has been controversial. For example, in its early days, the National Education Monitoring Project (NEMP) which cyclically samples student performance both English and Māori medium (total immersion) contexts, much energy and resource was expended in providing ‘close’ translations of English language tasks. Treatment, no matter how careful, cannot eliminate the inherent bias

that places at a disadvantage, those being tested using translated versions particularly when the test is presented in the test taker's second language. NEMP has also included tasks for learners in English medium that assess Māori language knowledge and more recently there has been significant movement toward the independent development of tasks in Māori.

Other responses to demands for student achievement information include reconstructions of existing English language tests which allow for more flexibilities and concessions than is possible with direct translations. Rau (2005b) reports the positive implications for Māori medium education of one such reconstruction, a procedure that is highly valued both nationally and internationally. This has generated robust literacy achievement data for students in Māori medium to boost the limited pool of information that currently exists. Rau (2005b) further states that when it can be demonstrated that minority students in an alternative learning environment are experiencing success using a yardstick that is understood and valued by the majority culture, confidence in the results is undoubtedly boosted. The simultaneous or delayed parallel development in English and Māori of new tests, are other alternatives that most typically characterise assessment development for Māori medium. With translations, reconstructions and parallel developments, scoring schedules that are the same for both the English and the Māori versions, create the potential for inappropriate comparisons between the performances of students across the different language contexts to be made. With all of these scenarios, English medium defines for Māori medium what competencies will be tested and how they will be measured. It also means that at best, only partial representations of indigenous language structural and content domains are possible.

The option most preferred by educators in Māori medium is the development of original (new) tests and assessment frameworks sensitive to issues of second language acquisition, commensurate with a Māori worldview and consistent with the broader issues of Māori language and cultural rescue. A few original literacy tests and literacy assessment frameworks have been commissioned by the Ministry of Education (for example see Rau, Whiu, Thomson, Glynn, and Milroy, 2001) but have not (yet) been promoted nationally by the Ministry. Other work is seminal at this stage.

At present, preference is given to instruments or approaches derived from or aligned with English language initiatives. This approach has high appeal particularly for government officials and parents seeking proof and reassurance that Māori medium programmes are providing adequately for student achievement. This is unfortunate because it places huge and somewhat unrealistic expectations upon this medium

to accomplish the very things that, to date, a much better resourced general stream education system has clearly failed to do for Māori students in their first language (English). The trend that Māori medium programmes replicate and mirror general stream approaches continues.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Four to six years of consistent high quality instruction is advocated in the second language if students are to acquire the cognitive academic language proficiency necessary to reach grade-level norms and perform intellectually challenging tasks such as those required to engage in literacy activity (Thomas and Collier, 2002). This is probably a conservative guideline for minority languages given the challenges indigenous minority language programmes face. These include insufficient, interrupted funding, a lack of professionally produced resources, shortages in the supply of teachers proficient in the heritage language and well versed in theory and practice for second language learning contexts as well as diminished exposure to the language outside school settings. May, Hill and Tiakiwai (2003) for example recommend six to eight years for Māori medium programmes.

Assessment and testing have become high stakes activities for heritage language recovery programmes which operate in environments where a colonising agenda continues to be embedded in educational policy in the form of national curricula and national testing regimens. Baker and Prys Jones (1998) contend that where a minority language nationally and internationally has less status power and support, it is often imperative that heritage language programmes demonstrate achievement on a par or better than mainstream schools. Publicity regarding their success becomes extremely important especially in political climates where academic achievement in the majority language is thought to only be possible at the cost of learning in the minority language. When an education system favours evidence of achievement in the majority language over achievement in the minority language, striking a balance so that the expectations of all stakeholders are realised can be very difficult. When test items intended to measure competencies and knowledge valued by indigenous people in the indigenous language are packaged and quantified within non-indigenous majority definitions, control and power over those things remain situated with the majority. Assessment information considered essential by external agents is often less relevant to members of an indigenous language or competes with their attempts at linguistic and cultural recovery.

Instruments and procedures developed in the indigenous language must meet the criteria of governmental agencies if they are to be accepted and promoted nationally. High demand by a relatively small

market does not make the commercial production of minority language tests and other types of assessments a viable proposition. All of these factors tend to lower the perceived quality of assessments in the indigenous minority language.

Assessment instruments developed in such circumstances tend to be less focused on the integration and interaction of cognitive development and language proficiency because with first language learners, these elements are assumed. This leaves indigenous educators having to rigorously defend and argue for tests assessments that measure oral language proficiency.

Schools expect assessment and accountability to be constant and persistent themes. An overemphasis on assessment for accountability at the system level however means that energies are concentrated on providing assurance about the quality of education and less resource is available to support the development of assessment for classroom and school purposes. Educators in heritage language programmes are trying to fill the void for assessment that meets all of these demands.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

In this age of globalisation, there is reduced tolerance for linguistic and cultural diversity. Indigenous peoples continue to negotiate and fight for access to their own linguistic and cultural capital within environments where it is often accredited little educational value. Heritage language programmes are vulnerable to changes in political climate and their very survival depends upon continued efforts to resist or navigate around direct and indirect threats that conspire against them.

The pursuit of autonomy continues to be thwarted because indigenous minorities do not control the framework for education at the system level. Seeking ways to influence and convince those in power of the educational legitimacy of heritage programmes as well strategically placing indigenous people in positions of influence needs to continue as a strategy.

The private sponsorship of heritage language programmes or programmes located in communities that supplement those provided by schools might allow for a more independent development and more readily achieve indigenous aspirations. Unfortunately, the level of funding required is often beyond what most indigenous communities can source.

Continuing the interaction and collaboration between indigenous groups (and others) means that the cross-fertilisation of ideas and responses to the challenges of reviving languages at risk, provides a rich source of mutual support and direction for ongoing and future development.

Heritage language programmes represent sites of struggle. Indigenous people often look to the past for encouragement and inspiration. The following Māori proverbial saying (*whakatauki*) is a reminder that seemingly insurmountable challenges can be overcome.

*Iti Rearea*

*Teitei kahikatea,*

*Ka taea*

Small though the bellbird might be, its determination and resilience enables it to scale the heights of the tall kahikatea tree.

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## UTILIZING ACCOMMODATIONS IN ASSESSMENT

### INTRODUCTION

An equitable assessment and accountability system requires that all students be included in large-scale national and local assessments. However, there is a substantial performance gap between those for whom the assessment language is a second language and those students who are native speakers of the assessment language, particularly on academic subjects that are high in language demand (Abedi, 2006a). The literature suggests that this performance gap is explained by many different factors including parent education level and support, SES, the challenge of second language acquisition (Hakuta, Butler, and Witt, 2000; Moore and Redd, 2002) and a host of inequitable schooling conditions (Gándara, Rumberger, Maxwell-Jolly, and Callahan, 2003). Yet, it is also often the case that the measurement tools are ill-equipped to assess the skills and abilities of second language learners. To offset these challenges, nonnative speakers of the assessment language are provided with “*test accommodations*.”

Test accommodations refer to changes in the test process, in the test itself, or in the test response format. The goal of accommodations is to provide a fair opportunity for nonnative speakers of the assessment language and students with disabilities to demonstrate what they know and can do, to level the playing field, so to speak, without giving them an advantage over students who do not receive the accommodation.

The issues concerning accommodations are important in all countries where there are students who do not have high proficiency in the language of instruction and assessment in schools; usually these are immigrants and indigenous groups. Since the USA has conducted more research on accommodations than many other countries, in this chapter we present an overview of major research findings that are reported in the American research journals for English language learners.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Historically, the concept of *accommodations* was first introduced in the field of special education. Many students with disabilities need specific forms of assistance in the classroom setting to deal with their disabilities, i.e., to level the playing field. For example, deaf and hard

of hearing students need hearing aids to offset the effect of their inability to hear at the same level as regular students. Similarly, blind or visually impaired students need to use the brail version of a test to be able to read the test items. These accommodations are used to increase equity in the classroom as well as during assessment conditions. The concept of accommodations was then extended to English language learners (ELL). Unfortunately, however, not only the concept but the actual accommodation strategies that were created and used for students with disabilities were used for ELL students, many of which may not be relevant for these students.

By definition, accommodations are used for students with disabilities (SD) to assist them with their disabilities. For ELL and nonnative speakers of the assessment language the goal of accommodations is to help with second language needs. Another goal is to reduce the performance gap between SD/ELL and non-SD/non-ELL students, without jeopardizing the validity of assessments. In the USA, there are many forms of accommodations which are used for both ELL students and students with disabilities in different states (Abedi, Kim-Boscardin, and Larson, 2000; Rivera, Stansfield, Scialdone, and Sharkey, 2000; Thurlow and Bolt, 2001). Yet, as will be shown below, there is little evidence to support the effectiveness and validity of assessments using these accommodations.

There are many policy-related issues concerning accommodations that need to be carefully reviewed. For example, one must examine the validity of criteria used for decisions on the provision of accommodations and the appropriateness of the type of accommodations used for particular groups of students. Different criteria are used for the selection of accommodations and the lack of a national or local master plan for accommodations creates controversies over the use of accommodations.

Most accommodations that are currently offered to ELL students and to a lesser extent to SDs, have a limited empirical research base and states in the USA often use a 'common sense' approach in choosing accommodations. With regard to the validity of accommodations, research results are available only for a few forms of accommodations, while the validity for others has yet to be examined. For some accommodations there may not be enough research to judge the effectiveness and validity of the accommodations for a particular group of students.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

As noted above, the main focus of this chapter is on accommodations for ELL students in the USA. However, a short discussion on accommodations for students with disabilities is included as well, due to some

historical connections between the accommodation policies and practices for these two subgroups of students. In fact, some accommodations that are currently used for ELL students were initially proposed and used for students with disabilities (see, for example, Rivera, Stansfield, Scialdone, and Sharkey, 2000).

Review of literature on accommodations suggests that: (1) existing research on some forms of accommodations is not conclusive, and (2) for many forms of accommodations used by different states there is very limited empirical data to support their validity. It should be noted that the term ‘validity of accommodations’ is used here within the general framework of assessment; therefore, validity of accommodations refers to the ‘validity of accommodated assessments.’ In other words, an accommodation strategy may not be valid or invalid unless it is considered within the assessment framework. In presenting the research summary it will be shown that: (1) some accommodations that are used for ELL students are designed for students with disabilities and are not relevant to ELL students, and (2) in some cases, findings from different studies about accommodations are not consistent. Below is a list along with a summary of research for some commonly used accommodations.

*Braille* is used for students with blindness or significant visual impairments. Braille versions of a test may be more difficult for some items than other items such as items with diagrams and/or special symbols (Bennett, Rock, and Kaplan, 1987; Bennett, Rock, and Novatkoski, 1989; Coleman, 1990). This is clearly an accommodation for SD (blind) students only.

*Computerized Assessment* is used for students with physical impairments that have difficulty in responding to items in a paper-and-pencil format. Some studies suggest that this accommodation increases the performance of students (Russell, 1999; Russell and Haney, 1997; Russell and Plati, 2001). Other studies have not found computerized assessments to be effective (MacArthur and Graham, 1987), or not as effective as traditional assessments (Hollenbeck, Tindal, Stieber, and Harniss, 1999; Varnhagan and Gerber, 1984; Watkins and Kush, 1988). In a study with grade 4 and 8 students in mathematics, Abedi, Courtney, and Leon (see, Abedi, Hofstetter and Lord, 2004) found that computerized assessments can be highly effective in making tests more accessible to ELL students. The study did not find any validity issues with the computerized assessment suggesting that the computerized assessment was not different than the traditional assessment for non-ELL students.

*Dictate Response to a Scribe* (someone writes down what a student dictates with an assistive communication device). This accommodation has been shown to have an impact on the performance of students with learning disabilities (Fuchs, et al., 2000; MacArthur and Graham, 1987). Tippetts and Michaels (1997) found this accommodation, in

combination with other accommodations, such as read aloud and extended time, helps students with disabilities. However, there are concerns over the validity of this accommodation. Koretz (1997) found this accommodation helped students with learning disabilities; however, Thurlow and Bolt (2001) recommended that if students are unable to handwrite but can efficiently use a computer, the use of a computer should be considered.

*Extended Time.* This is one of the most commonly used accommodations. Under this accommodation, students receive extra time (usually 50% more time) to respond to the test items. It is used for both English language learners and students with different types of disabilities. Thurlow, House, Boys, Scott, and Ysseldyke (2000) suggested that disagreement between states may be a concern regarding the validity of extended time accommodation. Chiu and Pearson (1999) found extended time to be an effective accommodation for students with disabilities, particularly for learning disabilities. Some studies found extended time to help students with disabilities in Mathematics (Chiu and Pearson, 1999; Gallina, 1989). However, other studies did not show an effect of extended time on students with disabilities (Fuchs, et al., 2000; Marquart, 2000; Munger and Loyd, 1991). Studies on the effect of extended time in language arts did not find this accommodation to be effective (Fuchs, et al., 2000; Munger and Loyd, 1991). Some research studies showed that extended time affects the performance of both SD and non-SD students, and therefore makes the validity of this accommodation suspect. For ELL students, research on extended time has produced mixed results. Abedi, Hofstetter, and Lord (2004) found no effect of extended time for ELL students. On the other hand, Hafner (2000) found extended time to be an effective accommodation for ELL students.

It must be noted at this point that many school districts in the USA allow unlimited time in taking both Title I and Title III (Rivera and Collum, 2006) assessments under the No Child Left Behind (NCLB, 2001) accountability requirements. That is, the state tests are often considered as *power* tests and not as *speed* tests. Therefore, extended time is not viewed as an accommodation and consequently there is no concern over the validity of assessments using extended time since everyone receives extra time in testing.

*Interpreter for Instructions.* In this accommodation an interpreter translates test instructions in sign language. This accommodation is recommended for students with hearing impairments. Adaptations in the directions may help deaf children score the same as other students (Sullivan, 1982).

*Large Print* is used for students with visual impairments. Research has indicated that this accommodation has helped reduce the performance gap between students with visual impairments and students without

disabilities (see, for example, Bennett, Rock, and Jirele, 1987). The results of a study by Bennett, Rock, and Kaplan (1987) revealed that using this accommodation for visually impaired students does not affect the construct under measurement. Other studies suggest that extra time may be needed with this accommodation (Wright and Wendler, 1994). Large print has also been used for students with learning disabilities. Several studies have shown no impact of this accommodation for students with learning disabilities. One study, however, showed that large print helps students with learning disabilities (Perez, 1980). This accommodation has also been used for ELL students (Rivera, 2003; Sireci, Li, and Scarpati, 2003) although it is not clear how relevant this accommodation is to ELL students.

*Mark Answer in Test Booklet* in which students write their answers directly on the test booklet rather than on an answer sheet. This accommodation can be used for students who have a mobility coordination problem. Some studies on the effectiveness of this accommodation did not find significant difference between those students tested under this accommodation and those using separate answer sheets (Rogers, 1983; Tindal, et al., 1998). However, other studies found lower performance for students using this accommodation (Mick, 1989). In fact, many school districts in the USA have used this accommodation for ELL students (Rivera, 2003), yet there is no evidence on the relevance or effectiveness of this accommodation for ELL students.

*Read Aloud Test Items* is used by students with learning disabilities and students with physical or visual impairments. While some studies found this accommodation to be valid in mathematics assessments (Tindal, et al., 1998), others have concerns over the use of this accommodation on reading and listening comprehension tests (see, for example, Burns, 1998; Phillips, 1994) since this accommodation may impact the validity of assessment by altering the construct (see also, Bielinski, et al., 2001; Meloy, Deville, and Frisbie, 2000). Read aloud as an accommodation has also been used for ELL students in the USA (Rivera, 2003), again, without any indication of the relevance or effectiveness of this accommodation for this group of students.

*Read or Simplify Test Directions* is appropriate for students with reading/learning disabilities. A study by Elliot, Kratochwill, and McKeivitt (2001) suggested that this accommodation affects performance of both students with disabilities and students without disabilities. There are therefore concerns over the validity of this accommodation especially since it has also been used frequently for ELL students; the use of this accommodation is of particular concern in reading assessment.

*Test Breaks* where students receive multiple breaks during the testing session can help students with different forms of disabilities. A study by DiCerbo, Stanley, Roberts, and Blanchard (2001) found

that students tested under the *multiple-breaks* administrations obtained significantly higher scores than those tested under standard testing conditions with no additional breaks. The study also showed that middle and low-ability readers benefited more from this accommodation than high-ability readers. However, another study (Walz, Albus, Thompson, and Thurlow, 2000) found that students with disabilities did not benefit from a multiple-breaks test administration while students without disabilities did. These results show quite the opposite of what is expected of valid accommodations. Sometimes *test breaks* as a form of accommodation has been recommended for ELL students (Rivera, 2003) as it may help some ELL students but may not be relevant for other ELLs since it does not address their English language needs.

*Providing an English Dictionary* and extra time (Abedi, Hofstetter, and Lord, 2004; Hafner, 2000; Thurlow, 2001) may affect performance of all students (see also, Maihoff, 2002; Thurlow and Liu, 2001). This suggests that the results of accommodated and nonaccommodated assessment may not be aggregated.

*Translation of Assessment Tools into Students' Native Language* may not produce desirable results and may even provide invalid assessment results if the language of instruction and assessment is not aligned (Abedi, Hofstetter, and Lord, 2004.)

As noted earlier, in spite of the concerns expressed by researchers over the validity, effectiveness, and feasibility of some forms of accommodations, these accommodations are used frequently by states and districts across the USA. That is, decisions on the type of accommodations for English language learners and students with disabilities do not seem to have been influenced much by the research findings.

*Accommodation Issues for English Language Learners:* Accommodations are meant to 'level the playing field' for ELL students by accommodating their potential language limitations in an assessment. Unfortunately, there are major equity issues with many of the accommodations used for ELL students. The practice of using accommodations for ELL students that are initially developed for students with disabilities (Rivera, Stansfield, Scialdone, and Sharkey, 2000) is extremely problematic as some accommodations that are used for students with disabilities are not relevant for ELL students. For example, using large print may be an effective accommodation for some students with visual impairments while ELL students need specific accommodations to address their linguistic needs. As discussed above, there are major issues concerning accommodations for both ELLs and students with disabilities. While these issues deserve equal attention for both SD and ELL students, the focus in the next section will be on accommodation issues for ELL students.

## WORK IN PROGRESS

As the number and percentage of English language learners increase in the USA, assessment equity and validity are becoming priorities for educational policymakers. Between 1990 and 1997, the number of US residents born outside the country increased by 30%, from 19.8 million to 25.8 million (Hakuta and Beatty, 2000). According to the National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition, over 4.5 million Limited English Proficient (LEP) students were enrolled in US public schools in 2000–2001, representing nearly 10% of the nation's total public school enrollment for prekindergarten through Grade 12 (Kindler, 2002).

To reduce the impact of language factors on the assessment outcome of ELL students, assessment in students' native language has been proposed as an accommodation. While this seems to be an attractive idea and many districts and states in the USA use this approach, research results do not support its fairness (Abedi, Hofstetter, and Lord, 2004). One major issue here is the possibility of lack of alignment between the language of instruction and language of assessment. If the language of assessment is not the same as the language of instruction, then the assessment outcome may be even less valid, again raising fairness as a serious issue. For example, when a native Spanish speaker learns content-area terminology in English, but is tested in Spanish, the outcome of the assessment may not be valid due to the student's lack of content terminology knowledge in Spanish. A student may be a fluent speaker of a language but not necessarily proficient in the academic language of his or her native language.

Some educational researchers and policy makers suggest that rather than testing students in their native languages (L1), they should be assessed by providing them with language accommodations such as a customized dictionary or a linguistically modified version of the test to help them with their English language needs. This seems to be a reasonable approach if the focus is on learning English as quickly as possible. However, others argue that students' knowledge of their first language could benefit their academic progress and testing them in English may not properly utilize their knowledge of L1.

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

The purpose of testing accommodations is to assist students with certain limitations that they might have and provide them with a fair assessment. It is therefore important to examine the appropriateness, effectiveness, validity, and feasibility of accommodations for the targeted student populations.

*Appropriateness.* How appropriate are accommodations that are provided for ELL students? Since the common characteristic that distinguishes ELL from non-ELL students is their possible limitation in English proficiency, it is reasonable to expect that accommodations that help ELL students with their language barriers would be the most relevant. However, in many places, the current practice of accommodations for ELL students is to simply use accommodations that are easily available or those that decision makers find relevant. These accommodations may not always be appropriate for these students. For example, Rivera (2003) presented a list of 73 accommodations that are used nationwide for ELL students. Our analyses of these accommodations (Abedi, 2006b) revealed that of these 73 accommodations, only 11 (15%) of them were highly relevant for ELL students in providing assistance with students' language needs. The list included accommodations such as:

- Subtests flexibly scheduled
- Tests administered at a time of day most beneficial to test-taker
- Tests administered in small groups
- Tests administered in a familiar room
- Colored stickers or highlighters for visual cues provided
- Copying assistance provided between drafts
- Test-taker types or uses a machine to respond (e.g., typewriter/word processor/computer)
- Test-taker indicates answers by pointing or other method
- Test-taker verifies understanding of directions

Since none of these accommodations address ELL students' language needs, they may not be adequate or appropriate for these students.

The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) also uses some accommodations that, at face value, are not very relevant to ELL students' language needs. For example, among the accommodations NAEP used for ELL students in the 1998 civics assessment were large print, extended time, reading questions aloud, small group testing, one-on-one testing, and scribe or computer testing (see Abedi and Hejri, 2004). While some of these accommodations may be helpful for students with disabilities, they may not be effective for ELL students.

Studies have found that the provision of accommodations in NAEP increased the *inclusion* rate of these students (Mazzeo, Carlsom, Voelkl, and Lutkus, 2000). However, research has shown that accommodations did *not* increase ELL student scores on the NAEP; that is, providing accommodations did not reduce the performance gap between ELL and non-ELL students. For example, no statistically significant differences were found between the performance of accommodated and nonaccommodated ELL students in the 1998 NAEP main assessments in reading, writing, and civics for students in fourth and eighth grades (Abedi and Hejri, 2004). Among the most likely

explanations for this is the lack of *relevant* accommodations. As indicated earlier, if the accommodations provided to ELL students have no relevance to their needs (mainly English language proficiency), then one would not expect any positive impact of accommodations on the outcome of assessments. Examples of relevant accommodations for ELLs and nonnative speakers of the assessment language include providing a glossary of noncontent terminology or modifying complex linguistic features as these accommodations directly address ELL students' language needs.

Another major issue in the provision of accommodations in NAEP was the very small number of ELL students who were accommodated. In the main NAEP assessments, the number of ELL students who were included in the study comprised between 7 and 8% of the sampled students, but only a fraction of these students, who had been accommodated by their schools in earlier assessments, received NAEP accommodations. For example, in the main assessment of the 1998 Grade 4 reading test, 934 ELL students were included, but only 41 (4%) of the included ELL students were provided with accommodations. In the Grade 8 sample, 896 ELL students were included, but only 31 (3.5%) were accommodated. Similarly, in the 1998 main assessment in civics, 332 ELL students in Grade 4 were included and only 24 (7%) were accommodated. In the same assessment, 493 ELL students were included in Grade 8 but only 31 (6%) were accommodated (Abedi and Hejri, 2004).

*Validity.* Invalid accommodations affect the outcome of assessments for individual students as well as for the group in which students belong. If accommodations affect the construct, then the accommodated and nonaccommodated assessments cannot be aggregated. Studies have found that some forms of accommodations may alter the construct being measured (see, for example, Abedi, Hofstetter, and Lord, 2004). For example, providing a published dictionary may affect the measurement of the construct, since it may provide content-related information which students can use to answer the questions. Abedi, Hofstetter, and Lord (2004) found that providing a glossary plus extra time increased performance of non-ELL students for whom the accommodation was not intended, thereby increasing the performance gap between ELL and non-ELL students. Thus, the validity of many commonly used accommodations is questionable. Unfortunately, research on the validity of accommodations is very limited and the validity of only a handful of accommodation strategies used for ELL students have been experimentally examined (Abedi, Hofstetter, and Lord, 2004; Francis, Lesaux, Kieffer, and Rivera, 2006; Sireci, Li, and Scarpati, 2003).

*Feasibility.* Feasibility of implementation is another issue with accommodation strategies. Accommodation strategies should not be a

logistical or financial burden to implement. For example, computer testing could be a burden if a school lacks funding for adequate computer resources. One-on-one testing may also be logistically challenging in large-scale assessments. Providing a dictionary as a form of accommodation is another example of a feasibility concern. To control for extraneous factors (e.g., differences in the type of dictionary and experience working with the dictionary), it is important that the same dictionary be provided to every student, which obviously creates major logistical issues.

### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

*Research-supported accommodations.* The main goal of an accommodation is to make assessments more accessible across subgroups of students who otherwise could be affected unfairly by many nuisance variables that would make the assessment unfair and invalid. The discussion above casts doubt over the ability of many of the current accommodation practices to reach this important goal. There is no firm evidence to suggest that the accommodations used widely by school districts are effective, feasible, and valid. However, results of recent studies introduce some accommodation strategies for ELL students that, in addition to being valid, are also effective in reducing the performance gap between ELL and non-ELL students in content area assessments.

One major assessment issue is that a student's level of proficiency in the language of assessment may severely impact the validity of the assessment results. Students may have the content knowledge (e.g., in math and science) in their native language but may not be fluent enough in the language of assessment to express their knowledge on a test. To reduce the impact of language factors on the assessment outcomes of students, the linguistic modification of test items has been proposed in the literature (see, for example, Abedi, Lord, and Plummer, 1997). A linguistic-modification approach helps test developers reduce the level of unnecessary linguistic complexity in test items by controlling for sources of linguistic complexity (for a detailed description of linguistic modification approach, see Abedi, 2006a).

Earlier in this chapter research-based evidence about accommodations was presented. This evidence raises concerns about the validity of the accommodations used in schools for ELL students. The main question for the future is whether there are accommodations that would be beneficial to ELL students but do not affect the construct under measurement. Below is a short survey of accommodations that studies have shown to be effective and valid.

Recent studies at the National Center for Research on Evaluation, Standards, and Student Testing (CRESST) have examined several

different forms of accommodation. Abedi, Hofstetter, and Lord (2004) and Maihoff (2002) examined the linguistic modification approach and found it to be an effective and valid accommodation in the assessment of ELL students. Rivera and Stansfield (2001) found this accommodation to have no impact on the non-ELL student group suggesting that the accommodation is valid for ELL students. With this approach, simpler versions of items with language that might be difficult for students were drafted; the task remained the same but noncontent vocabulary and unnecessary linguistic complexity were modified (see Abedi, 2006a, for further discussion of the nature of and rationale for the linguistic modifications). These studies compared student scores on NAEP test items with comparable modified items in which the mathematics tasks and mathematics terminology were retained but the language and/or linguistic structures were modified.

Following are a few examples of studies on the effectiveness and validity of the linguistic modification approach as a form of accommodation for ELL students. Abedi and Lord (2001) examined the effects of this accommodation with 1,031 eighth grade students in southern California. Test booklets with either original English versions or modified English versions of the items were randomly assigned to the students. The results showed significant improvements in the scores of students in low- and average-level mathematics classes who received the booklets with linguistic modifications. Among the linguistic features that appeared to contribute to the differences were low-frequency vocabulary and passive voice verb constructions. English language learners and low-performing students benefited the most from the linguistic modification of test items.

In another study, Abedi, Hofstetter, and Lord (2004) examined the impact of linguistic modification on the mathematics performance of English learners and non-English learners. Using items from the 1996 NAEP Grade 8 Bilingual Mathematics booklet, three different test booklets (Original English, Modified English, and Original Spanish) were randomly distributed to a sample of 1,394 eighth grade students in schools with high enrollments of Spanish speakers. Results showed that language modification of items contributed to improved performance on 49% of the items. The students generally scored higher on shorter problem statements.

A third study (Abedi, Hofstetter, and Lord, 2004) examined the impact of four different forms of accommodation on a sample of 946 eighth grade students tested in math. The accommodations were (1) Modified English, (2) Extra Time only, (3) Glossary only, and (4) Extra Time plus Glossary. These four accommodation types, along with a standard test condition, were randomly assigned to the sampled students. Findings suggested that some accommodations increased

performance of both English learners and non-English learners, compromising the validity of the assessment. Among the different options, only the Modified English accommodation narrowed the score gap between English language learners and other students.

Other studies have also employed the language modification approach. Kiplinger, Haug, and Abedi (2000) found linguistic modification of math items helpful in improving the math performance of ELL students. Maihoff (2002) found linguistic modification of content-based test items to be a valid and effective accommodation for ELL students in math. Rivera and Stansfield (2001) compared English language learner performance on regular and modified fourth and sixth grade science items. Although the small sample size did not show significant differences in scores, the study demonstrated that linguistic modification did not affect the scores of English-proficient students, indicating that linguistic modification is not a threat to score comparability.

While the current prevalent trends in accommodation practices are not supported by research (Solano-Flores and Trumbull, 2003), there is growing evidence that states are paying more attention to research findings on the effectiveness and validity of accommodations. The increasing use of research-supported accommodations for ELL students (such as linguistic modification of items) is encouraging. This trend may result in fairer assessments for ELL students.

English language learners and students with disabilities are faced with many challenges in their academic career and need special attention. For ELL students, the challenge of learning English and at the same time competing with their native English speaking peers in learning academic concepts in English is enormous. Similarly, for students with disabilities, it is quite challenging to learn at the same rate as their nondisabled peers given their disabilities. Even more serious is the case of ELL students with disabilities. These students are faced with dual challenges—learning a new language and dealing with their disabilities. Such inequity in educational opportunity creates a substantial performance gap between these students and their peers. While accommodations are provided to offset these challenges it has been shown that these accommodations are often not relevant or helpful and have limited supported research. It is especially important that accommodations for ELL students must be language-related in order to be effective in making assessments more accessible for these students.

One of the major issues for the future is the need to expand the research in the area of accommodations as there is not enough research to judge the effectiveness and validity of many of the existing accommodations for both SD and ELL students. For example, score comparability is highly related to the outcome of accommodated assessment. If provision of accommodation alters the construct being measured,

then accommodated assessment outcomes may not be valid and as a result the accommodated and nonaccommodated assessment outcomes cannot be aggregated. Additional research is needed to help schools choose the best accommodations and to ensure that the outcome of accommodated and nonaccommodated assessments can be aggregated. Recent publications reporting results of research on accommodations for ELL and SD students, including the taxonomy of accommodations provided in Rivera and Collum (2006), could help schools make better choices in selecting existing accommodations rather than using a common sense approach in their decisions.

It must be noted at this point, however that some accommodations may have a limited impact on assessment outcomes and may only be considered a quick fix because they may not be able to systematically address the underlying issue of equitably assessing immigrants and ELL students in providing an assessment in the appropriate language. Other accommodations, however, may help make assessments more accessible—and consequently more valid and fair—for immigrants and ELL students. For example, Levin, Shohamy, and Spolsky (2003) found that if bilingual students are able to take a test in both of their languages, their performance improves because they construct meaning in two languages rather than one. Findings of a study by Levin and Shohamy (2006) indicated that “immigrants, rather than being deficient [in terms of their language resources] have a clear advantage that should be included in an expanded view of the construct of academic language” (p. 19). Obviously, the native language assessment is effective under the condition that the language of instruction and the language of assessment are aligned.

It is also important to understand how instruction and assessment interact. Students can benefit more when accommodations are provided under both assessment and instruction conditions. This combination provides an opportunity for bilingual and ELL students to become familiar with the accommodations that are used in their assessments.

The concept of academic language is an extremely important consideration when dealing with the assessment of immigrants and English language learners in content-based areas such as math and science. While everyone, particularly immigrants and ELL students, can greatly benefit from assessments with clear language, these students must also be familiar with the language that facilitates content learning, i.e., academic language. As Levin and Shohamy (2007) pointed out, content literacy rather than language per se greatly impact students’ performance in content-based areas. For example, Levin and Shohamy indicated that, “. . . not only the vocabulary and symbols but also the norms, values, and conventions that are characteristics of the discipline” (p. 18).

Finally, the differential item functioning (DIF) approach may help identify specific items that discriminate against students who are not proficient in the language of assessment. The effectiveness of accommodations can then be examined on test items that exhibited a high level of DIF (C-DIF) (see, for example, Uiterwijk and Vallen, 2003).

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## WASHBACK, IMPACT AND CONSEQUENCES

## INTRODUCTION

Testing, large-scale high-stakes testing in particular, tends to induce consequences for its stakeholders. It is clear that “testing is never a neutral process and always has consequences” (Stobart, 2003, p. 140). Testing is a differentiating ritual for students: “for every one who advances there will be some who stay behind” (Wall, 2000, p. 500). It is well known in the field of education that there is a set of relationships, intended and unintended, positive and negative, between testing, teaching and learning. The earliest literature can possibly be traced back to Latham (1877) when he referred to an examination system as an “encroaching power,” and

How it influences the prevalent view of life and work among young men, and how it affects parents, teachers, the writers of educational books, and the notion of the public about education (p. 2).

Washback and impact of language testing is, however, a relatively new concept. Comparatively, there is a longer and more substantial amount of research conducted in general education where researchers refer to the phenomenon as *measurement-driven instruction* (e.g., Popham, 1987), *test-curriculum alignment* (Shepard, 1990), and *consequences* (Cizek, 2001) (see Cheng and Curtis, 2004 for a detailed review). The concept of *measurement-driven instruction* stipulates that testing should drive instruction. *Test-curriculum alignment* focuses on the relationship between test content and curriculum, which can result in narrowing of the curriculum by teaching the test. Consequences of high-stakes testing refer to both intended or unintended and positive or negative aspects of instruction, students, teachers, and the school.

Only since the late 1980s, there has been a rapid increasing number of studies conducted in language testing (see Alderson and Wall, 1993; Bailey, 1996; Wall, 1997 for a review of earlier washback studies). Wall (1997) defines *impact* as “any of the effects that a test may have on individuals, policies or practices, within the classroom, the school, the educational system or society as a whole.” She also points out that “*washback* (also known as *backwash*) is sometimes used as a synonym of impact, but it is more frequently used to refer to the effects of tests on teaching and learning” (p. 291). Some language testers consider

*washback* as one dimension of *impact* (Bachman and Palmer, 1996; Hamp-Lyons, 1997). Hamp-Lyons (1997) suggested a view of test influence that would fall between the narrow one of *washback* and the all-encompassing one of *impact*.

Primarily, the effects of testing on teaching and learning have been associated with test validity (*consequential validity*) where Messick refers to washback as “only one form of testing consequences that need to be weighted in evaluating validity” (Messick, 1996, p. 243). He promotes the examination of the two threats to test validity, *construct under-representation* and *construct-irrelevant variance*, to decide the possible consequences that a test can have on teaching and learning. Bachman (2005) proposes a framework with a set of principles and procedures for linking test scores and score-based inferences to test use and the consequences of test use. In addition, the effects of testing on teaching and learning are increasingly discussed from the point of view of critical language testing (Shohamy, 2001) including ethics and fairness in language testing (Elder, 1997; Hamp-Lyons, 1997; Kunnan, 2000; Davies, Ethics, Professionalism, Rights and Codes, Volume 7), all of which are expressions of social concern. Shohamy (2001) pointed out the political uses and abuses of language tests and called for examining the hidden agendas of the testing industry and of high-stakes tests. Kunnan (2000) discussed the role of tests as instruments of social policy and control. He also drew on research in ethics to link validity and consequences and created a test fairness framework (Kunnan, 2004). Hamp-Lyons (1997) argued for an encompassing ethics framework to examine the consequences of testing on language learning at the classroom as well as the educational, social, and political levels. All of the above has led to the creation of a Code of Ethics for the International Language Testing Association (see Davies, 2003).

#### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The work of Alderson and Wall (1993) and Wall and Alderson (1993) marked a significant development in shaping the constructs of washback studies for the field of language testing. Alderson and Wall (1993) explored the potential positive and negative relationship between testing, teaching and learning, and questioned whether washback could be a property of test validity. They consequently proposed 15 hypotheses regarding the potential influence of language testing on various aspects of language teaching and learning, which thus directed washback studies for years to come. The study of Wall and Alderson (1993) was the first empirical research published in the field of language testing, investigating the nature of washback of a new national English

examination in Sri Lanka by observing what was happening inside the classroom.

A review of the early literature indicates there seems to be at least two major types of washback studies: those relating to traditional, multiple-choice, large-scale standardized tests, which are perceived to have had mainly negative influences on the quality of teaching and learning (Shepard, 1990) and those studies where a specific test or examination has been modified and improved upon (e.g., assessment with more communicative tasks in Wall and Alderson, 1993) in order to exert a positive influence on teaching and learning (see also Cheng, 2005). In fact, many studies in language testing have focused on this aspect of the washback mechanism, that is, changing teaching and learning using the influence of language testing although these studies have shown positive, negative and/or no influence on teaching and learning.

In 1996, a special issue in *Language Testing* published a series of articles which further explored the nature of washback and empirically investigated the relationship between testing, teaching and learning. In this volume, Messick (1996) suggested building in validity considerations through test design in order to promote positive washback and to avoid construct under-representation and construct-irrelevant variance. Although Messick did not specify how researchers could go about studying washback through test design validation, he pointed out that test washback could be associated with test property—the potential relationship between test design and its consequences on teaching and learning. In this way, he brought us a coherent argument to investigate the factors in testing in relation to the factors in teaching and learning. Bailey (1996, p. 268), however, argued that any test, whether good or bad in terms of validity, can have either negative or positive washback “to the extent that it promotes or impedes the accomplishment of educational goals held by learners and/or program personnel.” Her argument indicated that washback effects (positive or negative) might differ for different groups of stakeholders. Wall (1996) stressed the difficulties in finding explanations of how tests exert influence on teaching and turned to innovation theory to offer “insights into why attempts to introduce change in the classroom are often not as effective as their designers hoped they would be” (p. 334).

The three empirical research studies reported in the same special issue further demonstrated that washback effects occur to a different extent in relation to different individuals and different aspects of teaching and learning within a specific educational context. In particular, language tests are seen to have a more direct washback effect on teaching content rather than teaching methodology. In their study of washback on Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) preparation

courses, Alderson and Hamp-Lyons (1996) found that the TOEFL test affects both what and how teachers teach, but the effect is not the same in degree or kind from teacher to teacher, and the simple difference of TOEFL versus non-TOEFL teaching did not explain why the teacher taught the way they did. Watanabe (1996) investigated the effect of the university entrance examination on the prevalent use of the grammar-translation method in Japan. His analyses of the past English examinations, classroom observations and interviews with teachers showed very little relationship between the test content and the use of this particular teaching methodology. Rather, teacher factors, including personal beliefs, past education, and academic background, seemed to be more important in determining the teaching methodology a teacher employs. Shohamy, Donitsa-Schmidt, and Ferman (1996) pointed out that the degree of impact of a test is often influenced by several other factors: the status of the subject matter tested, the nature of the test (low or high stakes), and the uses to which the test scores are put. Furthermore, the washback effect may change over time and may not last indefinitely within the system. In summary, testing may be only one of those factors that “affect how innovations [through testing] succeed or fail and that influence teacher (and pupil) behaviors” (Wall and Alderson, 1993, p. 68).

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The 10 years since the 1996 special issue in *Language Testing* have seen a flurry of empirical studies investigating different tests within different teaching and learning contexts. These studies have investigated the influence of testing on teachers (including teaching assistants) and teaching (Borrows, 2004; Cheng, 2005; Ferman, 2004; Hayes and Read, 2004; Nazari, 2005; Scaramucci, 2002; Saif, 2006; Wall, 2006), textbooks (Read and Hayes, 2003; Saville and Hawkey, 2004; Yu and Tung, 2005), learners and learning (Andrews, Fullilove, and Wong, 2002; Chen and He, 2003; Robb and Ercanbrack, 1999; Watanabe, 2001), attitudes toward testing (Cheng, 2005; Jin, 2000; Read and Hayes, 2003), and test preparation behaviors (Stoneman, 2005). Some of these studies investigated the influence of a national English examination on the local English language teaching and learning due to its high-stakes nature in a particular country such as Brazil (Scaramucci, 2002), China (Jin, 2000; Qi, 2004, 2005; Zhao, 2003), Hong Kong (Andrews, 1995; Andrews, Fullilove, and Wong, 2002; Cheng, 2005), Iran (Nazari, 2005; Nemati, 2003), Israel (Ferman, 2004; Shohamy, Donitsa-Schmidt, and Ferman, 1996), Japan (Watanabe, 1996), Romania (Gosa, 2004), Sri Lanka (Wall, 2005), and Taiwan (Chen, 2002; Shih, 2005). Some of these studies investigated worldwide English testing

such as the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) (Green, 2003; Hayes and Read, 2004; Nguyen, 1997), TOEFL (Alderson and Hamp-Lyons, 1996; Robb and Ercanbrack, 1999), and the Michigan Examination for Certificate of Competency (Irvine-Niakaris, 1997).

Two major longitudinal studies by Dianne Wall (2005) and Liying Cheng (2005) (also published in various journal articles since the 1990s) have made a substantial contribution to the understanding of the complexity of washback and offered methodological implications for washback studies. Wall (2005) documents a study examining one of the widely believed ways of creating change in an education system by introducing or by redesigning high-stakes examinations. Her study analyzed the effects of a national examination in English as a Foreign Language in Sri Lanka that was meant to serve as a lever for change. Her study illustrated how the intended outcome was altered by factors in the exam itself, as well as the characteristics of the educational setting, the teachers and the learners. Her study reviewed the literature of examination impact and innovation in education, and provided guidelines for the consideration of educators who continue to believe in the potential of examinations to affect curriculum change. This method is not foolproof, however, as there are many factors, which can affect the impact of such an innovation (Wall, 2005).

Cheng investigated the impact of the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination in English (HKCEE), a high-stakes public examination, on the classroom teaching and learning of English in Hong Kong secondary schools—a situation similar to that reported by Wall (2005) where an examination is used as the change agent (see Cheng, 2005). The washback effect of this public examination change was observed initially at the macrolevel, including different parties or levels of stakeholders within the Hong Kong educational context, and subsequently at the microlevel, in terms of classroom teaching and learning, including aspects of teachers' attitudes (also learners'), teaching contents and classroom interaction. This was a large-scale, three-phase study using multiple methods to explore the multivariate nature of washback. The findings indicate that the washback effect of the new examination on classroom teaching is limited, although the new examination was specifically designed to bring about positive washback effects on teaching and learning in schools. Her study further demonstrated a similar situation found in Wall and Alderson (1993), that is, that the change of the examination has informed what teachers teach, but not how.

Cheng, Watanabe, with Curtis's *Washback in Language Testing: Research Context and Methods* (2004) is a cornerstone collection of washback studies—an area of research, which attracted the initial attention of the field of language testing about 20 years ago. This

volume is the first systematic attempt to capture the essence of washback and has, through its collection of washback studies from around the world, responded to the question “what does washback look like?” (Cheng, Watanabe, and Curtis, 2004, p. ix)—a step further from the question “does washback exist?” posed by Alderson and Wall (1993). This volume consists of two sections: the first section highlights the concept and nature of washback by providing a historical review of the phenomenon by Cheng and Curtis, the methodology to guide washback studies where Watanabe disentangles the dimensions and aspects of washback research, and a further critique of washback and curriculum innovation by Andrews where he pointed out that “it is precisely the power of high-stakes tests (or the strength of the perceptions which are held about them) that makes them potentially so influential upon the curriculum and curricular innovation” (p. 37). The second section showcases a range of studies conducted in:

The USA—Stecher, Chun, and Barron investigated the influence of tests on school practices as a result of the introduction of test-based reform efforts at the state level;

The UK—Saville and Hawkey looked at the impact of IELTS on the content and nature of IELTS-related teaching materials;

New Zealand—Hayes and Read reported their study of the impact of IELTS on the way international students prepare for academic study in New Zealand;

Australia—Burrows explored the differences between teachers’ classroom practices prior to and after the introduction of a new competency-based curriculum and assessment taking into account teachers’ belief systems and their consequent response to the change;

Japan—Watanabe explored the teacher factors mediating washback through detailed classroom observations within the school setting;

Hong Kong—Cheng used repeated survey measure investigating the effects of a newly introduced examination in Hong Kong on teachers’ pedagogical practices;

China—Qi explored the intended washback on secondary school English teaching and learning from the point of view of both the test developers and that of the senior teachers;

Israel—Ferman investigated whether and how a national high-stakes testing affected the educational processes, teachers and students, and their teaching and learning.

This book brings together washback studies on various aspects of teaching and learning conducted in many parts of the world and constitutes a substantial body of research that has contributed to our understanding of washback and impact of our tests. Once the washback effect had been examined in the above empirical studies, we no longer could take for granted that where there is a test, there is a direct effect.

Washback is a highly complex phenomenon, and these studies show that simply changing the contents or methods of an examination will not necessarily bring about direct and desirable changes in teaching and learning. Rather, various factors within a particular educational context are involved in engineering desirable washback. However, questions remain about what factors are involved and under which conditions beneficial washback is most likely to be generated.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Recently, several important projects commissioned by major testing agencies such as Cambridge ESOL and Educational Testing Services (ETS) have increasingly played a major role in producing clusters of washback and impact studies. These studies are conducted in many countries around the world on the same test, for example, TOEFL or IELTS. These studies tend to be large-scale, multiphased, and multifaceted, and offer important directions for future research.

Impact (including washback) is a key focus of the Cambridge ESOL research and validation program, which is designed to ensure that all ESOL assessment products meet acceptable standards in relation to the four essential test qualities of validity, reliability, impact and practicality. With impact being one of the key assessment properties, long-term research on IELTS such as the three-phase IELTS impact study has been implemented through the Cambridge ESOL Research & Validation Group. Hawkey's study (2006) exemplifies test impact work in the context of Cambridge ESOL's test production methodology and ongoing validation program. This book provides illustrative examples of how impact studies may be undertaken from both the IELTS impact study and from the *Progetto Lingue 2000* impact study in Italy. The two studies provide thorough and detailed information on the washback and impact of the tests on a range of stakeholders, candidates and learners, teachers, education managers, and receiving institutions. The data presented provide direct relevant feedback to the test and program validation.

In addition to such fairly large-scale impact studies, 65 projects under the joint IDP Education Australia/British Council IELTS funded research program which is managed jointly with Cambridge ESOL, have included, since 2002, around 20 studies directly investigating test impact and washback (see further details at [www.CambridgeESOL.org/rs\\_notes](http://www.CambridgeESOL.org/rs_notes)). These studies have been conducted in different parts of world with test-takers taking IELTS, and have investigated aspects such as:

- Candidate identity, their learning and performance, with specific reference to the affective and academic impact of IELTS on successful IELTS students

- Ethnographic study of classroom instruction, and of the relationship between teacher background and classroom instruction on an IELTS preparation program
- The impact of IELTS on receiving institutions, for example, tertiary decision-maker attitudes to English language tests; the use of IELTS for university selection, and IELTS as a predictor of academic language performance
- Perceptions of the IELTS skills modules, for example, the speaking test and the writing test, features of written language production, the impact of computer versus pen-and-paper versions.

These clusters of studies not only investigated the encompassing consequences of IELTS on a broad range of factors in relation to IELTS (*impact* as defined in the Introduction), they also investigated the effects of IELTS on classroom teaching and learning (*washback*).

It seems clear that worldwide high-stakes language tests such as IELTS exert a powerful influence on large numbers of language learners and teachers. Similar to IELTS is the TOEFL test. With the introduction of the Next Generation TOEFL (TOEFL iBT) in 2005, ETS has funded a series of studies, two of which aim at examining the impact of the TOEFL test (see Hamp-Lyons and Brown, 2007; Wall and Horak, 2006).

The study reported by Hamp-Lyons and Brown was designed to be in three stages: the first stage developed and validated instruments for the impact study; the second stage collected and analyzed data on TOEFL preparation in the USA, China and Egypt in the period immediately preceding the introduction of the TOEFL iBT in 2005. In the third stage, data is to be collected and analyzed in the same countries and institutions in order to identify change and constancy in beliefs, attitudes, methods, and the content of instruction under the influence of the significant changes to the existing TOEFL. Within these three countries, university-based and commercial institutions have been studied, and subjects from both TOEFL-taking and non-TOEFL-taking contexts have been included. This study is designed so that the collection of data at several points along the continuum of dissemination of information about the changes to TOEFL will enable change to be observed as it happens. The study primarily uses questionnaire data from teachers and students in all centres. However, it also incorporates classroom observation data in the USA, student participant logs in China, and teacher and student interviews in the USA and China. The initial findings have revealed differences in perceptions and attitudes between TOEFL teachers and their students, but surprisingly few differences between the views of students who are preparing for TOEFL and those who are not. There are also differences emerging across the three countries.

The TOEFL Impact Study in Central and Eastern Europe (Wall and Horak, 2006) investigated whether the new version of TOEFL—TOEFL iBT—contributed to changes in teaching and learning after its introduction. Phase 1 was a ‘baseline study,’ which described the type of teaching and learning that was taking place in commercial language teaching operations before details of the test were released about the content and format of the new TOEFL test. This would give a point of comparison for any changes that might occur in the future. Phase 2 was a ‘transition study,’ which traced the reactions of teachers and teaching institutions to the news that was released about the TOEFL iBT and investigated the arrangements they made for new preparation courses in the future. Phase 3 aimed to find out whether textbook accurately reflected the new test and what use teachers make of them in the classroom. Data was collected via computer-mediated communication with informants providing not only responses to questions about activities in their classrooms and institutions but also reactions to tasks which have been designed to probe their understanding of the new test construct and format.

Apart from the main projects commissioned by the two testing agencies, there are an increasing number of doctoral level washback studies, which add to our understanding of the complex nature of washback and impact (e.g., Glover, 2006; Gosa, 2004; Gu, 2005; Scott, 2005; Shih, 2006; Stoneman, 2005). Glover (2006) explored the washback on how teachers teach by analyzing teacher talk and established some links between testing and certain aspects of teacher talk. Gosa (2004) used student diaries to investigate the influence of the Romanian national examination on learners. Gu (2005) conducted her study in both case study settings and nationwide contexts on the College English Test (CET) in China. A wide range of stakeholders (4,500 in total) were involved using multiple research methods. Her findings indicate a mix of positive and negative washback effects on teaching and learning. Certain test formats, that is, speaking and writing, seem to induce positive effects leading to the increasing of such activities in classroom teaching and learning, while multiple choice test items induce negative effects—where multiple-choice became the way teachers teach and students learn. The author concludes “the CET is part of the complex set of factors that determine the outcome of College English teaching and learning” (Gu, 2005, p. 2). Scott (2005) conducted an exploratory case study of the effects of high-stakes statutory testing on primary English as an Additional Language (EAL) learners in the UK. Her findings illustrated the extent to which there is congruence and/or dissonance between EAL-oriented teaching and washback from high-stakes testing. Shih (2006) investigated stakeholders’ perceptions (including department heads, teachers, students, and their partner/

spouse) of the Taiwan General English Proficiency Test and its washback on school policies and teaching and learning. Stoneman (2005) examined and compared the nature and extent of test-preparation of university students. She suggested that, as a strategy to promote desirable changes in learners and their learning, testing may or may not bring out the predicted results.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Although there has been an increasing number of empirical washback and impact studies conducted over the past 20 years, since the late 1980s, researchers in the field of language education still wrestle with the nature of the washback and do not know exactly how to induce positive and reduce the negative washback and impact of our tests. As indicated above, washback is one dimension of the consequences of the testing on classroom teaching and learning and impact studies include broader effects of testing (as defined in Wall, 1997); both assume a causal relationship between testing, teaching and learning which has not been established up to now. Most of the washback and impact empirical studies have only established an exploratory relationship. In many cases, we cannot be confident that certain aspects of teaching and learning perceptions and behaviors are the direct and causal effects of testing. They could well be, within certain contexts, however, this relationship has not yet been fully disentangled. Further, apart from the studies on IELTS and TOEFL, where a worldwide test influences teachers and learners across countries and educational contexts, the majority of the empirical studies are carried out in order to study the effects of one single test, within one educational context, and using the research instruments designed specifically for that particular study. The strength of these studies is they have investigated factors that affect the intensity of washback<sup>1</sup> such as test factors (test methods, test contents, skills tested, purpose(s) of the test), prestige factors (stakes of the test, status of the test), personal factors (teachers' educational backgrounds and their beliefs), micro-context factors (the school/university setting), and macro-context factors (the specific society in which the tests are used) (Cheng, Watanabe, and Curtis, 2004). In fact, many of the factors related with the influence of testing on teaching and learning illustrated in Wall (2000) have been empirically studied. However, not only does little overlap exist among the studies regarding what factors affect washback, but little overlap also exists in researchers' reports of the negative and positive aspects of washback (Brown,

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<sup>1</sup> 'Washback intensity' refers to the degree of the washback effect in an area or a number of areas of teaching and learning that are affected by an examination (Cheng, 2005, p.33).

1997). Further, the existence of washback effects is evident in various contexts, yet there does not seem to be an overall agreement on which factors affect the intensity of washback and which factors promote positive or negative washback.

This is a challenging feature of washback and impact studies, since researchers set out to investigate a very complex relationship (causal or exploratory) among testing, and teaching and learning. Such a relationship can be influenced or mediated by any of the factors of a test and/or within a particular educational system. Such complexity causes problems and difficulties in any washback and impact research, which in turn challenges any researcher who wishes to conduct, is conducting, or has conducted such studies. In many ways, the nature of such a study requires subtle, refined and sophisticated research skills in disentangling the relationship. Researchers need to understand the specificity, intensity, length, intentionality, and value of washback/impact and how (or where and when) to observe the salient aspects of teaching and learning that are potentially influenced by the test. They also need to identify their own bias, analyze the particular test and its context, and produce the predications of what washback/impact looks like prior to the design and conduct of the study (see also, Watanabe, 2004). Washback and impact studies are, by definition, studies of evaluation, which require researchers not only to understand but also to make a value judgment about the local educational context as well as the larger social, political, and economic factors governing teaching and learning in relation to a test/examination or a testing system. Researchers need to acquire both the breadth and depth of necessary research skills to avoid research based on investigating random factors of teaching and learning, which may or may not have a direct relationship with testing.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

It is clear that the future direction of washback and impact studies to investigate the consequences of language testing need to be multiphase, multimethod and longitudinal in nature. Washback and impact of testing take time to evolve, therefore longitudinal studies are essential with repeated observations (and measures) of the classroom teaching, including teachers and students as well as policy, curriculum, and assessment documents. Also, researchers need to be immersed in the educational system interacting with a wide range of stakeholders. In addition, researchers should pay attention to the seasonality of the phenomenon, that is, the timing of researchers' observations may influence what we discover about washback (Bailey, 1999; Cheng, 2005; Watanabe, 1996). Examples like the IELTS impact studies (see Hawkey, 2006) and the two impact studies on TOEFL iBT across different countries and continents

over a few years (Hamp-Lyons and Brown, 2007; Wall and Horak, 2006) have a great deal to contribute to our understanding of this complex phenomenon. Studies of a single test within an individual context by a single researcher can still offer valuable insights for that particular context, however, it would be the best use of resources if a group of researchers could work collaboratively and cooperatively to carry out a series of studies around the same test within the same educational context. In this way, researchers can investigate a range of different aspects of this phenomenon as discussed in the Introduction. The findings of these researchers could then be cross-referenced and can portray a more accurate picture of the effects of the test, avoiding the blind elephant syndrome.

In addition, the methodology (and the methods) used to conduct washback studies need to be further refined. For example, more sophisticated methods, for example, those linking directly with test-takers' characteristics, learning processes, and their learning outcomes (test performance) need to be employed beyond classroom observations and survey methods (interviews and questionnaires) commonly used by the studies reviewed in this chapter. Building on the increasing numbers of studies carried out on the same test or within the same educational context, future researchers can replicate or refine certain methodology and procedures, which was not possible 20 years ago. The replication would allow researchers to build on what we have learned conceptually and methodologically over the years and further our understanding of this phenomenon.

While it would be useful to continue to study the effects of tests on broad aspects of teaching, it is essential to turn our attention to investigate the effects on student learning as they receive the most direct impact of testing (see Wall, 2000). What has not been focused in previous studies is the direct influence of testing on students (e.g., their perceptions, their strategy use, motivation, anxiety, and affect) and on their learning (e.g., what and how they learn or how they perform on a test). It is also important to investigate the impact of the test constructs, test methods and the function of the test on students and on their learning processes (including test-taking processes) and learning outcomes (test scores or other outcome measures) (see Cheng, Klinger and Zheng, in press, for an example). Based on these investigations, it is also important to use the results to do in-depth observations of the students. Furthermore, these studies should be conducted directly in relation to a test, for example, test takers' responses (cognitive, psychological and emotional) to a test. This type of research can actually links the consequences of testing with test validity. It would be also worthwhile for washback and impact studies to look at the test taker population more closely, for example, the characteristics (learning and testing) of the students in the study. We know high-stakes

testing like IELTS or TOEFL influences students. However, will the impact of the test be different on students learning English in one country than in another where the educational tradition (beliefs and values) are different? If so, what are the different factors inducing washback? Without a thorough understanding of where these students come from and the characteristics they bring to their learning and testing, it is unlikely that we can fully understand the nature of test washback and impact.

In the end, washback/impact researchers need to fully analyze the test under study and understand its test use. Bachman (2005, p. 7) states that “the extensive research on validity and validation has tended to ignore test use, on the one hand, while discussions of test use and consequences have tended to ignore validity, on the other”. It is, then, essential for us to establish the link between test validity and test consequences. Therefore, it is imperative that washback/impact researchers work together with other language testing researchers as well as educational policy makers and test agencies to address the issue of validity, in particular, fairness and ethics of our tests.

**See Also:** Alan Davies: *Ethics, Professionalism, Rights and Codes (Volume 7)*; Geoff Brindley: *Educational Reform and Language Testing (Volume 7)*; Antony Kunnan: *Large Scale Language Assessments (Volume 7)*

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## EDUCATIONAL REFORM AND LANGUAGE TESTING

### INTRODUCTION

Educational reform involves systematic attempts by governments or other educational authorities to change educational policies and practices with a view to improving learner outcomes (see Farrell, 2000; Fox, 2005; Tollefson and Tsui, 2004). It typically has its origins in the identification of aspects of an educational system that are viewed as problematic such as

- falling standards of student achievement
- poor performance by students in international comparisons
- lack of national standardization in assessment
- lack of comparability of outcomes across different educational systems
- lack of transparent accountability reporting
- public concerns about teacher competence.

Testing has long been used by educational policy makers as a tool of reform for a variety of reasons (Linn, 2000; Shohamy, 2001):

- it is relatively cheap compared to other major reforms such as reducing class sizes or improving teaching standards
- it can be externally mandated as opposed to trying to change the culture of what happens in classrooms
- policy changes can be rapidly announced and implemented during a single electoral term
- results are visible and measurable; standardized test scores can be reported by the media in terms the public can understand and used to show that change has (or has not) taken place

In describing the role of testing in educational reform, a number of dimensions need to be considered. These are:

- the social and political context of the reform
- the process by which it is implemented and adopted
- its effects on teaching and learning

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The use of tests as a lever for reform has a long history. Spolsky (1995) notes that the use of formal examinations for selection dates back as

early as 201 BC in China, and describes how competitive examinations evolved in eighteenth and nineteenth century Europe as a means of controlling the instructional process, thus disempowering teachers and learners. He argues that the uniformity that is imposed by the use of external examinations leads to “the pernicious and inevitable outcome” of narrowing the curriculum (p. 16).

In the context of language testing, it is only relatively recently that researchers have turned their attention to the social and policy issues surrounding test development and use (see McNamara, 1998 for an overview). However, an early account of the use of language tests as a means of curriculum reform is provided by Davies (1968) who describes a study of the feasibility of introducing a compulsory oral English test at the ‘O’ level stage of secondary education in West Africa. He outlines the aims of the test as seen from the perspective of its proponents, which were:

- to update the version of the test that was in use at the time
- to encourage and improve the teaching of spoken English in secondary schools
- to raise standards of spoken English throughout West Africa (p. 169).

Davies’ discussion of the political climate in which this initiative was proposed provides an interesting illustration of the difference between long-term and short-term goals in assessment reform, and shows how easily they can become confused. He notes that a good test would assure the achievement of the first two aims but that the third aim of raising standards “which seemed least distinct and which kept emerging as the real need,” would not be achievable for some time, since the new exam would only be taken by a small group of elite candidates.

During the 1980s and early 1990s, the important role of tests in changing and improving the teaching of languages was acknowledged in a number of publications. Johnson and Wong (1981) discuss the proposed introduction of a communicative test of English for junior secondary students in Hong Kong at a time when the language teaching syllabuses and materials used reflected the teaching of English “as a formal, textbookish, discursive, academic subject” (p. 285). They note that the test designers saw the introduction of the test as an opportunity to promote curriculum change and therefore constructed a test containing a range of texts that reflected language use in a range of real-world contexts. Johnson and Wong express the hope that the test would be a “precursor of syllabus revision at all levels of the school system” (ibid.) that would improve teaching practice. In a similar vein, Pearson (1988) describes a project aimed at reforming public examinations in English in Sri Lanka. He reports that the Ministry of Education set out with the deliberate intention of using the new tests “as levers which will persuade the teachers and learners to pay serious attention to communicative skills

and to the teaching and learning activities that are more likely to be helpful in the development of such skills" (p. 106). In the context of foreign language education in the USA, Shohamy (1990) attributes a similar role to the ACTFL guidelines and the accompanying oral proficiency interview which she identifies as "the main vehicle by which progress and change were expected to occur" in language teaching (p. 385).

Although the key role of testing reform in curriculum change was thus beginning to be acknowledged, it was not until the early to mid-1990s that the first empirical studies of the effects of testing reform on language teaching and learning were carried out. Some influential work in this area was carried out by *inter alia*, Shohamy (1993), and Wall and Alderson (1993). These studies will be reported in the following section on Major Contributions.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Since the early 1990s, language assessment researchers have investigated the process of assessment reform from a variety of perspectives and in different educational contexts. Some have examined the sociopolitical environment in which reform originates, with the aim of exposing the ways in which governments use tests as policy tools to control teaching and learning (see McNamara, *The Socio-political and Power Dimensions of Tests*, Volume 7). Others have analyzed the impact of new tests and assessment systems on various aspects of the teaching and learning process, with a particular focus on teachers' attitudes and practices (see Cheng, *Washback, Impact and Consequences*, Volume 7). In the latter line of research, one recent theoretical advance has been the use of insights from educational innovation theory to describe and account for factors affecting the introduction of assessment reform.

#### *Assessment as a Policy Tool*

Shohamy (1993) was one of the first language testing researchers to critically examine the use of tests in the implementation of educational policy, focusing in particular on ways in which tests are used as instruments of power and control. She analyzed the impact of three national language tests that were introduced in Israel, each of which had a clearly defined goal of reforming the curriculum in some way. Using a range of data collection techniques, including document analysis, interviews, surveys and classroom observations, Shohamy found that the introduction of the three tests had resulted in a narrowing of the curriculum in each case, with teachers consistently using more test-like activities in class. In some cases, she reports that test results were used to blame or reward teachers. Summarizing these findings, Shohamy

suggests that testing reforms are typically imposed when policymakers, often under pressure from the public or media to ensure that certain topics are taught, use tests as a ‘quick fix’ way to communicate educational priorities to teachers, who “are reduced to simply following orders” (p. 17). Although all of the tests achieved their stated goals and had a demonstrable impact, she makes a distinction between short-term *instrumental* impact and longer-term *conceptual* impact involving meaningful changes in teaching and learning, and argues that “bureaucrats are interested in simplistic, instrumental solutions where gains can be seen immediately” (p. 18).

Another important study of the implementation of a major national language test was conducted in China by Qi (2004, 2005) who investigated the washback effects of the National Matriculation English (NMET) test, a high-stakes test that is used for University entry. The test was introduced by the Ministry of Education with the aim of bringing about a shift in language pedagogy from knowledge-based instruction to more communicative practices. In order to investigate the extent to which these intentions had been realized, Qi conducted a large-scale study of the effects of the NMET on teaching, using questionnaires and interviews with teachers, students, test constructors and school inspectors. She found that teaching practices were driven by the selection function of the test which “compels teachers and students to work for the immediate goal of raising scores” (Qi, 2005, p. 163). Instead of focusing on language use, teachers tended to focus on linguistic knowledge which many of them interpreted as the test construct, contrary to the test constructors’ intentions. Teachers also spent a large amount of time on explicit test preparation activities such as teaching to the test content and administering mock tests. Qi (2005, p. 164) concludes, “high stakes tests, powerful as they are, might not be efficient agents for profound changes that are believed to promote the development of educationally desired knowledge and ability.”

Some researchers have examined assessment reform in the broader political context, with a view to identifying the influence of political agendas on the nature of the implementation process (see e.g., Brindley, 1998; Moore, 1996, 2001; McNamara, 1998). For example, Moore (1996) examined the policy issues and tensions surrounding the implementation of ESL assessment frameworks in the school and adult sectors in Australia (see Chapter 17, Rubrics, Benchmarks, Standards, Frameworks, Rating Scales). She traced the evolution of two competing frameworks for mapping the language development of school age learners of English as a second language (ESL), one state-mandated and linked to existing national subject profiles, the other developed collaboratively by teachers and researchers. She portrays the differences between the frameworks as a reflection of a struggle

between a technocratic, accountability focused and normative approach that seeks to ‘mainstream’ ESL learners in contrast to one that portrays a complex picture of individual learner development and reflects teachers’ specialist knowledge (p. 205). Moore argues that since the state-endorsed framework is designed to be “‘product accountable’, as sought by politicians, business and unions, and legitimated by technical procedures” (p. 211), it is likely to be better resourced and widely used.

The accounts of the social and political circumstances surrounding the introduction of the tests described above illustrate the complex and subtle interplay between bureaucratic and educational agendas that accompanies the implementation of assessment reform. They highlight several recurring themes that emerge both from these and subsequent analyses of reform initiatives, namely that:

1. Testing reforms may be used by governments both to further broader political agendas and to assert power and control over teachers and educational systems
2. High-stakes tests that are introduced in order to produce qualitative changes in teaching and learning may not have the desired effect as long as the selection and evaluation functions of the test remain predominant
3. Stakeholders tend to have different perspectives on the purposes of high-stakes tests and the ways in which the results should be used. In some cases, this may result in teachers’ local and contextualized knowledge being devalued.
4. The imposition of high-stakes tests without adequate accompanying professional development resources is likely to engender the narrowing of the curriculum.

### *Impact of Assessment Reform on Teaching and Learning*

One of the first in-depth empirical investigations of assessment reform in the context of language teaching was conducted by Wall and Alderson (1993) who examined the effects of the introduction of a new English language examination in Sri Lankan secondary schools that was intended to encourage a more communicative approach to teaching. While they found that the test had affected the content of teaching, there was no evidence of changes in teachers’ methodology. They also found that many teachers did not fully understand the nature of the new examination and were not adequately prepared to implement the recommended methodology. They concluded that “. . . if an exam is to have the impact intended, educationalists and education managers need to consider a range of factors that affect how innovations succeed or fail and that influence teacher (and pupil) behaviours. The exam is only one of these factors” (p. 68).

*Change Dimensions of Assessment Reform*

Since Wall and Alderson's pioneering study, the findings from a range of washback studies have reinforced their conclusion that the success or otherwise of assessment reform is governed by a range of complex individual, educational and sociopolitical factors, and that the introduction of a new test is likely to have a range of unintended consequences (for a range of illustrative examples see Cheng, Watanabe and Curtis, 2004). In this context, language assessment researchers have in recent years increasingly drawn on the substantial body of research that is available from educational innovation theory (e.g., Farrell, 2000; Fullan, 2001; Nicholls, 1983; Rogers, 1983) in order to explore how and why new forms of assessment are (or are not) adopted and what can be done to create the conditions for successful implementation (see e.g., Brindley, 1989, 1998; Burrows, 2004; Wall, 1996, 2000). This interest in the role of contextual factors is also reflected in analyses of curriculum innovation by applied linguists such as, *inter alia*, Holliday and Cooke (1982), Markee (1997), White (1988), and Henrichsen (1989). These studies highlight the complexities of curriculum reform in language teaching and draw attention to the close connection between educational innovation and organizational change.

What emerges from these studies of curriculum and assessment reform in language teaching contexts are a number of key messages that are also reflected in the mainstream educational literature:

1. Centrally driven educational reform initiatives rarely succeed. The changes that last are generally those that are local and locally adapted (although see Fox, 2005 for a rare counter-example).
2. Successful change involves shared control and decision-making
3. Teachers are the key factor in the implementation of reform; the likelihood of whether a change will be implemented depends on the degree to which it is linked to daily classroom practice
4. Ongoing inservice education is vital in ensuring the sustainability of an innovation

## WORK IN PROGRESS

*Language Assessment Reform in Europe and the Common European Framework of Reference*

The Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) for teaching and learning of foreign languages was created with the aim of promoting transferability of qualifications and ensuring commonality of assessment and reporting across 14 European languages (Council of Europe, 2001). Its adoption by a range of EU countries has been accompanied

by a number of large-scale test development initiatives. Recent reports by Eckes and group (2004) provide informative insights into the issues and problems surrounding the implementation of these reforms, and a number of common themes emerge from their account. The first of these is that although assessment reform has been successfully implemented in many countries in the form of new or improved national tests, resources have not always been forthcoming to create the infrastructure that is necessary to support ongoing test production and quality control. In order to develop high quality assessments that are internationally acceptable, Eckes and group (2004, p. 375) highlight the need to develop training programs for item writers, markers and examiners, and to conduct ongoing validation research, both into test content and the impact of the assessment reforms at both national and local level. They also draw attention to the critical importance of political factors in implementation, pointing out that “many of the reforms have been hindered by political failings such as the failure on the part of decision makers either to understand the nature of test development in general or to appreciate the potential impact on learning of politicians’ decisions relating to tests” (p. 376). To address the problems arising from this lack of awareness, they suggest that “a long process of dialogue and persuasion” (p. 376) will be necessary.

A further theme that emerges from the current debates surrounding assessment reform in Europe is the inherent tension between the political and the educational aims of the CEFR. Some language testing researchers have suggested that the political needs for comparability and harmonization of levels have taken precedence over issues of validity and reliability. In this context, the empirical foundation of the proficiency levels that are defined by the Framework has been questioned. Fulcher (2004, p. 260) comments that “for teachers, the main danger is that they are beginning to believe that the scales in the CEF represent an acquisitional hierarchy, rather than a common perception.” Allied to this problem of validity is the question of the comparability of the tests that are used to assign CEF levels. Testing researchers have disputed claims that the CEFR can be used as a basis for test development or for making comparisons across different examination systems, pointing out that the constructs embodied in the scales are inadequately defined and incomplete (Fulcher, 2004; Weir, 2005).

### *The Role of Teacher-led Formative Assessment*

A feature of many current assessment reform initiatives in educational systems worldwide is the shift from standardized large-scale testing to outcomes or standards-based assessment and reporting in which school-based assessment (SBA) conducted by teachers plays a major role (see Chapter 18, *Assessing Language and Instruction*).

Researchers have recently begun to explore the ways in which these changes are being played out in language assessment contexts. Davison (forthcoming) examines the adoption of school-based English language assessment in Hong Kong and identifies a range of sociocultural, theoretical and practical issues affecting the implementation of SBA. She points out that the introduction of new modes of assessment is not a matter of simply developing 'teacher training' packages (see Malone, *Training in Language Assessment*, Volume 7); rather, it entails a significant cultural and attitudinal change on the part of the entire school community, especially in contexts such as Hong Kong where public examinations have traditionally been the dominant form of assessment. Piloting of SBA and teacher surveys also revealed that practical problems such as lack of access to assessment resources were a key factor affecting implementation. Not surprisingly, teachers' principal concerns related to the implications of adding increased assessment responsibilities to an already heavy teaching and assessment schedule. Davison concludes, however, that once the new types of assessment activities have become a regular part of classroom practice, they should not add significantly to teachers' or students' workload.

Another aspect of the shift towards formative assessment that has recently begun to receive the attention of researchers is the tension between assessment as a professional activity and assessment as an instrument of policy. In this context, Leung and Rea-Dickins (forthcoming) deconstruct the official discourse surrounding an important policy change which raises the status of teacher-conducted classroom assessment of learners of English as an Additional Language (EAL) in the UK, revealing in the process a major gap between the rhetoric of assessment reform and its implementation in practice. Via a critical analysis of key curriculum documents enshrining this change, they show that the official discourse positions teacher assessment within a 'measurement' paradigm that uses the discourse of summative assessment and pays little attention to the key aspect of classroom discourse as a mediator of formative assessment. According to Leung and Rea-Dickins, this reflects a static perspective which "does not link into current perspectives on effective classroom assessment as embedded within interaction and on learner agency in assessment processes, thus failing to take into account the actions that the learners themselves might take in this process."

*The Effect of Reform on Minority Populations:  
English Language Learners*

As we have noted, large scale educational reform initiatives are usually based on the premise that the introduction of new assessment regimes will result in improved outcomes for all learners. However, researchers

have argued that in the case of minority populations such as English language learners (ELLs) in English-speaking countries who are facing high-stakes assessments, this assumption cannot be made, pointing out that practices such as assessing content area knowledge in English are unfair and potentially invalid. In recent years, researchers have therefore critically examined major reforms such as the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) legislation in the US, with a view to identifying ways in which equitable assessment can be provided for ELLs (e.g., Bailey and Butler, 2004). The issues and problems raised by these researchers demonstrate the complexities involved in introducing assessment reforms that do not take account of differences between sub-populations. However, despite the controversies that surround it, NCLB has had some beneficial side effects in that it has drawn attention to the inadequacy of the assessment that is provided for ELLs, prompting a major effort to meet the assessment needs of this population (for further discussion, see Chapter 8, *Alternative Assessment* and Chapter 21, *Using Accommodations and Modifications in Assessment*).

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

### *Tensions Between Political and Educational Perspectives on Reform*

As has already been noted at several points in this review, fundamental tensions exist between policy maker and educational perspectives on the purposes of reform and the role of assessment in its implementation. Whereas politicians and government officials tend to see assessment as a tool for implementing and managing policy, teachers and educationists are primarily concerned with ways in which it can be used for the improvement of learning (Shohamy, 2001). While these goals may occasionally coincide (see Moore, 2001), in reality policy makers are usually less concerned with the longer-term effects of reform on the learning process than they are with publicly demonstrating that decisive action has been taken and that accountability requirements are being met (Linn, 2000). One consequence of this focus on short-term policy objectives is that factors that are vital to ensure the sustainability of assessment reform initiatives such as professional development programs, ongoing test development, and validation research may be downplayed or ignored (Eckes et al., 2005).

### *Lack of Research Evidence on the Effectiveness of Reform*

Discussing the NCLB legislation in the USA, Hess (2004, p. 57) comments that “debates over accountability are sorely lacking in empirical measures of what is actually transpiring.” This is not only the case in

general education but also in the field of language learning. Although assessment reform is usually initiated with the stated aim of improving teaching and learning, both in terms of learner outcomes and classroom learning processes, the evidence base on which to evaluate the success or otherwise of reform initiatives is still relatively thin. In particular, it is still unclear to what extent the introduction of standards-based assessment schemes, such as those initiated in countries such as the USA, the UK, Australia and Hong Kong, have succeeded in raising standards of teaching and learning, although the research reported in the previous section on Work in Progress is beginning to throw some light on these issues. What is clear, however, both from washback studies and recent observational research into classroom-based assessment is that reform initiatives are rarely implemented as intended and that their effects on teaching and learning cannot be predicted (Wall, 2000; Cheng, Watanabe and Curtis, 2004).

### *Evaluating Conflicting Research Evidence*

A further problem that confronts the external observer who is trying to judge the pros and cons of assessment reform is how to evaluate conflicting research evidence. As numerous commentators have noted, the field of assessment is deeply politicized, particularly where high stakes are involved, and has become a battleground on which ideological wars continue to be waged, against a background of strident (and often sensationalized) media commentary (Ungerleider, 2004). In such a climate, the nature and quality of research evidence and the means by which it is obtained have themselves increasingly become matters of dispute. For example, in the context of the high profile controversy concerning the impact of NCLB in the USA, research by Amrein and Berliner (2002) that found overall negative effects for standardized testing has been hotly contested on methodological grounds, provoking a succession of claims and counter-claims in professional journals.

Discussing the research into NCLB assessment, Hess (2005, pp. 56–57) suggests that judgments of the worth or otherwise of assessment reform are influenced by “factors that stretch beyond scholarly inquiries into the working of educational accountability” and may not be amenable to rational argument on the part of measurement experts. In the context of language education, this view is echoed by McNamara (2006, p. 86) who comments that:

second language assessments carried out on behalf of state agencies are increasingly required to work with test constructs that are dictated by policy and not open to empirical evidence or argument on the part of assessment researchers.

## FUTURE DIRECTIONS

In the current social and political climate in which increasingly heavy emphasis is being placed by governments of all political complexions on the importance of accountability in public education, there is no doubt that assessment will continue to be used as a key instrument of educational reform. As we have seen, such initiatives are based on the assumption that implementing changes in assessment systems will increase accountability, change teacher behaviour and improve student learning outcomes. Yet the findings of research in both general education and language learning contexts cast serious doubt on the validity of these assumptions. What emerges from a range of policy analyses and impact studies is a considerably messier picture in which the effects of assessment reform are unpredictable and highly variable across individuals and institutions. Thus, in a comprehensive review of the effects of high-stakes educational testing across a range of developing countries, Chapman and Snyder (2000) conclude that "... changing national examinations *can* serve as a successful vehicle for shaping teachers' instructional practices, but that success is not assured. It depends on the government's political will in the face of potentially stiff opposition and the strategies used to help teachers make the transition to meet the demands" (p. 462, emphasis in original). Wall (2000, p. 507) issues a similar warning about language testing when she states "policy-makers and test designers should not expect significant impact to occur immediately or in the form they intend. They should be aware that tests on their own will not have positive impact if the materials and practices they are based on have not been effective."

To those who are familiar with principles of educational change, these conclusions are not surprising. It is clear from over thirty years of research that the mere issuing of policy directives will not automatically cause change to take place. However, governments are driven by different priorities: not only do they work within short-term electoral cycles, they are also subjected to heavy pressure from the media and the general public to address perceived educational problems and to show immediate results. In addition, policy makers and government officials may not understand the technical details of test construction and validation or be amenable to budgetary arguments concerning the need for infrastructural support. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that top-down assessment reform initiatives continue to proliferate, despite the many well-documented instances of the failure of coercive approaches to change (see Brindley, 1998 for a range of examples).

If this situation is to change in the future, as a first step it is essential that communication between stakeholders in the assessment process is improved. Although, as Alderson (2001) notes, a climate of distrust has

typically existed between teachers, teacher educators and educational bureaucrats, there are some signs of increasing dialogue concerning major assessment issues (see e.g., Newton, 2003; Wiliam, 2003). Current or former government officials are also beginning to make useful contributions to educational journals, bringing a much needed policy-maker perspective to assessment debates (see e.g., Ungerleider, 2004). While improved dialogue will help to increase mutual awareness of both the political and educational realities of assessment reform and thus improve its chances of success, careful ongoing research in language classrooms will also be needed to identify and document the nature and extent of resourcing that is needed to enable teachers to implement new assessment systems and techniques. In this way it may eventually be possible to arrive at a better understanding of the complexities of the reform process and to place future initiatives on a firmer empirical footing.

*See Also:* Margaret E. Malone: *Training in Language Assessment (Volume 7)*; Liying Cheng: *Washback, Impact and Consequences (Volume 7)*; Tim McNamara: *The Socio-political and Power Dimensions of Tests (Volume 7)*

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## ASSESSING THE LANGUAGE OF YOUNG LEARNERS

### INTRODUCTION

The specific differences between the language-learning population at large and the young language learners that Inbar, Shohamy, and Gordon (2005) refer to earlier necessitate this chapter. Much of what has been examined elsewhere in this volume (e.g., Abedi, Utilizing Accommodations in Assessment; Chapelle, Utilizing Technology in Language Assessment; Xi, Methods of Test Validation, Volume 7) is reconsidered in this chapter from the points of view of those who must create valid (i.e., fair and effective) tests for assessing the language of young learners, and those who must administer and interpret them. These view points require familiarity with testing purposes, and an understanding of developmental and cultural issues as they impact the design and use of language assessments.

While not exclusively the case, this chapter deals predominantly with tests of students' English language development (ELD). This is a reflection of both the increasing number of young children learning English in various contexts around the world (Graddol, 2006), and the fact that much research has been conducted on the assessment of English. From a recent review of the available assessments for measuring language minority students' progress in English language and literacy in the USA, it appears that much is still to be done to improve the assessment of English (August and Shahanan, 2006).

The chapter is organized around five main sections: First, I provide construct definitions that will prove important for establishing a common understanding of testing issues with young children, starting with a definition of the term 'young learner' itself. Second, I review the types (e.g., summative, formative) and purposes (e.g., accountability, diagnostic) of language testing in preschool and elementary (primary) school contexts. Third, I address the developmental child level concerns that need to be taken into account in assessing this population of test takers, including a review of general guidelines and best practices for assessing young children. In the fourth section, I consider culture as an additional contextual factor that, while possibly impacting all language-testing situations, may have particular significance for the testing of young children. Finally, in the fifth section, I conclude

with work in progress and some future directions for test development involving school-based research, standards-setting endeavors, and technology initiatives.

### CONSTRUCT DEFINITIONS

Many key constructs already encountered in other chapters will need special definition in the context of assessing young language learners. Constructs such as ‘foreign language learner’, ‘language for specific purposes’, and even the language modalities themselves will need adjustments to definitions for their application to testing young children.

#### *Defining Young Language Learner*

I start with the most crucial of all definitions for this chapter, that of the *young language learner*. Defining young language learner is complicated by the range of language-learning experiences, the range of ages to be covered by the qualifier ‘young,’ and by the fact that in different parts of the world different school systems introduce students to second language and foreign language instruction at different points in their school careers.

In Europe, young learner is often applied to students in only the very earliest school years (ages 5–7) or before. In the USA, where the introduction of foreign language teaching often does not take place until the secondary grades, the notion of a ‘young learner’ can continue through the entire preschool and elementary years (ages 3–11). Obviously for second language learners, the onset of a second language can start before the start of formal schooling or at anytime during the primary school years for those who emigrate as school-age language learners. Looking to definitions of young learner in prior research and in current testing practice, there is some precedence for including children as mature as 12 years (e.g., McKay, 2006; UCLES, 2003). Much of the focus of this chapter, however, will be on young learners from preschool through the earliest elementary years. Where issues might differ for slightly older learners, these will be noted.<sup>1</sup>

#### *Defining the Language-Learning Context*

Turning next to language construct definitions, prominent among these are English as a second or additional language (ESL or EAL),

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<sup>1</sup> Young learners of English are variably referred to as English learners (ELs), English language learners (ELLs), English as a second (ESL) or additional language (EAL) students, or students with non-English-speaking backgrounds (NESB). Throughout this chapter, I simply use young language or English learners.

bilingualism, and due to the demand for English in non-English-speaking countries around the world, English as a foreign language (EFL).<sup>2</sup> Second and foreign languages other than English will also be pertinent to a broader discussion of young language learners everywhere. Language assessment for young monolingual speakers is primarily confined to the literate uses of a language (e.g., reading and writing) and rarely to the assessment of oral language skills, with the exception of instances when a language disability is suspected or has been diagnosed and monitored for improvement after intervention.<sup>3</sup> Review of such clinical assessments is outside the scope of this chapter (see Miller, 2002 for a review of assessing the language of young children with language-learning disabilities).

Second language acquisition (SLA) such as ESL is made more complex in the young learner context by the existence of bilingual first language acquisition (BFLA) (De Houwer, 1998), in which children may be acquiring two languages, each as a native language. As they enter preschool environments or, later, begin compulsory education, these children may become literate in only one of the two languages if the schooling system favors one language over the other, or if parents do not opt to enroll their children in two-way bilingual education programs. The language-learning experiences of young children may also be characterized by immersion in a second language they are yet to acquire. In Canada, for example, children have the opportunity to learn English and French (and other desired languages) in this environment from an early age (see Menyuk and Brisk, 2005 for a recent overview of the educational options available to bilingual and second language-learning school-age children).

EFL (and other foreign language acquisition) characterizes learners who acquire a language after their native language has already been acquired, just as ESL learners acquire English. However, the EFL context differs from the ESL context in that learners acquire English outside an English language environment. For the very youngest preliterate language learners that may mean learning a foreign language without the aid of the print medium that is available to older youngsters and adult learners. Older learners can garner literacy abilities in their L1 to augment their learning of oral English, as well as transfer print skills in their L1 to reading and writing in English. The latter is

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<sup>2</sup> ELD will be used throughout this chapter to refer to the process of English acquisition regardless of whether it is being acquired as a second or foreign language.

<sup>3</sup> There are few norms for the oral language development of monolingual school-age children (Nippold, 1995). As a consequence perhaps, there are few assessments of oral language proficiency in a first (and often only) language.

particularly enhanced if their L1 shares the same orthography and possibly even cognate words with English.

### *Defining Language Varieties*

This chapter adopts a broad definition of language including all four modalities of listening, speaking, reading, and writing, and where relevant, further denotes subskills such as phonological awareness and pronunciation (Schrank, Fletcher, and Alvarado, 1996) (for discussion of differences, see also Cumming, *Assessing Oral and Literate Abilities*, Volume 7). Additional construct definitions that need to be taken into account in the assessment of young learners include the social and academic language constructs (Bailey, 2006; Cazden, 2001; Chamot, 2005; Schrank, Fletcher, and Alvarado, 1996). While the distinction between the language used in a scholastic environment and the language used in everyday (out-of-school) contexts may not be as great during the early years of schooling as it is once children begin to take discipline-specific classes (e.g., history, algebra) the distinction arguably still exists. Preschool children are observed to ‘play’ at being in school and modify the register they use in order to successfully participate in such play (Andersen, 1986). For example, children use the ‘script’ of being a teacher, including the lexicon, syntactic structures, and language functions of classroom tasks and management (*Sit quietly! Raise your hands if you know the answer*).

However, the existence of an academic language construct is not without controversy, especially in what constitutes fair assessment of obvious scholastic uses of language at this young age—reading and writing. *Should the reading and writing skills in English of young learners be assessed differently from those of native English students who are also just beginning to learn to read and write?* If young English learners are already literate in their L1, there are implications for how we assess their literacy in English. Environmental print (i.e., sight words) from the content areas such as science, mathematics, and history may make appropriate content for assessing the literacy abilities of young school-age learners. However, there may be no positive transfer for literacy skills from children’s L1 to their L2 if the orthographies of the two languages do not match (Bialystok, McBride-Chung, and Luk, 2005). Furthermore, the reading and writing modalities are also problematic when operationalized for testing with young children. For example, reading and writing are frequently tested orally which requires children to *listen* to directions not simply demonstrate their literacy abilities. Conflating these skills may result in ambiguous information for teachers wishing to effectively target their instruction.

## TYPES AND PURPOSES OF ASSESSMENT

There have been abuses of assessment with young children by using tests designed for one purpose with another purpose in mind (National Educational Goals Panel [NEGP], 1998). As with assessments developed for use with older children and adults, there is a range of purposes for language assessment with young learners. However, due to the maturational constraints and the need for developmentally relevant measures, we witness far greater variety in the purpose and use of informal assessment in this young population.

*High-Stakes Assessment*

With standardized, norm-referenced assessments, the content is a sampling of all that a student may have been taught in a given period. These assessments are summative of knowledge gain and are often considered 'high-stakes' for the student (e.g., a deciding factor in being reclassified as a fluent English speaker for instructional placement), or 'high-stakes' for those who educate them (e.g., evaluation of teacher or school performance) especially in immigration contexts. Also considered 'high-stakes' but not summative, are assessments designed to screen a student's abilities for weaknesses that need immediate amelioration or flagged for possible future attention. Such screening purposes can also be considered 'high-stakes' for both the individual and the schooling system. An individual needs to be accurately identified for further instruction or services if these are necessary to their development. These are the cases when the schooling system also needs accurate information; providing services to individual students who are falsely identified as in need of services will not be cost effective, and those who are falsely identified as sufficiently able when they are not may require more costly remediation at a later point in time (Vellutino and Scanlon, 2001). Technical quality of a test in terms of validity and reliability are of course major considerations when the stakes for testing young students are high such as in the contexts of immigrant students (McKay, 2005; McLoughlin and Gullo, 1984; Schrank, Fletcher, and Alvarado, 1996).

*Assessment for Learning*

Assessment for instructional or diagnostic purposes can either take the form of standardized, norm-referenced assessments, or classroom-based formative assessments. Standardized assessments will offer the language teacher information about a sample of items within a domain

of language such as vocabulary or sentence structure, and how well a student is doing on these skills relative to other students his or her age, grade, or level of overall language proficiency (e.g., the Language Assessment Scales, De Avila and Duncan, 1991). The information gained can be used to categorize students, for example, into different reading levels. However, the information from a standardized diagnostic assessment is likely to be neither sufficiently refined nor contain a critical number of like items to effectively target specific subskills.

Alternative or formative assessment is, however, designed with this purpose in mind as Wiliam (2006) explains:

What makes an assessment formative, therefore, is not the length of the feedback loop, nor where it takes place, nor who carries it out, nor even who responds. The crucial feature is that evidence is evoked, interpreted in terms of learning needs, and used to make adjustments to better meet those learning needs (Wiliam, 2006, p. 285).

Assessment for learning, such as formative assessment, is especially pertinent in the case of young learners still acquiring a new language. Formative assessments can capture a broad array of relevant information for their teachers that is closely tied to the young learners' instructional needs (Davidson and Lynch, 2002; Frey and Fisher, 2003; Genesee and Upshur, 1996; Weir, 2005). Formative assessment can be conducted by teachers either informally while 'on-the-run' as part of on-going instruction, or it can be formal, that is planned in advance to address certain aspects of student language knowledge (e.g., McKay, 2006).

Formative assessments may include extra-child characteristics such as the classroom environment, parental involvement, home literacy habits, etc., and take many different forms (see Tsagari, 2004 for a brief overview of the nomenclature, and strengths and weakness of alternative assessments in the language assessment context). The use of informal observations, for example, allows for a range of skills (e.g., peer-to-peer oral discourse) not always amenable to more formal or standardized assessment environments. Observations can also be made formally and used to evaluate the quality of the language environment of a classroom rather than individual students (e.g., the Sheltered Instruction Observation Protocol, SIOP, Echevarria, Vogt, and Short, 2000). The use of progress maps on a developmental continuum in order to estimate a student's growth over time (Masters and Forester, 1996), and the use of portfolios to create individual profiles of language-learning progress and achievement (e.g., Butler and

Stevens, 1997; Puckett and Black, 2000) are alternative methods well suited to documenting the language of young learners (as well as other areas of their development, e.g., Meisels, 1993) and facilitating teachers' decision making for further learning.

#### DEVELOPMENTAL CONSIDERATIONS

Motivation for this chapter comes primarily from the recognition that there are developmental and contextual factors that must be taken into account with the assessment of young language learners (e.g., Inbar, Shohamy, and Gordon, 2005; McKay, 2006; Rea-Dickins and Rixon, 1997). Ten years ago when Rea-Dickins and Rixon (1997) prepared their chapter on young learners of English as a foreign language, there was a dearth of research in this area. This lack of information may have been a consequence of the marginality of foreign language instruction for young school-age students living in countries with major centers of research such as the USA. Since that time however, there has been considerable effort in the test development and research areas with initiatives under way in most English-speaking countries as a result of government mandates to assess progress in ELD of school-age learners. For example, in the USA, as a consequence of the passage of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 each state must create or join a consortium to create an assessment of ELD aligned to the individual states' standards for ELD (Gottlieb, 2003). In Australia, Canada, and the UK, similar initiatives have placed increasing emphasis on school systems to be held accountable for tracking progress in the language development of young students (McKay, 2005, 2006).

Also over this period of time, English has risen to its current status as the 'world' language—the language of a globalized economic and audio-visual/Web-based society (Graddol, 2000). No doubt in response to this status (however temporary), there has been an increase in young children studying English as a foreign language in non-English-speaking countries. In 2003 alone, the Cambridge *Young Learners English Tests* (YLE Tests, University of Cambridge ESOL Examinations, 2003) were taken by nearly 295,000 7–12-year-old children in 55 different countries (UCLES, 2003). Graddol (2006) reports that:

The age at which children start learning English has been lowering across the world. English has moved from the traditional 'foreign languages' slot in lower secondary school to primary school—even pre-school. The trend has gathered momentum only very recently and the intention is often to create a bilingual population (Graddol, 2006, p. 88).

An interesting prediction stemming from this situation is that in the future there will be only 'young' learners of English as older members of societies will have already acquired English earlier in life. Consequently, it is appropriate that learners in this young age range receive emphasis in future assessment development and research efforts.

In a recent review of research on the assessment of school-age language learners conducted in various parts of the world, McKay concludes that

Young learner assessment deserves to be established as a highly expert field of endeavor requiring, for example, knowledge of the social and cognitive development of young learners, knowledge of second language literacy development, and understanding of assessment principles and practices (McKay, 2005, p. 256).

Beginning with the impact of McKay's assertion on our understanding of assessment principles and practices, particularly test design with young children, Inbar, Shohamy, and Gordon (2005) identify three main areas: (1) format (whether individual, small group or whole class), (2) choice of item and task types, and (3) choice of contextualized, age-appropriate stimuli. Explicitly identifying these three areas raises specific challenges for test development practices with young children. In each case, design decisions must take the learning context into account to establish a match between instructional environment and assessment.

### *Test Format*

The language modality and age of the test taker will certainly dictate the appropriate format in which to assess young learners. Individual assessment will be necessary for coverage of many of the skills in the speaking and listening modalities. However, in the preschool setting, many classroom teachers also call upon children to respond in unison (e.g., sing-a-longs, calling out key words as a chorus, and providing en masse actions/enactments to stories and poems, Tabors, 1997). A child's ability to both comprehend and participate in such group activities should be at least one focus of assessment with the youngest language learners in this early instructional context.

Assessment of early literacy may need to be carried out in individual or in small group contexts because test takers cannot be relied upon to be sufficiently proficient to read directions for responding to print items or tasks, nor to maintain their attention in group settings. No matter the format, limiting the duration of the test to avoid testing fatigue will be of far greater concern with this young population than with older test takers.

### *Test Item and Task Types*

Choice of item and task types will need to correspond to the cognitive processing capabilities and degree of task familiarity of young learners. For example, Weir (2005) provides a language test item that requires making meaning from a bar chart. This type of task presents information in a way that primary school children will encounter in graphics during mathematics, science, or social studies lessons. An item type that requires responding to a series of questions based on information extracted from a graphic would be appropriate once children have, as part of the school curriculum, received explicit instruction in ‘reading’ graphic displays of information, otherwise the item type would be unfamiliar and the task demands too great for the young learner; simply put, the demands of the assessment should match the demands of the curriculum. Other cognitive developments that will restrict the range of tasks include attention span and memory. For example, multistep items that require sequential manipulations of information or lengthy passages of text followed by comprehension questions may be outside the cognitive capacity of the youngest language learners.

To lessen the negative impact of processing demands, and to capitalize on the sensitivity of learners’ abilities to obtain assistance from more expert others (Vygotsky, 1978), the revised *Pre-K/K IDEA Proficiency Test*, an assessment of ELD, includes partial credit items. These items are designed to account for the degree of verbal scaffolding given by the test administrator to support a response from the young ESL test taker (Bailey, Luoma, Cho, and Seretis, 2006). This strategy allows for diagnostic information to be generated. The differing levels of response reveal how much knowledge a child has and how much they still need to learn to succeed without assistance.

### *Task Content*

The content of the tasks needs to be relevant to the young learner in terms of cognitive demands and cultural specificity (culture is addressed further in the later section). The younger the learner the more contextualized the items will need to be in order for the test taker to make meaning of them. That is, items will need to be topically appropriate for the target age of the test taker, and the ability to answer the items should not require knowledge of information not already provided in the tasks or test items. Cognitive developments impacting these considerations include an awareness of testing procedures or the ‘test genre’ (i.e., cooperation in attempting to answer all items and providing adequate constructed responses), as well as an understanding of and opportunity to use decontextualized language—that

is, responses will be sufficiently explanatory for the absent test grader to make meaning of them. For the youngest learners, a number of easy ‘warm-up’ items can be used to familiarize the child to the tester and testing procedures and should not be scored. Bailey, Luoma, Cho, and Seretis (2006) introduced a hand puppet—‘Teddy as tester’—to administer several items on the *Pre-K/K IDEA Proficiency Test* to keep the child’s interest, as well as to establish rapport. Manipulatives (i.e., toy farm animals, dolls) can be incorporated in both item questions and response formats. According to research, young children are more successful on both production and comprehension tasks if the tasks use objects rather than pictures (e.g., Cocking and McHale, 1981; Serna, 1989 cited in Beck, 1994); objects help contextualize the task in the cognitively less demanding ‘here and now.’

Choice of age-appropriate content in test construction is made more complex with young learners than in other testing target groups because language development is concurrent with developments in other areas (e.g., scholastic, cognitive, and social developments). Because a child may begin learning a second or foreign language at any point in their early school years, the development of the language can be asynchronous with developments in other areas. The beginner status of young learners in the later elementary grades makes choosing content difficult (i.e., restrictions on availability of age-appropriate topics from which to select beginning level vocabulary and simple discourse contexts). This is also the situation if a test is to span an age range rather be targeted at individual grades or ages.

#### IMPACT OF CHILD DEVELOPMENT ON TEST INTERPRETATION

Cognitive and social developments not only impact test design, but also the manner in which tests are administered and interpreted. Assumptions upon which validity arguments are made with standardized assessments (e.g., Davidson and Lynch, 2002; Weir, 2005) are often compromised when administering such tests with young children. For example, the assumption of uniformity of the testing experience for all the test takers is not met with young children whose attention abilities and familiarity with test taking can vary tremendously (Powell and Sigel, 1991). Moreover, what is considered ‘typical’ for this young age range also varies tremendously. This raises the issue of whether using certain types of assessment with very young children is desirable. If the purpose of assessment is accountability of the program, then group level and classroom-related indicators (e.g., amount of student

engagement, ESL experience of teaching staff) may be most appropriate. If the purpose is diagnostic, then information on individual students may be preferred. However, caution is required because of the compromises outlined earlier. Interpretations from formative assessment approaches rather than from administration of standardized assessments may be more meaningful, as Hughes and Caiza's (2006) experiences with the Head Start National Reporting System (NRS) clearly demonstrate. In one preschool, based on individual testing of alphabet knowledge as part of the formal NRS testing battery, an external examiner was forced to conclude that few of the preschoolers knew their ABCs. However, after the examiner left, the researchers witnessed the preschoolers give a lusty rendition of the ABC song in English.

### *Guidelines for Assessing Young Children*

While not specifically targeting the assessment of language, there are now several general test administration guidelines for use with young learners. For the very youngest learners in the USA, the NEGP (1998) created the *Principles and Recommendations for Early Childhood Assessments*, which include but are not limited to the following guidelines:

- Assessments should be tailored to a specific purpose and should be reliable, valid, and fair for that purpose
- Assessment policies should be designed recognizing that reliability and validity of assessments increase with children's age
- Assessments should be age appropriate in both content and the method of data collection
- Parents should be a valued source of assessment information, as well as an audience for assessment results

Specific guidelines for assessment practices with young English learners have also recently been published by the National Association of the Education of Young Children (NAEYC, 2005).

As the basis for all assessment (clinical, scholastic, and linguistic) in K-12 education in the USA, the *Standards for Educational and Psychological Testing*, published by the American Educational Research Association (AERA), the American Psychological Association (APA), and the National Council on Measurement in Education (NCME) (1999) include comprehensive guidelines for the testing of individuals of diverse linguistic backgrounds, and researchers working with language minority students have additionally made contributions to guide assessment practices (e.g., Kopriva, 2000).

Suggested practices include use of test accommodations such as extra time and use of bilingual dictionaries or glossaries during test administration with English learners taking scholastic assessments (e.g., Abedi, Courtney, and Leon, 2003; Abedi, Lord, Hofstetter, and Baker, 2000). In the UK, accommodations have recently been extended to the use of a translator for 11-year-old students taking mathematics and science tests (Garner, 2006). Accommodations are thought to vitiate the interpretation of the test results obtained with ELL students (for a general discussion, see also Abedi, *Utilizing Accommodations in Assessment*, Volume 7). However, interpretation of accommodated results as valid indicators of content area knowledge has real consequences for students; we should still be cautious in our interpretations because as Davidson (1994) points out, norming studies of such scholastic assessments have often not included learners who reflect the full range of language proficiencies found in schools.

Other impacts on administration and interpretation of language assessments include the training needs of teachers who often must administer assessments to school-age language learners. General education teachers may have little training in language development (Wong Fillmore and Snow, 2000), and many have little experience in administering and interpreting assessments whether for language or the content areas (William, 2006). Scoring and reporting the test performance of young learners also proffer challenges to teachers and test developers. Scoring concerns include the degree of teacher variance in what is considered an acceptable answer. For example, children's immature articulatory abilities or their productions influenced by L1 may make responses difficult to decipher and thus score reliably.

Multiple sources of evidence should be used to prevent over-reliance on any one assessment that may yield a biased view of performance due to cognitive or social development constraints. Studies of expert teachers suggest that they use their knowledge of teaching and learning to create an on-going cyclic process of teaching and assessment involving a repertoire of both formal and informal assessments (Rea-Dickins, 2001). For example, evidence of language proficiency can come from combining a student's performance on formal assessments and informal quizzes, and from teacher observation during class time (e.g., Frey and Fisher, 2003; Genesee and Upshur, 1996; Salinger, 2001).

Finally, reporting the results of a test performance to young children also needs to be carefully considered and made age-appropriate to avoid issues of demotivation or threats to a child's self-esteem. However, reporting results to children and reporting results to teachers and parents need not be the same process, and teachers will need item level or subskill level information from assessments in order to make effective instructional modifications.

## IMPACT OF CULTURE ON ADMINISTRATION AND INTERPRETATION

Culture impacts the fair and valid testing of young children's language abilities when there is a mismatch between home practices in communication and those practices commonly used for assessment (for a general discussion, see also Davies, Ethics, Professionalism, Rights and Codes, Volume 7; Leung and Lewkowicz, *Assessing Second/Additional Language of Diverse Populations*, Volume 7). For example, Peña and Quinn (1997) report that Latina and African-American mothers typically do not label objects in their children's environment (as is the case for most vocabulary assessment), but rather engage in games that more often require descriptions. Thematic content of an assessment also needs to be compatible with children's home culture (at least culturally appropriate for the majority of learners taking the test, if known). Alternatively, assessors have successfully administered dynamic assessments using a test-teach-test design with preschool children to reduce bias from lack of cultural familiarity with vocabulary (Peña, Iglesia, and Lidz, 2001). In addition, many children come from cultures where they are expected to learn from observation rather than overt participation and to demonstrate their comprehension nonverbally (e.g., Beck, 1994; Scollon and Scollon, 1981). Collectively, this research should impact test development design, encouraging more development of dynamic assessments, or in the case of listening comprehension, creation of items that do not rely exclusively on verbal responses to signal accurate comprehension.

Early childhood agencies, such as Head Start in the USA, recommend assessing bilingual children in both languages the child is acquiring, although currently only Spanish and English language assessments are available to Head Start staff assessing the language and literacy development of 4-year-old children from low-income families (NRS, n.d.). In the UK, the need for caution with the interpretation of language assessments (e.g., the need to take account of all the languages a child knows in educational decision-making) has recently caught the attention of the Department of Education and Skills (for discussion, see Mahon, Crutchley, and Quinn, 2003).

## WORK IN PROGRESS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The twenty-first century has begun with a new era of educational accountability, requiring massive test development efforts in many parts of the English-speaking world. In the USA, add to this mandate the anticipated expansion of publicly funded education to young, preschool-age children, many of whom are the children of immigrants

from non-English-speaking countries. In Australia, add to this the increased focus on the language-learning needs of aboriginal students (McKay, 2006). In Europe, add in the expansion of the European Union and the increased mobility this brings to families with young children settling in countries where they do not speak the dominant language. The Committee on Early Childhood Pedagogy (National Research Council, 2001) has made central to its mission the advancement of state-of-the-art assessments to support learning, the promotion of teacher knowledge of assessment use, and the integration and effective use of technology. These three recommendations can help guide the future of language test development with young learners.

*Recommendation 1: Advance the Technical Quality of Language Assessments*

To create assessments of the highest technical quality, test design will need further research on the use of specific test formats, item and task types, and test content taking into consideration the child developments reviewed in this chapter. For example, the relevant language construct(s) will be needed to be operationally defined through empirical research in classrooms, community settings, and social contexts continuing the work of several research initiatives in the last few years (e.g., Bailey, Butler, Stevens, and Lord, 2006; Gibbons, 1998). These efforts will help establish the developmental trajectories for language acquisition and characterize the language demands placed on young learners in various settings with sufficient detail to create effective specifications for test development.

While traditional notions of validity and reliability cannot be easily applied to establishing the technical quality of formative assessment approaches, criteria for establishing the effectiveness of formative assessment in the classroom can be created, discussed, tried out, and refined. Certainly, validity arguments for a formative assessment can still be made by addressing the meaningfulness, utility, and other roles the assessment might play in a student's language learning.

The effort to advance the technical quality of language assessments will also require the revision/creation of ELD standards for the pre-school through school-age levels. To date, few standards have been validated and many are written as vague aspirational goals rather than as descriptors of achievement objectives. Standards, if constructed and validated through expert review and research, can serve as a blueprint for assessment development and instructional practice (McKay, 2000). Standards are not cast in stone and must be periodically revised as our knowledge of the language constructs to be tested changes (F. Butler, personal communication) (for a general discussion, see also

Xi, *Methods of Test Validation*, Volume 7). Further research will also be needed to establish clear, principled procedures for making accommodation decisions (e.g., Bailey and Butler, 2004, 2006; Butler and Stevens, 2001; Haladyna and Downing, 2004). To achieve these ends, we need to encourage the participation in test development efforts of second language speakers who were once themselves young language learners. Individuals with such backgrounds can offer valuable insight and help develop expertise in this assessment area.

### *Recommendation 2: Teacher Professional Development*

Training teachers to create and/or administer tests and interpret the evidence they generate has emerged as an important topic in recent reviews of assessment practices (e.g., Wiliam, 2006). While some research has shown expert teachers to use assessment for learning (e.g., Rea-Dickins, 2001), more research is needed in the area of professional development to answer the question: “How do teachers effectively implement and use a wide repertoire of assessments for a variety of summative and formative purposes?” To that end, Davison and Hamp-Lyon (2005) have a project underway in Hong Kong to establish the efficacy of the decision made by authorities to introduce a school-based assessment component to the examination for the school certificate in English. This initiative involves extensive teacher training in school-based assessment and the creation of a DVD/Web-delivered training system. This aspect of the initiative brings us to a final focus for future research.

### *Recommendation 3: Leveraging Technology for Language Assessment of Young Learners*

Technology can provide teachers who lack familiarity with students from diverse language backgrounds with ways to more accurately assess their young language learners. For example, speech recognition technology is being utilized to provide teachers with automated assessment of English language and literacy skills in Spanish first language students (Alwan et al., 2006). Technology can also be used as a data management tool, especially in this era of using multiple assessments to establish a comprehensive view of student performance. Data management systems can help make formative assessment practices more effective by systematizing the information that teachers may record formally or ‘on-the-run.’

Technology is also especially suited to the assessment of young children (see also Chapelle, *Utilizing Technology in Language Assessment*, Volume 7). The graphic capabilities that technology offers can

also provide a child-friendly context for assessment, with testing made enjoyable for young test takers by mimicking familiar games, or cartoons. Moreover, a generation who has grown up with computer technology will be best placed for creating human–computer interfaces in ways perhaps current language testers cannot begin to imagine (Dunbar, 2005).

I conclude with a call to action. We urgently need the assessment of young language learners to evolve into what McKay called “a highly expert field of endeavor.” To achieve this goal, we need to follow rigorous test development procedures that begin with empirical research of the test design process including study of relevant language constructs, establishing criteria for judging effective practices in the area of formative assessment, the creation of validated standards for language development, and, in the case of large-scale assessment, the extensive and iterative piloting of items tailored to the learning needs of young children. With so many cognitive, social, and linguistic developments interacting with the test development process, and too little research providing the necessary specificity, such steps are critical in the creation of fair and valid tests of the linguistic achievements of our youngest learners.

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# **Section 4**

## **Assessment in Society**

## HIGH-STAKES TESTS AS DE FACTO LANGUAGE EDUCATION POLICIES

### INTRODUCTION

In many school systems around the world, a single test score is used to determine achievement, learning level, grade promotion, and even graduation. Because of these high-stakes consequences, this type of test carries major implications for language education and language learners. In addition to awarding or barring an individual student from future opportunities, such tests are used in schools to guide a wide range of educational choices, including curriculum content, textbooks, materials, teaching methods, teacher preparation, programming, and language medium of instruction. The higher the stakes of a test, the greater the effects it has on the education that students receive. In this way, high-stakes tests act as *de facto* language education policies.

Yet rarely do policymakers speak about tests from a language policy perspective. Instead, the language policies embedded within high-stakes exams are typically implicit rather than explicit, though extremely powerful in shaping changes at the classroom level (Shohamy, 2001). When the language policy implications of high-stakes tests are not understood from the outset, this can result in effective language teaching being undermined. A new line of research has very recently been generated which explores high-stakes testing from a language education policy perspective, as shall be outlined in this review. Researchers in this area offer support for the connection between testing and language policy, and show how high-stakes tests rarely have the consequences intended by policymakers, in large part because teachers are the final arbiters of policy implementation.

In order to review the research in this area, it is first necessary to define language education policy (for a more detailed discussion of language policy, see Volume 1). For Spolsky (2004), language policy is defined as all of the “language practices, beliefs and management of a community or polity” (p. 9). Language policies can be ‘top-down’ or ‘bottom-up’ (Cooper, 1989; Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997). Shohamy (2003) offers the following distinction between language policy and language education policy:

Language policy is concerned with the decisions that people make about languages and their use in society, whereas

language education policy refers to carrying out such decisions in the specific contexts of schools and universities in relation to home languages and to foreign and second languages . . . (Shohamy, 2003, p. 279).

Language education policy therefore pertains to which language(s) will be the medium of instruction in schools, which languages will be taught, how they will be taught, and to whom they will be taught.

Sometimes language education policies result from language planning but, as described in this review, at other times they are simply incidental results of testing policies. Because schools engage in a wide assortment of language policymaking activities in this way, the definition of language education policy in this review includes the full range of 'bottom-up' and 'top-down' policies. In recent years, scholarly attention has been paid to social justice aspects of language policy, and to ensuring that school language policies do not contribute to language loss or social disparities because of language (Corson, 1999; Cummins, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Tollefson, 1991). While some schools have contributed to language loss in their policies, others have contributed to language maintenance or revitalization as in the case of Quechua bilingual education in Peru or Hebrew revitalization in Israel (Hornberger, 1997; Spolsky and Shohamy, 1999).

#### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

A standardized test is an exam administered and scored in a predetermined, standard way; accordingly, the administration, content, format, language, and scoring procedures of the test are the same for all test takers (Popham, 1999; Wilde, 2004). Standardized tests are taken around the world, and often used by school systems for high-stakes decision making. For this reason, this review begins by exploring the history of the standardized testing movement, with particular attention to the implementation of such tests with language minorities and immigrants. Because the link between testing and language education policy is very recent in research, this section discusses testing alone while later sections clarify the connection between testing and language policy.

Today's standardized tests have historical roots in the mental measurement movement that focused on Intelligence Quotient (IQ) testing (Spolsky, 1995; Wright, 2004). Spolsky (1995) reports that the whole testing movement initially flourished in the USA, and has spread globally since World War I. The advent of this movement has historical ties to language minorities and immigrants, as the development of intelligence tests, and IQ testing in particular, coincided with a rapid increase in immigration to the USA at the turn of the twentieth century (Hakuta, 1986). Alfred Binet is credited with creating the first IQ test in 1904 at

the request of the French government, for identifying children to be placed into special education programs. In 1917, after being translated into English, IQ tests were used by H.H. Goddard to test immigrants arriving to the USA via Ellis Island. Of 30 adult Jews tested, 25 were found to be “feeble minded” (Hakuta, 1986, p. 19).

Carl Brigham, one of the founders of the testing movement, applied IQ tests to two million World War I draftees in the USA and analyzed why test takers born in the USA or in the USA for 20 years or more outperformed recent immigrants (Spolsky, 1995). Basing his findings on national origin, race, ethnicity, and English literacy, he found that blacks were inferior to whites. Brigham categorized Europeans as “Nordics, Alpines, and Mediterranean races,” and found that Alpine and Mediterranean races were inferior to the Nordic race (Hakuta, 1986; Wiley and Wright, 2004; Wright, 2004). Hakuta (1986) critiques these findings with regard to immigrants, for failing to acknowledge the critical role that language proficiency plays in poor exam performance.

The political use of IQ testing was not limited to immigrants, as the tests were used as a sorting mechanism in education for all students; immigrants as well as other minorities have historically been particularly vulnerable to high-stakes decisions made on the basis of test scores. IQ tests justified racial segregation of US schools in the twentieth century and test scores resulted in the hierarchical ranking of students within schools of that era (Mensch and Mensch, 1991). In addition, the findings Brigham reported in his book, *A Study of American Intelligence*, influenced Congress to pass an act restricting immigration by “non-Nordics.” As Wiley and Wright (2004) summarize:

English literacy became a gatekeeping tool to bar unwanted immigrants from entering the United States when nativists began clamoring for restrictions. Simultaneously, literacy requirements barred African Americans at the polls . . . Thus, the so-called scientific testing movement of the early 20th century was intertwined with racism and linguicism at a time when the push for expanded uses of restrictive English-literacy requirements coincided with the period of record immigration (pp. 158–159).

From the beginning, testing has been exploited as a means to exert power, authority, and control. Scientifically proven to be neutral and impartial, tests very effectively sort, select, and punish (Shohamy, 1998; Spolsky, 1995). The sections that follow explore the intersection between testing and language education policy.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

In recent years, researchers have begun to examine high-stakes testing from a language policy perspective within the contexts of foreign

language and second language education. Their research explains the language policy implications of testing, and shows how the consequences of high-stakes testing are often different from what was intended. In her groundbreaking research, Shohamy (2001) describes why testing is a language policy issue in the introduction to her book, *The Power of Tests*. As she writes:

Professor Bernard Spolsky and I were asked to propose a new language policy for Israel. Given my background and interest in language testing, I again learned about the power of tests as it became clear to me that the ‘language testing policy’ was the *de facto* ‘language policy’. Further, no policy change can take place without a change in testing policy as the testing policy becomes the *de facto* language policy . . . It was then that I realized what an excellent mirror tests could be for studying the real priorities of those in power and authority, as these are embedded in political, social, educational, and economic contexts (Shohamy, 2001, p. xiii).

In Israel, a new national reading test was introduced in grades 4 and 5 which aimed to assess and monitor reading comprehension levels. The introduction of this test resulted in an increased focus on reading comprehension and ‘test-like’ teaching which, in essence, became the new curriculum (Shohamy, 1998). According to the local education inspector, the test was intended to cause major changes to teaching; as such, the actual purpose was different from the stated one (Shohamy, 2001). Similarly, a new test of Arabic as a foreign language was introduced in Israel for seventh, eighth, and ninth grades, which a government official explained was intended to raise the prestige of Arabic among Hebrew speakers. After several years, Shohamy (2001) found that the test had influenced teaching, learning, and the curriculum, to the extent that teaching and testing essentially became synonymous. While the test had changed teaching and learning, it had not successfully raised the status of Arabic. These cases show how policymakers use tests to create *de facto* policies that will promote their agendas and communicate their priorities, a top-down practice which Shohamy (1998, 2001) characterizes as unethical, undemocratic, and unbeneficial to the test-taker.

More recently, Shohamy (2006) highlights the following as the three major language policy implications of testing: determining prestige and status of languages, standardizing and perpetuating language correctness, and suppressing language diversity (p. 95). For example, the use of the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) internationally to determine school or university entrance contributes to the high status and prestige of English as a global language.

Uniformity of approach and content is a common result when assessment systems act as language policy, both in foreign language

and second language education. In Europe, a 'Common European Framework' was developed with the intention of unifying language testing and assessment across different countries. Though the document states it does not seek to create a single system, within the context of a merging European Union in which individual countries are concerned about maintaining their independent identities, teachers believe the Common European Framework represents a sequence of how and what learners learn (Fulcher, 2004). In spite of what the document states are its intentions, teachers interpret it as prescriptive, so it is creating a single system in actuality.

The language education research on what is termed testing 'washback' offers further evidence for tests as *de facto* language policies in education (see also Cheng's review of Washback, Impact and Consequences, Volume 7). 'Washback' refers to the effects of tests on teaching and learning (Cheng, Watanabe, and Curtis, 2004; Wall, 1997). Cheng and Curtis (2004) note that the concept of washback is "rooted in the notion that tests or examinations can or should drive teaching, and hence learning" (p. 4); according to their perspective, washback can be either positive or negative. The findings in this area of research, however, seem to indicate that the effects are usually negative and not what was intended.

One major critique of testing is that classroom curriculum and instruction is narrowed as a consequence, covering primarily or solely the material on the test; within a high-stakes testing context, 'teaching to the test' becomes commonplace. This is reported as far back as 1802, when a new examination was introduced at Oxford and criticized because it resulted in a student's education becoming narrower than before and focusing only on the subjects being assessed (Simon, 1974 as cited in Wall, 1997). More recently, in Britain, Freedman (1995) found that revised writing tests did not lead to improved student performance, but rather impeded the curriculum and caused it to change in negative ways. Hayes and Read (2004) demonstrate how changes to the English language testing system in New Zealand show washback effects, with teachers and students narrowly focused on test tasks rather than on academic language proficiency in the broader sense.

In research on the National Matriculation English Test (NMET) in China 15 years after it was first implemented, Qi (2005) shows that the exam has not had the positive effects that were intended, as teaching of linguistics knowledge rather than communicative competence is still emphasized and the type of language taught is limited to the skills tested. As the author states:

When crucial decisions are made on the basis of test results and when one's interests are seriously affected, who can afford not to teach to or study for the test? This is especially true when the sole measure of the success of the educational

process being evaluated is the test scores . . . [H]igh-stakes tests, powerful as they are, might not be efficient agents for profound changes that are believed to promote the development of educationally desired knowledge and ability. This is because the very function that empowers the test is likely to be in conflict with its intended washback effect, making it too blunt an instrument for promoting desirable changes in teaching and learning (Qi, 2005, p. 163).

The higher the stakes of an exam, the more likely it is that the test will shape teaching, learning, and language policy. As the author explains, the notion of using high-stakes testing to positively change teaching is innately problematic, due to the pressure it creates to teach to the test.

Cheng (2004) studied changes to language testing in Hong Kong that, like the NMET in China, were intended to change instruction in a top-down way. She found that the Hong Kong Examinations Authority had successfully changed “the *what* in teaching and learning”; however, “the extent to which this new examination has changed the *how* of teaching and learning was limited” (Cheng, 2004, p. 164). The author concludes that the washback effects are negative because high-stakes exams drive teaching and learning in the direction of drilling what is required of the exam. By definition, the scope of what is learned is limited, and drilling or rote memorization activities overshadow possibilities for authentic language use.

From these studies, it seems that the possibilities for positive washback effects from high-stakes testing are limited by the nature of the exams themselves. Washback research explores the ways that testing changes teaching and learning, though little attention is paid in this literature to the effects of testing on the lives of educators and students in schools. This differs from research on testing from a language policy perspective, which considers the impact of testing on language education, but also explores the social justice implications when a test acts as *de facto* language policy.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

The current situation in the USA provides a unique example of testing as *de facto* language policy, and research is now beginning to be generated which examines this movement in light of the complex sociopolitical issues which surround it. More immigrants arrived to the USA during the 1990s than any other single decade, and the population of non-English speakers has expanded by 40% (US Census Bureau, 2000). In schools, a renewed focus on standardized testing has emerged at a time when immigration rates are soaring. High-stakes

exams have resulted in radical changes to the education that immigrant and language minority students receive, including the elimination of bilingual education programs and the penalization of students for not being proficient in English. Current policies in the USA have not only impacted immigrants, but have also affected foreign language education, as foreign languages are not required for high-stakes decision making and therefore dismissed as less relevant.

In 2001, *No Child Left Behind* (NCLB) was passed into law by Congress. The current law mandates that English language learners (ELLs)<sup>1</sup> be included in the state assessments that all students take, and that their performance on the assessments shows “adequate yearly progress towards mastering academic content and English proficiency” (US Department of Education, 2001). Schools must demonstrate student progress in order to continue to receive federal funding without sanctions. Most states have interpreted the law by requiring all students to take standardized tests in English to meet the assessment and accountability requirements; in this way, a single test score now carries high-stakes consequences and has resulted in the creation of incidental language policy.

NCLB replaced and repealed the *Bilingual Education Act*, which was part of the preceding federal education legislation. Because the law no longer mentions bilingual education or the use of languages other than English in instruction, researchers argue that it encourages English-only approaches (Evans and Hornberger, 2005). Moreover, because the assessments being used by states to comply with NCLB are usually in English, they place ELLs at a disadvantage. In addition, by intertwining the English language with content learning, Byrnes (2005) shows how foreign language learning has become sidelined.

Menken (2005) has documented the effects that NCLB testing policies are having on ELLs from a language policy perspective. Her qualitative research in New York City examines the effects of a recent requirement that ELLs pass state exams in order to graduate from high school—part of the state’s accountability system in accordance with NCLB. This study found that all of the exams rely heavily on language proficiency, which poses enormous challenges for ELLs and their teachers. Each year, scores attained by ELLs range from 20 to 50 percentage points below native English speakers (New York City Department of Education, 2005 as cited in Menken, in press).

As a result, tests have become *de facto* language policy in schools: they shape what content is taught in school, how it is taught, by whom

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<sup>1</sup> Language minority students in need of language support services to succeed in English-medium classrooms are termed ‘English language learners’ or ELLs in the USA.

it is taught, and in what language(s) it is taught (Menken, 2005). School administrators and educators in the sample changed their language policies to respond to the demands of the exams, most often by increasing the amount of English instruction students receive; however, one school instead increased native language instruction as a test preparation strategy. As she writes:

The tests themselves leave the task of interpretation to teachers and schools, who decipher the demands of the exams and use them to create school-level language policies. These educators become language policymakers, deciding how native language is used in the classroom, if at all, and using an array of strategies to prepare their students for the exams (Menken, 2005, p. 267.).

These changes are troubling because they are being driven by the tests, which were not developed to meet the specific educational needs of ELLs; as a result, this research found that many of these changes reduce the quality of education that students receive. Additionally, testing is a defining force in the daily lives of ELLs and the educators who serve them, and has created a context in which language is a liability for these students because the tests are mainly punitive in result.

These findings are recurrent nationally, where ELLs are disproportionately failing high-stakes tests and being placed into low-track remedial education programs, denied grade promotion, retained in grade, and/or leaving school (Valenzuela, 2005). Sloan (2005), McNeil (2005), and Hampton (2005) report a narrowing of school curricula and large amounts of instructional time devoted to test preparation in Texas classrooms. They uncover that science and social studies are being abandoned at the elementary level, because tests of English and math are the areas required under NCLB, and 'curriculum inspectors' are being used to ensure that teachers are actually doing required test preparation. Further support for findings regarding narrowed curricula and impact on teachers and students is offered by Wright (2002), who conducted qualitative research at an elementary school in California.

Crawford (2004) reports that NCLB testing policies undermine bilingual education programs when the tests are provided in English only. In a dual language bilingual education program in Montgomery County, Maryland, in which instructional time was balanced equally between English and Spanish, children took a full range of language and content courses in both languages. However, the school district became concerned with poor reading scores by ELLs on high-stakes exams, and mandated two and a half hour blocks of English phonics each day. This increased the amount of English instruction, which disrupted the bilingual program's equal instructional time in each

language. This language policy change was not explicitly mandated by NCLB, but rather done implicitly (Crawford, 2004).

Other studies also point to the ways that high-stakes testing in the USA promotes English-only policy when the tests are only provided in English, particularly in California and Arizona where they have also passed anti-bilingual education legislation. Gándara (2000) and Gutiérrez et al. (2002) note how difficult it is for schools to retain native language instruction when the sole measure of accountability is performance on a state test that is only offered in English, connecting recent testing reforms to English-only policy. Although bilingual teachers in California continued native language instruction immediately after the passage of the anti-bilingual education mandate, they expressed feeling pressure to teach more English because of the English-only state assessments (Alamillo and Viramontes, 2000).

In a study of high school exit exams in four southwestern states with large ELL populations, García (2003) notes a major negative consequence of requiring ELLs to pass an exam in English for high school graduation is the implementation of an incidental English-only policy. As she writes:

A third problem is the possible simultaneous adoption of English-only language policy as a byproduct of education policy. The implementation of a high school requirement demanding the use of English, as most exit exams do, is tantamount to making English the official language (García, 2003, p. 444).

More recently, Wiley and Wright (2004) set the NCLB act within the historical context of language policy in the USA, noting how the word 'bilingual' has now completely vanished from federal legislation. They critique the inclusion of ELLs into tests in English when they have not had sufficient time to acquire the language, highlighting the similarity between current high-stakes tests and literacy and intelligence tests administered during the early twentieth century to bar immigrants from entering the USA. They argue that although NCLB allows for bilingual programs, the law is more likely to encourage English-only approaches (Wiley and Wright, 2004).

Byrnes (2005) states that language education policy is embedded within NCLB more generally, extending beyond the education of ELLs to encompass foreign language education as well. She notes how a primary effect of the law is the "symbolic power of authenticating American English as the 'normal' language of American public education and, by implication, of American institutional and public spaces" (Byrnes, 2005, p. 280). In this way, the learning of languages other than English does not 'count' as much as English under current US education policy.

PROBLEMS, DIFFICULTIES, AND  
FUTURE DIRECTIONS

As described above, language policies are created by high-stakes testing at every level of educational systems around the world in ad hoc, uncoordinated, and often competing ways. More often than not, this is done implicitly, with the language policy implications of tests rarely being discussed openly or explained from the outset, and with test scores being interpreted by the general public as neutral and independent from the sociopolitical context surrounding schooling. Yet tests wield enormous power over the lives of the students and educators most closely affected by them and affect how testing policy is exercised in schools and societies. For example, they shape the instruction and educational experiences of students in school, and also determine students' futures. This is extremely crucial for immigrant, minority, and poor students who are most vulnerable to inequitable educational decisionmaking based on test scores; race and class remain the greatest predictors of educational performance as measured by standardized tests (Orfield, 2001). In addition, tests affect the status of languages and limit their diversity in schools.

Whether done explicitly or implicitly, the findings from the studies cited here show that the effects of high-stakes tests as *de facto* language policy are often unintended. The acknowledgment in research of the intersection between testing and language policy is very recent; overall there is very little research on this critical topic. Yet major decisions are being made in school systems every day based on test scores. At the school level, curriculum and teaching is narrowed to the material on the tests, and certain languages are privileged over others in education. Moreover, tests can offer a justification for the perpetuation of societal inequities in schools, a trend from the past being repeated in schools today.

In light of these complex issues and limited research on testing as language education policy, there is a need for further research in this area. The following are possibilities for future directions:

- More research is needed which explores how testing shapes language education policy and can offer guidance for the use of assessment to inform educational practices and instruction in positive ways. For example, it would be useful to learn if the use of multiple measures of student achievement (e.g., the use of portfolios, an array of samples of student work, grades, classroom performance, and teacher recommendations) for high-stakes decision-making would have an equal impact on choices of language medium of instruction, language standardization, and language status as the use of a single test score has.

- Likewise, research on the development of clear and cohesive school-wide language policies in individual schools would be valuable to learn if tests impact language education policy as greatly in schools with strong language policies already in place.
- There is a need to examine the impact that language education policy has on testing policy, as well as vice versa.
- Given the power of tests, another area for future research is to determine what impact testing has beyond schools, if any, on wider language policies.

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## THE SOCIO-POLITICAL AND POWER DIMENSIONS OF TESTS

### INTRODUCTION

Language tests have a long history as a social practice, but the social and political functions of tests are neglected in most of the basic texts on language testing, and in the training of students and researchers preparing to work in language testing as a practical or as a research field. While in earlier eras, as Spolsky (1995) has pointed out, there was considerable awareness and discussion of the ‘encroaching power’ of tests, this awareness began to diminish with the advent of the period in which language testing came to be seen as a science, particularly in the USA during the Cold War. Psychometrics, or the measurement of cognitive abilities, a discipline combining psychology and statistics, was, given its intellectual sources, relatively asocial. Furthermore, the linguistics which provided the intellectual discipline for thinking about the content of language tests was, at this time, also largely asocial, focussing on *langue* not *parole*, on competence rather than performance. While this has changed considerably since the advent of communicative language testing, the structuralist heritage of linguistics has been difficult to shake off, and in any case even a socially informed linguistics has tended to focus on the immediate social context of communication and has had little to say about the broader social and political context in which language tests are commissioned and used. Taken together, the cognitive orientation of psychometrics and the relative lack of social theory in linguistics, has meant that language testing as a field has been relatively handicapped in understanding itself as a social practice. There are, however, signs that this situation is beginning to change, although the task ahead remains formidable.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The social function of language tests is emblematically represented by the story of the shibboleth in the *Book of Judges*, a language test of identity. Defeated soldiers of the tribe of Ephraim tried to pass as conquering Gileadites, but were outed as they tried to escape by being forced to pronounce the word *shibolet*, meaning ‘an ear of wheat’, or possibly ‘a stream’, which as Ephraimites they pronounced *sibolet*.

An Ephraimite identity was thus ‘uncovered’ through a language test; the Ephraimite soldiers so revealed were put to death in their tens of thousands. Shibboleth practices continue to be found in every age in every culture (for a detailed discussion, see McNamara and Roever, 2006, Chapter 6)—in medieval Christendom, in the medieval Muslim world, in Europe of the Renaissance and Reformation, and in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, for example in Japan in 1923, in the USA during the Second World War, in Sri Lanka in 1958 and in 1983, during the Lebanese Civil War of the 1980s and in contemporary Botswana, to name just a few examples. In each case, fraught inter-group relations involve the identification of insiders and outsiders through tests of pronunciation of language. Such tests are not always used offensively, but also defensively, against oppression, as in shibboleths used as passwords among forces fighting the Nazis in the Netherlands and Czechoslovakia during the Second World War.

While these informal tests are not *formal* tests of language proficiency, they have great symbolic significance as exemplifying, in terribly dramatic fashion, the widespread social functions of formal language tests in inter-group settings, particularly in contested ones. And while such informal tests obviously lack psychometric rigour, a fact which in some cases seriously hampers their efficiency, an improvement in their psychometric qualities would not alter their social function; it would simply make them more efficient, but also, in some cases, arguably fairer. In fact, within the psychometric tradition, the concern that the tests be fair (Kunnan, 2003) represents the principal form of attention to the social dimensions of tests. Psychometric practice recommends that response data to tests be analysed for test bias, that is, a tendency of the test to favour one social group over another, for example, boys over girls, or speakers of one language over speakers of another. A range of sophisticated psychometric techniques is available to detect differential item functioning (DIF), and these techniques have recently been complemented by others which can deal with performance data, for example data from judges estimating the quality of performances in speaking and writing. A number of possible interactions between different facets or aspects of the testing situation can be explored using such techniques, and this is important as all of these represent potential sources of bias. They include interactions between the gender of judges and the gender of candidates (Brown and McNamara, 2004; O’Loughlin, 2002), the language background of judges and the language background of candidates, or the character of certain workplace related communicative tasks and the degree of work experience of such tasks among judges themselves (Brown, 1995). The goal of such analysis is to develop a fair test, one which is not unfairly biased against one group or another. But the actual uses

of tests are not investigated in such analyses. The test use is treated as an unproblematic given, and the investigation is restricted to the presence of group bias (understood in statistical terms) in its administration. In general, the capacity of psychometrics to deal with social issues is restricted, because it struggles to adequately conceptualise test use.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Discussions of validity in language testing have begun to find a space for consideration for the social and political functions of tests, following developments in validity theory within general educational contexts. The evolution of the discussion of validity to acknowledge the social dimension of assessment can be observed in the work of Cronbach between the 1950s and 1980s. Cronbach's early work on validity (Cronbach, 1971; Cronbach and Meehl, 1955) treated measurement purely cognitively, that is, within a social vacuum. In his work in programme evaluation, however, he acknowledged the social context of the evaluation very explicitly, and to the extent that this involved the use of test scores, began to theorise the social dimension of test use. This theorisation ultimately spread to his work in psychometrics, and found its best expression in the subsequent work of Messick, which it influenced strongly.

A concern for the social context of test use is included in Messick's widely cited discussion of validity (Messick, 1989). In addition to a psychometrically orthodox concern with the reasonableness of inferences about candidates based on test performance, including in specific contexts of use, that is, about fairness, Messick went further to theorise test use itself. There were two aspects of this: first, he stressed that test constructs embody values, which will have social and political meaning; and second, that tests when used have social consequences. Michael Kane (1992, 2001), whose work is strongly influenced by Messick, sets out the stages in an interpretative argument to justify the inferences about candidates that we draw on the basis of test scores, and significantly includes test use as a stage in the argument, that is, as requiring articulation and defence.

Within language testing, the response to Messick's concern for test consequences has been most clearly seen in work on test washback (the influence of tests on teaching and learning leading up to the test: Alderson and Wall, 1996; Cheng, Watanabe and Curtis, 2004) and on test impact (the test's influence on the wider society: Wall, 1997). A broader general discussion of the social responsibilities of language testers is enshrined in professional codes of ethics, such as the International Language Testing Association's Code of Ethics (ILTA, 2000) and draft Code of Practice (ILTA, 2005), and the Code of Practice

and accompanying quality assurance framework from the Association of Language Testers in Europe (ALTE, 1994).

Spolsky's *Measured Words* (1995) marks a return to the systematic consideration of the political function of tests after a long fallow period in which purely psychometric considerations were paramount. In this landmark work, Spolsky traces the evolution of the modern psychometric tradition of language testing, and in the second half of the book shows how this development was crucial in determining the institutional struggle for control of the Test of English as a Foreign Language, or TOEFL, a battle eventually won by Educational Testing Service (ETS). The book shows how ETS's commitment to psychometric rigour was instrumental in gaining control of this gatekeeping test of English for international students.

A further landmark text is *The Power of Tests* by Shohamy (2001). Shohamy has developed a field known as critical language testing, in which the socio-political function of tests, particularly when these are covert, is revealed through research, and alternatives to existing assessment practices are canvassed. The work explores the oppressive potential function of tests in the context of education, immigration and citizenship, and is a programmatic statement of research that needs to be done in the field.

McNamara and Roever's *Language Testing: The Social Dimension* (2006) builds on the work of Spolsky and Shohamy to offer a critique of the psychometric tradition and to advocate a more socially aware approach to language testing. This book explores in detail the psychometric tradition of concern for test fairness as one way in which the social dimension of language testing is addressed, and the difficulty experienced within that tradition in dealing with test use, and argues that we need conceptual frameworks beyond those countenanced within validity theory if we are to adequately conceptualise testing as a social practice.

Examples of research focusing on the social and cultural value dimensions of language testing constructs are beginning to appear. Akiyama (2004) considered the case of the English language test used as part of the highly competitive tests used to control entry to senior high schools in Japan, where there is a fierce competition for places at the most prestigious schools. To date the senior high school entrance examination has not included an assessment of spoken language skills, even though an emphasis on spoken language skills is part of the official curriculum both for the junior high school and the senior high school. English language teaching at the senior high school is in fact dominated by preparation for the University entrance examination, which again is highly competitive and involves high stakes, and again does not include tests of spoken language. The absence of a test of

spoken language in the senior high school entrance examination has a negative influence on language teaching in the junior high school. In exploring the feasibility of introducing a speaking test, Akiyama discovered a number of objections on practical grounds, but more relevantly here, there were objections on cultural grounds in terms of the values that test constructs represent. It seems that one of the goals of the education system in Japan, as in many countries, is to build the moral character of citizens, and this is seen as achieved by demanding subject matter which is both cognitively challenging and which requires stamina and consistent effort on the part of the student. Skill in speaking is not held to be evidence of intellectual achievement and does not necessarily require the discipline and hard work that the school system encourages. As the skill is not prized culturally, it is not considered to be a worthy subject for examination. The cultural values embedded in the constructs represented in the existing test represent a major obstacle to its reform.

Another study demonstrating the presence of values in test constructs is the work by Helen Moore (Moore, 2005) on the political and social struggle in the 1980s and 1990s to determine the form of assessment of English as a second language development in students in Australian primary and secondary schools. The demands of government policy and the need for accountability in the educational system meant that the government insisted on a form of reporting achievement in conformity with reporting in other parts of the education system than English as a second language. This latter form of reporting embodied deeply held political values about the role of minorities in the educational system and equality and access within the system. These views were at odds with the views of experienced language teachers who were concerned with the welfare and the language development of English as a second language students in the schools. They felt that their framework for assessment was better targeted and more sensitive to the needs of these students, but this approach was at odds with the government policy of the time, and was not adopted.

Moore's study shows in general the role of government policy in determining and dictating test constructs, an issue which is apparent in educational systems all over the world. This has been documented extensively by Brindley (1998, 2001), Kunnan (2005) and others. For example, in the 'No Child Left Behind' policy, adopted in 2001 in the USA, compulsory assessment of achievement in English and other subject areas is a condition for the continued independence of the school. Schools which cannot demonstrate what is called 'adequate yearly progress' of their cohort of students on the tests involved, and where they are failing or falling short, do not show improvement year by year, are subjected to severe sanctions. Again, the role of language

assessment and other forms of assessment is to achieve government policy goals, and the implications of this policy in terms of its consequences throughout the whole system, is currently the subject of intensive study. Many of the consequences are unexpectedly negative.

A further example of the role of assessment frameworks as a tool of government policy is evident in the influence of the Common European Framework of Reference (Council of Europe, 2001) throughout language education in Europe, where a single reporting system is influencing language education at every level.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

A number of studies are currently being undertaken on further aspects of the social and political dimensions of tests. These include studies of the use of language tests in the processing of asylum seekers, in immigration contexts, in citizenship procedures, and as instruments for the implementation of educational policy.

A number of governments around the world are using language tests as part of the process of determining the claims of *asylum seekers* (Eades, 2005; Reath, 2004). Under international refugee conventions, if a refugee is from a state where there is evidence of persecution or human rights abuse, he or she has a right to asylum in other countries that are signatories to this convention. Establishing the nationality of the refugee claimant is thus crucial, but rendered problematic by the fact that the asylum seekers, given the circumstances of their departure, typically arrive without documentation. Receiving governments tend to want strong proof of nationality, on the grounds that sometimes false claims are made about nationality in order to claim refugee rights illegitimately.

One of the investigative tools used to determine nationality is a form of language test, in which the applicant is required to demonstrate proficiency in a variety held to be associated with a particular national status (on the grounds that Americans sound American, Australians sound Australian and so on). The crudeness of this assumption is of course a major problem: not all Americans sound American, not all Australians sound Australian and so on—it depends very much on the circumstances of their life, what linguistic influences they have been subjected to, what contact they have had with speakers of other varieties, and so on. Moreover, national and linguistic boundaries do not coincide in many countries, and careful sociolinguistic analysis is required to form a basis for making predictions about the language/nationality link in particular cases, research which is understandably usually entirely lacking in regions with the sort of history of political disturbance associated with refugee flows. Furthermore, the history of the refugees is usually complex in that they have spent time in a number of places along their

route to the country in which they seek asylum, and this will often have an influence on their linguistic behaviour, which may then be held against them. The construct on which the test is based, in other words, is quite problematic. Moreover, the assessment method is crude in the extreme. An interview with an immigration officer with the help of an interpreter is conducted in the language in question, and a tape recording is sent for linguistic analysis. Both the qualifications of those conducting the analysis, their methods and the criteria they use for determining their judgement of the case, frequently give serious grounds for concern. In particular, over-certain judgements are made in cases where the evidence is ambiguous at the very least. A further troubling aspect of the situation is that although the problems outlined earlier have been vigorously pointed out to government authorities by groups of concerned linguists and language testers (Eades, Fraser, Siegel, McNamara and Baker, 2003), no action has been taken to remedy them. The political advantage to governments of appearing to have a hard line on refugee claimants means that challenge on academic grounds may not be taken seriously. Despite this, a group of linguists internationally have developed guidelines for the use of expert linguistic evidence in the determination of the claims of refugees (Language and National Origin Group, 2004), and these have been adopted by relevant national and international organisations.

The use of language tests as part of *immigration* procedures is increasingly common. Nations may require of intending immigrants that they demonstrate proficiency in the national language for a mixture of pragmatic and ideological reasons. Pragmatically, knowledge of the national language is associated with increased chances of employment and successful integration into the host society. Moreover, in contexts where employment involves the use of the national language, the rights of those involved, such as patients, may need to be protected, as language proficiency can be seen as an aspect of professional competence. However, language tests have a potential for exclusion in such contexts. Recently in Europe, there have been obvious tensions involving host and minority communities in a number of countries and the response has sometimes involved language tests. For example, a recent decision of the government of the Netherlands has been to introduce a test in Dutch for all intending immigrants who will come as spouses of Dutch citizens. This is particularly important for the Moroccan community, which has had a tradition of seeking spouses from Morocco. All future intending immigrants who are intended spouses need to pass a test in Dutch which is administered in their country, for example Morocco, and this test is conducted by telephone. Its intention is clearly to exclude. The most notorious historical example of exclusion of immigrants via a language test is the Australian Dictation Test, which

was used in the early twentieth century as the primary method of implementing the racist immigration policy known as the 'White Australia Policy'. In this procedure, undesirable immigrants were given a language test on arrival in a language it had been established they did not know, and were thus bound to fail.

The use of language tests in *citizenship* procedures is also a significant issue worldwide. Many countries (for example the USA) have long had a requirement of some knowledge of the national language for citizenship. But the procedures for establishing competence have been informal, often carried out by untrained government personnel as part of a citizenship procedure. Even where the test was administered in a supportive and kindly fashion, Winn (2005), in an American study, found that approximately 16% of the applicants failed the test.

The failure to gain citizenship on the basis of ignorance of the national language raises the question of on what grounds language should be seen as a requirement for citizenship. There are usually two arguments made: one is that the person concerned needs to be able to understand enough about the politics of the country, and to receive communications from the government about matters to do with the rights and responsibilities of citizenship to participate in the political life of the country. However, it might be argued that this information could be supplied in a language with which the person is familiar (although in extensively multiethnic communities such as London, or where people are not literate, this will involve practical difficulties and possibly considerable expense). A second argument is that knowledge of the language will be an indication of a desire to integrate, or of an existing level of integration, into the host community. This latter argument is becoming more prominent in the context of inflamed inter-group relations in Europe, and elsewhere; for example, in England and Australia, immigrant clerics are required to be proficient in English, given their role in integrating the community into the host community.

It is significant that the level of proficiency required for citizenship differs from country to country. In this the formulation of policy in relation to specific inter-group contexts and inter-group tensions is clear, as obviously the level of functional communicative skill required for social and political participation will be similar across contexts. The reality is different, for example in Europe, where different countries have differing requirements in terms of levels on the Common European Framework of Reference.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

The main difficulties impeding progress in this area are a reluctance on the part of the language-testing profession to seriously engage with

language testing as a social and political practice, and the lack of an adequate theory of the social context in which tests find their place even within discussions of the social dimensions of language tests. The reluctance, some might argue, is due to an uncertainty as to what exactly to do about language testing as a social and political practice; it may appear safer to bury one's head in the sand. The theoretical gap is largely due to the relative isolation of language testing from other parts of applied linguistics, and from the humanities in general. Most theories of communication in language testing lack a relevant theory of social context. Social context in the applied linguistics literature on which testing draws is understood in the way that it is understood in Hymes's model of communicative competence, that is, as determining rules for speaking, which form another aspect of proficiency, still understood as a purely cognitive issue. This cognitive orientation is central to Bachman's model of communicative language ability (Bachman, 1990; McNamara, 1997, 2003). The lack of an appropriate model of the broader social context in which to consider the social and political functions of tests is true of work in validity theory in general, even in progressive theories such as Messick and Kane.

It is not that relevant theories are not available. Developments in social theory have great potential for illuminating the social context of tests: for example in the work of Bourdieu, as pointed out by Elana Shohamy (2001) and Pamela Moss (1998). A particularly rich potential source is Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* (Foucault, 1977 [1975]), which deals with the historical emergence of the examination as a key instrument of modernity. In Foucault's view, a fundamental historical transformation took place in the eighteenth century, whereby power was instituted not by brute physical force, but by means of inspection and surveillance. The prototype of this is the model prison, in which prisoners were permanently conscious of potentially being under surveillance, whether they actually were or not. This consciousness was enough to discipline them, because it made them internally aware of the power that kept them under surveillance. This led to an internalisation of consciousness, so that the prisoners in effect disciplined themselves. Foucault argues that the prison is emblematic of the power of examination and classification in general in modern society, in which power is rendered invisible and the subject of that power, the individual, is made visible through inspection and categorisation. The categorisation of individuals is then internalised by them and is the basis for their sense of themselves, their subjectivity. Tests thus play a major role in modern society in constructing social identities.

Unfortunately, the training of language testers does not typically include exposure to such social theory, or the critiques of testing as a social practice that it implies. This is perhaps not surprising given that

such perspectives are still a minority tradition within applied linguistics more generally.

A further problem is who should carry out research on the social and political functions of tests, even given an appropriate theoretical orientation to the question. It is not clear that those who are responsible for the development of the tests should simultaneously be responsible for the critical perspective on them. Bachman (2005) has suggested a procedure for considering test use as part of a larger validity argument, following Kane. While this seems sensible from a practical point of view as far as the test developer is concerned, it should not be understood as encompassing all the possibilities for research on the political and social functions of tests. The field of language testing needs to become more diverse in scope, with research within the context of test development complemented by a different kind of research on the social function of tests.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Work informed by an understanding of testing as a social practice is needed in a number of domains. In education, assessment frameworks are being used to determine the way in which educational outcomes are reported. This simple expedient effectively gives control over the curriculum. There is thus a need to understand the way in which such assessments in schools, used to implement and evaluate social and educational policy, impact on the teaching and learning process and the role of teachers as mediators of the assessment. The overwhelming bureaucratic character of language assessment in schools threatens to make teachers even more cynical about it and ways of turning it to productive account for teachers and learners is crucial. Work in Britain by Rea-Dickins (2001) and Leung (2005), in Australia by McKay (2000) and in Hong Kong by Davison (2004) has begun to explore this issue. In the USA, where outcomes reporting is associated with drastic penalties for 'failing' schools under the 'No Child Left Behind' policy, the impact of assessment is more directly observable, but there are many indirect effects of this policy as well, for example, its damaging impact on bilingual education. Much ongoing research is addressing these issues (Byrnes, 2005), and more needs to be done.

The use of tests in citizenship is likely to be the subject of much further research and debate, in order to inform public debate on the issue of in what contexts and with what procedures it can work constructively and humanely, and in which contexts it is destructive and goes against the rights of citizens. We also need to evaluate, for example through case studies, the ways in which researchers in language

testing can productively engage with policy makers, to attempt to exert the maximum influence on policy development.

As international education develops, the impact of major international English language tests on the identity of those who take them, both those who pass and those who fail, needs to be explored. Language testing also needs to engage with the issue of the de-authorisation of the native speaker as the norm for assessment. How to assess competence in English as a lingua franca is an urgent priority. The beginnings of such a discussion are present in a recent paper by Elder and Davies (2006), and papers given at a symposium on the subject at the Language Testing Research Colloquium in Melbourne in 2006.

More broadly, there is an urgent need for validity theory to engage with broader social theory, again, a task that has barely begun. This will have implications for the training of researchers in language testing, who need to be introduced to a much broader range of contributing disciplines relevant to their research. The task ahead is very large and very complex, but it has the potential to mark a moment of significant change in language testing as a research field. The social and political functions of language tests can no longer be ignored.

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## ETHICS, PROFESSIONALISM, RIGHTS AND CODES

### INTRODUCTION

The chapter considers various definitions of a profession and examines the claims of language testing to professional status. Against the traditional professions of law and medicine, language testing's claims are not strong. However, what it can do is to publish its commitment to ethics by means of a Code of Ethics. This provides for accountability both to members of the profession and to its stakeholders. This drive to accountability, to make its principles and practices explicit, explains the emphasis given in the language testing literature to the role of standards, both as goals and as the criteria for evaluating language testing procedures. It also explains the concern in the profession to uphold individual rights, especially those of test-takers. The chapter accepts that both professionalism and Codes of Ethics can be used improperly for face-saving ends and raises the question of how far issues to do with ethics, professionalism, rights and codes can be subsumed under the overall concepts of reliability and validity.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENT: PROFESSIONS

Max Weber (Gerth and Mills 1948) contrasted professions with bureaucracy, seeing in professions the paradigm form of collegiate activity in which rational power is based on representative democracy and leaders in principle are first among equals. Fullwinder provides the following criteria for a profession:

1. It is a performance for public good
2. It contains special knowledge and training
3. It deals mainly with people who for different reasons are especially vulnerable and dependent in their relationship to the practice of the professional (1996, p. 73)

Such criteria are readily applicable to the traditional professions of law and medicine, which explains Fullwinder's further comment that what distinguishes a profession from, say, a business is its primary concern with public good; this is to say "that doctors and lawyers do

not exploit . . . vulnerability, but help persons overcome serious threats to their health and rights constitutes the great public good of the two professions” (1996, pp. 73, 74). And he suggests that whether or not an activity meets the criteria for a profession may be determined by completing the following schema: “The profession of . . . serves the . . . needs of persons” ( p. 74).

Webster’s Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary of the English Language (1994 edition) defines a profession as a calling. This primary definition ‘a calling’ alerts us to the derivation of profession: “professing, to profess: to commit oneself < profiteri, to declare publicly, to own or confess freely, to give evidence and thus to avow, in particular to declare oneself to be something (a friend, a philosopher, a physician, a teacher) entailing a pledge of capacity to fulfil the undertaking” (Siggins, 1996, p. 56).

Siggins makes much of the early monastic influence:

The profession of religion was the technical term for conversion to the monastic life and its vows . . . when universities appeared in a resurgent Renaissance Europe, it was first of all the teachers of sacred theology who were called ‘professors’ (: 57) . . . the transition from cloister to university, however, laid the groundwork for the emergence of these disciplines (law, medicine) as proud, autonomous and eventually secular orders of society. (pp. 63, 64).

Marshall (1994, p. 419) defines a profession as “a form of work organization, a type of work orientation and a highly effective process of interest group control..” Such an organization requires:

- A central regulatory body to ensure the standards of performance of individual members
- A code of conduct
- Careful management of knowledge in relation to members’ expertise
- Control of entry numbers.

There is a more sceptical view of the professions, querying their concern for the public good and seeing them as interest groups set up so as to exercise control over clients by means of socially constructed problems and thereby exert power. Ivan Illich (1987) saw the professions as totally self-interested and hypocritical. They created new needs among the general population and then made the public totally dependent. This approach treats professional ethics as an ideology rather than as an orientation necessarily adhered to or meaningful in practice. Marshall (1994) contends that, in such a setting, entry and knowledge controls function as a form of status exclusion for privileged and remunerative employment. And, somewhat ironically, while trade unions, that parallel (and very different) form of work sodality, become more professional in practice and orientation through, for example, job-entry

controls, so the professions become more unionate, permitting for example collective bargaining and embracing industrial conflict.

In recent years many work related activities have sought to describe themselves as professional, thus travel agents, (real) estate agents, podiatrists, business consultants, language testers and so on. The reason for what has been called 'the professionalization of everything' is, no doubt, greater public demand for accountability and widespread desire to emulate the status accorded to the law and medicine.

One device which provides for accountability by its apparent openness, thereby permitting the profession to publish its concern for the common good is a Code (of Ethics and/or Practice), discussed more fully below. Such codes set out the principles the profession binds itself to maintaining. Skene (1996) proposes that there are two types of code: the first type is intended to maintain standards of practice within the profession and to protect the community. The provisions of this first type of code may be prescriptive (and duty-oriented) or aspirational (and virtue-related). The second type is intended to protect the interests (especially the financial ones) of the profession and of its members, by including rules new members must accede to: and requiring that only fully qualified people may be admitted to the profession, that members must be loyal to one another, and that they should not compete unfairly with one another.

Language testing has in the last 20 or so years sought to professionalize itself. To that end, it has provided itself with both national and international professional associations such as the International Language Testing Association (ILTA), the Association of Language Testers of Europe (ALTE), the European Association for Language Testing and Assessment (EALTA), the Japan Language Testing Association (JALT), established regular professional conferences (e.g., the Language Testing Research Colloquium (LTRC), supported the publication of two (at least) international academic journals *Language Testing* (LT), *Language Assessment Quarterly* (LAQ), developed sophisticated web-pages, and established a range of academic training and qualifications available in many countries. ILTA has agreed to a Code of Ethics and is now working on a draft Code of Practice; EALTA, ALTE, JALT, among other associations, have produced their own codes.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS: ETHICS

The basic concerns of language testing, that its work should be reliable, valid and practical and that it should take responsibility for its impact, fall on different sides of the two explanations for acting ethically. The first explanation is the deontological (following the philosopher, Kant) which takes account of its intrinsic value the second is teleological

(following the philosopher, Hobbes) which takes account only of consequences. Thus we could crudely align validity and practicality with the deontological explanation and reliability and impact with the teleological explanation which means that ethically we cannot choose between the deontological and the teleological because we must take account of both present value and of future effects (Kunnan, 2000; Lynch, 1997).

One of the chief roles for ethics is to maintain a balance between the rights of the individual and the demands of the social. The danger is that in our attempts to be fair to individuals we may end up by destroying the social, making all morality individual and therefore never achieving fairness. We are left, writes Osborne only with ‘personal ethics or the search for small forms of valid knowledge’ (1992, p. 181).

However, there is a way out of such a solipsist trap, as Jackson (1996) shows. Discussing Codes of Practice, she points out that morality is never absolute. For example, codes of health and safety require a clause which limits the protection of employees to ‘within reason’. Such a clause takes a common sense approach recognizing that (i) there are rules and that (ii) how they are interpreted depends on the local context. For ILTA, this has raised the difficult problem of reconciling its global statement of ethical commitment with what may be differently interpreted in local situations. Hence the recourse to a twin approach: the Code of Ethics as the statement of abstract principles and the Code of Practice as the explanation of how these principles are put into local practice.

Codes of Ethics have greater validity for organizations claiming to be professional when there is a single form of activity, one basic qualification, where there is mainly one type of work, and where the activity is already strongly organized and formally registered. The professions of law and medicine are again the obvious canonical examples.

It has been suggested that ethics in language testing is no more than an extended validity. This is the argument of Alderson, Clapham and Wall (1995), that ethics is made up of a combination of validity and washback. Validity, and particularly consequential validity, is defined by Messick (1989) as being concerned with the social consequences of test use and how test interpretations are arrived at. Gipps (1994) considers that consequential validity represents a shift from: “a purely technical perspective to a test-use perspective – which I would characterise as an ethical perspective” (Gipps, 1994, p. 146).

An ethical perspective for a language tester is necessary (Kunnan, 2005). However, in all professional statements of morality a limit needs to be imposed on what is achievable or even perhaps desirable. In my view, therefore, the apparent open-ended offer of consequential validity goes too far. It is just not possible for a tester as a member of a

profession to take account of all possible social consequences (Davies, 1997a). What can be done is the internal (technical) bias analysis and a willingness to be accountable for a test's 'fairness', or in other words, limited and predictable social consequences we can take account of and regard ourselves as responsible for. A language test to select trainees for an organization of torturers is surely unacceptable to the profession. However, if that organization, unknown to me, makes use for selection purposes of a language test I have designed, it is surely unjust that I should be deemed guilty, or that I should blame myself for unethical conduct.

After all, can an architect be blamed if the building he or she designed some years ago is used for ugly racist meetings? In the absence of sanctions for exclusion of members for unethical conduct and of the legal backing to require that those who practice language testing are properly qualified and certified, what the professional associations of language testing can offer is to create an 'ethical milieu' (Homan, 1991) through education: the community of self-governing scholars are inspired deontologically by their ambition to contribute to the public good.

Helping create the ethical milieu is the Code of Ethics (and/or of Practice) which makes the direct link between the members of the profession (test developers in all their manifold activities) and their clients (test users). Professionalism is thus demonstrated and the profession is shown to be accountable by the acceptance of a Code of Ethics, by the publication of the profession's standards and by the recognition of stakeholders' rights.

#### CODES OF ETHICS AND OF PRACTICE

A professional Code of Ethics is a set of principles which draws upon moral philosophy and serves to guide good professional conduct. It is neither a statute nor a regulation and it does not provide guidelines for practice, but it is intended to offer a benchmark of satisfactory ethical behaviour by members of the profession. A Code of Ethics is based on a blend of the principles of beneficence, non-maleficence, justice, a respect for autonomy and for civil society.

Some professions do not publish a separate Code of Practice, assuming that their Code of Ethics covers both ethics and practice. Where there is a separate Code of Practice, its purpose is to instantiate the Code of Ethics. While the Code of Ethics focuses on the morals and ideals of the profession, the Code of Practice identifies the minimum requirements for practice in the profession and focuses on the clarification of professional misconduct and unprofessional conduct. An international association such as ILTA has to take account on the one

hand of universal agreement on principles and on the other of possibly different interpretations of those principles in practice. For that reason, a separate Code of Practice has been mooted and is now under discussion. (Both the Code of Ethics and the draft Code of Practice may be accessed on the ILTA home page: <http://www.iltaonline.com/>).

The ILTA Code of Ethics (see below) identifies 9 fundamental principles, each elaborated by a series of annotations which generally clarify the nature of the principles; they prescribe what ILTA members ought to do or not do, or more generally how they ought to comport themselves or what they, or the profession, ought to aspire to; and they identify the difficulties and exceptions inherent in the application of the principles. The Annotations further elaborate the Code's sanctions, making clear that failure to uphold the Code may have serious penalties, such as withdrawal of ILTA membership on the advice of the ILTA Ethics Committee.

Although this Code derives from other similar ethical codes (stretching back into history), it does endeavour to reflect the ever changing balance of societal and cultural values across the world. Language testers are independent moral agents and sometimes they may have a personal moral stance which conflicts with participation in certain procedures. They are morally entitled to refuse to participate in procedures which would violate personal moral belief. Language testers accepting employment positions where they foresee they may be called on to be involved in situations at variance with their beliefs have a responsibility to acquaint their employer or prospective employer with this fact. Employers and colleagues have a responsibility to ensure that such language testers are not discriminated against in their workplace.

## ILTA CODE OF ETHICS

### *Principle 1*

Language testers shall have respect for the humanity and dignity of each of their test takers. They shall provide them with the best possible professional consideration and shall respect all persons' needs, values and cultures in the provision of their language testing service.

### *Principle 2*

Language testers shall hold all information obtained in their professional capacity about their test takers in confidence and they shall use professional judgement in sharing such information.

*Principle 3*

Language testers should adhere to all relevant ethical principles embodied in national and international guidelines when undertaking any trial, experiment, treatment or other research activity.

*Principle 4*

Language testers shall not allow the misuse of their professional knowledge or skills, in so far as they are able.

*Principle 5*

Language testers shall continue to develop their professional knowledge, sharing this knowledge with colleagues and other language professionals.

*Principle 6*

Language testers shall share the responsibility of upholding the integrity of the language testing profession.

*Principle 7*

Language testers in their societal roles shall strive to improve the quality of language testing, assessment and teaching services, promote the just allocation of those services and contribute to the education of society regarding language learning and language proficiency.

*Principle 8*

Language testers shall be mindful of their obligations to the society where they work, while recognizing that those obligations may on occasion conflict with their responsibilities to their test takers and to other stakeholders.

*Principle 9*

Language testers shall regularly consider the potential effects, both short and long term on all stakeholders of their projects, reserving the right to withhold their professional services on the grounds of conscience.

(The annotations, some quite lengthy, have been omitted here for reasons of space. They may be consulted on the ILTA home page: <http://www.iltaonline.com/>)

The ILTA draft Code of Practice is, as has been mentioned, still under consideration. Here are examples of items in the draft Code. As will be seen, they are very different from the principles forming the Code of Ethics.

B4: The work of the task and item writers needs to be edited before pretesting. If pretesting is not possible, the tasks and items should be analysed after the test has been administered but before the results are reported. Malfunctioning or misfitting tasks and items should not be included in the calculation of individual test takers' reported scores.

B6: Those doing the scoring should be trained for the task and both inter- and intra-rater reliability should be calculated and published.

B7: Test materials should be kept in a safe place and handled in such a way that no test taker is allowed to gain an unfair advantage over the other test takers.

D: Obligations of those preparing and administering publicly available tests. They should:

D5: Refrain from making any false or misleading claims about the test

D6: Publish a test takers' handbook

G: Rights and responsibilities of test takers.

As a test taker you have the right to:

G5: Know in advance of testing when the tests will be administered, if and when test results will be available to you, and if there is a fee for testing services that you are expected to pay.

G6: Have the test administered and your test results interpreted by appropriately trained individuals who follow professional codes of ethics.

Codes of Ethics and/or of Practice are necessary because they indicate a profession's seriousness about its activities and its relation to stakeholders. However, they come with two problems. The first problem is that while strong professions such as medicine and the law have firm entry requirements and agreed sanctions for misbehaving members, weak professions such as language testing do not have such professional rules in place, rules that have legal backing. In their absence, what can be attempted is the building of an 'ethical milieu' (Homan 1991) through a professional association (such as ILTA) that organizes regular conferences and sees to the dissemination of research through dedicated journals (such as *Language Testing* and *Language Assessment Quarterly*). Moreover, only through these published articles can the Codes of Ethics and/or of Practice help establish the professional culture. However, this is where we must acknowledge the second problem, which is once the Codes are published they can act as firewall statements of integrity that protect members from external criticism

even when their practice falls short. In other words, a Code can be a charter for contemptuous hypocrisy (Boyd and Davies, 2002; Davies, 2002, 2004,).

#### WORK IN PROGRESS: STANDARDS

The current drive for accountability may explain the frequent references everywhere to ‘standards’ and therefore suggest to us that the standards concept is new and original. It is not. The search for standards has a long tradition, often under different names, the most common probably being norms, but there are other familiar terms such as rules and conventions. What they all indicate is that there are social goals and that there are agreed ways of reaching towards those goals.

Brindley places standards under the broad heading of outcome statements: these, he considers, can refer to standards themselves and to benchmarks, attainment targets, bandscales, profiles and competencies, all of which are “broadly speaking, standards of performance against which learners’ progress and achievement can be compared” (Brindley, 1998, p. 48). Elder argues that within institutions, standards have more authority since they can be used as non-negotiable goals (Elder, 2000a).

In language assessment, standards have two senses. I note them here and then discuss each in turn:

1. The skills and/or knowledge required to achieve mastery and proficiency levels leading to mastery, along with the measures that operationalize these skills and/or knowledge and the grades indicative of mastery at each level.
2. The procedures followed by test constructors which provide evidence to stakeholders that the test/assessment/examination/evaluation is serious and can be trusted, demonstrating, often through a code of ethics, that the test constructors are operating professionally.

The two senses are also sometimes combined.

In the first sense, standards are the goal, the level of performance required or explained, thus “the standard required for entry to the university is an A in English”; ‘English standards are rising’ (Davies, Brown, Elder, Hill, Lumley, McNamara, 1999, p. 185). Stakeholders, of course, rightly wish to know what is meant by such statements, how they are arrived at and what is the evidence for making them. For this, there are three requirements: description, measurement and reporting.

There needs to be a description of the standard or level, an explicit statement of the measure that will indicate that the level has or has

not been reached and a means of reporting that decision through grades, scores, impressions, profiles and so on.

Description, measure, report, these three stages are essential, although there may be blurring of stages 2 and 3, such that the report is included within the measure. Where classical objective tests such as the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL), the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) differ from the scale approaches of the Inter-Agency Round Table (IAR), the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL), the International Second Language Proficiency Ratings (ISLPR) is in their unequal implementation of the three stages. The tests offer measures and reports, but may be light on the first stage, description. The scales provide description and reports but may lack a measuring instrument (Davies, 1995).

The move away in recent times from the objective test to the subjective scale is no doubt part of the widespread rejection in the social sciences of positivism, fuelled by the socio-cultural turn and concern for critical language testing (Shohamy, 1997). However, it also has a more practical explanation. In large-scale operations common standards may be more readily acceptable if they are imposed by a scale, which is open to local interpretations. A contemporary example is found in the Council of Europe's Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment (CEFR, 2003). The CEFR, then, is not a measure. For measuring purposes the CEFR operates as a common reference to which local and national assessment instruments can relate (Taylor, 2004).

Large-scale operations like the CEFR may be manipulated unthinkingly by juggernaut-like centralizing institutions. Mitchell describes the misconceived imposition of the Attainment Targets and Level Descriptors of the UK's National Curriculum for Modern Foreign Languages, asserting that the longer-term impact of these standards "will certainly be to reduce diversity and experimentation [...] we are likely to lose the more ambitious and more experiential interpretations of communicative language teaching, which has [...] historically been found at local level" (Mitchell, 2001, p. 174). Elder reports a similar case of inappropriate standards for LOTE (Languages other than English) in Australia (Elder, 2000b). Bailey and Butler, discussing the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) program in the USA, complain that, because of recent changes to the federal law, no distinction is made between English learners and native speakers. The law now requires "the inclusion of English Learner students in new mandated assessment systems. The NCLB Act of 2001 increases school accountability" (Bailey and Butler, 2004, p. 183). Such mismatches are not unlike the possible CEFR massaging of local measures since in all cases what is in

train is the imposition of one overall set of standards nationally, regionally or even the global macdonaldization of language standards. However, our scepticism may be misjudged and out of place, since by their very nature standards are ambitious for wider and wider acceptance. There really is little point, after all, in establishing standards just for me if they have no meaning or application for you or anyone else; similarly with standards for a class, school, city and so on. What then is wrong about the Mitchell, the Elder and the Bailey and Butler cases is not that they were attempts at expanding the range and distribution of standards but that they were, for the populations discussed, the wrong standards.

In the second sense, standards are a set of principles that can be used as a basis for evaluating what language testers do, such as carrying out the appropriate procedures. When a school principal maintains that his or her school is 'maintaining standards' the implication is that achievement levels over time are constant. When an examination body such as Educational Testing Service (ETS) or the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (UCLES) claims that they are 'maintaining standards' what they seem to mean is that they are carrying out the appropriate procedures, such as standard-setting (Griffin, 2001). Standard-setting is a technical exercise, involving, as it does, the determining of cut-scores for a test, either for pass/fail or for each level in a band system. However, it is worth remembering, that standard setting remains a substantially political and ethical issue: "there can be no purely technical solution to the problem of standard setting in this context" (of an English test for ESL health professionals), the decision "remains intrinsically ethical and political; no amount of technical sophistication will remove the necessity for such decisions" (Lumley, Lynch and McNamara, 1994, p. 39).

To an extent, this is where Messick's theorizing (1989) has taken us in his attempt to provide one overall coherent framework for the description, the measurement and the reporting of standards and the systematic effects they have on all stakeholders. The term that has come to be associated with his conceptualization is, as we have seen, that of consequential validity, but it does seem that impact may be an alternative name for it (Hawkey, 2006). Impact studies the effects that a test has when put to use: this is more than the more frequently used term washback precisely because it is concerned not with just how a test works in one situation but with its systemic influences. As such, impact can investigate fundamental issues about standards: are they the right ones for the purposes intended, are they fully and openly described, are they attached to reliable and valid measures, is the reporting clear and precise and does the test produce desirable outcomes in the form of more appropriate and useful teaching? What

impact studies, then, can do is to enable us to re-evaluate and make explicit not just the standards we promote but the very view of language we take for granted.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES: RIGHTS

Rights are of two kinds, natural or inalienable rights and civil rights. Natural rights are those freedoms that belong to every individual by virtue of being human: they include the right to protect one's life and property. Civil rights include those rights granted to the citizens of a state by its legal institutions and legislative authorities. These imply the right of access to the legal system for protection and claims against others, for defence against charges, for protection of the law and for equality of treatment under the law.

There is no absolute distinction between natural and civil rights. Claims (or needs or aspirations) such as a good education, decent housing, health care, employment, an adequate standard of living, equality of opportunity, freedom of speech, freedom to take part in political processes, are regarded by some as belonging to civil rights and by others to natural rights. Furthermore, since it is governments that protect and maintain (and, pragmatically, grant) all rights, then even inalienable rights may be (and sometimes are) regarded as kinds of civil rights. The argument is that a right that has not been granted by the state is not a real right, thus in a slave-owning society, slaves, it could be argued, have no natural right to freedom or equality because their society does not accord equal rights as citizens to slaves. However, the point of making a distinction between civil and natural rights is to make explicit that some rights (such as political participation, equality under the law) remain rights; they are inalienable even if they are not granted, even if they are removed.

Now rights do not exist on their own. They impose reciprocal obligations, duties to act in certain ways as required by moral or ethical principles, promises, social commitments and the law. My claim to a right requires that I accept that it imposes an obligation. For example, my right to free speech means that I acknowledge that others also have the same right and that I accept that in pursuing my right I do not harm others' rights to, for example, the pursuit of their own happiness or their right to equal treatment under the law.

In other words, I must not, in exercising my right to free speech, tell lies about other people. Further, I must accept that my right to free speech, for example, entails an acceptance on my part that in order to fulfil my obligation to others, I must be prepared to limit my own right.

The universality of human rights requires that everyone act to ensure that others' rights are also observed. However, the new professionalism,

influenced no doubt by the climate of postmodernism, is about giving more power to clients in the context of the professional relationship, even though the focus is still on the professional as the one holding the power (Banks, 1995, p. 105). In the same way, the critical turn in applied linguistics and language testing (Pennycook, 2001; Shohamy, 2001) insists on the ethical importance of recognizing the rights of all stakeholders. And since language testing disempowers test takers in particular, the ILTA draft Code of Practice, as we have seen, highlights test takers' rights.

### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Being professional, a state to which, as we have observed, many aspire, means making a commitment to ethics, establishing and observing standards and recognizing the rights of all those professionals engage with, including themselves. A profession becomes strong and ethical precisely by being professional (Davies, 1997b). What a code of ethics does is to remind us of what we already know, that language testers are a serious organization, committed to a social purpose, to maintaining standards, to upholding the rights of all stakeholders and to working professionally with colleagues. It is important to spell out in a code of ethics what this means, but there is something to be said for the conclusion that Alderson, Clapham and Wall (1995) came to, that being ethical in language testing could be guaranteed by the traditional precepts of reliability and validity.

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LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT IN HISTORICAL AND  
FUTURE PERSPECTIVE

The challenge in the title that I have been assigned is daunting; if only I still had the chutzpa that I had 30 years ago when I happily divided the history of language testing into three periods (Spolsky, 1977)! Since then, having actually spent many months some 20 years later studying the history of the field (Spolsky, 1995b), I am much less confident about my ability to describe its development and quite certain that any predictions that I may make have little chance of being correct: as the Talmud points out, now that prophecy is dead, only fools and babies venture to do it.

What I plan to do in this short paper is to sketch out a number of key events in the history of testing in general and language testing in particular, using them as labels for clusters of approaches to assessing human abilities that continue to show up in one form or another under varying circumstances. Because it is not always clear that a new approach is derived from an older one, I will not argue that these add up to any record of progress in the field (this was the basic flaw in my 1977 paper, where I was attempting to argue that the current approach was the best). There were influences, no doubt, but each is best seen as an adaptation to contemporary concerns and possibilities. Nor will I take the position that so many critics do: *swa lengra, swa wurs*—things go on getting worse, as the bad drives out the good.

In the history of testing, the Chinese Imperial examinations naturally come first, as they were the first state-wide effort to establish a testing system under centralized control. There were times during the 2000 year history of the system that the Emperor himself saw the final papers. The aim of the examination system was to winnow out of a large pool of candidates the very best who would be selected for government office as Mandarins with subsequent major financial reward. The Chinese principle, as Macaulay (1853) called it when arguing in the British Parliament for its adoption as a method of selecting cadets for the Indian Civil Service, involved a long and complex academic examination intended to test and rank a number of well-prepared candidates. It had no interest in evaluating or influencing an educational system, but its only concern was sorting and selecting the very best. While the Imperial examinations faded away even before the last of the Emperors (Franke, 1960), they had a major effect in establishing

a very strong (and potentially unhealthy) respect for testing in China and other countries under Chinese influence, producing continued pressure from examination systems in Japan and Korea as well as China.

This first major examination may well be contrasted with the medieval Treviso test, in which the students of the school were assessed at the end of the year by representatives of the city council, which then paid the schoolmaster according to the success of his students (Ariès, 1962; Madaus, 1990). The important characteristics of this approach were its focus on the educational process, its use of the school curriculum as specification of content, and its interest in ranking pupils only in terms of their mastery of the curriculum. When in the sixteenth century the Jesuits brought the Chinese notion of examinations to Europe, they adapted it to the Treviso purpose of the control of the curriculum: in the classical Christian School of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (de La Salle, 1720), pupils were tested at regular intervals on their mastery of the curriculum that had been covered, and their progress through the curriculum was determined by the success of the regular examinations.

During the French Revolution, the religious schools were secularized and their examination system was further modified to suit the needs of strong central government. Napoleon (another Emperor) established academies in each department to be responsible for the administration of the centrally controlled examination, the core of which was the Bac (baccalaureat), which marks the culmination of secondary school study (Théry, 1861). The system continues in effect, its emphasis on government control proving popular in other countries as well.

The oral examination for lieutenants that Samuel Pepys introduced into the British Navy at the end of the seventeenth century (Tomalin, 2003) had features of the Chinese Imperial Examination in that it wished to replace patronage by merit and of the Treviso test in that its concern was not with ranking but with mastery.

In England in the nineteenth century, there were important new approaches. Macaulay (Macaulay, 1853) argued for the examinations that were used initially for the Indian and later for the English Civil Service. They were modelled on the examinations used at Oxford and Cambridge, the goal of which was to rank a comparatively small number of well-prepared candidates; at Oxford, those who did well received first, second, or third class honors; and at Cambridge, the best students in the Tripos was called senior Wrangler. A similar approach was adopted in nineteenth-century Prussia in the selection of magistrates (McClelland, 1980). In England, the popular esteem in which examinations were held made it possible towards the end of the century to develop quite a different approach, the examinations (commonly

conducted by school inspectors) to assess the achievement of pupils in state schools.

In the early years of the twentieth century, there was an effort to extend this school-based testing by the use of the objective techniques being developed by the growing field of psychometrics. In England, the interest was short lived (Burt, 1921) but revived 20 years later, but in the USA, where a number of interested parties trumpeted the mythical success of intelligence testing by the army in the First World War (Reed, 1987; Yerkes, 1921), the 1920's were marked by the proliferation of tests and testing companies ready to sell them to schools. The American or objective test (initially true-false but increasingly later multiple-choice) came to be seen as the ideal instrument for most assessment purposes. Occasionally adopted elsewhere, it met resistance in much of the world until the full forces of globalization after the Second World War led to its rapid proliferation and current virtual universalization.

Language testing grew up against this background. The various tests that have been described often included components intended to assess language competence. Where the emphasis was on literate skills, the method was generally to require composition or translation (and later, as these do not lend themselves to objective testing, comprehension which can be tested with multiple-choice items). When oral skills were considered important (in sixteenth century Cambridge University where students were still expected to know Latin well enough to use it, or in testing spoken language ability when it was valued), there was oral testing, but it proved particularly difficult to adjust to the requirements of large-scale objective testing (Spolsky, 1990). In special cases, however, such as the comparatively small-scale elite testing for the US diplomatic service (Wilds, 1975), there were reasons and resources to develop a comparatively standard method of assessing spoken ability.

This, as they used to say in the old continuous movie houses, is sort of where we came in. For many current language testers, the history of our field seems to start in the 1960s, the beginning of the large-scale industrialization and centralization of language testing that has come to be based in Princeton and Cambridge. My 1977 view of this point in time was a progression from an assumed 'traditional' examination (consisting of written translation, composition, comprehension, and grammar) through a psychometrically driven testing of structural linguistic items that had formed the basis of such tests as the Michigan Lado test of English (Lado, 1951). More recently, we had perceived a new trend that combined John Carroll's argument for integrative testing (Carroll, 1961) with the experience of the FSI oral examination all modified in the light of Cooper's argument for adding sociolinguistic aspects (Cooper, 1968).

Looking back over the half-century during which language assessment has developed into an identifiable academic field as well as a major industry, there are several interesting trends which are worth identifying. One, particularly relevant to the academic field but with strong influence on practical test development, has been the effort to overcome what was recognized a hundred years ago as the unavoidable uncertainty of examinations (Edgeworth, 1888). The field of psychometrics has been struggling ever since to find ways of making tests reliable and valid. Once statistical methods of establishing reliability were found, replacing single individual measures with large numbers of items lending themselves to appropriate statistical treatment, testers could argue that their test was reliable: in other words, that it would have much the same result when repeated on other occasions or other candidates. More difficult has been agreement on the validity, essentially the meaning rather than the stability of the result. In the early days of language testing, tests were considered valid if they correlated well with other tests. The justification for a new test was a fairly high correlation (say 0.8, which meant that two-thirds of the variation had been accounted for) with some existing test it was meant to replace. The last 50 years have seen much more robust and intelligent efforts to establish validity. There have been rare efforts to validate the predictive power of a test: the early versions of the IELTS were validated by asking university tutors whether the results agreed with their own judgement of English knowledge of foreign students who had taken it (Criper and Davies, 1988). For many years, ETS explained that each institution should carry out its own validation study of the TOEFL results of students they admitted; very few did this, however. Another proposal was construct validation, an effort to build a theoretical model of the ability being measured and then to determine that test items could reasonably be assumed to measure the various described aspects of the construct. The notion of validity was greatly broadened by the work of Lyle Bachman (1990, 2000) who applied to language testing the extended definition of validity proposed by Messick (Messick, 1980, 1989). The pursuit of validity continues: Bachman has now found ways to integrate the social implications and the use of language test results into the model, although Bruno seems skeptical.

A second major trend has been the complications involved in what Carroll called integrative testing, the assessment of samples of language (written or spoken) produced by the candidates and only susceptible to objective measurement by requiring human judgement. Language testers in the 1930s and 1940s often wanted to test these performances, but were challenged by the psychometric difficulties

of establishing reliability on the one hand and in determining which factors led to individual judgments on the other. The use of such tests were practically difficult: in the 1940s, the Cambridge testers had to use Post Office engineers to record samples of oral tests to try to train new judges; in 1961, the ETS representative easily dissuaded the TOEFL planners from including a writing sample because of the expense of air mailing examination booklets to the USA; in the mammoth Chinese English Test, oral testing by two examiners was restricted to 100,000 or so of the 6 million candidates who took the test each time it was given.

But there continued to be pressure. During the brief flourishing of the Armed Services Training Program (Iglehard, 1997, Spolsky, 1995a), Kaulfers (1944) planned but never implemented a scale for oral testing soldiers in the program. When later during the Cold War the Assistant Secretary of State insisted that American diplomats be tested for their language proficiency, oral ability could no longer be left out, and the Foreign Service Institute, with advice from John Carroll, developed a scale and began in 1956 a system of interview testing using two or three judges (Sollenberger, 1978). Nearly twenty years later, information about the test was made available to academic language testers (Jones, 1979; Wilds, 1975), and it became the model for oral testing in other government agencies (Clark 1988; Lowe 1988) and (controversially) for foreign language testing in the United States and elsewhere (American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages 1982; 1986; Bahcman and Savignon 1986; Henning 1992a).

We thus had two major trends: a pursuit of reliability that provided backing for the development of industrialized objective tests, and a market-driven demand for more or less reliable measurement of productive proficiency. The first of these led to the development of the large-scale industrial test. While most early language tests were the work of individual language teachers and testers, starting in the 1920s in the USA they were quickly taken up by small psychological testing corporations most of which were in due course swallowed by publishers, only to be taken over in due course by large international conglomerates. The exception was Educational Testing Service, born as the testing arm of the College Board and provided with permanence and independence by being set up in New Jersey as a non-profit corporation license by the New York Board of Regents. Their major moneymaker in language testing was TOEFL, the Test of English as a Foreign Language, was set up originally as an independent body but brought under ETS control in a series of brilliant political maneuvers (Spolsky, 1995b). For most of its 40 years at ETS, TOEFL was a prime example of an industrial test, open to market forces rather than to changing theory. Both the Test of Spoken

English and the Test of Written English came from demands of test users rather than independent innovation; and the current new TOEFL, produced 5 years after was promised, remains to be proved in practice.

In England, the process was similar. English language tests were produced by a number of testing centers, generally affiliated with universities, but by the 1970s the University of Cambridge Local Examination Syndicate had clearly taken the lead. The market forces in the period after the Second World War with growing demand for English language teaching and testing persuaded the Syndics to take the field seriously, and they learnt their lesson well from an attempt to compete with TOEFL by claiming to be comparable in reliability and validity (Bachman, Davidson, Ryan and Choi, 1989). In particular, they made sure that their English testing division remained independent and was able to make use of its growing profits to carry out the research needed for constant improvement of their tests (Weir and Milanovic, 2003).

Perhaps the most significant development from the non-industrial oral testing process was the growth of the importance of the scale. For Thorndike in the early days of testing, a scale consisted of a number of pre-judged and carefully ranked examples of the product being scaled: handwriting, or an essay (Thorndike, 1910). For the Foreign Service Institute, a scale was a verbal protocol describing as accurately as possible the particular characteristics of a language performance of product and a defined level or stage of learning (Jones, 1979). Such scales worked as mnemonics for trained judges to remind them of the consensus they had reached in training exercises and in previous experience. They raise all sorts of intriguing theoretical problems: they assume for instance that language proficiency is scalable rather than a set of partially related abilities in performing various language functions. As a result, they need to be accepted by consensus rather than validated in practice or theory. One of the most elaborate developments of the language scale is the Common European Framework (Council of Europe, 2001), which in fact comprises a large number of different scales for various kinds of language knowledge and functional ability. Given the convenience of scales, however, for practical use, the tendency has been to attempt to reduce the Framework to a relatively simple scale equivalent to the US Interagency Roundtable scale.

Besides what may be called the psychometric, the industrial, and the scaling trends, an important development in the late twentieth century language testing was the broadening of the content to include sociolinguistically influenced aspects of language. It was Cooper (1968) who pointed out the need to include social context, and with the development of communicative language teaching and lip service at least to ethnography of speaking (Hymes, 1967, 1974), language testing has broadened from the academic testing of the standard written version

of a language to allow for assessment of control of other varieties in various social and functional situations. One inevitable conclusion has been the realization that tests need to find some way to achieve authenticity, to measure the ability to perform in situations not unlike the real world.

There has been another important adjustment of language testing to its social context and this has been the attempt to define and even judge the social context of test use and the ethicality of the test. It is not of course that the idea of social and educational effects of tests was new: Latham (1877) had complained that examinations at the end of the nineteenth century were leading to narrower educational goals. British testers like Cyril Burt were conscious of the social influence of tests, assuming they would permit more intelligent children from the lower socioeconomic classes to become upwardly mobile. Similarly Lemann (1999), argues that Chauncey's main motive in developing the SAT was to bring a wider socioeconomic population into top East Coast colleges and universities and so into the national leadership. In language testing, too, we have come to be concerned about social implications. Edelsky et al. (1983) suggested that unwillingness of disadvantaged pupils to play the testing games led to misconceptions about their language proficiency. Spolsky (1981, 1984) argued for the need to take an ethical view of the effects of a language test. Shohamy (1992, 1994, 1997, 2001) took this concern further, detailing the power of language tests for social control. Most recently, McNamara (2005) has described the use of language tests outside the school system to identify people claiming ethnicity or asylum and to filter or block immigrants. The effect has been felt within the profession (Hamp-Lyons, 1997a, 1997b); Hamp-Lyons, 1997, and over the past few years professional language testing associations and groups have been working to develop a code of ethics and of professional practice (see <http://www.iltaonline.com/code.pdf>).

Having almost run out of space, I am spared the task of spending much time on future trends. Were I still a young optimist, I would suggest that everything will continue to get better. Industrial tests will become more human and less powerful; only valid tests will be used (after careful validation) for major career decisions; simple unidimensional scales and scores will be replaced by complex profiles showing the wide range of plurilingual proficiency of anyone tested; tests will not be misused. But from my current perspective, I am much more skeptical. I see the industrial testmakers working industriously to computerize their tests and sell them wherever possible; I read online discussions in which writers painfully and hesitatingly try to rerun debates about cloze tests that were closed decades ago; I see multidimensional profiles being reduced to uniform scales; I see one whole

establishment refusing to recognize that the highly educated native-speaker-like ambassador is not the only top of the language tree; I see countless school and university systems continuing to interpret more or less randomly awarded scores as though they were meaningful. At the same time, I expect to continue to see good research into the nature of language proficiency and the continued demonstration of possible ways to assess its relevance to defined social purposes.

In other words, more of the same. An idea, I notice, for which I am quoted in the introduction to the testing volume of the first edition of this encyclopedia (Clapham, 1997).

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# **Section 1**

## **Language Socialization: Theoretical and Methodological Approaches**

## LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION: AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

### LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION AND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

Research in the area of language socialization initially considered the relation between language acquisition and socialization, which had been separated by disciplinary boundaries, psychology on the one hand and anthropology and sociology, on the other. Developmental psycholinguistic research focused (and continues to focus) upon phonological and grammatical competence of young children as individuals who are neurologically and psychologically endowed with the capacity to become linguistically competent speakers of a language along a developmental progression (Bloom, 1970; Brown et al., 1968; Slobin, 1969). Language acquisition research since the late 1960s has debated the source of linguistic competence as located either in innate structures, as the product of verbal input from the child's environment, or some combination of both (Chomsky, 1965; Pinker, 1994; Snow, 1972, 1995). Socialization research posed a set of complementary but independently pursued questions, primarily revolving around the necessity for children to acquire the culturally requisite skills for participating in society, including appropriate ways of acting, feeling, and thinking. In foundational anthropological studies of childhood and adolescence cross-culturally (e.g., LeVine et al., 1994; Mead, 1928; Whiting, Whiting, and Longabaugh, 1975) as well as in pre-1960s sociological theorizations of continuities and discontinuities in social order across generations, verbal resources generally were not investigated as a critical component of socialization processes (Mead, 1934; Parsons, 1951). As a result, the sociocultural nexus of children's communicative development remained largely an uncharted academic territory, and the disciplines that addressed the paths of different types of knowledge acquisition—psycholinguistic and sociocultural—remained isolated from each other.

The first systematic initiative to bridge these academic divisions took place at the University of California Berkeley Language Behavior Research Laboratory, where a team of psychologists, linguists, and anthropologists formulated a comparative research agenda for studying language acquisition, set forth in *A Field Manual for Cross-cultural*

*Study of the Acquisition of Communicative Competence* (Slobin, 1967). This endeavor drew from and was strengthened by Gumperz's (1968) notion of the "speech community" as a unit of analysis and Hymes' formulation of "communicative competence" (1972a), which encompasses the realm of sociocultural knowledge necessary for members of a speech community to use language in socially appropriate ways. Integral to communicative competence is members' ability to participate in "speech events," that is, socially recognized activities that occur in specified situational settings, involving participants performing one or more socially relevant acts using communicative resources in conventionally expected ways to achieve certain outcomes (Duranti, 1985; Hymes, 1972a, b). In linguistic anthropology, the enterprise called Ethnography of Communication (Gumperz and Hymes, 1964, 1972) inspired field investigations of a speech community's repertoire of communicative forms and functions as they complexly interface in communicative events in relation to "facets of the cultural values and beliefs, social institutions and forms, roles and personalities, history and ecology of a community" (Hymes, 1974, p. 4).

From the late 1960s through the 1970s, the cross-cultural study of children's developing communicative competence began to take empirical shape. Ethnographies of communication modeled on the 1967 field manual presented children's communicative development as organized by linguistic, social, and cultural processes (cf. Blount, 1969; Kernan, 1969; Stross, 1969). In addition, children's socioculturally organized ways of becoming literate inside and outside the classroom as well as an interest in the social shaping of classroom communication became a topic of interest (Cazden, John, and Hymes, 1972; Heath, 1978). And paralleling linguists' and psychologists' interest in the pragmatic underpinnings of grammar, the study of children's discourse competence (Ervin-Tripp and Mitchell-Kernan, 1977) as well as the field of "developmental pragmatics" (Ochs and Schieffelin, 1979) became focal areas of study. Developmental pragmatics broadly addresses the interactional and discursive context of and precursors to children's acquisition of syntactic and semantic structures along with the development of children's discursive and conversational competence.

In 1975–1977, Schieffelin conducted a longitudinal study of children's language acquisition among the Kaluli people of Papua New Guinea (Schieffelin, 1985). In 1978–1979, Ochs conducted a longitudinal study of Samoan children's language acquisition (Ochs, 1985). Informed by both psycholinguistic and linguistic anthropological approaches and issues in children's language development, each researcher assumed responsibility for (1) systematically collecting and analyzing a corpus of young children's spontaneous utterances

recorded at periodic intervals and (2) documenting the sociocultural ecology of children, including prevailing and historically rooted beliefs, ideologies, bodies of knowledge, sentiments, institutions, conditions of social order, and practices that organize the lifeworlds of growing children within and across social settings.

Reuniting at the completion of their fieldwork, Ochs and Schieffelin (1984) proposed that the process of acquiring language is embedded in and constitutive of the process of becoming socialized to be a competent member of a social group and that socialization practices and ideologies impact language acquisition in concert with neurodevelopmental influences. The first proposition echoes Hymes' notion that linguistic competence is a component of communicative competence. The second proposition—that local socialization paradigms (together with biological capacities) organize language acquisition—poses a stronger claim. The argument presents linguistic and sociocultural development as intersecting processes and the language-acquirer as a child born into a lifeworld saturated with social and cultural forces, predilections, symbols, ideologies, and practices that structure language production and comprehension over developmental time.

These ideas coalesced in the generation of a research field called *language socialization* (Ochs and Schieffelin, 1984, 1995; Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986a, b), which encompasses socialization *through* language and socialization *into* language. The term draws from Sapir's classic 1933 article on "Language" in the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, in which he states, "Language is a great force of socialization, probably the greatest that exists" (Mandelbaum, 1949, p. 15). A primary goal of language socialization research is to analyze children's verbal interactions with others not only as a corpus of utterances to be examined for linguistic regularities but also, vitally, as socially and culturally grounded enactments of preferred and expected sentiments, aesthetics, moralities, ideas, orientations to attend to and engage people and objects, activities, roles, and paths to knowledge and maturity as broadly conceived and evaluated by families and other institutions within a community (Heath, 1983).

The spark that fueled the launching of language socialization research was Ochs and Schieffelin's observation that the widespread linguistic simplification and clarification associated with baby talk register did not characterize how Samoan and Kaluli caregivers communicated with young children (Ochs, 1982; Ochs and Schieffelin, 1984). Caregivers in both of these communities scaffolded infants' and young children's language and social development by constantly orienting them to pay attention to people, positioning them as observers and overhearers of recurrent social activities, and prompting them to repeat utterances to those in their environment. Ochs and Schieffelin proposed

a language socialization typology in which communities and/or settings within communities are categorized as predominantly orienting young children to adapt to social situations (situation-centered) or predominantly orienting social situations to adapt to young children (child-centered). In this typology, baby talk register is part of a larger set of child-centered sociocultural dispositions in communities. Alternatively, the Samoan and Kaluli dispreference for simplifying and clarifying in communicating with young children is consonant with local ideologies regarding the limits of knowledge, the paths to knowledge, and the social positioning of children. Kaluli and Samoan caregivers' reluctance to clarify children's unintelligible utterances with an "expansion," for example, was linked to a prevailing reluctance for a person to explicitly assert or guess another person's unexpressed or unclear thoughts or feelings (Ochs, 1988; Schieffelin, 1990). In addition, Samoan caregivers' disinclination to simplify for young children was consistent with their belief that higher status persons do not accommodate down and that displays of attention and respect to older persons is key to children's social development (Ochs, 1988).

Paradoxically, these observations about baby talk register at once support a rigorous biological capacity for children's acquisition of phonology and grammar, flourishing independent of extensive grammatical simplification and clarification in the communicative environment, and an equally rigorous requirement for children's sociocultural attunement to language-mediated acts, activities, genres, stances, meanings, roles, relationships, and ideologies through the process of language socialization. That Kaluli and Samoan infants become competent speakers without being constantly addressed with simplified input indicates that such input is neither universal nor necessary for acquisition of linguistic structures. Indeed, the situation-centric orientation observed in the development of Kaluli and Samoan young children may serve as an alternative form of input that selectively attunes children's attention to linguistic and sociocultural structures and practices. In situation-centered communication, higher comprehension demands are imposed on developing children in that the language they hear is not simplified, but infants and young children are usually positioned as overhearers rather than addressees; their attentional skills are highly scaffolded from birth; and when positioned as speakers, they are often prompted. In child-centered communication involving a simplified register, comparatively low comprehension demands on children are coupled with relatively high demands on their communicative involvement as addressees; and when positioned as speakers, their utterances are often rendered intelligible through the efforts of generous, accommodating interlocutors or are prompted.

Arguing for a language socialization-enriched approach to language acquisition, Ochs and Schieffelin (1995) proposed a *culturally organized means-ends model of grammatical development*. This model suggests that communities differ in the communicative goals they establish in relation to small children and once these goals are established, they consistently organize the linguistic environment of the developing child. For example, in communities where caregivers routinely set the goal of communicating with infants and very young children as full addressees expected to comprehend and respond, they consistently use extensively simplified speech and other accommodations. Alternatively, in communities where caregivers generally wait until children are more mature to communicate intentions, they immerse infants and very young children as overhearers in a linguistic environment of nonsimplified conversations among others.

Recently, Ochs, Solomon, and Sterponi (2005) questioned the efficacy of using Euro-American baby talk and other default sociocultural practices to communicate with children diagnosed with neurodevelopmental disorders such as autism. Certain features of Euro-American child-directed communication—slowed pace, exaggerated intonation, heightened affect, face-to-face interactional alignment, and an insistence on speech as the medium of communication for the child—may be ill attuned to, for example, the needs of autistic children. Severely impacted children are distracted and lose attention in the course of slowed down communication. They easily become overloaded by sensory stimuli such as facial expressions, exaggerated pitch contours, excessive praises, endearments, and other affect displays. And speaking is exceedingly difficult for many of these children. Alternatively, the children appear more communicative, social, and at ease when exposed to a radically different form of language socialization practice, introduced by an educator from Bangalore (Iverson, 2006). In this practice, the caregiver uses rapid, rhythmic speech, frequent prompts, and moderate affect displays, and the autistic child points to a grid of letters or numbers to respond to the caregiver, who sits alongside the child (rather than face-to-face). The lesson here is rather than facilitating the human potential for language, Euro-American baby talk may impede this outcome, with parents, teachers, and clinicians witlessly caught in the inertia of a communicative habitus.

#### LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION AND LINGUISTIC ANTHROPOLOGY

While one face of language socialization research orients towards language acquisition, the other orients towards linguistic anthropology.

One tenet of the language socialization paradigm is that the social, emotional, and intellectual trajectories of children and other novices are complexly structured by webs of social and economic institutions, public and domestic systems of control, practices, identities, settings, beliefs, meanings, and other forces (Heath, 1983). The inverse is also the case, in that immature members are agentive in the shaping of their development and have the capacity to resist and transform facets of the social order into which they are socialized (Kulick and Schieffelin, 2004). That is, language socialization is inherently bidirectional, despite the obvious asymmetries in power and knowledge, and therein lies the seeds of intergenerational, historical continuity, and change within social groups (Pontecorvo, Fasulo, and Sterponi, 2001). The active role of the child/novice in generating social order is compatible with social theories that promote members' reflexivity, agency, and contingency in the constitution of everyday social life (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990; Garfinkel, 1967; Giddens, 1979, 1984). These approaches favor the study of social actions as at once structured and structuring in time and space, bound by historically durable social orders of power and symbolic systems yet creative, variable, responsive to situational exigencies and capable of producing novel consequences. Even in the maintenance of social regularities, "the familiar is created and recreated through human agency itself" (Giddens, 1979, p. 128).

No principle is more fundamental to linguistic anthropology than the notion that a language is more than a formal code, more than a medium of communication; and more than a repository of meanings. Language is a powerful semiotic tool for evoking social and moral sentiments, collective and personal identities tied to place and situation, and bodies of knowledge and belief (Duranti, 1997, 2003, 2004; Hymes, 1964; Sapir, 1921). When children acquire the languages of their speech communities, the languages come packaged with these evocations. And not just languages: particular dialects, registers, styles, genres, conversational moves and sequences, grammatical and lexical forms, as well as written, spoken, and other communicative modes are saturated with sociocultural contextual significance.

This relation between linguistic structures and sociocultural information is indexical, in the sense that the use of certain structures points to and constitutes certain social contexts and certain cultural frameworks for thinking and feeling (Gumperz, 1982; Hanks, 1999; Ochs, 1990; Peirce, 1955; Silverstein, 1996). A key enterprise of linguistic anthropology is analysis of the indexical relations critical to interpretations of social scenes and events. What transpires in the course of language socialization is that normally developing children become increasingly

adept at constituting and interpreting sociocultural contexts from linguistic cues. In some cases, caregivers and other mature members may make the indexical meanings explicit, as when, for example, a child uses a linguistic form inappropriately and others provide the appropriate form (Fader, 2001; He, 2001, 2004; Howard, 2004; Michaels, 1981; Paugh, 2001; Scollon, 1982) or when someone recounts a narrative centering around a social violation of language expectations (Baquedano-Lopez, 1998, 2001; Goodwin, 1990; Miller, Fung, and Mintz, 1996). In other cases, children may be prompted to perform linguistic acts that attempt to establish particular sociocultural contexts (Demuth, 1986; Moore, 2004; Ochs, 1988; Schieffelin, 1990; Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo, 1986). For example, Kaluli caregivers prompt small children to use a loud voice, distinct intonation, and particular morphemes that define the speech act performed (calling out) and to refer to names, kinship terms, and place names where a shared past experience transpired to establish a special closeness with an addressee (Schieffelin, 2003). Even when the children are prompted, most language socialization of the relation of semiotic forms to context takes place implicitly; children and other novices infer and appropriate indexical meanings through repeated participation in language-mediated practices and events that establish routine associations between certain forms and certain settings, relationships, practices, emotions, and thought-worlds. Speaking of the indexical relation of place names to the establishment of social ties, Schieffelin (*ibid.*, p. 163) concludes “In other words, these mundane socializing activities mattered because they were critical to children’s acquisition of cultural practices and knowledge, namely, building productive sociality in a society where obligation, reciprocity and access were already inscribed onto the space of place.”

Literacy has been a key object of study and contention in anthropology ever since Lévy-Bruhl and Clare (1923) associated “primitive mentality” with “prelinguistic” societies and Goody and Watt (1962) proposed that the historical adoption of literacy in societies led to significant social structural and psychological transformations. Subsequently, linguistic anthropological and language socialization studies established that rather than a monolithic practice, literacy comprises a range of activities, each entailing a set of concomitant intellectual and social skills, which are organized by and constitutive of situations and communities (Ahearn, 2001; Besnier, 1995; Collins, 1995; 1996; Fader, 2001; Heath, 1982, 1983, 1988; Schieffelin and Gilmore, 1986; Scollon and Scollon, 1981). The most influential study of literacy practices is Heath’s (1983) *Ways with Words*, a ground-breaking

language socialization analysis of the sociocultural organization of children's literacy practices across socioeconomically and racially diverse US communities. Heath's ethnographic research delineated the sociocultural universes of literacy expectations, values, and practices for children growing up in white (Roadville) and black (Trackton) working class homes and communities in the Piedmont Carolinas and their consequences for children's success in school settings. As Heath notes, the literacy socialization process is a deep, powerful, and complex factor in organizing how Roadville and Trackton children will fare in the classroom. This analysis lays bare Bourdieu's (1985) claim that the habitus of the home perpetuates the power differential in children's attainment of educational and cultural capital.

In addition to literacy variation, a major contribution of language socialization research has been towards understanding the dynamics of language variation at the register and code level (see Garrett and Baquedano-Lopez, 2002). Ochs' (1985, 1988) study in Western Samoa was the first to point out the centrality of examining systematic register variation with regard to children's acquisition of communicative competence. Many linguistic structures in Samoan are variable and context-sensitive, indexing social distance, formality of setting and gender of speaker. Ochs demonstrated that very small children are sensitive to and acquire knowledge of the socially relevant features of particular phonological, grammatical, and lexical forms that mark salient features of social hierarchy and contextual differentiation. These forms include children's alternation between two phonological registers, affect-marked and neutral first person pronouns, presence/ellipsis of ergative case marking, and the production of deictic verbs as contingent upon addressee and speech act being performed.

Indexicality and socialization into code and register choice are critical to understanding processes of language and culture maintenance and change as illustrated in several lines of inquiry in bilingual or multilingual communities undergoing language shift through processes of globalization on indigenous societies. Language socialization research points out that the coexistence of two or more codes within a particular community, whatever the sociohistorical and political circumstances that have given rise to them or brought them into contact, is rarely neutral in relation to children's developing linguistic and sociocultural competence. A dramatic example is Kulick's (1992) study in Gapun, a small, relatively isolated village on the northern coast of Papua New Guinea, where the vernacular, Taiap, was spoken along side of the lingua franca Tok Pisin. In spite of parents' desire that their children speak the vernacular, children were only acquiring Tok Pisin. Kulick accounted for these processes of language shift and loss by examining

everyday socialization practices and the ideologies that shaped them, finding that ideological transformations since contact with Europeans and their institutions, most prominently Christianity, have profoundly changed how villagers think about personhood, language, children, and modernity, all of which are central to understanding how and why children are no longer speaking their language. The interface of language socialization and language and culture shift has been analyzed in Caribbean (Garrett, 2005; Paugh, 2001, 2005; Snow, 2004), Native North American (Field, 2001, Meek, 2001), African (Moore, 2004), Asian (Howard, 2004), Pacific Island (Riley, in press), and Slavic (Friedman, 2006) communities, among others. Nonaka (2004) addresses the interface of language socialization and emergence, maintenance, and shift of a spontaneous, indigenous sign language community in Thailand, where a disposition towards multilingualism sustains the sign language as a medium of socialization and communication for both hearing and deaf children and adults of the community, even as the language is being encroached by promotional efforts to get deaf children to acquire the national Thai sign language at residential deaf schools.

A related line of language socialization inquiry focuses on language and culture maintenance and shift within diasporic groups in industrialized nations, such as Puerto Rican (Zentella, 1997), Hasidic Jewish (Fader, 2001, 2006), Mexican (Baquedano-Lopez, 2001), and Chinese (He, 2001, 2004) communities in the USA. These studies offer a language socialization perspective on language choice and religious identity, gender, and ways of delimiting or defusing community boundaries and limits (see Garrett and Baquedano-Lopez, 2002). Analyses illuminate how religious and heritage language institutions, along with familial units, support and amplify sociohistorically rooted language and cultural practices, attempting to draw children into an identification with a community of speakers. These studies examine how teachers and other members of the community attempt to socialize diaspora children into affiliating with not only a community-relevant code repertoire but also moral dispositions and social entitlements implicitly indexed through language socialization practices.

The language socialization paradigm offers a socioculturally informed analysis of life course and historical continuity and transformation. This overview has focused on the socialization into and through language in childhood, yet language socialization transpires whenever there is an asymmetry in knowledge and power and characterizes our human interactions throughout adulthood as we become socialized into novel activities, identities, and objects relevant to work, family, recreation, civic, religious, and other environments in increasingly globalized communities.

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## ECOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES ON SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION AND SOCIALIZATION

### DEFINITIONS: WHAT IS LANGUAGE ECOLOGY/ ECOLINGUISTICS?

*Ecolinguistics*, or *Language Ecology*, was originally defined in 1972 by the Norwegian linguist Einar Haugen as “the study of interactions between any given language and its environment” (Haugen, 2001, p. 57). The definition echoes the German biologist Ernst Haeckel’s (1866) definition of ecology within the life sciences as “die gesammte Wissenschaft von den Beziehungen, des Organismus zur umgebenden Aussenwelt, wohin wir im weiteren ‘Sinne alle Existenz-Bedingungen’ rechnen können” (“the total science of the organism’s relations to the surrounding environment, to which we can count in a wider sense all ‘conditions of existence’”) (Haeckel, 1866, p. 286). Haugen understood language ecology as an approach to, or dimension of, linguistics. Today language ecology is still predominantly used within a broad array of linguistic disciplines concerned with multilingual realities, whether psychologically (micro-ecology) or sociologically (macro-ecology) conceived. Language ecology is thus a widespread approach within such fields as second language acquisition (SLA), bi- and multilingualism and language diversity, death, and revitalization (Crystal, 2000).

In the 1990s language ecology, now widely termed *ecolinguistics*, developed into an institutionalized field in its own right, largely triggered by M.A.K. Halliday’s plenary talk at the IXth Congress of the International Association for Applied Linguistics (AILA) in Thessaloniki in 1990 (Halliday, 2001). In 1993 the first ecolinguistics section was held at AILA X (Amsterdam), and in 1996 a scientific commission under AILA was established at AILA XI in Jyväskylä (see the two AILA reports: Alexander, Bang, and Døør, 1993; Bang, Døør, Alexander Fill and Verhagen, 1996). In the AILA context, ecolinguistics comprises:

1. the study of how language reflects, refracts, and distorts our natural and social environment (see part 3 in Fill and Mühlhäusler, 2001)
2. the use of well-known theories, e.g. Critical Discourse Analysis or Systemic Functional Linguistics, in analyzing how ecological crises are expressed in, and constituted by, grammar and

discourse (see part 4 in Fill and Mühlhäusler, 2001; Mühlhäusler, Harré, and Brockmeier, 1999)

3. the development of new ecological theories of language, grammar, and discourse (Finke, 2001; Bang and Døør, 2007).

A keyword in ecology, whether in the life sciences or in linguistics, is holism. A holistic approach to linguistics implies that language is not studied as an isolated, self-contained system, but rather in its natural surroundings, i.e. in relation to the personal, situational, cultural, and societal factors that collectively shape the production and evolution of language, ontogenetically as well as phylogenetically. Linguistic holism leads to a number of methodological considerations, shared by the majority of ecolinguists.

First, the holistic approach makes ecolinguists investigate the contextual properties of language and communication. In ecolinguistics, context refers to both personal-situational and sociocultural phenomena. Thus, an ecolinguistic analysis relates linguistic data to the complex totality of the speakers' situational positioning and the sociocultural and socioeconomic characteristics of the speech communities.

Second, since the holistic approach presupposes a worldview in which everything is part of an undividable whole, ecolinguistics abandons any attempt to reduce complex phenomena to Cartesian dualisms. Rather, the ecolinguist describes linguistic phenomena as interconnected, interdependent, and interactional (Steffensen, 2007). Interconnectedness implies that every part of the whole is regarded as connected to any other part and to the whole. Interdependence implies that a linguistic phenomenon's mode of existence changes if other phenomena change or cease to exist. Interaction implies that no part affects other parts without being affected itself; there is no mono-directionality, only mutuality. This does not, however, necessarily imply symmetry since one part may dominate the other(s).

Third, holism values diversity. Rather than searching for universals—whether in the form of Chomsky's Universal Grammar, Grice's Universal Maxims or Habermas' Universal Pragmatics—ecolinguistics adopts a descriptive frame that accentuates the particular and the specific over the general and universal. This differentiates ecolinguistics from such paradigms as (Labovian) sociolinguistics and conversation analysis.

Fourth, the holistic approach leads many ecolinguists to general systems theory (van Lier, 2003, pp. 213–228)—including its newer developments: chaos/complexity theory—and the notions of open systems, dynamicity and emergence (von Bertalanffy, 1968). These theoretical frames offer a view on language as a mediator between cultural and natural ecosystems (cf. Finke, 1996; Trampe, 1996). The term dynamicity is also used outside of the systems theory frame *per se*, namely to describe changes in the personal, situational and cultural reality.

Fifth, and summing up the four previous points, a holistic starting point leads the ecolinguist to adopt a dialogical point of view on language: (i) It is in dialogue that the personal, the situational, and the cultural merge; (ii) it is in dialogue that interconnectedness, interdependence, and interaction of language unfold; (iii) dialogue provides the breeding ground for the creation and maintenance of sociocultural and linguistic diversity; (iv) dialogue offers a possibility for realizing our potential for changing ourselves and our surroundings<sup>1</sup>.

It follows from the ecolinguistic emphasis on contextuality and open systems that the researcher sees him/herself as participant, i.e. as related to the object system under investigation. This is contrary to the positivist objectivism of the Cartesian–Newtonian era in science, but in accordance with key tenets of quantum physics and systems theory, e.g. as formulated by the Nobel laureate Ilya Prigogine: “The experimental dialogue with nature discovered by modern science involves activity rather than passive observation. [. . .] Description is dialogue, communication, [. . .].” (Prigogine and Stengers, 1984, p. 41, 300). This non-dualist epistemology requires an explicit axiological stance; since the researcher interferes with the object under study, he/she is committed—as meticulously, conscientiously and explicitly as possible—to a praxis that furthers a development which is beneficial. According to Fill (1993), ecolinguistics promotes, *inter alia*, peaceful coexistence of all beings, the preference for the small in opposition to the big, and the preservation of the weaker against the stronger. This axiological stance emphasizes a family resemblance between ecolinguistics and critical applied linguistics. In her review of Fill and Mühlhäusler (2001), Gerbig notes: “[Fill and Mühlhäusler] employ a very broad notion of ecology, which leads to a seemingly irreconcilable diversity between the different contributions and which is one reason why ecolinguistics has been faced with major criticism.” (Gerbig, 2003, p. 91). However, the explicit axiological stance is arguably the one feature that reconciles the many branches of ecolinguistics. Whether an ecolinguist works with bilingualism, language acquisition and language socialization, political discourse or environmental problems, he/she

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<sup>1</sup> This definition of ecolinguistics is related to an ethnographic, sociocultural view of linguistic phenomena. Qualitative research (e.g., case study, ethnography) too is often described as seeking holism, sociocultural contextualization, multiple perspectives, dialogue etc. However, an ecolinguistic approach includes physical and economic phenomena that are not necessarily accounted for by an ethnographic approach. Moreover, dialogue is understood here in a Bakhtinian sense as a relational principle not only of here-and-now interactions but of human existence per se. In this sense, dialogue is always anchored, not in a multiperspectival external viewpoint, but in the unique subject position of the speaker or the researcher—a subject position for which each one is answerable.

stands up for the minority language and its learners, for the victims of political exploitation and ecological devastation.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Second language acquisition research has only recently become interested in language ecology. In the 1980s, after an initial focus on the linguistic and cognitive processes at work in the acquisition of L2 forms and rules of usage, SLA researchers started turning their attention to the influence of the social context in the development of language use or communicative competence. The early immersion programs in Canada and the study of immigrant language learners in natural, i.e., noninstructional, environments in the U.S. were the trigger for a host of studies that confirmed the fact that the ability to use language to communicate with others, by contrast with merely learning rules, is acquired through being exposed to comprehensible input as well as in and through interaction with others.

Through the focus on language use rather than just language usage, second language acquisition, one could say, acquired a socialization dimension. Some sociolinguists, such as Leslie Beebe and Elaine Tarone, pushed the field into the study of interlanguage pragmatics. Nonnative speakers (NNSs) were encouraged to “express, interpret and negotiate meanings” in communication with native speakers (NSs), and to become socialized into the host society by approximating the NS. However, what was being approximated was less the diversity and variability of NS social and cultural meanings than a rather standard grammatical, sociolinguistic, discourse and strategic competence. In sum, until the 1990s SLA’s interest in the social context was an extension of its interest in the acquisition of standardized forms and meanings for the purposes of communication as exchange of information.

Since the 1990s, the social has come into its own. Global migrations, the advent of the internet and the global spread of English have raised concerns about the appropriateness of imposing one NS model for all. Social and cultural variability in form and meaning became a source of concern for psycholinguists anxious to have reliable data to analyze and from which to make claims regarding learners’ level of language competence. Sociolinguists pointed out that a language is not just a mode of communication but a symbolic statement of social and cultural identity, especially in the increasingly multilingual environments in which L2 learners found themselves. For example, Rampton’s study of multiethnic and multilingual adolescents in a British high school showed the dazzling linguistic and social abilities of NNSs to temporarily “cross” over into peers’ languages and play with various roles and personae (Rampton, 1995). A renewed interest in the work of Dell

Hymes led proponents of communicative competence in SLA to revisit his understanding of the term and suggest that maybe the computer metaphor in SLA had prevented researchers from doing justice to the complexity of the “ethnography of speaking” (Firth and Wagner, 1997).

The growing influence of cultural psychology (Stigler, Shweder, and Herdt, 1990) and of Soviet theories of language (Vološinov, 1986) and cognition (Vygotsky, 1962) on scholars from anthropology, education, and other disciplines made the full study of the social and the cultural in SLA respectable and legitimate. Sociocognitive and sociocultural theories have become particularly popular to explain the relationship between language acquisition and language socialization. The major contribution made to the social aspects of SLA since the early 1990s has been Vygotsky’s cognitive theory and its reinterpretation through Leontiev’s activity theory, applied to SLA by Jim Lantolf under the name of sociocultural theory (SCT). SCT reverses the notion that language acquisition takes place in the head and that language use merely applies this acquired knowledge to the social world. Cognition, says SCT, occurs first on the social plane and only later gets internalized on the psychological plane in the form of inner speech in interaction with more capable peers. For Vygotsky, socialization is part and parcel of acquisition. In fact, it predates it.

SCT is having a substantial impact on SLA theory, as it responds to the need to account for social and cultural phenomena in a field that was originally mainly psycholinguistic. The notions of symbolic mediation, collaborative learning, participation, and the achievement of common activities around real-world tasks all show a desire to move L2 acquisition in the direction of L2 socialization and thus to adopt a more ecological approach to SLA.

The continued interest in pragmatics and conversation analysis also shows a desire to bridge the gap between acquisition and socialization in SLA. Kasper’s recent review of the current theoretical perspectives on L2 pragmatic development encompasses not only a linguistic (e.g., grammar) and an information-processing perspective (e.g., attention, awareness), but also a Vygotskyian sociocultural perspective (e.g., assisted performance) and a language socialization perspective, which focuses on learners’ participation and apprenticeship in recurring situated activities—a focus she calls “neo-Vygotskyian” (Kasper, 2001, p. 516). In fact, Kasper sees SCT and language socialization theory converge in their close attention to interactional processes in SLA, and she suggests that both theories could benefit from adding conversation analysis to the mix, to form a theoretically “even happier ménage à trois” (p. 524). Conversation analysis, also born in the 1970s from ethnomethodology and the sociology of language, offers a highly elaborate tool to analyze the way conversational partners orient themselves

to the on-going interactional situation and position themselves vis-à-vis the turns-at-talk, the topics, and the cognitive tasks that participants set up for one another. Conversation analysis adds a particularly attractive feature to SCT because conversational transcriptions offer easily observable evidence of cognitive processes at the moment of their deployment in conversation. According to SCT, these processes can be seen as directly related to the learner's inner speech in his/her zone of proximal development.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS AND WORKS IN PROGRESS

SLA theories that explain acquisition processes through interactional, collaborative, or socialization processes show the significance of the social and the cultural in SLA. However, they retain the structuralist, dichotomous view of the cognitive and the social as separate realms. Thus, discourse data are considered to be "evidence" of underlying thought processes, not of constructing the very social and cultural reality they purport to reveal. Even though SCT has taken great pains to dissociate itself from earlier input theories and gives precedence to the social and cultural, it still proceeds as if it is possible to infer from individual speech to individual thought. However, to use Vološinov's distinction, speech does not *reflect* thought, it *refracts* thought (Vološinov, 1986). Similarly, even though, according to SCT, individual speech is nothing but internalized collective speech, researchers working within an SCT framework rarely consider the fact that the utterances of L2 learners might express in L2 an inner speech that is mediated by an L1, L3 or L4 because the learner had his/her primary socialization in one of these languages (see research on Bilingual Education, Volume 5).

Some researchers have therefore felt the need to draw on theories that take a more explicitly ecological view of language acquisition as socialization. The publication in 1997 of Diane Larsen-Freeman's article on the application of chaos/complexity theory (C/CT) to SLA was a milestone in the development of this language-acquisition-as-socialization-view: SLA theory was taking a post-structuralist turn (Larsen-Freeman, 1997). Comparing the acquisition of a foreign language to the complex, nonlinear processes of dynamic systems, Larsen-Freeman proposed that we should look for interconnections between scales, e.g., between the microlevel of the individual organism and the macrolevel of society, between past and potential future performance, between organic processes of learning and inorganic materials such as computers, tapes, etc., between local behaviors and global events, between lower level phenomena such as textbooks and classrooms and higher level phenomena such as geopolitics and globalization. C/CT

elides the dualism individual/society, individual cognition/group socialization, and offers a broader lens to view the development of language as one among many semiotic systems through which we make meaning of the life around us (see also Herdina and Jessner, 2002).

Around the same time, ecological theories of language acquisition as socialization were gaining momentum. Three representatives of this trend are Kramsch (2002), Leather and van Dam (2003), and van Lier (2003). They all view SLA as an emergent phenomenon, triggered by the availability of affordances in the environment, heavily dependent on an individual's perception of these affordances and his/her willingness to participate actively in their use. As Jay Lemke (2002) has argued, an ecological perspective on SLA does not circumscribe the individual learner to the limits of his/her skin or to her own experience. The "learner" includes not only the here and now of his/her learning, but memories of previous learnings, projections of future scenarios, subjective appraisals, fantasies, identifications with remembered, relived, and potential selves. We have to distinguish between the biological time of the child, the sociological time of the institution, and the ideological time of society. Teachers teach to multiple timescales, not only to the actual adolescent in the classroom, but to the former child and the future adult; they must judge not only the actual capacity and performance but a set of perceptions, expectations and potentialities. For ecologically oriented researchers, learning takes place not only in educational settings, but also in nurseries, community centers and on the internet, as documented in the collection of papers in Leather and van Dam (2003). As Kramsch (2002) argues, many researchers who work within an ecological framework have adopted a phenomenological stance, ranging from the sociological to the philosophical, which provides them with a sense of educational responsibility and social justice (cf. the axiological stance mentioned in the first section above).

In order to take into account the many other semiotic systems in the environment beside the verbal (e.g., visual, acoustic, electronic), van Lier (2003) explicitly couples an ecological perspective on SLA with C.S. Peirce's semiotic theory and attempts to reconcile an ecological and a semiotic perspective within the activity theoretical framework offered by SCT.

The current interest in SLA as an ecological phenomenon has been accompanied, in language education, by a veritable passion for Bakhtin (1981) and the notion of dialogism that has been associated with his work and that of Vygotsky (Ball and Freedman, 2004). What language educators find attractive in Bakhtin is the collaborative, participatory, dialogic aspect of his stylistic theory that converges with the interactional theories of learning reviewed above and with the holistic conceptions of learning advocated by language ecology. But some scholars

fear that the notion of dialogic pedagogy is becoming trivialized, thus concealing the truly ecological complexity of Bakhtinian thought (e.g., Cazden, 2004).

The emergence of ecology-friendly theories of SLA is accompanied by a renewed interest in linguistic relativism and in the relation of language, thought, and culture in applied linguistics. Gumperz and Levinson's (1999) volume revisits this once controversial issue by publishing together papers in first language acquisition and bilingualism, language socialization, and conceptual development. As a theoretical construct, the notion that a person's thought is channeled or influenced by the language this person has been socialized in is no longer controversial. However, the concept of linguistic relativism is dangerous to educational institutions that pride themselves in delivering knowledge that is universally valid, i.e., that is independent of the language in which it is delivered.

The inroads made by post-structuralism and social constructionism in a traditionally structuralist, objectivist research field like SLA are still tentative but significant. However, it presents problems. Not only is SLA research as a field keen on maintaining its credibility by producing findings that are as reliable and generalizable as those of the natural sciences, but by being tightly linked to the field of language education, it is hostage to the criteria of educational success recognizable and acceptable by a general public that does not necessarily espouse ecological views of education. And yet, ecological theories of learning must prompt us to rethink the relationship of individuals and various learning environments beyond the classroom, e.g., study abroad and distance learning. It is also prompting us to seriously conceptualize the relationship of individuals and their objects or artifacts, in particular computer technology. A growing number of SLA researchers are focusing on computer-mediated communication as a site of learning and socialization and much has yet to be understood in the way language learning technologies and virtual environments mediate learners' acquisition of a second language.

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

The ecolinguistics perspective described in section 1 above enables the researcher to identify the problems with an ecological approach to language education both in theory and in practice. From a theoretical perspective, ecological approaches to second language education present four challenges:

1. *Historical*. Individuals learning a second language in late childhood, adolescence, or adulthood have already been fully socialized

into one language and culture in their families, schools, and workplaces. The memory of this primary and secondary socialization lingers when they attempt to adopt the verbal and nonverbal behaviors of another speech community. Second language education should take all this previous socialization into account.

2. *Cognitive*. According to the linguistic relativity principle, we have to take into account the way language as discourse categorizes and frames our perceptions of reality. Even if NNSs are socialized into adopting the linguistic and pragmatic codes of a L2 speech community, they might retain the discourse categories and the mental patterns of meaning making of their first socialization. Bi- and multilingual individuals (and monolinguals too, of course!) are known to say one thing and mean another, because they can capitalize on the surplus of meaning afforded by the mastery of other symbolic systems.
3. *Methodological*. The historical and cognitive relativity brought about by the ability to navigate several languages and to straddle several speech communities is difficult to document because it is often a matter of subjective appraisal, contingent upon an individual's ecology at the time. Researchers working within an ecological framework (Kramsch, 2002) are very conscious of the need for qualitative, longitudinal data that put the researcher on the line and expects him/her to reveal his/her subject position. An ecological research approach offers more internal validity (appropriately called ecological validity) but less reliability and inordinately less generalizability or external validity.
4. *Ethical*. Applying the paradigm of first language socialization to already socialized individuals raises ethical issues that are currently anguishing many English teachers and researchers of English as a Second Language (ESL) around the world. Many have problematized the use of the NS as model of socialization, especially as the availability of large scale electronic corpora of NS English is making it easy to socialize NNSs into the ways with words of true, genuine, native speakers on the streets of London, New York, or Sydney. But should they be? The resistance of learners to reproduction through ESL is well documented. Socialization researchers talk about negative socialization. Some have suggested the notion of a third place between socialization processes (Kramsch, 1993).

Furthermore, an ecological theory of language education that takes seriously the notions of interdependence, dynamicity, and dialogism is bound to encounter the difficulties that any poststructuralist approach has encountered in the social sciences. A case in point is Bonny

Norton's (2000) pioneering book on *Identity in Language Learning*, which revisits such notions as motivation and learning in a poststructuralist, feminist theoretical light. Inspired by a more ecological view of identity as multiple, changing and the site of conflict, she argues that immigrants to Anglophone countries can capitalize on their various identities as, e.g., immigrant, woman, mother, employee, to stand up to their landlords or employers and redress the power imbalance they encounter in social life. The SLA concept of motivation in language learning has now been supplemented by that of "investment"—a more participatory metaphor than that of motivation. However, Norton has been criticized for holding still too structuralist a view of identity. Instead of seeing one's multiple social identities as given by one's position in the social world, an ecological paradigm would see them as so many subject positions emerging in the interplay between the social world and the discursive situation at hand.

From the perspective of educational practice, language ecology has already had its critics from within applied linguistics. In a recent article on the "ecological turn" in language policy, Alastair Pennycook (2004) is ready to admit that, while the strength of an ecological approach to SLA lies in its poststructuralist relativity, reflexivity, and decenteredness, it risks losing the capacity to take a critical stance toward certain (nefarious) forms of socialization. This insight should function as a reminder to ecologically oriented linguists never to lose sight of the power struggles inherent in cultural ecosystems (as acknowledged in Steffensen, 2007, p. 11). Others, like Shirley Brice Heath, inspired by Bakhtin, prefer to highlight the educationally beneficial role of literary narratives and counternarratives in providing youngsters with alternative models of socialization, which she calls "scenarios of possibility" (Heath, 2000).

Furthermore, an ecological practice of language education should require abandoning the demand for standardization in language education. Like generalizability in educational research, standardization in educational practice expresses the need to eliminate diversity and to exercise control, both notions that are incompatible with language ecology.

#### CRITICAL APPRAISAL AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS FOR RESEARCH

Ecolinguistics has given us a rich holistic framework for studying phenomena of second language acquisition and socialization. It highlights the emergent nature of language and language learning, the crucial role of affordances in the environment, the mediating function of language in the educational enterprise. It brings back into focus the historicity and the subjectivity of the language learning experience, as well as

its inherent conflictuality. The notion that language education operates on multiple timescales, e.g., the timescale of human and personal development, the timescale of the institution, the timescale of the job market should make us pause. Relevance should be researched differently for each of these timescales, and so should the evaluation of knowledge and the control of its use.

The challenge for an ecologically oriented research in language acquisition and socialization is to meet both the institutional demands for public accountability and efficiency and the individual demands for personal relevance and meaning. Rather than generalizability, an ecological approach to educational research strives for dialogicality. The articulation of local and particular experiences, might lead to global changes, not by way of generalizability, but by way of analogy, because dialogue implies the emergence of shared experiences.

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LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION AND THE LINGUISTIC  
ANTHROPOLOGY OF EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

Language Socialization is generally conceived as the socialization through language to use language in socially appropriate ways (see Ochs and Schieffelin, *Language Socialization: An Historical Overview*, Volume 8). Thus Language Socialization (LS) processes can be seen as a subset of the research purview of linguistic anthropology, characterized more broadly as an investigation of how language “both presupposes and creates anew, social relations in cultural context” (see Wortham, *Linguistic Anthropology of Education*, Volume 3). As individuals are socialized through language to use language, they draw on “presupposed” aspects of language, but also, inevitably, “create anew” aspects of language in order to use it for particular concerns that arise in each individually unique interaction. Despite this point of connection, LS research and more broadly conceived linguistic anthropological research have followed different paths into educational contexts.

Like any productive development within science and social science, the development of LS and its relationship both to the field of linguistic anthropology and to broader issues of education, language, and human development has proceeded through a give and take not unlike that characterized by LS studies themselves: Forays into new territory, creative conceptualizations, and departures from canonical concerns in linguistic anthropology are matched and fueled by a periodic reconvergence of paths, when one or another view of the endeavor runs up against its own limitations. By tracing these points of fissure and rapprochement, this chapter illustrates how LS has not only grown by incorporating and selecting from multiple theoretical and methodological tools within linguistic anthropology and education (and other fields), but also contributed significantly to the educationally focused domain of the Linguistic Anthropology of Education.

To understand how the field of LS has developed with respect to the Linguistic Anthropology of Education, this entry traces the connections between these categorizations of research from their current coinage to their roots in linguistic anthropology as a whole. The taxonomy below represents the intellectual arena within which LS is situated relative to

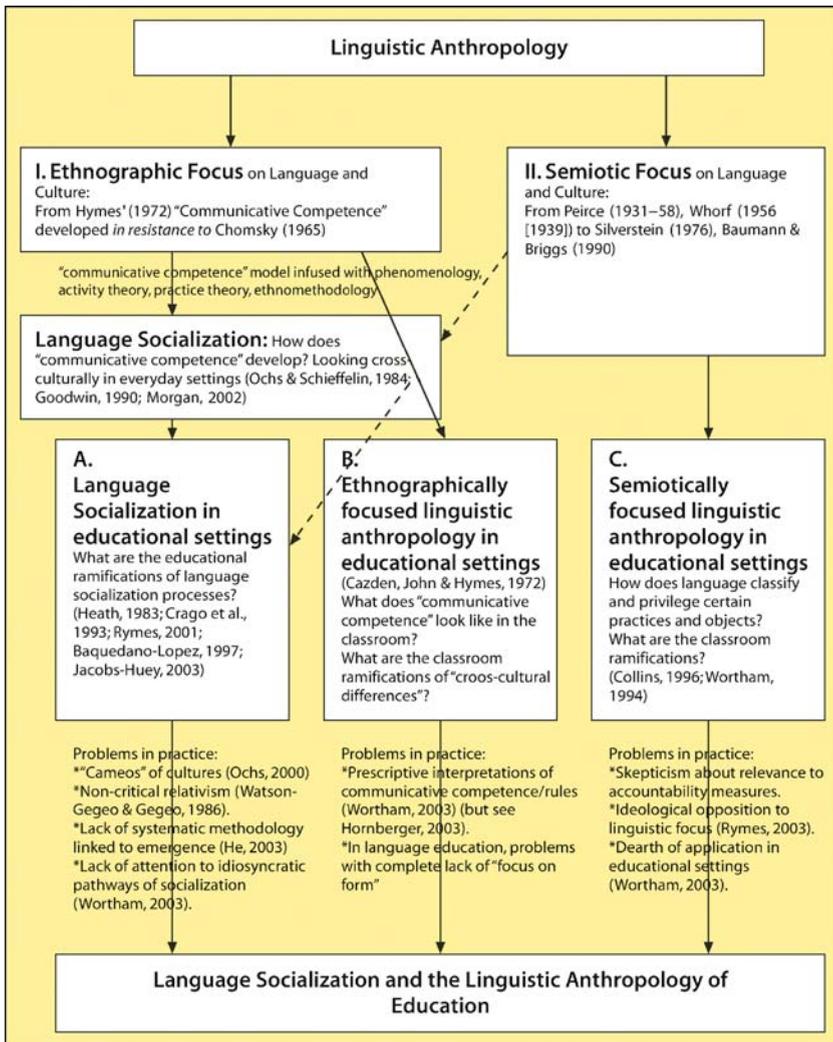


Figure 1 Language Socialization's Relationship to the Linguistic Anthropology of Education.

the linguistic anthropology of education and will be the foundation for the review that follows (see Figure 1).

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The pathways delineated in Figure 1 articulate two initial strands of linguistic anthropology that have developed relatively distinctly (though not necessarily in opposition to each other) since the 1960s: One strand

(Roman Numeral I in [Figure 1](#)), while attuned to language and communication, developed a relatively greater emphasis on the ethnographic aspects of language use, and another strand (Roman Numeral II in [Figure 1](#)) has focused on semiotic processes and their effects both historically and in single instances of language use. While each of these strands theoretically recognizes the mutual influence of ethnographic context and semiotic (including linguistic) processes on events of speaking, work within these sub-fields differs distinctly in their relative emphasis on ethnographic characterizations versus semiotic processes.

On the ethnographic side, Dell Hymes (1972) used a linguistic anthropological approach to articulate problems with Noam Chomsky's (1965) decontextualized concept of "ideal speaker" which was based solely on "grammatical competence." In pointed contrast to Chomsky's phrase, Hymes coined the term "communicative competence" to emphasize the socially situated elements integral to each event of communication that a more culturally nuanced "ideal speaker" must master in addition to grammar to become competent within a community. Perhaps in part because Hymes' theory of "communicative competence" had its genesis in opposition to Chomsky's privileging of "grammar," studies in this tradition do not have a systematically articulated or unified set of methods for studying signs and linguistic form, but do document in detail, and often over the course of multiple years of experience within a community, ethnographic elements of communicative practice, focusing their analysis on recurring speech events like recurrent caretaker-child events (Ochs, 1988; Ochs and Schieffelin, 1984), story-telling (Goodwin, 1990), or literacy events (Duranti and Ochs, 1988). These analyses are concerned with broad event structures primarily, and secondarily, with how these events and the way language functions within them are linked to the role of grammatical categories or other linguistic features.

In contrast to Hymes' (1972) focused opposition to Chomsky's (1965) accounts of "grammatical competence," semiotically focused linguistic anthropology since the 1970s largely ignored Chomsky's claims, and instead developed semiotic accounts of context and language use by building on a tradition of Western philosophy of language and, in large part, on the work of the American pragmatist and semiotician Charles Sanders Peirce (1931-1958) and the linguistic anthropology of Benjamin Lee Whorf (1956). Whereas studies of LS emerge from a background rooted in communicative competence and the cross-cultural comparison of norms of communication, semiotic anthropology and analysis in this tradition centers on how sign systems, including grammar, classify human experience as culturally relevant and how such forms are deployed flexibly in interaction to create new forms of culturally relevant action (Baumann and Briggs, 1990; Silverstein, 1976).

Instead of moving from an ethnography of communicative events to explanations about how language functions in those events, a semiotically motivated linguistic anthropology builds on the ways that the indexical—or context-dependent—features of language point to certain presupposed meanings, but also have the potential for creative use that can reconstitute normative expectations (Silverstein, 1976).

For example, third person pronouns in English (e.g., he or she) normatively pick out (or index) parties who are not present in an ongoing interaction. As such, the use of “he” *indexes* a person not present, presupposing a participation framework that excludes the person indexed by “he.” However, the indexical value of words can also be used non-normatively to achieve highly creative and infinitely variable effects. Imagine, for example a speaker turning to a third participant and saying about the second participant, “He’s such a charmer isn’t he?” In this case, by referring to a present participant in the third person, the first speaker might intentionally exclude that person by indexically performing his absence from the participation framework—by talking *about* him in his presence. (Morgan (2002) identifies this practice as an emergent norm in some African American communities and calls it “pointed indirectness”).

This foundational concern for investigating both normative features of language use and their creative deployment, while rooted in the semiotic tradition, has also permeated later LS work (see the dashed line in Figure 1), and this is a point of connection that has fruitfully been carried forward into recent research on LS in educational settings (e.g., Wortham, 2005).

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

These early differences have ramifications for research in educational settings. Ethnographically focused approaches to linguistic anthropology that built on Hymes’ early work have moved into educational realms along (at least) two broad, but distinct pathways—one (Box A in Figure 1), taken via LS, and another (Box B) in which Hymes’ work was directly brought to bear on educational contexts. The work that builds directly on Hymes’ model for “communicative competence” (Box B) has fallen primarily under the category of “Ethnography of Communication” and the early contributions to this field are compiled in Cazden, John, and Hymes’ (1972) anthology, *Functions of Language in the Classroom*. (See Hornberger (2003) for a further distillation of the distinct forms Hymes’ work has taken in educational contexts.)

In contrast to ethnography of communication studies in classrooms, which more or less directly applied Hymes’ model to classroom contexts, LS research initially developed largely outside of formal

educational contexts, instead studying human development in multiple societies to counter universal claims about processes of language acquisition (Kulick and Schieffelin, 2004). Just as Hymes coined the term “communicative competence” to counter Chomsky’s notion of a universal linguistic competence, in a similar critique of posited universals, “Three Developmental Stories” (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1988) countered canonical psycholinguistic research by illustrating that characteristically Western middle class language acquisition routines between caregivers and babies (e.g., “baby talk” or “motherese”) are not developmental universals. Ochs and Schieffelin’s research presented cases in which parental discourse patterns are shown to be culturally specific activities that not only foster language development, but also maintain certain normative dimensions of social life. In many Westernized households, for example, ways of speaking sustain family systems in which a mother is the primary and nearly exclusive caregiver. In contrast, ways of speaking in Western Samoa and Papua New Guinea socialize children into family systems in which care-giving is a distributed responsibility, largely in the hands of older siblings and relatives other than the biological mother (see Ochs and Schieffelin, *Language Socialization: An Historical Overview*, Volume 8).

LS work in the tradition of “three developmental stories” has become increasingly relevant for understanding language within schools in part because it has reformulated what counts as “competence” (Garrett and Baquedano-López, 2002). LS studies have reconceptualized many features of language use within schools that have been considered *deficits* as merely *differences* in how students have been socialized into using language in their homes or distinct communities (Crago, Annahatak, Ninguiuruvik, 1993; Heath, 1983; Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo, 1986). Because this perspective has guided research in linguistically diverse communities, it has been able to illuminate kinds of expertise that normative institutions like schools may not recognize, for example, forms of bilingualism and code-switching that maintain community ties (Zentella, 1997; Paugh, 2002) or discourse patterns that sustain particular communities of practice (Jacobs-Huey, 2003).

Educational researchers have used this kind of LS research to understand the mechanisms that produce mass-scale educational phenomena like the “achievement gap” between ethnic groups. Heath’s, (1983) *Ways with Words*, for example, illustrated that patterns of interaction at home in rural Appalachia had ramifications for how children’s participation is interpreted in classroom settings. Thus, the LS perspective has developed a form of research in education that seeks to understand communicative competence “from the native’s perspective” and how those small scale forms of competence connect to large scale social regularities like the educational performance of particular social groups (Wortham, 2003).

This work, while perhaps initially informed by Hymes, is also enriched by an attention to phenomenology of language, activity theory, practice theory, communities of practice, and ethnomethodology (see Garrett and Baquedano-López (2002) for a detailed account of these influences in the trajectory of LS in anthropology). These philosophical and ethnomethodological influences have fueled LS research that accounts not only for static local accounts of “communicative competence” and norms for behavior, but also brings a closely attuned attention to the flexibility of language use across speech events and individuals. Thus, while LS studies have not offered a systematic set of methods for studying long term developmental trajectories, they have provided empirical examples that delineate the presupposing and creative aspects of language that contribute to socialization processes over time. LS in and out of educational settings (see Rymes, 2003 and Ochs, 1992, respectively) has also been permeated with an attention to indexicality, though not to the degree of explicit specification indexical processes have received in the semiotic tradition of linguistic anthropology (e.g., Hanks, 1990).

These roots in phenomenology and ethnomethodology also infuse LS studies with a foundational question that turns the quest for linguistic universals to a question about the variation of human subjectivity: “How do different kinds of culturally specific subjectivities come into being?” (Kulick and Schieffelin, 2004, p. 351). How is it that people experience being in the world in culturally distinct ways? Because of LS’s concern with this broad question of human subjectivity, LS research in educational settings has been able to account for lived experience of students in ways that other approaches have not. Baquedano-López’s (2000) study of the social role of narrative within religious education, Gutiérrez et al.’s (1999) investigation of hybrid language practices in the classroom, and He’s (2003) and Lo’s (2004) respective explorations of moralizing practices in Chinese and Korean heritage language classrooms all illustrate complex and unique processes of LS in educational settings.

In contrast to the proliferation of work in education that grew out of (if only initially) Hymes’ model, semiotically focused linguistic anthropology has been less directly concerned with educational contexts until recently. Whereas LS studies within schools tend to document forms of cultural expertise and their internal organization, studies rooted in contemporary semiotic anthropology document emergent practices within school settings and analyze both those features of interaction which become sedimented over time and those which may be creatively reconstructed. For example, by tracing semiotic patterns and their transmission through speech chains across a series of classroom interactions spanning months, Wortham (2005) has illustrated a trajectory of socialization unique to a particular individual’s classroom experience and not necessarily to a generalizable characteristic “school discourse

pattern.” This semiotic approach is able to document how students are socialized not into one unitary set of practices (e.g., “Western schooling” discourses), but many evolving ways of speaking. In this way, linguistic anthropological perspectives on education are able to recognize not only pre-existent forms of expertise, and children’s socialization into those, but also the increasingly fast-paced parade of cultural formations that characterize the lives and interactions of students in schools.

The potential within the semiotic tradition to create detailed and systematic accounts of those aspects of interaction within educational contexts which presuppose certain norms and those which create those norms anew remains largely untapped. However, the few studies in educational contexts which draw on this framework illustrate its promise. The volume *Natural Histories of Discourse* (Silverstein and Urban, 1996) contains two examples of how linguistic anthropology in educational contexts might be carried out and the kinds of findings it generates. In this volume, Jim Collins’ (1996) chapter on reading groups illustrates how *distinctive prosody* of a “low” reading group is both maintained by and reproduces the practices that go into making a “low” reader. While teachers and students are all “experts” at maintaining this norm, Collins does not describe this as a form of “expertise,” but instead, as a serious educational problem. Mehan (1996), likewise, exposes the natural history of discourse forms that render a mother voiceless when her child is being considered for “learning disabled” designation at school. By characterizing both what certain forms of talk index about people and how those forms motivate and/or transform sedimented ways of participating in schools, this research applies the semiotic insights of linguistic anthropology to educational settings.

Wortham (1994) offers the first and most systematic application of a semiotic anthropological perspective to an educational setting by developing a methodology for analyzing participant examples in classrooms over time. His work hinges on the distinction initially put forth by Roman Jakobson (1960) between the event of speaking and the narrated event and indexical values occasioned by these two layers of interpretation. This work has provided an essential bridge between the fields of LS and semiotic anthropology more broadly conceived.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Accounts of LS in the classroom and applications of semiotic anthropology to educational settings have not been without problems. (I will not continue here to discuss the problems and promises of “ethnography of communication,” the center strand in [Figure 1](#) (Box B). At least four

critiques of LS center on the overly normative characterizations that may emerge from this tradition: the tendency to over-generalize; the lack of a critical perspective on such characterizations; the circular characterization of cultural events and the language that is normative within them; and the lack of a systematic methodology to characterize an individual's unique trajectory of socialization across events, longitudinally. These critiques are detailed below.

Regarding the first critique, Ochs (2000) has noted that many studies claiming to follow a LS tradition do not adequately account for the contingent and layered indexical nature of communication and as such, lead to stereotypical "cameos" of cultures—arbitrary and overly essentialized characterizations of what counts as competence within a certain community. Accompanying this critique about cameos is a related critique about how such generalizations are made sense of in LS research. Simply highlighting multiple forms of "competence" can lead to non-critical relativism (Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo, 1986) in which (to state an extreme, hypothetical example) a practice such as "sounding out" like that identified by Collins (1996) among low reading groups, is just seen as another form of competence—not a disturbing pattern that leads to educational failure in the US context.

The third critique of LS studies is methodological: the initial strategy of identifying focal cultural events like "dinner," "bedtime story," "prayer," or "storytelling," has tended to foster a lack of attention to the emergent quality of speech events within face-to-face interaction. (How, for example, does a certain act of speaking become a "prayer" even when not within a canonical prayer context?). This has led to the critique that LS-based characterizations of certain events and the language that constructs them is circular (He, 2003): According to this critique, LS research methods might lead us to initially identify a "prayer" through the language that is used, then call the language within that event, normatively "prayer-like" language.

The fourth critique, also of methodology, arises from LS researchers' initial and primary concern with documenting alternative cultural norms. Today it is generally accepted that LS research has successfully illustrated that many posited universals are untrue—and that alternative culturally specific subjectivities exist. However, the field has not, as yet, specified a methodology that could account for an individual's unique trajectory of socialization across multiple events of speaking within a normative social milieu (Wortham, 2005). In other words, no social actor uses language in ways that perfectly match normative characterizations; but the study of LS lacks a methodology for investigating how an individual's unique, yet systematic, variation from the norm is developed and sustained over time. This critique is related to the concern that

LS studies need to be imbued with more substantial ethnographic understandings that can account for such nuanced forms of participation and their development over time (Cameron and Kulick, 2004).

These critiques are problematic for LS studies in schools, because, taken together, the logical conclusion of this line of research is a proliferation of studies that identify multiple forms of communicative competence that support the notion of “LS” as a dialectical process of give and take between community norms and individual action, but which have no way of identifying the processes through which norms are taken up or contested. For researchers in education, this is a significant problem. If LS research is to be illuminating, a methodology will need to be specified to (1) avoid essentializing static cultural types and the uncritical relativism that can attend such generalizations; (2) track the emergence of new forms of participation; and (3) document how individuals negotiate or are positioned and repositioned in processes of socialization over time, possibly, in part, through more sustained and detailed ethnographic study.

Critiques of semiotically focused linguistic anthropology of education have not developed this canonical quality, in part because these studies have not had a chance to permeate educational research circles to such an extent. Often, due to a prevailing concern with standardized educational accountability, close attention to the analysis of language and interaction in educational settings (rather than testable educational outcomes) meets with skepticism. Even in circles in which qualitative and ethnographic approaches to educational research are relevant, attention to “linguistics” is perceived as too “micro.” At worst, the close attention to language is characterized as an epistemologically inappropriate “reading into” the words of others and giving them selfishly advantageous interpretations (Rymes, 2003). All of these critiques are rooted in a larger problem with the application of semiotic anthropological methods to educational settings: Unlike the tradition of Hymesian ethnography of speaking or LS, there simply is not a long history of semiotic anthropology within educational settings (Wortham, 2003).

#### WORKS IN PROGRESS

Fortunately, many of the methodological, theoretical, and practical problems encountered with linguistic anthropological work in educational settings have been increasingly addressed as scholars across these sub-fields draw on insights from one another, and as educational researchers become more familiar with these approaches. Recently, work that combines a LS perspective with an attention to semiotic and emergent

aspects of discourse was collected in a volume entitled *Linguistic Anthropology of Education* (Wortham and Rymes, 2003) in an attempt to discuss and provide empirical work that counters problems in the field like those discussed above.

The issue of language “cameos” that emerge from a LS perspective was addressed in the 2003 volume and elsewhere through research that combines a more rigorous attention to emergence and indexicality that comes from the semiotic tradition in linguistic anthropology (He, 2003; Rymes, 2003). In addition, a recent focus on language hybridity and intertextuality has illustrated how LS research in educational settings can account for multiple normative practices that co-exist in classrooms and among social categories of people (Duff, 2004; Gutiérrez et al., 2001).

In direct response to the second critique of “circularity” in some accounts of language, He (2003) has described an “enriched language socialization” infused with concepts of presupposing and entailing indexicality developed by Silverstein (1976). By tracking how utterances like a teacher’s, “when you are finished writing, you may erase it,” come to count as “moralizing” directives within Chinese heritage language classrooms, she refrains from pre-identifying certain speech events or behaviors as characteristically “Chinese” but instead illustrates how such an utterance can only count as moralizing when interlocutors recognize and treat it as such. In this example, He (2003) illustrates how “may” becomes the equivalent of “must” over time, and acquiescing to these “may” directives becomes definitional for being a “good” student.

The third critique—that LS is unable to account for trajectories of idiosyncratic individual socialization across multiple events—has also been addressed by merging insights from LS and traditional semiotic anthropology. Wortham (2005) illustrates how LS’s capacity to address the development of culturally specific subjectivities can be systematically studied with an attention to patterns of semiosis (such as the changes in participation engendered by indexical pronoun use) that develop across multiple events.

The primary concern with semiotic anthropology and its role in educational research has simply been that people haven’t been doing much of it. In response to this problem, the 2003 volume, *Linguistic Anthropology of Education*, has smoothed the way for more semiotically motivated educational research by articulating the differences and points of convergence between the fields of LS and the foundational concepts of semiotic anthropology (Wortham, 2003; Hornberger, 2003). On the heels of this volume, more recent work has continued the project of fusing a semiotic approach with LS. In a forthcoming

volume on *Narrative Analysis for Teacher Education* (Rex, in preparation) for example, contributors explicitly use the combined insights of LS (Capps and Ochs, 1995) and semiotic anthropological accounts (Wortham, 2001) to investigate how novice teachers and their students develop reflexive understanding of themselves and others.

Perhaps the most theoretically promising and recent new direction for LS and the Linguistic Anthropology of Education comes from this turn to reflexive operations—that is, the processes through which people grasp the norms within which they function (Agha, 2007). Both studies in LS and semiotically centered studies of language use and participation have been founded on at least an implicit recognition of reflexive operations in language development and use. However, the import and centrality of these processes in developing models of conduct is only now being fully and systematically articulated. In *Language and Social Relations*, Agha (2007) details the reflexive operations through which social actors variably recognize, produce, and transform models of conduct. By describing how social actors orient toward infinitely diverse models of conduct, this methodology offers a merger of the best of LS approaches—namely its ability to attend to the development of culturally specific subjectivities through ethnographic study—and the best of semiotic approaches—namely their ability to systematically identify the linguistic component of semiosis and its relationship to ethnographic contexts.

Understanding how people grasp the norms within which they function is neither simply a matter of ascertaining broad social norms related to language use nor simply a process of delineating the possible linguistic forms available to social actors. Instead, understanding reflexive processes necessitates both (1) a linguistically informed understanding of the semiotic processes that contribute to normative behavior; and (2) an ethnographically informed understanding of the social positions generated by choosing or avoiding certain kinds of normative behavior. Becoming competent as a social actor means becoming competent not in pre-existing social norms about what an “appropriate” use of, say, an address term like “Dr. Rymes” is, but in understanding the multiple signs, including forms of participation and likely social actors, that come together around activities in which “Dr. Rymes” is invoked.

By following a trajectory of semiotic signs, we can investigate which models of conduct students and teachers are invoking, producing, aligning with, or rejecting. Students and teachers are not constructed as docile recipients of macro level norms, but social actors with the capacity to choose words carefully, subvert (or conform to) the norms with which they are associated, and to develop reflexive facility with this process.

## FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Up to this point, this entry has characterized two broad strands within linguistic anthropology as distinct primarily in the degree to which they focus more on ethnographic context, or the semiotic processes that imbue such contexts with human relevance. Recent conceptualizations of cross-cultural comparisons have begun to articulate more fully the points of connection between semiotic activity and ethnographic context by focusing on reflexive operations (Agha, 2007).

This focus on reflexive grasp may be a useful new point of departure for educational linguistics more broadly. Language Socialization with an infusion of Semiotic Anthropology can lead to fertile investigation of classroom discourse and curricular effects. This fusion of anthropological approaches presents us with a way to study how language and other semiotic activity provides a medium we use to create and live within new models of conduct—even in the most seemingly rigid institutional contexts (like schools) and even while following rigid curricular mandates.

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THE CRITICAL MOMENT: LANGUAGE  
SOCIALIZATION AND THE (RE)VISIONING OF FIRST  
AND SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING

INTRODUCTION

A Japanese graduate student studying at an American university, Keiko struggled with the details of English grammar in writing academic papers. Despite 12 years of formal study in English and a Master's degree in the UK, Keiko continued routinely to write phrases such as "...political shifts of the international aid towards ..." (Bronson, 2005). In fact, her most persistent problem was use of "the," which seemed to randomly appear or be omitted in her sentences. She received volumes of teacher feedback on all drafts. Her professors tried nearly every strategy in the ESL repertoire to help Keiko achieve a more native-like proficiency in academic English. Improvement in her awareness of the problem and her ability to appropriately self-edit her drafts finally occurred when interventions based on Language Socialization (LS) assumptions were enacted.

The older Second Language Acquisition (SLA) approach might have identified Keiko's problem as "fossilization"—a term still current among ESL practitioners—and performed an intervention based on error analysis. Fossilization, however, is an unhelpful cover term for disparate phenomena that add up to nonlearning in even advanced students (see extensive review in Han, 2004). In contrast, discourse-based analyses reveal the complexity of the given/new distinction that underlies native English competence in article usage (Chafe, 1994). But can fossilization, functionality, or discourse-based interlanguage error analysis in and of itself explain what was really going on with Keiko? Is there something missing in grammatically oriented SLA assumptions that we need to consider in order to help a student like Keiko who, in all other respects, is extremely bright and successful?

Keiko's case suggests the need for a wider and deeper sociocultural/political perspective on how human beings learn, experience, and use language and culture. The evolving criticalist (defined below) approach to LS theory not only situates all languaculture (the intersection of language and culture; Agar, 1994) in the holistic contexts of everyday life, but focuses on the roles of gender, race, ethnicity, and power in local

(immediate) and remote (societal) structural levels of influence on language attitudes, rights, learning, and performance. We highlight the importance of critically oriented LS theory for SLA, while distinguishing among the diverse research programs and perspectives that claim a space under the LS umbrella.

We will return to article usage by Keiko to demonstrate that LS research can vary in how fully it embodies the emergent LS paradigm—for example, in the level of detail at which language-learning and associated contexts are represented in the primary record and associated timeframe. We maintain that practitioners and critical readers should attend to the integrity of the design and actual methods employed when assessing any study that claims to be “language socialization.” The explanatory power of LS research for rethinking even the most entrenched issues in SLA is enhanced where best practices in data collection and analysis are brought to bear, and where researchers ground the power of their claims in the rigor of their methods.

#### EARLY WORK

We use *criticalist* as a cover term for all critical perspectives from the left concerned with identifying and analyzing issues of race, ethnicity, class, gender, and power, and pursuing research towards social justice and transformation of knowledge and action. A criticalist sensibility, in the widest, nondogmatic sense of the term, has been seminal in LS research, and should be foundational for future work in this area.

LS research began in the 1970s (e.g., Philips, 1972), but the term was not applied nor a theoretical approach articulated until anthropologists Schieffelin and Ochs’ (1986a,b) classic formulations in their ground-breaking edited collection and major analytic review of the field. Originally a response to the narrowness of mainstream first language acquisition (FLA) and child development research models of the 1960s–1970s, LS recognized that language learning and enculturation are part of the same process. Early LS researchers were students of John Gumperz (e.g., 1982), Susan Ervin-Tripp, or Dell Hymes (1974, 1980), and were influenced by William Labov. These scholars, whose graduate seminars and research on classrooms and other social institutions examined how discrimination by language variety and discourse styles associated with race, ethnicity, class, and gender disadvantaged certain populations, did not explicitly situate their work in critical theory(ies). However, expert testimony by such sociolinguists before the US Supreme Court helped bring about the Lau Remedies that mandated bilingual, bi-cultural education following the court’s decision in favor of the plaintiffs in *Lau versus Nichols*, 1974.

At that time most LS researchers were focused on proving the “scientific” value of their ethnographic work to psycholinguists and child development researchers whose preoccupation was FLA, and this concern took precedence over framing LS work critically beyond a “culture difference” perspective. Early researchers focused on children’s FL learning in usually small (seemingly) monolingual societies, and although gender was typically addressed, power, oppression, multilingualism, and macro-sociopolitical issues of a globalizing world were bracketed. Researchers emphasized all participants’ agency in interactions with multiple (rather than dyadic) others in the dialectic of structure and agency (Giddens, 1979), laying the groundwork for a turn toward an overtly critical perspective. For the past two decades, linguistic anthropologists have argued that everyday linguistic and discursive practices both mirror and help to create broader social structures and systems of cultural meaning. Children play an important role in changing the culture that they are learning as they learn.

LS research projects from the beginning were based on a combination of longitudinal ethnographic methods and discourse analysis. Final research reports presented language development and “acquisition” of particular features or discourse routines in the context of an evolving sociocultural competence negotiated by the learner in use and constrained by social structure. Keiko’s struggle with the definite article in English documented over three years is typical of the use of fine-grained data to exemplify larger patterns and issues at stake in language socialization.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The seemingly pristine, largely isolated community in which language and culture are learned without other languacultural hybridity or influence is rare if not nonexistent today. Other than studies of privileged middle- and upper-middle class families essentially cordoned off from the struggles of multiethnic communities that surround them, most of the populations all LS researchers encounter face formidable barriers to their livelihood and “success” that are regulated by access to specific language varieties and other sociopolitical resources. If LS theory was to evolve into a paradigm for the complex processes of languaculture socialization, it needed to expand the sociocultural and situational settings in which it was applied, and incorporate theoretical advances in applied linguistics, sociohistorical and cognitive theories, and identity theory.

In the past two decades, LS studies have been undertaken in bi-/multicultural and second language (SL) classroom and community settings, and in postcolonial, hybridized, heterogeneous situations.

Most of this research has been undertaken by SL researchers (e.g., Bayley and Schecter, 2003; Duff, 1995; Sidnell, 1997; but see Garrett, 2004), even as the paradigm itself continues to be developed theoretically and methodologically by these researchers (e.g., Garrett and Baquedano-López, 2002; Watson-Gegeo, 1992, 2004). Criticalist approaches to LS in SLA examine language learning through postcolonial and post-modern theoretical lenses where issues of power, privilege, and socio-political history are central rather than incidental to the analysis, and where the research is positioned to serve subaltern communities in crisis as well as to advance scholarly discourse.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Three analytic reviews of LS and related theory that help to advance LS in a criticalist direction have been published in the past five years: Garrett and Baquedano-López (2002), Watson-Gegeo (2004), and Watson-Gegeo and Nielsen (2003). Garrett and Baquedano-López (2002), who are among the current generation (second wave) of LS theorists, show how LS work today is taking place in a wide variety of heterogeneous settings, including institutional contexts, where speakers' lives are impacted by rapidly changing linguistic and social processes. Watson-Gegeo (2004) and Watson-Gegeo and Nielsen (2003) argue for LS as a sociohistorical, sociopolitical paradigm for languacultural learning, and set out minimum standards for a study to be grounded in LS theory as well as robust enough to explain diverse situations researchers and the people they study encounter. The three reviews also examine and critique specific LS studies.

As Garrett and Baquedano-López (2002, p. 1) argue, LS has "proven coherent and flexible enough not merely to endure, but to adapt, to rise to . . . new theoretical and methodological challenges, and to grow." Critical LS theory may embrace a variety of criticalist positionings—radical feminist, poststructuralist, postmodernist, postcolonialist, et al. Recent empirical studies in *linguistic relativity* (e.g., Silverstein, 2000) demonstrate that differences in languages do have a significant impact on differences in thinking. This work resonates with research on *cultural models* for thinking and behaving by cognitive anthropologists using schema and prototype theory (Holland and Quinn, 1987), and psychologist Katharine Nelson (1996) on *Mental Event Representations* (MER), an advance on Vygotskian theory for how children develop ways of representing the world. At the heart of the matter are the *indigenous/local and societal ontologies and epistemologies* that shape thinking, including perception itself, exciting work on which is being done now by indigenous scholars from a variety of third world

settings—bringing a criticalist “insider’s” emic perspective into the academy (e.g., Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo, 2001; Sinha, 1997). *Standpoint epistemology* developed by feminists (Alcoff and Potter, 1993) lays the groundwork for recognizing a range of positionings and ways of knowing different from Western white male orientations. This also includes the realization that children’s epistemologies differ from those of adults. *Culture* is recognized as variable, an ongoing conversation embodying conflict and change, shaped by the dialectic of structure and agency, inherently ideological, and prone to manipulation and distortion by powerful interests (e.g., Habermas, 1979). Culture and *identity* are inextricably linked, but highly complex.

Bhabha’s (1994) concept of the “third space,” that cultural forms in the continuous process of hybridity can allow the possibility for one to create new cultural positionings, does not take away from people’s own interior sense of a “deep culture” (Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo, 2004) on which they draw for a sense of continuing and “authentic” (a concept we must problematize) identity. As Hall (1991, p. 223) argues, cultural identity and knowledge(s) involve two senses of the self: of “one shared culture, a sort of collective ‘one true self,’ hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed ‘selves’ which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common” (e.g., Anzaldúa, 1990), and secondly, of identity and knowledges produced by “the ruptures and discontinuities” that result in “critical points of deep and significant *difference*.” Hybridity is associated with diaspora(s), colonialism, postcolonial history, and globalization, yet the complexity it evokes occurs also in dominant first-world societies where mainstream interests try to suppress difference.

LS theory incorporates new perspectives on learning, as well. Drawing on Soviet activity theory, Lave (1993, pp. 5–6) defines learning as “changing participation [and understanding] in the culturally designed settings of everyday life.” Learning involves *situated cognition*, that “every cognitive act must be viewed as a specific response to a specific set of circumstances” (Resnick, 1991, p. 4), and *situated learning*, involving the “relational character of knowledge and learning,” the “negotiated character of meaning,” and “concerned (engaged, dilemma-driven) nature of the learning activity for the people involved in it”; thus do “agent, activity, and the world mutually constitute each other” (Lave and Wenger, 1991, p. 33). All activities and relationships are inherently political. Bourdieu’s (1980, 1993) work on field, habitus, and cultural capital informs a deeper analysis of the “dispositions” of behavior in everyday life and the contexts in which learning occurs. Learning in contexts takes place through *legitimate peripheral participation*, i.e., learners begin at the periphery and gradually move to the

center as their skills grow (Lave and Wenger, 1991). The concept of legitimate peripheral participation has entered the LS canon—virtually every major LS study includes the source in its bibliography as foundational.

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

LS research in its most robust implementations is very difficult and time-consuming, and only a few will ever have the access to resources required and the requisite motivation—on par with an extensive Ph.D. dissertation—to do it fully. The researchers, theorists and practitioners who seek to interpret and make use of findings from self-described LS studies can benefit from a more mindful and transparent characterization of the actual methods by which knowledge was constructed, and the background philosophical assumptions that guided that construction in each instance.

LS has increasingly become an umbrella under which many kinds of work are undertaken, sometimes evoking sharp critique that these forms of work are not genuinely LS. It is therefore useful to consider the varying ways that research on language learning articulates with the LS paradigm in relatively current research programs: LS as *topic*, *approach*, *method*, and *intervention*. This taxonomy is an informal, suggestive framework for thinking about the range of studies termed LS, provocatively offering a guideline for assessing the strength and credibility of studies via their underlying philosophical assumptions and adherence to standards of LS research. The taxonomy is intended neither as a set of mutually exclusive categories, nor an attempt to definitively pigeonhole every study representing itself as LS.

#### *LS as Topic*

“LS as topic” refers to studies that touch on aspects of the LS process without necessarily embodying an LS approach or methods in the way the inquiry is actually conceived and conducted. Such researchers may examine the intersection of social life, language use, and language development. In this sense, LS has been applied as a rubric for studies of, for instance, the lexical and discursive indices of language shift and English-Spanish bilingual identity in the US (Pease-Alvarez, 2003), the multi-media-based interpretations of identity among immigrant students in the US (Harklau, 2003), sexual orientation in Egypt (Khayatt, 2003), and Aymara-Spanish codemixing among bilinguals in Bolivia (Luykx, 2003). Such research is often based on relatively thin data sets, perhaps interviews and a few examples without intensive analysis of primary discourse data in a longitudinal frame (e.g., Lamarre, 2003 examines language attitudes and bilingualism in Montréal based

entirely on interviews with bilinguals; and Pease-Alvarez's, 2003 study includes no discourse data at all to empirically examine use). These studies may include methods that are based neither on a genuinely socio-cultural nor criticalist perspective, such as those associated with Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (see Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 2001, and Sullivan, 1995 for a critique of SFL's asocial and crypto-positivist roots). Critical readers should ascribe more validity to studies that are longitudinal, genuinely ethnographic, and that are both "thickly" documented and explained—i.e., that include multiple perspectives and rich data sets—than to those that focus on a single incident.

Nevertheless, studies treating LS as a topic can contribute to a collective understanding of aspects of the languaculture complex, despite using disparate modes of research within diverse contexts and communities of practice. Notable collected volumes using LS as a topic have appeared (Bayley and Schecter, 2003; Kramsch, 2002) and are important contributions. The opportunity for a more substantive dialogue among researchers with differing approaches and methods should be one goal of such volumes. The value of refining and advancing the discussion is that it will lead to a more common understanding of appropriate standards for the next generation of LS research, inspiring researchers to a higher degree of transparency and accountability, articulating more explicitly how they have approached research design, data collection and analysis. This move is advocated here as a way of amplifying a "critical moment" in SLA, that will require researchers to assess what they have left out as well as what they have included in their data sets and procedures. They must grapple with questions of accountability and responsibility to the communities they are studying as well as to their own communities-of-practice when they assess the explanatory power and impact of their final interpretations.

### *LS as Approach*

"LS as approach" includes studies that embody LS ontology and epistemology, i.e., studies that take into account the lived realities of learners and the social conditions in which their learning is occurring, but does not necessarily follow a longitudinal design. Returning to Keiko's use of "the," her problem could be approached from many different theoretical perspectives that are not aligned with LS. Much non-LS inspired research and certainly many ESL teachers in the field evoke a uni-directional image of acquisition and one-dimensional understanding of a learner as a "language acquisition device" (as critiqued by McGroarty, 1998 in her discussion of the Chomsky-inspired generative paradigm in SLA). The context- and task-dependent nature of performance and the complex interplay of cognitive, psychological

and even political factors in learning and social life may be obscured by this image.

LS as an approach to Keiko's problem raises a different set of questions and a different ontology, one that is at once particularized, social and cognitive. The LS approach can serve as a lens that brings into focus the lived experiences and challenges of learners. It embraces the subjective, phenomenological dimension of the process of socialization through language. When viewed through the lens of LS, transfer problems such as those experienced by Keiko are always already nested within multiple systems and levels. New questions occur to the researcher, lines of inquiry open up to augment the contrastive analysis and learner language strand. The LS approach thus provides an opening for SLA research and theory to catch up with developments in cognitive science (Watson-Gegeo, 2004).

### *LS as Method*

"LS as method" characterizes studies that adhere to the highest standards, including full-blown longitudinal ethnographic research and discourse analyses of relevant data. Well-designed language socialization research must embody design and methods that are congruent with the theoretical and philosophical underpinnings of the tradition in order to count as genuine contributions. A high degree of transparency about the nature of the context, participants, setting, data, and analysis is essential. Methods may be eclectic in a good LS study. To achieve what we might call a "gold standard" for design and methodological rigor in LS research from a criticalist perspective, however, certain characteristics and strategies are essential (see also Watson-Gegeo, 2004, pp. 341–342).

The study must encompass a combination of ethnographic, sociolinguistic and discourse analytic methods at a minimum, drawing on criticalist work in these areas (e.g., Fairclough, 2005; van Dijk, 1993). Ecologically valid qualitative and quantitative data may both be usefully combined, and usually are for in-depth studies. The scope of the research must include all relevant macro- and micro-dimensions of context, and incorporate whole events and behavior rather than short strips of time that have been coded into pre-set categories; most categories must be generated from and grounded in data. LS studies involve fine-grained longitudinal studies of language and culture learning in community and/or classroom settings that have been systematically documented through audiotape, videotape and careful field notes of interaction. In-depth ethnographic interviews with learners and others involved are an essential part of an LS study. LS methods bring some a priori theory to the study, but depend greatly on evolving

theory and research questions “grounded theory” style in the field site and through accumulating data and continuing analysis.

Several recent examples of such work include Aminy (2004), who reports on a longitudinal (two-and-a-half year) study of literacy socialization (learning to recite the Qu’ran) that spans three sites, exhaustive analysis of textual and contextual data, and a fully developed ethnography of the target community by an insider. Yang (2004) studies a process of school reform in an urban high-school district in Oakland, California in which participants helped to socialize each other into their varied social identities through conversations and formal and informal meetings. The study includes close analysis of meetings through video and audiotapes as well as intense textual analysis of the documents exchanged in the school reform process. Yang (2004, p. iii) uses an LS framework to investigate how members of a grassroots school reform movement “progressed from creating small schools toward recreating the urban school district itself.” Participants in his study confronted the challenge of building a common understanding of policy at a school undergoing state-mandated reform using a process that was heavily mediated by the exchange of texts. The idea of “challenge” evokes the purposes and intentions of those who are being researched and their lived struggle to make the most of available choices as they respond to dynamic contexts.

A return to the case of Keiko illustrates the value of the robust data sets and grounded analysis required by best practices in LS methods. The study included reflective journals written by Keiko wherein she engaged questions related to her language learning process, and many writing conferences and interviews, as well as samples of Keiko’s drafts. Bronson found that the placement of “the” was emblematic of the deepest issues of identity and ideology in language learning and use for Keiko. She had discovered by reading multiple authors from different countries that there were many “Englishes.” She decided to align herself with British English for most spelling forms in her writing.

However, Keiko decided to also take the liberty of experimenting with her own variety of English, including even the idiosyncratic way she used “the.” As she wrote in her journal, “I have found that I can subvert and create a sort of “my English” and style with following certain genres so that my articles can be read and understood.” This led her to a “critical incident” of realization as she worked on revisions of her writing with Bronson, her writing coach. Their counterpoint negotiations led Keiko to write about her own variety of English (Bronson, 2005, pp. 333–334); “I leant (sic) that subversion is not a whatever-goes practice and it is a continuous negotiation with genres and dominant styles of academic writing.”

The significance of Keiko's critical incident was that it induced her to come up with a reason for learning to produce grammatically well-formed English, a reason that did not represent an automatic, corresponding submersion of her Japanese identity. Moreover, it helped her to activate a strategy for breaking the daunting task of mastering sentence-level grammar down into a series of discrete and executable steps. The LS methods of this study, encompassing field notes, learner journals, discourse and textual analysis of her writing, allowed the researcher to describe not only the substance of Keiko's struggle with English form, but what that struggle meant to her and to her teachers. This "thick record" of longitudinal data meant that the differences, conflicts and points of resistance between participants were available in the research record as well as the alignments in their motivations and actions. "Critical incidents" serve as inflection points in the trajectory of LS narratives where those being studied make an important shift in understanding or perspective.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

"LS as intervention" foregrounds the possibilities of LS research to make a difference in SLA teaching and sociopolitical language-related issues. Foundational LS studies of inequities in educational outcome (e.g., Heath, 1983) challenged an established "fact" hitherto attributed to such factors as low I.Q.s of minority students, and generated the languacultural "mismatch hypothesis" for minority children's failure at school and schools' failure to serve minority children. This hypothesis was the realization that the perceived deficit in achievement was a social construction, not a reflection of inherent capacities of children from diverse backgrounds caught at the crossroads between home and school. Similarly, LS theory when rigorously applied leads to a radical, criticalist empiricism, requiring researchers to grapple with the full complexity of languaculture as it manifests in dynamic, evolving contexts. This in turn questions the roots of rationality itself and problematizes the "common sense" that normalizes practices of oppression and distorts equitable discourse. LS theory then can become LS as intervention.

In Keiko's case, Bronson enrolled her as a co-researcher who participated in the creation of the official record of events—a classic example of legitimate peripheral participation. She co-presented with him at a research conference, reporting on the results of the study. She found her inclusion in the study to be instrumental in her learning. The LS research design helped her to empower herself to speak her mind about difficult issues of power and identity. The criticalist orientation of LS invited her to name something otherwise unnamable and to frame it

in valid academic terms: her own resistance to the colonization of her imagination by U.S. standard English, her desire to retain her “Japaneseness” as one pole in a complex and evolving dialectic (Bronson, 2004, p. 318). LS research can become a criticalist intervention when it does not automatically embrace an unproblematic rush to assimilation and the erasing of indigenous identity and history. LS research serves as an intervention to the extent that it is alert to the “third space” where voices and spaces of resistance necessarily accompany the overwhelming and legitimate desire of English-learners to “succeed” in mainstream terms (Candela, 2005).

LS emerged as a kind of intervention in its origins, a move to focus the study of FLA and later SLA on learners as active meaning-making agents who were struggling to construct their roles in society and to master the accompanying repertoire of communicative strategies that index and realize those roles in everyday life. Researchers who seek to bridge theory and practice and who spend extended periods of time in settings where SL socialization is occurring tend to develop high degrees of empathy for the subaltern people who are typically the focus of their studies. LS serves as an intervention inasmuch as it inspires greater attention to the unexpressed and silenced voices of those who labor under the burdens of a generally unjust social order, one that, by default, tends to stack the game of language learning and academic socialization against them.

Beyond its impact upon the researcher and, by extension, the larger communities-of-practice in which they operate, critical LS holds significance as a site for restoring otherwise silenced voices into discourse about opportunity and access to society’s resources. It emphasizes the humanity and human rights of those whom it represents, and depends on the cultivation of a long-term rapport between researcher and researched. Critical LS comes into full flower when the researched are themselves enlisted as co-researchers in the spirit of “collaborative inquiry.” When students and learners are taught to read the world even as they read the word (Freire, 1970), they must also learn to critically read the officially constructed accounts in which they themselves are inscribed.

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LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION: A SYSTEMIC  
FUNCTIONAL PERSPECTIVE

INTRODUCTION

The point-of-departure for a systemic functional linguistic (SFL) account of language socialization must necessarily be its claim to be a theory of language as social semiotic (Halliday, 1978; Hasan, 1996), broadly the theory that language is ‘a resource for meaning’ in the complex socially constituted contexts within cultures. In Halliday’s words:

A ‘sociosemiotic’ perspective implies an interpretation of the shifts, the irregularities, the disharmonies and the tensions that characterize human interaction and social processes. It attempts to explain the semiotic of the social structure, in its aspects of both persistence and change, including the semantics of social class, of the power system, of hierarchy and of social conflict. It attempts also to explain the linguistic processes whereby the members construct the social semiotic, whereby social reality is shaped, constrained and modified – processes which, far from tending towards an ideal construction, admit and even institutionalize myopia, prejudice and misunderstanding . . . (Halliday, 1978, p. 127).

From this claim it follows that accounts of linguistic phenomena—meaning, lexicogrammar, ontogenesis, literacy and so on—all are viewed as a result of the ‘social’, in various senses of that term. Another way of representing this position is to say that it is a logical impossibility in the model for language to originate asocially, so language socialization *is*, in a sense, the process of language development (Williams and Lukin, 2004). However, this orientation also entails a complex set of claims about relations between social context, language development, and the nature of language itself. In developing an account of language socialization SFL, as a theory of language, does not attempt to describe social structure directly but engages in ‘meta-dialogue’ with sociological theory that accords language a significant role in its account of social transmission and reproduction (Hasan, 1999).

To explore an SFL perspective together with aspects of its relations with sociological theory, I will focus on two specific topics: relations

between a child's meaning-making prior to language and children's 'socialization' into language use per se, and intra-cultural variation in meaning-making in everyday language use. The two questions have been chosen to illustrate the status of the concepts of language *function* and language *system* in SFL accounts of language socialization. 'Function' is crucial to the theory, but does it mean anything more than 'use' in this framework? Similarly, does 'system' mean anything more than just a general sense of a language? The selection has also been made to address a question raised by scholars interested in both acquisition and socialization, a question about ways in which it might be possible to 'bridge the gap between linguistic structure and social structure in language acquisition and use' (Kramsch, 2002, p. 2). Kramsch comments that 'a functional description of language does not eliminate the distinction between the individual language user and the social environment; it only attempts to show how each co-constructs the other', and, further, that '... the terms used by Halliday and Vygotsky, *plurifunctionality* and *internalization*, risk keeping intact the very dichotomy they strive to cancel' (Kramsch, 2002, p. 3). My purpose is not so much to eliminate the distinction between language user and social environment, but to illustrate how *function* and *system* might enable us to re-imagine the relation.

This selection has also meant setting aside a general account of work on language socialization from an SFL perspective—for example, I do not discuss differential learner access to genres as a result of differential language socialization, and the pedagogic strategies that have been developed to address this problem. 'Genre-based pedagogy', as this work has come to be called, was developed initially by James R. Martin, Joan Rothery, Frances Christie and their colleagues to provide learners with explicit accounts of the various key genres required in school writing. The accounts were based on extensive surveys and linguistic analyses of writing samples, and they were initially written to assist students from a wide variety of linguistic and social backgrounds to understand the often-implicit requirements for writing successful texts in school. (See, for examples of early work, Martin (1985) and Christie (1985)). Genre-based pedagogy is, though, by far the best-known aspect of SFL educational linguistic work, and in any case has recently been outlined and reviewed extensively (Christie and Martin, 2005; Christie and Unsworth, 2005; Schleppegrell, 2004. For earlier discussion, see also Hasan and Williams, 1996).

#### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

In building an account of language use early in a child's life, SFL scholars have explored relations between the first systematic uses of

sound and gesture to make meaning, in Halliday's term, protolanguage, and entry into language itself. This work has subsequently proved to be important to SFL descriptions of the functional nature of the language system per se, and to processes of language socialization. Work on protolanguage is perhaps better known for its portrayal of a child's meaning-making achievements prior to language than as presenting a key theoretical proposition about relations between language development and social context.

Halliday first introduced the concept protolanguage in the early 1970s (Halliday, 1975) to describe phenomena he had been observing in a case study of his son Nigel's meaning-making during the first two years of life. For this purpose, there were two key elements in Halliday's proposal. The first was the suggestion that there was an evolutionary relationship between 'functions' of protolanguage and 'functions' in the language itself, in contrast with the idea that protolanguage is a pre-language form of communication that disappears as language proper is 'acquired', or a reduced language form which would eventually be assimilated into the first language. (In this sense his work on protolanguage both precedes, and is qualitatively different from, Derek Bickerton's proposal which also uses the term protolanguage (Bickerton, 1990; for extended discussion of this point see Painter (2005)). The second was that, even in protolanguage there are important interpersonal, and hence social, functions enacted and it is these, rather than representational functions, which provide the basis for entry into the first language.

In protolanguage, a child means through simple content-expression pairs, typically an expression such as an idiosyncratic sound and/or gesture that is interpreted over time by both child and caregiver to mean some specific content. While a child obviously develops many meaningful, generalized sounds—crying, gurgling and the like—the sounds (signifiers) to which Halliday drew attention signify much more specific meaning. These sounds, typically combined with gestures, work in the restricted context of the family to enact a range of functions, now called microfunctions, such as to enact interpersonal relations, regulate the behavior of those around, make demands to get specific things done, find out new information, and so on. They are identifiable as categorically different from generalized sounds because whenever the child means the specific meaning she uses the specific sound-gesture signifier, and whenever she uses that signifier she means that content.

The origin of these signs is social since they arise through interaction with the local interpersonal context, but their meaning is idiosyncratic to the child, interpretable only by those in closest relation to her. Halliday further argues that it is (social) contextual pressure that eventually results in a move from protolanguage to language since, as the child's

interpersonal range widens from the immediate family, she experiences the need to use ways of meaning that function in new contexts; and increasingly, over time. The introduction of lexis achieves that goal to some extent, but it is actually grammar that makes the crucial, qualitative change in meaning-making (Halliday, 2004). However, as I will attempt to show in the next section, this does not mean that there are two processes, the acquisition of grammar and socialization. Since in the SFL account grammar is itself defined as functional, originating historically from meaning-making in social interaction, it is the relation between functionality in protolanguage and the functionality of the language system that enables the child to learn 'how to mean' through language. In this sense 'language socialization' is the pathway to knowledge of language itself, in contrast with the proposal that language pre-exists social practice and is formed by it.

In parallel with Halliday's early work on the first phases of individual ontogenesis, a different perspective relevant to SFL was being developed by the British sociologist Basil Bernstein (1971). He and his colleagues had begun exploring the question of variation in the ontogenesis of language use intra-culturally. Significantly, in the initial phases of this work there was no well-theorized sense of language as system and this was to create major impediments to an account of language socialization until it was resolved. Unfortunately, the developments that have helped to resolve it are much less widely known than the early impediments.

In this work the defining question again was, 'how do people use language in the living of life?', but the perspective was here from the social context towards the individual once the individual has begun to use language. From this orientation the question becomes 'how do people use language in the living of life in different social positions within a culture?' In asking this question Bernstein was directly influenced by Vygotsky's (1978, 1986) and Luria's (1976) research on the social origins of forms of consciousness, but to their theoretical work on semiotic mediation he added the question of effects of social structure on the nature of that semiotic mediation. He notes that 'from Vygotsky and Luria, I absorbed the notion of speech as an orientating and regulative system' (Bernstein, 1971, p. 6. For further discussion of this historical relation, see Hasan, 1996; Williams, 2005).

In one sense the answer to this question is obvious, if complex to describe: in SFL terms, people use varieties of social dialect, and they use different registers that enable them to get things done, more or less successfully, in the various contexts of situation of their culture. However, Bernstein's theoretical and descriptive work raised another possibility: that language might function in systematically different ways to result in different 'codes' or orientations to meaning practices *across*

both dialects and registers. Codes are tacit principles regulating social interaction in contexts through three crucial aspects of meaning-making: recognition of contexts; relevance of meanings in contexts; and appropriate forms of the realization of meanings in those contexts. Different coding orientations, he argued, would be likely to result in implicit, invidious effects on children's access to the privileged and privileging texts used in school since they would not be equally selected into educational discourse, resulting in misunderstanding of the nature of pedagogic contexts and the relevance of meanings to those contexts.

... if we look at education (school), the positioning of the child as pupil, the crucial control on such positioning, with respect to 'privileging text', is essentially a matter of class, race, gender, and age ... It is the *local* pedagogic practice within the family, peer group and community which initially positions the child or the parents with respect to the 'privileging text'. (Bernstein, 1990, p. 176, original emphasis)

Those practices, he argued, are crucially mediated by language, though his discussion has also always included other types of semiotic modality (Bernstein, 1971). His work was soon rejected as deriving from a deficit model of language development, most famously by Labov in 'The logic of non-standard English' (Labov, 1969). These claims were examined in some detail and rebutted by Bernstein (1990), but regrettably they are still frequently repeated in pedagogic handbooks and, even, research citations.

In fact, Bernstein's first attempts to theorize the problem and to describe "language correlates" were flawed, as he himself acknowledged (Bernstein, 1971, p. 42, 55; 1990). Initially the linguistic correlates of code were couched in terms of the concepts of competence and performance, so the account was more or less located in syntax. However, in the latter part of the 1960s he abandoned that approach and instead began to think in terms of meanings being selected variably in general types of context of use. For example, his work in the Sociological Research Unit at the University of London explored different meanings people selected to control children's behavior through expressions such as "Don't do that!", "If you do that you could hurt yourself", "Stop doing that because it makes me really upset", and so on. The point is not that speakers select these meanings variably over time and across contexts—that is highly likely—but that there might be a systematic variation in the probabilities of meanings being selected within some socially defined categories<sup>1</sup> of families. The specific

<sup>1</sup> The social categories were defined in terms of relative position in the social division of labor, not by level of family income or socio-economic status, both of which Bernstein regarded as too crude and indirect as measures of social positioning.

linguistic problem, which I will take up in the second part of the next section, is to develop an account of the linguistic system at the semantic stratum to describe semantic features in ways that would allow the proposition about different coding orientations to be tested.

The two sets of work apparently suggest a theoretical dilemma: on the one hand, a generalized view of a child's entry to language, including lexicogrammar, through meaning-making in social interaction, to which she or he is oriented from birth; and on the other, a particularized view of children forming differentiated orientations to meaning-making in relation to family social positioning. The process of language socialization is crucial to both views.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The key moves that allowed an SFL account of socialization to address this apparent dilemma came through development of the concept of *function* alongside an account of *system*. 'System' is defined multistratally to include semantics, lexicogrammar and phonology/graphology, and the general metaphor through which the description of the system is developed is that of 'resource' for meaning. The key claim in SFL is that the system itself is functionally organized to address the highly complex social need to make and exchange meaning. That is, in this perspective, the linguistic system realizes culture because it is a social semiotic modality that functions in and through social processes to enable socially constituted subjects to exchange meanings.

What SFL studies of protolanguage have been able to demonstrate is that a child moves into use of the language system precisely because its functional qualities enable her to mean in ways that become significant as her range of social contexts and experiences expands over time and with increasing physical maturity. There is thus no sense of language developing and then being acted on by socializing processes, but rather of language itself evolving into greater functional complexity for the individual through her engagement in shared social processes.

During the protolinguistic phase, each content-meaning pair means one thing only. There can be quite elaborate development of meanings for a particular microfunction—lots of specific greetings for members of a large family, for example—but nevertheless each sign means just the one meaning. But as a child's experience broadens she typically uncouples two meaning-making resources in protolinguistic sounds—prosody from articulation, for example—and begins to extend the range of simultaneous meanings each utterance can realize. In Nigel's case this uncoupling allowed him to 'say' personal names (glossing, these were, 'mother', 'father' and 'Anna') and, at the same time, either 'ask' for information ("where are you?") or 'declare' someone's

presence (“There you are!”) (Halliday, 2004, pp. 30–31). At this early stage there are just two simple functions (‘interact’ and ‘representation’) in each instance of use, but this change represents a qualitatively different level of semiotic practice since, now, two generalized functions are deployed in each instance of use. In Halliday’s own study, and those subsequently conducted by Painter (1984) and Torr (1997), some such uncoupling has been observed to lead to initial generalization of microfunctions into two broad, temporary, functional resources, or macrofunctions, that, on the one hand, allow children to act on the world (‘pragmatic’ functions in Halliday’s terms) and resources to find out about the world (‘mathetic’ functions).

Crucially, Halliday was able to develop a detailed account of how these temporary macrofunctions eventually evolve into the functionally defined, abstract resources of the language system itself, resources he describes in terms of three generalized functions of language: to represent experience, to enable interpersonal interaction, and to organize coherent text (Halliday, 1978, 2002). His term for the idea of ‘function’ generalized in this way is ‘metafunction’. Halliday makes the distinctive claim that the qualities of these metafunctionally organized resources are as they are because of the social needs and processes that a language must address. It is these qualities that enable a child to learn how to mean through language with such facility from such a simple meaning-resource as comprised by a protolanguage. The claim about interaction between social processes and the metafunctional ‘nature’ of language systems is, in turn, the basis on which SFL scholars argue that language ‘socialization’ is, in an important sense, the key process for the evolution of language in both ontogenesis and phylogenesis. (For extended discussion, see especially Halliday, 1973; Matthiessen, 2004.) A detailed case study by Painter (1999) of the dialectic process between emerging knowledge of the language system and social context has considerably extended evidence available from the earlier studies of protolanguage.

Interestingly, more recent work has begun to explore a stronger claim for the significance of social interaction in language development. The claim, again originally from Halliday, is that interpersonal meanings develop first, and typically provide the basis for the development of representational ones. This claim contrasts sharply with a more typical idea that a child learns representational meanings first, then learns the grammar that allows her to interact about them. Painter, for example, claims:

... the first semiotic system of the individual emerges to enable the infant to share reactions to experience with the other, and it is upon this personal and interpersonal foundation that language proper is built ... the impetus to share

emotional experience that appears to underlie the development of protolanguage is similarly responsible for the transition into language itself (2004, p. 139.).

Painter provides examples of her son Stephen's development of generalizations to illustrate:

Stephens's first occasions for using generic categories were only in relation to aspects of experience that were emotionally highly charged. In his case it was almost exclusively the domain of age, since he was very conscious of being the 'little boy' in the household, always wishing to achieve the status of his older brother, but he also attended a preschool where there were babies and younger 'little' children. It would seem that reflection on this affectively salient domain provided Stephen with the way 'in' to this new linguistic development, after which, in his fourth year, it became routine to talk about generic categories and their relationships (op. cit.: p. 143)

This, then, is a broad sketch of the way language socialization is described in very early ontogenesis from the perspective of individual development, and of how individual development is understood in terms of the functionality of various stages of linguistic semiosis in relation to the functional qualities of the system itself. However, as discussed in the preceding section, there is a complementary interest in ontogenesis from the perspective of social structure, and this too has relied on an elaborated description of function and system to explore language socialization processes.

As I noted in the initial discussion above, Bernstein's first sociological attempts to describe differences in coding orientation in terms of syntax were flawed, and he abandoned that approach in favor of meaning-oriented descriptions. Interested by the significance Bernstein attributed to language in social transmission and reproduction, SFL researchers began working to develop systematic semantic descriptions which would allow mapping of the selections people made in everyday contexts, and hence examination of possible systematic variation in these selections in relation to social positioning. As Halliday (see, for example, 1978) was quick to point out, from a linguistic viewpoint there can be no question of linguistic 'deficit'—language develops ontogenetically because of its functional relevance to the living of life, so almost all language users develop a 'functional' knowledge of language as a system, unless there is some radical impairment to brain function, for example. And this knowledge is always partial, for all users. No-one can know a whole language. However, it might be possible that people will typically and habitually select some meanings rather than others across contexts of use and over time because

of some general features of social structure—gender, age and class, for example—and that these typical meaning selections form what Bernstein called the ‘linguistic correlates’ of coding orientations. The SFL way of framing this claim to make it linguistically researchable is to say that different coding orientations, should they exist, would be realized systematically through the selection of different configurations of semantic features.

It was a development in description of the semantic system that provided the required breakthrough to understanding ‘linguistic correlates’ and why they might be functionally differentiated in different social class contexts. Halliday suggested that it might be possible to map specific fractions of the semantic potential of a language, and illustrated by writing a small, intricate map, or semantic network, of all the possible meanings people make in controlling the behavior of young children. (He was responding to Bernstein’s interest in the significance of this context, along with others as ‘critical socializing contexts’ for the development of coding orientations (Bernstein, 1971)). It was then possible to closely analyze what people habitually did in control contexts by plotting their linguistic ‘doings’ against the potential of the system, as described by the semantic map, and then to examine the selections statistically to determine whether there might be consistently different patterns of choice from the system associated with speakers in different social positions. A further crucial feature of Halliday’s proposal was that each semantic option was specified in terms of the lexicogrammatical features through which it was realized. This distinguished the system description from either impressionistic interpretations or from content-based descriptions, which would necessarily have been tied just to representational meanings.

However, while the general concept proved to be fruitful for empirical research in language socialization, its range of application was limited since it mapped only one general type of context, control of children’s behavior. For this research initiative to be extended, a more general mapping of the system potential was required, most importantly across a range of everyday contexts of casual conversation in families, given Bernstein’s argument about the significance of *local* pedagogic practices.

Such a map was developed by Hasan, initially in 1983, and became available in an expanded form in 2007 (Hasan, 2007). To illustrate this approach very briefly, interaction between caregivers and children is analyzed through multiple (metafunctional) perspectives on linguistic messages. The perspectives are organized as a general, integrated map of the meanings typically exchanged at the level of message in everyday contexts in families. A message is formally defined as ‘the smallest semantic unit that is *capable of realizing an element in*

*the structure of texts* (Hasan, 1995, p. 227) and is typically realized through clauses. This orientation to the study of semantics is rather different from more typical lexically-oriented semantic research, though it does not at all preclude such parallel study. Message semantics has been developed, though, to support the study of features of language use in context, including particularly the negotiation of meanings interactively, hence the orientation of message semantics to studying elements of texts. In all, about 70 variables are available for the description of each message, described as systems and sub-systems of the semantic network. To illustrate, here is a brief excerpt of interaction between a mother and her three-year-old daughter while they were reading a storybook together, with each semantic message numbered:

Emily: (1) What happens (2) if you don't have a umbrella at the beach? (3) You get burnt.

Mh: (4) Yes, well, you've got to have lots of suntan cream and hats on.

Emily: (5) Yeah. (6) And you have to keep your hat on (7) even when you're swimming.

Taking Message 1 as the first example, it would be described in terms of its function as an initiating move in this stretch of dialogue, as a particular type of demand for information (asking about an 'event' rather than a 'reason' or an 'actant' of some kind, as representing experience as a 'happening' rather than a 'doing', and so on). In turn, Message 2 would be described in terms of its function as a supplementation to Message 1 (by stating a condition for the event), as a representation of a possessive relation, negated, with a generalized participant 'you' and a particularized possession 'a umbrella', and so on. Analysis through contextually 'expansive' semantic networks enables researchers to explore relative frequencies of selection of related sets of semantic features: for example, the extent to which a child interlocutor is represented in the discourse and in what participant roles ('agent', 'patient', etc); by whom she is represented; in what kinds of speech functions; and in what interactive roles. To underscore the last point, the system mapping supports analysis of the dynamic development of dialogue rather than just individual utterances. In this case, the fact that the mother selects a rejoinder to Emily's answer rather than raising a further question, and that Emily selects a further rejoinder, illustrates this point. The mapping also supports analysis of the options *not* habitually selected. Emily might have said, as her mother often did, (1a) "What do you think happens . . .". Research can then test whether, across contrasted categories of some population, there is a systematic difference in the options *not* taken up in comparison with those that are.

System mapping also enables, to some degree, comparisons of meaning selections across institutional contexts. Both Hasan (e.g.

1989, 2007) and Williams (1999, 2001) have found it possible to use the one semantic network to describe interaction both between caregivers and children, and between teachers and children in the first year of primary school. The limiting condition is, of course, the degree of variation in the meanings at stake in these contexts. However, the fact that the same semantic network could be used inter-institutionally has meant that these researchers were able to explore relations between semantic variants used by speakers in different social positions and the variants used in school meaning-making practices.

Hasan and her colleagues have found strong evidence of semantic variation associated with speakers' social class positioning, and interpret this as evidence of differences in coding orientation. The data for these studies have been audio recordings of naturally occurring conversations in families, made by caregivers, and similar recordings in kindergarten classrooms. As is perhaps obvious from the preceding illustration, the advantage of a system-based description is that it enables researchers to describe sets of features from different metafunctions that contribute to the principal components accounting for variance. However, it is not really possible to briefly illustrate details from these findings without creating a reductive account of the nature of the variation. And great caution is required since partial accounts lead directly to the appearance of linguistic deficit. Coding orientation is not realized either by single semantic features, or by simple aggregations of them, but rather by configurations that are intricately inter-related, resulting in delicate habitual meaning differences. Hasan (1989, 1992), Cloran (1994) and Williams (1999, 2001) present sets of these findings, and the first book-length presentation of them is found in Hasan (2007).

#### PROBLEMS, DIFFICULTIES AND FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS

Though there have been significant advances in the development of theoretical understanding and research frameworks, there are some considerable practical difficulties to be addressed in conducting such studies. Perhaps surprisingly, the least of these has been to obtain natural data. It seems that the ordinary living of life in family contexts soon displaces awareness of recording, so recording interaction between caregivers and children over long, uninterrupted stretches of time does provide authentic data. Children do very occasionally comment on the presence of the recorder but don't sustain attention to it and soon become re-immersed in interaction around shared activities with caregivers.

A major constraint on these studies of language socialization is cost. The detail of SFL analyses, which is obviously essential to their descriptive value, makes research expensive to conduct. While the detail of analyses counters the possibility of reductive accounts of semantic variation it does require a lot of investment by researchers. For this reason there have so far only been two substantial data sets analyzed through semantic networks, one of approximately 100 h of recording, the other of approximately 20 h. Producing more data sets and making these available as a part of an integrated corpus has to be a priority for SFL researchers.

Perhaps the most significant constraint, however, has been to locate statistical analyses of patterns of semantic features that will tolerate the dramatic variation in frequencies of semantic features in naturally occurring interaction. While both qualitative and quantitative methodologies have been used in this field for different purposes (see, for example, Williams, 2001), statistical analyses of patterns of interaction have been important for analyzing variation in general meaning-making tendencies across groups of participants in the contrasted social locations. Hasan's research used a principal components approach fruitfully, but to enable statistical comparisons she was obliged to compare fairly general semantic features across metafunctions. In contrast, Williams's (1999, 2001) research used comparisons of median frequencies of much more specific features, but had to cede the possibility of a statistically-based comparison of a large range of multiple features. Interrelations between features had to be explored on the basis of indicative findings from Hasan's parallel study. Given the cost of data-gathering and analysis SFL researchers are beginning to explore new statistical approaches that will tolerate radically different frequencies to overcome this dilemma.

A further difficulty to be overcome in SFL's dialogue with sociology is the modeling and sampling of social class positioning of families. So far, studies have concentrated on intra-cultural semantic variation with monolingual English-speaking children in relation to social class, primarily because variation would obviously be predicted in inter-cultural contexts and between languages. The first task from an SFL perspective was to demonstrate that language might vary systematically at the semantic stratum specifically in relation to social class positioning. However, it would now be very useful to develop a much more multifaceted study of social class positioning in the variety of multicultural, multilingual contexts that comprise urban societies. Writing semantic maps or networks to describe interaction between caregivers and children for these social environments is a huge challenge, but if met, would likely contribute very useful insights into the dynamics of language socialization.

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## PRAGMATIC SOCIALIZATION

## INTRODUCTION

As linguistic anthropologists have long recognized, cultural values, beliefs, ideologies, expectations, and preferences are indexed in everyday discourse and social interactions. A powerful contribution that the language socialization paradigm makes to an understanding of language development is its close attention to the linguistic forms that are used to socialize children and other novices into expected roles and behaviors in particular cultural contexts. The difference between language socialization and developmental pragmatics as approaches to the acquisition of communicative competence, according to Schieffelin and Ochs (1986), is only one of scope and perspective, not the object of research itself. As Ochs (1996) explains, language socialization entails “socialization to use language *meaningfully, appropriately, and effectively*” (p. 408, italics added). In this sense, most language socialization research will implicitly, if not explicitly, deal with the acquisition or development of pragmatic competence, something it is deemed “eminently capable of” examining (Kasper, 2001).

*Pragmatic socialization* is defined by Blum-Kulka (1997) as “the ways in which children are socialized to use language in context in socially and culturally appropriate ways” (p. 3). Most studies cited in this chapter pay special attention to the domain of pragmatic development. They reveal the acquisition of language and sociocultural competence as developmentally intertwined processes within daily routine activities in which children (or novices) learn to interpret, negotiate, and index meaning while (co-)constructing different types of social/cultural identities. Research done within the framework of pragmatic socialization reflects a more social and contextual orientation than the “cognitive/mentalistic” orientation of earlier pragmatics studies.

Researchers have explored both first language (L1) pragmatic socialization and the pragmatic (re)socialization of learners in various learning contexts in bilingual and multilingual societies (e.g., Becker, 1982; Clancy, 1986; Dufon, 1999; Gleason, Perlman, and Greif, 1984; Li, 1998, 2000; Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986; Ohta, 1994, 1999). In this chapter, I review literature in both L1 and additional language domains.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The majority of early pragmatic socialization research was carried out by L1 researchers who built upon the work of child developmental pragmatics in the late 1970s and early 1980s (see Ochs and Schieffelin, *Language Socialization: An Historical Overview*, Volume 8) and extended the traditional microanalysis of interactions between children and their parents/caregivers by linking these processes to more general ethnographic accounts of cultural values and beliefs. The pragmatic behaviors of children, their peers, and caregivers were compared with interactional patterns within the wider community. For instance, the Samoan children's speech act of clarification was tied to comparable routines in legal, school, and work settings (Ochs, 1988). Rhetorical questions by and to Kaluli children were compared with cultural preferences for indirect speech style or "turned over" language (Schieffelin, 1986). The speech act performance of teasing and asserting by white American working class children was linked to the value of such language competence in the community (Miller, 1986). The structure of Kwara'ae children's disagreement and conflict resolution was, similarly, guided by norms governing these activities in Kwara'ae adults' communication (Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo, 1986). The main focus of these studies was children's acquisition of a complex set of culturally specific rules such as the effective performance of interactional routines (events and acts), appropriate conversational strategies, and expressions of politeness, which are part of the pragmatic competence required to successfully participate in social communication. In addition, they examined the kind of metapragmatic input parents provide to socialize their children into and through such routines (Becker, 1994; Gleason, Perlman, and Greif, 1984; Goldfield and Snow, 1992; Ochs, 1988; Schieffelin, 1990; Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986).

Pragmatic socialization processes may be either explicit or implicit (Ochs, 1986, 1990). Explicit socialization is the process used when caregivers clearly teach social norms shared by members of society. In Ochs' (1990) terms, this is "socialization to *use* language" (p. 291). Eliciting politeness routines (e.g., "Say 'Thanks!'" or "What's the magic word?"), or offering conversational rules (e.g., "It's your brother's turn!") are examples of how language is used explicitly as a medium and object of socialization. However, even though explicit socialization is the most salient to observe, "the greatest part of sociocultural information is keyed implicitly," a case of socialization *through* the use of language (Ochs, 1990, p. 291). By observing and interacting with more expert members in language practices, novices develop an understanding of sociocultural phenomena and become competent members of a community. For example, Gleason, Perlman, and Greif (1984) found

that young children learn how boys and girls (like men and women) are supposed to speak and behave by hearing gender-differentiated language at home or in other contexts.

One domain that has received considerable attention in pragmatic studies is the notion of politeness. Indeed, “politeness is embedded in all aspects of human social interaction and as such is central to pragmatic socialization,” according to Blum-Kulka (1997, p. 142). Researchers in North America have described how middle-class mothers devote great efforts to socializing children into expected, polite behavior, such as the routines and expressions *please*, *excuse me*, *thank you*, and turn-taking rules, in various contexts, including “trick or treat” visits on Halloween, dinner table conversations, and other daily occurring interactions (Becker, 1994; Gleason, Perlman, and Greif, 1984).

Researchers have noted, however, that even though children are often labeled as “novices” in the pragmatic socialization process, they are not merely passive receivers but are active participants in constructing metapragmatic knowledge, and also have the potential to socialize their caregivers (Becker, 1994; Gleason, Perlman, and Greif, 1984; Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986).

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

In the two decades since the earliest formulation of what has become a language socialization paradigm, Ochs’ (1988) groundbreaking research in Western Samoa remains the most often cited work in recent pragmatic socialization studies of “socialization through the use of language” and “socialization to use language.” Particular attention is given to the socializing role of indexicals, that is, linguistic resources that derive their meaning from conventional associations with the socio-cultural dimensions of context. Ochs (1996) states that “a basic tenet of language socialization research is that *socialization is in part a process of assigning situational, i.e. indexical meanings* (e.g., temporal, spatial, social identity, social act, social activity, affective or epistemic meaning) to particular forms (e.g., interrogative forms, diminutive affixes, raised pitch, and the like)” (p. 411, italics in original). Indexical knowledge is seen as “the core of linguistic and cultural competence and is the locus where language acquisition and socialization interface” (Ochs, 1996, p. 414).

One important element of social competence investigated in Ochs’ (1996) study is the linguistic indexing of affective stance – culturally appropriate ways to express feelings and to recognize the moods and emotions displayed by others. Caregiver-child verbal interactions have been recorded and analyzed to demonstrate how Samoan children

acquire affective expressions of love, fear, sympathy, and shame through adults' and older siblings' use of affectively loaded linguistic forms (e.g., particles such as affective specifiers and affective intensifiers) in speech acts such as teasing, shaming, challenging, and asserting. For example, the particle "e" in Samoan can index anger, disappointment, displeasure, or irritation. Children learn at a very early age that adding this particle to an imperative sentence can signal a threat or a warning. In addition, before children acquire the neutral (unmarked) personal pronoun, they have already mastered the special first personal pronoun indexing sympathy to make their imperatives sound like "pleading" or "begging," which is a culturally preferred way of requesting in Samoan society.

The indexing of social identities (including status, roles, and relationships) is another component of language socialization. In hierarchical Western Samoan society, not only a linguistic form (e.g., a certain verb) can index a higher social rank of the speaker, but the structure and organization of discourse routines themselves can also encode social status and relationship. For example, adults may involve children in triadic or other multiparty turn-taking directives to socialize them into understandings of complex and diverse social relationships. When young Samoan children request assistance, the higher ranking caregiver directs a lower ranking caregiver who may either pass the directive on to an even lower ranking (e.g., younger) caregiver or satisfy the child's expressed need. Crucial information concerning the organization of the society is thus conveyed to Samoan children who come to understand the multiple hierarchical social relationships through such routines (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986).

Similar work done by Schieffelin (1985) examines how mothers in the Kaluli community of Papua New Guinea socialize their young children to understand and eventually respond to two routine speech acts in social communication—teasing and shaming. These routines are pervasive in everyday social interactions of Kaluli culture, taken as important means of persuasion and crucial skills in the public management of others. Kaluli mothers try to socialize their children (from as young as 6 months old) with verbal manipulation of teasing and shaming to demonstrate the necessary linguistic and pragmatic knowledge of the conventionalized strategies. In Kaluli society, only when people acquire these culturally specific routines and affective displays can they participate appropriately in social interactions and achieve social control in the community.

Observations of children growing up in Japan also offer rich data about how children are shaped in particular, culturally constrained ways through the language of their caregivers (e.g., Clancy, 1986; Cook, 1999). In Japanese, appropriate speech is indexed by specific

linguistic features such as honorific terms and affective sentence particles, as well as appropriate social interaction routines which are indexed by interactional styles of conformity, attentive listening, and indirectness. Clancy (1986) investigated how Japanese mothers teach their children to “read the minds” of other people so as to be sensitive to their needs because people may not express themselves directly. For example, children are taught to offer food again after a refusal, or to stop making requests of a visitor even if the requests are complied with willingly.

Researchers have also documented how Japanese teachers socialize children to display appropriate interactional behavior as attentive listeners in classroom routines. Participation in these routines provides a novice with linguistic input and a normative way of interacting, given one’s social status, role, and identity, with the guidance of the teacher. In comparison to the dyadic participation structure which is often seen in schools in the United States, Cook (1999) investigated the specific multiparty interactional routines in Japanese elementary school classrooms where students are required to provide initial reaction to and comments on their classmates’ discourse. Cook proposes that such a participation structure helps socialize Japanese children to the culturally important skill of *attentive listening*, and contributes to shaping children to be other-oriented. In a group-oriented society such as Japan, attentive listening skills certainly help children acquire the culturally valued competence of communicating as a good, cooperative group member.

It is argued that people experience their primary pragmatic socialization not only during childhood, but that they also continue to experience pragmatic socialization throughout their lives as they enter new sociocultural contexts and take up new roles in society (Duff, 2003; Li, 1998, 2000; Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986). The language socialization paradigm, with its strong ethnographic orientation and its close attention to contextual dynamics of language behavior and human dilemmas and agency, has provided researchers of second language (L2) pragmatics a rigorous approach that is very different from and complementary to traditional L2 pragmatics research (also called “interlanguage pragmatics”). The latter has relied on data primarily drawn from experimental or otherwise controlled situations to look for nonnative speakers’ “deviation” from native speakers’ norms (Kasper, 2001).

Blum-Kulka (1997) is a forerunner in adopting a pragmatic socialization approach in L2 cross-cultural pragmatic research of dinner table conversations recorded in Jewish American, American Israeli, and Israeli families. Family meals, as an “intergenerationally shared social conversational event” (Blum-Kulka, 1997, p. 9), have been reported

to represent culture-specific ways of talking and therefore allow studies of pragmatic socialization into those ways (Blum-Kulka, 1997; De Geer, Tulvisteb, Mizerab, and Tryggvasona, 2002). Parents use “metapragmatic comments” (Becker, 1994; Blum-Kulka, 1997) as a linguistic tool either to point out lack of adherence to a norm or to encourage proper or desired behavior. During family dinner conversations, metapragmatic comments play a significant role in the process of language acquisition and the development of pragmatic skills, such as the choice of topics, rules of turn-taking, modes of storytelling, rules of politeness, and, in a pluralistic society, bilingual or multilingual practices (particularly for immigrant families). While all parents in Blum-Kulka’s study were observed to devote considerable time and effort to metapragmatic discourse, there were marked cross-cultural differences which reflected specific styles of the three (ethnically related) cultural groups. For example, Jewish American mothers at the dinner table paid considerably more attention to following conversational norms and turn-taking than did mothers from Israel. The latter, however, made more comments about language—metalinguistic comments—and about behavior. As Blum-Kulka (1997) points out, “Fair turn allocation and the censure of untimely interruptions seem to represent the discourse corollary of American ideals of individual rights and equal opportunity for all” (p. 184). As a result, such different styles of pragmatic socialization led to bidirectional transfer between the first and second language in bilingual Hebrew–English children, thus creating a unique intercultural interactional style.

#### RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

The last few decades have seen a dramatic increase in the amount, quality, and intensity of communication globally among individuals of different cultural backgrounds. As a result, more people from different ethnolinguistic backgrounds and traditions are interacting with one another to accomplish their personal and professional goals. Preferences for interactional style in such contexts are deeply rooted in people’s ideological origins and cultural identities associated with their primary socialization (Gumperz, 1992; Li, 1998; Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986). More recent and currently ongoing studies uphold the major areas of concern identified in the first generation of pragmatic socialization research while also directing attention to the particularities of pragmatic socialization processes as they unfold within sociolinguistically and culturally heterogeneous settings characterized by bilingualism and multilingualism.

For example, De Geer, Tulvisteb, Mizerab, and Tryggvasona (2002), following Blum-Kulka (1997), conducted a large-scale cross-cultural

study on mealtime conversation in 100 families, including Estonian, Finnish, Swedish, as well as Estonian and Finnish immigrant families living in Sweden, in order to investigate the function of metapragmatic comments as a linguistic tool of pragmatic socialization. They found that all families produced a greater proportion of comments on behavior than on language. However, the results showed variation in the content, the amount, and the way that metapragmatic comments were used by these closely related cultures, which illustrated “how much the peculiarities of language and culture affect verbal socialization” (De Geer, Tulviste, Mizerab, and Tryggvasona, 2002, p. 1759).

Quite a few recently published studies have focused on the pragmatic L2 socialization of adult novices (e.g., Dufon, 1999; Li, 2000; Ohta, 1999; Poole, 1992). These studies show that speakers’ pragmatic competence may continue to develop well into the later years in the life cycle, when adults become socialized into new roles, statuses, and identities associated with professional and social life. The contexts of research have been extended from family and native-language schools, originally, to foreign/second/heritage language classrooms, immersion schools, overseas language study programs, job training programs, work places, and even cyberspace, as other chapters in this volume illustrate.

Second/foreign language classrooms can operate as a socializing space in which the target-language culture is made available to learners. The nature of discourse in the classroom, despite its special characteristics, reflects wider societal norms, values and beliefs. For example, one practice in Japanese classroom interaction that has been identified in the L1 socialization context, and was referred to earlier, is attentive listening (Cook, 1999). Ohta (1999) demonstrated how adult L2 learners of Japanese are similarly socialized to display attentive listening through modeling by the teacher, peripheral and guided participation, direct instruction, and peer interaction.

In a comparative language socialization study of teachers’ directives in three contexts—elementary school classes in Japan, Japanese-medium classes in a Japanese immersion program in America, and English-medium classes in the same program—Falsgraf and Majors (1995) identified different directive styles and politeness features in Japanese and American teachers’ interaction with the students, which revealed the teachers’ implicit or explicit socialization efforts. They demonstrated how the teachers’ interaction practices were influenced by social and pragmatic norms of the target culture. Teacher directives in Japanese (L2) immersion classes were significantly more direct, which accentuated status differences between the teacher and students, whereas in English-medium classes teachers tended to minimize status markers in their speech to downplay the status differential between

students and teacher. Poole (1992) also reported that American teachers in post-secondary ESL classes tried to avoid overt displays of asymmetry of power and downplay the status differential between the teacher and learners. The interactional style could reflect the white middle-class American caregivers' perspective of egalitarianism, which was implicitly conveyed to these learners. As Poole (1992) concluded, classroom discourse can be understood as largely societal in origin, and the teacher's interactional style represents "the voice of a social role" (p. 611).

The study-abroad context has been investigated by researchers to explore the advantage of sociocultural environments for pragmatic socialization which complement classroom foreign language learning. For example, in a 4-month study-abroad program, DuFon (1999) investigated the pragmatic socialization of linguistic politeness for six adult learners of Indonesian. Ethnographic data focusing on address terms, greetings, and questions about their experiences during the learners' interaction with native speakers illustrated both explicit socialization (e.g., metapragmatic instruction on how to *pamit*, or ask for permission, every time the learners wanted to leave their host family's house) and implicit socialization, through learners' participation in activities with members of the target community.

The workplace is gaining researchers' attention as a significant sociocultural context where novices, like immigrants, are socialized into new discourse systems and cultures. Li (1998, 2000) makes a unique contribution to this L2 pragmatics research by using an ethnographic approach to examine the pragmatic socialization of 20 Chinese immigrant women in an inner-city job-training center and later their workplaces. Focusing on requesting behavior, the 18-month longitudinal study dealt with the important issue of pragmatics in high-stakes social communications. The purpose of the research was not to detect the nonnative speakers' apparent deviation from native speakers' norms (as most interlanguage pragmatics studies have done), but rather to examine the interactive nature and the social function of requests that are deeply embedded within particular historical, social, and cultural contexts. The contextualized examples illustrate how these immigrant women, as novices within the L2 culture, developed their communicative competence by interacting with their peers and other more competent members in the community. As experts in their own culture and language (Chinese), they also contributed to the socialization of their American (English L1) conversational partners' communication skills and styles, when the latter seemed too impolite, for example. Linking the microanalysis of the requesting behavior and development to a more macroscopic understanding of the social structures, ideologies, and conventions in the workplace, the research vividly depicted the L2 socialization of a new generation of immigrant women: the process

of discovery (e.g., of L2 conventions) and self-discovery, and the struggle of negotiating and (re)constructing new social, cultural, and linguistic identities as they adjusted to life and language use in North America and sought professional development and social integration at the same time.

In the contemporary period of globalization, everyday communication and the construction of identity and social relations is increasingly taking place in virtual environments. The worldwide use of computer technology has created a new contact zone in language learning and practice. Belz and Kinginger (2002) attest that “telecollaborative” language learning using global computer networks helps socialize foreign language learners into the development of pragmatic competence, specifically, the social status indexed “T/V” distinction in pronouns of address (*tu* vs. *vous* in French and *du* vs. *Sie* in German). They believe that the disappearance of physical boundaries in cyberspace broadens the discourse options and thereby expands the available learning opportunities of the traditional L2 classroom, providing learners easy access to communication with a variety of speakers, often native speakers, for the purpose of developing or being socialized into more target-like pragmatic competence (Belz and Kinginger, 2002).

## ISSUES AND PROBLEMS

### *Learner Agency/Subjectivity*

Earlier pragmatic socialization researchers acknowledged the agency of novices. As Schieffelin and Ochs (1986) advised, “Individuals (including young children) are viewed not as automatically internalizing others’ views, but as selective and active participants in the process of constructing social worlds” (p. 165). However, many L1 research studies have tended to view the child–caregiver (novice–expert) relationship as essentially unidirectional, from expert to novice.

The extension of pragmatic socialization research to L2 and minority language speakers has helped researchers to re-conceptualize the process: from static, status-oriented social roles and identities to a more dynamic process—unpredictable, nonlinear, and affected by the agency of participants (Duff, 2003; Norton, 2000; Ochs, 1996). The expert–novice relationship has been adapted and expanded to emphasize to a greater extent the notions of bi-directionality, shifting expertise, and a recognition of learner subjectivity/agency in the process of pragmatic socialization, especially with adult learners who have had deep-rooted primary socialization in their first language(s) and culture(s).

Furthermore, research has indicated that not all language learners wish to behave pragmatically just like native speakers of the target language

(e.g., Li, 1998; Siegal, 1996). As mentioned in the previous section, Chinese immigrant women sometimes resisted more “expert” peers’ pragmatic socialization based on their personal values and cultural beliefs (e.g., when it was considered inappropriate). They were also observed to have counter-socialized native speakers’ (rude) pragmatic behavior in workplaces to render it more polite and collegial (Li, 1998). In Siegal (1996), the white female learner of Japanese constantly exercised agency during interactions with her male Japanese language instructor. The learner controlled the topic initiation and management, used status-incongruent linguistic choices in interaction (inappropriate pragmatic behaviors with a professor in Japanese), seemingly not because of her linguistic deficiency but due to a desire to position herself as a peer in the academic world. Some implications of these studies include a reconsideration and sensitivity toward issues of learner agency among second/foreign language educators. It is recommended that learners be informed of the various options offered by the pragmatic system of the target language—and also the consequences of these options (e.g., not sounding adequately “feminine” or “deferential” in Japanese in Siegal’s study)—without being coerced into making particular choices regarding those options.

### *Criteria for Pragmatic Socialization Research*

A language socialization perspective has been employed by more and more researchers in an attempt to bring social factors into the field of L2 pragmatics. At the same time, researchers are trying to develop the theoretical framework of language socialization by incorporating new aspects and to extend it into new directions. Caution has been issued that the term *language socialization* is sometimes used too broadly as a “catch-all” term for any research that deals with language in relation to society or identity. Kulick and Schieffelin (2004) listed three criteria for standard language socialization studies: that they should be ethnographic in design, longitudinal in perspective, and deal with linguistic and cultural practices over time and across contexts. They make the strong claim that “any study of socialization that does not document the role of language in the acquisition of cultural practices is not only incomplete, it is fundamentally flawed” (p. 12). However, some researchers are challenging these methodological principles. For example, Matsumura (2001) used a *quantitative* approach to investigate the development of pragmatic competence among university-level Japanese learners of English in study-abroad programs in Canada. Using multiple-choice written questionnaires for perceptions of social status in advice-offering situations, he found that living and studying in the target language community facilitated pragmatic

competence (or perception) development due to pragmatic socialization. The study stressed the importance of “incorporating a diachronic and comparative perspective into language socialization research” (p. 670). However, it provided little insight into actual language use in the community.

*Practical Problems: The “Observer’s Paradox”*

Pragmatic socialization research normally takes a longitudinal approach, documenting natural communicative processes over the course of developmental time and relates these individual developmental processes to the sociocultural contexts in which they are embedded. The conflict between the necessity to observe and collect natural data and the impossibility of collecting *real* natural data with observers’ intrusive presence was well captured by Labov’s (1972) famous term, the “observer’s paradox.” There are serious methodological problems to be dealt with, such as privacy issues, ethical issues, and the asymmetry of the researcher’s perceived power in relation to research participants.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Kasper (2001) suggests that “language socialization theory has a particularly rich potential for [second language acquisition] because it is inherently developmental and requires (rather than just allows) establishing links between culture, cognition, and language, between the macro-levels of sociocultural and institutional contexts and the micro-level of discourse” (p. 311).

Pragmatic socialization research represents a radical departure from the methods previously used in (interlanguage) pragmatics studies, where data were primarily drawn from experimental and controlled situations, and usually with single-sentence production, mostly in written form. A pragmatic socialization approach can offer researchers opportunities to look at the *interactive* nature and the social *function* of pragmatic behavior that is deeply embedded within particular social and cultural *contexts*. By examining pragmatic behaviors in authentic contexts of use—with their own historical antecedents, interpersonal negotiations, and personal and societal significance, researchers can contextualize the study of pragmatics in a changing, multilingual world in illuminating new ways.

**See Also:** *Shoshana Blum-Kulka: Language Socialization and Family Dinnertime Discourse (Volume 8); Haruko Minegishi Cook: Language Socialization in Japanese (Volume 8)*

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## **Section 2**

### **Language Socialization at Home and in the Community**

## LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION AND FAMILY DINNERTIME DISCOURSE

### INTRODUCTION: DINNERTIME AND SOCIALIZATION

From the outset, Language Socialization (LS, including first and second language) has been concerned with the ways in which social and cultural contexts provide opportunity spaces for the sociocultural learning of language and in how such contexts vary from culture to culture. *The* basic tenet of language socialization theory is that children learn language and culture through active engagement in meaningful social interactions with adults and peers. Language learning and enculturation form part of the same process; language is always learned in social and cultural contexts that provide cues for the social and cultural meanings of the forms used, and learners are active agents in their own socialization. Differing from psychological studies of language acquisition, with their focus on dyadic, adult–child interaction in both laboratory and natural settings, LS, being grounded in anthropological and sociolinguistic theories, eschews structured or nonnatural contexts for ethnographic observations of natural, both dyadic and multiparty, interactions. The anthropological approach is exemplified in the work of researchers such as Shirley Brice Heath, Bambi Schieffelin, Elinor Ochs, and others, who have collected ethnographic data in naturalistic settings, focusing as much on the participation structures into which children can enter as ratified participants as on the exact nature of the language used when talking to children.

Family dinners may vary across culture and social group—for some, mealtime is an activity dominated by focused talk; for others, talk is dispersed and mingled with television watching; in still others, it is conducted in silence. Yet at least in most Western societies, dinners are speech events bounded in time and space, delimited by their participants and governed by local rules of interaction. As a unique case of face-to-face encounter, they carry certain replicable organizational features which set them apart from other activities. Talk at dinner is affected by the nature of the activity: the business of having dinner (food brought to the table and accessed by the participants) generates minimally the instrumental food focused talk, which in turn may or may not be superimposed by other, more open-ended conversation.

Family discourse is the most natural of settings for following the interaction between children and adults and its effects on socialization. Family discourse offers unique opportunities to learn about the ways in which children's participation in familial multiparty interactions enhances their chances of achieving linguistically competent cultural membership in their society. Viewing language as a cultural practice invites attention to issues such as who may talk to whom, what language performances are highly valued and how children acquire rights of membership in a group through language use. The goal of this chapter is to discuss these and other issues representing some of the major facets of the rich repertoire of discursive opportunities offered to children through participation in family discourse.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The beginning of interest in dinner table talk can be traced to the mid-seventies of the twentieth century, when psychologists interested in language acquisition began to include mealtime conversations in their language corpora. For example, in Berko Gleason's (1975) project on the Acquisition of Communicative Competence, children were observed systematically in dyadic contexts with mother and father and then at a family mealtime with both parents. In this project the transcripts of middle class mealtime recordings served as an additional source of information for the study of gender differences in parental input to children, with a focus on socialization for politeness (Berko Gleason, Perlman, and Greif, 1984). Subsequently Perlman (1984) analyzed the Berko Gleason corpus from the perspective of the content of dinner-table conversations, showing a wide range of individual variability in the degree to which parents talked about abstract matters with their children, and Snow, Perlman, and Gleason (1990), using additional corpora, looked at the use of politeness forms in the speech of fathers and mothers in middle-class families, working class families, and families with Down syndrome children. They found that the speech addressed to children with Down syndrome was more conventionally polite, but did not find social class or gender differences. Another large-scale longitudinal study in which yearly collected dinner-table conversations were included as a major source of information is the Home-School Study of Language and Literacy Development focusing initially on 81 working class families (Snow, 1991). Analyses of the Home-School Study dinner-table conversations, motivated by an interest in exposure to extended discourse as a predictor of later language and literacy development, focused on issues such as the incidence and nature of narrative and explanatory talk (Beals, 1993)

and the use of rare vocabulary at mealtimes and other adult-child interactive occasions (Weizman and Snow, 1998). Many of the transcripts of dinner table conversations based on data collected in this tradition are now part of the CHILDES archives (see Pan, Perlman, and Snow, 2000, for a review).

A distinct, micro-discourse-analytical approach to the analysis of dinner-table conversations is represented by Erickson's (1982) early study of the social co-construction of coherence at the dinner of an Italian family as a multiparty and multigenerational speech event.

The study of dinner conversations specifically motivated by language-socialization theory was initiated by the work of Ochs and her colleagues on 12 American families across a range of social backgrounds (Ochs and Shohet, 2006; Ochs, Smith, and Taylor, 1989; Ochs and Taylor, 1992; Ochs, Taylor, Rudolph, and Smith, 1992) and subsequently extended to cross-cultural comparisons of American versus Italian families (Ochs, Pontecorvo, and Fasulo, 1996).

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Family dinners are familial "we" events shared with children; as such, they may carry various overt and covert socialization functions, ranging from table manners to cultural ways of narration (Blum-Kulka, 1997), the shaping of political views (Gordon, 2004), learning about work norms in the adult world (Paugh, 2005), the socialization of taste (Ochs, Pontecorvo, and Fasulo, 1996; Pontecorvo and Fasulo, 1999), the cultivation of a prayerful attitude (Capps and Ochs, 2002), and the development of scientific ways of thinking and theories about the world (Ochs, Taylor, Rudolph, and Smith, 1992). For example, Ochs et al.'s comparative study of Italian and American families revealed differences in the way food is approached and talked about, showing that socialization for taste (food as pleasure for Italians, food as reward for Americans) is intimately related to social positioning and construction of childhood identity (Ochs, Pontecorvo, and Fasulo, 1996). Dinner-time may offer unique affordances for socialization through language and for the appropriate use of language; yet for language socialization to emerge, dinnertime needs to be jointly constructed by adults and children as shared talking time, one in which children are accepted as ratified participants (Blum-Kulka, 1997; Ochs, Smith, and Taylor, 1989).

Revealing cross-cultural differences in patterns of language socialization and ways of speaking at large is one of the major achievements of this field. The cultural range of family dinners studied from a language socialization perspective includes American families of varied social backgrounds (Becker, 1990; Ely, Berko Gleason, Narasimhan,

and McCabe, 1995; Ochs and Taylor, 1992; Paugh, 2005; Perlman, 1984; Tannen, 2004), Jewish American versus Israeli families (Blum-Kulka, 1997), American versus Norwegian (Aukrust and Snow, 1998), American versus Japanese American in Hawaii (Martini, 1996), Americans versus Italians (Ochs, Pontecorvo, and Fasulo, 1996); Cypriot-Australian (Petraiki, 2001), Estonian versus Finnish and Swedish (De Geer, Tulviste, Mizera, and Tryggvason, 2002), German (Keppler and Luckman, 1991), Greek (Georgakopoulou, 2002), Italian (Erickson, 1982; Pontecorvo and Fasulo, 1997, 1999; Pontecorvo, Fasulo, and Sterponi, 2001), and Japanese (Kasuya, 2002). The number of families studied in each case ranges from 5 (Becker, 1990) to 60 (De Geer, Tulviste, Mizera, and Tryggvason, 2002). In all cases, the verbal data were collected through direct observation and carefully transcribed later; studies vary in type of recording used (audio vs. video or some combination of both), number of meals recorded for each family, attention paid to nonverbal aspects of the activity, system of transcription used, and presence or absence of an observer and the degree of his or her involvement in family interaction. Thus procedures used include asking families to record themselves (Vuchinich, 1990), setting up the recording equipment and then leaving the scene (Ochs, Smith, and Taylor, 1989), and active participant observation plus recording (Blum-Kulka, 1997). Since recording by itself can be considered a type of intrusion, the issue raised by these different procedures is whether the ways people deal with being observed by a camera (or tape recorder) are essentially different from the ways in which they deal with being observed by a co-participant observer.

As elaborated below, dinnertime emerges from these studies as a major site for the negotiation of linguistic, cognitive, cultural, social, political, and emotive concerns; in reviewing the research in this area, the focus here will be on the discursive aspects of socialization unique to dinner talk, namely, on the role of dinners, as multiparty and intergenerational occasions, in providing children an apprenticeship in cultural ways of speaking and seeing, thereby paving their way to becoming full-fledged members of their culture.

### *Participation Roles and Social Roles*

The joint engagement of adults and children in verbal interaction during dinner is a necessary condition for language socialization; children need to be considered ratified participants to have access to the talk, yet their mode of participation may still vary immensely culturally, allowing for different socialization gains. For instance, Jewish-American

children talk more at dinner (relative to other members of the family) than do Israeli children, often around “today rituals” of telling their day (Blum-Kulka, 1997). Occupying the stage for extended time allows for gaining experience in conversational skills, including help received for constructing coherent discourse; on the other hand, acting as active audience to the talk of adults, as do Israeli children, provides opportunities for overhearing discussions on a wide range of concrete and abstract topics and issues. Variation in the amount and type of talk by different members in the family may index gender asymmetries, such as the practice of setting up the father as the all-knowing figure in White middle-class families in the USA (Ochs and Taylor, 1992). Narrative events in the family are particularly rich sites for enhancing children’s rights and responsibilities as storytellers, creating alliances, socializing children into adult culturally unique notions of tellability, and reinforcing familial roles (Aukrust and Snow, 1998; Blum-Kulka, 1997; Georgakoupoulou, 2002).

A more subtle facet of participation is expressed through family members’ entitlements for and shifts in various speaker and listener roles. By definition, participation in multiparty talk requires juggling between a host of speaker and listener role possibilities; speakers can shift for instance between the role of author (responsible for the wording) and animator (voicing others) as in all talk, but with more than one listener in the audience, possibilities open up for framing others (notably children) alternatively as addressees, just side-participants or even as eavesdroppers. Dinner talk provides children with ample opportunities for gaining practice in the full diversity of roles available, yet concurrently the practices used can be implicative of power asymmetries. In middle-class dinner table conversations in the USA and Israel (Blum-Kulka, 1997), and Greece (Georgakoupoulou, 2002) children act as co-authors to stories about their own experience, as animators of the words of others, as addressees in direct conversational engagement with adults and siblings, as side-participants for all family talk acknowledging their presence as ratified participants, and occasionally also have the less pleasant experience of being positioned by the adults as eavesdroppers. Fatigante, Fasulo, and Pontecorvo (1998) show, for example, in Italian dinner conversations, how in some exchanges at dinner children are marginalized from participation, both linguistically and pragmatically, while they are the topic of the ongoing talk. Thus shifts of participation roles and frameworks offer rich apprenticeship opportunities for children learning to engage conversationally with others, affecting their understanding of what it means to be a member of a given cultural environment.

*Cultural Ways of Speaking: Modes of Arguing, Politeness, Irony, and Humor*

Though, on the face of it, talk concerned with the business of having dinner does not seem to invite much attention to politeness, close inspection of dinner talk reveals a rich array of overt and covert ways of socializing for politeness. Though direct instruction of politeness forms, at least in American families, is quite rare, children receive at dinner ample information about the rules governing the use of both negative and positive politeness in their culture (Snow, Perlman, Gleason, and Hooshyar, 1990). One of the resources drawn on by parents is metapragmatic comments—critical comments concerning behavior, language, and discourse (Becker, 1990), which index cultural norms by drawing attention to their infringement. Preferences for types of comments may be culture specific. For example, Swedish parents comment more on moral and ethical behavior than do Estonian and Finnish parents (De Geer, Tulviste, Mizera, and Tryggvason, 2002), and Israelis are foremost occupied with correct language use (metalinguistic comments) while Americans pay more attention to discourse management (turn-taking) (Blum-Kulka, 1997). In some rare cases, a direct link can be shown between parental discourse practices and children's behavior—thus Ely, Berko Gleason, MacGibbon, and Zaretsky (2001) found a positive correlation between mothers' and children's use of language focused terms. The culturally different styles of politeness children engage in with their families at dinner carry messages at two levels—as situated practice, they “teach” culturally appropriate modes of verbal and nonverbal behavior; concurrently, they also carry value-laden messages, which provide the deeper cultural motivation for the same practice. Thus, for example, the contrast between the frequent use of conventional indirectness (such as “can you . . .?”) in American families, against the salience of mitigated directness for making requests in Israeli families can be interpreted as indicative of the values of respect for individual space in American culture, versus the importance of showing affective involvement in the family in Israeli culture (Blum-Kulka, 1997).

Dinner time creates occasions not only for learning culturally appropriate levels of (in)directness for directive and expressive speech acting, but also for learning to interpret cues (meta-communicative markers) for subtle shifts in keying redefining the situation. Keying devices—such as sound modification and figurative language—act as local rules of interpretation, suggesting alternative readings of an utterance, as in pretend play, humor, sarcasm, and irony. Fasulo, Liberati, and Pontecorvo's (2002) careful analysis of keying shifts in the family discourse of Italian families shows how socialization to keying is

achieved through children's active participation in speech play and poetic language at dinner, as well as through hearing keyed talk (sometimes even when not well understood) not directly addressed to them. From a different perspective, Nevat-Gal (2002) stresses the creativity associated with humor, and argues that the use of humorous phrases, as well as cognitive expressions at dinner (in her case, in Israeli families), act as reflectors and cultivators of cognition, socializing for distant and sophisticated thinking.

*The Social Construction of Knowledge and Morality*

The use of language rich in stance markers (like cognitive expressions) is one facet of socialization for thinking; another facet is revealed through problem-solving talk at dinner. Problem solving may concern a joint future activity in the real world (like planning a family trip) or reflections on different interpretations of a past event. Ochs and her colleagues demonstrate in depth how such multiple perspectives offered at story-telling in families enhance theory building, promoting the types of critical thinking necessary in the modern world (Ochs, Smith, and Taylor, 1989; Ochs, Taylor, Rudolph, and Smith, 1992). The social construction of knowledge at family gatherings may also take the form of teaching-sequences, where one knowledgeable party is self-appointed or called upon to provide explanations of social and natural phenomena (Blum-Kulka, 2002; Keppler and Luckman, 1991). Explanatory talk at dinner provides children with exposure to rational ways of thinking, represents an elaborated orientation to meaning, and provides practice in juggling perspectives on truth, all potential contributions to children's school success (Blum-Kulka, 2002). The multiplicity of perspectives offered for any given topic or issue in multigenerational talk does not necessarily need to be adult generated or represent only adult points of view; during story-telling for instance, children can and do collaborate with adults in the negotiation of the point of the story. Children's contributions to what Varenne (1992) aptly calls "the making of a familial dance" (p. 99) is not only the result of their being active participants talked to and talking to adults, but mainly by virtue of being party to the joint production of the social scene called "family." Similarly, though from a somewhat different perspective, Pontecorvo, Fasulo, and Sterponi (2001) argue that socialization at dinner should be viewed as a bidirectional process of mutual apprenticeship—one in which parents affect children, but are simultaneously affected by the children. Pontecorvo et al.'s analysis illustrates in detail such bidirectionality for moral discourse; they show how the active participation of Italian children in conversations about moral behavior (supplying or inviting accounts from others that attempt to

justify transgressions) affects the structure and content of parental talk that ensues and socializes children to the language of transgression. Sterponi's (2003) sequential analysis of account episodes in Italian families shows that requests for accounts (instead of immediate correction or reproach) promote moral reasoning and the negotiation of norms by virtue of allowing for an inquisitory (rather than condemnatory) perspective on problematic events, and hence serve as a medium for the joint reconstruction of the moral order. Gossip at dinnertime serves as a further source promoting moral reasoning and the negotiation of the moral norms—choice of protagonist (who can be talked about derogatively at dinner—for example, are teachers a legitimate topic for family gossip or not?), subject material (are there taboo topics?), and modes of gossipy discourse all serve to socialize children to cultural ways of judging and talking about the range of acceptable social behavior (Blum-Kulka, 2000).

*Language Varieties, Genres, Extended Discourse, Bilingualism, and Minority Language Maintenance*

Dinner time can socialize children to a wide range of genres in oral and literate forms as well as into culturally molded modes in the performance in these genres. The dinnertime conversations of families from a number of cultures and social backgrounds reveal a rich array of genres in dinner (Aukrust, 2002; Aukrust and Snow, 1998; Blum-Kulka, 1997; Blum-Kulka, 2002). Shifts in genre were observed to be associated with shifts in thematic frame. Thus, the business of having dinner is dealt with through the discourse of directives and compliments, and talk about family members' news of the day enhances narratives. However, talk about topics of nonimmediate concern may require a variety of genres, including explanatory and argumentative talk (Blum-Kulka, 1997; Blum-Kulka, 2002). Children in different cultures may have different discursive genre experiences. For instance, American children take part in more explanatory than narrative talk at dinner, while the reverse is true for Norwegian children (Aukrust and Snow, 1998). The difference is indicative of culturally molded notions of tellability and genre performance. Norwegian families promote retelling of shared events from the children's school experience, whereas in American families the focus is more on the telling of unshared events. Furthermore, the two genres were observed to invite differing modes of performance: multiparty, symmetrical co-construction for stories, versus asymmetrical, dyadic performance for explanations (Aukrust, 2002). Aukrust interprets these findings as indexing the social, egalitarian, collaborative orientation of Norwegian family discourse in contrast with the more individualistic, rational orientation

of the discourse of North American families. Thus participation in these different discourse modes creates different skills and personas for children growing up in the two cultures. Verbal conflict is yet another genre, which varies with culture. Vuchinich (1990) found five recurrent termination formats used by participants in American middle-class families to accomplish consensus regarding the outcome of episodes of verbal conflict. Among these, there was a high frequency of stand-off terminations, a strategy that allows family members to save face and avoid direct conflict, while circumventing the difficulties involved in negotiating a compromise. But whereas in American families children might be socialized into the avoidance of conflict and argumentation, in Italian families they are socialized to discuss and argue, and engage willingly in such activities (Pontecorvo, Fasulo, and Sterponi, 2001).

Another facet of involvement in different genres of talk at dinner relates to the development of discursive skills. Narratives, explanations, and complex arguments require extended turns for their performance and need to be tuned in the information provided to the expected level of shared knowledge with the audience. These genres of extended discourse are all closely tied to the academic, literate language of schooling. Learning to tell a story well (with an active audience) or develop a logical argument in conversation hence forms part of the development of extended discourse skills. Studies of familial story-telling with children from various social backgrounds and cultures have indeed revealed several ways in which participation in such an event socializes children to autonomy in speakership as well as to the construction of (relatively) autonomous texts. The scaffolding provided to children of all ages in their story-telling efforts at dinner can support both the telling and the tale. Co-participants help children gain the conversational floor needed for the telling, encourage them to go on and tell, and enhance the coherence and clarity of the text by asking supportive questions (Blum-Kulla, 1997; Georgopoulou, 2002).

Dinner talk can socialize children not only to different genres but also to different varieties of language, including bilingualism. Different members of a family may speak different varieties—differing in slang, accent, and grammatical acceptability (especially in immigrant countries where the language spoken is not the parents' first language) and register. In the case of bilingualism, the social context will be very different between cases where both parents promote the maintenance of their native language and in cases with a mixed-language scene, where only one of the parents is bilingual. For example, the bilingual practices of American-Israeli families in Israel at dinner present a successful case of mother-tongue maintenance. Though all members of the eight middle class families studied mixed Hebrew and English to some degree, the

children tended to speak English to their parents, cooperating with them in maintaining English (Blum-Kulka, 1997). These families succeed in providing support for dual-language development, despite the pressures of the Hebrew environment (and in contrast to other minority languages in Israel) probably because of the high prestige of English and the cultural and practical benefits associated with English proficiency. On the other hand, when input of the minority language comes from only one parent, promoting active bilingualism becomes a much more challenging task. Kasuya's (2002) case study of two Japanese-American families revealed two very different patterns. Although both families spoke two languages, in one Japanese and English were balanced, whereas in the other English was dominant. Yet even in the family where the mother used Japanese most of the time with the child, the child responded in Japanese only a third of the time. Bilingual practices at dinner may also be conducive to learning how and when to code-switch, thus learning to differentiate ways of speaking according to the social situation and the social identity associated with each language (Lanza, 1997).

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Although the study of dinner table conversations yields a rich range of insights into practices of language socialization, observing and analyzing dinner talk poses several challenges. Some are related to the difficult task of observing and documenting family meals, requiring thoughtful decisions about recording equipment and the system of transcription employed. Others have to do with ensuring the ecological validity of the situation for the families observed. How regular are shared family meals for the families studied? Do children always participate? Is the presence of an observer as an adult guest easily acceptable in the given culture? Comparability of dinner table conversations across social class and culture needs to take into account possible cultural variability in participation structures (nuclear or extended family), keyings (levels of formality) in the symbolic meanings of food and eating and in attitudes to child participation in the talk.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

It follows that language socialization at dinnertime, as discussed here, is predicated on a series of underlying assumptions and practices shared by mainstream families in modern Western societies, but certainly not universally true. The perception of dinner (or other meals) as occasions for familial sociability as well as for children's socialization, as a (relatively) democratic space which allows for the mutual

exchange of stories and ideas by adults and children is an essential condition for language socialization to emerge in this context.

Furthermore, the families considered here, regardless of whether they are American, Italian, or Norwegian, all believe in the power of words. Dinner serves as one of the occasions in which children gain apprenticeship in cultural ways of thinking and talking through their involvement in meaningful verbal interactions, rather or at least more than through guided participation in cultural activities. When these conditions prevail, as we saw, the complex multiparty participation structure of family meals in modern literate societies can serve as a developmental trajectory for several aspects of discursive competence. As we have seen, actively listening to the many voices of co-participants at dinner can contribute to perspective taking on truth and knowledge, expose children to multiple varieties of language, to different registers and languages, as well as to different keyings (such as irony and humor), and cultural preferences of politeness and modes of reasoning. Through their own participation in dinner talk, children gain practice in interpreting nonliteral language uses, learn cultural modes of argumentation and giving accounts, acquire cultural notions of tellability and participate in the co-construction of extended texts in various genres.

With all the richness of language socialization at dinner, we should also consider its limitations; dinner time socialization through language and for language in the modern family as considered here represents just one trajectory among the situationally and culturally extremely varied language socialization experiences children go through around the world. A full account needs to consider other important participation structures (like children's peer interaction) as well as the full gamut of cultural variability not only in language socialization, but in human development and socialization at large (e.g., Rogoff, 2003).

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## LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION IN WORKING FAMILIES

### INTRODUCTION

Over the past several decades, there has been a significant rise in dual-career families as women have increasingly entered the paid workforce in the USA, Canada, Europe, and elsewhere (see, e.g., Waite and Nielsen, 2001). Accompanying these trends is a growing body of research in psychology, sociology, and anthropology, among other disciplines, that examines the relations between work and family (for reviews, see Perry-Jenkins, Repetti, and Crouter, 2000; Pitt-Catsouphes, Kossek, and Sweet, 2006). The term “working families” has emerged in this literature as a signifier of research that investigates the interface between work and family. Though broad enough to describe any family in which one or more adults work, it has been used frequently to refer to dual-earner or employed single-parent families with children, in contrast to “traditional” arrangements where one parent is the breadwinner (typically the father) and the other parent the homemaker (typically the mother). This research has focused on the management of time and childcare by working parents, the distribution of family and household chores, working families’ goals and values, child outcomes relative to parental employment, family well-being, and the pressures and challenges that families face in finding a balance between work and family demands. Much of the literature analyzes survey data and self reports, like questionnaires and interviews. While such studies are valuable, few have examined spontaneous everyday social interactions in which parents and children communicate and organize working-family life (though see Kendall’s (2003) study comparing how one woman discursively creates parental authority at home and managerial authority at work). It is in this context that the language socialization paradigm has become a new way of conceptualizing and analyzing the focus on working families. This research takes a distinctly ethnographic approach, revealing what working families actually *do* during their daily lives, and illuminating on the processes of language socialization occurring through everyday family activities and social interaction.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Language socialization research takes as its focus how children and other novices acquire (or do not acquire) the linguistic and cultural knowledge needed to become competent members of their families and communities. Though the intersection of work and family is a relatively new focus, many early language socialization studies were concerned with topics pertaining to work–family issues, such as the organization of caregiving, the daily round of work and household chores, gendered divisions of labor, and families' economic activities in nonindustrialized societies (Ochs, 1988; Schieffelin, 1990). Even language socialization studies that have focused on other issues shed light on how the goals of working adults can affect all areas of family life. Kulick (1992), for example, illuminated how language shift in the small village of Gapun, Papua New Guinea, was occurring through changes in language socialization practices linked to villagers' changing notions of their place in the world (due to encroaching proletarianization, a growing cash economy, religious influence, and their desire for a more Western life style).

Language socialization studies of family life in the USA have been very influential. One such study was Heath's (1983) examination of how class differences shape language socialization practices, with significant consequences once children enter formal education in the USA. Through detailed examination of socializing practices in working-class Euro- and African-American and middle-class Euro-American households, Heath explored how the early socialization of class-oriented ways of taking meaning can influence children's academic trajectories in formal education. Heath illustrated, for example, that middle-class strategies of reading and engaging in bedtime stories (including encouraging children to elaborate on and associate stories with their daily lives) facilitate the development of a school-based model that allows middle-class children to smoothly transition into and succeed in school, in contrast to the educational struggles faced by children from working-class and ethnic minority families that approach literacy events differently (cf. Lareau's (2003) ethnographic study of child-rearing practices and differential socialization patterns among middle- and working-class American families).

The work of Ochs, Taylor, and colleagues on dinnertime narratives among Euro-American families in Los Angeles contributed significantly to our understandings of middle-class dual-earner working families today (see Blum-Kulka, *Language Socialization and Family Dinnertime Discourse*, Volume 8). Ochs and colleagues found that through social interaction during everyday dinnertime routines, family members share information, aid one another with problematic events in

their lives, and give shape to and socialize family values, solidarity, social organization, gender roles and identities, and relationships (e.g., Ochs and Taylor, 1995). Like Heath, they asserted that storytelling with family members socializes middle-class children to intellectual skills that are valued in mainstream educational settings, such as critical thinking, perspective taking, and metacognition (Ochs, Taylor, Rudolph, and Smith, 1992). In a comparative study of the socialization of “taste” during dinnertime among 20 middle-class families in Italy and the USA, Ochs, Pontecorvo, and Fasulo (1996) found that negotiations over food become a prime site for the socialization not only of culturally specific eating habits, but also notions of morality, individualism, relationships, pleasure, and consumption.

Though not specifically concerned with the consequences of having full-time working parents, these studies offer carefully documented insights into the socialization of Bourdieu’s notion of *habitus* in specific social groups (e.g., Bourdieu, 1977; see Kulick and Schieffelin, 2004). *Habitus* includes learned dispositions to act in particular ways (including how to communicate verbally and nonverbally) as well as taken-for-granted assumptions about the world. These socialized ways of thinking and being provide the individual with the ability to act according to expected norms, but also allow for creativity in social life. Language socialization methodology offers a way to understand how *habitus* is acquired, shaped, and subtly changed through everyday interactions between experts and novices, parents and children. Careful attention to adult–child and child–child social interaction brings to light many otherwise unquestioned assumptions and unspoken rules that organize family and social life. The focus is on *activities* during which novices and experts interact, including those in which children are actively involved as participants *and* observers. Through attentive observation of such activities, language socialization research can shed light on how children learn through everyday interaction how to be a worker—and a particular kind of worker at that—long before they begin working themselves (Paugh, 2005).

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The study of language socialization in working families draws on the above and other language socialization studies. It extends this research in a new direction as it seeks to engage with the growing interdisciplinary research focus on work and family in industrialized nations like the USA. This relatively recent body of literature was significantly shaped by the influence of a philanthropic organization, the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation. Concerned with understanding social and economic changes accompanying the increase in dual-earner

families in the USA, the Sloan Foundation initiated a “Workplace, Workforce, and Working Families Program” to establish a body of research and community of scholars focusing on these changes ([http://www.sloan.org/programs/stndrd\\_dualcareer.shtml](http://www.sloan.org/programs/stndrd_dualcareer.shtml)). Since 1994, the program has funded eight centers (and numerous smaller projects) in major American universities to conduct research on the issues facing middle-class dual-earner families in particular. Each Sloan Center on Working Families has pursued its own detailed approach to the study of the work–family interface.

It was in this context that a new strand of language socialization research focusing on working families—specifically dual-earner middle-class families—began to develop. In 2001, the UCLA Sloan Center on the Everyday Lives of Families (CELf) was established and directed by Elinor Ochs, one of the founders of the language socialization approach. CELf integrated perspectives from anthropology, applied linguistics, education, and clinical psychology into one unified research agenda investigating multiple dimensions of the family life of 32 middle-class dual-earner families in Los Angeles, California. To qualify as “working families” for this research, families had to include two parents working 30 or more hours per week outside the home, and 2–3 children (with one 8–10 years old). The families represented various ethnicities (Euro-American, African-American, Asian-American, Latino) and middle-class incomes, but all were responsible for a monthly home mortgage.

A major goal of this extensive study was to document and analyze the ways in which members of working families actually live their lives and interact with one another on a daily basis, while coping with the demands of work, family, and other activities outside the home. A detailed attention to social interaction was central to CELf’s approach from its conception, and consequently a primary method included ethnographic video recording of naturally occurring family interaction in and outside the home. This was combined with a range of other interdisciplinary methods: ethnoarchaeological tracking of family members’ activities and uses of space, combined with mapping and digital photographing of families’ homes and artifacts; interviews about education, health, daily routines, social networks, and children’s lives; standardized psychological questionnaires and measures; and saliva sampling of Cortisol, a stress hormone (see Pitt-Catsouphes, Kossek, and Sweet, 2006, on the value of multiple methods for understanding the complexities and processes of working-family life).

The CELf methodology has been duplicated on a smaller scale in satellite centers in Italy and Sweden, two countries that, like the USA, have been experiencing a dramatic rise in the number of two-career families. CELf-Italy (or iCELf), directed by Clotilde

Pontecorvo at the Università di Roma La Sapienza, and CELF-Sweden, directed by Karin Aronsson at the University of Linköping, contribute an international and comparative perspective on the daily lives of middle-class working families. Together with the UCLA CELF, the three centers have created an extensive digital video archive of family and household activities, including everyday conversation and language socialization practices of working families. This research illustrates how family life is culturally constituted in particular historical moments through everyday interactions, activities, practices, and discourses. The use of video allows examination of actual familial interaction and engagement in activities, rather than relying only on self-reports or unrecorded observations after the fact.

In all three centers, the language socialization model is a component of the project methodology and is employed theoretically by many of the scholars analyzing the extensive data sets. These studies highlight the importance of everyday interactional routines and activities for creating shared worldviews, socializing competence, and reproducing and transforming knowledge about the family, community, workplace, and the world. Through participation in everyday routines and social interactions as both active participants and observers, children are socialized into culturally specific orientations toward work, education, time, morality, responsibility, individualism, success, well-being, and what it means to be a family. In these middle-class families where parents decide both must work outside the home, CELF researchers analyze the interactional ways in which children are exposed to and acquire a middle-class habitus with particular conceptions of work, achievement, interdependence, and autonomy (Goodwin 2006a; Goodwin, 2006b; Paugh, 2005; Sirota, 2006). All societies deal with these issues, yet they take on particular forms in the industrialized, largely child-centered societies examined thus far in this growing literature. Thus, the exploration of working families' activities, routines, and interactions can illuminate the process of socialization and how children acquire ideologies, values, and ways of being through everyday social interaction with working parents. Due to the relative newness of this area of research (with much of it in various stages of publication or available as "Working Papers" from the Sloan Centers' websites), key studies will be described below as work in progress.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

One area of investigation is how busy working families manage, organize, and socialize uses and understandings of time, one of the frequently cited concerns of families themselves (Kremer-Sadlik and Paugh, in press). Analyzing iCELF data, Liberati, Arcidiacono,

and Pontecorvo (2004) explore how children in Italian middle-class working families are socialized through language into culturally specific rules of time, including expectations for its use and how not to “waste” it by making profitable use of waiting time and anticipating and planning for future activities and tasks. Similarly, Wingard (2007) analyzes American parent–child interaction in the UCLA CELF data for the use of recurrent linguistic forms (such as “before,” “after,” “first,” and “now”) in planning activities for the day. She suggests that negotiations over how time is to be used socialize children to concepts of time and how to prioritize competing activities in highly scheduled working-family life. These studies show that through everyday social interaction with caregivers, children acquire an awareness of personal time and family time, how to comprehend and manage both, and how time management is linked to ideas about morality, responsibility, and success.

How families make use of the time they have together, including playing games with children (e.g., Fatigante and Liberati, 2005) and engaging in children’s extracurricular activities, offers a valuable window into the socialization of a middle-class habitus that may nurture life advantages for mainstream children. Goodwin (2007) finds that through spontaneous family interactions, American middle-class children in the UCLA CELF study are afforded opportunities for acquiring valued cultural knowledge (such as idioms and theories about the world) as well as ways of exploring and taking such knowledge, in the midst of other everyday tasks and activities (e.g., during mealtime or while parking the car). Kremer-Sadlik and Kim (2007) find that parents’ talk during children’s participation in formal organized sports activities, informal play, and “passive” engagement in sports (i.e., watching sports on TV) serves as an important socializing tool for middle-class American family values, goals, and desires. Parents assess children’s sports performances, socialize ways of dealing with pain and disappointment, and transmit culturally specific ideals about competitiveness, sportsmanship, and loyalty. Exploring this in depth, Goodwin (2006a) investigates one CELF family’s routine socialization of a “competitive spirit” through talk about sports and academic activities. Through explicit coaching of their children to succeed in sports or homework activities (like hockey, bike riding, or spelling), as well as more indirect socialization (such as ranking children’s sports competence or performance relative to other children), the parents in this particular American family teach their children that competition and achievement are highly valued in their culture.

Homework is a particularly pervasive routine, priority, and socializing activity in middle-class dual-earner homes in the USA, Italy, and Sweden. Liberati (2005) finds that among middle-class Italian working

families, children are socialized into valued work ethics through parents' involvement with their homework practices. Homework is constructed as "children's work," with parents striving to socialize work practices and skills, while fostering children's development of responsibility and their own self-initiative. Wingard (2006) examines American parents' inquiries into and directives about children's homework, exploring the tensions between parental control and socialization of child autonomy as working parents seek to plan out the afternoon's activities around and prompt children to do their homework (also see Forsberg, 2004, on homework in Swedish dual-earner families). Homework acts as a routine organizer of family life, despite hectic schedules, indicating its importance in middle-class families (Wingard, 2006).

Dinnertime interaction is another fruitful arena for the study of how ideologies about work and success are socialized. In an interview-based study, Galinsky (1999) found that American children in grades 3–12 know a considerable amount about their parents' work, even though parents generally report that they *do not* talk to their children about their work. Paugh (2005) used a language socialization approach to investigate this through analysis of routine dinnertime conversations among middle-class dual-earner American families in Los Angeles, finding that through overhearing and co-constructing their parents' narratives about work-related experiences, children are socialized into particular understandings about work, expectations regarding work conduct (such as morality, competence, and accountability), and family values and goals, such as about work–family balance. They are simultaneously socialized into preferred class- and culturally specific ways of engaging in narrative discourse. Paugh (2006) is currently examining future-oriented work narratives told collaboratively with or in the presence of children, and how this narrative practice socializes ways of talking about and dealing with uncertainty in American working life.

Cleanliness routines, the distribution and scheduling of chores, and discourses about household work are prime sites for the language socialization of middle-class norms, values, practices, and ways of expressing affect in the working-family context (Aronsson, Simonsen, and Forsberg, 2005; Klein, 2003). Arcidiacono, Pontecorvo, and Liberati (2004) explore how family roles and culturally specific notions of work, family, competence, and responsibility are socialized through household work interactions (including family disputes about household tasks) in their iCELF videotaped corpus of Italian working families. In a comparative study of the USA and Italy CELF data, Fasulo, Loyd, and Padiglione (2007) explore how children's agency may be constructed or limited by how parents focus on and socialize hygiene and household cleaning practices through verbal and

nonverbal interaction. Goodwin (2006b) analyzes interactions involving directive sequences in the UCLA CELF families for how families' interactive styles socialize (or fail to socialize) children to accountability for their actions and responsibilities. Goodwin finds more successful outcomes in interactions where parents and children jointly establish frameworks of mutual orientation and alignment to an activity and parents are persistent in pursuing their directives, in contrast to families where this does not take place and children are successful at bargaining (such as getting out of doing a chore requested by a parent).

Sirota (2006) analyzes children's language socialization into middle-class bedtime routines in the UCLA CELF data, illuminating on how even these routines accomplish much more than the functional goal of getting children to go to sleep. Sirota describes them as collaborative interactions involving extensive negotiation of child autonomy and interdependence, with parents and children using mitigation, politeness, and bargaining strategies in their relational work to both prepare for and delay the bedtime separation. Through these American middle-class bedtime routines, children are socialized into culturally valued aspects of personhood, including acquiring a particular balance of autonomous self-initiative combined with reliance on intimate familial relationships.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

One challenge for language socialization studies of working families is to address the diversity of family types that exists, even in one community, socioeconomic class, or social group. In fact, the definition of "family" is an issue that has plagued family and kinship studies for decades. As recent studies have shown, family is culturally and historically constructed, and does not include only biological ties (see, e.g., Carsten, 2000; Franklin and McKinnon, 2001). In the face of a multitude of possible family forms (dual parent, single parent, heterosexual, same-sex, extended, adoptive, blended, etc.) accentuated by the availability of new reproductive technologies, delineating units of study and comparing and contrasting similarities, differences, and patterns across families is a significant challenge to language socialization and other research on working families. In the UCLA CELF study, all families were two-parent and most included heterosexual partnerships; however, there were two same-sex partnerships, and the families included biological, adoptive, and step parents. While this is a step in the right direction, clearly more family types—particularly the increasing number of single-parent working families in the USA

and elsewhere—need to be represented and studied through an ethnographic, language socialization approach.

As previously mentioned, the focus of recent Sloan-funded research in the USA, Sweden, and Italy has been on working families of a *middle-class* socioeconomic background. While this focus has been explained in that middle-class dual-earner families are reportedly understudied in the work–family literature, it raises several questions. What are we excluding or ignoring by focusing only on middle-class families? How do we define “middle-class”? Should researchers impose income limits, or should families self-select according to their own definitions of middle-class (see Darrah’s (2006, pp. 374–375) discussion of this and other recruitment issues in a project on working families in Silicon Valley, California)? As this area of language socialization research grows, it would be beneficial for scholars to examine a range of social groups, and to be specific in how they define “working families.”

As in any study of language socialization, researchers need be careful not to depict working families as homogenous or unchanging. Often portrayed in the work–family literature as “overwhelmed,” “stressed,” and experiencing “time famine,” we should not deny working families an active role in the construction of their own lives. The language socialization approach to working families must deal with the challenges of individual variation and change (including families at different life stages), while still trying to illuminate problems, concerns, and strategies shared across many working families. More longitudinal research, such as following the same group of families over several years, and more comparative work, along the lines of Heath’s (1983) groundbreaking study described above, are needed.

Finally, a significant challenge is coalescing a group of researchers concerned with working families and language socialization that can engage with multiple bodies of literature while still remaining attentive to one another’s work. The interdisciplinary nature of the research that characterizes the Sloan Centers in the USA, Italy, and Sweden brings many advantages and possibilities for collaboration and cross-fertilization, yet it is also challenging in terms of remaining focused on work–family issues. The distinctions between being simply language socialization research that focuses on the family’s role in socialization, and language socialization examining the connections to families’ *working* status, may become blurred, unclear, or lost. Striving to remain attuned to the work–family literature, including research emerging from psychology and sociology, may help bridge language socialization research on working families to the larger body of language socialization literature and anthropology generally.

## FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The three CELFs have amassed an extensive corpus of family life and social interaction, and trained a new generation of language socialization researchers. Currently, there is much analysis being done on this large body of data, including many collaborations across the UCLA, Italy, and Sweden CELFs. This comparative effort may illustrate common patterns as well as differences among working families in these different cultural contexts. It also offers new cross-disciplinary ways of collecting and analyzing language socialization data, such as through the use of ethnoarchaeological methods combined with video taping of everyday interaction to better understand family social interaction patterns at home and the use of material objects and spaces in language socialization (see Ochs, Graesch, Mittmann, Bradbury, and Repetti, 2006, for detailed discussion of these methodologies). These methods may be incorporated into language socialization studies more generally.

As the field of work–family research expands, language socialization has much to offer. Through language socialization methodologies and theories, we can study the moment-to-moment and turn-by-turn ways in which working families are created and maintained through interaction, shedding light on families’ concerns and the meanings of work and family. Some valuable lines of current and future research include:

- A greater focus on language socialization across the lifespan (see, e.g., Garrett and Baquedano-López, 2002, pp. 348–349). Future studies could focus on how adults are socialized into being *working parents* by their children, their partners, their own parents, or their peers, coworkers, and others in their lives. For example, how do working parents socialize one another to be working parents through their everyday social interaction? How do children socialize their working parents?
- More attention to children’s perspectives on and experiences of family life, including focusing on children’s everyday social worlds, peer and sibling interactions, perceptions of parents’ work, and views on child care arrangements (see calls by Perry-Jenkins, Repetti, and Crouter, 2000; Thorne, 2001). For example, Baquedano-López (2002) did some initial exploration of the language socialization practices of predominantly Latina, Spanish-speaking nannies caring for mostly Euro-American, English-speaking children in West Los Angeles, noting implications for children’s acquisition of Spanish, the socialization of affect and morality in the nanny–child relationship, and how children are being socialized as *consumers* of care.
- More attention to language socialization involving paid work-related activities that directly influence the family, such as work-related values

and activities brought into the home or when the family is brought to work-related events, preparation for work, the coordination and performance of work activities through electronic means from home (by computer, cell phones, etc.), narratives and reports about work, and children's engagement in paid and unpaid work, to name a few. As Richardson (2006) points out, family is often invoked as an idiom in the American workplace, but the workplace may also enter into the structuring of the home life. A focus on these activities could illuminate what children learn about work from their parents long before they begin working themselves, and the impact of this learning on their future career goals and trajectories.

- More cross-cultural studies of language socialization in working families, along with more studies in the USA that examine many kinds of families from a variety of class, ethnic, and other backgrounds. For example, Klein and Izquierdo (2006) found that two middle-class immigrant families from India and Mexico to Los Angeles (in the UCLA CELF study) socialize their children into linguistic, educational, and work practices that maintain values from their culture of origin (such as discipline and perseverance) while incorporating and integrating American notions of success. More comparative, cross-cultural studies could bring to light alternative strategies for managing work and family, and link language socialization in working families to larger globalizing processes.
- More attention to agency, change, and resistance in working families, such as ways in which working families resist the pressures and time restrictions put on them, how parents may rework the socialization patterns they grew up with, and how children may come to interpret and resist the working-family frameworks into which they are socialized.

Language socialization research in working families offers much potential for enriching the work–family literature, as well as contributing to the language socialization paradigm with its interdisciplinary methods and attention to work and family in today's growing global economy.

*See Also: Shoshana Blum-Kulka: Language Socialization and Family Dinnertime Discourse (Volume 8)*

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## LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION AND MULTIMODALITY IN MULTILINGUAL URBAN HOMES

### INTRODUCTION

Language and culture are inextricably intertwined. The home is where cultural practices are first experienced, and within that context, children born into multilingual families experience this identity through language. Children forge relationships with their families and extended families through language. These relationships contribute to the development of identities, which are then sedimented within language, and within texts. As children come to speak and write within households, their linguistic repertoires include home languages as well as languages taught outside the home. Interaction is not just about language, it is about gesture and the tools we use to make meaning, including signs and symbols. Language can be seen to be part of a wider landscape of communication, including images and gesture, which is multimodal. The linguistic experience of multilingual children is found inscribed within multimodal signs. Children see words written in Arabic, Chinese, Urdu, Turkish and experience different script systems at home and at school. As they learn these languages, they begin to experience their written forms. Many children growing up bilingual also attend after school clubs or Saturday schools where their home languages are taught and celebrated. They are immersed in these languages at home, and their meaning making, in multiple modes (gesture, images, talk), draws on these experiences of multilingual identities. An understanding and appreciation of the richness of multimodal, multilingual communicative practices aids understanding of what children bring to school literacy practices. For this reason, children's multimodal, multilingual text making in homes and communities is a particularly valuable resource for researchers and practitioners.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Initial approaches to language socialisation drew on Vygotsky's insights in *Mind and Society* about the relationship between language and artifacts, or tools (Vygotsky, 1978). Vygotsky noticed how children externalised their thinking through the use of tools and symbols. The work of researchers such as Michael Cole (1996) tracked the way in which

children interacted with tools in order to develop their cognitive activities. Cole's work illuminated the relationship between mind as internalised culture and culture as externalised mind, and crucially, focused on activity and practices as a unit of study. The recognition that the cultural experiences of children could be observed in practice was critical to understandings of children's experience of growing up multilingual. Research which focused on play and role-playing in informal and home situations illuminated this. By focusing on a practice theory of learning, children's observable activities could be extended to include their meaning making at home and in community centres. The work of Barbara Rogoff (1990) was helpful in illuminating how young children learn from taking part in everyday activities with family members. Duranti and Ochs (1996) explored the way in which Californian Samoan families combined practices from their past cultural heritage with new practices. These can be observed within such visible practices as book reading, and the way in which family reading materials were stored. They used the term *syncretic* literacy practices to describe the combining and recombining of different practices into transformed practice.

Much early work on language socialisation saw learning as social, and situated learning within observed social practice. The work of Halliday (1978) recognised that language could be seen as a social process. Research on literacy practices in homes and communities by ethnographers such as Hymes (1996), who studied native American narratives, and Heath (1983), looking at three different communities in the rural Carolinas, developed an understanding of each community's different literacy and language practices. By observing cultural practice, the making of culture could be discerned. The concept of 'culture as a verb', from Street (1993), describes the way in which multilingual children shape and change cultural content as they use language and make texts. Text-making by young children can be understood as drawing on a number of texts from different domains and therefore having an *intertextual* quality. In this context, the work of Bakhtin (1981) has been influential in describing the way in which texts are hybrid. Researchers of children's talk, such as Maybin (2005), who carried out a study of young children's informal talk in the UK, have drawn on Bakhtin's work to describe the way in which children's communicative repertoires are intertextual, and carry others' voices within them.

Initial studies of young children's multimodal and multilingual practices came out of anthropology, where studies like those of Scribner and Cole (1981) of the Vai culture in West Africa informed an understanding of how language and literacy practices were linked to different domains and cultural practices. They were also informed by cultural psychology and theories of mind and culture (Cole, 1996). Early work

by Kress (1997) began to identify the way in which language was embedded in a wider communicational landscape, including visual representation. Kress described how children made signs from a number of different modes, drawing on different representational resources. Kress used the term *multimodality* to draw attention to the variety of modes children used when they made meaning. Children's drawings, gesture and speech were meshed together, and worked to create an ensemble of semiotic resources. Research in multilingual communities, such as that of Gregory (1997) in East London, identified that children drew on these semiotic resources in out-of-school contexts to make meaning. The different cultural worlds that children inhabited were beginning to be mapped out.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Recent research has focused on studying closely the literacy and language practices of multilingual children growing up in homes and communities. For example, Gregory and Williams (2000) examined the literacy and language learning of Bangladeshi children in East London, and, using ethnographic methods, looked at the ways in which these children learned Arabic in the Mosque school, learned reading and writing in English at school and spoke Urdu or Punjabi within their homes. Kress's work on London children's early writing encouraged researchers to apply a multimodal lens to their studies of young children's acquisition of writing (Kress, 1997). Kenner's (2004) study of young children learning writing at home, situated in Arabic, Chinese and Spanish speaking communities in London, described how young children engaged with multiple learning environments in which to develop their scripts in both their home language and the languages they learned at school. Kenner explored ways in which the children used the *affordances* different linguistic scripts offered them. Different kinds of writing systems could be understood in terms of their semiotic affordances. For example, Arabic and English are presented in very different visual ways. *Affordances* was a term used by Kress and van Leeuwen to describe the possibilities within a particular mode for meaning making, such as the ability of a script to suggest certain images (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001). By focusing on the *interest* of the sign-maker, and the different representational resources available to children as they make meaning, a richer picture emerged of children growing up in the complex urban multilingual spaces they encountered. Children's representational choices became infused with their cultural identities. A child who wished to represent herself in a drawing, for example, could draw on multi-semiotic resources, and cultural icons from a multitude of global and local influences. Kenner used the

example of a child who used both Chinese symbols together with the English words 'Girl Power' plus a drawing of a girl and hearts, to produce a multi-semiotic, multilingual text (Kenner, 2004).

Research on multilingualism and multimodality focused on what children from multilingual backgrounds brought to the school setting. For example, the work of Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti (Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti, 2005; Moll, Amanti, Neff and Gonzalez, 1992), in which detailed ethnographies were carried out in Hispanic communities in Arizona, in Southwestern USA, found that these homes were full of *funds of knowledge*, which could be seen as resources for children to draw on. These home funds of knowledge could inform pedagogy. Likewise the work of Gutierrez, Baquedano-Lopez and Tejeda (1999), also in the Southwest of the USA, looking at classrooms, examined how home language experience could be mixed with school literacy. They used the concept of a 'third space', to describe the space which children and teachers create by drawing on linguistic practices from home within school settings. Moje, Ciechanowski, Kramer, Ellis, Carrillo, and Collazo (2004), in their research on teenage out-of-school literacy practices in Northern USA, argued that communicative practices which take place within a third space drew on funds of knowledge from home and communities, and could be multimodal, involving gesture (e.g. stunt riding) and oral storytelling (e.g. telling the story of the stunt). Popular cultural texts, including games and television programmes, provided a widely consulted source of information and the Internet was a key information tool. Many of these experiences involved working across modes and across languages in order to develop knowledge that, Moje et al. argued, could usefully be melded with school literacies. Family literacy classrooms are spaces that rely heavily on home experiences. Therefore, family literacy classrooms could be understood as spaces where home literacy practices can merge with school literacy practices in a 'third space', as discussed by Pahl and Kelly (2005) about a family literacy classroom in London.

Researchers using a New Literacy Studies perspective have focused on literacy as a social practice, and developed an understanding of how children's early literacy practices are shaped by culture, a point first described by Heath (1983) in her seminal *Ways with Words* (Barton and Hamilton, 1998; Street, 1993). Rowsell and Pahl (in press) described how patterned practices sediment into texts, and argued that teachers need to understand the complex way in which children shape oral and written texts. Increasingly, families watch satellite television programmes, which are delivered in their own languages, and children draw on these linguistic repertoires as they compose oral and written texts. Kenner (2004) and Pahl (2004) have conducted research in London homes that has examined the intersection of multimodality,

the New Literacy Studies and multilingualism. Children draw on multiple literacies, that is, a range of literacy practices from both digitised media and popular culture. These digitised spaces could be understood as being socially situated spaces for informal learning, drawing on the work of Lave and Wenger (1991). Research such as that by Keating (2005) on Portuguese families on London has used the work of Lave and Wenger very productively to describe how in migrant families literacy practices are recombined and transformed in new communities of practice, and literacy is situated in specific domains of practice.

The concept of *syncretic* literacy practices has been used to describe how children draw on multiple resources to make meaning, including their religion, their culture, languages and school experiences (Volk and de Acosta, 2001). Volk and de Acosta extend the work of Duranti and Ochs (1996) in looking at ways in which children blend practices from different domains in new contexts. They describe how bilingual children's developing literacy and language was supported by a network of people including parents, grandparents and elders in church in the context of Puerto Rican communities in the USA. Children combined experiences from home, school, church and other spaces to make meaning. Volk and de Acosta viewed children's language socialisation as embedded in a socio-cultural process, and used ethnography to trace that process. Research looking at language socialisation has relied mostly on ethnography to develop closer understandings. Researchers, particularly from the traditions of linguistic ethnography (UK) and linguistic anthropology (USA), have used these methods in order to develop an understanding of young children's out-of-school literacy practices (UK Linguistic Ethnography, 2004; Wortham and Rymes, 2003). Linguistic ethnography can uncover 'invisible' literacy and language practices. For example, in the UK, Parke, Drury, Kenner and Helavaara, describe how important it is that both the 'visible' and 'invisible' language practices of young bilinguals are drawn upon in schools (Parke, Drury, Kenner and Helavaara, 2002).

A focus on multimodality emerged as a result of closely observing children's text-making at home and in classrooms. Many researchers observed how children often composed multimodal texts, which consisted of both drawing and writing (Dyson, 1993, 2003). Kendrick and McKay (2004) in Canada, and Lancaster (2001) in the UK, argued that the use of wider symbol-systems than writing was not an add-on but instead was a way of expressing a wide range of experience and emotions. Children depict a wide range of signs to make meaning, and as they make meaning, they transform the materials they use (Kress, 1997). This transformative action can be observed in the meaning making of multilingual children. This crossing of symbolic and

linguistic repertoires reveals the transformative nature of sign making. In a longitudinal ethnographic study of children's communicative practices in homes conducted in London, UK, Pahl studied the experience of Fatih, a Turkish boy, at home. In one text (see [Figure 1](#)), he drew a bird, in a nest, which he called 'gosh' (the phonetic spelling of *kus*, bird, in Turkish). He also wrote beside it the English word 'bird'. He then added the Turkish, word, *kus*.

Fatih drew on a multimodal, multilingual repertoire to create this text: the image of the bird, drawn in pen using a torn out page from his mother's notebook, together with his Turkish, and his written recognition of the Turkish alphabet, which is different from the English alphabet. Detailed ethnographic work unravelled how the concept of



Figure 1 Fatih's Kus drawing.

*kus*, 'bird', meant a number of things to Fatih. His mother called him 'little bird' and when he was a young child, when he returned to his grandparents' home village in Turkey, he used to chase the chickens that lived in the village. He loved to read the story of *The Ugly Duckling*. All these themes, and his Turkish identity in London, were expressed in the *kus* text (Pahl and Rowsell, 2005).

It was observed that in homes there is a strong relationship between narratives and artefacts. An object would tell a story, and children drew images drawing on aspects of that story (Pahl, 2004). Key artefacts in homes often 'held' a family's history and identity. In the case of families who had experienced migration, these objects often had particular resonance. Multilingual homes contain many literacy artefacts in different languages, such as Koranic wall texts, video tapes, dual language texts, letters from other countries and so on. These cultural resources can be used in classrooms where different script systems can be displayed on walls and children's writing competencies can be supported in dual language books. Research by Cummins, Bismilla, Cohen, Giampapa and Leoni (2005) in Toronto has emphasised how home languages can be usefully drawn upon in dual language textbooks, authored by children.

Marsh has described how children's use of popular cultural texts extends and supports their multilingual identities (Marsh, 2006). For example, a child from Wales in the UK, who was being educated in a Welsh-speaking school and only spoke Welsh at home, was able to learn English from watching television (Marsh, 2006). Likewise, Kenner argued that resources such as satellite television allowed children to maintain contact with the cultural and linguistic resources of their home languages (Kenner, 2004). Fatih's bird drawings were combined with an interest in Super Mario, a video game requiring the player to complete a number of tasks, which he played frequently. A long-term family narrative, that of the bird, was combined in one text with an image from popular culture, that of Super Mario (Pahl, 2005). In this kind of image, one text is holding a number of different meanings across modalities and cultural systems, and Fatih's various interests are sedimented within the text, despite being drawn from different domains. Rowsell and Pahl (in press) described this process as one of *sedimented identities in texts*.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Many literacy practices these children produce are rendered invisible by monolingual language practices. One advocate of minority children's language practices is Cummins, whose work in Toronto has consistently argued for the valuing of children's home languages in order

to aid linguistic competencies (Cummins, Bismilla, Cohen, Giampapa and Leoni, 2005). In the USA, Zentella (2005) has described communicative practices in Hispanic homes drawing on a wealth model of literacy and recognising that children in Hispanic homes have a rich cultural heritage to bring to school literacies. In the UK, Gregory, Long and Volk (2004) have together collected research that celebrates multilingual literacies in homes with siblings and grandparents.

In South Africa, Bloch, Stein and Prinsloo (2001) have conducted a Children's Early Literacy Learning Project which collected detailed information about the early literacy experiences of 25 children from a diverse range of linguistic, cultural and socio-economic backgrounds. The focus of the project is children whose home languages are African rather than English. The project recognises that many young children are multilingual code switchers, who draw on different languages in different contexts. The findings of the research focused on ways in which multimodal literacies are intergenerational. Stein and Slominsky (2006) have described how children's literacy and language experiences in the home are shaped by parents' and grandparents' conceptions of multimodal literacy and language learning.

In Gent, and London, UK, Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck (2004) have been analysing the spaces in which children grow up. By focusing on multilingual language in relation to spatiality, multimodal texts can be understood as being the realisation of language practices. They looked at multilingual inscriptions on walls and in Mosque schools to understand language socialisation. For example, children in a Turkish Mosque school in Gent were surrounded by images from Islam, such as inscriptions from the Koran, and also images from Turkey, such as the Turkish flag. There is an urgent need for more research on children's language socialisation in complex multilingual contexts such as those presented in the Asian sub-continent and the continent of Africa.

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Research studies have emphasised the need for attention to be paid to children's bilingual, biliterate experiences in order for bilingual children to succeed at school (Blackledge, 2000; Booker, 2002; Kenner, 2004). Hornberger's (2003) theoretical contribution on the continua of biliteracy argues for children's multilingual repertoires to be heard in classroom settings but even if this is enshrined in policy, problems and difficulties occur (see Hornberger, *Continua of Biliteracy*, Volume 9). Parents may want their children to experience total immersion in the new language. Policy makers, for example, in the UK, may be hostile to children's use of their home languages in classroom settings. Multimodal

texts and inscriptions drawing on cultural references that classroom teachers may not understand may not carry weight in classroom discourses.

Key questions for practitioners and researchers include: who supports children's language socialisation in languages other than the dominant language? How do children's linguistic repertoires become supported and how do they flourish in a multimodal landscape of communication? What kinds of multilingual and multimodal communicative practices are recognised and what kinds are left unrecognised? What kinds of strategies do multilingual families employ to support their children's heritage languages? The challenges of post-colonialism need to be met with an attention to the voices of multilingual children.

### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

In a post-modern cultural context, Appadurai's (1996) work has highlighted how globalisation has disrupted everyday practices and literacies. The concept of the *mediascapes* of everyday life, which children inhabit, describes the new landscape of communication in which children blend texts and practices from satellite television and digital cultures, local knowledge and practices, and long-term family narratives. These linguistic repertoires can also be symbolic, and bound up with identities and narratives of migration, loss and displacement. Artefacts in homes can 'hold' a story and can be used in families to evoke long-term narratives in homes (Pahl, 2004).

Researchers recognise that siblings are part of children's experiences of multilingual literacies (Gregory, Long and Volk, 2004). Children watch their older siblings, cousins and families engage in a variety of activities, such as playing video games, dancing, composing songs and engaging in role play and performance. Hidden literacies are often those that are least recognised by schooling. They are often realised multimodally, as drawings, performances, gesture (Lankshear and Knobel, 2003). The role of popular music such as hip hop, video games, popular culture and satellite television in shaping and generating children's multimodal, multilingual texts in the home needs to be further researched.

A new area to consider is that of diasporas, identities and migration. As global migration is commonplace today, the question should be what are the communicative practices that are emerging from these new cultural spaces? By focusing on spatiality, multimodality comes to the fore as a way of analysing complex communicative texts.

Digital literacies (Lam, *Language Socialization in Online Communities*, Volume 8) such as web logs are increasingly popular as ways of uniting families across diasporas, as are sites such as Flickr, a web based photo sharing site ([www.flickr.com](http://www.flickr.com)). Different spatial and

temporal concerns permeate this new globalised landscape of signs. Space and place will come to inform studies of language socialisation, for example, an understanding of rural children's multilingual meaning making. Understanding the importance of Islamic concepts of space and time in a post-colonial context, for example, as realised through the Islamic calendar, or Koranic inscriptions as displayed on walls, will produce new insights about the multiple means and modes of literacy socialisation and semiosis in contemporary society. Multilingual children, as they grow up in complex, urban, hybrid neighbourhoods, are the communicative meaning makers of tomorrow and we must focus on what they bring to literacy and language practices.

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LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION IN THE HOME AND  
MINORITY LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION IN EUROPE

INTRODUCTION

Reviewing the research literature on home language socialization in the context of minority language revitalization in Europe is not a straightforward task. The body of language socialization research that has developed over the last 20 years (see Ochs and Schieffelin, *Language Socialization: An Historical Overview*, Volume 8), by North American scholars in particular, is currently very limited in the European context. The issue of minority language reproduction in the home, particularly with regard to inter-generational language practices is, nevertheless, a crucial issue for all the European autochthonous and minority language groups whose vitality is, to a greater or lesser degree, under threat at the turn of the twenty-first century (Table 1). This anxiety over diminishing inter-generational language use has been addressed academically from a number of diverse theoretical perspectives by researchers in Europe. The most common of these are quantitative sociolinguistic surveys based upon census statistics and other language use surveys carried out either at the pan-European level (e.g. Euromosaic study, OPEC 1996) or on a national/regional basis (e.g. Catalonia, Ireland, Wales). Other research has been conducted within a (bilingual) language acquisition framework and many case studies of individual families appear in books giving advice to parents and educators on how to raise children bilingually/multilingually (e.g. Hoffman, 1985; Saunders, 1988). However, very little detailed work in the ‘language socialization’ tradition has been carried out on the language practices of the various minority language groups in Europe which are concerned with their language maintenance and revitalization.

In the absence, hitherto, of much of a European contribution to language socialization research, this chapter describes how such a research perspective could provide valuable insights into the dynamics of inter-generational language practices and so provide useful evidence for European policy makers and practitioners. We begin this chapter, with a review of Joshua Fishman’s contribution to the field of minority language revitalization. Fishman’s contribution has been very influential in guiding language policy and language planning in the European

Table 1 Minority Language Reproduction Within the Family

| Cluster | Language reproduction within the family categories  | Language groups  | Number of language groups |
|---------|---|--|---------------------------|
| A       | Virtually all young families speak their language with offspring as do most minority language speakers in mixed families  | Swedish in Finland, Catalan in Catalonia, German in Belgium, German in Italy, Luxembourgish, and Turkish in Greece   | 6                         |
| B       | Some young families speak their language with offspring, but mainly the older generation; a few minority language speakers in mixed families also use minority language | Welsh in Wales, Basque AC, Catalan in Majorca, Galician in Galicia, Ladin, Slovene in Italy, Slovene in Austria, Basque in Navarre, Danish in Germany, Occitan in Spain, Friulian, Catalan in Aragon, Albanian in Italy, Occitan in Italy, Mirandese | 15                        |
| C       | Only about half of families speak minority language with offspring, mainly the older generation   | German in Denmark, Catalan in Valencia, Irish, Asturian, Gaelic, German in France, Frisian, Croatian in Austria, Basque in France, Catalan in France,  | 18                        |

Table 1 Continued

| Cluster | Language reproduction within the family categories   | Language groups  | Number of language groups |
|---------|--|--|---------------------------|
|         |  | Corsican, Franco Provençal, Slovak in Austria, Catalan in Italy, Slavo Macedonian, Bulgarian, Aroumanian, Albanian in Greece   |                           |
| D       | Only a minority of families speak minority language with offspring, mainly older people; people have heard grandparents speak the language | Sorbian, Saami in Finland, Tornedalen, Hungarian in Austria, Irish in Northern Ireland, Saami in Sweden, Breton, North Frisian, Dutch in France, Occitan in France, Sardinian, East Frisian, Portuguese in Spain | 13                        |
| E       | Virtually no families, except for the very old, use the minority language in the family  | Grico, Cornish   | 2                         |

(Adapted from Table 7.1 Williams, 2005, pp. 194–195)

context. We then present an overview of the vitality of European minority language groups with regard to intergenerational language use in the home as identified by the pan-European survey carried out by the *Euromosaic* project. In many European countries, initiatives which

seek to promote the minority language socialization of young children in the home have been set up with varying degrees of governmental financial support. We outline several of these in order to provide an idea of the kinds of interventionist strategies being undertaken to encourage the use of minority languages between parents and their children. These are also precisely the kinds of initiatives which could benefit from research with a language socialization perspective. As far as we are aware, the only European research on minority language use within the family conducted within a specifically ‘language socialization’ framework is a recent study in Wales by Jones and Morris (2005). We therefore report in some detail upon the findings of this study and refer where possible to similar findings identified in other research which is not ‘language socialization’ oriented per se, in order to begin to identify points of commonality across European minority contexts. We conclude by providing some pointers for future language socialization oriented research in the European context which includes investigating the interplay between the home-school-community in children’s minority language socialization.

#### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS: INTER-GENERATIONAL LANGUAGE REPRODUCTION AND REVERSING LANGUAGE SHIFT

When considering the issue of language socialization in minority language contexts, it is important to recognize the difference between the role played by civil society (namely, the family and the community) in reproducing language, as opposed to the centrality of formal, state-sponsored or state-related institutions (such as education and employment) in generating language production. In many European contexts, the formal education sector has been the primary site of efforts to revitalize minority languages and there is, consequently, a more substantial body of research which investigates minority language education in Europe. The family’s crucial role as a primary socialization agency is, however, well-documented in a wide variety of sociological literature—from a functionalist perspective (e.g. Parsons and Bales, 1955), or the Marxist feminist perspective (e.g. Delphy and Leonard, 1992). As such, it can be argued that the family should be the primary focus of language planners who are concerned with reversing language shift.

Joshua Fishman’s Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) scale (Fishman, 1990, 1991), which measures the extent to which a minority language is threatened and disrupted, has been extremely influential in theorizing and developing the field of language revitalization and

language shift. Each of the eight stages in Fishman's scale represent key criteria, social activities and language practices which are, in turn, necessary to ensure the revival and/or survival of a minority language. Most crucial of all these is Stage 6, in which the minority language is the 'normal language of informal, spoken interaction between and within all three generations of the family' (1991, p. 94). Fishman emphasizes that the promotion of a minority language within institutions such as education, government legislation, the economy and the national media cannot, of themselves, reverse language shift without also securing the mechanism of intergenerational transmission through 'the normal, daily, repetitive and intensely socializing and identity-forming functioning of home, family and neighbourhood' (1991, p. 162). In the late twentieth century and early twenty-first century, this crucial role played by the home and family is being further undermined by changing parental employment patterns, childcare practices and family lifestyles, each of which diminish the mother's and father's roles as the primary (if not sole) 'transmitters' of the minority language. Fishman argues, therefore, that it is necessary for those family support agencies and networks such as early childcare provision to create the environment that will help socialize young children in their minority language and culture.

Fishman's seminal work on reversing language shift has played a central role in shaping minority language planning and research in the European context. In the surveys which have dominated the early sociolinguistic literature, as well as in the discourses of political institutions and language planning bodies, there has been a tendency, as the terms 'transfer' and 'transmission' imply, to view socialization as 'something done to novices by members' (Wentworth, 1980, p. 64). More recent studies of child language acquisition stress the interactional nature of socialization (e.g. Schieffelin, 1990), demonstrate that infants and small children play a part in socializing other family members (Ochs, 1988), and show how a child's language acquisition is influenced by many factors other than parental decisions and wishes (cf. Kulick, 1992). These more recent approaches, have, hitherto, had little influence upon the discourse of European politics and language planners. In addition to focusing almost exclusively on the role of parents (and often only the mother), the tendency in the early research and government policy has been to treat the family as a unit isolated from its social and historical context. An analysis of the role of the community in supporting or undermining family language practices is particularly important in the case of minority bilingual contexts since individuals' values and practices are intimately shaped by wider power relations and ideology.

MINORITY LANGUAGE GROUP VITALITY AND  
INTERGENERATIONAL LANGUAGE USE IN EUROPE:  
AN OVERVIEW

The Euromosaic study provides the most comprehensive overview of the vitality of minority European language groups with regard to intergenerational language use within the family (Williams, 2005). This large-scale survey indicates that where language group endogamy is high within the geographical territory, a high degree of language socialization occurs in most cases—for example, Welsh in Wales; Catalan in Aragon and Majorca; Galician in Galicia; Slovene and German in Italy; Friulian, Ladin and Franco-Provencal. However, geographical and language group endogamy do not necessarily guarantee a high incidence of family language use, as is evidenced by Breton. Two generations ago, Breton was spoken in virtually all families, but by now this situation is rare (*ibid.*, p. 151). The Euromosaic survey suggests that currently a high degree of family language reproduction occurs in just 11% of the 54 language groups, while a further 28% of the language groups are fairly successfully reproducing the minority language in the home:

The language groups who are reproducing the language within the family tend to be in areas where there is considerable economic activity, and where the minority language group is able to withstand the degree of in-migration associated with economic development, by ensuring labour market segmentation and thus promoting the prestige of the minority language. The support of the state is also a major factor. Within those clusters of language groups where minority language socialization within the family occurs at a medium to low level, a number of steps are being taken by language planners and policy makers to encourage the reproduction of the minority language.

In the Basque Country, for example, *Ahoz Aho, Belaunez Belaun* (*By Word of Mouth, from One Generation to the Next*) is a campaign for raising awareness ‘of the advantages of the continuity and transmission of the Basque language’ (Network of European Language Planning Boards (NELPB), 2005) among young Basque-speakers. The project encourages both future parents and those who already have children to ‘participate in Basque in their every day life through their children’. Language courses are a core activity of the project and include Basque language courses for Spanish-speaking mothers; courses to encourage Basque speaking couples to change their language habits and language use with each other; and a course on tales, songs and games. Language awareness campaigns are also a feature, and parents are granted ‘special subsidies’ to encourage their use of Basque in the home (*ibid.*). Several studies have been carried out to inform the

development of the project, including: Arruti (1995), Jauregi (1996) and Urdangarin (1997).

In Wales, the Welsh Assembly Government (WAG) has recognized its role in language planning by pledging considerable resources to ensure that parents are made aware of the benefits of early bilingualism. The pioneering TWF (*Transfer of Welsh in Families*) project funded by WAG aims to 'ensure that more and more parents decide to raise their children bilingually, especially in households where one or more parents speak Welsh' (NELPB, 2005). This project employs a national development Officer, a Health Officer, support officers and 21 Field Officers responsible for areas throughout almost the whole of Wales. The scheme offers advice directly to parents and also to certain health care and childcare professionals who are involved with mothers and babies, such as midwives and community nurses.

Ireland operates several schemes and incentives to promote parents' use of Irish with their children. In Gaeltacht areas, *Scéim Labhairt na Gaelige (Irish Speaking Scheme)* provides a financial incentive of 260 euros to those households with school-going children where Irish is the predominant spoken language of the household. *Togra Oideachas Ghaeltachta Muintearas Comhluadar* is a non-governmental organization founded in 1993 that operates throughout Ireland to support Irish-speaking families. Five hundred families have registered with the organization which, like the TWF project in Wales, also aims to raise the awareness of prospective parents of the advantages of bilingualism by working in prenatal clinics. In 2004, a language awareness campaign entitled *Ár dTeanga Ná dúrtha Féin (Our Own Natural Language)* and consisting of TV and radio advertisements, information booklet, posters and website, aimed at advising parents in the Gaeltacht of the advantages of choosing Irish as the language of their household. *Scéim Cuairteoirí Baile (Home/Family Visitation Scheme)* is a pilot scheme operating in the Gaeltacht area of Corca Dhuibhne in West Kerry which funds home visits to families with the objective 'of strengthening family based intergenerational transmission of the language' (NELPB, 2005).

In Sweden, campaigns to promote minority language transfer within the home have been aimed at the Saami community. *Čoavdda Guovtti Máilbmái (The Key to Two Worlds)* was a campaign funded in 1993 by the Saami Educational Council which used a video and leaflet to raise awareness of the benefits of bilingualism and encourage parents to use Saami themselves and with their children. Campaigns promoting bilingualism among Finnish speakers in Sweden have also distributed leaflets explaining the advantages of bilingualism via midwives.

MINORITY LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION WITHIN  
THE FAMILY: WORK IN PROGRESS

Although significant resources are being targeted on these and other similar initiatives to encourage the use of the minority language within families, relatively little is known about the factors that influence language use among family members. Some insights can be gleaned from a number of language use surveys and other studies which are varied in their theoretical and methodological approach. In the absence of any body of ‘minority language socialization’ studies per se in the European context, we therefore summarize the findings of one recent study of the family language socialization of young children in Wales (Jones and Morris, 2005) and indicate those instances where similar factors have been identified in other methodologically and theoretically informed studies.

The study by Jones and Morris (2005) is intended to be the first stage in a longitudinal study of children’s language socialization in Wales. The first stage was an in-depth study of the language socialization practices of 12 mixed-language families with children aged between 0 and 2 years, where one parent was identified as a ‘Welsh speaker’ while the other was a ‘non-Welsh speaker’. The research was developed in response to the Welsh Assembly Government’s prioritizing of ‘family language transfer [as] a key component to maintaining Welsh as a family and community language’ (WAG, 2002, p. 18) and examines in detail the roles of both parents and other siblings in the language socialization process, as well as considering secondary socialization via extended family, friends, neighbours, childcare, nursery and educational provision and the community at large. This study builds upon a small number of survey-based studies of the intergenerational transmission of Welsh that have been carried out in Wales over the past 30 years (Bellin, Hughes, and Thomas, 1996; Harrison, Bellin and Piette, 1981; Lyon, 1996).

Jones and Morris’ study identified five primary factors affecting a child’s Welsh language socialization:

*1. Time Spent and Interactional Practices with Welsh-Speaking Parent*

It was the one-to-one interaction with parents which was crucial in the early language socialization of babies and young children up to two years of age. In the study sample of 12 families, the mother was the principal carer of all but one of the children. The usual practice within the study families was for the Welsh-speaking parent to speak Welsh when alone with their child or when addressing the child directly in the presence of the non-Welsh speaking parent. All the children’s parents used English when talking to each other, and often the Welsh-speaking

partner spoke English with the child when the non-Welsh speaking partner was present. It was, therefore, the amount of time the child spent *alone* with the Welsh-speaking parent that was a significant factor in the early language acquisition of the child. In this study, children were, consequently, more likely to acquire Welsh during their early language socialization if their mother was the Welsh-speaking parent.

Research in several other countries also recognizes the key role of the mother in shaping a child's minority language socialization. In the Basque Country, for example, Larañaga (1986) indicates that the mother's role is far more determining than that of the father's with regard to children's Basque language acquisition. In the absence of minority language socialization research which documents in detail the people and practices that shape and socialize a child's minority language development, then there is a tendency, as Jaffe (1999) has argued in a study of language shift on Corsica, for women to be blamed for language shift.

### *2. Involvement of Welsh-Speaking Grandparents*

Of all the extended family members, grandparents were the most involved in the language acquisition of the child, particularly the maternal grandparents, and especially the maternal grandmother. In two-thirds of the families in the Welsh study, the maternal grandmother was the 'second carer', after the mother. Parental decisions regarding the language of other childcare provision involving non-family members are also crucial in facilitating the early minority language appropriation of children in working families. A study in Catalonia (O'Donell, 2001) shows that the babysitters, *senyores de fer feines*, and nannies employed in the home to care for young children are typically female and non-Catalan speakers.

### *3. The Role of Older Siblings*

The five young children in the Welsh study who had older siblings spent a significant amount of time in their company and it was evident that the siblings' practices of play, watching TV, using the computer, reading, eating, going places and doing various other activities all contributed to the youngest sibling's early language socialization. It was also evident that parental decisions regarding their oldest child's language of education had a direct impact upon the language practices of the home and significantly increased the family's use of Welsh. Data on intergenerational language use in other European contexts tends to focus on parent/child interaction so that information on the part siblings

play in a child's minority language socialization is very limited (see, for example, Barron-Hauwaert, 2004).

#### *4. Language Background, Language Values, and Language Practices of Parents and Their Extended Families*

The Welsh study demonstrates how each family's language practices were intimately shaped by the experiences and values of both parents. The language background and values of the Welsh-speaking parents were, therefore, crucial in shaping their child(ren)'s early language socialization. The study found that the parents' language of interaction with their child closely matched their own childhood language experiences in all cases.

Another important issue was how comfortable the non-Welsh speaking parents felt when Welsh-speakers spoke Welsh in their presence. In some cases, it was found that the resulting family tensions led to the Welsh-speaking partner using English in the presence of their non-Welsh speaking partner out of politeness and in order to include the non-Welsh speaker in the discussion. This tendency to use English out of politeness also extended to parents and other adults speaking English rather than Welsh with the children of the family. A study in Catalonia also reported that Catalan-speaking mothers switched to the common language in the presence of the non-Catalan speaking father in order to ensure 'domestic peace' (O'Donnell, 2001).

Numerous other studies confirm the importance of language values in shaping the dynamics of language use for all minority language groups (e.g. Frisian: Van der Plank, 1987; Arbresch in Italy: Derhemi, 2002; Albanian in Greece: Trudgill and Tzavaras, 1977). Huss (1999) refers to the negative language values which have undermined the public and private use of the 'mother tongue' by the Saami in Norway, Sweden and Finland, Tornedalians in Sweden and Kven in Norway, and the need to address these negative values in order to strengthen the efforts being made to promote children's early minority-language socialization in the home. Ó hIfearnáin (2005) shows how parents value the importance of being bilingual, which is at odds with government incentives to promote the use of Irish only in Gaeltacht homes.

#### *5. Parental Language Values and Power Relations*

In the Welsh socialization study, it was found that the language-related decisions within the families were taken mainly by one partner. In the case of those who were successfully socializing their child in Welsh, the Welsh-speaking partner was the 'language decision-maker'. Which

parent makes the language-related decisions was decided as part of the parents' negotiation of their power relations, roles and responsibilities in the household. Other studies (e.g. Helander, 1984, for Saami and Fishman, 1991, for Frisian) generally indicate that while intergenerational transmission occurs when both parents share the same minority language, this often fails completely in mixed-language partnerships. While various factors will account for this breakdown in the intergenerational use of minority languages, parental language values and their negotiated practices and decision-making roles within the household clearly merit further investigation with regard to their effect upon children's early minority language socialization.

### *Contributing Factors*

In the Welsh study, other factors contributing to minority-language socialization included community language experiences, child-minding practices and local childcare provision. The study focused upon three areas of Wales where Welsh is still at present a viable community language, but where in-migration is eroding, to differing degrees, the ability of the family and community to reproduce the language. In all three study areas, there were opportunities for the families to undertake Welsh-medium pursuits outside the family, should they wish to do so. Similarly, all the families had access to Welsh-speaking caregivers/childcare for their children, if they wished to use this facility, together with access to nursery and primary education provision which could support their efforts to ensure their children learned Welsh or could be raised bilingually.

Those parents who were already socializing their children in Welsh had selected Welsh-medium or bilingual nursery provision and primary schools. Other parents clearly saw Welsh-medium schools as a means of ensuring their child's Welsh language socialization when circumstances meant that their Welsh language socialization within the home was more limited.

The use of TV, video and DVDs was also part of the day-to-day routine of all the families, and in most families, the children watched more English than Welsh programmes. For those children with more limited use of Welsh in the home, watching Welsh TV provided some opportunity to include Welsh in their family practices. Several of the very young children were already being socialized in the use of computers. This generally involved looking at children's interactive TV-related websites in English but also included the Welsh language homework of an older sibling. Almost all the families read stories daily to their children, in both Welsh and English.

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

The findings of the Welsh study add to our understanding of minority language socialization by demonstrating that a child's minority language socialization is a complex process involving, even at a very young age, practices of interaction with a number of other family members, and friends and neighbours/acquaintances in addition to the child's parents. It is also apparent that children's socialization is bound up with their family's interaction with their local community and policy-determined provision regarding childcare, nursery and primary education, again from a very young age.

The role of the media as a socializing agent is also important and should not be underestimated. The Welsh research has started to measure the influence of the media on children's early socialization and it was obvious that it was a pervasive, and mainly English language, influence. This was despite the fact that Welsh language print and broadcasting media are relatively easy to access in Wales. By comparison, most other minority language groups in Europe have more restricted availability of broadcasting and print media in their own language, as identified by the Euromosaic project and summarized in [Table 2](#).

The effect of the media will undoubtedly increase pressure upon family language use in the future as the influence of information technology continues to develop. Minority language television is already becoming increasingly established within the European periphery, and is having a significant economic and cultural impact in Wales, Scotland, Catalonia, Euskadi, Galicia and Ireland (Williams and Morris, 2000). The huge increase in the use of electronic media over recent years poses a challenge for minority language groups, and this has started to be addressed by a number of projects designed to motivate young people in particular to develop and maintain their knowledge of the minority language (e.g. Edwards, Pemberton, Knight and Monaghan, 2002).

Another challenge for minority language areas in Europe is the great social and demographic changes they are experiencing as a result of globalization. Economic restructuring inevitably leads to significant movements of people both into and out of these areas, which in turn affects the rates of language group endogamy (Morris, 1995). Although, as we have previously argued, language group endogamy does not guarantee a high incidence of family-language socialization, nonetheless it sets in place the necessary conditions for language reproduction to occur. [Table 3](#), again from the Euromosaic project, gives an indication of the situation of minority language groups in Europe by reference to endogamy and incidence of family language use.

Table 2 Availability of Minority Language Print and Broadcasting Media According to Language Group

|  | High Availability<br>Broadcasting Media<br>(TV and Radio)  | Low Availability<br>Broadcasting Media<br>(TV and Radio)  |
|--|--|---|
| High availability print<br>media (books,<br>newspapers and<br>magazines) | Welsh, Catalan,<br>Basque, German/Italy,<br>German/France,<br>German/Belgium,<br>Swedish/Finland,<br>Galician, Irish   | Corsican, Sorbian   |
| Low availability print<br>media (books,<br>newspapers and<br>magazines)  | Basque/France, Gaelic,<br>Frisian, Catalan/<br>Valencia, Catalan/<br>Majorca, Aranese,<br>Basque/Navarre,<br>Catalan/France, Breton,<br>Friulian, Ladin,<br>Slovene/Italy,<br>Slovene/Austria,<br>Saami/Sweden,<br>Saami/Finland,<br>Luxembourgish | Cornish, Irish/<br>N.Ireland, N. Frisian,<br>E. Frisian, Portuguese/<br>Spain, Griko, Slovak/<br>Austria, Czech/Austria,<br>Dutch/France,<br>Mirandais,<br>Macedonian, Saami/<br>Finland, Asturian,<br>Saami/Sweden,<br>Arvanite, Occitan/<br>France, Aroumanian,<br>Hungarian/Austria,<br>Danish/Germany,<br>Croat/Austria, German/<br>Denmark, Turkish,<br>Franco-Provencal,<br>Sardinian, Occitan/<br>Italy, Albanese,<br>Catalan/Aragon |

(Adapted from Table 4.3, Williams, 2005, p. 123)

A related and pertinent factor in family minority language socialization is the family's perception of the prestige and value of the minority language for economic and social mobility (Williams, 2005). The absence of the minority language from economic life leads to many families abandoning the minority language in favour of the dominant language which gives opportunities for higher status employment, and thus upward social mobility.

A study of minority language socialization therefore obviously requires more than merely a study of patterns of socialization practices within families. As the agency of primary socialization, the family is

Table 3 Language Group Endogamy and Family Language Use

|                 | High Language Group Endogamy   | Low Language Group Endogamy   |
|-----------------|--|---|
| High family use | Turkish, Friulian, Ladin, Welsh, Occitan/Italy, Albanese, Galician, Asturian, Aranese, Mirandese, Catalan, Basque, Frisian, Catalan/Valencia, German/Italy, Catalan/Majorca, Luxembourgish German/Belgium, Swedish/Finland | Breton, Occitan, Vlach, Sardinian, Arvanite, Saami/Finland, Saami/Sweden, Tornedalen, Alsatian  |
| Low family use  | Basque/France, Slovene/Austria, Slovene/Italy, Danish/Germany, Gaelic, German/Denmark, Irish, Croat/Austria, Sorbian.  | Cornish, Irish/N.Ireland, N. Frisian, E. Frisian, Portuguese/Spain, Catalan/Italy, Catalan/France, Slovak/Austria, Czech/Austria, Corsican, Hungarian/Austria, Dutch/France, Franco-Provencal |

(Adapted from Table 4.1, Williams, 2005, p. 97)

of course central to any analysis. However, as this brief overview indicates, minority language socialization is a complex process that is firmly embedded within the related social context of the members of that language group. Within the family itself, the adults' negotiation of their power relations, roles and responsibilities in the household is crucial in determining their influence on children's language socialization. However, we also see that a variety of external social factors also come into play, such as the larger community, patterns of education, peer groups, family, friends and neighbours, the media and economic development. The success, or not, of socializing a child into the minority language depends upon a complex interplay of these factors.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

As we have indicated in this chapter, there is, to date, a paucity of research on minority language revitalization that is theoretically and methodologically informed by the language socialization tradition.

The Welsh study referred to in this paper is the only such study the authors are aware of in the European context which specifically investigates early language socialization in the family. As we have indicated, many of the findings of the study by Jones and Morris (2005) corroborate with some of the conclusions of other research projects conducted within different theoretical and methodological frameworks. More specifically ‘language socialization focused’ research carried out among families in other European minority language contexts would strengthen opportunities for identifying commonalities across minority language groups. There is certainly a need for such research and a political agenda within the European context which gives emphasis to ‘family language transfer’ as a key policy area. Family language transfer was, for example, the subject of the first ministerial summit meeting of the British-Irish Council held in Galway in October 2006. Family language transfer has also been one of the key themes of the Network of European Language Planning Boards (NELPB, 2005). At a time when language policy is predominantly informed by large quantitative surveys, there is an important place for the kind of perspective and insights which language socialization research can offer in this field. The agenda for further minority language socialization studies in the European context includes, therefore, the need to explore in detail the complexity of the minority language socialization dynamic, as indeed Fishman (1990, 1991) himself emphasizes in his model for reversing language shift. This would mean conducting more studies on the language socialization practices of minority language group families. There is also a need to investigate the home–school–community dynamic of minority language socialization, since the key to minority language revitalization lies in ensuring that all three support rather than weaken the minority language socialization of children.

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LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION AND GENDERED  
PRACTICES IN CHILDHOOD

INTRODUCTION

Three theories have attempted to explain how children become socialized to speak in ways that are tied to gender in their culture. First, language socialization theory introduced the idea that children learn the values and “ethnotheories” of their culture through participating in its language routines (Ochs, 1986, p. 2). As Ochs (1992) explains, “knowledge of how language relates to gender is not a catalogue of correlations between particular linguistic forms and sex of speakers, referents, addressees and the like. Rather, such knowledge entails tacit understanding of how particular linguistic forms can be used to perform particular linguistic work (such as conveying stance and social action)” in one’s community (p. 342). As novices, children have to learn the particular stances or social actions that are tied to gender in their community. A second theory, the Separate World Hypothesis (SWH), took a more universalist view. The SWH was a peer-based socialization theory that argued that as a result of spending most of their time in gender segregated groupings with peers in childhood, girls and boys grew up in separate communicative sub-cultures, and developed quite different ways of speaking and doing things with words (Maltz and Borker, 1982). This theory stimulated a great deal of research and brought the influence of peers into focus, but was faulted for essentializing gender differences. In the 1980s, a third theory, based on ethnographic studies of children’s peer groups, began to be elaborated, and it viewed “the child as member of a culture that was different from that of the adult world” (Cook-Gumperz and Kyratzis, 2001, p. 591; see Cook-Gumperz and Corsaro, 1986; Corsaro 1985, 1997; Eder, 1995; Ervin-Tripp and Mitchell-Kernan, 1977; Goodwin, 1990, 2006). In peer speech events that children organize themselves, they articulate their own norms and identities of the peer group (e.g., Goodwin, 2006; see Corsaro and Eder, 1990; Goodwin and Kyratzis, 2007; Kyratzis, 2004, for reviews of studies), and these can include ideologies related to gender.

Each of these three theories is reviewed in turn in this chapter. Both language socialization theory, which preceded the other two, and the SWH, an early peer-based theory of gender socialization, are reviewed

in the Early Developments section. Neither theory fully accounted for how children use gender categories in speech among themselves. The difficulties of the SWH in terms of essentializing gender differences are reviewed in the Problems and Difficulties section. The third theory accounted for children's agentive use of gender in talk among themselves in their peer groups, and has generated much current work; it is therefore reviewed in Work in Progress. The early contributions to that approach are reviewed under Major Contributions. Future directions are provided for the language socialization and peer group language socialization (first and third) theories.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

### *Parental Socialization of Children to Gendered Ways of Speaking*

According to theories of language socialization, "children and other novices in society acquire tacit knowledge of principles of social order and systems of belief (ethnotheories) through exposure to and participation in language-mediated interactions" (Ochs, 1986, p. 2). Thus, through observing the ways in which language is used in family routines such as dinnertime interactions, and caregiving and requesting rituals, children can become socialized to their culture's views of gender roles and power relationships between men and women. Ochs, contrasting the caregiving practices of American white middle-class (WMC) mothers and Samoan mothers, suggested that the fact "that mainstream American mothers use a simplified register pervasively has a constitutive impact on the image of women in that this practice socializes young children into an image of women as accommodating and addressee-centered" (Ochs, 1992, p. 351). In family dinnertime interactions of American WMC families, Ochs and Taylor (1995) observed a set of practices surrounding the ways in which family dinnertime narratives about events of the day were told, a "father-knows-best" dynamic that potentially diminished the status of women: "When women directed their narratives to their husbands . . . they disadvantaged themselves by exposing their experiences to male scrutiny and standards of judgment" (Ochs and Taylor, 1995, p. 117). Discussing findings of Kendall (1999), Tannen (2003) concludes that although parents may "espouse an ideology of equal co-parenting and wage-earning" in self-reports (p. 200), the ways in which mothers converse in family care-taking and mealtime routines "position themselves (mothers) as primary childcare providers and their husbands as breadwinners" (p. 200).

Parental speech not only socializes children to particular images of adult men and women in their society, but also socializes them to

images of themselves that can fall along gendered lines. Young males “routinely hear strong prohibitions and jocular names” and girls “from early infancy are spoken to in a more indirect ways” (Gleason, Ely, Perlmann, and Narasimhan, 1996, p. 215). As a result, “the language experiences of girls may thus contribute to the kind of interpersonal sensitivity and vulnerability that are often thought of as feminine traits” (Gleason, Ely, Perlmann, and Narasimhan, 1996, p. 215). Concomitantly, boys are socialized towards toughness. These “images” of males and females projected in language-mediated routines seem to be internalized by children. In formulating requests, American WMC children show more deference to fathers than they do to mothers (Ervin-Tripp, O’Connor, and Rosenberg, 1984). In role-play, preschoolers project fathers as using more direct commands and topic-shifting boundary markers and mothers as using more polite conventional request forms (Andersen, 1990). Similarly, in Aronsson and Thorell’s (1999) study of how fathers and mothers were depicted by Swedish children in role-play, they found that both girls and boys portrayed fathers as having greater rights to judge other family members and make displays of anger:

In our work, the fathers were the judges in a very concrete sense in that they were the ones who put an end to a family conflict about television viewing, by, for instance, turning off the television set, throwing it out of the house, or smashing it (Aronsson and Thorell, 1999, p. 43).

These studies of children’s role-play, and the forms of deference children themselves use in formulating requests to mothers vs. fathers, provide convincing evidence that the images of men and women that are projected by adults in family interactions are, to an extent, internalized by children. However, the relationship is not a perfect one. As noted by Kendall (2003, p. 603) in her discussion of a study by Cook-Gumperz (1995), young girls “constituted mothers as speaking with power in a make-believe game of “mummies-and-babies.” The images of men and women projected in family routines as reported for WMC families may therefore not be fully reflected in the peer role-play of children. Although WMC American mothers may be positioned as lacking authority in family conversations, WMC British and African-American working class girls do not project mothers in this way in their peer play (e.g., Cook-Gumperz, 1995; Goodwin, 1990). This lack of reflection of adult gender patterns in children’s projections of adults in role-play suggests the need for researchers to study a broader cultural range of parental socialization patterns, and to consider the possibility that children, although utilizing gender “ethnotheories” (Ochs, 1986) modeled in the adult culture, may refine these and create their own gender images and ideologies in their peer interactions.

Although particular images of men and women and girls and boys have been reported to be socialized in the family language routines of WMC American families, researchers need to consider different cultural groups, and different kinds of family circumstances, such as single-parent families, same-sex parent families, families in which both parents work (e.g., Kendall, 2003; see studies in special issues edited by Ochs and Kremer-Sadlik, 2007; Tannen and Goodwin, 2006), and families for which dinnertime is a less formal or patterned routine in which all family members do not sit down to dinner at the same time (Kendall, 2006; Nader, 1996). Family interactions do not always reveal themselves to have a pattern of father-dominance (Nader, 1996). Just as the field of language and gender research has progressed so that “researchers increasingly considered the interaction between gender and other social identities and categories” (Kendall and Tannen, 2001, p. 555), family socialization studies (such as those described in the two collections listed previously) are expanding to examine less traditionally studied family systems in a multiplicity of settings, focusing on “the situated and sequential nature of everyday family negotiations” (Aronsson, 2006, p. 624).

*Peer Socialization of Children to Gendered Speech Styles—The Separate Worlds Hypothesis*

Parents have always been regarded as having a major role in socialization of children to gender roles. However, in the 1980s, a peer-based model of gender socialization rose to prominence, called the SWH (Maltz and Borker, 1982). The hypothesis states that as a result of separated peer play in childhood, with girls playing predominantly with other girls and boys playing predominantly with other boys, and engaging in quite different activities, girls and boys evolve quite different goals for social interactions and quite different communicative styles and sub-cultures. Girls learn that talk serves “to create and maintain relationships of closeness and equality” (Maltz and Borker, 1982, p. 205) and boys learn that talk serves “to assert one’s position of dominance” (p. 207). The SWH was based on Gumperz’ (1982) work on intercultural communication and claimed that girls and boys have different sociolinguistic sub-cultures. It drew its evidence from time-sampled observations of natural peer play interactions of children in six cultures (Whiting and Edwards, 1988), which found systematic gender segregation. It also drew on findings from Goodwin’s ethnographic study of neighborhood peer groups of working-class African-American children in Philadelphia (Goodwin, 1990). Goodwin reported stylistic differences in girls’ and boys’ speech during task activities. However, Maltz and Borker (1982) did not consider the contextual

variation that Goodwin had observed in the children's speech styles in earlier work, and similarities that Goodwin noted between girls' and boys' directives and arguments (Goodwin, 1990; see Goodwin, 2006, pp. 19–20).

Although a great deal of research with WMC children supported the view that in same-sex groups girls interact so as to sustain interaction, minimize confrontation and the direct expression of control, and realize group goals, and boys interact so as to one-up the conversational partner without mitigating conflict (e.g., Sachs, 1987; see Coates, 2004, pp. 160–170 for reviews of this research), several critiques were leveled at the SWH and other dichotomous models of the relationship between gender and language. These criticisms are reviewed in the next section.

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

#### *Feminist Critiques of the Separate Worlds Hypothesis and Dichotomous Models of Gender and Language*

The problems with the SWH (reviewed in Goodwin, 2003; Kyratzis, 2001) come from feminist critiques (e.g., Bing and Bergvall, 1996; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992), and can be placed in four categories. First, gender segregation between girls and boys was found not to be as great as Whiting and Edwards' (1988) research suggested (see Goodwin, 1990, 2006; Thorne, 1993). Second, studies emphasizing gender differences are essentialist (see Goodwin, 2006) and minimize similarities that do occur between girls and boys, for example, de-emphasizing girls' self-assertion (Sheldon, 1997). A third criticism is that the model fails to consider such factors as race, social class, and culture, which have been overlooked (e.g., Bing and Bergvall, 1996; Ochs, 1992). Fourth, as suggested by Ervin-Tripp (1978, 2001), "some social settings may emphasize gender while others do not" (Ervin-Tripp, 1978, p. 28), so that researchers need to consider the influence of contextual factors on children's use of particular communicative styles, most effectively by conducting ethnographic studies following peer groups of children over different contexts of interaction (Evaldsson, 2004; Goodwin, 2003, 2006; Kyratzis and Guo, 2001). Researchers need to examine gender as locally determined "practices" of specific communities (Bucholtz, 1999; Cameron, 1997; Eckert, 2003; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992) and peer groups (Goodwin, 2006).

In addition to the critiques that came from feminist writings, another criticism that can be leveled at the SWH is that much of the research that came to support it was based on one-time observations and comparisons of girls' and boys' peer interactions that were arranged by researchers in experimental settings, rather than on ethnographic

research. Recent work on children's peer language socialization from linguistic anthropology, developmental pragmatics, and sociology, using ethnographic methods, has begun to examine how children in their peer groups build their own cultural worlds through language (e.g., Cook-Gumperz and Corsaro, 1986; Corsaro, 1985, 1997; Ervin-Tripp and Mitchell-Kernan, 1977; Goodwin 1990, 2006; Goodwin and Kyratzis, 2007; Kyratzis, 2004). In peer speech events that children organize themselves (gossip talk, conflicts, collaborative stories), they articulate their own norms and identities of the peer group, including gender ideologies (see Kyratzis, 2004, for a recent review), as the studies in the next section will illustrate.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Three classic ethnographic studies, those of Goodwin (1990), Eder (1995), and Thorne (1993), examined gender construction in children's peer groups and did much to dispel the assumptions of the SWH. First, while the studies that supported the SWH had observed WMC American girls to use indirect and less confrontational strategies to manage conflict, Goodwin (1990) found that African-American working class girls in the Maple Street group that she observed used direct commands and bald directives in certain contexts. Goodwin described talk in the Maple Street girls' group as follows: "Whereas boys' directives, especially those issued by leaders, are typically shaped as a command . . . girls' directives are constructed as suggestions for actions in the future" and as such do not show "claims about special rights over the other (as a command does)" (Goodwin, 1990, pp. 110–111). However, when enacting mothers playing house, the girls used bald directives and enacted hierarchical forms of organization, delivering "imperatives loudly with emphatic stress" (Goodwin, 1990, p. 127). The results suggest that "the girls have full competence with bald or aggravated forms of action, and also systematically use them in appropriate circumstances" (Goodwin, 1990, p. 117). The girls embraced conflict. In disputes with boys, they used direct forms of opposition, including insult terms and negative person descriptors, as well as bald directives. They told discrediting stories about non-present girls, which set up future confrontations and made their disputes more complex and extended in time than boys' disputes. As in the boys' peer group, disputes and stories played a central role in the girls' negotiation of the social organization of their peer group.

Thorne (1993) conducted an ethnographic study following the peer interactions of children enrolled in two public US elementary schools. Through fieldnotes and observations, she found girls and boys engaged in practices and games that emphasized gender boundaries. These

included practices such as teasing and labeling (e.g., “sissies”), boys and girls excluding one another or making fun of children who played with opposite-sex peers, and games such as boys chasing girls and vice versa. These “borderwork” activities tended to occur in large public settings. In contrast, the display of girls-against-boys, boundary-marking behavior by both girls and boys, was not in evidence in less public settings, such as neighborhoods, in which groupings of children tended to be mixed-age (Thorne, 1993): “Crowds provide not only many potential companions but also potential witnesses; schools are much more public environments than are neighborhoods” (Thorne, 1993, p. 53). Thorne concluded that analysts should concentrate on contextual specificity in the display of gender, “examining the social relations in which multiple differences are constructed and given meaning” and avoiding “binary abstractions” (pp. 108–109). Furthermore, analysts should pay close attention to the fact that “gender takes shape in complex interaction with other social divisions and grounds of inequality, such as age, class, race, ethnicity, and religion” (p. 109).

Another influential ethnographic study that examined children’s construction of gender inequalities through their language use in peer groups was Eder (1995). In teasing rituals, “labels like *fag*, *wimp*, and *sissy* constrain the types of behaviors in which boys can engage, while other labels, such as *slut*, *whore*, and *dog*, limit girls’ desires and sense of self” (Eder, 1995, p. 150); see also discussion of labeling practices in Eckert (2003, p. 386). All three studies, especially Goodwin’s, which relied heavily on recordings of naturally occurring conversations among children, set the tone for future ethnographic studies examining children’s naturally occurring conversations in their peer group interactions, and the uses children themselves make of gender in their peer groups.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Influenced by the ethnographies of Goodwin (1990), Eder (1995), and Thorne (1993) and by the work on children’s peer cultures, recent work on children’s construction of gender has examined gender as a contextually determined phenomenon that children invoke in their peer groups for their own purposes (see Kyratzis, 2004, for a fuller review of these studies). Current studies do not treat gender as a given. Rather, influenced by the field of Conversation Analysis, researchers examine how and whether gender is oriented to by children in their moment-to-moment interactions (Danby and Baker, 2001; Evaldsson, 2007; Goodwin, 2006; see especially Danby and Baker, 2001, p. 193; Goodwin, 2006, pp. 5–10). Current studies also examine gender construction and display in cultural groups other than WMC American children’s peer

interactions. These studies find that assumptions about girls' affiliativeness and use of mitigated conflict strategies do not hold up for working-class Latina girls (Goodwin, 2006), Mainland Chinese girls (Kyratzis and Guo, 2001); Taiwanese girls (Farris, 1991), African-American working-class girls (Corsaro, 1997; Goodwin, 1990, 2003), and Italian middle-class girls (Corsaro, 1997). Nor do they hold up for groups of girls of mixed class and ethnicity (Goodwin, 2006).

Several studies have documented contextual specificity in children's use of practices associated with gender (Coates, 1997; Cook-Gumperz and Szymanski, 2001; Evaldsson, 2004; Goodwin, 1990, 2006; Kyratzis and Guo, 2001; Nakamura, 2001; Tarim and Kyratzis, 2006). For example, girls who are skilled team players have been observed to use mitigated language when instructing less skilled team players in a sports game, but display authoritative stances towards one another (Evaldsson, 2004), and boys who lack expertise in jump rope use language forms that request permission of girls until the time when they achieve more expert status (Goodwin, 2006). Further studies examined gender as locally determined "practices" of specific communities (Bucholtz, 1999; Cameron, 1997; Eckert, 2003; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992) or peer groups, such as assessments as used by a peer group of 10–12-year-old girls "to construct notions of normative value" (Goodwin, 2006, p. 209), and use of "lexical items associated with the formal register" by members of an adolescent friendship group of adolescent "nerd" girls followed by Bucholtz (1999, p. 212). Other studies have illustrated the use of gendered practices for children's social organization (Adler and Adler, 1998; Berentzen, 1984; Danby and Baker, 2001; Evaldsson, 2002, 2007; Goodwin, 2006; see Kyratzis, 2004, for a review). Still further studies have illustrated children's subversion of gender ideologies of the adult culture in their interaction with other peers (Coates, 1997; Cook-Gumperz, 2001; Eder, 1998). These studies suggest that children provide their own construals of gender images learned from adults and use them for their own peer goals.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Future research on family socialization will be dedicated to studies of families from different cultures, as well as non-traditional families, and will study them in a multiplicity of settings. Like the studies in the special issues co-edited by Ochs and Kremer-Sadlik (2007) and Tannen and Goodwin (2006), these studies will examine how parenting occurs in a variety of naturalistic family activities, and will focus on how families work out important locally relevant and emergent moralities, identities, and transitions in their identities through the ways in which they manage the local sequential organization of their "mundane

interaction” (C. Goodwin, 2006, p. 458). C. Goodwin (2006), for example, illustrates how “participants faced with working out such issues in mundane interaction... attempt to place each other in consequential positions through detailed operations on the talk” (C. Goodwin, 2006, p. 458). Future studies will examine how identities and moralities are “embedded in and [are] an outcome of everyday family practices” (Ochs and Kremer-Sadlik, 2007, p. 5). With respect to peer interaction, future research should focus on what children themselves make of any images of males and females provided by the adult culture in their peer talk among themselves. This research will continue to rely on ethnographic methods to study children’s naturally occurring peer group talk and interaction, focusing on extended observations of the same groups of children over many contexts (Evaldsson, 2004, 2007; Goodwin, 2003, 2006; Kyratzis and Guo, 2001; Reynolds, 2007), and will focus on cultural groups other than European-American middle-class participants. Future studies will also focus on practices that might constitute gender for the children themselves (Evaldsson, 2007; Goodwin, 2006), as used in their peer and friendship groups, including uses of labels and insults (Eckert, 2003; Eder, 1995; Reynolds, 2007) as well as less explicitly gender-linked practices, such as uses of “accounts and forms of membership categorization work” (Evaldsson, 2007) and assessments (Goodwin, 2006). Another focus will be how moment-to-moment processes such as format-tying allow children to display their alignments towards one another (Danby and Baker, 2001; Evaldsson, 2004, 2007; Goodwin 2006; Goodwin and Kyratzis, 2007; Reynolds, 2007) as well as to “articulate for each other what they are doing, [and] how they expect others to participate in the activity of the moment” (Goodwin, 2006, p. 21; see Goodwin and Kyratzis, 2007, for an overview of several studies along these lines). By following children ethnographically, over many settings of play and interaction, future studies will focus not only on children’s use of gender-consistent images, but also on uses of counter-gender stereotypes, focusing, for example, on girls’ authoritative language strategies and exclusion in peer groups (Evaldsson, 2007; Farris, 1991; Goodwin, 2006; Griswold, 2007) or boys’ uses of gossip in their friendships (Cameron, 1997). In these ways, researchers can examine what children make of gender categories learned from the adult culture for their own purposes.

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## **Section 3**

### **Language Socialization and Schooling**

## LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION IN SCHOOLS

### INTRODUCTION

In modern Western nation-states, schooling, or institutionalized education, has come to be seen as the normative activity through which knowledge and mores are passed down to the younger generation. Traditionally, in the USA at least, education has been researched from psychological and sociological perspectives. In recent years anthropology has increasingly contributed to schooling research, with language socialization exemplifying a particular attention to the lives of children as they engage in everyday institutionally organized learning activities.

As noted in other chapters in this volume, the language socialization paradigm proposes that participants are socialized *through* language as well as *to* use language (Ochs and Schieffelin, 1984; Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986).<sup>1</sup> As a field primarily concerned with the linguistic and social development of individuals across the lifespan, language socialization has, since its inception, understood schools and other educational institutions as integrated parts within, and thus sites for, these processes of socialization (Heath, 1983; Ochs, 1988; Schieffelin, 1990; Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986). At the core of language socialization studies that look at school contexts is the notion that schools play a role in reproducing the social order.

While continuing to address fundamental questions concerning language development, language socialization studies expand educational concerns by examining the broader dimensions of the socialization process. From studies of student-to-student exchanges, to storytelling practices, classroom recitation, and second/foreign/heritage language learning, language socialization studies illustrate how competencies might be acquired or negotiated in moment-to-moment interactions, and yet project historically contingent dispositions. Language socialization studies thus understand schools, classrooms, and other educational

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<sup>1</sup> We recognize that the term “language socialization” is used broadly by various scholars to refer to two approaches (cf. Baquedano-López and Kattan, 2007; Kulick and Schieffelin, 2004: (i) as a theoretical and methodological paradigm (cf. Ochs and Schieffelin, 1984; Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986) and (ii) as a theme of study (cf. some of the works in Bayley and Schechter, 2003). The studies reviewed in this chapter generally follow the first approach.

settings such as churches, community centers/after-school programs, and youth groups, not as self-contained and autonomous communities, but rather as interdependent and interrelated parts of a broader process of communicative competence acquisition that spans an individual's lifetime and experiences. Less an idealized process, and more a dynamic and contested one, language socialization is an intersubjective accomplishment that requires the active co-construction and participation by novices and experts around culturally meaningful goals, such as classroom lessons, group work activities, or even individual seat work.

In this chapter, we first present some of the sociological foundations to the study of schooling that have been taken up in language socialization research. We discuss more fully language socialization research in schools and its influences on the study of schooling. We provide as well a critical review of some long-standing and more recent interpretations, tenets, and assumptions of language socialization research in schools. As the field grows and expands, language socialization research must re-examine and test the viability of its theoretical assumptions. Our critical perspective here is undertaken in the spirit of this quest to identify new and productive research trajectories.

#### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

When Schieffelin and Ochs (1986) first elaborated on a new paradigm for language socialization, proposing not only the centrality of language in socialization processes, but that language was an end of socialization itself, they drew in large part on the work of social scientists who had examined how people interacted across social groups and situations and how those interactions related to actual and future cultural and social, including educational, opportunity. The concern with understanding everyday participation in social and institutional practices as habitual and structured by sociohistorical antecedents and as having a reproducing force (Bernstein, 1974; Bourdieu, 1979; Giddens, 1979, 1984) was a generative point in the early framing and development of the language socialization paradigm (Ochs, 1988, p. 4; Schieffelin, 1990, p. 15). This commitment has been avidly taken up by language socialization researchers who have provided analytical and methodological focus to theorizations on social reproduction (see Kulick and Schieffelin, 2004). At a time when sociolinguists became increasingly concerned with the properties of language use in the classroom (cf. Cazden, John, and Hymes, 1972; Cook-Gumperz, 1977), Basil Bernstein's (1974) empirical studies of home and school language use in England provided a starting point for understanding the enduring qualities of the socialization process. Indeed, as we discuss later in this chapter, a strand of language socialization research has attended

to this relationship. Bernstein's studies were innovative in that they viewed schools not merely as sites where learning took place, but rather as loci for reproduction of social inequalities along class lines. Bernstein's work challenged notions of compensatory education, a notion which, in his words, was "introduced as a means of changing the status" of children who were at the time considered to be "the culturally deprived, the linguistically deprived, the socially disadvantaged" (Bernstein, 1974, p. 190). A strong version of his perspective on school inequality fueled much educational concern and research trying to understand in what ways the socialization of home language practices failed to align with socialization to school norms and linguistic codes. The impetus of this work, however, was not to democratize society through the school system, but to underscore that those social inequalities existed through and were manifested in linguistic codes.

Perhaps the most well known of Bernstein's findings was his distinction between elaborated and restricted codes, which indicated the degree to which speakers assume common background knowledge and thereby employ linguistic means to represent this shared understanding (see Williams, *Language Socialization: A Systemic Functional Perspective*, Volume 8). Specifically, in the case of restricted codes, speakers, during the recounting of events, assume a great deal of background knowledge and therefore may be more inclined to utilize relative pronouns without making explicit prior reference. In the case of elaborated codes, speakers assume less shared background knowledge and are therefore more explicit in making that context available to their interlocutors. Bernstein and his colleagues found that restricted codes were commonly used among working class families, which made for the argument that there is a reproductive nature to education when children cannot participate fully in the normative, expected use of elaborated codes favored in classrooms. It is important to note that this division between restricted and elaborated codes was derived from empirical studies which carefully matched the use of linguistic code with class. In subsequent studies, these views were challenged on the grounds that the theory did not account for findings reported in other studies on working class communities (cf. Labov, 1972). However, Bernstein did not claim that the code variation was a constant across all societies. Rather, Bernstein pointed to the notion that, in many instances, the linguistic and cultural practices of the school are discontinuous with the linguistic and cultural practices of the students' homes.

The role of institutions and their effects on social actors has also been emphasized by Giddens (1984), whose theory of Structuration continues to inform language socialization research more generally, but particularly across social institutions. Giddens viewed the relationship between the individual (in his words the *social subject*) and the

social structure (in his words the *social object*) as recursive, contending that schools, like other social institutions, are made possible through the continuity of purposeful, agentive human activity. That is, in contrast with structural and phenomenological approaches to the study of structure and human action, Giddens viewed human social activities as the ways that individuals recreate the very structures that define them as social beings and which make those activities possible (1984, p. 2).

Whereas Bernstein examined how school practices did not align with home practices in terms of linguistic code and Giddens viewed schools as extensions of human activity, Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), on the other hand, contended that schools serve to reproduce the very social structures which recognize the school as legitimate. For Bourdieu and Passeron, schools act as venues in which cultural and social norms are reified and reinforced, only to further propagate those norms beyond the school setting. Yet, this relationship is not a deterministic or static one, for it also allows for its own forms of resistance and change:

Every institutionalized education system owes the specific characteristics of its structure and functioning to the fact that, by the means proper to the institution, it has to produce and reproduce the institutional conditions whose existence and persistence (self-reproduction of the system) are necessary both to the exercise of its essential function of inculcation and to the fulfillment of its function of reproducing a cultural arbitrary which it does not produce (cultural reproduction), the reproduction of which contributes to the reproduction of the relations between groups or classes (social reproduction).  
(Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977, p. 54)

This threefold relationship between the institution, the culture which supports and enables it (and which it supports and enables), and the social relations and hierarchies of that culture which are relived and reinforced through the institution, is made manifest, necessarily and accordingly, in the local interactions of actors who through their actions rely on and recreate the system. Early language socialization work provided the empirical basis to examine these notions of codes and reproduction in ways that both drew upon and departed from these terms. We now turn to some of this foundational work.

The sociocultural turn in linguistics and psychology, as witnessed primarily in the works of Hymes (1972), Gumperz (1968, 1982), Labov (1972), Scribner and Cole (1981), and Vygotsky (1978), sparked an interest in the social dimensions of language acquisition. From an educational perspective, Ochs' (1988) study of grammatical and cultural development in Falefaa, Western Samoa, revealed how Western values were taught during literacy activities in the local missionary church. Through the teaching of an alphabet tablet in Samoan, children learned

to identify sounds represented on this tablet as indexical of Western culture. While Ochs did not look at other systems of education, her investigation of the practices of the missionary church provided a language socialization view into the ways that even seemingly new systems reproduce themselves. Schieffelin's (1990) work in Bosavi, Papua New Guinea, documented how the introduction of Western literacy and schooling by missionaries began to change the language and worldview of the Kaluli, illustrating the embeddedness of literacy practices within broader cultural contexts. Schieffelin's work in this area of literacy development has covered a span of over 30 years looking at this dramatic change (Schieffelin, 2000). In both cases, these two studies, through a language socialization perspective, showed how the linguistic practices of formalized education both reflected the processes of colonization and drove those processes forward.

Shirley Brice Heath's (1983, 1986) ten-year ethnographic study of literacy practices across three communities in the Piedmont Carolinas challenged Goody and Watt's (1968) oral-literate dichotomy in claiming that it failed to recognize "the ways other cultural patterns in each community affect the uses of oral and written language" (Heath, 1983, p. 344). Heath concluded that in order to break the cycle of reproduction, "the boundaries between classrooms and communities [must] be broken . . . and the flow of cultural patterns between them encouraged" (p. 369). Heath's work was especially influential in promoting what has come to be known as a cultural mismatch theory of schooling, the notion, similar to Bernstein's earlier work, that the practices of the home do not match the practices of the school.

In these three selected foundational studies we see how theories of socialization and reproduction come to be enacted through everyday practices in ways that provide analytical focus to the social theories that consider habitual ways of participating in social activities as reproductive of the social order. The authors show (in what will become an important concept in later language socialization studies in schools) how actors, in their local interactions, draw on broader global practices which are in turn constituted by these microlevel processes.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS: RECENT STUDIES

Recent language socialization studies have built upon the perspectives and insights of these earlier works by contributing to the ways in which we may understand the relationships between social structures, institutional processes, and local practices. Most significantly, we can distinguish three fundamental contributions that both draw on and enhance the theoretical insights of Bernstein, Giddens, and Bourdieu and

Passeron on the one hand, and the anthropological ones of Heath, Ochs, and Schieffelin on the other.

The first set of language socialization studies reviewed below have examined the ways in which *continuities and discontinuities* across culturally organized domains influence and are influenced by daily practices of actors and groups, thus showing how diversity across social settings leads to, or at least affects, actors' successful participation in different contexts. Language socialization studies of schooling in the second set have offered a view into the ways *social institutions both enact and reform wide-ranging social processes*. Thus, whereas in the first set of studies we see group practices being centralized, the second perspective highlights the work of the institution in reflecting and reproducing broader sociological change. Finally, some studies within the language socialization paradigm have made explicit the relationship between groups' *ideologies about their practices and their day-to-day conduct*, and these are reviewed in the third set below.

It is important to note that to use these terms is not to say that one set of studies focuses on sociological practices while another looks at ideological ones. Rather, each term is meant to capture a general perspective rather than a method or disciplinary orientation. These categories are not necessarily those by which researchers frame their studies; rather, they are a means for us to organize the contributions language socialization studies have made to an understanding of the ways schools function in society. While each of the studies discussed here illustrates to one degree or another each of these three contributions, we organize our review of these works in such a way that we believe best highlights or frames the thrust of the perspective under discussion. In the remainder of this chapter we will consider the ways in which these analytical foci have framed the study of social reproduction in schools, at least from a language socialization perspective, and the insights they have provided into the work of schools in society.

### *Continuity and Discontinuity Across Domains*

As intimated in the review of Heath's work, an examination of discontinuities across home and school language and literacy practices has proven to be a productive means by which to examine how schools perpetuate, and are indeed structured by, social inequalities. Much of the recent work in language socialization that has considered questions of discontinuity between home and school contexts has looked at school-going populations who learn the language used in school as their second language (Moore, 1999, 2004; Nielsen, 2002; Willett, 1995). Moore (2004), for example, looked at Fulfulde children who learned French and Koranic Arabic at two different school sites in

Cameroon. Moore compared the socialization practices at home and at the two school sites and found that the practice of *Guided Repetition* in the public French school and in Koranic instruction, and its recent surfacing in first language socialization practices, “is realized in different ways, for the languages, texts, institutional settings and identities involved are rooted in socially, culturally, and historically distinct traditions” (Moore, 2004, pp. 457–458). Moore illustrates that while the settings draw on different traditions, the importation of one literacy practice from one site to another bridges those otherwise separate sites. In other words, Moore’s data illustrate two processes. On the one hand, they show that socialization at different sites draws on different histories. On the other, they show that those sites are permeable and inter-related. Moreover, the participants acting in these different sites draw on practices from each of the sites in ways that make these practices intertextual (Bakhtin, 1986; Briggs and Bauman, 1992; Hanks, 2000).

In a similar vein, in her ethnographic study of one white, working-class boy’s literacy development across home and school contexts, Nielsen (2002) looked at how Josh, the child in her study, was socialized differently across his home and school worlds. While acknowledging that these worlds are historically and socially embedded, Nielsen sees them as distinct and overlapping (2002). Thus, in the same way as Heath (1983), Nielsen concludes that home–school partnerships offer both benefits and problems for the child’s education (Nielsen, 2002). Teachers’ prejudices regarding socioeconomic class and single-parent households, she contends, often painted the ways they perceived Josh’s abilities. Yet, Nielsen, like Heath and Moore, in separating these worlds in the first place, makes any interaction between them necessarily problematic. This separation, it must be emphasized, exists only at the analytical level.

Discontinuity and continuity, however, should not be understood only as occurring across the home and state-sponsored elementary schools. This distinction has been used as well in reference to other educational settings. He’s (2003) study of Chinese heritage language programs for secondary learners focused on novices’ speech roles, contending that an examination of speech roles reveals a particular social and cultural organization in these classrooms that differs from mainstream English-speaking classrooms. She further contends that more research needs to be undertaken which compares socialization of the same group in more than one language. We note that since we see the process of socialization as occurring across the lifespan and across sites and contexts, we do not make a distinction between socialization to first and second languages, nor between primary and secondary socialization (Baquedano-López and Kattan, 2007). While there have been substantial efforts to separate these as distinct processes

both outside and within the language socialization paradigm, we abide by a more inclusive definition of the process of socialization that views sites and linguistic practices as inseparable parts of larger sociohistorical practices. Such a view of the processes of language socialization is reflected in work that has looked at how local interactions in schools draw upon, reflect, and reproduce larger social structures and changes.

*Institutional Structures, Social Reproduction, and Change*

Through the study of classroom routines, language socialization studies have provided insight not only into the socialization of the child to and through language, but also to the structure of the institution (Anderson, 1995; Baquedano-López, 1997, 2000; Cook, 1999; Duff, 1995; Willett, 1995). Duff (1995), for example, examines the ways that recitation routines (*felelés*) for secondary school students both reflected and enacted broader political, economic, social, and moral changes in post-Soviet Hungary. Duff illustrated that as political and social changes took place in the country, the preference for one type of classroom interaction, which was deemed to align with new and preferred democratic and capitalist values, was exhibited while forms of discourse associated with the prior regime were on the wane. This study provides an example of the bidirectional connection between macro-level changes and microlevel practices and serves as an illustration of how social change and transformation influenced cultural, in this case schooling, practices.

Willett (1995) observed the interactions of four university affiliated kindergarten language learners, three girls (Maldivian, Palestinian, and Israeli) and one boy (Mexican-American), revealing that alongside language development there are also intervening variables of social identity, gender, and class which shape the ways students' abilities are perceived by others. As the four designated English language learners in the class, the girls' participation contrasted with that of the boy in that the girls were able to work collaboratively with each other, thus being constructed as competent by the adults in the classroom. The boy, on the other hand, before being able to display academic competencies, had to establish social status among the other boys in the classroom. His efforts at this minimized his opportunities to be perceived as competent in academic tasks. Willett illustrates that in this way, social and class hierarchies, and especially gendered expectations that existed outside of the kindergarten classroom, came to weigh upon interaction in school. While Willett warns that the micropolitics of class and gender should be understood within their local, rather than a universal, context, those very micropolitics must be seen as reflecting broader social processes. That is, Willett assumes that as they participate in classroom

activities, these four English language learners establish divisions based on expected patterns and outcomes.

Baquedano-López (2000) through a comparison of narrative practices in Spanish-language *doctrina* and English-language catechism classes at a Catholic parish in Los Angeles, California, demonstrates how, through story-telling activities, teachers socialize young immigrant children to particular social identities in a transnational context (Mexican, Indian, Mexican Catholic, American). The narratives in the *doctrina* classes, for example, draw both historical and social connections between the students in the classroom and their cultural and religious heritage and experiences outside the classroom and beyond twentieth century Los Angeles. Thus, Baquedano-López illustrates how broader social, historical, and political trajectories, such as immigration, religion, and language policy, come together in the local practices of the parish. As an extension of such studies, some language socialization research has investigated not only the effects of social asymmetries in classroom interactions, but also the ideological components which lead to those asymmetries.

### *Ideological Considerations*

One analytic device used by language socialization researchers who have looked at schools as sites of change and/or reproduction has been the examination of the role of ideologies in structuring school practices (Fader, 2000, 2001; Field, 2001; Jaffe, 2001). Language ideologies are to be understood here as the moral and political dimensions of beliefs individuals and groups hold about their language, how it should be used, and to what ends.<sup>2</sup> Language socialization studies that have examined ideologies of language have often done so in settings in which two languages were in ideological contestation. That is, numerous studies have been carried out in communities that were undergoing processes of language shift, with the concept of language ideologies being used to explain how and why speakers in multilingual situations choose one language over another. Schools, within such a framework, become one of the primary sites in which the legitimacy of one language or another is contested. In an example of the ways schools reproduce social distinctions, Fader (2000, 2001), in her study of Hasidic Jews in New York City, noted that language ideologies and beliefs about gender roles, assimilation, and religious integrity structured literacy practices for girls and boys across languages, as well as the differential use of Yiddish and English among the two gender groups.

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<sup>2</sup> For reviews, see Irvine (1989), Woolard and Schieffelin (1994), Woolard (1998), and Kroskrity (2004).

Schools, she noted, became arbiters of legitimate linguistic practices especially as related to the borrowing of English words into Yiddish speech and the perception of these borrowing practices by the community at large. Similarly, Jaffe's (2001) study of Corsican language revival looked at how ethno-regionalist discourses authenticated bilingual practices as constitutive of Corsican identity through a call for mandatory bilingual education in public schools in Corsica. In another study of language shift, Field (2001) examined how despite diminishing use of Navajo and increasing use of English in the community she studied, the use of particular interactional routines, specifically the use of triadic directives, in which adults direct one child to tell another child to do something, persisted in a local preschool. All three studies showed how practices across school and community sites reflect ideological positionings that not only derive from and are changed by, but also underlie and alter social structure.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

As we mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the language socialization paradigm has provided a productive and creative means by which to examine the role of schools in the acquisition and reproduction of linguistic and cultural competence. Many of the studies reviewed in this chapter have provided evidence for the role of language in the constitution of society, including its social institutions. As the field grows, it may become necessary to reconsider some assumptions at the core of these studies.

In this chapter, we proposed three analytical insights that can help to organize the contributions made by language socialization studies of schooling practices. However, within these models, similar assumptions can be further problematized. For example, examining continuities and discontinuities across home and school sites assumes that each of those sites is bounded yet porous. Moreover, these delimitations exist in time and space. That is, in order to identify the local, artificial boundaries must first be put into place that may include notions of community, language, geo-political, and even historical configurations. Likewise, insights into the ideological elements of everyday practices presuppose potentially monolithic views of one identity and one ideological point of view. Additionally, it must be considered that while language socialization studies have generally equated demonstrable changes in displays of communicative competence with learning, it may be necessary, as language socialization studies increasingly contribute to education research, to offer a more acutely defined relationship between competence and learning. As language socialization has, since its inception, attempted to account for the ever-changing nature of

social activity and structure, efforts must be made to develop frameworks that allow this complexity to be most readily visible. Additionally, we note that this review has been conceptual rather than exhaustive. That is, while there are indeed other studies on the process of language socialization and schooling that could have been examined, the work reviewed here represents a sample of ethnographic, cross-cultural and analytic work identified as upholding the tenets of the language socialization paradigm.

### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Building on the perceived shortcomings in language socialization research noted above, we propose a set of trajectories which can further complexify the insights language socialization studies can make to educational research and to the study of language in culture. First, language socialization studies have long been concerned with the way time figures in social and individual development. The paradigm, after all, originates with a concern for showing how developmental change takes place longitudinally over the entire lifespan of both the individual and the community. It is not enough, as we have noted elsewhere, to show socialization practices at one moment in time (Baquedano-López and Kattan, 2007; Garrett and Baquedano-López, 2002). As Schieffelin (2002) recently pointed out, this involves as well considering how different communities conceive of “time” over time. Language socialization studies would do well to consider, then, what role time, both as a theme and as an organizing principle of socialization practices, plays in learning and the developmental trajectories of social subjects (Kattan, forthcoming). Finally, language socialization research should continue to problematize the core of its theoretical assumptions. As a paradigm that draws on a wealth of theoretical insights from sociology, anthropology, and social theory, language socialization is well equipped to reconsider how concepts such as bidirectionality in learning differ from the multidimensional processes of inculcation offered in Bourdieu’s concepts of habitus and field.

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LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION AND SECOND/FOREIGN  
LANGUAGE AND MULTILINGUAL EDUCATION IN  
NON-WESTERN<sup>1</sup> SETTINGS

INTRODUCTION

Language socialization research documents and theorizes the diversity of cultural paths to communicative competence and community membership. From this theoretical perspective, linguistic and social development are viewed as interdependent and inextricably embedded in the contexts in which they occur. Language socialization is a life-long process, and a collaborative one. Through participation in recurrent interactions with more expert members of the community, novices are socialized *through the use of language* and *socialized to use language* (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986).

Garrett (2006) identifies four core methodological features of language socialization research: (1) a longitudinal research design, (2) field-based collection and analysis of a substantial corpus of audio or video recorded naturalistic discourse, (3) a holistic, theoretically informed ethnographic perspective, and (4) attention to micro- and macrolevels of analysis, and to linkages between them. Taking an ethnographic and interactional discourse analytic approach, researchers identify patterns in novice–veteran interactions and study how they shape individual developmental processes. Furthermore, they seek to understand how these patterns and processes relate to community norms, values, and ideologies, as well as to large-scale social, cultural, and historical processes.

The paradigm was formulated by linguistic anthropologists Elinor Ochs and Bambi Schieffelin, both of whom had conducted extensive fieldwork in small-scale non-Western societies (Ochs in Madagascar and Western Samoa, Schieffelin in Papua New Guinea). They observed in these communities patterns of caregiver–child interactions and child language development that challenged some assumptions about first language acquisition that had emerged from research conducted almost exclusively with white middle-class Europeans and North Americans

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<sup>1</sup> The term non-Western is used here to refer to regions of the world other than Europe or those areas in which the dominant culture is European.

(such as the universality and necessity of Baby Talk). These discoveries demonstrated the need for a cross-cultural and interdisciplinary perspective on linguistic and social development, one that placed sociocultural context at the center of analysis.

In their seminal 1984 article, Ochs and Schieffelin compared “developmental stories” from Samoan, Kaluli, and Anglo-American white middle class communities. The authors identified differences in how members of these societies organized interactions with children and how they conceptualized the child and its social and linguistic development. They proposed that caregivers’ communicative behaviors were organized by and expressive of values and beliefs held by members of their social group. Thus, interactions between children and caregivers could be understood as cultural phenomena embedded in the larger systems of cultural meaning and social order of the society into which the child is being socialized.

Before long, this perspective was brought to bear on second and foreign language education. It should be noted that the distinction between second language (a nonnative language used in the speaker/learner’s daily life) and foreign language (a language studied by the speaker/learner in a formal instructional setting removed from the target language community) is a problematic one. This may be particularly true in postcolonial, multilingual contexts, where many people rarely use the “official” language outside the classroom and where the boundaries between languages are often not clear. Thus, in the following discussion I use the term Lx to refer to any language other than the learner’s native language (cf. Pavlenko, 2006).

Poole (1992) studied interactions in adult ESL classes in the USA, where she found several discourse features that resembled those of white middle-class American (WMCA) child-caregiver interactions. She argued that these features encoded and communicated cultural messages and norms of expert–novice interaction, including a preference for expert accommodation of novice incompetence and a dispreference for displays of asymmetry. Poole observed that the role of teacher is “culturally constrained and motivated” (p. 611), making efforts to change classroom discourse patterns or scripts difficult because these patterns are tied to cultural norms and the individual’s identity as culture member.

Duff (1993, 1995) examined foreign language classroom interaction in three experimental dual-language (Hungarian–English) secondary schools in Hungary. Focusing her analysis on a traditional genre of oral assessment known as *felelés* (“recitation”), she found that political and social changes in post-communist Hungary were reflected and enacted in the transformation of classroom discourse patterns in the English-medium sections of these innovative schools. Associated with

the authoritarianism of the Soviet era, the socialization practice of *felelés* broke down as new classroom interactional patterns associated with ascendant democratic values became more preferred.

These and the many language socialization studies conducted since have illuminated the social, cultural, and political organization of participants' roles, expectations, and linguistic behaviors in second/foreign language educational settings. But while a number of studies examine Lx education in mainstream, immigrant, and aboriginal minority communities in North America, Europe, and Australia, only a handful of language socialization studies of Lx education have been conducted in non-Western societies.<sup>2</sup> Yet such settings are rich sites for exploring the sociocultural nature of language teaching and learning. Many non-Western (NW) societies have undergone dramatic changes in recent decades as the result of colonialism, missionization, Western schooling, and accelerated integration into the global economy (Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo, 1992). The result is a complex and sometimes conflicting array of linguistic and cultural practices and ideologies. Many people participate in multiple speech communities and/or multiple educational traditions, giving rise to hybrid practices. While few in number, studies of Lx education in NW settings have yielded important insights that expand our understanding of both language socialization and the teaching and learning of nonnative languages. In this chapter, I discuss three core theoretical domains illuminated by this work, and I conclude with reflections on future directions and challenges.

### COMPETENCE

The concept of communicative competence is fundamental to both the language socialization research paradigm and Lx education research and practice in the West. In response to generative linguist Chomsky's (1965) explicit exclusion of sociocultural aspects of language use from his definition of competence, linguistic anthropologist Del Hymes (1972) argued that a speaker must know much more than grammar and lexicon in order to comprehend and produce speech in real situations in ways that are effective and appropriate in relation to the context.

Hymes' idea is at the heart of Communicative Language Teaching (CLT), an approach to Lx education that emerged in the 1980s and dominated for nearly two decades.<sup>3</sup> In an effort to (re)define and refine

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<sup>2</sup> Several researchers working in bi- or multilingual non-Western settings refer to schools as shapers of community language ideologies but do not provide detailed analysis of language socialization in formal educational contexts (e.g., Kulick, 1993; Obondo, 1996).

<sup>3</sup> In recent years, content-based instruction has become increasingly popular.

the objectives of language instruction and assessment, many researchers have elaborated on the concept of communicative competence. Canale and Swain (1980), for example, specify four components: grammatical, discourse, sociolinguistic, and strategic competence. Bachman's (1990) framework identifies three components—language competence, strategic competence, and psychophysiological mechanisms. Language competence comprises organizational competence and pragmatic competence, competences Bachman further divides into grammatical and textual competences and illocutionary and sociolinguistic competences, respectively.

Language socialization studies of Lx education take an ethnographic and holistic view of communicative competence and the practices through which it is developed. As Garrett and Baquedano-López (2002) state, research in this paradigm is “concerned with all of the knowledge, practices, and orientations that one needs in order to function as—and, crucially, to be regarded by others as—a competent member of (or participant in) a particular community or communities” (p. 345). Language socialization researchers seek to identify community norms, preferences, and expectations with regard to language competence and its development; to examine how they are locally enacted and negotiated; and to understand their cultural meanings and social histories. Studies of Lx education conducted in non-Western settings have proven particularly fruitful for exploring cultural variation in the ways language competence is conceived, constructed, and developed over time.

In her study of language socialization of children in a Northern Thai community into the use of two languages, Howard (2003a, b) found that children were socialized into practices of language hybridity in the classroom. Despite the fact that Standard Thai (ST) is the official school language, kindergarten children did not need to produce only or even mostly Standard Thai to be regarded as using language appropriate for the classroom. Rather, they were instructed to speak politely in their native language Kam Muang (KM) and to use the honorific particles of Standard Thai. Howard observed that this local norm for classroom communicative competence reflected wider “community perceptions about what it means to speak ST versus KM—the perception that the use of a particular honorific particle marks the boundary between languages” (2003a, p. 327).

According to Howard, this classroom norm of code-mixing emerges from two modes of teaching and caregiving that are rooted in two core values of Muang culture. An ethos of accommodation underlies a noninterventionist mode, while an ethos of respect underlies an interventionist mode. Adults are expected to accommodate children, to gauge the readiness of individual children to understand new knowledge,

and to avoid pressuring them to perform beyond their abilities and/or proclivities. On the other hand, children are expected to develop competence in community practices of respect from a very early age. Thus, teachers accepted children's code-mixing behavior, seeing it as an indicator of "readiness" (or lack thereof) to "receive" ST vocabulary, grammar, and pronunciation" (2003a, p. 327). At the same time, teachers explicitly corrected children when they failed to display respect through the use of ST honorific particles.

Communities vary not only in how they conceptualize Lx competence, but also in what they consider to be an appropriate pathway to competence. Among the Fulbe of northern Cameroon, the ability to speak and understand Arabic is highly valued. In her study of Fulbe children's apprenticeship into Arabic at Koranic school, Moore (2004a) found that the developmental trajectory Fulbe children follow in learning Arabic was quite different from those preferred in present-day Lx education in the West. As in many non-Arabophone Islamic societies, Fulbe children learn to recite and write verses of the Koran in Classical Arabic without comprehension of their lexico-semantic content. In learning to reproduce faithfully the sounds and signs of the Koran, a student achieves a first level of understanding of the sacred text that is foundational to any subsequent study of Arabic. Recent efforts to modernize Islamic education include teaching Arabic as an Lx in the way that French is taught in secular schools. However, most Fulbe object to such innovations on the grounds that they desacralize Arabic and fail to provide learners with as deep an understanding as traditional pedagogy does.

### LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES

Language ideologies—the ideas with which people “frame their understanding of linguistic varieties and the differences among them, and map those understandings onto people, events, and activities that are significant to them” (Irvine and Gal, 2000, p. 35)—are at play in any Lx educational context. Indeed, Lx pedagogies can productively be understood as constellations of ideologies about language and communication, language acquisition, human learning and development, and specific languages and the people who speak them. Language ideologies are highly salient in situations of language contact, wherein local and state ideologies are often in conflict and community members manage competing interests and ideologies. This makes Lx educational contexts in non-Western settings particularly fruitful ones in which to explore the complexity of language ideologies and their relationship with language socialization practices and outcomes.

In her research on the Caribbean island of Dominica, Paugh (2000, 2005) examined schooling as an agent of language socialization and a significant influence on the language ideologies of community members. She found many of the ideologies about the community language (Patwa) and the language of the state and school (English) that have been documented in postcolonial settings around the world. Teachers and parents alike expressed the belief that English was better adapted and necessary for personal and community development, while Patwa was “holding back” the village. Concerned that the use of Patwa would interfere with children’s acquisition of English and lead them to mix the two languages, teachers discouraged the use of Patwa in the classroom. Moreover, they encouraged parents to speak only English with their children, and parents agreed that this was important for their children’s success.

However, Paugh found that community members’ actual language socialization practices often did not match these purist, English-only ideologies. Parents code-switched frequently when speaking to and in the presence of children. While English had replaced Patwa as the primary language of the community, Patwa was believed to be better for emotionally expressive speech functions (e.g., joking, arguing, teasing, and assessing others) and was associated with “the very valuable qualities of boldness, self-sufficiency, and independence” (2005, p. 1817). The two codes had complementary roles in the community, used for different purposes and different roles, and children’s use of English and Patwa reflected their awareness of a community member’s need for both languages to participate fully in village life.

In most states, monolingualism is the preferred norm (usually in the ex-colonial language in postcolonial settings), while multilingualism is regarded as an obstacle to development and national unity. However, a fluid and complex linguistic repertoire is valued in many communities (Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994). In the Mandara Mountains of northern Cameroon, Moore (1999, 2004b) documented communicative and socialization practices that reflected and reinforced a multilingual norm among the montagnard (traditionally mountain dwelling) groups. From birth, children of this community were socialized into the use of multiple languages in complex ways for both Lx learning and interethnic/linguistic communication. At school, however, montagnard children had very little success in learning French. Moore identified several aspects of Lx classroom practice that prevented children from applying to the learning of French the language learning skills they had developed in their multilingual home environment. In particular, the French-only policy of Cameroonian schools failed to make use of—in fact, punished—the Lx learning competencies children brought to school. This study indicates that in multilingual communities, Lx

educational policy and practice rooted in a monolingual norm may have serious implications for children's additional language development and academic success.

The language socialization lens has also been trained on study abroad programs. In her study of dinnertime talk between college student learners of Japanese and their Japanese host families, Cook (2006) found these conversations to be an "opportunity space" (p. 145) for participants to be socialized into, challenge, reexamine, and transform stereotypical folk beliefs about Japanese and Westerners. She observed that the ideology of *nihonjinron* (theories on the Japanese) was reflected in dinner table discussions of topics such as language, social customs, and gender roles, and that "part of being Japanese is constituted by participating in the discourse of *nihonjinron*" (p. 147). However, dinnertime talk provided opportunities not only for the Japanese learners to participate in such discourse and to learn *nihonjinron*, but also for students and hosts to question their cultural assumptions and "to co-construct shared perspectives and emotions" through co-tellings of folk beliefs (p. 147).<sup>4</sup>

#### SOCIALIZING SUBJECTIVITIES

A central concern of most language socialization research is the development of locally intelligible subjectivities, or ways of being in the social world (Garrett, 2006; Kulick and Schieffelin, 2004). Guided by more competent interlocutors as they engage in cultural/linguistic practices, novices come to view particular behaviors, perceptions, and affective stances as appropriate to particular goals, settings, and identities (Ochs, 1988). National, ethnic, and religious identities are constructed and maintained in everyday interactions, and they may also be contested and transformed (Garrett and Baquedano-López, 2002).

This perspective informs recent research on the relationship between identity and Lx learning (e.g., Duff and Uchida, 1997; Norton and Toohey, 2001; Siegal, 1996). In this work, language learning is viewed as "not simply a skill that is acquired through hard work and dedication, but a complex social practice that engages the identities of language learners" (Norton, 2000, p. 132). Language socialization researchers who study Lx education identify patterns in classroom interaction and explore their meanings for participants. Their analyses illuminate the communicative processes through which participants teach and learn ways of feeling, thinking, and behaving that are (or come to be) associated with the target language. Most of the research in non-Western

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<sup>4</sup> See also Dufon's (2006) study of the socialization of taste of study abroad language learners in Indonesia participating in homestays.

settings has been explicitly comparative, investigating Lx socialization in two or more cultural contexts and yielding insights into the relationship between language socialization practices and the development of subjectivities.

In her study of language socialization in Koranic and public schools in Maroua, Cameroon, Moore (2004a, forthcoming) found that rote learning dominated in both schooling traditions. Moreover, Koranic recitation lessons and French oral expression lessons had the same overall organizational structure, which she called guided repetition. This language socialization practice was used to teach and learn not only Lx knowledge and skills, but preferred ways of being in the social worlds in which Arabic and French were privileged. Guided repetition was accomplished in different ways in the two contexts in order to achieve different intellectual and moral effects. Koranic schooling was meant to socialize children into reproductive competence in Arabic and traditional Fulbe and Muslim values of self-control, respect for religious authority and hierarchy, and submission to the word of God. The practice of guided repetition in the Koranic context emphasized strict discipline, reverent renderings of the text, and deference to teacher and text. At public school, children memorized and acted out dialogues crafted to teach not only generative competence in French, but also “modern” ways of acting, feeling, and thinking. Guided repetition in the classroom was often playful, and teachers used exuberant praise, liberal manipulation of the text, and rapid expert–novice role shifts to encourage students to emulate the educated, Francophone, and Cameroonian characters in the dialogues.

Meacham (2004) examined English language instruction as a cultural practice in two public high schools in Tokyo, Japan. Comparing two communities of Lx learning—one located in an elite liberal arts high school, one in a technical high school—she found that linguistic practices in the two settings were quite different and that they socialized two very different types of English-speaking Japanese subject. At the technical high school, students were socialized through what Meacham calls empathetic participant frameworks to view English as imposing or intruding. Through word choice and the structure of her elicitations, the teacher positioned students as problematic recipients of English in need of emotional support. Lessons were primarily listening activities, and when participants did produce English, it was frequently filtered through Japanese phonology. In Meacham’s words, the effect of Lx activities in this school was “to construct a kind of Japaneseness out of English incompetence” (p. 233). At the liberal arts high school, students were apprenticed into an affectively neutral

stance toward English through an analytical participant framework. Participants tended to keep Japanese and English separate in class, stressing word for word translations and maintaining English phonology when English words were inserted into Japanese utterances. In texts and activities, English was framed as an expressive tool students needed to master for the purpose of representing Japan to outsiders. Thus the “competent performance of Japanese identity [came] in being able to deftly move back and forth between the two languages” (p. 234).

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS AND CHALLENGES

Through the creation and comparison of richly contextualized accounts of Lx education in non-Western settings, language socialization researchers have generated new understandings of how language teaching and learning is shaped by the social, cultural, and linguistic systems in which it is embedded. However, many more studies are needed if we hope to document and theorize the full range of ways in which humans are apprenticed into nonnative languages. In some cases, there is a need for studies longer than is typical for language socialization research or the integration of longitudinal and cross-sectional studies. A data set spanning several years or levels of Lx education will be essential to understanding the relationship between interactional patterns and developmental outcomes of traditions like guided repetition or the non-interventionist mode of Muang teachers.

A handful of studies of Lx classroom interaction in non-Western settings have illuminated the organization, function, history, and impact of teacher-centered, rote pedagogies in postcolonial settings (Hornberger and Chick, 2001; Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo, 1992; Wright, 2001). Such practices are the object of reform in many nations. However, reform efforts are rarely grounded in an anthropological understanding of locally, regionally, and globally organized sites of Lx educational practice, based instead on the assumption that Western approaches to language education are superior and universally applicable (Kachru, 1991; Pennycook, 1989). Schieffelin and Ochs (1996) stress that a “defining perspective of language socialization research is the pursuit of cultural underpinnings that give meaning to the communicative interactions between expert and novice within and across contexts of situation” (p. 255). Such a perspective is crucial to the successful development and dissemination of language education policies and practices that will be more inclusive of and effective for underserved populations in non-Western settings and worldwide.

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## LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION AND LANGUAGE SHIFT AMONG SCHOOL-AGED CHILDREN

### INTRODUCTION

Language socialization research examines how novices are socialized into communities of practice across the life course, including how they are socialized to use language appropriately in culturally significant activities, and how they are socialized through language into local values, beliefs, theories, and conceptions of the world. Adopting an ethnographic, discourse analytic approach, this research has illuminated the local, contingent, and contested nature of language socialization as it occurs through language in moment-by-moment interactions between social actors who construct their social worlds together through discursive action. Language socialization research seeks linkages between this local level at which culturally significant activities are constructed by participants, the social structures and institutional settings of a community, and larger political and economic processes of globalization, modernization, and social change. The goals, trajectories, and practices of language socialization vary across cultures as local conceptions and theories of language, childhood, child development, personhood, teaching, and learning vary. Many language socialization studies conducted in multilingual societies have explored the interconnections between the process of language socialization and widespread processes of language change, maintenance, and shift. Focusing on research conducted in multilingual communities outside the USA, this chapter examines the role of language ideologies, schooling, home-school connections, and peer/sibling groups in school-aged children's language socialization, and the impact of this process on language shift.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Much of the early, pioneering work on language socialization examined small-scale monolingual societies, focusing in particular on caregiver-child interactions in the home (Ochs, 1988; Schieffelin, 1990). These early studies laid the groundwork for later research on more linguistically heterogeneous communities by examining how children come to

master a multiplicity of language practices, language varieties, registers, and genres, as well as the social, political, moral, and aesthetic loading of this linguistic repertoire (Clancy, 1986; Ochs, 1988; Schieffelin, 1996). This emphasis on the socially distributed character of a community's linguistic repertoire and cultural knowledge has provided a useful lens into the dynamic process of cultural and linguistic reproduction and transformation in situations where two or more codes are spoken, as well as the role of various socializing institutions and settings in this process.

A major focus of language socialization research in multilingual settings has been to examine how language ideologies—"shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world" (Rumsey, 1990)—are contested, negotiated, and transformed in conjunction with other processes of social change, including language change and language shift. During the process of language socialization, community members transmit information to novices about cultural norms and expectations regarding how to use language appropriately, what it means to speak a language, what it means to learn a language, and how different codes and varieties construct and index various social identities and roles. Such language ideologies also underlie socialization practices that may impact language shift. While sociolinguistic research has often attributed language shift to macrosociological factors such as migration, industrialization, modernization, and the workings of government institutions (such as the public schools), linguistic anthropologists argue that the analysis of everyday social practices yields a more nuanced understanding (Gal, 1978; Kulick, 1992). As Kulick notes, "to evoke macrosociological changes as a 'cause' of shift is to leave out the step of explaining how such change has come to be interpreted in a way that dramatically affects everyday language use in a community" (Kulick, 1992, p. 9).

In his groundbreaking study of the small and isolated village of Gapun in Papua New Guinea, Don Kulick (1992) explores the mediating role of language ideologies in the process of language socialization, which underlies children's declining use of the local vernacular, Taiap, in favor of Tok Pisin, an important national language of New Guinea. In Gapun, each of these language varieties has become associated with particular images of social persons through larger processes of modernization and globalization (Kulick, 1998). This research illustrates how "positive and highly valued aspects of the self"—including *hed* (a bold, independent side of the self), and *save* (a cooperative, social side of the self)—"come to be bound to expression through a particular language" (1992, p. 262). As children are socialized into these cultural conceptions of personhood, they are also socialized to associate particular discursive practices, including language choice, with different modes of the self. As the display of *hed*

has increasingly become indexically linked to undesirable characteristics, such as stubbornness, backwardness, and selfishness, the use of vernacular speech genres and styles has become more restricted, leading, in turn, to a process of language shift. This growing ambivalence toward the vernacular is reflected in language socialization practices, despite adult discourses that value Taiap and reflect a desire for children to learn it. Local theories regarding the teaching and learning of languages, in which adults blame their children for willfully rejecting the vernacular and downplay the caregivers' role, were also shown to play a role in language shift.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Following Kulick's findings, many language socialization studies in multilingual societies have explored how school-aged children's use of the local vernacular is impacted by language ideologies that underlie language socialization practices, including the speaking practices of adults to which children are exposed, adult responses to children's use of the community's languages, and restrictions on children's language use in the home. These language ideologies include evaluations of the relative status and prestige accorded to different language varieties, local theories about children's ability to learn various language varieties, the attribution of responsibility for teaching and/or learning these varieties, and how identity and personhood are linked to various codes in the community's linguistic repertoire.

Language ideologies have varied effects and are rooted in particular social positions. Not only are they consciously held ideas that are expressed in explicit discourses, but they are also implicitly embodied in, and constituted by, social practice. Because ideologies render certain practices invisible, the linkage between community evaluations of its language varieties and the process of language shift is not straightforward. A key finding of language socialization research in multilingual settings has been that there is often a gap between explicit discourses valorizing a particular language variety and the implicit evaluation constituted by socialization practices. While adult discourses often stigmatize a particular variety and disfavor its use by and to children, adult interactions with children instantiate competing evaluations of that language variety through practices that forge indexical linkages to desired social positions and affective displays. Kulick (1992) shows that villagers in Gapun express a strong desire for children to learn the vernacular, Taiap; these same caregivers, however, use Tok Pisin, rather than the vernacular, to emphasize a point or to control their children, implicitly socializing a positive evaluation of Tok Pisin as the language of adult authority and control. Caregivers in Gapun also ignore

or criticize their children's use of the vernacular, unintentionally discouraging its use by children. Other studies have found a similar but contrasting dynamic in which explicit discourses reproduce dominant ideologies promoting a standard or national language, while adult socialization practices link the vernacular to adult authority and control, and to particular affective displays. Paugh (2001), for example, found that adults in Dominica maintained a purist English language ideology, while engaging in practices that associated the vernacular (Patwa) with desirable adult domains of authority and interaction. In Loyd's (2005) research, adults in Nicastro, Italy generally expected children to speak and be addressed in Standard Italian, while, in practice, Nicastrese was associated with adult control through scolding, and with positively affect-laden activities such as joking and displaying affection. Similarly, Garrett (1999, 2005) found that although caregivers in St. Lucia expected children to use only English, they socialized children to curse and to assert themselves in the vernacular, Kweyol.

In addition to the mediating role of local ideas about language status, prestige, and social positioning in adult language practices, language socialization studies across cultures have explicated the role of local theories of child development, learning, caregiving, and teaching in children's language socialization (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986). Studies conducted in multilingual societies have illustrated that cultural conceptions and theories of how languages are learned, in which order, and with what degree of difficulty underlie a range of socialization practices and outcomes. Communities vary in the degree of responsibility that is placed on the learner versus the caregiver in teaching/learning a language, and different languages are associated with different processes of acquisition. Often children, rather than parents or teachers, are believed to be primarily responsible for learning (or failing to learn) the vernacular. Community members in many societies believe that the vernacular is acquired naturally by children and with little effort; children who fail to acquire it are characterized as willfully rejecting it. Such ideologies, in turn, underlie adults' failure to recognize the consequences of socialization practices that disfavor the vernacular (Augsburger, 2004; Garrett, 1999, 2003; Howard, 2003; Paugh, 2001; Sandel, 2003). For example, Augsburger's (2004) research among the Isthmus Zapotec of Oaxaca Mexico showed a dynamic similar to that found by Kulick (1992): in a context in which children's use of Zapotec in the home is suppressed, the responsibility for learning this language is placed squarely on the child, and children who do not acquire it are said to lack the desire to do so.

The belief that the more prestigious language variety in one's community requires more effort to learn leads to a policy, by some families, of restricting or forbidding the use of the vernacular in the home, often

due to a theory that the vernacular will interfere with children's acquisition of the more prestigious language variety. Such suppression of the vernacular at home is often influenced by school language policies (Howard, 2003; Luykx, 2003; Moore, 2004, 2006; Paugh, 2001). Schools are powerful socializing agents in promoting monolingualism and purist language ideologies among parents in their communities (Augsburger, 2004; Jaffe, 1999; Paugh, 2001; Sandel, 2000). Adults who had, in their childhood, been submitted to draconian language policies forbidding their use of the vernacular at school in turn perceive that their own difficulties in school resulted from their family's use of the vernacular at home. These parents believe they can help their children succeed in school and in the larger society by facilitating their early acquisition of the school's language at home. In many communities, the vernacular is believed to interfere with children's acquisition of the language of instruction, and some families consequently adopt the strategy of using only the school's language with children in the home (Augsburger, 2004; Garrett, 1999; Howard, 2003; Jaffe, 1999; Paugh, 2001; Sandel, 2000). Other caregivers may adopt baby talk registers from the more dominant language variety, while maintaining the vernacular for other home uses (Luykx, 2003; Riley, 2001). Sandel (2003) showed that a shift in beliefs about language learning have led to a shift in such family language practices in rural Taiwanese homes. He showed that while parents in this setting had once suppressed the vernacular for similar reasons, they now believe that children's exposure to Mandarin through media and the schools will be sufficient for their acquisition of that language and are increasingly making efforts to speak the vernacular (Tai-gi) with children in the home.

"Family language policies" (Luykx, 2003) suppressing the use of the vernacular can lead to problematic language use and interaction in the home. For example, the language spoken at home may in fact be a nonstandard variety of the language of instruction that is misrecognized as the standard language (Garrett, 1999, 2003), the caregivers may vary widely in their proficiency in the language of home interaction (Augsburger, 2004; Sandel, 2000, 2003), and certain forms of local knowledge may be withheld by caregivers in the interest of avoiding speaking to children in the vernacular (Augsburger, 2004).

Instructional practices at school also transform caregivers' treatment of the vernacular in the home leading, for example, to explicit, school-like instruction of the vernacular in the home. Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo (1992) found, in the Solomon Islands, that "many of the interactional routines parents and other caregivers use with young children are similar in form and function to those used by white middle class, American parents and evaluated by American educators as essential for developing preschool skills" (p. 21). Riley (2001) showed that

adults in the Marquesas believe that children require explicit instruction not only in French, but also in the vernacular, 'Enana. These caregivers use syncretic socialization practices at home, including explicit modeling, prompting, and guided performance to "teach" children the "proper" uses of both languages. Moore (2004, in press) found that school instructional practices have been "diffused" into the home setting among the Fulbe in Cameroon. The practice of "guided repetition," used pervasively both in the Koranic school setting and in public school French language instruction, has filtered into the socialization of traditional folk tales in the home. Whereas children traditionally learned folk tales in the vernacular (Fulfulde) through intent observation of their performance by adults over time, caregivers have recently begun using guided repetition as a means of eliciting performances from children.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Language socialization studies in multilingual societies outside of North America have focused their analysis largely on the home and community settings. The close analysis of classroom interaction at school has not been a major focus of most of these studies, although many include some description of a limited number of participant observations in the classroom (see Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001, for classroom studies from a range of perspectives). Discourse analytic research on how children use both the language of instruction and the vernacular in social interactions at school and with their peers would greatly contribute to our understanding of the process of language maintenance and shift in multilingual communities.

Some research has shown, for example, that children's classroom interactions in the language of instruction at school may be problematic. Teachers in these settings may not be fluent or well trained in these languages, especially in rural settings, so their use of the language of instruction in the classroom may be formulaic and decontextualized, and characterized by rote repetition, choral response, formulaic talk with predictable rhythms, intonation, and exaggerated gestures, as well as language that lacks conventional meaning (Augsburger, 2004; Chick, 1996; Hornberger and Chick, 2001; Kulick, 1992; Moore, 1999, 2004; Watson-Gegeo, 1992; Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo, 1992). These interactional styles prevent the children's active participation in the classroom, such as asking questions, creatively using the materials being taught, or using the language for expressive purposes (Kulick, 1992; Watson-Gegeo, 1992; Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo, 1992). Some authors attribute these language practices to a "banking" model of education in which learning by rote memorization dominates. Chick and

Hornberger (Chick, 1996; Hornberger and Chick, 2001), however, note that this style of interaction is a social practice allowing both teachers and students to save face in cases where engaging in more spontaneous and communicative dialog would expose their lack of competence in the language of instruction. These “safe-talk” practices also hinder learning and “contribute to the continuing marginalization of language minorities in social and policy contexts of long-term oppression” (Hornberger and Chick, 2001, p. 52).

Few traditional language socialization studies have examined whether and how the local vernacular, rather than the language of instruction, is used in school and how teachers treat its use by children. Children are often explicitly instructed to use the language of instruction, and they are sometimes corrected, reprimanded, or their speech is repaired by teachers when they use the vernacular (Howard, 2003, 2004; Jaffe, 1999; Moore, 1999; Paugh, 2001). Nonetheless, the vernacular is often used at school in a variety of ways. For example, Howard’s (2004) research in a Northern Thai village school showed that although school policy promotes Standard Thai as the language of instruction, the vernacular (Kam Muang) is used by both teachers and students in a number of hybrid language practices that reflect competing models of conduct, including accommodation, respect, and social hierarchy. Standard Thai is metadiscursively associated with the display of formality and respect, whereas the vernacular is understood to be a language of intimacy or in-group membership.

Children’s social lives include interactions in a wide range of settings in ever-expanding social networks requiring new and creative uses of their linguistic repertoires (Hoyle and Adger, 1998). As part of this expanding social life, children’s peer, sibling, and play interactions constitute a rich site of language socialization. The language varieties and styles that children use in peer and sibling interactions and the particular ways they deploy their linguistic repertoire, strongly impact and may have profound implications for language change, maintenance, and shift.

School-aged children’s language use has a profound impact on interactions in the home setting. As children’s social networks expand, they bring new language practices into their interactions at home, especially for interaction with their siblings. These new sibling language practices in turn have an impact on how caregivers interact with children at home. The findings of language socialization research suggest that this process is mediated by language use in peer groups: It is the language practices of the peer group, rather than those of the school per se, that seem to be adopted by school-aged children. Children whose vernacular is privileged at home may establish the school’s language as a peer code, often teasing and reprimanding their peers for using

the vernacular (Luykx, 2003; Makihara, 2005; Riley, 2001). Riley (2001), for example, found that children in the Marquesas learn the vernacular in early childhood at home, but as French is adopted with their peers at school they increasingly use French in the home with their siblings. Caregivers react by using more French with their children in the home “citing their perception that the children are more competent in that code” (Riley, 2001, p. 566). Makihara (2005) showed that, although many children on Easter Island are already Spanish dominant, those children who are dominant in the vernacular, Rapa Nui, rapidly switch to Spanish when they enter preschool because it is the language of their peers. Even when adults continue to address children in Rapa Nui, the children do not reciprocate and respond instead in Spanish or syncretic Spanish/Rapa Nui. When this happens, adults often accommodate to their children by switching to these same language varieties.

Where the family language policy suppresses the vernacular at home, children in some communities adopt and deploy the vernacular in their peer groups to varying degrees, sometimes as the preferred medium of interaction (Augsburger, 2004; Fader, 2000; Paugh, 2005). Children and adults sometimes position the school language in opposition to the language of peer interaction, constructing a subaltern prestige for the vernacular or another syncretic variety of language. For example, Augsburger (2004) found that, even in Zapotec homes that have aligned to the school-fostered ideology of using only Spanish in the home, children learn the vernacular at school as a language of peer interaction, which in turn leads to increased use of Zapotec to children by adults. Children’s skills in Zapotec genres such as joking and teasing are viewed as “anti-school” so “Zapotec becomes useful as delimiting a play or peer space opposed to the Spanish of teachers and classroom, and may be particularly treasured because of this” (p. 282).

Recent studies point to the importance of carefully analyzing how children use language within their peer groups. Children often use syncretic varieties of language, and multiple code-mixing or code-switching practices, which are differentiated from adult uses of language in other domains with possible implications for language change and language shift (Augsburger, 2004; Garrett, 2005; Howard, 2003; Makihara, 2005; Paugh, 2005; Sidnell, 1998). Children’s social worlds are actively constructed by children themselves, who are managing the contingencies of childhood in moment-by-moment interactions. Paugh (2005) found that, although children in Dominica were more proficient in English than the vernacular (Patwa), they used Patwa among siblings and peers to enact adult roles in play, to intensify their speech, to assert control, and to make moral evaluations of each other. Sidnell (1998) and Luykx (2003) explore how children’s language use in peer and

sibling groups is differentiated by gender. Howard (2003, in press) showed that Northern Thai children, who privilege the vernacular (Kam Muang) in their playgroups, construct and inhabit hierarchical or symmetrical social relationships with their playmates through their use of person reference, and how they deploy formulaic, Standard Thai genres (songs, riddles, jokes, and advertising jingles) in hybrid, code-mixed genre performances. As Muang children grow older, children interact in syncretic language varieties that are lamented by adults as “inauthentic” Kam Muang and strongly associated with urban youth.

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

The body of language socialization research referred to above has provided a wealth of information on how children are socialized and the interconnections between this process of socialization and broader linguistic processes such as language shift in a number of societies. Both language socialization and language shift, however, constitute major areas of investigation in their own right, so researchers face a complex challenge when trying to understand the connection between them. Because scholarly information concerning the process of language shift in a given community can be difficult to obtain, language socialization researchers face the difficulty of conducting research on both of these domains. The challenge, then, is to rigorously engage in research that provides adequate information about both language socialization and language shift, while at the same time drawing connections between these phenomena. The classic language socialization paradigm incorporating microanalysis of language practices into thorough ethnographic research provides an important tool for making such connections.

Another challenge for research on language socialization and language shift is the problem of scale. A typical ethnographic study is conducted over one or two years, while language shift takes place across generations. Although language shift can be studied through cross-sectional methodologies, such a technique contradicts ethnographers' interest in the historicity and situated nature of human experience. Our investigation of language shift should therefore ideally also include longer-term study of a particular generation across the life course in order to examine the process of language shift as it occurs at a particular moment in history, among a particular group of speakers, and the role of human agency in building, resisting, transforming, and transmitting cultural practices and ideologies that underlie language shift over time. All of these challenges require an enormous investment in this research that is not well accommodated by the academic structures and funding cycles in which researchers work.

Language socialization research is ambivalent about the effect of home language policies on children's success in school. In many cases, these studies report that children's school-based achievement does not seem to improve after the implementation of home language policies, fostered by the schools, that suppress the use of the vernacular by and to children at home (Augsburger, 2004; Garrett, 2005). In other cases, however, children's school success does seem to show improvement after the implementation of such policies (Jaffe, 1999; Paugh, 2001). Some possible factors behind this discrepancy are suggested by the research findings, such as variability in adults' proficiency in the language of instruction, both at home (Garrett, 1999; Sandel, 2003), and at school (Hornberger and Chick, 2001; Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo, 1992), the nature of language use in peer groups (Augsburger, 2004), or the treatment of the vernacular at school. Finally, language socialization research highlights the mediating role of language ideologies—local interpretations of language, language use, and language acquisition—in the language practices of a community. Psycholinguistic and educational research on bilingualism would benefit from a language socialization perspective on the culturally rooted nature of language acquisition, language change, and language shift. In order to foster dialogue between these fields, language socialization researchers should more explicitly address questions of school performance and bilingualism.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The large majority of language socialization studies outside the USA have been conducted in rural villages where the language of instruction is rarely spoken at home or in the community. Some multisite studies have shown that rural settings contrast with urban settings where children are more likely to be exposed to the school's language before entering school (Augsburger, 2004; Sandel, 2003). Future research should explore in more detail how dynamics in rural versus urban settings impact the process of language socialization.

Schools in rural village settings often fail to make education relevant to children's experiences of village life, including traditional knowledge and practices and their linguistic and discursive competence. Modern, public education often ignores, and sometimes explicitly rejects, traditional values, traditional ways of life, the local vernacular, and local *funds of knowledge* that children bring to school (Chick, 1996; Hornberger and Chick, 2001; Kulick, 1992; Moll and Greenberg, 1990; Moore, 1999; Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo, 1992). As a result, community members' views of schooling are often ambivalent: while they may recognize that education is an important means of access to the forms of social

capital that a modern and urban life promises, they also view it as irrelevant to the needs of village life.

Whereas classic language socialization research in multilingual/bidialectal North American settings has focused in large part on home–school discontinuities, research outside of North America has focused mainly on the home setting. In order to better connect these two bodies of research (and thus to enhance our insight into North American processes of education as well as education in international settings), future work should examine the school setting in more detail. A closer examination of schooling within the language socialization paradigm—and in particular, a micro-analytic focus on the language socialization practices and processes therein—would provide much needed insight into the impact of official language policies on language maintenance and shift by demonstrating how policies are actually implemented in teachers’ and students’ everyday practices, and how these practices articulate with local interpretations of social change and reproduction. Further, research on language use among children has also demonstrated the crucial role that children play as agents of social and linguistic reproduction and change, through their active linguistic and discursive production of their social worlds. Language socialization studies in the future should examine these multiple sites in which children participate in the culturally significant activities of their community, through the medium of a complex repertoire of linguistic varieties, and mediated by multiple and competing norms, values, and expectations of how to think, speak, and act in the world.

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## HERITAGE LANGUAGE LEARNING AND SOCIALIZATION

### INTRODUCTION

Although research bearing the label “heritage language” has had a relatively short history and consequently has a relatively small body of literature, the notion of “heritage language” has existed for a long time under various names such as “home language,” “mother tongue,” “circumstantial bilingualism,” “language maintenance,” or “language attrition,” depending upon the purpose for which these terms were created, be it sociolinguistic, ethnolinguistic, psycholinguistic, or educational. Despite social and psychological pressures to assimilate to mainstream ways of life in their new countries, minority language communities have been deeply committed to maintaining languages of their native countries by, for example, establishing weekend community-based language schools. The earliest research on heritage language could be dated to about half a century ago, when Fishman (1964) established language maintenance and language shift as a field of inquiry. The significance of Fishman’s proposal was not widely realized until very recently when heritage languages began to be recognized as valuable national and personal resources (Brecht and Ingold, 2002; Brinton and Kagan, in press; Campbell and Rosenthal, 2000; Creese and Martin, 2006; He and Xiao (in press); Kondo-Brown, 2006; Krashen, Tse, and McQuillan, 1998; Peyton, Ranard, and McGinnis, 2001; Roca and Colombi, 2003; Wiley and Valdes, 2000).

In this context, instead of providing an overview of the field in terms of “early developments,” “major contributions,” and “work in progress,” this chapter will first provide a working definition of “heritage language” and locate work on heritage language development within the research tradition of Language Socialization. It will then review major contributions in the following three dimensions:

1. Research on heritage language as a set of language skills—the development of reading, writing, grammar, vocabulary, accent, interactional strategies, literacy, etc.
2. Research on heritage language as a resource for developing specific, multiple, and fluid discourse patterns, cultural values, identities, and communities—the linguistic, interactional, socio-cultural, cognitive characteristics of the heritage learner, the multiple

communicative worlds which s/he inhabits, discourse processes in class and at home, motivation, attitudes, etc.

3. Research that theorizes or models heritage language development—the routes and rates of learning, the variables, the optimal path for acquisition/maintenance, the similarities and differences between heritage language socialization and foreign/second language socialization or mother tongue socialization.

It will conclude by summarizing problems and challenges in heritage language socialization research and suggesting directions for future work.

#### LOCATING HERITAGE LANGUAGES IN A RESEARCH TRADITION

Following Valdes (2001, p. 38), the heritage language (HL) learner in this chapter is defined broadly as a language student in an English-dominant country who is raised in a home where a non-English target language is spoken and who speaks or at least understands the language and is to some degree bilingual in the HL and in English. More specifically, these learners see their HL “with a particular family relevance” (Fishman, 2001, p. 169). Furthermore, the HL learner manifests a set of ambiguities and complications which are perhaps less salient in the second or foreign language learner or mother tongue learner and which can be sources of both challenges and opportunities. The process of how these learners acquire and maintain their heritage languages and the symbiotic social and cultural processes that accompany heritage language learning can be fruitfully enlightened by the analytic framework of language socialization.

Grounded in ethnography, language socialization, as a branch of linguistic anthropology, focuses on the process of becoming a culturally competent member through language use in social activities. As formulated by Ochs and Schieffelin (Ochs, 1990, 1996; Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986, 1996, *Language Socialization: An Historical Overview*, Volume 8), language socialization is concerned with: (1) how novices are socialized to use language, and (2) how novices are socialized to be competent members in the target culture through language use. It tells us that language and culture are reflexively and systematically bound together and mutually constitutive of each other. This approach focuses on the language used by and to novices (e.g., children, language learners) and the relations between this language use and the larger cultural contexts of communication—local theories and epistemologies concerning social order, local ideologies and practices concerning socializing the novices, relationships between the novice and the expert, the specific activities and tasks at hand, and so forth. Work using language socialization as theoretical guidance has focused on analyzing the

organization of communicative practices through which novices acquire sociocultural knowledge and interactional competence and on the open-ended, negotiated, contested character of the interactional routine as a resource for growth and change (Garrett and Baquedano-López, 2002). In this line of work, both the forms of language (e.g., word order, sentence final particles, intonation, modal verbs, turn-taking routines) and the sociocultural contexts of language use become important research objects and sites.

As Watson-Gegeo (2004) argues, a language socialization approach to language development is compatible with the recent synthesis between cognitivist and sociocultural approaches, where cognition is reconsidered to originate in social interaction and is shaped by cultural and social processes. Guided by language socialization, we may conceptualize heritage language development in the following dimensions.

First, what does it mean to know a heritage language? Language socialization considers language acquisition and socialization as an integrated process. Linguistic meanings and meaning makings are therefore necessarily embedded in cultural systems of understanding. An account of linguistic behavior must then draw on accounts of culture. Accordingly, to know a heritage language means not merely to command the lexico-grammatical forms in both speech and writing, but also to understand or embrace a set of norms, preferences, and expectations relating linguistic structures to context.

Second, how does heritage culture relate to heritage language? From a language socialization perspective, heritage language learners' acquisition of linguistic forms requires a developmental process of delineating and organizing contextual dimensions in culturally sensible ways. A language socialization model views learners as tuned into certain indexical meanings of grammatical forms that link those forms to, for example, the social identities of interlocutors and the types of social events. This model relates learners' use and understanding of grammatical forms to complex yet orderly and recurrent dispositions, preferences, beliefs, and bodies of knowledge that organize how information is linguistically packaged and how speech acts are performed within and across socially recognized situations.

Just as foreign or second language learners may have varying degrees of investment across space and time (Norton, 2000), HL learning is often motivated by neither strictly instrumental nor integrative goals; learner motivations are derived not merely from pragmatic or utilitarian concerns but also from the intrinsic cultural, affective, and aesthetic values of the language. Unlike mother tongue acquisition in a monolingual environment, HL is in constant competition with the dominant language in the local community. How do HL learners position themselves vis-à-vis mainstream culture/language? With

language socialization, we can examine how different displays of and reactions to certain acts and stances construct different identities and relationships. It also allows us to examine the construction of multiple yet compatible/congruent identities, blended and blurred identities in multilingual, multicultural, immigrant contexts.

Thirdly, what constitutes evidence of learning? Language socialization research has looked for culturally meaningful practices across settings and situations (Ochs and Schieffelin, 1995). Language socialization views language acquisition as increasing competence in both the formal and functional potential of language. Within this model, HL learners can be viewed as acquiring repertoires of language forms and functions associated with contextual dimensions (e.g., role relationships, identities, acts, events) over developmental time and across space (He, 2006).

The last but not the least important question to consider is the route by which HL is acquired and socialized. The transmission of HL takes place in not merely formal settings (e.g., classrooms) but also, and perhaps more importantly, informally (e.g., across generations at homes and in the communities). Both the propositional content of messages conveyed in the HL and the ways in which HL is used (e.g., how HL instructors or parents communicate with the HL learner) have a direct impact on how HL learners perceive the language and its associated culture. Hence, everyday interaction in the classroom and in households plays a crucial role in heritage language acquisition and heritage cultural development. With language socialization, we may view interaction as language practices, which serve as resources for socializing social and cultural competence. In this view, interactional competence itself embodies both cultural competence and linguistic competence.

In what follows, sample research on HL will be reviewed along the two dimensions of the language socialization model—socialization to use language and socialization through language use. As mentioned previously, since existing research on HL is still scarce, few studies have explicitly adopted a language socialization approach. What is presented below can be seen as an emerging body of work that lays the empirical foundation for a conceptualization of heritage language development from a language socialization perspective and suggests possibilities for language socialization to enrich and expand research on HL from related paradigms.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

##### *Research on the Acquisition of a Heritage Language as a Set of Skills*

Research that focuses on the various linguistic components and language skills—pronunciation, grammar, lexicon, listening, reading, writing, narrative skills, register, literacy, etc.—is just emerging. In

almost all cases, research is carried out in comparison with either monolingual speakers or foreign language learners.

Godson (2004) investigated whether the age at which English becomes dominant for heritage speakers of Western Armenian in the USA affects their vowel production in Western Armenian. Participating in the study were ten Western-Armenian bilinguals who learned English before age 8, ten bilinguals who did not learn English until adulthood, and one Western Armenian monolingual. Vowel production was measured using recordings from oral reading of a list of sentences. Results showed that English affects the Western Armenian vowel system but only for those vowels that are already close to English. This bifurcation of vowel behavior indicates that a single across-the-board principle that governs the influence of a dominant language on a minority language is too general. Other forces such as universal tendencies, normal diachronic change, and sociolinguistic pressures must be considered.

Jia and Bayley (under review) investigate the (re)acquisition of the Mandarin Chinese perfective aspectual marker *-le* by 36 children and adolescents who either initially acquired Mandarin as an L1 or were acquiring it as a heritage language. The results of several different measures indicate that, as expected, participants who were born in China outperformed their U.S. born counterparts, as did participants who reported using primarily Mandarin at home. Results for age show a more complicated picture, with younger speakers outperforming older speakers on a narrative retelling task, but older speakers outperforming younger speakers on cloze and sentence completion tasks. Finally, the results of multivariate analysis of the narratives show that use of perfective verbal suffix *-le* was significantly constrained by its position in the sentence and by whether it is optional or obligatory.

Using both proficiency tests and self-assessment measures, Kondo-Brown (2005) investigated (a) whether Japanese heritage language (JHL) learners would demonstrate language behaviors distinctively different from those of traditional Japanese as a foreign language (JFL) learners, and (b) which domains of language use and skills would specifically exhibit such differentiation. Her findings suggest that there were striking similarities between the JFL learner group and JHL students with at least one Japanese-speaking grandparent but without a Japanese-speaking parent and JHL students of Japanese descent without either a Japanese-speaking parent or grandparent. In contrast, JHL students with at least one Japanese-speaking parent proved to be substantially different from other groups in (a) grammatical knowledge, (b) listening and reading skills, (c) self-assessed use/choice of Japanese, and (d) self-ratings of a number of can-do tasks that represented a wide range of abilities.

Several researchers in Roca and Colombi's (2003) volume address the areas of register and genre in Spanish heritage language use. Their

work indicated that Spanish HL learners need to make adjustments in their speech as they move from informal oral settings to formal settings or to written communication such as oral presentations in academic settings and writing assignments. While the way they speak Spanish among friends and family is completely appropriate for that setting, what they lack is the ability to modify their speech for other settings, audiences, and purposes.

Koda, Zhang, and Yang (in press) address literacy development in Chinese as a heritage language among school-age students. These children typically use Chinese at home, receive primary literacy instruction in English at school, and pursue ancillary literacy in Chinese in a weekend school. As such, their primary literacy tends to build on underdeveloped oral proficiency, and secondary literacy reflects heavily restricted print input and experience. Hence, their literacy learning in both languages lacks sufficient linguistic resources. Despite these inadequacies, however, many children succeed in their primary literacy, and some even in heritage language literacy. Based on theories of cross-language transfer, reading universals, and metalinguistic awareness, their study explores what additional resources—metalinguistic and cognitive—are available to these children, and how such resources might offset the limited linguistic support.

In addition to phonology, grammar, reading, writing, register, genre, and literacy, broader features of narration and interaction of HL learners have also been researched. Kaufman (2005) investigates narratives produced by speakers of Hebrew as a heritage language. Compared to monolingual norms, the HL narrative data showed considerable fragmentation in all aspects of the language. The HL learners are lacking in communicative fluency, grammatical accuracy, and lexical specificity as evidenced in their use of developmental forms characterized by present-tense temporal anchoring, frequent pauses, false starts, repairs, lexical substitution, simplification, redundancy, and circumlocution.

Even though most of the above studies are not directly informed by the theoretical model of language socialization (with the exception of Jia and Bayley, in progress), collectively they document the challenges HL learners face across a spectrum of linguistic components and language skills. The language socialization model will inspire future work to reveal and specify the culturally situated ways in which these and other linguistic forms are learned and taught along different developmental stages.

### *Research on Heritage Language as a Resource*

There is a long tradition of conceptualizing language as an integral part of the development of the self, the mind, and of the society that

complements language socialization. When language is seen not as a metaphysically present, nor a coherent system, but a context-specific tool for achieving our purposes, identity is then structured in the everyday flow of language, and stabilized in the pragmatic narratives of our day-to-day, fluid social life. For heritage language learners, HL acquisition is thus constitutive of identity, which is accomplished in the everyday social conversations. From a language socialization perspective, the indexical relationship between language and sociocultural dimensions of language use (including identity) is achieved through a two-step process. Ochs (1990) argues that *affective and epistemological dispositions* are the two contextual dimensions which are recurrently used to constitute other contextual dimensions. Consistent with this line of thought, many researchers have focused on heritage language as intricately woven with learner identity formation or transformation.

Tse (1997) attempts to explain the relationships among ethnic identity, attitudes and motivation, and HL development. Based on a study of American-born Asian-American adults, Tse concluded that language acquisition is facilitated when an individual has positive attitudes toward the language and feels positively about her ethnic group. In a further study (Tse, 2000), she examined published narratives of Americans of Asian descent to discover whether feelings of ethnic ambivalence/evasion extend to the heritage language, and if so, how they affect language beliefs and behaviors. The results suggest that for many, the HL is closely associated with the ethnic group so that attitudes toward the ethnic group and its language speakers also extend to the narrators' own language ability and their interest (or lack of interest) in maintaining and developing their HL.

Similarly, W. Li (1994) posits that HL proficiency correlates positively with a well-developed sense of ethnic identity and network with their ethnic group, such that group members have a greater understanding and knowledge of their group's cultural values, ethics, and manners. The same is echoed in Beckstead and Toribio (2003), Bernhard, Freire, and Pacini-Ketchabaw (2001), Chinen and Tucker (2006), Cho (2000), Kaufman (2005), Kondo-Brown (2005), and Lee (2002), all of whom suggest that in addition to internal factors such as attitudes, motivation, and social identity, ethnic identity is also a key factor in HL development.

In addition to learner identities, other researchers have examined how heritage language use socializes cultural values and speech roles. Lo (2004) demonstrates how expressions of epistemic stance relate to moral evaluations by looking at cases in which teachers at a Korean heritage language school claim to read their students' mind with a high degree of certainty. Lo argues that Korean HL learners are socialized to portray their access to the thoughts and sensations of other individuals

differently depending upon who these individuals are. If the individuals are perceived as morally worthy, then the access is portrayed as distant; if they are perceived as morally suspect, then the access is presented as self-evident. He (2000) details the discourse processes by which Chinese HL learners are socialized to values of respect for authority and group conformity through teachers' directives in weekend Chinese language schools, where teachers do not merely impart knowledge/facts but also function as moral guides to the students.

### *Modeling/Theorizing HL Development*

Several models, theories, or frameworks have been advanced to explain and predict heritage language development.

Lynch (2003) theorizes about heritage language development largely by drawing many parallels between HL development and Second Language Acquisition (SLA). He asks the same questions that are asked in SLA research: (1) What do heritage language learners acquire? (2) How do learners acquire a heritage language? (3) What differences are there in the way in which individual learners acquire a heritage language? and (4) What effects does instruction have on heritage language acquisition? Lynch notes that frequency of forms and structure of interaction influence HL acquisition and production as they do SLA. As in SLA, HL development also exhibits great variability and particular orders and stages. HL learners' language use is also characterized by features such as overgeneralization and simplification, lexical extension, and word order transfer the same way as that of SL learners is. According to Lynch, the factors that account for variability in HL learning include speaker generation and birth order, socioeconomic class, gender, speaker social networks, language attitude, and motivation. Learner aptitude, strategies, and pedagogical approach all play a role in the success of instructed heritage language learning.

Focusing on the particularities of the HL learner, Tse (1997) puts forth an "ethnic identity model" which explains the relationships among ethnic identity, attitudes/motivation, and HL development. In her model, she posits four stages of ethnic identification: lack of awareness, ethnic ambivalence/evasion, ethnic emergence, and ethnic identity incorporation. At each stage, she provides a corresponding language attitude description. At the third stage, the HL learner begins to show interest in learning about her ethnic culture and acquiring her HL. At the final (fourth) stage, the learner discovers her ethnic minority American group, finds membership in that group, and establishes positive attitudes toward the HL.

A more general identity-based approach is presented by He (2006), which looks at how the HL learning takes place as the learner moves

across time and space. He considers learner identity (trans-)formation as the primary motivation for HL learning and situates the learner in his/her ongoing, evolving assessment and adjustment of him/herself vis-à-vis other persons in interactions across varying settings and during different developmental stages. He posits that HL development is contingent upon the degree to which the learner is able to construct continuity and coherence of identity in multiple communicative and social worlds. Conceptualizing HL development as a socialization process with multiple agencies, multiple directions, and multiple goals, He further puts forth ten hypotheses to describe and predict the key variables responsible for HL development.

Also centering on learner identity but drawing upon the concept of world citizenship and transformative pedagogy, Zhang (in progress) delineates three levels of heritage language education. According to Zhang, the first level, Individual Identity Conformation, focuses on preserving traditional cultures, histories, and identities through HL for ethnic communities and individuals. The second level, National Identity Conformation promotes HL to fulfill the growing national demands for foreign languages proficiency. The third level is Global Identity Conformation, which uses HL to educate children in a democratic society to transcend their culture, nurture mutual respect, and acquire the ability to recognize the humanity and legitimacy of all people and all cultures.

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Given the short history of HL research, the body of work we now have is rich, if not yet focused or coherent. In general, the challenges facing HL research are two-fold: the comparability of studies and the continuity among various research endeavors.

We have seen a number of empirical studies documenting the various formal and functional aspects of heritage language socialization as reviewed in the previous sections. These studies are, however, hardly comparable because they deal with different subgroups of HL learners. As HL learners are a heterogeneous population that encompasses learners from a wide range of backgrounds, some studies looked at developmental traits in learners who have minimal proficiency in the HL, whereas others focused on maintenance issues in the case of highly proficient HL learners and still others examined both subgroups. This makes it hard for empirical investigations to be replicable and comparable.

Another consequence of HL being a fledgling research area is that researchers (empirical or theoretical) have yet to build upon each other's work adequately. In addition to the problem of incomparable data at different language proficiency levels, there is also the issue of

comparisons/contrasts between HL socialization in different languages (Armenian, Chinese, Hebrew, Japanese, Korean, Spanish, etc.) and different sites (home, school, church, workplace, etc.). Finally, theories and models are thus far parallel and have yet to show advancement in thinking.

A big conceptual challenge for heritage language socialization is socialization into whose culture, whose values and whose norms? Heritage culture itself is ever shifting as the immigrants' life unfolds in the new country. It remains to be evaluated whether it is productive to think of competence and target culture or expertise and allegiance (Rampton, 1995) or perhaps a bicultural, biliteracy continuum (Hornberger, 2004).

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Campbell and Christian (2001) and the short papers contained therein posed a wide range of research questions that warrant urgent attention in the areas of language ecological patterns, language ideologies, measurement, and literacy. The following suggestions are made in keeping with the fundamental considerations of language socialization.

Given our definition of heritage language, neither the HL classroom nor the family is the only domain relevant to heritage language development or maintenance. Efforts to understand HL will be most fruitful if we take into account not only formal, institutional settings such as schools (e.g., Byon, 2003; He, 2000) but also patterns of heritage language use in informal settings such as home and communities (Bayley and Schecter, 2003), and not only the impact of face-to-face interaction but also the role of technology and popular culture (Lam, *Language Socialization in Online Communities*, Volume 8). Temporally, HL socialization is not limited to any specific given period of time; HL competencies, choices, and ideologies change over the HL learner's lifespan, reflecting changing motivations, social networks, opportunities, and other variables. Research needs to examine the different stages as well as different domains of HL development.

HL socialization research needs to expand its focus from individual language learner to other co-participants as well. It will be important to realize that expert guidance in HL socialization may be multiple, conflicting, and contested. The HL learner is engaged in multiple speech events in multiple settings for multiple purposes. The learning of HL, for example, takes place through the learner's interactions with multiple participants including language instructors, parents, grandparents, siblings, and peers, each of whom positions the learner in unique speech and social roles and each of whose reactions and responses to the HL learner helps to shape the path of her language development.

Future HL socialization research will highlight the co-constructed, interactive nature of HL socialization activities.

Complementarily, future HL research will take a more dialectical, dialogical, and ecological perspective on socialization, in the sense that the process will be viewed as reciprocal. HL learners are not merely passive, uniform recipients of socialization. As the HL learners' allegiances and competencies evolve, the language choices and competencies of their parents, siblings, neighbors, and friends will also change, consequently and/or concurrently. In other words, it is important to keep in mind that the HL learner contributes to the HL socialization process of the very people who socialize him/her to use the HL. Heritage language learning has the potential to transform all parties involved in the socialization process.

Overall, heritage language research will be increasingly informed by bodies of disciplinary knowledge, including but not limited to developmental psychology, formal and functional linguistics, linguistic and cultural anthropology, discourse analysis, second language acquisition, and bilingualism. It can also be expected that heritage language research will contribute to the very disciplines which have served as its theoretical or methodological guidance in terms of fundamental theoretical constructs, research methods, units of analysis, etc. For example, heritage language learning provides fertile grounds for us to reconsider dichotomous concepts such as native language versus target language, native speech community versus target speech community, instrumental versus integrative motivations, and basic interpersonal communication skills versus cognitive academic language proficiency. Last but not least, HL research will challenge us to re-evaluate our unit of analysis from single snapshots of one-on-one, unidirectional interactional processes to trajectories of growth and change over space and time for all participants.

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## **Section 4**

### **Language Socialization among Adolescents and Adults**

## LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION IN THE LEARNING COMMUNITIES OF ADOLESCENTS

### INTRODUCTION

Throughout history, *learning communities* have generally come and gone with little public notice. They emerge from the impetus of groups of individuals who identify specific needs for certain times and places. Learning communities differ in fundamental ways from *institutions*, which are cross-generational persistent entities, such as State systems or governments, religions, the family, and formal schools. Institutions, by their very nature, commit to basic maintenance of the *status-quo*—that is, standardized language, process, and ideology. Thus all institutions have as core responsibilities the transmission of certain values and bodies of knowledge as well as the orderly succession of their core structures and functions. For at least two millennia, societies have sustained their belief in the necessity of a core set of institutions—government, religion, family, and education.

But institutions leave gaps—especially when it comes to meeting the socialization needs of the young in rapidly changing societies. Institutions cannot manage the speed of adaptation and degree of flexibility that learning communities provide. Every age group from infancy through the final years of life provides unique challenges in socialization—particularly in language and interactional needs. Most notably, middle childhood (generally from age 8 through 12) and the adolescent and young adult years from 13 into the early 20's present special challenges. Maturational change comes rapidly along with the certainty of alterations in relationships of the young with key institutions—most notably the family, State, and formal education.

In this review, I first consider the history of youth learning communities back to the Middle Ages. This brief review sets up the framework through which I then examine a sampling of contemporary learning communities drawn from various parts of the world (cf. Amit-Talai and Wulff, 1995). All of these include young learners between the ages of 8 and the early 20's—a span of years in which speakers develop language primarily to explore and to expand their identities and roles. They do so while gradually separating from the care-giving of families and preparing for responsibilities imposed on them by the State, families, schools, and in many cultures, by religion as well. In most

societies, the State expects the young to engage in formal schooling during these years, as well as to prepare for betrothal, marriage, and procreation plus civic and work responsibilities (including military service in some cases).

The various types of learning involved in such preparation call on highly specific and critical skills for both the production and reception of language. Within sociology and the public media, learning communities generally receive descriptors such as *informal*, *nonformal*, or *nonconventional*. What goes on within these groups may be termed *indirect* or *informal learning*. Such dichotomous labels set these communities apart from *formal learning environments* generally characterized by specific role assignments, hierarchical structures, and time and space boundaries. Moreover, learning communities of young people do not fit easily into transmission models in which teaching and learning stand apart, and the inheritance of a parent culture is assumed. Throughout this review, the perspective is that of linguistic anthropologist concerned primarily with what happens in communities of learners rather than with how they adhere to structure arrangements—formal or informal—that mark institutions.

Youth learning and what is popularly termed “youth culture” depend not only on oral production and reception of language, but also on embodied performance—particular ways of walking, using hand signals, or emphasizing the spoken word through gesture and posture. Furthermore, youth culture not only represents itself but is represented through multiple modes (e.g. film, video, dance, music, etc.; cf. Kress, 2002; Ross and Rose, 1994; Shary, 2002). The dialogic basis of rap, narrative renderings in folk music and rhythm and blues portray numerous features of youth language: direct quotation, marked intonation, and repetition. In addition, across widely divergent cultures, peer socialization among the young is marked by mixed genres and overlapping multiparty talk; examples include: reflections of child soldiers in Sierra Leone (Shepler, 2005); the South African gestural language accompanying Tsotital (the youth vernacular of townships, Brookes, 2000); and the teenage language of aboriginal teenagers in Australia (Langlois, 2004; Schmidt, 1985).

Across cultures, those from 8 years of age forward spend most of their out-of-school time with peers engaged in play and work. Their social interactions and inner voicing call for syntactic forms and genres to support self-monitoring, negotiating, building plans, and assessing contexts, individuals, and information. Of themselves and others, they ask the essential questions “who am I?,” “where do I belong?,” “how will I make my way into the future?,” and “to what and to whom will I be committed?” Their language changes in pronunciation, syntax, intonation, and vocabulary in line with their self-perception of identity

(Eckert, 1988, 1989, 2000; Mendoza-Denton, 1999), as do their styles of swearing (Schworm, 2006).

Their learning communities spring directly from the social interactional needs of the young, but this common need does not predict their form or activity focus. Some youth-based learning communities reflect tight organizational structures and political goals. Consider, for example, the South African township student defense units that formed in the 1980s during the most violent years of the apartheid era in South Africa. Other groups, such as vigilante groups, guerilla or rebel forces, or youth gangs, reflect varying degrees of structure and image of common good in their operations, activities, and manner of identifying themselves to outsiders. Varieties of youth learning communities range from highly governed and adult-directed (e.g. baseball teams, community service organizations, etc.) to loose and short-lived (e.g. temporarily "favorite" activities). Whether for positive or negative social ends, youth learning communities work to ensure that their members learn the modes, information, skills, and ways of working of value to the individual self-identity (Fine, 1987; Mahiri, 1998, 2004).

#### EARLY EXEMPLARS

Throughout human history, most learning communities composed largely of the young have disappeared without a trace except in the memories of those who took part. As far back as the Crusades, when widows of the soldiers who died in battle joined with indigent women and girls of the countryside to create communities caring for the sick, needy, and orphaned, learning communities have included odd assortments of members. Many of the earliest of such groups came into being not only to serve charitable ends without profit, but also to take advantage of and to profit from niche markets and vulnerabilities in the social fabric (Watt, 1997).

Evidence of the language and thought of these groups comes in the stories told by traveling bards who depended on the likes of Robin Hood and his band of young men for the stuff of good tales. As commerce, industry, and exploration spread on land and sea in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, more and more occupations included learning communities of young people who directly experienced increasingly technical lines of work (Constable, 1996). All of these depended on specialized language and representations of symbol systems, from navigation and cartography to illustrated manuscripts and books. Moreover, almost all their learning had to come from observation and trial and error with relatively little explication of process or norms. Bands of travelers, including young people, moved about the countryside, and glimpses of interactions within these groups come in books

such as *The Decameron* by Giovanni Boccaccio (1348–1351) and *Canterbury Tales* by Geoffrey Chaucer (1342–1400).

Once paper, printing, and publishing came about, young people working on the margins of these businesses had opportunities to expand their experiences with visual and verbal literacies. As illuminated manuscripts were replaced by illuminated books, the young served as apprentices, and they often introduced themselves and their ideas into the *vignettes* or borders of the books on which they worked. Histories and analyses of illustration leave no doubt that as young apprentices were left to complete these books, they added their own flourishes, grotesque animals and figures, and picture stories within the backgrounds of scenes or curls of letters of the alphabet (Watson, 2003). These “extras” often provided counter messages to those of the straight or sanctioned text. Today they give some evidence of the talents and tastes of the young for subverting authoritative voices and using visual means to do so.

As production of paper spread across Europe from China, young people—copists and students learning together—were needed to copy books for authorized university book dealers, called stationers. These stationers later became booksellers, and their ability to offer paper manuscripts to the public, especially in cities such as Paris and London, relied on the speed of these young copists (Clanchy, 1979).

With the invention of movable type in the mid-fifteenth century, the printing press trade rapidly increased their intake of apprentices who formed their own learning communities in the back of print shops all over Europe. Widening intellectual interests, the rise of universities, and the rapid increase of urban populations called for more and more books. Advertising came about, in part to help sell printers’ left-over books; as the arts expanded from urban centers to small towns, broad sheets and eventually programs and dramatic scripts were in demand. The spread of theatre from urban centers to regional markets depended on young male actors in their early teens, highly desired for their abilities to portray women on the stage.

Shakespeare’s plays (much complemented in the minds of filmgoers who saw *Shakespeare in Love* in the late 1990s) tell not only of the wandering young but also give numerous indications of the skills called upon from the young “strays” who hung around the bustling and active public theatres of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Meanwhile, public records multiplied in detail and quantity with the expansion of towns as market centers, and young people, unaccounted for and often unaccountable to any institutions, figure increasingly in these accounts.

Meanwhile, governmental, legal, and accounting matters continued to require production of books and paper for their records. Throughout

the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, shipping of goods and expansion of exploration brought new demands and increased specialized interests, such as cartography and botanical drawing, both of which drew the young once again in as copists and gradually as type-setters and binders. Formal schooling during these periods became available only slowly and then to the male privileged. Aside from convents and nunneries, opportunities for females to take part in any kind of formal schooling came about only well into the eighteenth century. Particularly for the West, literary writers and public records increasingly open up to historians' tales of youth learning communities exploited by adults for petty crime (recall Charles Dickens' tales) and laboring in apprentice-like groups in a widening range of economic ventures. Here, as in the Middle Ages, histories of the expansion of literacy, commerce, and industry indicate a reliance on learning communities of young people working under the direction and often the exploitation of adults with primarily their own economic interests in mind (Darnton, 1984; Eisenstein, 1979).

Scanty as these early accounts are, several features of language socialization contexts emerge that we find also in contemporary situations. Foremost is the persistent involvement of the young in activities linked to reading, writing, and representing information for transport across time, space, and audiences. Next are the take-risks-to-survive engagements of the young in learning communities, whether as tag-alongs to charity or pilgrim groups, or as ship hands. These high-risk activities, setting off for sea and managing on the open seas, involved endless demands for uses of visual literacies and planful language—demonstrated repeatedly by adults in charge, whether in barked commands related to maintenance of ship rigging or in preparation for facing pirates or the ravages of storms. Finally, we see in this early history that without opportunities for formal schooling, the young did learn primarily through observation, trial and error, and direct experience. They had to work with their hands in tasks requiring focused attention to visual detail and high-performance demands that almost invariably involved use of verbal or visual symbol systems.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

For contemporary research on language socialization of those in middle childhood and adolescents on their way to young adulthood, Romaine (1984) and Eckert (1997) offer brief overviews regarding language learning. How young people learn syntax, genres, discourse styles, and the visual and performative dimensions of communication relates to age-grading and gender differences, as well as to the extent and nature of their access to linguistic resources. The key research question is therefore: When, how, and where do the young have sustained

interaction with models and opportunities that give them opportunities to gain practice in receiving and producing verbal and visual symbols?

### *Home and School Studies*

We take up studies that compare home and school briefly to consider two small bodies of literature. First are studies that compare home and school language patterns and ideologies for older children (Zentella, 1997, 2005). Work carried out with an “ethnographic” approach has been inspired primarily by the seminal work of Cusick (1972); Heath (1982, 1983, 2007); Philips (1972, 1983); and George and Louise Spindler (see Spindler and Hammond, 2006; Spindler and Spindler, 1992, for bibliographies). Studies in the critical tradition illustrate the class-based nature of contrasts between school-based language choices and language and media usage and ideologies of teenagers (cf. McLaren, 1986; Sarroub, 2005; Willis, 1977).

Other language socialization and ideology studies carried out in schools point out the extent to which the young take in, modify, transfer, or subvert teachers’ instructions and norms related to performance of academic language and literacy (Everhart, 1983; Shuman, 1986; Snow and Blum-Kulka, 2002). Such norms include not only appropriate participation within question–answer routines in classroom discussion, but also adherence to the written language norms of spelling, mathematical calculation, and school genres (e.g. standardized tests, the *précis*, short answers, book or laboratory reports, and essays). The majority of studies centered on oral language uses focus on the talk of teachers and students, emphasizing the dominance of teacher talk and restricting attention generally to questions and answers, discussion, and teacher–student conferences. Most relevant from these studies is the extent to which literacies are hidden and the young creatively subvert and re-create school norms and standards in their peer interactions (e.g., note-writing, hand signaling, and social interactions outside the classroom in halls, lunchrooms, and sports activities; cf. Flinders, 1992; Wells, 1996).

### *Peer-Centered Identity Groupings*

Sociologists and linguistic anthropologists have ventured beyond schools into friendship groups and youth gangs. Their studies demonstrate the rapid-fire overlapping nature of talk, representations of group identity and popular culture, interdependence with visual and performative modes, and gender differences (e.g. Cintron, 2005; Corsaro and Eder, 1995; Eder, 1995; Jacobs-Huey, 2006; Mahiri, 1998, 2004).

Youth gangs work to shape language uses and structures as well as dress, performative modes, and graffiti arts (Moore, 1991; Vigil, 1993).

As migration of young people increases around the world—Ecuadoreans and Dominican Republicans to Spain, Brazilians to Portugal, Africans to European nations, youth gangs as communities of learners (e.g. Latin Kings and Queens) move with them. Able neither to identify with their parents' past nor to envision their own possible futures, young immigrants have strong needs for forming their own learning communities. Community service, youth mentoring, promotion and experimentation with youth culture mark their activities. Labor market and educational pressures move some gangs into criminal activities that range from vandalism to drug trafficking. To the extent that we have any information on language socialization within gangs, we depend largely on first-person accounts (Brotherton and Barrios, 2004; Rodriguez, 1994).

### *Community Organizations*

Peer-centered friendship groupings, whether in the parking lot of fast-food chains or street corners, or in parks and small village centers, generally receive little more than fleeting attention from adults. Gangs, also peer and friendship centered, on the other hand, generally raise suspicions and even legal resistance from adults. Standing apart from the extremes of being either nearly invisible or highly provocative are youth-oriented community organizations, generally adult-led. Considered "community service," participation in these organizations brings young people and the results of their learning to positive public attention through exhibitions, service pursuits, and performances (Heath, 2001). The most long-lasting and successful of these groups offer opportunities for young people to take on many roles that parallel those of adult work experiences, including management, marketing, security, public relations, and programming. Long-term research (1987-present) directed by Milbrey McLaughlin and Shirley Brice Heath of Stanford University analyzed the structures, uses, and values of language and multimodal development in community-service, sports, and arts-based community organizations (Heath and McLaughlin, 1993; McLaughlin, Irby, and Langman, 1994).

Critical to the interactional work of community organizations in which young people play key roles in producing goods and services is the sheer amount of talk in which they take active part. Immersed in group commitment, individuals receive sustained adult and multiparty input from learners that vary in expertise, talent, experience, and style. Across exemplary organizations studied in the McLaughlin-Heath longitudinal research, young people could hear and use directions to listen, look, feel, and imagine as many as 50 times in any 2-hour work session. In a similar time period, they could take part in spontaneous

demonstrations by a more capable adult or peer of what a particular detail could look, sound, or feel like under different circumstances. Explanation of routines, techniques, possible outcomes, as well as narratives of past shows or performances, could take place more than a dozen times in any 2-hour session (Heath and Smyth, 1999).

Participation in creating a performance or exhibition of any of the arts generates more language input and production during any unit of time than does involvement in community service or sports teams. More open and flexible in outcomes and process than either sports or service to others, the arts generate opportunities for hypothetical thinking, creating of models (verbal, visual, and performative), and explaining, comparing, and critiquing work-in-progress (Heath and Langman, 1994; Heath and Soep, 1998; Heath and Roach, 1999; Mandell and Wolf, 2003; Soep, 2000). The language socialization of rehearsals and studios resembles in numerous ways that of science laboratories. Both depend on “what if” queries, consideration of alternatives, and intensive observation of the process and products of others.

Young people who engage in such community organizations see their groups as filling gaps that institutions cannot fill. Whether a dance troupe made up of street children in Addis Abba, Ethiopia or an arts-based environmental sustainability center in Boston, Massachusetts, these organizations take on responsibilities that complement the work of institutions as well as originate services that institutions later absorb into their own units. For example, in Mumbai, India, street children working with social workers formed a network of support that street children could access through a toll-free telephone number. Called Child Line, the service was seen as so valuable by several state governments that they established internal units with similar procedures and goals (Heath and Robinson, 2004).

Regardless of physical location or period of history, learning communities exhibit certain core features. The young must work across media, in high-risk roles, under high-demand circumstances, and they learn primarily through observation, direct experience, and trial and error. Much of what they do in these learning communities depends on close visual attention, manual dexterity, embodiment of roles, identity strengthening, and orientation to the future.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

With the turn of the twenty-first century and widespread publicity about the perceived inadequacies of schools and families, more and more researchers began to study learning communities outside institutional sponsorship (Hull and Schultz, 2002; Miles et al., 2002). The percentage of two-working parent and single-parent households increased in

economies driven by technological advances and information-access explosions. Commercial edu-tainment and video and computer games drew the young. Young people came to spend most of their time as spectators of the creative work of others, “plugged-in” cellphone and iPod users, and solo players involved in highly repetitive eye-hand manipulative activities. Interactive talk with adults in project work or plan development or critique decreased in the home and in out-of-school hours of the young (Buckingham, 1993; Lareau, 2003). New research underway in European nations, England, Australia, Canada, and the USA focuses primarily on learning communities created by youth engaged in the arts, community development, environmental sustainability, health education, and social marketing. The wave of the future promises to address the proposal made by anthropologist Margaret Mead that the future of learning would belong to the pre-figurative talents of the young that would inevitably take over the post-figurative orientation of their elders (Mead, 1970).

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Variation and variability within and across learning communities of the young pose the major challenge to advancement of methods and theory. No problems are more critical than the dominance of studies of *monolingual speakers*. Across societies around the world, most young people speak, perform, and create in more than one language or language variety and in multiple modes (cf. Rampton, 1995). Moreover, depiction of the young in terms of an assumed generational response (e.g. Generation X) strips away the fact that the young invent and reinvent themselves in personal meanings and community involvement when they undertake membership in peer friendship groups, gangs, community, or religious organizations (cf. Baquedano-López, 1997). Young people need a biographic space to understand how and what they mean to others now and for the future. Moreover, symbolic representation and manipulation, along with creation of visual and performative means of projecting identities, constitute a substantial part of young people’s sense of involvement in youth culture, local, and global.

These difficulties come in the mismatch of customary data collection methods with the ability of the young to exclude their elders and to have considerable insight into the *a priori* assumptions of adults who ask questions, hold interviews, and lead focus groups. Across cultures, the young also excel in “true lies,” saying earnestly what is “true” at the moment or to someone somewhere, but without verification (Heath, 1997). Research with young people, perhaps more than any other group, depends upon building trust and a sense of reciprocity, respect, and data-sharing along the way (Heath, 1995, 1996).

Furthermore, nothing more than a rough framework is possible in the study of the linguistic life course of any individual or group. In particular, categories, agents, and settings derived from research in mainstream Western societies cannot be transferred across either socioeconomic or cultural boundaries. In particular, findings and theories drawn from studies of monolingual speakers in societies that expect maturity to bring developing fluency in a standard variety have little or no relevance for bilingual or multilingual communities around the world.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The future for research on the socialization of the young in verbal, visual, and performative dimensions holds few prospects for long-term work. As noted above, speakers and listeners in this group present almost insurmountable difficulties for researchers because of their closed-group inclusion norms. The presence of adults alters the language and modal production and valuation underway in drastic ways.

For the future, youth voices through their own work or their collaboration with listening adults will be at the center (cf. Farrell, 1990). The young in their friendship groups and in their work within community organizations will, no doubt, be preferred contexts for data collection and analysis.

Community organizations offer some particular benefits. Adult presence in these environments is routine; moreover, many adults who come through the organizations are expected to enter into conversation with the young, learn more about their work, and offer evaluative comments as well as resources. Moreover, the service orientation and performative nature of many community organizations means that listening and recording and asking for explanations take place on a regular basis. The most effective and promising direction for research on language socialization of young people in these environments will come from highly creative collaborative work in which some data collection methods, such as interviews, questionnaires, and close observation can be undertaken by youth members themselves who have real questions they want answered about their group and its work.

We can expect that learning communities of young people will continue to be heavily influenced by the need for a sense of belonging and meaning by the young. Simultaneously, they strive for coherence and identity, all the while knowing that they must make some kind of place for themselves in the rules and resources of the adult world to come. Social criticism, along with the desire to serve, heal, and help, will continue to place the young in these communities at the margins and often in opposition to the everyday lives of adults. Hence,

problematization will continue to come naturally, and research asking “how” and “for what” will not lose appeal. Researchers who can work with these questions are likely to be welcomed so long as they are true learners along *with* the young.

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## GENDERED SECOND LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION

### INTRODUCTION

Despite the fact that gender is a central organizing principle in every culture and that conceptions of normative masculinities and femininities differ cross-culturally, the role of gender identity in second language socialization has received insufficient attention. In 1994, Burton commented on the paucity of studies addressing the intersection of multilingualism and gender: “With a few notable exceptions, the considerable body of work on language and gender deals with monolingual situations, whatever the cultural context. In the literature on bilingualism, on the other hand, gender is hardly mentioned; here, it seems, is an area in which the experience of women is little documented” (1994, p. 1).

More than a decade later, an increasing number of studies have contributed to a more complex understanding of gender identity and its role in second language (L2) socialization within culturally heterogeneous and multilingual settings. The perspective of gendered L2 socialization redefines what it means to learn a second language; more than just learning a structure for communication, learners are acquiring social, cultural, and gendered norms along with procedures for interpretation within a new cultural landscape. This concept has refocused the attention of researchers away from the acquisition of discrete language skills and toward the larger framework of identity and context that may provide or limit access to L2 socialization. Research has explored how gender influences access to language socialization opportunities, how L2 learning may lead to transformation of gender identities and performance and reconsideration of gender ideologies, and the influence of gender on the development of language ideologies. The primary focus of this chapter is adult gendered L2 socialization, but a few important studies on children’s L2 socialization are also included.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Research in gendered second language socialization emerged from two sources—research in the field of children’s first language socialization (see Kyratzis and Cook, *Language Socialization and Gendered Practices in Childhood*, Volume 8) and a growing interest in the exploration of language and gender in discourse. Current research in gendered

L2 socialization draws on the pioneering work of Ochs and Schieffelin (1984), which explored language socialization of young children. While investigating children's first language socialization, early work in the field viewed language socialization as a lifelong process, not complete in adolescence, inviting researchers to continue to explore language socialization in first and second languages throughout adulthood. Watson-Gegeo (1988, p. 582) indicates that "the substitution of *socialization* for *acquisition* places language learning within the more comprehensive domain of socialization, the lifelong process through which individuals are initiated into cultural meanings and learn to perform the skills, tasks, roles and identities expected by whatever society or societies they may live in." Language socialization allows exploration into how individuals become socialized into gendered and other identities.

Research in the field of language and gender was also an important influence on research in gendered L2 socialization. Influenced by the feminist political movement in the 1970s, this research explored inequitable power relations between men and women through discourse studies (for a detailed review on gender and language research, see Freeman, 1997). A growing interest in the role of gender in linguistic phenomena encouraged a number of studies which explored the role of gender in second language acquisition. Many of the early studies employed a binary and essentialist definition of gender, which resulted in an oversimplification of gender's role in linguistic phenomena.

Early developments in the area of gender within the field of second language acquisition were mainly experimental or quasi-experimental studies. Many of these studies resulted in universalizing claims about women's linguistic role. For example, Ellis (1994, p. 204) in an assessment of women's L2 learning abilities, states, "The female 'culture' seems to lend itself more readily to dealing with the inherent threat imposed to identity by second language learning." Although Ellis does note that gender is likely to interact with other factors such as age, ethnicity, and social class in determining L2 proficiency, statements such as these depict women as one monolithic culture and overlook the social context of the language learner.

Norton's (1997) article, which called for a reassessment of identity in the field of second language acquisition, had a significant impact on research in gendered second language socialization. Norton wrote that the field of second language acquisition had been unable to conceptualize the relationship between the language learner and the social world because researchers had not developed a comprehensive poststructural theory of identity which integrated the language learner and the social context of language acquisition. Her work was influential in moving the field of second language acquisition away from perceiving gender

as a variable and toward a consideration of gender as local and socially constructed.

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet's (1992) work, while not specifically within a second language context, was influential in understanding gender as embedded within the construction of other socially significant categories, which are constituted through language. They cautioned readers about the problems that might result from global claims about women's role in language change and urged researchers to "think practically and look locally" in understanding the tendencies of gendered language change and acquisition:

To think practically and look locally is to abandon several assumptions common in gender and language studies: that gender can be isolated from other aspects of social identity and relations, that gender has the same meaning across communities, and that the linguistic manifestations of that meaning are also the same across communities (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992, p. 462).

Their suggestion urges researchers not to globalize gender across different contexts, but instead to examine the social, economic, and political contexts which influence the construction of gender identity, and the ways in which the use of a particular language variety or form may index a gender identity. "Looking locally" calls attention to the importance of researching gender in local communities of practice, defined as groups "whose joint engagement in some activity or enterprise is sufficiently intensive to give rise over time to a repertoire of shared practices" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1999, p. 185).

Research in the area of children's first language socialization, growing interest in the role of gender in discourse and language learning, and a more nuanced understanding of gender as an aspect of identity led to a number of major contributions in the field of gendered second language socialization.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Researchers have investigated three main areas in which gender influences opportunities for language socialization. The first area focuses on the role that gender identity plays in enhancing or limiting access to linguistic resources. Studies in the second area investigate the ways in which gender identity influences interactional opportunities for male and female learners in L2 classrooms. The third area relates to the intersection of language ideologies and gender ideologies, examining how gendered ideologies about a second language influence a learner's investment in or resistance to learning (Norton and Pavlenko, 2004).

*Gendered Access*

Gender identity affects the communities of practice in which individuals can participate and their access to opportunities for L2 socialization. A number of researchers have explored how gender identities influence access to jobs, schooling, and other settings where second languages can be acquired. Holmes (1993), working with immigrant women in Australia and New Zealand, and Rockhill (1993), working with Latino women in the USA, have documented that immigrant women often have less access to L2 socialization in workplace settings than men. Goldstein's (1995) research with Portuguese immigrant women in Canada calls attention to the gendered cultural practices in the workplace. The women workers in her study resisted the use of English, despite the fact that English would lead to the possibility of job advancement, because of the benefits in solidarity and group membership associated with being a monolingual Portuguese speaker.

Researchers have also investigated the ways in which women may have limited access to formal study, and thus socialization into, a second language. Cumming and Gill (1991) call attention to sociocultural factors and traditional family roles, which may privilege men's interaction with the larger community and thus limit women's access to ESL classes. Kouritzin (2000) demonstrates that availability of L2 learning is not the same as access. She describes an Indian woman for whom an ESL class and daycare were available, but she was not able to take advantage of these, as her husband was adamant that only family should care for the children.

While many studies indicate that women have fewer opportunities to learn a second language through classroom study or naturalistically, others indicate that there are contexts in which enacting a female gender identity is beneficial in acquiring a second language. Günthner (1992) found that among Chinese students learning German, women were more likely to continue asking for assistance on language tasks from native speakers, whereas men found asking for assistance face-threatening and attempted to handle language learning problems independently. Moon (2000) demonstrated that among Asian international students in the USA, women were more likely to develop a relationship with a native-English-speaking man and thus had greater opportunities for extended interaction in the target language.

*Gendered Interactions*

A number of studies have examined the ways that gender influences opportunities for interaction in a variety of classroom settings, from elementary through higher education. Losey (1995, 1997) examines

the impact of gender and ethnicity on classroom interaction in a mixed monolingual English and bilingual Spanish/English community college composition course in California. Through analysis of differences in students' oral participation, she reveals the different types of participation of Mexican men and women in the course.

Willett (1995) describes the participation of ESL children in a mainstream first-grade classroom. Using a language socialization orientation, she describes how interactional routines were important sites for constructing social relations, identities, and ideologies in the classroom, and how these, in turn, affected the children's access to L2 socialization in the classroom setting. Contrasting the girls' experiences with those of the only ESL boy in the classroom, she demonstrates how constructions of gender and class positioned the girls as successful learners and the boy as a problematic learner.

Toohy (2001) investigated the connection between disputes and English language learning for children within the context of a Canadian public school classroom. The study closely examines how behavior in disputes with classmates influences girls' opportunities for participation in activities and conversation in the classroom, illustrating how gender and race influence positioning in the classroom, and thus, opportunities for L2 socialization.

Norton and Toohy (2001) explore both classroom and community contexts, which offer opportunities for language socialization. They reexamine the notion of "the good language learner" from a language socialization perspective, providing a critique of earlier research which focused on individual learner characteristics. Through an analysis of two learners—an immigrant woman and a five-year old girl, both of whom were learning English in Canada—the authors demonstrate how communities of practice are structured to facilitate or constrain learners' access to the linguistic resources of their communities. The contrasting contexts of their language development offer insight into the very different opportunities for L2 socialization available to children and adult L2 learners.

### *Gender Ideologies*

Researchers have explored how gendered ideologies about a second language influence a learner's investment in or resistance to learning. A number of studies from Japan indicate that English, in particular, is fundamentally linked to feminism and the opportunity for expanded gender roles for Japanese women. Kobayashi (2002) demonstrates that Japanese women are especially interested in English-language learning, as it offers the opportunity of travel and work in English-speaking countries, which offer more expansive gender identities for women.

McMahill's (2001) study of female Japanese learners in a feminist EFL class finds that English acquisition provides Japanese women with an opportunity to reassess gender ideologies and to use English as a language of empowerment. She writes that

speaking in a foreign language such as English, while obviously entailing a struggle with another set of linguistic gender ideologies, may be seen as a gendered linguistic choice, which offers them a linguistic space for reexamining more consciously the norms of gendered speech and identity in Japanese (McMahill, 2001, p. 312).

Studies by Siegal (1996) and Ohara (2001) demonstrate that learners may resist linguistic forms which are perceived to index problematic gender ideologies. In a case study of an American woman learning Japanese in Japan, Siegal (1996) demonstrates how gender identity and learner subjectivity influence the acquisition of sociolinguistic competency. Using phonetic analysis and ethnographic interviews, Ohara (2001) shows that English native speakers learning Japanese resist the use of a high-pitched voice, which is a resource for projecting femininity in Japanese culture.

Researchers have explored how L2 learning offers the potential to envision new gendered identities. Pavlenko (2001) connects second language learning with the transformation of gender performance and the reconsideration of gender ideologies. Through her analysis of 30 first-person narratives, which focus on L2 learning and use, she demonstrates how L2 socialization provides opportunities for the reexamination of previously unquestioned gender ideologies. She documents three contexts in which opportunities for reexamination present themselves: within intimate relationships and friendships, within parent-child relationships, and in workplace interactions. Other chapters within the same edited volume, entitled *Multilingualism, Second Language Learning, and Gender* (Pavlenko et al., 2001), explore the relationship between gender identity and L2 use in institutional, private, and educational contexts.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Although it represents a fairly recent development within the field of language socialization, a number of special journal issues and edited volumes on gendered second language socialization research have appeared. A *TESOL Quarterly* special issue, edited by Davis and Skilton-Sylvester (2004), explored gender in a variety of ESL and EFL teaching and learning contexts. Two articles have a particular focus on L2 socialization. Hruska's (2004) article investigates the ways that relationships and interactions are mediated through gender in an

English dominant kindergarten in the USA. This study demonstrated how local constructions of gender and race can both support and constrain English language learners' classroom participation, affecting students' opportunities for L2 socialization. Gordon (2004) investigates the interplay between gender identity shifts and L2 socialization, documenting the processes by which Laotian women and men redefine their gender identities in the USA. This study demonstrates the impact of gender identity shifts on access to second language resources, focusing on workplace and domestic language events as opportunities for L2 socialization.

Langman (2004) edited a special issue of the *Journal of Language, Identity and Education* entitled "(Re)constructing Gender in a New Voice," which examines the potential effects of gender identity on the process of L2 learning for bilingual and immigrant women. Warriner's (2004) article within this volume explores the gendered language socialization of Sudanese women refugees in the USA, examining how women are positioned and position themselves as language learners in the context of the workplace.

Bayley and Schecter's (2003) book, *Language Socialization in Bilingual and Multilingual Societies*, includes articles that explore language socialization in language contact settings across the lifespan. Two chapters specifically examine gendered L2 socialization. Luykx (2003) examines the connections between gender roles and relations and language socialization within the family language policies of bilingual Aymara/Spanish households. Khayatt (2003) examines socialization into a lesbian identity in a society in which the dominant language (Egyptian Arabic) offers no word to describe that identity.

Researchers have investigated gendered language socialization within intimate relationships, particularly bilingual couples. Piller (2002) examines gendered identities and linguistic choices among bilingual couples in which each individual is from a different linguistic background. She studied the ways in which bilingual couples perceive and perform their identities and the ideologies and beliefs which enable or constrain their language choices. Vitanova (2004) examines gender transformations in the face of L2 learning among recent immigrant couples from Ukraine and Russia in the USA.

Recent contributions have focused on the practical application of theoretical and empirical research findings regarding L2 socialization to the classroom. Norton and Pavlenko's (2004) edited volume offers studies that examine gender and language learning from a socio-cultural and cross-cultural perspective. The 11 chapters represent a diverse range of contexts, from primary to higher education in five countries. Contributions focus on ways in which gender inequities in language learning have been addressed within classrooms and schools,

and action research projects that promote critical reflection about gender and language learning.

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

As Langman (2004) notes in the introduction to her *Journal of Language, Identity and Education* special issue, the majority of gendered L2 socialization studies involve English as the target language. Much of the research has been conducted in the USA, mainly by American researchers. Broadening the research base to include non-English speakers from a variety of countries would contribute to the field.

Queer theory has influenced the field of sociolinguistics to examine lexical use and discourse strategies of previously marginalized groups such as gays and lesbians and the distinctive use of linguistic gender systems by transgendered individuals. Studies of gendered L2 socialization which have explored intimate relationships, however, have limited their focus to heterosexual couples and presupposed that individuals are being socialized into heterosexual gender identities. Studies such as Khayatt's (2003) referenced earlier, which explore language socialization among diverse sexual orientations, would offer insight into gender ideologies.

Much of the literature in gendered L2 socialization focuses on *women's* linguistic contributions. Identity theory has witnessed a growing interest in the construction of masculinity as an identity category, rather than an unproblematic norm against which femininity is analyzed. While relatively few studies have explored the connections between masculine identity and L2 socialization, there are significant exceptions. A study conducted by Pujolar i Cos demonstrates that language ideologies are connected to a society's construction of masculinity and may influence gendered language choice. Pujolar i Cos (1997) illustrates that young working class men in Barcelona discursively construct a masculine identity predicated on physical strength, heterosexuality, homophobia, and transgressive acts. This performance of masculinity is achieved in part through a rejection of Catalan, which is associated with school learning and femininity, along with a use of Spanish with an Andalusian accent that indexes a tougher, streetwise masculinity. In another study, Echeverria (2002) examines processes of erasure, recursiveness, and iconicization in Basque language schooling. She considers how representations in textbooks, linguistic features, and gendered patterns of language use work to connect masculinity with Basque ethnic identity and language.

Teutsch-Dwyer (2001) explores masculinity and L2 development in her case study of a Polish man acquiring English in the

USA. She suggests that his position as a heterosexual male may contribute to early fossilization of linguistic forms, as female interlocutors act as linguistic caretakers, making frequent interactional modifications in their own speech to accommodate his limited English ability.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Gendered L2 socialization offers as yet unrealized possibilities to explore how gender ideologies develop and change over time in settings of language contact. Norton discusses the tendency of many ESL teachers to perceive learners' ethnic identity as predominant, while ignoring the changes influenced by the new cultural landscape: "Whereas immigrant learners' experiences in their native country may be a significant part of their identity, these experiences are constantly being mediated by their experiences in the new country" (Norton, 1997, p. 413). Longitudinal studies, which examine the deeply felt cultural adjustments of long-term immigrants, would provide insight into the active negotiation and creation of gender ideologies over time. It would also offer insight into the influence of growing second language proficiency on gender ideologies and the development of language ideologies about the native and target language.

Research that explores various spheres of interaction in the home, workplace, and community will contribute to a fuller understanding of language socialization among men and women. Research in multiple contexts will offer a fuller and more complex picture of an individual's process of gendered identity formation and L2 socialization.

Gendered L2 socialization research has examined a variety of discourse types, including transcripts of audio-taped conversations, ethnographic interviews, and first person narratives. Computer-mediated texts are an untapped, but potentially rewarding, area for language socialization research (see Lam, *Language Socialization in Online Communities*, Volume 8). Internet chat rooms and other forms of computer-mediated discourses are not only informal learning environments for L2 socialization, but discursive spaces where identities are formed and social relationships are negotiated. Examination of these texts, particularly within bilingual chat rooms, such as the Chinese/English chat room investigated by Lam (2004), provides inviting possibilities for researchers.

Studies that investigate specific, local forms of gender in multilingual, multicultural settings will make a valuable contribution to the field, expanding our understanding of the interaction between gender identity and second language socialization in a variety of communities of practice.

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## ACADEMIC DISCOURSE SOCIALIZATION IN A SECOND LANGUAGE

### INTRODUCTION

This chapter addresses an emerging area of research in applied linguistics that concerns the academic discourse socialization of university students in mainstream content areas or disciplines. Much of the earlier work on disciplinary socialization surrounded discussions about what academic discourse is and how students should be taught academic discourse or literacy (e.g., Bartholomoe, 1986; Elbow, 1991). This body of work tended to focus on students learning academic literacy—particularly composition skills—in their first language (L1), most often English. However, as the student population of postsecondary institutions in North America and other parts of the world grows increasingly multicultural and multilingual, recent work has started to deal with “nontraditional” students who need to acquire academic literacies in their second language (L2). The focus of this review therefore is recent literature on L2 academic discourse socialization. While much work has been done regarding how to prepare L2 students academically in English as a second language (ESL) or English for academic purposes (EAP) programs and courses, this chapter mainly reviews a relatively new area of research on students’ actual disciplinary socialization in undergraduate or graduate level courses.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Applied linguists have taken various theoretical and methodological approaches to studying L2 disciplinary socialization. In this chapter, we identify and review three major orientations. First, many studies, particularly in the area of EAP, have attempted to reveal the academic and linguistic knowledge and skills that students need to master to meet their academic demands. Two common types of research taking this orientation are needs-analysis survey research and genre-based research (e.g., Swales, 1990). For example, through a series of large-scale surveys conducted at US tertiary institutions, Ferris and Tagg (e.g., 1996) explored content-area instructors’ requirements as well as ESL students’ expectations regarding listening and speaking skills. In their pioneer work on genre analysis in EAP, Swales and Feak (1994) identified

certain linguistic and rhetorical conventions used in “research-process genres” in English-speaking academia. In addition to identifying the characteristics of general academic discourse (e.g., Johns, 1997), researchers have also found it useful to recognize discipline-specific genres and discourses (Berkenkotter and Huckin, 1995; Holmes, 1997). Holmes (1997), for instance, analyzed the Discussion sections of 30 social science research articles from three disciplines (history, political science, and sociology) and found that social science Discussion sections displayed some distinctive rhetorical features in comparison to their counterparts in natural sciences. As Swales and Feak (1994) emphasized, the primary goal of these studies is to assist learners in developing their academic communicative competence by means of explaining disciplinary practices, expectations, and discourses. However, some scholars have challenged this position by arguing that these types of research tend to essentialize disciplinary practices that are in fact in constant flux, and also tend to treat disciplinary socialization predominantly as a one-way assimilation rather than a more complex negotiation (Street, 1996; Zamel, 1997).

While the first orientation focuses on *what* students need to know, the second orientation asks *how* they are socialized. Studies taking the second orientation normally employ qualitative or ethnographic methods and document the socially and temporally situated process of socialization, often from participants’ perspectives (e.g., Casanave, 1995; Leki, 2001; Morita, 2000, 2004; Prior, 1998; Spack, 1997). For example, Prior (1998) presented “situated case studies of writing and disciplinary practices” (p. x) that documented how graduate students and their instructors in different disciplines engaged in and constructed a variety of “literate activities” (p. xi) in graduate seminars. Similarly, Casanave (1995) illustrated the ways in which a multicultural group of sociology doctoral students interacted with their instructors, teaching assistants, and other students to accomplish challenging writing tasks. Leki’s (2001) longitudinal study examined L2 students’ experiences in course-sponsored group projects across the curriculum. In particular, she explored the kinds of social/academic relationships that developed within work groups and their impact on L2 students’ participation and learning. Many of these studies find it useful to employ a “community-of-practice” perspective (Lave and Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998) in their analysis, and highlight the dynamic, complex, and coconstructed nature of disciplinary socialization. In other words, they document how newcomers negotiate not only their academic and linguistic demands but also the various contextual aspects—social, cultural, institutional, interpersonal, historical, and pedagogical aspects—of a given academic community, as well as their goals, personal histories, and multiple identities. Morita (2004), for instance, detailed the complex

negotiations experienced by a group of female students from Japan as each of them, with unique personal histories, participated in various courses and constructed different subject positions.

The third orientation represents a critical discourse/literacy perspective and foregrounds the issue of power. For researchers taking this orientation, academic discourse is not a set of neutral linguistic conventions but a value-laden, social practice that constructs and is constructed by unequal relations of power (Bizzell, 1992). Disciplinary socialization is also seen to involve power struggles in a substantial way. Issues examined from a critical perspective include the following: learner resistance (e.g., Benesch, 2000; Canagarajah, 1999), plagiarism and textual ownership (e.g., Currie, 1998; Pennycook, 1996), the role of gender and/or ethnicity (Losey, 1997), learner identity or voice (Atkinson, 2003), and the representation of multicultural learners (Harklau, 2000). Canagarajah (1999), for example, examined how learners as well as teachers of English in “periphery communities” (i.e., former colonies of certain European countries) not only resist English and the “linguistic imperialism” associated with the language, but also appropriate it creatively according to their local needs (cf., Atkinson, 2003). In his critical examination of the issue of plagiarism, Pennycook (1996) argued that the general beliefs in originality and textual ownership in the Western academy are not universal but culturally and historically specific, and that therefore, L2 writers’ apparent plagiarism is a much more complex phenomenon. Losey (1997) investigated the classroom behavior of Mexican American women in a US community college and contended that their social status as “double minorities” (in terms of gender and ethnicity) contributed to their relative silence. Harklau (2000) documented how a group of immigrant students appropriated certain institutional images or representations of ESL students (e.g., hardworking) in their secondary school, but later resisted the same representations in their postsecondary educational settings. As such, critical perspectives have explored how sociocultural, historical, and institutional forces, particularly in terms of power relations, impact disciplinary socialization, as well as how individuals accommodate or resist such forces in different ways.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

There are several major areas of current work on L2 academic discourse socialization. One area concerns modes of discourse. Over the last decade, researchers have conducted a number of studies to examine university students’ development of academic language and literacy by focusing primarily on writing (e.g., Casanave, 1995; Prior, 1998; Spack, 1997). Although Poole’s (1992) study, which examined

teacher–student interaction in ESL classes in a US university, appeared in the early 1990s, it is a relatively recent development that researchers have begun to focus on oral activities (Kobayashi, 2004; Morita, 2000, 2004). The primary purpose of this line of research is to gain a holistic understanding of how newcomers, through their participation in oral activities, become socialized into the academic discourse, knowledge, and practices that constitute their target communities. For example, Morita (2000) explored the ways in which a group of graduate students in language education gradually became apprenticed into oral academic discourses as they prepared for, observed, performed, and reviewed oral presentations in graduate seminars. Kobayashi (2004) examined the L2 discourse socialization of Japanese undergraduate students through group presentations during their year-long academic studies at a Canadian university. An important part of language socialization in this particular classroom community was to make intertextual connections relating their field experiences and observations explicitly to the textbook and lectures in their presentations.

Another important area of current research relates to silence (Liu, 2001; Morita, 2004). According to Saville-Troike (1985), silence has traditionally been dismissed or downplayed within linguistics “as merely the absence of speech” (p. 3). Liu (2001) states that in situations like university classrooms where class discussion is expected, silence may be perceived negatively as a “lack of involvement with others” (p. 195). In fact, many of the ESL teachers in Tsui’s (1996) study reported that they disliked or were afraid of silence and that they felt uncomfortable or intolerant when they did not get a response from their students. However, Jackson’s (2002) study conducted in Hong Kong suggests that quiet or taciturn students may not be as passive as their professors regard them to be. Morita (2004) similarly found that her participants were actively negotiating their identities in their new academic community even when they appeared relatively passive or silent in class discussions. She also found that some students used silence to resist their perceived marginality. Based on these findings, Morita argues that silence not be treated merely as a lack of speech or action, calling for emic approaches to explore its multiple meanings and interpretations as situated in particular socioeducational contexts.

A third area of current research has to do with types of learning. As Lave and Wenger’s (1991) model suggests, socialization has traditionally been seen to take place through apprenticeship where cultural novices learn valued practices of their community with the help of experienced members. An example of this is with writing conferencing where an expert writer (i.e., teacher) and a novice writer (i.e., student) work together to improve texts produced by the latter (e.g., Patthey-Chavez and Ferris, 1997). Another type of apprenticeship that has been

observed in postsecondary educational settings is through teacher–student classroom interactions. The aforementioned study by Poole (1992) examined the types of cultural information that an L2 teacher displayed through classroom discourse. More recently, Mohan and Beckett’s (2001) functional analysis demonstrated how the instructor of an undergraduate content course employed grammatical scaffolds in her students’ oral presentation to socialize them into causal discourse. While these studies suggest the important roles that teachers can play as socializing agents, other studies suggest that peer collaboration can be an important locus of learning and socialization as well (e.g., Kobayashi, 2004; Ohta, 2001; Storch, 2005). For example, Ohta’s (2001) classroom study, informed mainly by Vygotskian sociocultural theory and conducted with students of Japanese at an American university, revealed that her participants often assisted struggling partners in peer learning tasks by waiting for and encouraging their contributions, coconstructing utterances, and providing explanations. Storch (2005) similarly reports that ESL students who chose to work in pairs fulfilled their task requirements better than their classmates who chose to work individually by demonstrating greater grammatical accuracy and complexity in their written texts. It is important to note that these are relatively successful cases of peer learning. In fact, Leki (2001) found that her focal students, who spoke English as an L2, were positioned by their L1 group members to be relative novices, and that this positioning coupled with differences in power seemed to have prevented them from benefiting fully from and contributing meaningfully to their group project work.

A fourth line of current research deals with the issue of intertextuality or “the use of links and references to create a dialogue between texts” (Maybin, 2003, p. 159). Maybin (2003) states that this concept is closely related to the work of Bakhtin (e.g., 1981), who saw “development as the evolving interaction of authoritative and internally persuasive discourses that arises as a person actively assimilates and resists others’ voices, words, values, affective and evaluative stances, and so on” (Prior, 1998, p. 21). For instance, Scollon, Tsang, Li, Yung, and Jones (1998) found that university students in Hong Kong marshaled a variety of L2 discursive resources in their writing tasks to create intertextuality and multivoicedness such as indirect speech, scare quotes, and paraphrases. Prior (1998) illustrated the ways in which two L2 graduate students writing a thesis appropriated words and phrases from their references by juxtaposing the sources and their final products. This intertextual analysis revealed a striking difference in the extent to which the students engaged in the academic practices of writing and knowledge construction: while one student demonstrated “strong evidence of appropriating, aligning with, and becoming responsible for

disciplinary practices” (p. 132), the other spoke through others’ voices without providing clear evidence of such “deep participation” (p. 103).

Finally, there is a growing interest in the role of L1 in L2 academic learning and socialization. Although not conducted within the framework of language socialization or situated in a content class, Antón and DiCamilla’s (1998) sociocultural study on the task-based interactions of English-speaking students of Spanish provides valuable insights on this issue. The analysis of discourse indicated that students’ use of their L1 allowed them to provide each other with scaffolded assistance and regulate their own cognitive activity. More recently, in the aforementioned study by Kobayashi (2004), Japanese undergraduate students used their L1 in the early phases of their presentation preparation during which they negotiated task definitions, requirements, and content; however, they used less Japanese as their focus shifted from content to language and performance. This finding seems to suggest that L1 might have served as an important scaffold for the students’ accomplishment of the oral presentation tasks, thus corroborating the findings of Antón and DiCamilla’s (1998) study. In short, this line of research has shed light on the mediational function of L1 discourse in L2 learning.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

One of the major challenges in theorizing L2 disciplinary socialization is that researchers have competing views on key concepts such as academic discourse, disciplinary practice, socialization, power, agency, identity, and culture. As we have outlined earlier, some take the position that it is possible and helpful to define certain characteristics of general academic discourse and practice and to raise learners’ awareness of them. Some believe that each discipline has its distinct genres, discourse conventions, and practices to be mastered by its newcomers. And yet, others consider disciplinary discourses and practices as being much more open and unstable, arguing that any effort of essentializing them would be counter-productive. Accordingly, different interpretations of disciplinary socialization exist: for some, it is largely a matter of acquiring a given set of knowledge, rules, and conventions, whereas for others, it is a more unpredictable, conflictual, and locally situated process. Theoretical issues have also been raised around the notions of power and human agency. A commonly debated issue is to what extent the existing power structures in educational institutions remain stable or unstable. Canagarajah (1999) summarized two competing perspectives on power within the critical pedagogical paradigm, namely, the “models of reproduction and resistance” (p. 22). According to Canagarajah, reproduction models explain how “the students are

conditioned mentally and behaviorally by the practice of schooling to serve the dominant social institutions and groups” (p. 22). Resistance models, which Canagarajah advocated for, explain how “there are sufficient contradictions within institutions to help subjects gain agency, conduct critical thinking, and initiate change” (p. 22). Different perspectives on power and agency also lead to different understandings of identity. Reproductive approaches to power tend to adopt a rather deterministic view of identity, dividing individuals into majorities and minorities. Other approaches, especially the ones informed by postcolonial and poststructural theories (e.g., Hall, 1990) understand that identities are constructed discursively and interactionally and therefore are multiple, conflictual, and unstable.

The issue of identity has also been discussed in relation to the notion of culture. Recently, applied linguists have engaged in debates on the role of learners’ cultural background and identity in L2 academic socialization. Many studies in contrastive rhetoric, cross-cultural communication, and other related fields have investigated how differences in norms, values, and communication styles between students’ L1 and L2 culture may cause certain difficulties and tensions (e.g., Flowerdew and Miller, 1995; Ramanathan and Atkinson, 1999). However, researchers such as Zamel (1997) and Kubota (1999) have recently challenged these studies, claiming that they tend to promote a deterministic and monolithic view of culture and also depict L2 learners as rigidly constrained by their cultural backgrounds. These researchers instead argue for a view of culture that is dynamic and constructed. For example, Zamel (1997) proposed the notion of *transculturation* that “celebrates the selective, generative, and inventive nature of linguistic and cultural adaptation” (p. 350). This dynamic model of culture treats L2 students as active agents who negotiate and construct their identities as they encounter their new cultural and academic environments.

In addition to the contestation of some of the key concepts discussed earlier, recent theoretical discussions also suggest some of the limitations of traditional language socialization frameworks. First, whereas traditional models tend to assume a relatively stable set of norms and practices of target culture or community, academic communities that are increasingly international, interdisciplinary, and intertextual may be characterized by the multiplicity and instability of their discourses, values, and practices. This, in turn, suggests that socialization into such a community can be more unpredictable and conflictual than, for example, children’s first language socialization. Second, while traditional frameworks usually rely on a relatively clear dichotomy between “experts” (e.g., caregivers, masters, teachers) and “novices” (e.g., children, apprentices, students), participants in disciplinary socialization situations may bring or construct

a much wider range of roles and identities. Furthermore, some studies have indicated that the construction of identity and expertise in disciplinary practices is achieved interactionally on a moment-by-moment basis, suggesting the need for a more dynamic notion of expertise (Morita, 2000; Tracy, 1997). Tracy (1997), for instance, demonstrated the complex negotiation of expertise and identity in departmental colloquia involving students and faculty members with various institutional roles and statuses. Third, power negotiation involving various roles, statuses, and goals, may take a more complex form than the one assumed by traditional models. For example, contrary to the assumption of traditional models that experts or peers assist novices, studies have shown that such assistance may not be granted equally to all learners depending on the intricate power relations formed in a given academic context (e.g., Leki, 2001; Morita, 2004).

Another difficulty in this area of research relates to the question, how can we document and evaluate the outcomes of L2 disciplinary socialization? As we have discussed earlier, previous research has effectively explored either the goals (e.g., needs-analysis survey, genre analysis) or process of socialization, but only limited attention has been given to the various outcomes of socialization, including learners' development (or lack of it). Very few studies have provided explicit illustration as to what L2 students were able to do as a result of their socialization or what kinds of development—including linguistic acquisition—occurred over time. Part of the difficulty is that it is not always easy to determine what counts as relevant outcomes or as evidence of socialization. For example, linguistic development may count as an important outcome. However, what kinds of linguistic development are indicative of successful socialization is not a simple question, if we take the view that disciplinary discourses are multiple and constantly changing. Other kinds of learning can be considered as important outcomes, such as gaining content knowledge, being increasingly able to participate in classroom and other academic activities, gaining membership or constructing certain types of identities, and learning through interaction with peers and instructors. However, what counts as a significant part of socialization depends on not only the values of a given academic community but also individual students' personal goals. Furthermore, each academic community's values can be multiple, and also, students may be participating in multiple academic communities at the same time. Thus, assessing socialization outcomes is by no means a simple matter.

Finally, while research has shown how L2 students may face various challenges in their mainstream content area courses, pedagogical issues such as how to assist these students remain relatively unexplored. The difficulty of providing general pedagogical implications may partly come from the variability and fluidity of academic discourses and practices; any prescriptive suggestion may be of limited use. Another

problem is that students' needs can vary greatly since they may come from a wide range of linguistic, cultural, and educational backgrounds. Furthermore, identifying the "special needs" of L2 students may not be as straightforward as one might assume; mastering academic discourses can be a challenge even to native speakers (e.g., Morita, 2000; Tracy, 1997). In fact, given the growing diversity in university classrooms, the traditional dichotomy between native speakers and nonnative speakers may be useful only to a limited degree; all students—L1 and L2 speakers alike—bring their unique set of needs, challenges, knowledge, and resources. Then, research should address not only the specific needs that L2 students might have, but also the tensions and difficulties that arise from the ever-increasing heterogeneity of university classrooms. Critical literacy/pedagogy perspectives may play a particularly important role in addressing such challenges and possibly transforming academic practices (Norton and Toohey, 2004). In addition, if academic socialization is a two-way process in which both newcomers and communities evolve (Wenger, 1998), it is important to explore not just what individual students and instructors can do, but what academic communities—including university institutions—should do to accommodate and benefit from the diverse backgrounds of their newcomers.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS FOR RESEARCH

Based on our review of the literature, we would like to suggest several important directions for future investigations. One is to examine the process of discourse socialization in various disciplines and with learners of different genders and from various linguistic/cultural backgrounds. Research is also needed on disciplinary socialization in various geographic contexts, considering that most university-level studies to date have been conducted within English-medium contexts in Canada and the USA. In addition, documenting L1 students' disciplinary socialization would allow for the establishment of a baseline for comparison with data on L2 students. Another line of future research is to explore multiple viewpoints: in addition to students' perspectives, it seems crucial to examine instructors' views and concerns about their students' socialization as well as about their own challenges and transformations, as they attempt to deal with various learner needs. A close examination of institutional factors that both enable and constrain instructors' decisions and actions would also be important.

Future research should also investigate different types of communicative practices or activities. As our literature review suggests, many studies to date have focused on oral presentations and single authoring of papers. Thus, studies on other types of activities such as on-line

communication and discussions (see the review by Lam, *Language Socialization in Online Communities*, Volume 8), coauthoring of a research paper, and meetings with professors and peers, as well as studies on connections between related practices and activities would be helpful. Moreover, Kress (2000) argues that we view “language as a multimodal phenomenon” (p. 184). With this reconceptualization, it seems fruitful to examine learners’ engagement with and juxtaposition of different semiotic modes including visual and electronic texts as well as oral and written discourse in classroom literacy events.

Intertextuality is another issue that deserves further investigation. Duff (2004) reports that her teacher participant’s frequent spontaneous references to pop culture in a high school social studies class tended to engage local students; however, the very same practice might have marginalized immigrant English learners by preventing them from fully participating in class discussions. Furthermore, Morgan and Ramanathan (2005) suggest that teacher talk can be used as a resource to juxtapose different texts in ways that encourage students to make multiple meanings and interpretations and challenge the received knowledge of their disciplines. Thus, future research should examine how the intertextuality and hybridity of classroom discourse may facilitate or hinder students’ participation and learning in different academic contexts. In addition, as Scollon, Tsang, Li, Yung, and Jones (1998) suggest, future research should explore students’ appropriation and representation of multiple voices in their L2 academic texts to better understand how they develop their linguistic resources to achieve intertextuality.

Future research can also document and assess relevant outcomes of disciplinary socialization. This is no easy task for the reasons given earlier. However, Swain (2000) reports an interesting example. In assessing learners’ language development, Swain and her colleagues found that pre- and posttest design was not appropriate as different participants, as active agents, focused on different aspects of language in their pair work. Therefore, they decided to trace L2 learning to the *collaborative dialogue* where the participants talked about the language they produced. Lantolf and Poehner (2004) have recently suggested the notion of *dynamic assessment* where learners would be provided with scaffolds to assess what they can do with assistance as well as on their own (see also the review by Lantolf and Poehner, *Dynamic Assessment*, Volume 7). These types of assessment may be more compatible with language socialization research and also attribute greater agency to learners than some other traditional approaches (e.g., with a pre- and posttest design). However, these approaches are based on overt participation; as several studies have shown, students who make limited oral contributions may be cognitively engaged as well. To assess the learning outcomes of such learners, researchers might need

to consider not only the language produced by learners but also learners' perspectives accessed through interviews and self-reports. Importantly, since such an approach would add a new level of complexity to the relationships between the researcher and the researched, researchers would need to be more reflexive about their own research practices. Findings of such studies would yield fruitful insights and shed valuable light on the complex, dynamic nature of L2 academic discourse socialization.

**See Also:** *Wan Shun Eva Lam: Language Socialization in Online Communities (Volume 8)*; *James P. Lantolf and Matthew E. Poehner: Dynamic Assessment (Volume 7)*

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## LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION, HIGHER EDUCATION, AND WORK

### INTRODUCTION

Although most language socialization research has historically been situated in homes and schools with relatively young language learners (see Ochs and Schieffelin, *Language Socialization: An Historical Overview*, Volume 8), a growing number of studies investigate socialization well beyond childhood and adolescence into adulthood. An examination of the length and breadth of language socialization, or “lifelong” and “lifewide” socialization, takes into account individuals’ and groups’ movement into new educational, vocational, professional, and other settings, and into the cultures, language and literacy practices, identities, and stances instilled there.

In this chapter, I focus primarily on the linguistic socialization of learners at work or preparing for work by means of education activities and apprenticeship, keenly aware that the distinction between (higher) education and work is becoming increasingly blurred. Formal education now offers various kinds of on-the-job internships and integrative cooperative (co-op) experiences as well as traditional in-class, mixed-mode (online and face-to-face), or distance-education study. At the same time, different kinds of work may involve considerable on-site training, professional development, and implicit or explicit socialization as well, especially in the context of the postindustrial, global knowledge economy. Furthermore, the traditional progression from secondary and tertiary education programs to work is not as seamless or linearly sequenced as it once was. Postsecondary programs admit a wide range of older or nontraditional students into diploma, certificate, and degree programs at various points in their lives and careers. In addition, nonformal education contexts, such as community center or after-school or after-work programs, or even narrative activity about work in private homes, also provide rich sites for language socialization and preparation for work.

In contemporary societies, the discourse demands of work are evolving with the endless infusion of new technologies, social and industrial restructuring, outsourcing and globalization, and with the emergence of powerful international lingua francas, such as English, that mediate

higher education and work in many spheres. Because people's career trajectories are quite dynamic and varied, they often must learn new ways of speaking and writing and representing meaning through graphic images and multimedia, for new purposes and audiences, and with new colleagues—both local and remote—as they move across jobs, communities, disciplines, professions, languages, cultures, and geographical boundaries. Thus, the need to understand complex socialization processes, outcomes, and points of tension has become quite acute.

#### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Heath's (1983) groundbreaking research in three diverse communities in southeastern United States provided an important early analysis of how people's educational and career trajectories are influenced by their own and their caregivers' oral and literate language socialization histories, activities, opportunities, and their "linguistic and social capital." Their ongoing language socialization and their future prospects are also inextricably linked to the economic conditions and vitality of their communities. Heath conceded that the power enjoyed by middle-class educated townspeople in her study in both schools and workplaces was largely "foredestined in the conceptual structures which they have learned at home and which are reinforced in school and numerous other associations" (p. 368). Her study also highlighted the importance of having teachers learn about their own and their students' home language socialization behaviors and patterns by means of professional development and graduate studies involving ethnographic fieldwork and the analysis of language and literacy in and across local communities and workplaces—including schools—in order to accommodate diverse learners better. In other words, the teachers themselves needed to be socialized into new modes of discourse through higher education.

Heath (1989) later wrote about the rapidly changing workplace affected by widespread industrialization, urbanization, migration, displacement, and the closing of textile factories in the region affecting her participants. Mainstream schools and curricula, she noted, with their emphasis on the development of individual autonomous learners and knowledge, were not socializing students into vaunted new collaborative practices or project work. Heath therefore underscored the need for language socialization involving collaborative teamwork, the joint authorship and interpretation of texts, graphics, and other media, and shared responsibility for plans, decisions, and actions of the sort required in many postindustrial workplaces. Ironically, she observed that this socially distributed view of knowledge and of the use of language to solve problems, collectively narrate events, and so on, long embraced by certain minority groups in the USA (e.g., African

Americans) and germane to their indigenous language socialization practices, was being lost with the breakdown of traditions and social structures in struggling minority communities just as they were being promoted in mainstream work environments.

Interactional sociolinguistic research that was being conducted concurrently in multiracial communities in England examined the difficulties faced by South Asian immigrants seeking employment in English workplaces (e.g., Gumperz, 1982; Jupp, Roberts, and Cook-Gumperz, 1982). Taking part in “gatekeeping” job interviews satisfactorily for that purpose and then becoming integrated within the local workplace culture and society proved challenging for many of these newcomers because of their prior linguistic socialization and cultural values and also the host culture’s unfamiliarity with—and often intolerance of—these same practices and values. However, in addition to their prior socialization, an obstacle for newcomers wishing to emulate the valued discourse of the local English-speaking community was their lack of access to naturally occurring peer-group English interaction and thus opportunities for their discourse socialization in English. As Heath and others subsequently observed, this negative situation is difficult to improve without concrete forms of intervention.

Under the auspices of the Industrial Language Training Service, Jupp, Roberts, and Cook-Gumperz, (1982) therefore developed ethnographically informed training programs aimed at “breaking the cycle” faced by these workers by creating “new contexts for language socialization” (p. 247). The well-known video *Crosstalk* (Gumperz, Jupp, and Roberts, 1979) illustrated their approach to linguistic socialization by simulating an interview between British college employers and a South Asian seeking a job as a college librarian, in which the candidate failed to “sell himself,” discursively, in an effective (Anglo-British) manner for the job in question. The researchers then worked with members of both communities to help them understand why the discourse of the two parties seemed to be operating at cross purposes and how that might be remedied.

Philips’ (1982) research in southwestern United States took place in a more exclusive academic and sociocultural environment—in a law degree program in which she immersed herself for a year as a participant observer. Her initial study of language socialization within the legal profession focused on the “legal cant,” the specialized, complex, and often publicly inaccessible or impenetrable legal terminology and discourse patterns, both oral and written, associated with appellate (case) law and practice. Indeed, Philips observed that “it is almost necessary to go to law school to learn how to use the language” appropriately (p. 196). The very segregated social organization of law school, moreover, ensured that law students spent a great deal of time

speaking to one another using this newly acquired in-group language and drawing on shared knowledge, with little need or chance to speak intelligibly about the law to nonspecialist outsiders. Interestingly, through her ethnographic research Philips was attempting to not only understand legal discourse socialization processes but to become sufficiently proficient in legal discourse herself to undertake subsequent research on judges' language use in courtrooms.

A fourth less well known but nonetheless intriguing early academic discourse and workplace-oriented language socialization study was undertaken by Cohn (1987), a self-described "anti-war feminist" who spent a year in the mid-1980s studying about nuclear strategic analysis within a community of "defense intellectuals" or analysts. She was a participant observer and also a learner of their "techno-strategic" language, as she called it. This language sanitized war with "clean bombs" and "surgically clean strikes." Military attack was likened, linguistically, to heterosexual domination and domestic bliss. It was to Cohn a language with "enormous destructive power, but without the emotional fallout" (p. 4). However, the longer she spent in this discourse community, the less galling she found the "bloodcurdling casualness with which they regularly blew up the world while standing and chatting over the coffee pot" (p. 27). And after some time, she noticed with chagrin, "what had once been remarkable became unnoticeable. As I learned to speak, my perspective changed." (p. 27)

These early ethnographic studies featuring participants in very diverse fields of training illustrate the importance of examining language socialization processes and discourse in their social, cultural, historical, political, institutional, and economic contexts. The first two studies also advocated for greater understanding, accommodation, and intervention across disparate communities in order to catalyze a greater integration of minority members into the mainstream labor market and society.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

##### *The Socialization of Linguistic Identities, Ideologies, and Discourse Practices*

Studies of language socialization continue to flourish in academic settings, vocational training programs, and workplaces. They now encompass such divergent contexts as physics labs, hospitals and nursing homes, courtrooms, hairstyling salons, manufacturing plants, and call centers. In those settings, newcomers learn (or are expected) to think, act, speak, and write more like their experienced co-workers and mentors.

In higher education, one recurrent activity analyzed in language socialization research has been academic presentations given in graduate

seminars, undergraduate courses, and at conferences, and the cognitive, linguistic, discursive, and technological (e.g., multimodal) preparation of students and other novices for this purpose (see studies reviewed by Morita and Kobayashi, *Academic Discourse Socialization in a Second Language*, Volume 8). In a study of doctoral students and postdoctoral fellows in physics and the distinguished physics professors supervising them, for example, Jacoby (1998) examined how the “conference talk rehearsal” served a number of functions related to the discursive and professional socialization of physicists. Through what she called “indigenous assessment practices” during mock conference-preparatory presentations and feedback phases in the physics lab, participants critiqued or commented on their own and others’ presentation rehearsals with respect to their form, content, and manner of delivery. Timing and effective graphic representations were especially critical dimensions because presentations at the most prestigious physics conferences must be very short and concise (e.g., only 10 minutes each). Interactions surrounding talk simulations in the lab were designed to socialize less experienced physicists into the values, discourse, and related practices of this academic community.

Many studies have also examined medical/healthcare, legal, mediational, and vocational discourse and how novices gain expertise and legitimacy as new members (e.g., Mertz, 2007; Sarangi and Roberts, 1999). As in Philips’ (1982) earlier research, Mertz (1996, 1998) analyzed ideology and language socialization in first-year American law school classroom discourse in which “students are socialized to a new identity and a new way of talking” (1998, p. 151). She examined student participation in Socratic dialogue with law professors, a common approach to instruction and a simulation of courtroom interaction that often leads to points of conflict and communication breakdown connected with students’ “incorrect” answers. Mertz also studied the “recontextualization of legal texts” (1996, p. 231) as a related form of socialization, based on the cases (appellate court opinions) that students must learn to read critically and that have authority as legal precedents in other cases or opinions, and thus must be newly entextualized through “mastery and manipulation” (p. 246) by students.

Jacobs-Huey’s (2003) language socialization research, situated in an African American cosmetology college in the southeastern United States, examined how novices learn to engage satisfactorily in the professional language and communication expected in hairstyling salons. In class, based on interactions with their cosmetology instructor, plus readings from the textbook, and folk wisdom from their home culture, the aspiring hairstylists learned to talk about haircare like medicine (“diagnose and treat sick hair,” p. 278), to speak indirectly to clients, and to be polite and soft-spoken (“Ladies are seen, not heard;”

“Manners will take you where money can’t” (p. 283), invoking proverbs that older female relatives had also used with them to socialize them when growing up. Through textbook readings, discussion, and role-play, they also learned how to deal appropriately with complaints from dissatisfied clients. One student was asked to read to the class the following excerpt from the course textbook, *Milady’s Cosmetology* (Milady’s Publishing Company, 1995), on “handling complaints by phone”:

Try to use self control, tact and courtesy, no matter how trying the circumstances may be . . . [Your] voice must be sympathetic and reassuring . . . Your manner of speaking should make the caller believe that you are really concerned about the complaint. Do not interrupt the caller . . . (Jacobs-Huey, 2003, p. 285).

Immigrant workers, as reported under Early Developments, often face more complicated and protracted socialization into new fields, especially when their prior socialization experiences were based on very different underlying value systems as well as different languages and discourse conventions. Entry-level, low-paying (e.g., blue-collar) jobs often attract new immigrants in English-dominant societies precisely because they do not require high levels of English, although some companies may provide free on-site language classes for their workers (e.g., Goldstein, 1997). However, many jobs, such as sewing, cleaning, and factory work, either require little language at all because of the isolated nature of the work, the noise of machines, or the physical location of coworkers, who may not face one another (McCall, 2003), or they are done within same-first-language (L1) cultural groups or ethnic enclaves. Employers may also encourage workers to remain within their L1-groups because it promotes better communication between management and workers (assuming that “translators” or go-betweens exist), promotes better harmony within groups, and at the same time may also reduce opposition to management practices if workers are not organized and do not communicate well across language groups (Goldstein, 1997; McCall, 2003).

In her in-depth critical ethnography of an English-owned manufacturing company in Toronto that employed a large proportion of Portuguese-Canadian workers, Goldstein (1997) reported that many of the employees, and especially women, used Portuguese and not English on the factory production lines for various practical reasons (e.g., speed and efficiency) and socio-affective ones (e.g., to maintain morale and friendships). Yet, the workers had resided for many years—even decades—in Canada, often knew English, and professed to need English for greater social integration into Canadian society. However, maintaining solidarity with their Portuguese-Canadian coworkers and friends

on the factory floor through the reciprocal use of Portuguese, the pervasive practice of “talking bad” (*falu mau*, making sarcastic or negative comments about others or gossiping), and exchanges about their personal lives in Portuguese, were seen to be preferable to the potentially alienating social consequences of breaking connections with their coworkers and moving up or out into positions involving greater use of English and more responsibility, and even authority over their friends. Friendship and the ability to provide mutual assistance on the lines were key. The women’s bilingual socialization was constrained by deeply held social values anchored in Portuguese culture and sociolinguistics, dense social networks, their shared (subordinate) position in the company, and the need to cooperate while on the assembly lines to get work done well. As a result, many of the non-Portuguese immigrant workers doing product assembly work together with the women were socialized to speak Portuguese, instead of English, as their second language.

Also in Ontario, Canada, Heller and her colleagues (e.g., Budach, Roy and Heller, 2003; Heller, 2002; Roy, 2003) have examined changes in language and literacy ideologies within minority franco-phone communities involved in call center work. Employees must learn to respond to e-mail and telephone inquiries from around the world often in multiple languages and in standardized ways that typically involve training, surveillance, evaluation, and the enforcement of tightly scripted, highly repetitive but empathetic, interaction patterns. The sociolinguistic conditions in call centers, combined with low pay, may contribute to worker stress, turnover, and ultimately the devaluation of their own communicative abilities and identities (Cameron, 2000). This has apparently been the case in several bilingual call centers studied in Ontario.

Roy (2003) and Budach, Roy, and Heller (2003) conducted ethnographic research on bilingual workers in a rural French Ontarian call center and also in literacy centers. In those sites, language ideologies and policies were shifting and tensions were apparent in response to two competing trends: (i) maintaining and commodifying “authentic” local culture and celebration of the vernacular to attract francophile tourism and to perpetuate solidarity around a strong local identity, versus (ii) implementing “an ideology of language purity” (without code-switching, Anglicization, or local slang), in the form of a more globalized, standardized variety of French required for international communication within call centers. The call centre provided important work for local community members, both monolingual and bilingual, in an otherwise economically depressed area, and helped maintain the French language and culture because bilinguals were paid more than monolinguals. In addition, obtaining work locally reduced the need to move to larger, English-dominant centers. However, workers were

being socialized into a new standard of bilingualism that even native (vernacular) French speakers fluent in English often could not attain. They were therefore hired as monolingual English-speakers instead, undermining their bilingual—and francophone—histories, identities, and aspirations.

In addition to these examples of workplace ideologies that stress pure, standardized bilingualism and professional language use, other changes in workplaces have been connected to the distribution of power and responsibility, in the name of both democratization and efficiency. “Fast capitalism”—which requires flexibility, speed, multi-tasking, problem-solving, information technology, communication skills, and so on—may actually disadvantage workers not previously trained to perform work in settings where responsibilities are increasingly distributed horizontally across workers, rather than vertically or hierarchically among different layers of management (cf. Heath, 1989; Lankshear, Gee, Knobel, and Searle, 1997). Katz (2000) and Hull (e.g., 1997) have documented some of the oral and written English skills that multilingual immigrant workers require in high-tech Silicon Valley companies in California. They describe culturally challenging ideologies in workplace discussion sessions in which employees, in the presence of their coworkers and managers, were expected to volunteer personal opinions and publicly demonstrate their abilities (“show what you know” and “speak your mind”) even when this was considered culturally inappropriate and boastful, especially for a cohesive group of Mexican American women.

Li (2000) also found that multilingual workplace ideologies and socialization are at times contradictory, not only when different norms exist between home and workplace cultures but also when native-(English) speaking peers, mentors, or superiors themselves, to whom one might otherwise look as reasonable sociolinguistic models of target language and cultural conventions, behave inappropriately, rudely, or inconsistently. The Chinese worker in Li’s case study had to learn to be assertive about the inappropriateness of some of her colleagues’ practices in a pragmatically inoffensive way, so as not to jeopardize her employment or relationships with coworkers or cause herself or others to lose face.

In the high-stakes, gatekeeping medical oral examination that foreign-trained doctors who seek membership in the Royal College of General Practitioners in the UK must pass to practice there, candidates must reconcile their own linguistic, professional, and institutional medical socialization experiences and those expected to be displayed in their interviews. Sarangi and Roberts (2002) document the case of a Spanish woman who, through a series of “misalignments” with examiners’ questions, failed her examination, because of what they construed

to be her inadequate English proficiency (i.e., fluency). However, the mismatch actually had more to do with her hesitation in providing “a display of her knowledge of professional literature at critical points” (p. 211), which led to lapses in the discussion. Thus, despite this candidate’s having spent the previous year in clinical practice training in Britain and her excellent albeit seemingly hesitant English proficiency, those aspects of her prior socialization, and her formal training, did not enable her to interpret the subtle and sometimes confusing contextualization cues in the examiners’ questions. Those cues or interactional framing devices signaled whether an answer was expected to draw on medical literature as opposed to opinion or institutional experience. As Erickson and Shultz (1982) put it, in gatekeeping encounters such as these, the “game” can seem “rigged” (p. 193) against outsiders—not because of shortcomings in their academic or professional competence but because of insufficient language socialization into the “hybrid discourses of gatekeeping interviews”, themselves blending “institutional, professional, and personal experience molds of talk” (Sarangi and Roberts, 2002, p. 222).

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Workplace-oriented language socialization research continues to explore discipline-specific discursive socialization in engineering, law, medicine, nursing, and other fields. For example, Hobbs (2004), as a practicing lawyer in the US, represented the obstetrical department of an urban teaching hospital in medical malpractice cases. In that context, she began analyzing medical residents’ and doctors’ handwritten progress reports (treatment notes) as well as physicians’ implicit socialization into these practices/genres by means of their supervisors’ reviews and concurrence on cases. Along the way, she immersed herself in applied linguistics and sociolinguistics in order to analyze this “biophysical discursively constructed data” (p. 1603) in the medical field and data in her parallel research on legal discourse (e.g., lawyers’ closing arguments; judges’ use of humor).

The physicians’ progress reports, in the interest of efficiency and economy, used a mixture of Latin, English abbreviations, and other symbols, which Hobbs described as follows:

[a] system of notation, as mysterious as hieroglyphics, that renders medical records cryptic and incomprehensible to the uninitiated. However, although the lay reader ordinarily does not hold the key that unlocks the medical code, the medical resident quickly learns to match the abbreviations to the terms that are continuously recycled in the clinical environment. (p. 1586).

A partial extract from one physician's admitting note (report) follows:

3 Pt is 25yo BF G5P2Ab2 EDC ?8/81 who  
4 presented to Central w/ hx gross ROM on  
5 4/17/81 @ 7 pm ... (p. 1586)

Meaning:

The patient is a 25-year-old Black female, gravida [number of previous pregnancies] 5, para [liveborn deliveries] 2, abortus [aborted] 2, with an estimated date of confinement [delivery] of, questionably, August 1981, who presented to Central [Hospital] with a history of gross rupture of membranes on April 17, 1981 at 7:00 p.m ... (p. 1586)

To produce and interpret such reports accurately, physicians must have considerable theoretical and clinical experience, as well as knowledge of accepted discourse conventions (the 4-part "SOAP" report format: including Subjective data; Objective data; Assessment; and Plan). Hobbs' own experience of grappling with initially incomprehensible language, texts, and social practices, in this case in progress report production, much like Cohn's (1987) and Philips' (1982) earlier induction into the worlds of defense intellectuals and lawyers, gave her a first-hand understanding of how medical residents are socialized into these practices and genres. Her own socialization also transformed her "attitudes towards illness, health care, and people" in the clinical context (p. 1581). She concluded that the progress report notes "provide us with an invaluable resource in the study of the professional socialization of medical residents" (p. 1603).

In addition to research examining the intricacies of medical and legal discourse socialization in institutions (e.g., Mertz, 2007), many studies in the US, Italy, and Sweden are investigating socialization into ideologies, practices, and discourses related to work in family homes (Paugh, 2005). By participating in family dinnertime narrative activity in homes with dual-earner working parents who report on, problematize, or evaluate aspects of their own and each other's work lives, and through the children's homework activities, and other interactions connecting with scheduling and coordinating daily activities, children appropriate important understandings of work and ways of talking about it (see Paugh, *Language Socialization in Working Families*, Volume 8).

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

How cumulative language socialization experiences affect subsequent performance and subsequent socialization in other settings and academic or professional fields has not been examined sufficiently to date because most of the research, though typically longitudinal, does not

extend over enough years to capture these longer-term school-to-work (or work-to-school; home-to-work) or cross-career trajectories. In particular, the impact of newcomers' prior discursive socializing on their ability to negotiate requirements they encounter in the fields in which they seek membership needs to be examined more. In turn, we should also study how those same newcomers may attempt to change—or resist—the dominant cultures and practices within their new discourse communities and the consequences of such actions, or how they develop syncretic or hybrid practices instead.

Parks (2001) and Parks and Maguire (1999), for example, have conducted studies of the university-workplace transitions in nursing in Quebec, Canada. They analyzed the important and pervasive genres of *nursing reports* and *care plans* taught in nursing programs for use during or at the end of nurses' hospital shifts. However, the texts francophone student nurses had been socialized to produce (e.g., narratives in French nursing reports; 3-part care plans) actually differed from those expected in francophone hospitals; in the case of care plans, the experienced francophone nurses found them to be a waste of time. The reports they were taught to produce also differed from those expected in anglophone Montreal hospitals. In English, reports were expected to synthesize a patient's condition, using an assortment of abbreviations (e.g., pt for 'patient'; d/c'd for 'discharged'), of the sort described by Hobbs (2004), and often involved bilingual collaboration with other nurses. Their care plans in the English hospitals over time contained fewer reports of symptoms and fewer deadlines (for improvement) and more diagnosis (i.e., fewer than 3 parts). Their plans became more "efficient" and "simplified," like those of their anglophone nurse colleagues.

Another example of socialization across contexts comes from research examining the linguistic socialization of adult immigrants training to become long-term resident care (LTRC) aides in order to work in hospitals and nursing home facilities or to provide home care. Duff, Wong, and Early (2000) revealed the very different expectations and socialization experiences for participants while studying in their LTRC program versus while in their practicum or workplace settings. Their coursework included language instruction to develop their proficiency and fluency in English as well as technical medical terminology, plus basic nursing and healthcare. However, in actual workplace settings, the participants had to learn to (i) simplify their language to make it more comprehensible to elderly residents with varying levels of English proficiency (including none) and degenerative conditions affecting communication, (ii) reduce the rate of speech, (iii) avoid technical language that would not be well understood, and (iv) communicate using a variety of nonverbal strategies, such as through touch and

by “reading” body language. Thus, program participants and graduates were being socialized into new forms of discourse and communication in these complex, often multilingual, multigenerational new discourse communities, involving medical staff, other caregivers, family members, and the residents/patients themselves.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

New forms and means of (tele)communication in the service industries and other professions, coupled with intensive globalization, migration, and market pressures, are associated with the development of new literacies, new measures of sociolinguistic control, and new expectations about language learning and use. Given the diverse composition of many classrooms and workplaces, clashing ideologies of competence, politeness, and discourse may be inevitable without careful monitoring and intervention (Katz, 2000; Li, 2000; Scollon and Scollon, 1995). Future language socialization studies related to higher education and work should take place in a wider range of contexts and languages and in settings outside of North America and Europe, as well as within those regions. Research that examines the intertextuality, interdiscursivity, and hybridity of language practices to a greater extent will also complement existing studies. Lingua franca interaction and socialization, within rich local linguistic ecologies, deserves more attention as well, in both face-to-face and electronically or technologically mediated interaction for education or work. Finally, including a wider cross-section of contexts, discourses/genres, and disciplines or vocations into which individuals and groups are socialized, particularly when the researchers have themselves been apprenticed or have gained membership within those same communities (as in some of the studies reported above), will yield important, nuanced insights into the social, cognitive and discursive complexities of language use across many walks of life in the so-called “new work order” (Gee, Hull, and Lankshear, 1996).

Ideally, the novices being apprenticed into these new orders and their mentors will also become better equipped to effect change in highly intercultural, interconnected, and multilingual societies where certain discourses may prove inaccessible or unattainable to outsiders yet extremely powerful in terms of their gatekeeping, exclusionary potential. As Heller (2002) reminds us, there are many “sites of struggle” when communities are confronted with the pressures of globalization, the commodification of languages (e.g., what constitutes “good French” or “good English” or “bilingualism”), potentially dehumanizing linguistic practices, and with new understandings of what constitutes “authentic” and “legitimate” competencies and identities.

*See Also:* Duanduan Li: *Pragmatic Socialization (Volume 8)*; Amy Paugh: *Language Socialization in Working Families (Volume 8)*; Naoko Morita and Masaki Kobayashi: *Academic Discourse Socialization in a Second Language (Volume 8)*; Elinor Ochs and Bambi Schieffelin: *Language Socialization: An Historical Overview (Volume 8)*

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## **Section 5**

### **Language Socialization in Particular Communities of Practice**

## LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION IN CANADIAN ABORIGINAL COMMUNITIES

### INTRODUCTION

Children are socialized to cultural norms and values through language and also become familiar with preferences and expectations for how language should be used by participating in social interactions in their communities. As Schieffelin and Ochs (1996) note, language socialization researchers consider children's language use in light of the sociocultural context, including the "structures, processes, activities, understandings, and ideologies that give meaning and identity to a community" (p. 252). They also identify the methods typical of language socialization research: taping of spontaneous and multiple interactions involving children, analysis of transcripts derived from the recordings, and integration of transcript data with observational notes, and native speakers' perspectives on the significance of recorded events (see Ochs and Schieffelin, *Language Socialization: An Historical Overview*, Volume 8).

Adopting Schieffelin and Ochs' description, there are only a few studies of the language socialization of Canadian Aboriginal children. However, interview studies that elucidate Aboriginal beliefs and practices surrounding language use with and by children also exist. Preceding these two types of studies is earlier research that identified Aboriginal communicative practices and Aboriginal perspectives on them. New developments include efforts to redefine research in Canadian Aboriginal communities and the implications of these efforts for the study of language socialization.

### MULTIPLE COMMUNITIES OF PRACTICE

The study of language socialization and language use in Canadian Aboriginal communities covers a number of distinct cultural groups which can be broadly divided into First Nations, Inuit, and Métis. First Nations constitute over 60% of the 976,000 people reporting an Aboriginal identity in the 2001 Canadian census (Statistics Canada, 2003). They comprise 52 different nations organized into over 600 bands spread out across Canada. First Nations vary considerably with respect to Aboriginal language (over 50 different languages) and language

retention (Norris and Jantzen, 2004). Inuit, who make up about 5% of individuals identifying themselves as Aboriginal, reside in northern settlements that stretch as far east as the province of Newfoundland and Labrador and as far west as the Northwest Territories. For over 90% of Inuit in eastern Canada, Inuktitut remains the language first acquired by children in the home. In contrast, Inuktitun, a related language spoken by Inuit in the western Canadian arctic, is the first language of only a minority (Dorais, 1992). The Métis, comprising about 30% of all Aboriginal people, are concentrated in central and western Canada. Most Métis are native speakers of English and/or French, Canada's two official languages. A minority also speak or understand a First Nation language and/or Michif, a language that mixes elements of Cree and Canadian French and is "the historic and official language" of the Métis nation (Aboriginal Languages Task Force, 2005).

The 2001 census also indicated that about half of Canada's Aboriginal people live in urban areas, while the other half live on reserves or in rural, often remote, Aboriginal communities where Aboriginal languages are used more widely (Norris and Jantzen, 2004). However, language use alone does not determine cultural identity. According to Fettes (1997), over 80% of adults declaring Aboriginal descent in the previous census "report[ed] an attachment to their ancestral language, even if they no longer sp[oke] it" (p. 118).

Although the Aboriginal peoples of Canada vary in the ways identified here, and in yet other ways, such as political structures, spiritual beliefs, the advent of formal schooling, and history of contact with non-Aboriginals, they also have commonalities with each other as well as with other Aboriginal groups. One of these shared features is a history of European colonization and an ongoing struggle aimed at countering its long-term consequences. Indeed, in Canada, the movement for Aboriginal rights and nationalism is accompanied by a political discourse that both informs and relies on the idea of an Aboriginal identity. The Assembly of First Nations (2005a), for example, maintains that Aboriginal communities are culturally diverse but "bound together by a sacred tie to the land, a value of communal interdependence and a holistic worldview".

It is in this context of solidarity and shared identity combined with linguistic and cultural diversity that researchers investigating language use have conducted their research. Studies have often been of a single Aboriginal group, sometimes in a single location. Even then, one can hardly describe most Aboriginal children and adults as engaging in a single community of practice. Rather, they are individually and collectively negotiating two or more "worlds", whether those are geographical places like the Canadian North and South, traditional and recent economies, home and school, or an Aboriginal language and English or French.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

An early study of communicative practices in a Canadian Aboriginal community was conducted by Darnell (1988). In the proceedings of a 1982 conference, she noted that certain of her findings concerning Cree were congruent with those reported for other Native North American groups, in particular “the positive functions of silence, the tendency to avoid eye contact, and the use of indirection in requests” (Darnell, 1988, p. vi). She and several other contributors discussed their findings in light of Aboriginal values and worldview. According to Rushforth (1988), for example, a Dene preference for implicit communication, indirect speech acts, and non-interfering, constrained behaviour in social interaction reflected the importance they placed on being one’s own ‘boss’ and recognizing the autonomy of the other. Black-Rogers (1988), too, remarked on a propensity for non-interference amongst Ojibwa: “The proper way to conduct oneself and one’s thoughts is simply to leave others alone and concentrate on steering one’s own ship. At the same time, care is taken not to offend any ‘living thing’ since all may have the potential to affect or control” (p. 46).

Studies like these revealed concepts that appeared to guide communicative behaviour in at least some Aboriginal communities and provided insight into the aspects of communication one might study with respect to adult–child interactions. The conceptual and methodological framework of language socialization research in Canadian Aboriginal communities has also been guided by seminal studies such as Schieffelin’s analysis of caregiver–child interaction among the Kaluli, an indigenous people of Papua New Guinea (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986), and Heath’s (1983) comparison of language use and language learning across two working-class, racially distinct communities in the Piedmont Carolinas in the southern USA.

Research on classroom discourse in Canadian Aboriginal communities evolved from studies of language socialization in homes. It was also influenced by early educational ethnographies (Howard, *Language Socialization and Language Shift among School-aged Children*, Volume 8). These included studies that elucidated the cultural nature of talk in classrooms (Cazden, 1988) and attested to incompatibilities in the communicative patterns of Aboriginal children and their non-Aboriginal teachers in both the United States (e.g. Philips, 1983) and Western Australia (e.g. Malcolm, 1982). Philips (1983), for example, investigated classroom interactions in two contexts: one where the teacher was “Anglo” and the students were Warm Springs “Indians”, and one where teacher and students alike were “Anglo”. Relative to their non-Aboriginal peers, the Warm Springs children generally talked less, gazed more at each other and less at the teacher during lessons, signalled attention less,

responded less to being called upon to speak, respected turn order more, and distributed speaking turns more equally amongst themselves. Philips characterized Warm Springs Indians as organizing interaction in such a way so as to maximize individual control over one's own speaking turn yet minimize control over others' turns, an account consistent with the notions of "respect" and "non-interference" evoked in early investigations. Philip's work, only a small part of which is summarized here, is significant in that it demonstrated how Aboriginal children's educational success might be compromised by the 'invisible culture' of the school.

In the Canadian context, discussions about culturally-appropriate education for Aboriginal children and about Aboriginal education as a cultural activity (Stairs, 1985, 1994) have been and remain tied to discussions about the school's role in Aboriginal language retention and revitalization. Various aspects of this issue are covered in two recent reviews: one related to Aboriginal language maintenance and enhancement in and outside of Canada (Burnaby, 1996) and another regarding language policy for indigenous peoples (Corson, 1997).

The research discussed in the next section emphasizes language socialization. Past and current research on related topics, including the properties of Aboriginal languages, the acquisition of specific forms, and the impact of majority languages on Aboriginal language acquisition, have been excluded in order to limit the scope of the article. Canadian studies in all of these areas have been published in journals spanning a number of disciplines and in recent collections treating indigenous languages worldwide (e.g. Allen et al., 2006) or in specific regions of Canada (e.g. Maurais, 1996)

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Crago's (1993) ethnography of several Inuit families in Northern Quebec was the first language socialization study of an Aboriginal group in Canada. It was also the first in a series of studies conducted in collaboration with Kativik School Board, the Inuit-controlled board governing education in arctic Quebec. To begin with, Crago studied four children and their families longitudinally, starting when the children were 1–2 years old. The data taken from the videotapes was integrated with contextual notes, extensive observation notes of the families and of community events, and interviews of local Inuit women in different age groups. The findings showed that Inuit mothers shared certain beliefs and practices surrounding child-rearing and appropriate language behaviour for children. For example, mothers rarely asked questions just so children could display their knowledge, but rather reserved questions to elicit information from children they did not yet

know. Mothers also tended to evaluate children's knowledge of language based on comprehension, not production. Older mothers, especially, expressed a preference for quiet, visually attentive behaviour over talkativeness. Crago also described how Inuit caregivers used imitation routines, greeting rituals, and a "baby-talk" register (elaborated in Crago et al., 1998a) to simultaneously accommodate children's level of development and prepare them for community life. Crago's study informed Allen's subsequent research on Inuktitut acquisition (Allen, 1996) by documenting features of input, by revealing the kinds of participation one might expect in adult-child and peer-peer interactions, and by providing a model for establishing research goals responsive to local needs.

Crago et al. (1998b) later studied language use in Inuit families where English and/or French were being spoken in addition to Inuktitut. In some of the families, bilingual parents chose to speak only Inuktitut to their child to ensure acquisition of the language, but were no longer displaying the interactional patterns Crago had observed earlier among Inuit. The study showed that "traditional" language and "traditional" culture may dissociate, with one remaining relatively stable while elements of the other shift.

Hough-Eyamie (1999) used both qualitative and quantitative analyses in her comparative study of ten white, English-speaking Canadian families and ten Cree Nation/Cree-speaking families. The variety and number of communicative behaviours examined precludes discussion of each, but a few examples serve to illustrate the nature of the analyses and findings. First, an important difference between the Cree and "Mainstream" groups related to the "social structure of caregiving". Cree toddlers participated in more multi-party interactions, had greater freedom from schedules and structured activity, and engaged in fewer dyadic interactions with mothers than Mainstream children. Second, when mothers and children *were* observed in joint interaction, both Cree mothers and children were responsive to one another but talked less than Mainstream mothers and children, and used more nonverbal communication. Cree and Mainstream mothers expressed quite similar communicative functions but in different proportions. For example, Cree mothers directed children's attention and behaviour more than Mainstream mothers did. While this last result appears to contrast with a principle of non-interference discussed earlier, it may reflect a Cree distinction between appropriate behaviour for "all adult" talk versus talk between adults and toddlers, a possibility Hough-Eyamie alludes to.

Ball and colleagues have also conducted research on communicative practices in First Nations communities. Their work relates to participation in a teaching program: a university-community partnership that

prepares First Nations students to provide culturally-appropriate early childhood care and education. In one study, First Nations Elders and parents from central and western Canada were interviewed, in most cases by a First Nations interviewer (Ball & Lewis, 2004). Most of the 66 interviewees were monolingual English speakers, with the majority reporting Cree, Dakota, and Ojibway as ancestral languages. Several findings are of particular relevance to our discussion. First, over three-quarters of participants felt it was important that parents be 'talkative with their children to support . . . language learning' (p. 6). They identified many ways of stimulating language learning, including engaging children through dialogue. Second, while interviewees described listening as a valued communicative behaviour, over half of the interviewees expressed a preference for a 'talkative' child, a third expressed no preference or said 'it depends,' and only a minority preferred a 'quiet' child. The latter results contrast with a preference for quiet, reserved communicative behaviour suggested in the studies of certain Aboriginal communities. Perhaps there is a difference between Aboriginal groups. Perhaps we are witnessing change over time, as Crago and colleagues did when they compared younger and older Inuit mothers' views on children's participation in adult conversation (Crago et al., 1993). It is possible, too, that while First Nations interviewees had a positive opinion of talkativeness, their threshold for 'too much talk' may still be lower than non-Aboriginals. A third finding of interest was most interviewees' preference for bilingual early education (ancestral language plus English) or monolingual education in an ancestral language, rather than English-only education. These First Nations elders and younger parents clearly value Aboriginal languages and, according to Ball and Lewis' commentary, associate it strongly with cultural identity, despite the fact that most interviewees were not themselves speakers of an Aboriginal language. In a related study, Ball et al. (2004) used questionnaires to elicit the perspectives of predominantly non-Aboriginal speech-language specialists working in First Nations communities. These specialists noted that First Nations children were more responsive when conversational pace was slower and when peers were involved in interactions. The importance of peers is one that Inuit teachers also stressed, as discussed in the following study.

Eriks-Brophy and Crago (2003) investigated instructional discourse in Inuit communities in northern Quebec. In those communities, Inuit teachers taught in Inuktitut through grade 2. In grade 3 and beyond, the teachers were non-Inuit and the language of instruction was English or French. Eight Inuit and six non-Inuit teachers were compared with respect to how they managed students' turns and how they reacted to students' responses and initiations. Inuit teachers were not as likely as non-Inuit teachers to call on, evaluate, correct, reprimand, or praise

students individually. Inuit teachers used more group address and choral response and incorporated students' initiations more frequently. They also directed students to their peers as sources of information more often, and permitted higher levels of peer interaction during lessons. In interviews, the Inuit teachers revealed some of the cultural values underlying their classroom practices, including beliefs about the importance of cooperation, social interaction, and allowing children to maintain "face" (Eriks-Brophy and Crago, 1993). Based on these and other findings, the authors concluded that the shift in language of instruction in grade 3 was accompanied by a shift in classroom culture: fertile ground for miscommunication, devaluation of Inuit communicative patterns, and reduced academic success for children. In this study of Inuit, language and culture seemed to be linked; Inuit teachers and students used Inuktitut and also engaged in an Inuit version of instructional discourse. The relationship between teaching beliefs, culture, and language is, however, quite complex, as McAlpine et al. (1996) demonstrate in three case studies of teachers in a Mohawk community.

The studies reviewed thus far emphasize conversations in homes and instructional discourse in school. Studies that investigate other discourse genres in equal depth are rare. Narratives are of particular interest given oral traditions in Aboriginal communities and evidence of cross-cultural variation in children's narratives. Pesco and Crago (1996) studied older Algonquin children's stories of personal experience. They focused on narrative content, theme, and structure, as well as the contributions children made to each other's narratives, and supplemented these data with observations of community life. The features of the narratives were discussed in terms of how they interacted with one another and together reflected and contributed to cultural, community, and peer group belonging. References to other studies on the narratives of North American Aboriginal children can be found in their article as well as in Kay-Raining Bird and Vetter's (1994) study of the narratives of Chippewa-Cree children residing in the United States.

Patrick (2003a) has extended the study of language socialization to adolescents and adults and to settings outside of home and school. She studied a unique community in arctic Quebec inhabited by Cree and Inuit as well as by a minority of Euro-Canadians. Most of the community's inhabitants were bilingual or multilingual. Cree and Inuit were first-language speakers of their ancestral languages (i.e., Cree or Inuktitut), some Inuit spoke Cree, and many Cree and Inuit spoke English or French, or both. The Euro-Canadians spoke French and/or English. The observational and interview data collected by Patrick demonstrated the dominance of English (rather than French) as the second/third language of Inuit in the community, despite the status of French as the sole official language of the province; interviewees'

perceptions regarding its political, social, and economic value; and the availability of French schooling. Patrick connected the dominance of English as a second/third language to a number of factors. These included historical influences, the symbolic value of English, particularly amongst Inuit youth, the community-wide use of English in situations of intercultural communication, and Inuit perceptions regarding the time required for and priority of learning another (typically, third) language. Additionally, most anglophones and francophones in the community did not speak even rudimentary Inuktitut or Cree, a fact attributed by some interviewees to the complexity of learning an Aboriginal language or to a lack of learning opportunities and materials. In summary, Patrick's research showed how the beliefs and communicative practices of all members of this multilingual community contributed to determining which language was likely to be learned and adopted as a second language by the community's members.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Research related to language use in Aboriginal communities remains quite varied. One source of evidence for this is a list of research, research development, or community-university research alliance (CURA) projects recently funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC). The list includes projects devoted to analysis of the structural aspects of Aboriginal languages, evaluation of pedagogical strategies for teaching endangered languages, identification of factors affecting Aboriginal students' school performance, and the implementation and evaluation of "community-based Aboriginal curriculum initiatives". Several of the studies relate to themes present in the language socialization literature, although they are not language socialization studies per se.

The topics of these particular projects and of other research we are aware of do not differ dramatically from those addressed in the last two to three decades. New developments relate to an intensification of "Aboriginal research" accompanied by movement towards greater Aboriginal control of the epistemology, methods, objectives, and dissemination of such research. Intensification is reflected, for example, in SSHRC's 2002 decision to make Aboriginal research one of its strategic priorities. That decision was followed by a public "Dialogue on Research and Aboriginal Peoples" involving more than 500 participants from Aboriginal, academic, government and non-governmental organizations (discussed at length in McNaughton and Rock, 2003). The dialogue resulted in the articulation of an approach to Aboriginal research and the proposal of several initiatives, some of which SSHRC has since implemented. The approach includes creation of research partnerships between researchers and Aboriginal communities, support of research

on Aboriginal systems of knowledge, building Aboriginal capacity for research and providing career opportunities for Aboriginal researchers, accrual to Aboriginal communities of greater research benefits, and heightened Aboriginal control over intellectual and cultural property.

Such an approach is, of course, not wholly new. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, individual language socialization researchers have worked in conjunction with Aboriginal community agencies such as school boards or research institutes and jointly tried to implement similar principles. A decade ago, The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples suggested ethical guidelines for research that emphasized Aboriginal control. Furthermore, in many Canadian Aboriginal communities, local governing bodies such as band or community councils already have protocols for conducting research. The greater institutionalization of a collaborative approach should, however, make it flourish and become the norm. It should also be noted that SSHRC is not alone in the direction it is taking. The lead federal funding agency for health research, the Canadian Institutes of Health Research (CIHR), includes an initiative specific to Aboriginal health in urban communities: the Institute of Aboriginal People's Health. Although at first glance the objectives of a health research institute may seem inconsistent with language socialization research, linguistic and communicative competence are certainly related to children's well-being, and research in these areas has been supported in the past by the CIHR.

Shaw (2001), a linguist with extensive experience in Canadian First Nations communities, has written specifically about the necessity of a paradigmatic shift in linguistic research on endangered languages. She discusses the many issues that must be negotiated as language researchers, often non-Aboriginal, conduct research in Aboriginal communities. One of these is perspectives on language loss:

... to the field linguist ... it is primarily the imminent loss of 'the language'—as an intricately elaborated and constrained human cognitive system—which is at risk ... In contrast, to a First Nations community with only a handful of speakers left, there has already—throughout the post-contact period since colonization by the western European powers—been a progressive layering of devastating losses which are intricately linked to the erosion of language (p. 4) ...

Shaw asserts that the research relationship needs to be reconfigured so that research on language loss is not itself experienced by Aboriginal people as another loss or as exploitation and discusses ways that reconfiguration might and presently does manifest itself. Given that language socialization research may be conducted in conditions of language vitality, language shift, or language revitalization, Shaw's point of view certainly has relevance for language socialization researchers.

In summary, one of the important developments in the Canadian context is the loudening call for and broader adoption of a different model for Aboriginal research. From that, the future of language socialization research will unfold.

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Aboriginal peoples and non-Aboriginal researchers face a number of challenges related to language research. One of these is the linguistic and cultural diversity of Aboriginal communities discussed earlier. This diversity increases the probability that research findings from one setting will not apply directly to other settings or to the large proportion of Aboriginal people residing in large, linguistically and culturally diverse cities. Nonetheless, research certainly has the potential to identify processes that are relevant to more than a single group. For example, Patrick's (2003b) study of a single community in northern Quebec is highly significant for other Aboriginal communities in that it articulates the relationship between everyday language use, the local and national economic and political context, and Aboriginal identity.

A second challenge in conducting language socialization research relates to the many pressing needs in Canadian Aboriginal communities. Compared to the entire Canadian population, the Aboriginal population is considerably younger, with about a third of people under the age of 14, and half under the age of 25. The majority are living in poor material conditions. According to indices of 'quality of life' based on labour force activity, income, housing, and education, the 'bottom 100' of nearly 4700 Canadian communities includes 92 First Nations communities while the "top 100" includes only one. Rates of high school graduation, post-secondary education, and employment are below national averages. Housing both on and off reserves is inadequate and often crowded. Infant mortality rates are higher, and life expectancy is lower. Suicide rates are high, particularly among youth, and diseases like diabetes and tuberculosis are more prevalent than in Canada overall (Assembly of First Nations, 2005b). All of these conditions, along with the human energy and material resources presently devoted to improving them, have implications for the degree and kind of research participation that Canadian Aboriginal community members and leaders will choose. Patrick (2003b) suggests that university-community alliances will continue to be necessary: "[The] realities of research and power mean that the need for university-based studies will continue for First Nations communities seeking legitimization and support for local cultural, linguistic, and economic issues" (p. 10).

Assuming that Patrick is accurate, the question of priorities regarding language research remains. In the aforementioned dialogue on

Aboriginal research (McNaughton and Rock, 2003) submissions by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal individuals indicated a shared concern with the preservation and intergenerational transmission of Aboriginal languages. Given this concern and other data presented in this chapter, it is likely that the theme of language choice and its relationship to cultural identity will become a primary one should language socialization research continue in Canadian Aboriginal communities.

*See Also: Elinor Ochs & Bambi Schieffelin: Language Socialization: An Historical Overview (Volume 8); Betsy Rymes: Language Socialization and the Linguistic Anthropology of Education (Volume 8)*

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## LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION IN DEAF COMMUNITIES

### INTRODUCTION

Language socialization in Deaf communities is unique in ways that are challenging for language socialization theory. Most members of the DEAF-WORLD (Lane, Hoffmeister, and Bahan, 1996) have not followed a straightforward path to identification with and membership in a Deaf community. A small percentage of Deaf children are born into Deaf families where everyday interaction occurs within a visually based culture through a natural sign language. For these children, the process of language socialization is similar to that of most children; only the modality differs. But for the majority of Deaf children who are born to non-Deaf parents who do not expect their child to be deaf (lower case denotes hearing status; upper case denotes identity status), early access to sign languages is absent. Since these children do not hear, they cannot fully participate in the spoken language socialization environment their parents naturally provide. And, because sign languages have been stigmatized historically and Deaf communities have been oppressed, marginalized, and some would argue colonized by non-Deaf majorities (Ladd, 2003; Markowicz and Woodwar, 1978), the primary sites of language socialization for most Deaf people have been community institutions such as Deaf schools and clubs. Deaf people have acquired sign language and become oriented to the DEAF-WORLD primarily when they have come into contact with peers and elders in the Deaf community, which may not occur until later in childhood, adolescence, or even adulthood.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Natural sign languages have emerged whenever and wherever Deaf individuals have had the opportunity for frequent and sustained social interaction among themselves. With the establishment of residential schools for Deaf students in Europe during the eighteenth century, access to natural sign languages greatly increased for Deaf people, especially for Deaf children. Those residential schools and the linguistic communities they gave rise to provided institutional stability and continuity of language socialization across generations.

Sign languages were viewed as nonlinguistic, ad-hoc gestural systems until William C. Stokoe's groundbreaking publication *Sign Language Structure* (1960) demonstrated that they were constructed and patterned in linguistically rule-governed ways like all other naturally occurring languages. Building on the revolutionary work of Stokoe and his colleagues in the USA and Tervoort (1961) and his colleagues in Europe, social scientists investigated not only the linguistic structure of natural sign languages but also the social and cultural aspects of these unique linguistic communities. Theoretical and descriptive studies during the 1970s and 1980s began to portray signing Deaf people from a cultural perspective in contrast to the prevailing pathological or medical view of Deaf people. The sociocultural view of Deaf people emphasized the centrality of natural sign languages and shared experiences, not degree of hearing loss, in constituting Deaf social identities, social organization, and cultural values (Baker and Battison, 1980; Meadow, 1972; Washabaugh, 1981). Most Deaf communities, at least in the USA, were described as bilingual and diglossic; natural sign languages were used in informal, intimate interactions (labeled the low variety or L in the literature on diglossia) and English-influenced sign language varieties were used in formal social settings such as classrooms, church services, lectures, and conversations with non-native signers (labeled the high variety or H in the diglossic literature) (Kuntze, 2000; Markowicz and Woodward, 1978). Within the DEAF-WORLD, it was argued, the social reality of Deaf people was indexed by a natural sign language while the spoken language of the larger community in its various forms indexed the non-Deaf world (Nash and Nash, 1981).

Writing specifically about socialization to the Deaf linguistic community at a time in American education when the majority of Deaf children attended residential schools, Meadow (1972) suggested that there were three transition points in the life cycle of Deaf individuals when they may be socialized to the sign language community. They are: (i) infancy (the child born into a signing family); (ii) the time of enrollment in a residential Deaf school (the child born into a nonsigning family who typically entered the residential school between the ages of five and thirteen); (iii) the time of graduation from a non-signing high school (Deaf individuals who had little or no contact with the Deaf community until entering the workforce, meeting signing Deaf adults, and socializing at the Deaf club). Early research on American Sign Language (ASL) acquisition was conducted on children with Deaf signing parents. Those studies provided the first systematic description of language socialization processes in Deaf ASL-using families although most often the primary focus was on the child's acquisition of grammatical features. A few studies described the socio-cultural context of language acquisition documenting systematic

modifications of parental signing to infants and toddlers which is not unlike child-directed speech in spoken languages (Kantor, 1982; Maestas y Moores, 1980); a young Deaf child's code-switching between ASL and varieties of signing that incorporate English grammatical structures (Williams, 1976); and the complex interaction of languages and modalities that supports the acquisition of written English in an ASL dominant home context (Maxwell, 1984). Other researchers examined language socialization processes in educational contexts where varying combinations of spoken languages, English-influenced signing, and natural sign languages were utilized. Microanalysis of Deaf children interacting in these multilingual and bimodal contexts revealed that language socialization took place primarily in the visual modality, a fact that was lost on most non-Deaf teachers of Deaf children (Cicourel and Boese, 1972; Erting, 1982/1994; Preisler, 1983). One early ethnographic study investigated how language use by adults, both Deaf and non-Deaf, and young Deaf children indexed cultural values, social identity, and other aspects of sociocultural knowledge, demonstrating that use of ASL indexed affiliation with the DEAF-WORLD and its values while use of manually coded English (MCE) referenced non-Deaf world contexts, interpretations and values (Erting, 1982/1994).

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

During the past two decades, as evidence of the linguistic status of natural sign languages mounted, political movements championing the rights of Deaf people as linguistic and cultural minorities led to (i) the establishment of bilingual education programs for Deaf children, (ii) the selection in 1988 of the first Deaf president of Gallaudet University, the world's oldest university for Deaf students located in Washington DC, (iii) the first Deaf Way international conference and festival in 1989 celebrating Deaf cultures, histories, languages, and arts and (iv) the recognition and teaching of natural sign languages as foreign languages in high schools and universities (Erting, Johnson, Smith, and Snider, 1994). Paradoxically the trend to move Deaf children from large regional programs into small local school settings gained momentum during this same period. As a result, most Deaf students were isolated from signing peers and adult Deaf role models and thus were denied opportunities for sign language socialization during their formative years.

During the 1980s and 1990s increasingly sophisticated linguistic research on sign languages and ethnographic studies of Deaf people's lives provided insight into a variety of language socialization contexts: families, educational settings, Deaf clubs, Deaf minority communities, and isolated Deaf/non-Deaf rural communities. As psycholinguists

continued to investigate the sign language acquisition of children with Deaf, signing parents (Chamberlain, Morford, and Mayberry, 2000; Parasnis, 1996), ethnographers began to describe the complex interactional processes occurring in these bimodal, bilingual, and bicultural home environments during language socialization (Blackburn, 2000; Erting, Prezioso, and Benedict, 2000; Preston, 1994). In 1994, the first large scale study of adult non-Deaf offspring of Deaf parents (commonly known as CODAs, short for Children of Deaf Adults) was published. Preston, himself an adult CODA, interviewed 150 non-Deaf men and women between the ages of 18 and 80 across the USA who had Deaf parents. He concluded that despite the bilingual proficiency of many of his informants, there was a pervasive sense of cultural marginality due in large part to the history of conflict between the two language groups and what they regard as an artificial choice between two cultural identities, Hearing or Deaf. Blackburn's (2000) ethnographic study illustrates the complexity of language socialization in the Deaf community from another vantage point—a four-year-old Deaf child in a large non-Deaf family, a family who sought to transform itself into a visually oriented, bilingual, bicultural entity. The researcher lived with the family for 10 months documenting how the parents, siblings, and the child himself dealt with a variety of complex and challenging communicative, linguistic, and social situations that face mixed families with Deaf and non-Deaf members, even those who have adopted a proactive and positive stance toward the child's visual worldview.

Despite the fact that residential schools for Deaf children were historically the primary sites for language socialization to the Deaf community, only a few ethnographic studies exist that illuminate the complex social, cultural, and linguistic processes at work in these settings. Evans and Falk (1986) published the first in-depth study in the USA that focused on daily life in a residential school. Their observations and interpretations echoed the pervasive negative attitudes toward the indigenous or natural sign language (ASL) and culture of Deaf people. They reported that while ASL was the preferred language of the children, the non-Deaf adults who worked with the children did not often use the language and when they did, they used it poorly; few could understand the sign language of the children. Unfortunately, these researchers themselves failed to observe and report peer language socialization processes in any detail.

Reilly and Reilly's (2005) study of Deaf children interacting outside of the classroom at a residential school in rural Thailand during 1991–92 focused on the children's use of the indigenous sign language, documenting the intergenerational transmission of culture and knowledge by peers, what the authors call the Deaf way of education, supported by a social

organization and processes of language socialization created by the children (p. xii). Narrative, a “primordial tool of socialization” (Garrett and Baquedano-Lopez, 2002, p. 353), played a central role in how Deaf children learn about the world, about themselves and their place in the society (Erting, Johnson, Smith, and Snider, 1994; Ladd, 2003). Students who were recognized by their peers as sign masters, relayed the news, acted as interpreters, and created extended narratives with complex plots that captivated students one to three years younger for as long as thirty minutes at a time. Other contexts for language socialization were participatory gatherings that were “. . . dialogic and egalitarian activities by students of equal social status” (Reilly and Reilly, 2005, p. 189) including conversational circles, verbal dueling, and games and sports.

Studies of educational settings where Deaf adults as teachers or assistants did interact with Deaf children revealed the critical role these adults played in language socialization. Regardless of the type of setting or educational level of the students, Deaf adults code-switched between a natural sign language and a variety of signing influenced by spoken language to engage in extended dialog with students. They drew upon their Deaf cultural knowledge to mediate a variety of topics including learning the language of reading and writing (Bagga-Gupta, 1999–2000; Bailes, 2001; Johnson and Erting, 1989; Ladd, 2003; Ramsey, 1997).

While Deaf clubs are currently in decline in the Western world (Ladd, 2003; Padden and Humphries, 2005), they are cultural institutions within Deaf communities and historically have served as regular gathering places where Deaf people socialize with one another, exchange information, and help initiate newcomers to the process of learning how to be Deaf (Erting, Johnson, Smith, and Snider, 1994; Ladd, 2003; Padden and Humphries, 1988). Hall’s (1991) ethnographic study of folklore in an American Deaf club reveals how central the Deaf club was to members’ lives and how diligently members worked to socialize young Deaf people from various educational and linguistic backgrounds to ASL and the values so important to them, often through mentor relationships. Drawing upon traditional stories, personal narratives, riddles, jokes and sign play, mentors guided newcomers in their acquisition of the linguistic and cultural knowledge they needed to live their lives as culturally Deaf people. Deaf people often regarded the club as their second home, a place where they could express freely their sense of a shared heritage and a shared future and through which they could connect with other Deaf communities across space and time (Ladd, 2003; Lane, Hoffmeister, and Bahan, 1996; Padden and Humphries, 2005).

## WORK IN PROGRESS

Research in progress on language socialization in Deaf communities is characterized by its crosscultural and transnational emphasis as well as its more explicitly ethnographic orientation. In Monaghan, Schmaling, Nakamura, and Turner's (2003) edited work, studies of Deaf communities and their sign languages from the USA, Central and South America, Europe, Asia, and Africa are juxtaposed. Taken together, the studies reveal the globalization of Deafhood, the multilingual and multicultural nature of worldwide Deaf communities within the context of a unique transnational visually oriented languaculture (Agar, 1994). While historical circumstances, the larger sociopolitical and economic opportunity structure, and local cultural and linguistic traditions have fostered intriguing differences among Deaf communities and their language socialization practices and trajectories, cross-cultural commonalities also have emerged. For example, educational institutions, hereditary deafness, and urban density are all factors that contribute in culturally specific ways to the formation of Deaf communities across the globe. Visual orientation to the world and sign languages are central to those Deaf communities—even when speech-based communication has a significant role. Finally, sign languages and Deaf communities are shown to be resilient, having survived brutal campaigns to obliterate them.

Within the context of globalization, Breivik (2005) utilized Deaf life stories of Deaf Norwegians to explore issues of language and identity formation and in the process discovered the transnational nature of Deafhood and Deaf identities. He argued that although sign language is not an international language, Deaf people attending transnational events such as the Nineteenth Deaflympics (a word invented to mean the Deaf Olympics) in Rome in the summer of 2001, nevertheless quickly established ad-hoc linguistic and communicative conventions by which they were able to bond socially. In addition to the commonality of experiences that signing and being Deaf in a non-Deaf world gives rise to, the ability to bond helps foster translocal and even transnational Deaf identity. Breivik's exploration of the relationship between languages and Deaf identities through Deaf life stories illustrates the challenges inherent in employing ethnocultural models for understanding Deaf identity especially as these relate to center vs. periphery analyses (in terms of degree of deafness, with more Deaf at the center and less Deaf at the margins, an increasingly problematic model). Nevertheless, in every life story, exposure to a signed language and a community of signers was a formative experience, one that changed the way that meaning was structured and created. For some,

especially those for whom the introduction to the language occurred later in life or in only a limited way, it did not represent salvation but rather another world to which they had only partial access.

Ethnographic research on Deaf communities, while still in its infancy, is of critical interest for language socialization research, especially as it illuminates social and linguistic processes in specific activity settings (Senghas and Monaghan, 2002). One domain that has received increased attention in recent years is the bilingual classroom where the signed languages and written forms of the spoken language are utilized as languages of instruction. Singleton and Morgan (2006) reviewed research on natural sign language acquisition in the classroom, noting that the social context of the classroom is the only setting where many Deaf children have the opportunity to acquire a natural sign language, with the teacher as their primary linguistic model. Based on accumulating evidence, they argue that the most effective teachers are those who have a high level of ASL proficiency, are attuned to Deaf children as visual learners, and promote linguistically rich, visually based dialogic engagement in classroom activities. Furthermore, Deaf teachers create the opportunities in classroom contexts for Deaf children to visualize themselves as full participants in the Deaf bilingual community and through language, action, and participation to become full participants. In this regard, L. Erting (2006), in her ethnographic study of Deaf teachers sharing books with preschool Deaf children in ASL, identified specific, culturally based literacy practices used to co-construct meaning with Deaf children from linguistically and ethnically diverse backgrounds. These practices included connecting ASL and written English and translating English text into child-directed ASL, which, according to the teachers, helps scaffold children's ASL development, emergent literacy, and cognitive development.

Bagga-Gupta's (1999–2000) ethnographic research in Swedish high school classrooms for Deaf students challenged the educational policy of strict separation of the Swedish Sign Language and Swedish. Taking a sociocultural approach to her exploration of everyday life in these classrooms, she explored the ways in which teachers and students co-constructed visual literacy events through interaction using the cultural tools available to them. Deaf and hearing actors in these visually organized settings chained and mixed the two languages in dynamic, complex, patterned ways that helped make written Swedish more fully accessible to Deaf students. These findings are not unlike ethnographic evidence from ASL/English Deaf home environments where signing Deaf parents similarly draw upon ASL, fingerspelling, print and mouthing of spoken English words in complex and patterned ways to co-construct meaning with their very young Deaf children growing up

bilingually (Erting, Prezioso, and Benedict, 2000). Kuntze (2000) examined how a Deaf teacher wove English vocabulary and structure and ASL together while giving a lecture on China's Great Wall and in so doing, helped his middle school students prepare for reading their textbook on the subject. The teacher used code-switching as a pedagogical tool, making targeted English words and phrases accessible and comprehensible for the students by embedding them into ASL translations and explanations.

Studies of the Nicaraguan Deaf community have offered intriguing insights into the role of language socialization processes in the emergence of natural sign languages and signing communities (Monaghan, Schmaling, Nakamura, and Turner, 2003; Senghas, Senghas, and Pyers, 2005). While bidirectionality in socialization has long been acknowledged (Garrett and Baquedona-Lopez, 2002), Senghas, Senghas, and Pyers (2005) demonstrated this bidirectionality with respect to the regularization of spatial co-reference, a grammatical device in Nicaraguan Sign Language (NSL) whereby signs produced in a given location in space indicate a common referent. They argued that no single cohort of Deaf children created NSL. Instead, "... the sociocultural influence of Deaf Nicaraguan adolescents and adults interacted with the language-receptive and language-creative mental abilities of preadolescent children" (p. 304) to create the new grammar of their sign language. In this way, since the late 1970s when the government established a school and the Nicaraguan Deaf community began to have sustained contact, each new cohort of children has played a critical role in the development of NSL.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

While recent technological developments in computer and communications technologies such as pagers, videophones, and video relay services have resulted in greater access for Deaf people to each other and to the world at large, medically related technologies are giving rise to renewed efforts to suppress sign languages and signing communities. With the advent of nearly universal newborn infant hearing screening, deaf and hard of hearing children are identified much earlier than in the past. Instead of referring families with deaf infants to educational programs where the entire family may acquire and learn sign language, the medical system puts a majority of these infants on track toward cochlear implantation—now occurring at increasingly younger ages—and speech-only "intervention" programs (Johnson, 2006; Johnston, 2004; Ladd, 2003). Advocates of these programs stridently oppose providing these deaf children and their families with the

linguistic and cultural resources that derive from exposure to a natural sign language, arguing erroneously that progress in spoken language acquisition will be impeded if attention is diverted from the focus on hearing and speech. Ironically, research documenting the benefits of early exposure to signing for hearing children and their parents has resulted in popular enrichment programs largely for socioeconomically advantaged segments of the USA and western European nations who sign with their hearing babies to promote earlier communication and reduce frustration, improve cognitive development and even to assist their baby to speak at a younger age (Goodwyn and Acredolo, 1998).

As is so often the case in the education of Deaf children, a false dichotomy has been resurrected between two idealized versions of Deaf identity and their related educational philosophies: speech-only approaches versus visually based pedagogies utilizing a natural signed language and the written form of a spoken language as the primary languages of instruction. In fact, Johnson (2006) argues, the outcome of cochlear implantation is actually a population of Deaf students with great variation in functional hearing ability and spoken language use, not unlike the nonimplanted population. Some children develop enough functional hearing to participate in language socialization opportunities in an unimpeded manner; many do not. The bilingual education movement in Deaf education is based not only on the recognition of Deaf communities as bilingual and multicultural but also on empirical evidence that when Deaf children grow up in a natural signed language environment, “. . . they acquire language in a complete and timely way, while developing age-appropriate cognitive, physical and social capacities” (Johnson, 2006). Further, there is ample ethnographic evidence that Deaf people embrace linguistic and cultural diversity and utilize a range of linguistic and cultural tools in their communities of practice across the globe (Erting, Johnson, Smith, and Snider, 1994; Ladd, 2003; Monaghan, Schmaling, Nakamura, and Turner, 2003).

The medical-scientific establishment continues to dominate the public discourse about Deaf people as disabled and damaged, and genetic modification to eliminate Deaf offspring is now regarded as inevitable (Johnston, 2004; Ladd, 2003; Padden and Humphries, 2005). The challenge for Deaf communities and their ethnographers remains—to overcome the power imbalance, challenge the privileged “voices” in the debate which are never Deaf “voices” (Padden and Humphries, 2005), and to contest the prevailing medical-scientific discourse on “deafness” with a discourse of Deafhood, the process whereby Deaf people struggle to come to an understanding of what it means to become and to be a Deaf person in a Deaf community (Ladd, 2003).

## FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Since language is both the content and the medium for socializing children and newcomers to effective participation in a sociocultural group, complex and intriguing issues for language socialization theory emerge in the case of the Deaf community. One dilemma has been that of the persistent simplistic question as to whether the majority of deaf children (born to hearing parents) are to be socialized into the speaking community of their hearing parents or into the signing community. The reality is that most deaf children are primarily visually oriented and do not have full access to the speaking community; they eventually become part of the signing community, where their identity as a signing people with a history and future is discovered, anchored, and cherished. Of course, they also belong to and participate in the larger community and technological advances have made access to that community and the majority language(s) less problematic through visually based media such as the internet, pagers, and captioned digital video.

However, the World Federation of the Deaf (WFD) estimates that 80% of the world's Deaf children do not receive any formal education at all (Ladd, 2003, p. 436). Perhaps more serious than the lack of formal education is the denial of opportunities for language socialization that educational institutions afford. As Johnston (2004) argues, wealthier nations have a moral responsibility to address the poverty and lack of educational opportunities for Deaf children in the developing world. When new schools open in historically underserved areas, critically important opportunities will become available for ethnographers and language socialization researchers to document linguistic, social, and cultural processes that will unfold and the cultural products that will emerge.

One area that future work in language socialization research will need to address is the fundamental question of the kinds of family, educational, and community contexts that are necessary to enable Deaf children to use languages as social and cognitive tools. We need to understand how homes, schools, and communities can provide Deaf children with critical opportunities from the time they are born to engage in the socially and culturally co-constructed discourse so necessary for optimal linguistic, cognitive, and social/emotional development. While ethnographic research on Deaf communities and their particular language socialization practices is just beginning (Senghas and Monaghan, 2002), there is a sense of urgency as scientific and medical discourses regarding the techno-medical eradication of Deaf people threaten to obfuscate and trivialize the need to identify, understand, and implement the necessary and sufficient conditions for optimal language socialization in natural sign languages and majority spoken languages.

Studies of some small, isolated villages outside of the USA with a substantial hereditary, signing Deaf population (e.g. Branson, Miller, and Marsaja, 1996; Johnson, 1991) and ethnohistorical research on Martha's Vineyard (Groce, 1985) have demonstrated alternative possibilities for the future of Deaf/non-Deaf interaction. These small, face-to-face communities incorporated Deaf people and sign language as a taken for granted part of village life. While language socialization processes have not yet been documented in these settings, research evidence indicates that non-Deaf and Deaf villagers acquired sign languages and a visual orientation to communication with varying degrees of competence as part of the linguistic and cultural repertoire of the community. Perhaps it is conceivable to envision a future with new communities such as these in other contexts and even on a larger scale. Today we see considerable evidence of the growing popularity of sign languages outside of traditional Deaf community social arenas. In the USA, the number of parents learning signs for early communication with their nondeaf babies is on the rise. Opportunities to learn a sign language as a foreign language in K-12 programs are expanding. In the UK, the movement to institutionalize sign languages in mainstream societies is growing and the Federation of Deaf People there is campaigning for "... the recognition of British Sign Language, not simply for Deaf Britons alone ... (but) ... as a genuinely British cultural resource which should be made available to all British citizens" (Ladd, 2003, p. 438).

Finally, a cross-cultural investigation of patterns and constraints in language socialization in Deaf communities offers the opportunity to identify factors that remain constant across different sociocultural and linguistic circumstances and those that yield to pressure for change. One surprising characteristic of sign languages and their communities is their tenacity in the face of efforts by nonsigning majorities to suppress and eradicate them, especially given the discontinuity of traditional caregiver-to-child linguistic and cultural transmission across generations. The resilience of sign languages in terms of their ability to appear where there were none before and to survive under dismal conditions is evidence of their unique niche within the diversity of human languages. Language socialization studies in such circumstances promise contributions to theory building offered by few communities. At the same time, it is also necessary and valuable to investigate language socialization in Deaf communities where sign language is valorized, treasured, and promoted as a member of the family of human languages. Research in these sociocultural settings offers opportunities to validate as well as challenge existing theory with rich and extensive sign language socialization data and helps us envision possible futures for Deaf communities.

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## LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION IN ONLINE COMMUNITIES

### INTRODUCTION

This chapter considers how communication in computer-mediated digital environments has been and could be approached from a language socialization perspective. The study of computer-mediated communication (CmC) and cyber-culture encompasses a range of disciplines, including communication, linguistics, cultural studies, and sociology, to name a few, with research findings emerging and scholarly debates becoming prominent only in the last 10 years given the relatively recent popularization of the Internet in the mid- to late-1990s. Even with its short history, the exploration of linguistic and social behaviors in online settings has dealt with issues that are germane to language socialization research. In this chapter, I review and assess how the study of online communication draws upon and extends our understanding of language socialization in new technological and global contexts of communication. The thematic areas that comprise the focus of this discussion are (1) the role of language practices in the formation of culture and community online, (2) socialization in transnational and diaspora networks as facilitated by the Internet; and (3) language ideology and language change in online contexts. Both the educational implications and promising research directions for each of these research areas are addressed.

### THE LINGUISTIC CONSTRUCTION OF ONLINE COMMUNITIES: EARLY DEVELOPMENTS (1990S)

The notion “virtual community” came into prominence in the early to mid-1990s with the popularization of the term by Rheingold (1993) in his book, *The Virtual Community: Homesteading on the Electronic Frontier*. This period saw the growing adoption of the metaphor of “community building” in both Web media promotion and scholarly research of CmC (Jones, 1995, 1997; Porter, 1997). Researchers of communication, media, and linguistics started to explore the linguistic construction of community in, for example, Usenet newsgroups (e.g., Baym, 1995; Tepper, 1997), Internet Relay Chat (e.g., Bays, 1998;

Liu, 1999), MUDs and MOOs (see definitions below) that allow multiple users to communicate with each other in real time and interact with objects in a virtual setting (e.g., Cherny, 1999; Soukup, 2004), and, more recently, weblogs or blogs that are online journals or discussion forums maintained by single or multiple authors (Wei, 2004).

These studies show the use of linguistic and interactional patterns, genres, and discourses as a means for creating group culture in online communication. For example, in her research of a Usenet newsgroup (rec.arts.tv.soaps) devoted to the recreational discussion of daytime soap operas, Baym (1995) reveals the various forms of conventional expressions shared by members of the group, including the codification of acronyms for the soap operas and nicknames for the soap opera characters, the expectation that newsgroup members would disclose personal details of their lives akin to the narrative devices of the soap operas, and the development of unique forms of jokes that draw attention to the hilarity and absurdity of the soap opera world. Bays (1998) analyzes how community is used as a *frame* for interaction in an Internet Relay Chat (IRC) group. IRC is a form of real-time Internet chat or synchronous conferencing. It is mainly designed for group (many-to-many) communication in discussion forums called channels, but also allows one-to-one communication and data transfers via private message. Members of the IRC group portray in words the metaphoric physical and social setting of their conversation to construct a collective sense of community that is associated with familiarity, sharing, and working together for the common good.

Adopting an ethnography of communication perspective, Cherny (1999) studied what participants of an object-oriented Multi-User Dungeons or Dimensions (MUD) called ElseMOO need to know to communicate appropriately in the ElseMOO speech community. MUDs and MOOs (MUDs of the Object Oriented variety) are programs that allow multiple people to connect simultaneously over a network, and interact with each other and with objects in a virtual setting in real time. Cherny argues that the term "speech community" aptly describes ElseMOO based on the regular recurrence of interactional rituals and routines (such as greeting, leave-taking, expression of affect, jokes, and forms of language play), the creation of new syntactic and morphological forms (mostly through abbreviation and acronyms), and identifiable patterns of turn-taking and back-channeling in dialogic exchanges that mark the behaviors of ElseMOO participants. With regard to the more recent phenomenon of blogging, Wei (2004) argues that group conventions of informational and stylistic content are visible among blogs that belong to the same web ring, an Internet service and concept which links together a group of web sites that share a similar theme.

The sociolinguistic study of online communities, as exemplified in the aforementioned works, has been successful in showing that language practices are instrumental in creating the norms of behavior of particular online groups and how these norms function to provide sociability, support, information, and a sense of collective identity. Indeed, with the reduced physical cues of age, gender, ethnicity, or class, linguistic behaviors become one of the primary means to enact and inscribe social categories and normative behaviors in the “bodyless pragmatics” (Hall, 1996) of CmC. However, this body of research tends to focus on existing forms of behavior and interactional patterns and, hence, does not provide a perspective on the diachronic process of community formation and change. In other words, some questions that are central to language socialization research have not been adequately explored in the study of CmC and virtual communities, namely: (1) How do individuals come to adopt and develop competence in the language practices of particular online communities? (2) How do the social and linguistic practices of an online community develop and change over time? To answer these questions, it is necessary to develop research that is longitudinal in nature in order to document individual development within a community of practice and the formation and changes in group practice over time. It is also necessary to recruit research participants whose identity can be ascertained in order to obtain consent for the research and to ensure that their online participation is traced consistently across an extended period of time.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

##### *Creating Online Communities and Interactional Norms Across Diverse Cultures*

A recent study by Cassell and Tversky (2005) provides some insights into the process of community formation through their investigation of an international virtual forum hosted by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, called the “Junior Summit ‘98,” that brought 3,062 youth from 139 countries online to discuss global issues. The participants, representing a wide variety of economic, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds, posted messages to the forum over a 3-month discussion period that culminated in an online election of 100 delegates who would meet in person with one another and with world leaders in a face-to-face summit. Using computational word frequency analysis of over 19,000 posted messages written in English, content analysis of 4,377 of those messages, and post-hoc interviews with a sample of 37 forum participants, the researchers were able to show the ways in which the diverse participants modified their language use over the

3-month period to constitute themselves as a community. These progressive changes included the following: (1) the increased adoption of a collective voice through the use of “we” instead of “I,” (2) giving feedback or responding to each other’s ideas rather than focusing on one’s own ideas and opinions, and (3) developing each other’s plans and integrating ideas to pursue common goals.

Cassell and Tversky’s design-based investigation illuminates the interactional process of community formation and suggests the potential of using online communications for educational purposes to facilitate the interchange of ideas and collective action among diverse groups of people around the world. This study also shows that the achievement of such educational purposes is contingent upon both the acknowledgement of differences/ability to see from other perspectives and the development of a shared sense of purpose and common goals. Other studies of collaborative language learning between university students learning foreign languages in the USA and their counterparts in France and Germany suggest that, in order for diverse participants to be able to communicate across difference and collaborate in online contexts, it is necessary to develop an understanding of culturally contingent forms of communicative genres, linguistic styles, and academic conventions and expectations (Belz, 2003; Kramsch and Thorne, 2001; Ware, 2005). An implication of these research studies for online educational endeavors is the importance of providing guided opportunities *both* to attend to and learn from linguistic and communicational differences *and* to construct a shared set of interactional norms for successful collaboration among culturally diverse participants.

Given the many emerging forms of social collectivities and interactions in online contexts, research that takes a diachronic perspective of language socialization holds the potential to trace not only the formation of identifiable linguistic and social behaviors but also how the collective deals with and struggles with differences and diverging practices, especially in its formative stages. Moreover, with the varying degrees to which online groups are able to sustain themselves and flourish, comparative studies of more and less successful (e.g., high vs. low activity) online collectivities might provide insights into the communicative mechanisms, group dynamics, and role relationships that contribute to the growth, persistence, or dissolution of communities in online settings, including how online and offline interactions mutually sustain each other (Fayard and DeSanctis, 2005).

### *Diaspora and Transnational Relations Within Ethnic Groups*

Whereas more research is needed to examine both the potential and limitations of using Web-based media to promote global understanding,

solidarity, and educational opportunities (as described in Cassell and Tversky's (2005) "Junior Summit '98 example above), recent research on diaspora and transnational online networks shows that individuals and groups at the grassroots level are already capitalizing on the global reach of Internet communications to build social, cultural, and political alliances across national borders among people from the same ethnic backgrounds (Kitalong and Kitalong, 2000; Lam, 2004; Landzelius, in press; Miller and Slater, 2000; Mitra, 2001; Valverde, 2002).

For example, Kitalong and Kitalong (2000) chronicle how people from Palau, an island nation in the Western Pacific that gained independence from the USA in 1994, construct Internet Web sites and e-mail lists to build connections among local residents and expatriate Palauans. Some of the Web sites are created for the express purpose of representing and teaching Palauan culture in contradistinction to the ways it was represented in colonial times by using a variety of media such as Palauan proverbial sayings, music, and paintings. Kitalong and Kitalong (2000) argues that a "postcolonial Palauan identity" is constructed through the Internet to signify both the autonomy of the Palauan nation and its interconnection with ethnic Palauans living overseas and in its surrounding island countries.

In Miller and Slater's (2000) in-depth ethnographic study of Trinidadians' use of Internet communications, they found a "natural affinity" between the everyday, mundane networking possibilities of the Internet and Trinidadians' intensely diasporic relations, because "being a Trinidadian family has long meant integrating over distances through any means of communication." (p. 2) The researchers provide ample evidence that Trinidadians in diaspora have appropriated the Internet to facilitate sustained contact and mutual support with their extended families, educate people of other nationalities about Trinidad through personal webpages to counter the global positioning of Trinidad as marginal or unknown, and recreate through the chat medium a unique form of Trinidadian social interaction called "liming" or "ole talk," full of banter and innuendoes. Miller and Slater (2000) argue that the Internet has provided Trinidadians a global platform to reconcile their national pride as a postcolonial society and their cosmopolitan outlook and diaspora condition.

Kieu Linh Valverde's (2002) study of the transnational linkages between Vietnamese Americans and Vietnamese nationals shows that Internet Web pages and listservs have emerged as important sites for the Vietnamese-American community to engage in the exchange of personal and political opinions with Vietnamese nationals. In some virtual sites, such as the Viet Nam Forum, Vietnamese-Americans are able to mobilize across the Pacific Ocean to voice concerns and press for changes regarding labor abuses in foreign-owned companies in

Vietnam and the civil and political rights of Vietnamese-Americans living in Vietnam. Kieu Linh Valverde argues that these trans-border connections fostered through Internet communication have allowed Vietnamese-Americans to develop a transnational identity that extends beyond their ethnic identity as an immigrant group in the USA.

More explicitly framed in terms of language socialization, my research with Chinese adolescent immigrants in the USA shows that English is used by these youth in networked communications to foster alliances with young people around the world through their common interests in Japanese popular culture and through creating diaspora Chinese relations represented in the mixing of English vernacular and romanized Cantonese into a hybrid linguistic code (Lam, 2004; Lam and Kramsch, 2003). Within these Web-based youth alliances, the focal students constructed multicultural and multilingual identities as English speakers that diverged from the monolingual imperative of their schooling experiences as minority immigrants learning English in the USA.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

From an educational perspective, the forging of diaspora and transnational relationships through Internet-mediated communication compels us to re-think the notion of *acculturation* in language socialization and development beyond a nation-centered perspective. Acculturation has been a major concept used to understand the adjustments and changes that take place within individuals as they move from one society to another (Fuligni, 2001) and appropriate new languages and forms of language use in the new context. Even though the concept of acculturation is meant to depict processes of change, its frame of reference is primarily anchored in the host society; in other words, migrants are studied as to how well they adapt to the structural conditions and cultural practices of their adopted country, and to what degree they are able to reconcile their “home culture” (and its languages/practices) with the “host culture.” Yet, digital communications are extending the scope for diasporic populations to sustain and recreate social relations of various sorts, and to foster multiple forms of group belonging and cultural participation across national borders. What challenges do these forms of digitally enabled transnational relations pose to the meta-narratives of assimilation or even cultural pluralism that still take the nation as the delimiting territory? How might the sustaining of social and cultural ties through online communication affect language maintenance and development among people in diaspora? The ways in which transnational virtual communities are contributing to new forms of identities and linguistic development is a promising area of research as we seek to understand language socialization among diverse populations in the digital age.

## WORK IN PROGRESS

*Linguistic Hegemony, Hybridity, and Change*

With the expansion of the Internet in different regions of the world affecting as many as a billion users and its integration in the global economy, issues of language ideology and language choice have rightfully begun to gain more attention in research on online communication. While studies of CmC that are published in English language journals have so far tended to focus on the practices of native speakers of English, some recent journal issues have called attention to the multilingual nature of the Internet in diverse societal contexts (e.g., the November 2003 issue, “The Multilingual Internet,” of the *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, and the February 2004 issue, “Multilingualism on the Internet,” of the *International Journal on Multicultural Societies*). Notwithstanding this belated acknowledgement of the linguistic heterogeneity of Internet use, English is still a powerful and prominent language of choice online. The dominance of English could be attributed to its postcolonial and late capitalist status as a world lingua franca and the fact that Internet communication was originally designed on the basis of the ASCII (American Standard Code for Information Interchange) character set that relies on the use of the roman alphabet and the sounds of the English language (Crystal, 2003; Sue Wright, 2004).

The pervasiveness of English is seen in all of the diaspora social networks described in the previous section where English is used as a key medium of communication in conjunction with the native, national, or heritage languages shared in common by the particular population. English also seems to be emerging as the language of choice for online communication in officially multilingual states such as Switzerland (Durham, 2003), and at the regional level in public online forums sponsored by the European Union (Scott Wright, 2004). In the latter contexts where language input is not constrained by technological factors, language choice is more a matter of ideology—beliefs and practices—surrounding the use of a language. These trends illustrate how the adoption of the Internet as technology for wider communication tends to privilege English as a language that has already gained broad circulation around the world and is perceived as a more neutral language to use in multilingual contexts (Durham, 2003).

Yet, the interlingual contact of English and ASCII with other languages and writing systems on the Internet has also given rise to new hybrid languages and orthographic codes. For example, in a study of instant messaging among Gulf Arabic speakers in Dubai, Palfreyman and Al-Khalil (2003) found that the local university students had

developed a unique way of writing colloquial Arabic online that shows influences from computer character sets, standard Arabic script, English orthography, and other latinized forms of Arabic used in contexts before the introduction of the Internet. In other words, the college students invented a new code for a language, namely spoken Arabic, that has no formalized script. Palfreyman and Al-Khalil's (2003) analysis demonstrates that this ASCII-ized form of spoken Arabic is used to create an in-group culture that signifies the cosmopolitan youthful creativity of the university students. (See a similar argument in Warschauer, El Said, and Zohry, 2002, regarding online use of Egyptian Arabic.)

My research with a bilingual Chinese/English chatroom where young people of Chinese descent from around the world gathered shows the use of a variety of writing systems, including (1) Chinese writing in the Cantonese dialect, (2) written vernacular English, and (3) a hybrid code of vernacular English and romanized Cantonese (phonetic renditions of Cantonese with the roman alphabet). The hybrid blending of English and romanized Cantonese was adopted by young Chinese migrants to signify their dual linguistic identity and differentiate themselves from monolingual speakers of either language (Lam, 2004). In a reverse fashion, Su (2003) found that college-age students in Taiwan engaged in creative uses of the Chinese writing system in college-affiliated Electronic Bulletin Board Services, which includes the rendering in Chinese characters of the sounds of English, or Stylized English. Stylized English was used to tone down the elevated status of English in the local Taiwanese context and to produce humor that is derived from the playful dissonance between the phonological and orthographic meanings of the written words. Other forms of stylization involve the rendering of Taiwanese, which has no standardized script, and Taiwanese-accented Mandarin in Chinese characters.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The blending of multiple voices and codes in the hybrid linguistic practices described above seems to indicate that a new linguistic consciousness is developing among the younger generations who are versatile with digital and online communication. This is a new youth culture that thrives on metalinguistic awareness and creative experimentation with multiple orthographic systems and representational resources in electronic communication. Included in this culture are youth who are expressing their hybrid linguistic and cultural identities in wholly new codes. Given the co-existing realities of linguistic hegemony and hybridity in online communication, are young people being socialized into English or new kinds of Englishes and multilingual identities

on the Internet? This question calls for more research that considers processes of interlingual contact in online socialization. Specifically, the blurring of linguistic boundaries as exemplified in the remixing of languages and orthographic codes in online contexts may offer new opportunities for resisting the hegemony of English and envisioning the acquisition of dominant languages as a process of interlingual deconstruction and re-invention.

With each new confluence of communication technologies comes new conditions for the creation of social relations and collective identities. Just as “print capitalism” (Anderson, 1991)—the mass production, distribution, and reading of newspapers, pamphlets, books, maps, and other printed texts—was instrumental in creating an imagined community of citizenry for the modern nation-state, the development of electronic capitalism and trans-border circulation of cultural and symbolic materials is creating new imagined communities on a global scale (Appadurai, 1996). Networked electronic communication is redefining not only the scope of time and space in practices of socialization and group formation, but also the various ways in which linguistic and cultural boundaries are elided and re-inscribed. From collectivities based on common interests to those that extend and transcend the interests of the nation-state, online communication holds opportunities to examine language socialization at multiple scopes and scales.

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## LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION IN JAPANESE

### INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses research on language socialization in Japanese, both socialization of native Japanese speakers as well as that of learners of Japanese as a foreign language.

The theoretical perspective of language socialization is couched in the phenomenological tradition (Husserl, 1970 [1910]) and grew out of linguistic anthropology, in particular, the ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1964). From these academic perspectives, language socialization research considers language acquisition to be embedded in cultural practice and investigates how novices learn to become competent members in a social group by participating in the daily routines of culturally organized activities. However, due to the fact that there has been no tradition of ethnography in Japan, language socialization research has not developed there (cf. Shibamoto, 1987). To date, most research on language socialization in Japanese has been conducted by scholars who were trained in the United States. And yet, Japanese is perhaps one of the ideal languages to investigate how novices are socialized into society through the use of language, for it has rich morphology, and a great deal of social information is encoded in the language (e.g., honorifics, pronouns, and sentence-final particles). For this reason, some scholars claim that in Japanese there is no neutral sentence (cf. Matsumoto, 1988). Even a simple utterance such as “it is fine today” has several variants with different degrees of politeness, formality, and other aspects of social information. In this sense, the acquisition of Japanese truly “goes hand-in-hand with acquiring sociocultural knowledge” (Ochs and Schieffelin, 1995, p. 74).

In what follows, I will first review the research on L1 socialization and then discuss the emerging field of L2 socialization in recent years. I will conclude the chapter by suggesting directions for future research.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

There were only a few notable studies on Japanese L1 socialization during the 1970s and 1980s. The decade of the 1970’s saw several influential publications in English on Japanese culture and psychology,

which discussed Japanese communication patterns (e.g., Doi, 1973; Lebra, 1976). For example, Lebra (1976) described Japanese culture as “*omoiyari* culture.” In her words, *omoiyari* is “the ability and willingness to feel what others are feeling, to vicariously experience the pleasure or pain that they are undergoing, and to help them satisfy their wishes (p. 38).” Doi (1973) claimed that the Japanese way of communication stemmed from *amae* “dependence on others,” which is “the psychology of the infant in its relationship to its mother (p. 74).” Markus and Kitayama (1991) described Japanese as group-oriented, and nonconfrontational. These publications had a great impact on the formulation of the theories of Japanese behavior and psychology in the fields of anthropology, psychology, sociology, and linguistics in the Western society, and the characteristics of Japanese communication patterns described in these publications were believed to be applicable to all sectors of Japanese people and society until recently. The goal of the early studies on Japanese L1 socialization was to investigate how caregivers’ discursive practice helps socialize children into Japanese cultural patterns of behavior.

Socialization starts long before children produce their first word. Caudill and Weinstein (1974) observed that when infants were as young as 3–4 months Japanese mothers talked to infants significantly less often than American mothers and that Japanese infants’ rate of positive vocalization was lower than that of American infants. Based on these observations, the study suggested that by the age of 4 months, American and Japanese children were socialized into different communication styles.

Clancy’s study (1986) is perhaps the most important contribution to Japanese L1 socialization research. It pursued the questions of how Japanese young children learn to be indirect and empathize with others. Her study, based on naturally occurring conversation between Japanese mothers and 2-year-old children, found that Japanese mothers’ discursive practice was characterized by a mixture of indirect/direct commands, and empathy and conformity training. When the child did not understand the mother’s indirect directive, the mother used a more direct expression. The juxtaposition of indirect and direct commands taught children how direct commands could be paraphrased in an indirect manner. One of the significant contributions of Clancy’s study is that it clearly demonstrates that the Japanese mother deemphasizes the mother’s role as an authority figure and that empathy training is part of making children behave without foregrounding her authority. For example, when the child eats oranges without sharing them with the guest, instead of telling the child, “I want you to give oranges to the guest,” the mother mentions that the guest is saying that she wants to eat some oranges. Or if the child hits a pet dog, the mother may

say that the dog is saying “Ouch!” The control of the child’s behavior by pointing out the third party’s feelings accomplishes at least two things: one is to make the child behave himself without evoking the mother’s cold affect, and the other is to make the child empathize with others (i.e., *omoiyari* training). Cook (1990) also found the mother’s use of the sentence-final particle *no* helped to deemphasize the mother’s personal will and appealed to the social norm in order to control children’s behavior.

In sum, the studies by Clancy (1986) and Cook (1990) point out that Japanese cultural values of *amae* and *omoiyari* are socialized as an outcome of the Japanese mother’s de-emphasis of her authority. The Japanese mother’s particular discursive style simultaneously makes the child more sensitive to others and more dependent on the mother because the mother’s individual will is not in conflict with that of the child.

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

### *Japanese L1 Language Socialization Research*

L1 socialization research in Japanese examines socialization at home as well as at school. Studies on Japanese L1 socialization have dealt with the following issues: (i) socialization of affect; (ii) politeness and honorifics; (iii) gendered speech; (iv) connections between narrative and literacy; and (v) participation in elementary school classroom interaction.

Language encodes affect through lexicon, phonological system, and grammatical structure, among other devices (cf. Besnier, 1990; Ochs and Schieffelin, 1989). Learning to express affect in culturally appropriate ways is an important part of language socialization (Ochs and Schieffelin, 1989). Research provides evidence that Japanese mothers use a number of affect expressions to control children’s behavior and that children are socialized into appropriate affective expressions quite early in life. Clancy (1999), who investigated affect lexicon in conversations of three pairs of mothers and 2-year-olds, found that by 2 years, Japanese children were exposed to extensive affect lexicon. In particular, the mothers’ use of the word, *kowai* “be scary/be afraid (of),” helps children see themselves as the objects of others’ evaluative affect. Suzuki (1999) also found that Japanese mothers taught children appropriate behavior through the use of the aspectual suffix—*chau* (or the past tense—*chatta*), which indexes the speaker’s negative affect concerning the event or action soon to be completed (or just completed). Clancy’s study (1985) suggests that Japanese children’s early socialization of affect attributes to the early acquisition of the sentence-final particles.

Since the Japanese language has extensive honorific forms, scholars have investigated how Japanese children learn to talk politely. Japanese honorifics are divided into two main categories: referent and addressee honorifics (cf. Shibatani, 1990). Further, the referent honorifics consist of the respect and humble forms. The addressee honorific form is said to show politeness to the addressee while the referent honorifics raise the referent and his group or lower the speaker or his group. In addition, there is an honorific prefix *o-* or *go-* that attaches to nouns for beautification. The referent honorifics are morphologically complex and rarely occur in family conversation except for some formulaic phrases (Nakamura, 2002). For these reasons, except for formulaic phrases, children do not develop competence in appropriate use of the referent honorifics till much later in life. In contrast, although they mostly speak in the plain form, the caregivers at times use the addressee honorific *masu* form when talking to children at home. Researchers investigated when the caregivers and children shift to the *masu* form (Clancy, 1985; Cook, 1996, 1997; Nakamura, 1996, 2002). These studies found that Japanese caregivers tended to shift to the *masu* form in several well-defined contexts: reading a story book, quoting people outside the home, engaging in a role play, and carrying out parental responsibilities such as correcting children's behavior and serving food. The caregivers' uses of the *masu* form shed light on the nature of the "addressee honorific." Cook (1996, 1997) points out that the mother's shift to the *masu* form when serving food, for example, does not make sense if the *masu* form is merely a marker of politeness toward the addressee. Elementary school children speak in the *masu* form when engaging in the class activity called *happyoo* "presentation" but shift to the plain form (non-honorific form) when talking to the teacher, who is an observer of the *happyoo* activity (Cook, 1996). Cook (1996) argues that Japanese children learn to use the *masu* form as an index of the self-presentational stance both at home and school. By the age of three, Japanese children learn to use the *masu* form appropriately both in real life situations as well as imaginary plays (Cook, 1996, 1997; Fukuda, 2005, Ishida, 2002). For example, Ishida's study (2002), which compared directives in real life and role-play interactions between a mother and child aged 2:11, found that the child's formal directives (*masu* form) increased in the role play, reflecting the child's understanding of her social roles in the two different contexts.

Gender roles are in general more distinct in Japanese society than in Western societies. Not only are Japanese men and women brought up in different social groups but they are also expected to play different social roles throughout life. For example, Japanese mothers single-handedly take the responsibility of raising children (e.g., Imamura, 1987). Steverson (2004), who analyzed dinnertime narratives of

Japanese families, illustrates a clear gender role division reflected in dinnertime narratives. The Japanese mother plays a prominent role in the dinnertime narratives in the amount and quality of the contribution, while the father's contribution to the narratives is limited. One of the myths of the Japanese language is that there are many linguistic forms that are exclusively used by one gender. In reality, both men and women share a wide range of speech styles in many social contexts. Differences in speech between the sexes largely depend on social contexts. How, then, do Japanese children learn gendered speech? Studies have found that gender differences are socialized in interaction between the caregivers and children (Kawakami, 1997) as well as in peer play and that children as young as 3 years old have knowledge of how gender differences are indexed by linguistic forms (Nakamura, 2001). One of the questions is how boys are socialized into rough speech when the mother normally does not speak to the child in a rough manner. Nakamura (2001), who studied preschool children's peer play, contends that peers are the main source of socialization of so-called "gendered speech." In her study, boys use a wider range of rough sounding linguistic forms during same-sex peer play than when they speak with their mothers. She also finds that compared with other gentler play, when engaging in rough-and-tumble play with the same sex playmate, girls increase rough sounding linguistic forms as well. From these observations, Nakamura concludes that "gendered speech" is not used exclusively by one gender and that young children (aged 3–6) are socialized by peers into the use of "gendered speech" in appropriate contexts.

How do children make the transition from home to school? Researchers consider that the middle-class discourse style at home becomes a precursor to decontextualized language use (i.e., literacy) at school in Western societies (e.g., Bernstein, 1971; Snow, 1983). In Japanese society, while there is a transition from home to school, differences are also noted between the two. For example, Minami (2002) finds that there is continuity between language use at home and at school in Japan but that the kind of continuity in the Japanese context differs from that found in Western societies. Minami (2002), who examined narrative structures of Japanese children (ages 4 and 5) and their mothers, illustrates that Japanese narratives involve short turns with incomplete sentences and frequent turn changes. This characteristic of oral narratives is carried over to the literacy activity of story-book reading in the sense that the mother's questions and child's answers in book-reading activities are short and often within incomplete sentences. Minami also argues that this book-reading activity at home is a precursor to school literacy in Japanese society in that a typical sequence in book-reading activities is a three-part sequence that

resembles the I(nitiation)-R(esponse)-E(valuation) sequence typically found in classroom interaction (cf. Mehan, 1979). On the one hand, research on elementary school classroom interactions (Anderson, 1995; Cook, 1996) illustrates that unlike home interaction, where the informal speech-style is most frequent, the dominant speech-style employed in the classroom is the formal style. On the other hand, Cook (1996) argues that the way in which the *masu* form is used (self-presentational stance) is the same at home and school. Another manifestation of discontinuity between home and school is the participation structure of the book-reading activity at home and that of the elementary school classroom. The former involves a dyadic pattern between the mother and child, but the latter utilizes a multiparty pattern (Anderson, 1995).

Different participation structures of the elementary school classroom have been observed between Japan and the West. Anderson's ethnographic study on first- and second-grade classrooms (1995) shows that in Japanese classrooms the preferred participation structure is a multiparty interactional pattern [the I(nitiation)-P(resentation)-R(eaction)-E(valuation) sequence] instead of the I-R-E sequence. In the I-P-Rx-E sequence, the P and R turns are distributed to students. In P, the student gives a presentation, and in R, other students give reactions to the student's presentation. Anderson (1995) points out that whereas the I-R-E sequence promotes dyadic interaction between the teacher and student, the I-P-Rx-E sequence increases peer interactions in the classroom and leaves the teacher's role as a supporter of the peer interaction among students. The encouragement of peer interactions and the supporting role of the teacher in a wide variety of activities in a Japanese nursery school are also documented by an ethnographic study by Tobin, Wu, and Davidson (1989). Peer cooperation is also illustrated in Cook's (1999) study on Japanese elementary school classrooms. Students listen to the peer's presentations very carefully so that they can give reactions. The I-P-Rx-E sequence that Anderson found is part of training for peer cooperation and peer classroom management, an important Japanese cultural value.

### *Japanese L2 Language Socialization Research*

L2 socialization research grew out of the growing interest in teaching Japanese as a foreign language. Due to the increased number of Western learners of Japanese during the Japanese economic boom in the 1980's, universities in North America and other parts of the world expanded Japanese language programs. With this expansion, the field of teaching Japanese as a foreign language was established. Since the mid-1990s, the number of publications of Japanese L2 language socialization research has been increasing. To date, Japanese L2 socialization

research mainly studies learners of Japanese as a foreign language (henceforth JFL learners) who are native speakers of English. The central question asked in these studies is how JFL learners are socialized into the appropriate use of Japanese and cultural expectations in Japanese society. The majority of L2 socialization studies are based on classroom research in North America but some examine the study-in-Japan context. The classroom research deals with the issues of pragmatic particles and speech styles, interactional routines, and the teacher's status.

Japanese pragmatic particles and the addressee honorific form (*masu* form) are what Silverstein (1976) calls "non-referential indexes." They only point to or create aspects of social context but do not have any referential content. They are linguistic resources for the construction of social identities and other social categories. In contrast with Japanese children, who learn to use pragmatic particles and speech styles quite early in their interaction with the caregivers at home, as discussed above (cf. Clancy, 1985), JFL learners have difficulty in using particles and speech styles appropriately (cf. K. Ishida, 2001; Sawyer, 1992). Non-referential indexes are difficult, if not impossible, to learn through classroom instruction (cf. Gumperz, 1996). Studies by Ohta (1994) and Yoshimi (1999) suggest that difficulties may stem from the paucity of pragmatic particles in the teacher's talk as well as a difference in grammatical constraints between Japanese and English. Ohta (1994) investigated types and frequencies of pragmatic particles in first-year Japanese classrooms and compared them with those in ordinary Japanese conversations. The study revealed fewer types and lower frequencies of the particles used in the classroom and the impact of the teacher's philosophy on the particle use. Yoshimi (1999), who analyzed JFL learners' incorrect uses of the pragmatic particle *ne*, argued that a difference in Japanese and English epistemic constraints led to the improper uses.

While some studies report JFL learners' difficulty in learning appropriate speech styles basing their analysis on an assumption that the *masu* form is merely a politeness marker (Marriott, 1993; Rounds, Falsgraf, and Seya, 1997), Wade (2003) examined six JFL classrooms both in the United States and Japan without the assumption that the *masu* form is merely a politeness marker. Her study demonstrates that the *masu* and plain forms are building blocks of social identity and that JFL learners' appropriate speech styles are tied to their development of social identities in Japanese.

The language socialization model contends that novices acquire sociocultural knowledge through participation in routine language-mediated activities. From this perspective, classroom activities are the most important routines for most foreign language learners. Japanese

L2 socialization research has explored how interactional routines in the classroom help socialize learners into Japanese sociocultural norms (Kanagy, 1999; Ohta, 1999, 2001a). Kanagy (1999) observes that even young children in a Japanese immersion kindergarten are gradually socialized into cultural specific interactional routines with the teacher's scaffolding. Her study contributes to our knowledge of the importance of the predictability of routine activities for language socialization. Routine activities are socialization tools in college-level JFL classes as well. Ohta's (1999, 2001a, b) longitudinal study of a first year Japanese language class in an American university also shows that one of the classroom routines, an extended assessment activity, is a powerful tool to socialize learners into the Japanese cultural norm of the active listener role. While most JFL classroom studies focus on the participation structure of a teacher-fronted classroom, Ohta's (2001b) study, framed in Vygotskian sociohistorical theory, analyzes how peer interactions and private speech help learners acquire a foreign language. For example, Ohta shows that peers with different language proficiencies help each other through collaborative talk. In sum, Ohta's study is a major contribution to L2 classroom research in that it points out that a foreign language classroom is a much richer environment for language acquisition and socialization than was previously thought.

Inspired by Poole's study (1992), which examined the impact of the teacher's interactional style on socialization in an L2 classroom, a few researchers investigated the teacher's role and status in JFL classrooms and argued that Japanese teachers display their higher status in the classroom (Falsgraf and Majors, 1995; Lim, 1996; Rounds, Falsgraf, and Seya, 1997). Falsgraf and Majors (1995) compared the degree of directness in the teachers' directives in the Japanese and English classrooms in an immersion elementary school in the United States and an elementary school classroom in Japan. Their finding is that with respect to directives, Japanese teachers are more direct than American teachers. They interpreted this finding as an indication of the Japanese teacher's higher status. In order to determine the socialization effects of the teacher's use of more direct commands in the immersion school, Rounds, Falsgraf and Seya (1997) examined the immersion students' role plays in comparison with those of Japanese native-speaker children. The role plays consist of two types. One is an interaction between the teacher and student (T/S), and the other is an interaction between peer students (S/S). The assumption is that in the T/S role play the students will speak politely to the teacher in the *masu* form, and in S/S role play, they use the plain form. The findings reveal that neither immersion students nor native-speaker children consistently

use the *masu* form with the teacher, a behavioral pattern that the researchers had not expected. Lim (1996), who studied beginning college JFL classes in the United States, illustrates different cultural expectations that teachers and students have about each other's role. The teachers of Japanese, when confronted with American students' informal behavior, correct their students towards a more deferential demeanor. Lim (1996) reports that through teasing, ignoring, and modeling the correct ways, the teachers socialize the students into Japanese cultural values such as those of showing respect to the teacher, taking group responsibility as a class, being diligent and conforming to the class.

While L2 classroom socialization research focuses on how JFL learners are socialized into Japanese sociocultural norms through classroom interaction, language socialization research in study-abroad contexts deals with the issues of: (i) learners' social identity in Japanese society, and (ii) bidirectional socialization processes. These studies mostly deal with Caucasian students' linguistic behavior in interaction with Japanese people. Ethnographic studies by Siegal (1995, 1996) and Iino (1996, 2006) document the Japanese social expectation that projects different standards of behavior for Japanese and foreigners. For example, a JFL learner in Iino's study was laughed at by her host family when she used a referent honorific form appropriate for a formal social context. Another learner's pragmatic error was evaluated as "cute." Siegal (1996) also reports that a professor of Japanese in her study commented that he would not correct learners' inappropriate use of Japanese because foreigners do not understand Japanese customs. Cook (2006) demonstrates that JFL learners staying with a Japanese host family are socialized into the discourse of Japanese cultural beliefs and that by so doing, they learn to jointly construct a shared perspective with the Japanese host family.

Language socialization is a life-long process, and the novice is not the only party who is socialized. In this sense, socialization is a two-way process. Cook (2006) analyzes how learners' challenges prompt Japanese host families to shift the existing folk belief to a new version. Thus, due to interactions with the JFL learner, the Japanese host family members have opportunities to reflect on and modify their own belief system.

The contribution of the L2 socialization studies in the study-abroad context is that they point out that one of the problems that learners encounter in Japan is the difficulty of establishing their social identity (other than that of "a foreigner"). In contrast to L1 socialization in which the end point of socialization is the novice's attainment of the linguistic and cultural competence of the members of the community, the end point of L2 socialization varies according to learners' goals as well as the

target community's expectation about foreigners. These studies remind us that JFL learners are not automatic robots who simply emulate the L2 norms of speaking but are active agents who choose to display who they are in Japan utilizing the Japanese language as a resource.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

One of the problems stems from the assumptions the researchers themselves have about Japanese society. Some studies impose the researcher's beliefs about Japanese language and society on the data. This problem is particularly notable in some L2 classroom socialization studies. For example, Falsgraf and Majors (1995) interpreted the Japanese teachers' more frequent use of direct commands (compared to the frequency of American teachers) as evidence of Japanese teachers' higher status. However, direct commands in Japanese can index a range of social meanings depending on other co-occurring linguistic and contextual features. It may index a close relationship between the teacher and students and not necessarily the teacher's higher status. Without conducting or referring to ethnographic studies on classroom interactions in Japan, Lim (1996) also assumes that Asian teachers, including Japanese teachers, possess authoritative power. In contrast to Lim's assumption, as evidenced in ethnographic studies of Japanese schools, Japanese teachers are not authoritative, and not all Asian cultures are identical. For example, an ethnographic study by Tobin, Wu and Davidson (1989), which compared preschools in three cultures, clearly documents that in contrast to American and Chinese teachers, Japanese teachers do not directly control students' behavior but leave the classroom management to the students. Japanese teachers' self-effacing strategy found in Tobin, Wu, and Davidson (1989) is similar to that observed among Japanese mothers (cf. Cook, 1990). Anderson's ethnographic study of a Japanese elementary school (1995) also portrays the teacher's role as a supporter who assists students rather than someone who directly controls them.

Similarly, some scholars assume a one-to-one mapping between the teacher's higher status and the prescriptive, one-dimensional analysis of Japanese honorifics. For example, Rounds, Falsgraf, and Seya (1997) conducted their study on immersion school classrooms assuming the Japanese teacher's high position and the students' acknowledgement of this position through the use of the *masu* form. They found that Japanese native-speaker children's use of the *masu* form is less frequent than that of the Japanese immersion students, which suggests the possibility that Japanese native-speaker children may not use the *masu* form as a form of respect and/or they do not consider their

teacher as someone whose position is constantly recognized through the use of honorifics. The research on Japanese elementary schools (Anderson, 1995; Cook, 1996) indicates both possibilities.

Another issue is the difficulty of comparison between two languages and cultures. It is too simplistic to compare a social meaning of a particular grammatical category in one language and that of another. First, the social meaning of a given grammatical category differs from language to language. Second, there are multiple social meanings associated with a given linguistic form. For example, Falsgraf and Majors (1995), who compared the degree of directness of commands between Japanese and English using the scale of politeness proposed by Hill, Ide, Ikuta, Kawasaki, and Ogino (1986), equated the Japanese gerundive (e.g., *suwatte*) with the English imperative (e.g., *sit down*) as "normal imperative." Although Japanese also has the true imperative (e.g., *suware*), which sounds rougher and much more direct than the gerundive, Falsgraf and Majors did not include the true imperative in their analysis. This is perhaps because the true imperative did not occur in the teachers' speech. Since in English, there are no categories equivalent to the ones in Japanese, the Japanese gerundive form (e.g., *suwatte*) and true imperative (e.g., *suware*) are both translated into the English imperative form (e.g., *sit down*). In fact, an absence of the true imperative in the Japanese teachers' speech suggests the Japanese teachers' less direct and more intimate relationship with the students. In addition, even the polite imperative (e.g., *please sit down* and *suwatte kudasai*) may not be polite in some contexts. It is often observed that American mothers use the polite imperative when they scold their children. Thus, without including the co-occurring contexts, it is not clear if any token of directive forms is really direct or polite.

In sum, the researcher's preconception of the Japanese culture and language as a yardstick to measure L2 learners' verbal and nonverbal behavior only distorts the results of a study. In this respect, it is essential to expand ethnographic research on the use of language in a wide range of social contexts in Japanese society.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

To date, L1 socialization research in Japanese has focused on children's socialization processes at home and in the elementary school, but since language socialization is a life-long process, a wider range of social contexts need to be investigated. Topics future research should examine include: (i) how junior and senior high school classroom routines socialize students; (ii) how club activities in high schools and universities prepare students to become competent workers (*shakaijin*); (iii) what

kind of socialization is accomplished by a training program for new employees in a company; and (iv) how the growing number of immigrants are socialized into Japanese society. Such studies will not only shed insightful light on dynamic language socialization processes in different social contexts in Japanese society but will also inform Japanese L2 socialization research.

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## LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION AMONG PEOPLE WITH MENTAL HEALTH DISORDERS

### INTRODUCTION

Language socialization is discussed in this chapter with reference to the recovery or improvement of one's social use of language. Principles discussed will refer primarily to people with chronic schizophrenia who have moved from hospital to community settings, but will also be relevant to other groups of people with mental health disorders (MHDs) living in the community. From existing definitions of language socialization, many concepts apply to this group of language users. For example, language socialisation has been described as a process that encompasses 'socialization *through* language and *into* language' (Ochs and Schieffelin, 1984; 1995; Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986a, 1986b, Ochs and Schieffelin, *Language Socialization: An Historical Overview*, Volume 8). It involves 'an interactional display (covert or overt) to a novice of expected ways of thinking, feeling and acting' (Ochs, 1986, p. 2). Furthermore, language socialization examines 'how [people] are socialized by and through language into new domains of knowledge and cultural practice' (Bayley and Schecter, 2003, p. 2).

Particular elements of these definitions (e.g. notions of *covert* or *overt interactional display*, *the novice* and *cultural practice*), though more usually applied to first- or second-language learners, can also be applied to the discussion of language socialization or *resocialization* among people with chronic schizophrenia. By *resocialization*, I mean the recovery of linguistic and social interaction abilities that individuals might previously have had greater expertise in before the onset of their MHD.

There are a number of reasons for a focus on people with chronic schizophrenia. Firstly, people with schizophrenia make up the largest group within populations of individuals with MHDs, taking up 'a disproportionate share of mental health services' (Mueser and McGurk, 2004, p. 2063). Secondly, these people often have language and communication impairments associated with, and intrinsic to, the illness (Newby, 2001), making language (re)socialization in rehabilitation terms particularly relevant to this group. Thirdly, exploring language socialization in a language or communication-impaired group may tell us more about the language socialization process as a linguistic activity, contributing to an area of study that has largely developed from

accounts of first language acquisition, and bilingual and multilingual language-learning contexts. However, before discussing language socialization within this population, some background to the nature of schizophrenia is necessary.

### *Schizophrenia*

Schizophrenia can be a life-long, severely debilitating mental illness that affects a person's thinking, feelings, social functioning and communication (Puri, Laking and Treasaden, 2002). It is a condition in which a great diversity of symptoms occurs, with varying degrees of severity and unpredictable outcomes. The experience of schizophrenia is, therefore, highly variable, with some individuals managing to remain employed and function well within society. Others, who may be more severely and chronically affected, experience repeated periods of hospitalization and require varying degrees of medical supervision throughout their lives.

Impairment in socialization is a key feature of schizophrenia (Wing, Cooper and Sartorius, 1974). In fact, an insidious social withdrawal in early adulthood can be one of the markers of the development of the condition (Mueser and McGurk, 2004). Shepherd (1986, p. 13) comments that social functioning is 'so much part of schizophrenia that it is virtually impossible to discuss this disorder without reference to its social implications'.

People who develop schizophrenia may experience significant language and communication difficulties (Emerson and Enderby, 1996, Walsh, Regan, Sowman, Parsons and McKay, 2004), particularly within the domain of spoken discourse and pragmatics (Byrne, Crowe and Griffin, 1998), where communication relevancy and appropriateness seem most often affected. The nature of the pragmatic language impairment in schizophrenia is now seen as secondary to a generalized cognitive decline (Linscott, 2005). Those who become chronically ill will often present with suppressed language and communication skills possibly as a result of a combination of factors, including: (i) the presence of formal thought disorder;<sup>1</sup> (ii) the effects of the often protracted illness process, as it takes its toll on a person's communication skills; and (iii) long periods of institutionalization. However, how much of the deterioration of the language and communication functioning can be attributed to the illness process and how much to the direct effects of institutionalization is difficult to discern. Regardless

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<sup>1</sup> Linscott (2005, 226) states that formal thought disorder is a set of language features 'that are constructed as indicating that the form of underlying information processing is disorganized.'

of cause, the impact of the communication disability can be profound for the person affected, as the following quotes from people with schizophrenia, illustrate:

I had all these thoughts in my head but when I spoke it was just noise just high-pitched noises came out. It had lost the meaning. I could understand other people's language but not my own.

I thought my language was wrong. I believed that no one could understand what I said.

(Cutting and Charlish, 1995, p. 2, 11)

Therefore, language socialization or re-socialization becomes a focus of many rehabilitation regimes, once an individual moves from a hospital to a community setting. It is in the community where people with MHDs have to become accustomed to a new culture of living and even a new identity, leaving behind the safe, secure but often-oppressive environment of the hospital. Thus, these individuals may be seen as novices as they try to learn or relearn certain ways of behaving in the new community or culture in which they find themselves. Furthermore, the re-learning of socially appropriate communication skills most often takes place within the context of interventions, such as *social skills training*, with MHD professionals. Any discussion of language re-socialisation, therefore, must be considered initially within this context, before broadening the arguments to include other issues relevant to language socialization.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

### *Social Skills Training*

Social skills can be defined as 'the performance of behaviour in social interactions' (Rustin and Kuhr, 1999, p. 5). The nature of social skills training (SST) emanates from a number of different disciplines, including social, applied and cognitive therapy as well as behaviour therapy. Rustin and Kuhr (1999, p. 8) discuss 'a cultural difference in perspective' between North American and European theory, research and practice in social skills training. They explain that in the USA, SST grew out of the work of behaviour therapists who believed that a person's social behaviour was a reaction to external social events. Conversely, Europeans looked to social psychology as a base for SST believing that a person's behaviour is more internally based and guided. Regardless of origins, SST programs for people with schizophrenia typically include, for example, conflict-management skills, assertiveness skills, community-living skills, vocational skills and medication-management skills (e.g. Bellack, Mueser, Gingerich and Agresta,

1997). These programs also invariably include a conversational-skills component. When one looks at the development of SST historically, it is obvious that a consideration of language socialization was only remotely evident in so-called 'conversational skills training'.

Lieberman, De Risi and Mueser (1989) and Rustin and Kuhr (1999) provide an account of the historical development of social skills training which allows us to place current practice in this area in a chronological context. According to Lieberman, De Risi and Mueser (1989), the focus over 50 years ago was predominantly 'assertiveness training' for those people with communication difficulties associated with MHDs. Assertiveness training (in the 1950s) was thought to facilitate self-expression and in turn help people with MHDs to communicate more effectively and overcome their anxiety, depression or social fears. In the late 1960s, a combination of modelling and role-playing to practice assertive behaviour was popular and soon became a core part of a broader social skills framework. Social communication skills gradually became an integral part of these programs in the 1970s when the mode of delivery shifted from individual to group therapies, with the realization that a more natural and realistic context was provided by the latter. 'Clinical trials' became popular as researchers tried to prove the efficacy of such interventions with some, if limited, success. Generalization of skills however, remained the main concern as it became apparent that some social-communication-related behaviours (e.g. eye contact for conversational interaction) were more easily transferred to new situations than others.

With methods of group or individual 'training' continuing into the 1980s and early 1990s, the difficulty of a lack of carryover of learned behaviours persisted. Wong et al. (1993) recognized such difficulties even within individually based conversational-skills training. Problems with generalization (or the transfer of training) arose when recently learnt communication behaviours broke down as the individual struggled to maintain the 'fragile' skill in the face of ever-changing conversational pressures. Thus, to invoke the phraseology of *language socialization*: the 'interactional (overt) display' of the desired behaviour in such programmes was not enough for the so-called novice learner in these contexts. Hence, a concern in relation to generalization of skills learnt slowly began to influence the trajectory of developments in SST and communication skills work for this group of language users.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Though social skills training has been criticized for its efficacy due to problems with skills generalization (e.g. see Pilling et al., 2002), this has not lessened the impact of this mode of training on attempts to

(re)socialize people with MHDs through language. Bellack's (2004) extensive review of skills training for people with severe mental illness concludes that (i) SST has been validated by a number of studies as being effective for people with schizophrenia; (ii) it is an effective teaching technology within the regime of behavioural rehearsal in skill development; (iii) it remains a treatment approach of choice, welcomed by both patients and clinicians alike; and (iv) although it does not bring about symptom reduction or prevent relapse in schizophrenia, it does have a 'reliable and significant effect on behavioural skills' with a 'positive effect on social role functioning' (Bellack, 2004, p. 382). These conclusions, therefore, augur well for continued use and adaptation of such programs for this population.

### *Combined Approaches*

Other approaches that include a focus on communication have combined SST with other interventions with varying success. Integration and co-ordination of approaches are becoming increasingly popular (see Kopelwicz and Liberman, 2003) and are seen as a positive development in the rehabilitation of people with MHDs. Integrated approaches are not new, however, as a German study by Roder, Studer and Brenner (1987) shows. This study reported on an integrated psychological therapy program for training communication and cognitive abilities in the rehabilitation of people with chronic schizophrenia. Roder, Studer and Brenner (1987) concluded that significant changes were evident in individual cases in terms of communicative and social behaviour.

McQuaid et al. (2000) developed an integrated cognitive-behavioural (CBT) and SST training for older patients with schizophrenia. They report that patients found this approach particularly helpful, with one participant reporting that she was 'better able to communicate with a variety of people because of the skills learnt' (McQuaid et al., 2000, p. 154). In a Turkish study, Yildez et al. (2004) assessed the impact of a psychosocial skills training program for people with schizophrenia. Their program consisted of psycho-education, interpersonal group therapy and family education, incorporated into SST. Inherent in their approach was a focus on 'improving communication skills', 'developing friendships' and 'participating in social activities'—all language socialization activities. Their findings suggest that such a program had a better outcome for patients than those who received a standard or traditional treatment alone. As is often the case with schizophrenic participants receiving treatment, including SST training, the primary communities into which they are actively socialized may not be their own families, with whom they may have limited ongoing contact, but rather with others with MHDs and care staff.

Despite the proven success of some of these integrated approaches, Kallert, Leisse and Winiecki (2004), in a number of studies based in Germany, have consistently identified an unmet social need in the area of communication skills training for people with schizophrenia. They call for an increased focus on social skills and psycho-educational programs for community-based treatment.

### *Conversational Skills Training*

In 1993, Liberman et al. included a *Basic Conversational Skills Module (BCSM)* in their widely used *UCLA Social and Independent Living Skills Program* (Liberman et al., 1993) for use with people with a mental illness. The program has been widely used internationally both in Canada and the USA and translated into several languages in many countries, including France (e.g. Chambon and Marie-Cardine, 1998), Bulgaria (e.g. Buterin and Liberman, 1998) and Japan (Ikebuchi, Anzai and Niwa, 1998). Aside from the module directly focusing on conversational skills, many other modules stress the importance of sociable talk around tasks. For example, the 'medication self-management module' refers, among its requisite behaviours, to the need for a 'pleasant greeting' and a 'thank you for assistance'.

Other recent programs have a greater emphasis on conversational skills training *per se* (e.g. Walsh, 1997; Rustin and Kuhr, 1999; Henton, Sinclair and Sideras, 2001). These programmes are often designed by speech and language pathologists and can often be delivered in collaboration with other mental health professionals. As well as direct instruction or the demonstration of appropriate conversational skills through focused individual and group sessions, the enhancement of meta-communicative awareness has been found to complement and reinforce the didactic approach often adopted. Hence, role-playing of particular communication situations accompanied by discussion of these situations in meta-communication terms enhances learning and generalization. Themes dealt with in this way include co-operation in conversation, listening skills, turn taking, conversational breakdown and repair, and topic management strategies.

Almost without exception, however, these programmes follow a *deficit* model of intervention (Bellack, Mueser, Gingerich and Agresta, 1997; Hayes, 1997), that is, skills are identified as being 'deficient' and are thus taught (to a novice) or learned in much the same way as motor skills (e.g. walking) are re-learned following injury. The pervasive perception is that social skills and language 'are learned or are learnable' (Bellack, Mueser, Gingerich and Agresta, 1997, p. 5). However, can language socialization be most effectively realized within such a social skills framework if that framework, by its nature, primarily deals

with the *overt* interactional display of ways of behaving by ‘more able language users’ to novices?

#### WORK IN PROGRESS: OTHER APPROACHES

There is little doubt that groups that focus on conversational skills can be very beneficial (Hayes, 1997). However, more recently, some other approaches to social skills training and communication/conversational skills are being used with this group of language users, which serve to mitigate the limitations of, and at the same time complement, the more didactic approaches referred to above. These approaches, coupled with the talk-oriented philosophy behind community mental health nursing in general (e.g. see Burnard, 2003), characterize current practice in this area.

Liberman et al. (2001) present an extended and refined case management approach to SST, entitled *In Vivo Amplified Skills Training* (IVAST). The approach combines standard skills training with intensive case management and, if applied within the context of conversational/communication skills, could render more positive outcomes. Basically the case manager (i.e. the person who is primarily responsible for an individual’s care) is responsible for identifying and reinforcing opportunities to use trained skills and to establish links with support systems (e.g. ‘significant others’). In the context of working with communication skills, such significant others could be the individual’s main communication partners (such as a close friend or family member). Bellack (2004) reports that some applications of this approach have met with success in terms of greater and faster rates of improvement in skills targeted when compared to other approaches used.

Another popular approach that focuses more on the individual’s perception of himself or herself as a communicator is adapted from the principles of *Personal Construct Psychology* (PCP) (Kelly, 1955). Hayes and Collins (2001) claim that adaptation of the principles of PCP to communication skills is more successful than other behaviourally driven approaches to the training of conversational skills. A more holistic approach allows a focus on both the communication skills of the individual and associated psychological issues (e.g. self-esteem). In other words, it ‘focuses less on the problem and more on the person and the effect of communication difficulties on his or her life’ (Hayes and Collins, 2001, p. 284). PCP addresses how the person construes himself or herself as a person, which naturally includes how they view themselves as communicators. Therapy enables them to positively reconstrue social situations and themselves as communicators (hence reconsidering their identity as a good versus poor communicator and

thereby entering ‘new domains of knowledge and cultural practice’ (Bayley and Schecter, 2003, p. 2)).

Identity is also an issue when people with MHDs find themselves in a new community or culture, once discharged from the institutional context of the psychiatric hospital. Inherent in this shift from hospital to community is the assumption of a new identity; for example, that of a ‘resident’ as opposed to a ‘hospitalized psychiatric patient’. The shift precipitates different expectations of how a person should think, feel and particularly act. How they should act incorporates appropriate language usage in social contexts, as acceptance in the community in which they live often depends on this ‘appropriateness’ and is integral to rehabilitation. Community mental health nurses (CMHNs) are all too aware of this need.

The cornerstone of community mental health nursing is relationship building with those in their care. Communication is central to the building of relationships and is seen as the CMHN’s main tool in management and rehabilitation. As activities of daily living occur and are designed to mirror more typical daily social interactions, talk—including phatic talk—can play an important role. The notion of bi-directionality of language socialization as discussed by Schieffelin and Ochs (1986a) and more recently by Garrett and Baquedano-López (2002) is relevant here as both CMHNs and people with MHDs in their particular community of practice socialize each other through talk. In this context as in others, language socialization takes place within the ‘mundane activities and interactions’ that constitute the ‘warp and woof of human sociality’ (Garrett and Baquedano-López, 2002, p. 343). Hence CMHNs, when involved in the daily care of people with MHDs or more directly in SST programs, become both a model of language socialization (i.e. *an overt display of a way of acting through talk*) and a key conversational partner (i.e. *a covert display of a way of acting through talk*). Burnard (2003, p. 682), though recognizing how ordinary chat or phatic communication can ‘enhance the process of quality nursing’ in mental health contexts, fails to fully appreciate its value in terms of a novice recovering or relearning the art of sociable talk, for example.

Discourse analysis is a means of showing how a conversational sociability can be demonstrated in interactions between people with chronic schizophrenia and healthcare professionals (Walsh-Brennan, 2001). Inherent in this process is treating the person with a MHD as an equal conversational partner, not one who has an impairment ‘to be fixed’. This willingness and ability to engage in casual conversation—on the part of both participants—is a useful starting point for the enhancement of these skills and their generalization, once the communicative environment is conducive to that generalization. A conducive environment

is one in which opportunities for conversational participation are made available within talk situations. Considering conversational sociability in interactions implies that communication partners (i.e. carers or other significant others) must be:

1. made aware that conversational ability in people with MHDs may be masked or suppressed by the illness process, by their perception of the illness or the person, or by their inhibitive discourse style;
2. encouraged to re-evaluate the power of sociable talk and to realize the important socio-relational (and hence transactional) function it serves;
3. guided in ways to maximize effective conversational interactions so as to exploit opportunities for sociable talk in the pursuance of social and therapeutic goals.

Therefore, specialists are currently beginning to recognize the shortcomings of some traditional and even some current approaches to language re-socialization with this unique group of language users. However, though problems and difficulties remain, they continue to inform the future direction of work in this area.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES: FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Though significant progress has been made, certain problems persist with the re-socialisation of people with MHDs, both within a theoretical language socialization paradigm and in practical terms.

#### *Language Socialization Concepts and Terminology, and People with MHDs*

Firstly, the meaning and usefulness of the LS term 'novice' as applied to this group or speech community of language users must be questioned. Can these individuals really be considered novices in the literal, *new learner* sense of the word? In fact, the language and communication competencies of these individuals may be better understood as being suppressed by the illness process or by virtue of long periods of what may be termed 'asocial institutionalization'. Thus, facilitating recovery of interactional skills through socialization may be a more accurate description of the process for some than the teaching of new social skills. This perspective lends a different connotation to the term 'novice' in this language socialization context.

Secondly, akin to this notion is the call made by Garrett and Baquedano-López (2002) for a greater awareness of language socialization across the lifespan, as originally proposed by Ochs and Schieffelin (1986a). Many people with chronic mental health disorders

drift into late adulthood where they find themselves faced with new institutional or lifestyle contexts (e.g. when discharged from hospital to community-based services). Their ‘communities of practice’ (Wenger, 1998) change and pose a new set of challenges for them as language users. Garrett and Baquedano-López (2002) call for increased research into language socialization of late adulthood, to include consideration of other communities such as those who have become communicatively disabled through strokes (see, e.g. Goodwin, 2000) or other acquired language disorders.

*Social Integration and the Generalization of Recovered or Newly Learnt Skills*

The most difficult part of any intervention with this group of language users is the generalization of recovered or re-learnt skills to daily living. A difficulty with generalization is particularly common in communication and conversational-skills groups where skills practised in the safety of the familiar group prove fragile once exposed in real-world social interactions. As Hayes (1997, p. 129) comments:

... social skills training can be very useful. However for many clients its benefits have proved limited and/or short lived. While there are some clients who lack a range of communication skills and therefore need to develop basic skills there are also many clients for whom the problem lies more in putting their already competent skills into practice. For them, the difficulty appears to lie more in their perceptions of themselves as communicators and the options available to them, that is the meaning that confidence, competence or opportunity holds for them.

The *options available* to people with MHDs in terms of opportunity are all too few, even for those who live in the community. Some people with MHDs who had moved to a community-based hostel from hospital made the following comments. Though their opportunities for social interaction had increased significantly, they often reported feeling lonely (from Gibbons and Butler, 1987, p. 351):

I feel isolated, I’ve no idea why. It’s not because people don’t want to be friendly.

Lonely, yes, but there’s nothing to say to anyone.

I should pay someone to talk to me.

It is acknowledged, however, in discussing socialization, that it is sometimes difficult to have other people with MHDs as friends because the conversation usually revolves around medication and symptoms of the illness (Barham and Hayward, 1995, p. 57):

It depresses you at times like that, you just don't want to talk about things like that, you want to talk about normal things everybody else talks about sex, drugs and rock and roll or something, or horse racing . . . You want to break out of that mould of being part of a schizophrenic fellowship or whatever. It does get you down at times.

A recurrent theme in these excerpts is the desire to simply engage in social talk or 'to have a chat' with others, an experience that often proves to be elusive. Hence, another problem related to the notion of 'speech community' in LS research is that people with MHDs do not seem to want to be part of a community of other people with MHDs, as the above quote suggests. Yet being able to break into or re-enter the non-MHD community can be a difficult and daunting task as they strive to be accepted and treated as equal communicators.

Innovative approaches such as IVAST, as referred to above, help address these recurrent problems of lack of skill-generalisation and social integration. Forward-thinking approaches taken by some well-trained CMHNs in the design and implementation of programs—where talk is seen as an integral and necessary part of rehabilitation regimes—also contribute significantly to progress in this area. However, these programmes need to be systematically evaluated and reviewed on a regular basis to establish efficacy and to map outcomes.

Additionally, the extremely variable and unpredictable course of some MHDs mitigates against an individual's progress and enhancement of re-learned or recovered skills. More community-based resources and trained personnel must be put in place if successful rehabilitation is to be achieved in language socialization terms. It is also imperative that service providers listen to people with MHDs so that services can be streamlined and made maximally effective and efficient.

### *Stigmatization and Society's Attitude to People with MHDs*

Society's attitude to people with mental health disorders (particularly schizophrenia) is predominantly one of fear and mistrust. Hence people who may have MHDs are often avoided or ostracized in communities. Such avoidance gradually permeates to the level of conversational interactions where people prefer not to engage socially on even a 'talk' level. Misconceptions stem invariably from often-misguided representations of MHDs in the media and ignorance of the nature and course of such illnesses. Hence, education programs need to demystify and promote understanding of the nature of MHDs that should lead to a positive reconstruction of the mentally ill person (and their capabilities) by society. Ideally too, family and friends can be encouraged and

facilitated to communicate more effectively with the person with a MHD in a way which promotes shared understanding and positive communicative experiences. Barham and Hayward (1995, p. 1) eloquently summarize this point:

It may be argued that if we are to take notions of social inclusion seriously, then it is incumbent on us to try to understand people with mental illness not simply in what we shall term the vocabulary of difference but more especially also in the vocabulary of membership, as 'one of us'.

The 'vocabulary of membership' extends to the notion of re-construing 'disability' in terms of 'ability' with a renewed focus on 'health' rather than 'illness'. The *International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health*, commonly referred to as the ICF framework (World Health Organisation (WHO), 2002), is based on this premise and is a standard language framework for the description of health and health-related states. The ICF is designed to guide planning and policy making in health sectors. Its applications can be best seen in sample questions to be considered in guiding service provision (WHO, 2002, p. 6):

What treatments or interventions can maximize functioning?  
How useful are the services we are providing? How can we make the social and built environment more accessible for all persons, those with and those without disabilities?

Until such questions are accurately answered and actively used to guide decision making and planning for the most effective care of people with MHDs, language (re-)socialization for this group of language users may remain a desirable but partially elusive goal. It is time for anthropological linguists and others interested in language socialization research to engage in more rigorous ethnographic study of this unique and frequently misunderstood speech community of people with MHDs.

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# **Section 1**

## **Historical and Theoretical Perspectives**

## A HUMAN RIGHTS PERSPECTIVE ON LANGUAGE ECOLOGY

### INTRODUCTION

In the language of ecology, the strongest ecosystems are those that are the most diverse. Diversity is directly related to stability; variety is important for long-term survival. Our success on this planet has been due to an ability to adapt to different kinds of environment over thousands of years. Such ability is born out of diversity. Thus language and cultural diversity maximises chances of human success and adaptability (Baker, 2001, p. 281).

Language rights are an existential issue for the political and cultural survival of individuals and communities worldwide, ranging from large minorities/peoples such as the 25–40 million Kurds in several countries in the Middle East or the 8 million Uyghurs in China, to the 70 million users of probably thousands of Sign languages worldwide, and small indigenous peoples such as Ánar Saami in Finland (fewer than 300 speakers). Language rights are a current research concern of social theorists, international and constitutional lawyers, political scientists, sociolinguists, educationists, and many others.

Understandings of language/linguistic ecology range widely. Many researchers use ‘ecology’ as a reference to ‘context’ or ‘language environment’, to describe language-related issues embedded in (micro or macro) sociolinguistic, economic and political settings rather than de-contextualised. Others have more specific definitions and sub-categories (e.g. articles in Fill and Mühlhäusler, 2001; Mufwene, 2001; Mühlhäusler, 1996, 2003).

The topic should be of major concern to humanity. Only some few hundred of the world’s around 7,000 spoken languages and a few dozen sign languages are learned in education systems even as subjects, let alone used as teaching languages. Schools have played and continue to play a major role in annihilating languages and identities (see Magga, Nicolaisen, Trask, Dunbar and Skutnabb-Kangas, 2004; articles in McCarty, 2005). Optimistic linguists estimate that half of today’s spoken languages may be extinct or seriously endangered by the end of the present century (see <http://www.unesco.org/endangeredlanguages>, or

UNESCO's position paper Education in a Multilingual World (<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001297/129728e.pdf>); pessimistic but fully realistic estimates place 90–95% of the world's languages in this category (Krauss, 1998). UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage Unit's Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages uses this more pessimistic figure in their report, Language Vitality and Endangerment ([http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/file\\_download.php/1a41d53cf46e10710298d314450b97dfLanguage+Vitality.doc](http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/file_download.php/1a41d53cf46e10710298d314450b97dfLanguage+Vitality.doc)).

It is because general human rights formulations are not explicit or proactive enough that efforts have been made since the early 1980s to specify which language rights are linguistic human rights that states cannot be justified in violating, and which can therefore be seen as having universal validity. Invariably the formulations specify the necessary rights that make it possible for a group or people to maintain its language and culture. The core linguistic human rights therefore relate to

- positive identification with a (minority) language by its users, and recognition of this by others,
- learning a (minority) language in formal education, not merely as a subject but as a medium of instruction,
- additive bilingual education, since learning the language of the state or the wider community is also essential,
- public services, including access to the legal system, in minority languages or, minimally, in a language one understands.

These factors can enable the diversity of the linguistic ecology to evolve in processes of modernisation rather than being sacrificed.

We envisage a balanced ecology of languages as a linguascape where interaction between users of languages does not allow one or a few to spread at the cost of others and where diversity is maintained for the long-term survival of humankind (as Baker, 2001 suggests). Seeing some language rights as human rights, with the protection that these enjoy, can support additive rather than subtractive (or replacive, Haugen, 1972) language learning and facilitate the maintenance of linguistic diversity. This article considers what a human rights approach can and cannot do and how a linguistic human rights system might serve to understand and challenge the unequal power relationships implicated in the destruction of language ecologies. We also discuss the relationship between languages and biodiversity.

#### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

*Language Rights in Human Rights = Linguistic Human Rights (LHRs)*

References to language rights have figured sporadically over several centuries in both intra-state and bilateral legislation governing

relations between specific groups or states. The first multilateral instrument covering minority rights (including language rights) was the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna in 1815 (Capotorti, 1979, p. 2; see also our historical review of language rights in Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 1994). Many language rights were included in the post-1919 territorial treaties that fixed the political map of Europe.

Several historical developments have rendered language issues more salient. They include the establishment of postcolonial states with multilingual populations, the re-ordering of the linguistic hierarchy in Canada, the disintegration of the communist system, and the revitalisation efforts and international coordination (within the UN) of indigenous peoples. All have contributed significantly to an awareness of the need to regulate the rights of speakers of different languages, through constitutions, litigation, socio-political measures and education.

The search for a more just order within and between states intensified after 1945 with the United Nations (see the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights <http://www.ohchr.org/english/law/index.htm> for UN treaties themselves and <http://www.unhcr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf> for States parties to the treaties). The Capotorti report, commissioned by the UN in 1971 and published in 1979, is a major survey of juridical and conceptual aspects of the protection of minorities. It concluded that most minorities, including linguistic ones, needed more substantial protection.

Most research on language rights has been by lawyers. Most LHRs derive from basic (individual) human rights such as freedom of speech and freedom from discrimination. LHRs require multidisciplinary clarification, formulation in legally lucid and binding formulations, and the political will to undertake implementation.

*Language Plus Ecology = Language/Linguistic Ecology,  
Ecolinguistics*

The first serious sociolinguistic attempts to explore linguistic ecology pleaded for linguistics to be grounded in societal context and change. Trim (1959) and Haugen's (1971) seminal article entail multidisciplinary and build on multilingual scholarship (of the works cited by Trim, eight are in German, six in English, and four in French; academia has become more monolingual in globalisation processes). Haugen refers to status, standardisation, diglossia, and glottopolitics, but not to language rights. We concentrate here on the human rights perspective.

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The struggle for linguistic human rights has concentrated on the rights of indigenous peoples and various dominated groups, including linguistic minorities. The terms majority/minority, dominant/dominated imply a relationship. Dominant majority languages and their speakers are part of the linguistic ecosystem of dominated and/or minority people(s). In general, speakers of most majority languages (in terms of numbers) and dominant languages (in terms of political and economic power) have access to most language-related human rights. This is especially true in countries where there is a demographic majority, rather than many language groups where none forms a majority (the situation in many African countries). Often the language rights of linguistic majorities (Russian speakers in Russia, Turkish speakers in Turkey, Portuguese speakers in Brazil, English speakers in Australia) are in force; they are seen as self-evident and the state organises everything through the medium of the dominant language as a matter of course. Most language rights can therefore be found in human rights instruments or clauses about minorities. Subtractive learning of dominant languages may violate linguistic human rights and contribute to linguistic genocide (on this, see Skutnabb-Kangas, *Human Rights and Language Policy in Education*, Volume 1).

Two types of language right are complementary. A constitutional lawyer, Rubio-Marín (2003, p. 56) distinguishes ‘the expressive interest in language as a marker of identity’ and an ‘instrumental interest in language as a means of communication’. *Expressive* language rights ‘aim at ensuring a person’s capacity to enjoy a secure linguistic environment in her/his mother tongue and a linguistic group’s fair chance of cultural self-reproduction;’ it is only these rights that she calls ‘language rights in a strict sense’ (Rubio-Marín, 2003, p. 56). These could, in other words, be seen as linguistic human rights. The *instrumental* language rights ‘aim at ensuring that language is not an obstacle to the effective enjoyment of rights with a linguistic dimension, to the meaningful participation in public institutions and democratic process, and to the enjoyment of social and economic opportunities that require linguistic skills’ (Rubio-Marín, 2003, p. 56). Sociolinguists and political scientists who ignore this distinction, or deny the importance of expressive rights and only focus on dominant languages for social mobility, tend to falsely see language rights in terms of either language X or language Y.

Basic concept clarification of the kind exemplified above has been an essential trait of work on LHRs (see de Varennes, 1996; Kontra, Phillipson, Skutnabb-Kangas and Várady, 1999; Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 1994; Thornberry 1997). Another example is the issue of who or what can have language rights. Languages can have rights;

they can be legal personalities. Individuals, groups, peoples, organisations and other collectivities, including states can have rights, and duties. Two important documents from the Council of Europe, the only binding international (here regional) treaties in force about language rights, can be seen as examples of these two types of right. The *European Charter on Regional or Minority Languages*, grants rights to languages, not speakers of the languages concerned. The *Framework Convention on the Protection of National Minorities*, on the other hand, grants rights to (national) minorities, i.e. groups. The texts of these documents and their ratifications are found at <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/EN/v3MenuTraites.asp>; treaty numbers 148 and 157. Language rights can be based on principles of personality (individual) or territoriality or combinations of these. Rights can be binding or non-binding. Treaties, charters, covenants, conventions etc are binding and often have both monitoring and complaint procedures. Declarations, resolutions and recommendations are in a strict sense non-binding even if there may be a moral pressure on a state to honour them. Litigation may also in time change interpretations of treaties.

Universal declarations of human rights generally contain clauses designed to prevent discrimination on grounds of language, so-called negative rights. Positive rights, including obligations imposed by treaties on states, require, firstly, that states *protect* individuals or groups from violations of their rights, and, secondly, that states '*promote or fulfil* an individual's rights, that is take the required steps to create a necessary and conducive environment within which the relevant rights can be fully realized' (*Human Rights Fact Sheet* No. 15 (Rev. 1), 2005, p. 5). Most binding LHRs so far have been negative but there are ongoing interpretation processes changing this to some extent. A promising example is the UN Human Rights Committee's General Comment on Article 27 (UN Doc. CCPR/C/21/Rev.1/Add.5.), UN *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*. Article 27 still grants the best legally binding protection to languages:

In those states in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, or to use their own language.

In the customary reading of Art. 27, rights were only granted to individuals, not collectivities. But the right to use a language obviously makes sense only if it is used together with others—many linguists claim that languages exist only in use. The UN 2005 Fact Sheet No. 15 on the Covenant expresses the new UN interpretation in their comment on Art. 27 (p. 7): 'While nominally expressed as an individual right, this provision, by definition, may best be understood as a group right

protecting a community of individuals'. The General Comment also sees Article 27 as entailing positive rights and obligations on the state.

## WORK IN PROGRESS

### *Linguistic and Cultural Diversity and Biodiversity*

While all language users should enjoy LHRs (HRs are universal), from the point of view of the global ecology, what is most urgent is LHRs for those indigenous and minority groups/peoples who have a long-lasting connection to a certain territory, which they know so well that phenomena in the ecosystem have been lexicalised. According to Mühlhäusler (2003) this takes minimally 300 years. The knowledge about how to maintain a balanced ecosystem is encoded in these languages and is often more detailed and accurate than western science, according to the International Council for Science (ICSU, 2002; see also Posey, 1999).

The United Nations Permanent Forum for Indigenous Issues (PFII) (<http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/index.html>) has recognised the importance of language and expressive language rights in general but also their connection with the land and with self-determination (see, e.g. the interview with PFII's first Chair, Ole Henrik Magga, and Magga et al., 2005; see also reports by the UN Special Rapporteur on the human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous people, Rodolfo Stavenhagen).

Signed by 150 states at the 1992 Rio Earth Summit, the Convention on Biological Diversity, dedicated to promoting sustainable development, is the most important international treaty on ecology. It recognises that biological diversity is about more than plants, animals and micro organisms and their ecosystems—it is also about people and their environment (see <http://www.biodiv.org/convention/default.shtml>), and here languages are included. In its Article 8j about traditional knowledge, each of the states promises,

(j) Subject to its national legislation, [to] respect, preserve and maintain knowledge, innovations and practices of indigenous and local communities embodying traditional lifestyles relevant for the conservation and sustainable use of biological diversity and promote their wider application with the approval and involvement of the holders of such knowledge, innovations and practices and encourage the equitable sharing of the benefits arising from the utilization of such knowledge, innovations and practices.

Further work on the Convention stresses the interlocking of language and ecology in traditional knowledge and its inter-generational transfer:

Traditional knowledge refers to the knowledge, innovations and practices of indigenous and local communities around the world. Developed from experience gained over the centuries and adapted to the local culture and environment, traditional knowledge is transmitted orally from generation to generation. It tends to be collectively owned and takes the form of stories, songs, folklore, proverbs, cultural values, beliefs, rituals, community laws, local language, and agricultural practices, including the development of plant species and animal breeds (see <http://www.biodiv.org/programmes/socio-eco/traditional/>).

Biodiversity is disappearing at an alarming pace. Recent research (e.g. Harmon, 2002) shows high correlations between biodiversity and linguistic and cultural diversity. The relationship may also be causal, a co-evolution where biodiversity in the various ecosystems and humans through their languages and cultures have mutually influenced each other (e.g. Maffi, 2001; Skutnabb-Kangas, Maffi and Harmon, 2003; see also <http://www.terralingua.org>). If the detailed knowledge, encoded in small indigenous languages about the complexities of biodiversity and how to manage ecosystems sustainably, is to be maintained, the languages and cultures need to have better conditions: they need to be transferred from one generation to the next, in families and through schools. If global linguistic diversity is not to suffer irreparable attrition, as a result of linguistic genocide, major changes are needed in educational language policy.

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

The multidisciplinary needed in this area involves many so far unresolved challenges. There is still much concept clarification work to be done. The distinction between individual and collective rights is one example where language rights, because of the special character of languages (individual rights but used collectively), might contribute to a more general clarification of distinctions in human rights.

Some of the early work on LHRs has been critiqued (e.g. several articles in the *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 2001, *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*, 2004, Freeland and Patrick 2004, Kymlicka and Patten, 2003) and accused of essentialising, of simplistically conflating language and identity, as though these are rigid, non-negotiable categories. They are necessarily relational and fluid, hence an integral part of struggles for political recognition, and for economic and social rights. It is essential to explore particular claims for rights in context. Minority rights must be established on objective criteria, and not determined by an often reluctant state. Sociolinguists and applied

linguists should have much to offer at the meeting-point between human rights formulations and attempts to improve these, and the dynamic complexities of specific cases.

Much of the scholarly ‘debate’ in sociolinguistics fails to appreciate that when LHRs require formulation in the conceptual worldview of international and national law, terms like ‘language’ cannot be subjected to apolitical post-modern academic hair-splitting. ‘Dialects’ and ‘speech communities’ have no status in law, whereas ‘language’ is used in public discourse terms that derive from folk linguistics rather than armchair theorising. Language and ethnicity are salient political terms. Calling them contingent seems to be doing the bidding of dominant groups who are reluctant to accord minorities any recognition. Condoning *Realpolitik* arguments that relate exclusively to instrumental uses and greater social mobility undermines the cause, in theory and practice, of oppressed groups. Education needs to confirm their linguistic and cultural identity as well as to equip them to operate in languages of the wider community. The practical realisation of this is complex, because of linguistic diversity, urbanisation, increased mobility, networks that are displacing territorially defined groups, the power of dominant discourses in fundamentally unequal societies, and the cumulative effect of all of these in linguistic hierarchies that threaten the lives of those (languages) at the bottom.

Some linguists working with endangered languages have suggested that endemic, typologically unusual or unique languages have a special case for protection because of their significance for linguistics. Human rights are an integrated whole and should be applied to all. When decisions are made on which languages to choose for education, in the media, etc, what criteria are legitimate to apply to resolve real dilemmas equitably? Political power, sensible pragmatism, research concerns, ethics (see also Phillipson, 2003)? LHRs are a necessary but not sufficient tool for educators concerned with language who want to contribute. The articulation of human rights is a paradigm case of thinkers formulating principles in the hope of influencing representatives of the state. Procedures should be in place to ensure implementation and redress for people who feel their rights have been infringed (regardless of whether they are citizens or not—see Human Rights Fact Sheet No 15, 2005, p. 4).

Lawyers tend to steer clear of sociolinguistic niceties (see de Varennes, 1996; Thornberry, 1997, 2002) but there are exceptions, multidisciplinary lawyer-linguists (see Dunbar, 2001a, b; Fife 2005). However, many sociolinguists (and political scientists, educationists, etc) tend to avoid engaging with legal aspects, which are vital, see [www.unesco.org/most/](http://www.unesco.org/most/) on Linguistic Rights and Legislation. It is

unhelpful to denounce the existence of concepts like language or mother tongue as social constructs with little or no basis in reality, because of unclear and permeable borders or because people are multi-lingual or multi-mother-tongued or shift from one to another. If (socio-) linguists claim that languages and mother tongues do not exist, how can one legislate for them? Lawyers treat languages as having ‘legal personality’ with certain rights, in the same way as individuals and groups and peoples can have rights. Another example is replacing negative terms (like LEP—Limited English Proficient, in the USA) with other terms which may have more positive connotations (in this case ‘linguistically diverse students’ or ‘English learners’) but do not give the students concerned any more rights: linguistically diverse students and English learners are non-entities in international law whereas minority students do have some rights. The *Draft Universal Declaration of Language Rights* (<http://www.linguistic-declaration.org/index-gb.htm>) can be criticised for presenting unrealistic suggestions that do not appreciate the limits of both international legal systems and national resources and political will. This undermines the chances of essential demands being heard.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Biocultural diversity (=biodiversity + linguistic diversity + cultural diversity) is essential for long-term planetary survival because it enhances creativity and adaptability and thus stability. Today we are killing biocultural diversity faster than ever before in human history. Seriously endangered languages disappear with little trace, at the same time as other not-yet-endangered languages, though official, are undergoing domain loss in high-status areas when English is being extensively used in research, universities, businesses, media, etc. Their speakers start experiencing what many minorities have experienced earlier when national official or ‘big’ languages have spread subtractively. The alternative is maximal support for linguistic diversity and additive multilingualism. Education is here a central space for the struggle—educational LHRs could be part of formulating and implementing necessary minimal support. This includes an absolute right to mother tongue medium education for indigenous peoples and minorities for most of the primary education, together with good teaching of an official language as a second language. For this to happen, many groups need to join forces. If researchers are to enhance this development (rather than become irrelevant or even antithetical to it), research needs to be multidisciplinary, constructive and activist.

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## THE ECOLOGY OF LANGUAGE: INSIGHT AND ILLUSION

### INTRODUCTION

As a term and a focus of study, *ecology* is a mid-nineteenth-century coinage of Ernst Haeckel and, as its Greek root (*οἶκος* = home) implies, the emphasis is upon the holistic study of environments within which lives are lived and intertwined. Ecology is about adaptations whose necessity arises from inevitable linkages.

In both the ‘natural’ world and the constructed one, ecology is pivotal, and any ecological model deserves our notice. That is why it is important to understand the framework, the assumptions and the scope of the ‘new’ ecology of language. Although it is, I believe, a deeply flawed model, a broader ecological sensitivity is important; perhaps, in fact, the real value of current approaches is that their very inadequacies focus attention in salutary ways. In some ways, then, the ‘new’ ecolinguistics suggests a welcome extension to the breadth and depth of the larger ecological enterprise—and current ecological discussion does indeed touch upon the most central and relevant features of language-contact situations. A careful overview, however, of this new ecology of language reveals some substantial difficulties particularly in terms of its use in educational contexts. I have touched upon some of these in earlier publications (see e.g. Edwards, 2001, 2002) and it is important to deal with the matter here, as part of a multi-volume production aimed at an audience who may have neither the time nor the inclination for specialised study—and an audience who may (quite reasonably) equate the ‘ecology’ label with a fully fleshed treatment of the language-society nexus.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The first specific reference to the ecology of language is apparently found in a chapter by Voegelin, Voegelin and Schutz (1967), but the term is particularly associated with Einar Haugen (1972). His intent was to emphasise the linkages between languages and their environments, with particular regard to status and function, and he produced a list of contextualising questions—about who uses the language, its domains, varieties, written traditions and family relationships, degree and type of

support it enjoys, and so on (for more details and typological expansions, see Edwards, 1992, discussed further by Grenoble and Whaley, 1998). In themselves, these questions are neutral in tone. However, in a book forthrightly called *Blessings of Babel*, Haugen referred to a ‘problem of *social ecology*: keeping alive the variety and fascination of our country, diverting the trend toward steamrolling everything and everyone into a single, flat uniformity’ (1987, p. 11). The dislike of a monotonic landscape is clear, although Haugen’s quotation is not entirely transparent. He probably did not mean to imply that ‘social ecology’ was essentially devoted to the promotion of diversity, but rather that any such promotion would fall within its remit (see also his 1972 collection).

Haugen tells us that, in the 1970s, the biological model that the term ‘ecology’ brings to mind was not very popular among linguists. Haugen himself found it appealing, but reminded his readers that it possessed only metaphorical value; it suggested some analogies between languages and organisms, it was a useful fiction with some heuristic value, but ‘it could not be pushed too far’ (Haugen, 1972, p. 58). Similarly, Mühlhäusler (see later) has acknowledged that the ecological metaphor is a heuristic device, not to be evaluated ‘in terms of truth conditions—a language is no more an ecology than a mental organ or a calculus’ (see Fill and Mühlhäusler, 2001, p. 3). Unlike Garner—who, in his recent survey of the area, suggests that the ecological metaphor for language is ‘too limited and inconsistent to become a really useful tool’ (2004, p. 33)—Mühlhäusler thinks that the metaphor has ‘helped considerably in advancing a knowledge of human language . . . its potential is far from exhausted’ (p. 3). It will be my argument that this is a mistaken view, that the ‘new’ ecology of language provides no further insights, and represents in fact a limitation upon earlier and fuller understandings.

The most basic problem with the biological approach to language is—quite simply—that language is not organic. Languages themselves obey no natural imperatives, they have no intrinsic qualities which bear upon any sort of linguistic survival of the fittest, they possess no ‘inner principle of life’ (see later), they do not ‘die’. Languages do have an allotted ‘life’—but it is one granted by human society and culture, and not by any laws of nature. The fortunes of language are bound up with those of its users, and if languages decline or ‘die’ it is because the circumstances of their speakers have altered.

Given the centrality of biological metaphor and analogy to the ‘new’ ecology, a little more should be said about it here (cf. Pennycook, 2004). A linkage between nature and culture, between what is provided and what is constructed can be a valuable one in a world increasingly aware of environmental issues. The advantages of adding anxieties about language decline to concerns with pollution, loss of plant and

animal habitats and industrial depredation seem obvious. While not without its difficulties, diversity can make the world richer and more interesting—and is not linguistic diversity one part of the larger mosaic (see also later)? If we intervene to save the whales, or to clean up oil spills—or, indeed, to keep historic buildings from the wrecker's ball, or to repair and preserve rare books and manuscripts—then why should we not also stem language decline, ensure a future for all varieties, prevent larger languages from swallowing smaller ones, and so on?

The argument developed here is that the breadth of the earlier ecology-of-language view has progressively been reduced by new ecolinguistics so that the metaphor has began to obscure rather than illuminate the social contexts in which languages and their speakers co-exist. This is a result of the label of ecology increasingly being co-opted. As Mühlhäusler (2000, p. 308) noted in a recent review article, 'functioning ecologies are nowadays characterized by predominantly mutually beneficial links and only to a small degree by competitive relationships . . . metaphors of struggle of life and survival of the fittest should be replaced by the appreciation of natural kinds and their ability to coexist and cooperate'. We have a view of a world in which there is room for all languages, where the goodness of diversity is a given, where 'the wolf also shall dwell with the lamb.' This is certainly a kinder and gentler picture, but surely the key word here is 'should', surely the key question is whether the desire is also the reality. We could remember Woody Allen's reworking of that passage from Isaiah: 'the lion and the calf shall lie down together, but the calf won't get much sleep'.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS IN THE 'NEW' ECOLOGY OF LANGUAGE: A LINGUISTIC HUMAN RIGHTS PERSPECTIVE?

The 'new' ecology of language is not so much a refinement of scientific methodology in the face of new understandings and new challenges—it is, rather, a socio-political ideology. Thus, Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1996, p. 429) point out that 'the ecology-of-language paradigm involves building on linguistic diversity worldwide, promoting multilingualism and foreign language learning, and granting linguistic human rights to speakers of all languages' (see also the writings of Mühlhäusler and others for similar advocacy of active intervention; Mühlhäusler's [1996, p. 2] note that language ecology implies that linguists become 'shop stewards for linguistic diversity', is representative here). This may suggest many things, but it does not suggest disinterested scholarship. Polzenhagen and Dirven (2004) note the irony that much of the thesis underpinning the 'new' ecology of language derives from a rejection of a conspiratorial ideology—by another ideology.

The new ecology is very concerned with linguistic human rights. Ecological organisations formed expressly for the protection of endangered languages—the American Terralingua society, for example, or the Foundation for Endangered Languages, based in England—typically have a charter or a statement of intent stressing linguistic rights. The former, for instance, observes that ‘deciding which language to use, and for what purposes, is a basic human right’ (Terralingua, 1999). As well, existing language associations have argued for rights. The most recent example is that of Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) which, in November 2000, passed a resolution advocating that ‘all groups of peoples have the right to maintain their native language . . . a right to retain and use [it]’. The other side of the coin, they argue, is that ‘the governments and the people of all countries have a special obligation to affirm, to respect and support the retention, enhancement and use of indigenous and immigrant heritage languages . . .’ Such specialised manifestos typically model themselves upon charters endorsed by the United Nations, the European Union and other international bodies.

There are many problems associated with linguistic rights. Government resolutions and charters, for example, are often outlined in a manner so general as to be virtually useless. There are often reasons for cynicism, too, for believing that the commitment they represent is essentially lipservice only. As well, many modern governments, while possibly more tolerant of diversity than before, still consider that toleration need not imply positive action, and arguments linking linguistic uniformity with efficiency, the need for one language to bind disparate groups within state borders, and so on, are frequently encountered. Consequently, supporters of language rights typically find existing legislation to be inadequate, and no sort of guarantee of protection.

Beyond official cynicism, or a reluctance to act based upon immediate and mercenary assessments, there are deeper issues. Linguistic rights are usually meant to have an effect at the group level—indeed, their existence is generally motivated by the plight of small groups whose languages and cultures are at risk—and this may sit uneasily with traditional liberal-democratic principles that enshrine rights in individuals, not collectivities. This is not the place for fuller discussion, but it should be noted that broader matters of pluralist accommodation in societies that are both democratic and heterogeneous—language rights are obviously a subset of concern here—are now of the greatest importance. They have become part of the province of political philosophy, for instance, which implies a very welcome breadth of approach, a search for cross-society generalities, an escape from narrower and intellectually unsatisfying perspectives (some of which, indeed, have been little more than outbreaks of special pleading). Recent treatments of general scope include Rawls (1999) and Dworkin (2000), while

Taylor's arguments (1992, 1994), which focus more closely upon matters of language and identity, can be profitably read in conjunction with those of Kymlicka (1995a, b). The debates here, whatever their specifics, and however their strengths and weaknesses may be perceived in different quarters, all suggest that any isolated statement or claim of language rights is simplistic and unprofitable.

There are even more basic issues with which the framers of language-rights manifestos rarely engage: do rights *exist* and, if they do, what sorts of things are they? Perhaps there are no rights; perhaps there are only cultural claims. This is a line of argument taken by Kukathas (1992), for example, and a recent brief overview by Brumfit (2001) brings the matter squarely to language rights. At the moment, he points out, these are typically assertions of things that ought to be, rather than statements which, through general agreement, have become objectified (usually in legal terms). Rights to language, then, are typically not of the same order as, say, those which proclaim freedom from slavery. While legal rights imply moral ones, the reverse does not necessarily hold—although, of course, what is merely desirable today may become lawfully codified tomorrow. The difficulty for moral claims, then—e.g. those made by concerned groups, like TESOL, even ‘charters’ to which countries may subscribe—is to effect this transition. For now, at least, this has generally not occurred and it is disingenuous to imply that *claims* are sufficient to somehow give language rights the same strength of footing as those rights underpinned by criminal or civil codes. As example of this is the *Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights* which was approved in Barcelona in June 1996. It makes the usual assertions and jejune statements—its Article 25, for example, states that ‘all language communities are entitled to have at their disposal all the human and material resources necessary to ensure that their language is present to the extent they desire at all levels of education within their territory: properly trained teachers, appropriate teaching methods, text books, finance, buildings and equipment, traditional and innovative technology’. Despite its title, the UDLR is essentially the child of some interested parties: elements of PEN International, some NGOs, language ‘experts’, and so on (see [www.linguistic-declaration.org](http://www.linguistic-declaration.org)). And there is, above all else perhaps, a powerful practical matter to be faced: while it is possible to legislate rights of language expression, it is rather more difficult to legislate rights to be understood.

It is interesting therefore that an ecology that, by its nature, ought to be multi-faceted and inclusive—aware, above all, of nuanced (we could, in fact, say *diverse*) perspectives—should often see things in simplistic or dichotomous ways, should often construct inflexible and monochromatic outlines. Skutnabb-Kangas (2002; see also Phillipson, 2003), for instance, provides us with a table in which ten factors are

listed for each of two ‘paradigms’—a diffusion-of-English model and an ecology-of-languages one. Every item noted for the first is negative; every one of the ten ‘ecological’ factors is positive. The spread of English is associated with linguistic imperialism and genocide, subtractive bilingualism, cultural homogenisation, capitalism, and so on. (Also to be found on this negative side of the ledger, interestingly enough, are ‘rationalisation based on science and technology’ and ‘modernisation and economic efficiency’.) By contrast, the ecological thrust means multilingualism and diversity, communicative equality, economic democratisation, resource redistribution, and so on.

Mühlhäusler (2000) has also provided two lists: a dozen points of contrast between what he terms ‘segregational linguistics’ (old and bad) and the ‘ecological paradigm’ (new and good); and ten statements describing the ambit and the underpinnings of the latter. These are interesting because they summarise the ecological enterprise and expose its chief assumptions and concerns. Many of these summary statements, however, are naïve or questionable (e.g. ‘the non-cognitive functions of language are primary’ or ‘ecological language planning encourages permeable boundaries’) and others are unoriginal and truistic (e.g. ‘languages are an integral part of larger communication processes’ or ‘language planning requires attention to the overall physical and cultural ecology’). Such summaries and dichotomies are, in themselves, surely illustrative of underlying thought processes.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS: ALTERNATIVES TO THE ‘NEW’ ECOLOGY PARADIGM

The ‘new’ paradigm discussed earlier is not, of course, the only approach to ecolinguistics—particularly when matters of language diversity are being considered. A more nuanced view, for example, than those already noted is presented by Pennycook (2004), who provides some careful notes on the difficulties associated with the preservation of languages—notably, the problem of reconciling preservation with the dynamic nature of language and the undesirable levels of regulation that may be required to affect maintenance. Pennycook makes a third point of interest, one that has to do with the definition of just what is to be preserved. He cites Ammon’s (2000) argument that ‘inner-circle’ English speakers should become more tolerant of non-native variation—and Phillipson’s (2002) rejection of the point.

Despite the vaunted accuracy, value and morality of the ‘new ecology’, it is clear that our understanding of linguistic diversity and, in particular, of linguistic endangerment has not been enhanced. Like Pennycook (2004, p. 214), I am dubious about the ‘bright new dawn of language policy’ that contemporary ecology allegedly represents. We are no nearer a strong

logical base for the support of diversity, nor are we any closer to effective methods of maintenance—ones, that is, that are neither too draconian or undemocratic, nor workable only in highly restricted contexts. And there may be deeper waters here, too. For example—putting aside the unprecedented strength and scope of English in the current linguistic and cultural climate—history suggests an ebb and flow in matters of diversity and uniformity. The power of Latin—which once must have been seen as the killer of smaller European varieties—eventually spawned a renewed heterogeneity. And some contemporary opinion holds that linguistic globalisation stimulates counter-moves in support of local identities: consider the growth of indigenised ‘Englishes’, for example.

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Two major problems of the new ecological approach are outlined below.

#### *Literacy and Education*

Part of the ideological underpinning of the new ecology is a distrust of literacy and education, on the grounds that they often undercut the preservation of linguistic diversity. Indeed, it is sometimes argued that literacy promotion actually works against ‘linguistic vitality’. Literacy is often seen as a sort of bully, then, in the same way that large languages are the villains, and small ones the victims—written varieties can push oral ones aside, writing is seen as sophisticated and, indeed, more likely to bear the truth, and so on. It is also sometimes seen as a sort of Trojan horse: speakers of at-risk varieties can be falsely lulled into security once writing arrives. It is certainly reasonable to point out the cruel fallacy that literacy inevitably leads to social or political improvement, or to refer to the single-mindedness of literacy campaigns. It is also true that writing does not automatically augment veracity (do you believe everything you read in the papers?). It would surely be yet another instance of ‘isolationism’, however, to try and purchase language maintenance at the expense of literacy.

A broader, related point is the suggestion that formal education is not always the ally of enduring diversity and bilingualism, for it often has intrusive qualities, championing literacy over orality, and imposing foreign (i.e. western) values and methods upon small cultures. Again there is the idea of cultural bullying. It is not difficult to sympathise with laments about supposedly intrusive ‘foreign’ education paradigms but—given that all education worthy of the name is multi-cultural in nature—the argument may be self-defeating. Formal education necessarily involves broadening the horizons, going beyond what is purely local and ‘traditional’. In an unequal world—one whose disparities

create risks for languages, in fact—education will perforce become yet another evidence of those disparities. Those concerned with gaining a place in the media for minority languages have learned that they are double-edged swords: while it is clear that access to them is important, they also facilitate the transmission of those larger influences upon decline. There are similar ‘risks’ associated with the medium of education.

### *The Romantic Perspective*

Current ecological models tend to identify some types of political villains more readily than others: unrestrained free-market capitalism, unfettered industrialisation, galloping globalisation. It is not uncommon to find disparagement of the scientific culture and concern for the ‘privileging’ of its knowledge over ‘folk wisdom’. There is a special regard for ‘small’ cultures and local knowledge, and it takes two forms: first, a simple and straightforward—and, indeed, perfectly reasonable—desire for the survival of such cultures and systems; second, the argument that they are in some ways superior to larger or broader societies and values. This view is often expressed in somewhat muted fashion; for a blatant expression, however, see Salminen (1998, p. 62): ‘without romanticizing or idealizing the indigenous cultures, it is clear that they are superior to the mass culture because their members retain the capability of living in at least relative harmony with the natural environment.’ Despite the half-hearted disclaimer, this is romanticism *tout court*. Or consider this dedicatory line in a recent anthology: ‘to the world’s indigenous and traditional peoples, who hold the key to the inextricable link between [sic] language, knowledge and the environment’ (Maffi, 2001).

A dislike of the contemporary world is often the background, in fact, for arguments on behalf of ‘indigenous’ cultures (I put the word in quotation marks here, as an example of another co-opted term, one which now has a particular resonance). Indeed, to suggest west-bashing is perhaps not unfair.<sup>1</sup> Standing up for the overdog is not a popular exercise, of course—but is it an advance to counter one species of insensitivity with another? Do the oppressed, as Bertrand Russell once discussed in a famous essay, hold the moral high ground because of oppression itself; can we agree with Orwell when he says that ‘this business about the moral superiority of the poor is one of the deadliest forms of escapism the ruling class have evolved’ (1944/1970, p. 230)? The disdain here naturally extends to the scientific culture generally, indeed to the generalities and ‘universals’ which many would see as the pivots of

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<sup>1</sup> Polzenhagen and Dirven (2004, p. 22) discuss the ‘pronounced anti-globalisation, anti-Western and anti-Cartesian’ stance of the ‘romantic’ ecology-of-language model.

progress. Fishman, for instance, is cited as endorsing the theme that ‘the universal is a fraud, a mask for the self-interest of the dominating over the dominated’, in a paper defending those people who ‘have not capitulated to the massive blandishments of western materialism, who experience life and nature in deeply poetic and collectively meaningful ways’ (1982, p. 8). A representative comment deriving from a familiar theme is provided by Chawla (2001, p. 118): ‘Indians have traditionally treated the inanimate and animate world with awe and concern in ways that do not indiscriminately damage the natural environment.’ Two points can be made when such sentiments are expressed. First, there is a great deal of evidence that indigenous peoples can be as profligate as any contemporary urbanite when circumstances permit: when the American plains were black with bison, the Indians killed many, took the best bits, and left tons to rot; forested areas were burned to encourage more easily accessible populations of game animals; planting and grazing lands were used to exhaustion by groups who then simply moved on to greener fields; and so on. Second, even if aboriginal societies *were* the sensitive stewards of nature they are often depicted to be, this says nothing about the goodness of their languages, nor of any connection between those varieties and concepts uniquely expressible in and through them.

The unrealistic and potentially harmful romanticism that lies behind arguments for ‘small’ languages and cultures has been analysed in a recent chapter by Geeraerts (2003). He overstates his case a little—his contrast, for example, between a ‘language-as-communication’ view, said to be central to rational thinking, and a ‘language-as-expression-of-identity’ perspective underpinning romantic conceptions is entirely too neat. It could be argued, after all, that speakers in many majority-language ‘mainstream’ settings can have their linguistic cake and eat it, too: the language that carries their culture, traditions and literature is also the language in which they do their shopping. But, Geeraerts’s observations on romanticised ecologies are accurate: thus, he points to the assumptions made about the equivalence of all cultures, about the goodness of diversity, about global English as international oppressor. (Polzenhagen and Dirven, 2004, remind us that the sanction of Standard English in the educational system—and in other important social arenas—has attracted similar accusations of oppression and social exclusion. Yet, just as one could argue that Standard English actually levels a very bumpy playing field, so the use of English-as-lingua-franca in non-native contexts may permit a desirable unity of action—in movements for national liberation, for instance. Canagarajah [1999a, p. 207; see also 1999b], has argued that the linguistic-imperialism model neglects its contributions to ‘modifying, mixing, appropriating, and even resisting discourses’.)

## FUTURE DIRECTIONS

My critical remarks in this paper are not, of course, directed at ecology *per se*—for who could gainsay its essential elements? But, I think that the underlying ideology of the new ecology of language is insufficiently examined and, in fact, builds in various assumptions as if they were unremarkable, and beyond enlightened debate. While some of its underpinnings may be appropriate—in some cases, at least—there can be little doubt that a wholesale acceptance of them would be both unwise and counterproductive.

## ENDNOTE

This chapter is an abridged and revised version of a longer piece, to be published elsewhere.

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**See Also:** *Fernand de Varennes: International Law and Education in a Minority Language (Volume 1)*; *David Block: Language Education and Globalization (Volume 1)*; *Suresh Canagarajah: The Politics of English Language Teaching (Volume 1)*; *Leanne Hinton: Learning and Teaching Endangered Indigenous Languages (Volume 4)*

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## LANGUAGE ECOLOGY AND LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY

### INTRODUCTION

An ecological approach to language in society requires investigation of the relationship of languages to each other, to the speakers of those languages, and to the social structures in the society in which the languages are spoken (Creese and Martin, 2003). These relationships are visible in the ways in which languages are used, and in social actors' attitudes to, and beliefs about, languages. Relationships between languages and their speakers, and languages and societal structures, are subject to their social, political and historical contexts. Language ecologies include the discourse which constructs values and beliefs about languages at state, institutional, national and global levels. That is, ecologies of languages may be better understood when complemented with discussion of ideologies of language.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

In developing the notion of language ecology, Haugen (1972) argued that the ecology of a language is partly psychological, partly sociological, and is determined primarily by the people who learn it, use it, and transmit it to others. Haugen viewed language ecology as a natural extension of the kind of study pursued in the name of psycholinguistics, ethnolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, sociolinguistics, and the sociology of language. Haugen defined language ecology as the study of interactions between any given language and its environment, and considered that what was necessary was an analysis of the effect of the social and psychological situation of each language. Haugen saw the value of the language ecology model in the requirement to describe not only the social and psychological situation of a language, but also the effect of this situation on the language itself.

Fill and Mühlhäusler (2001, p. 3) argue that the ecological metaphor is useful in illuminating 'the diversity of inhabitants of an ecology', and 'the functional interrelationships between the inhabitants of an ecology'. Fill and Mühlhäusler suggest that the ecological metaphor contributes to our understanding of the diversity of inhabitants in an ecology, the factors that sustain that diversity, the housekeeping that is needed, and the interrelationships between the inhabitants of an ecology. These

early developments in the field of language ecology contributed to the development of research theory and method in language policy and planning, linguistic human rights, and language ideologies. It is to the latter of these features of the ecological metaphor that this chapter centrally attends. However, in reviewing major contributions to the field I also briefly consider language policy and planning, and linguistic human rights, as these fields of research are not easily separable from discussions of language ideologies.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE FIELD

Hornberger (2003a) notes that scholars are increasingly turning to the metaphor of ecology to discuss language planning, teaching, and learning in multilingual settings. Hornberger cogently argues that multilingual language policies are about opening up ideological and implementational space in the environment for as many languages as possible to evolve and flourish rather than disappear. In the language ecology paradigm multilingualism is viewed as a resource rather than as a problem. Hornberger (2002, 2003a, b) focuses on three key aspects of the language ecology metaphor: language evolution, language environment, and language endangerment. She argues that languages, like living species, evolve, grow, change, live, and die in relation to other languages and in relation to their environment, and some languages, like some species, may be endangered. For Hornberger the language ecology movement has a practical role to play in contributing to the survival of endangered languages. Summarising the language ecology metaphor, Hornberger suggests that languages are understood to live and evolve in an ecosystem along with other languages, to interact with their socio-political, economic and cultural environments, and to become endangered if there is inadequate environmental support for them in relation to other languages in the ecosystem (2003b, p. 323). Hornberger (2002) extends the concept of ecology of language to the field of language planning, pointing out that the ecology of language metaphor underpins a multilingual approach to language planning and policy. In this paradigm, language policy and planning aims to maintain and cultivate languages and cultures, from a linguistic human rights perspective. Ricento (2000, p. 208) suggests that the jury is still out on the question of whether the ecology of languages paradigm will emerge as the most important conceptual framework for language policy and planning research. What Ricento argues, however, is that language policy and planning research must deal with issues of language behaviour and identity at the micro, individual level, as well as at the level of macro investigations.

Often linked to language ecology is the linguistic human rights movement. Similarly exploring the relationships of languages to their environment, and to each other, scholars in linguistic human rights have focused explicitly on the rights of indigenous peoples and various dominated groups, including linguistic minorities (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas, 1997; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, *A Human Rights Perspective on Language Ecology*, Volume 9). Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1997, p. 39) propose that the ecology of language paradigm is characterised by a human rights perspective, and a commitment to equality in communication, multilingualism, maintenance of languages and cultures, protection of national sovereignties, and promotion of foreign language education. Here Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas argue that what is needed, in place of policies that extend the global expansion of dominant languages such as English, is an ecology of language perspective which embraces all languages. In the present volume, Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson point to the following core elements of linguistic human rights: positive identification with a minority language by its users, learning a minority language in education, additive bilingual education, and public services. They argue that a balanced linguistic ecology does not allow some languages to spread at the cost of others. In such an ecology, linguistic diversity is maintained 'for the long-term survival of humankind' (p. 4). Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson make the point that there are correlations between biodiversity and linguistic and cultural diversity, and that small indigenous languages should be protected in order to transmit knowledge about the maintenance of delicate ecosystems. They make the case that biodiversity, linguistic diversity and cultural diversity can be conflated in the term 'biocultural diversity', which is essential for long-term planetary survival.

### *Language Ideology and National Identity*

Language ideologies include the values, practices and beliefs associated with language use by speakers, and the discourse that constructs values and beliefs at state, institutional, national and global levels. Recently, studies of multilingualism in societies have drawn attention to the social positioning, partiality, contestability, instability and mutability of the ways in which language uses and beliefs are linked to relations of power and political arrangements in societies (Blackledge, 2005; Blackledge and Pavlenko, 2002; Blommaert, 1999; Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998a, b; Gal, 1998; Gal and Woolard, 1995; Heller, 1995, 1999; Kroskrity, 1998; Woolard, 1998). Attitudes to, and beliefs about, language, are often not only about language. Gal and Woolard (1995) persuasively argue that ideologies that appear to be about language

are often about political systems, while ideologies that seem to be about political theory are often implicitly about linguistic practices and beliefs. Debates about language are therefore not about language alone (Woolard, 1998), but are socially situated and tied to questions of identity and power in societies.

Language ideologies are positioned in, and subject to, their social, political and historical contexts. Nor are language ideologies always fixed, stable, or immutable. They may be multiple, and influenced by changes at local, national, state and global levels. Moreover, language ideologies are often contested, and become symbolic battlegrounds on which broader debates over race, state and nation are played out. However, to say that language ideologies are contested and changeable over time is not to assert that they are necessarily always negotiable. As I have suggested elsewhere (Blackledge and Pavlenko, 2001; Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004a), there is often a dynamic tension between identities asserted and chosen by the self, and identities asserted and chosen for the individual by state, nation or institution.

In public discourse, language often becomes inseparably associated with a territorially bounded identity in a relationship that takes language, territory, and identity to be isomorphic (Freeland and Patrick, 2004). One implication of this is that ideally the nation should be monolingual, with adherence to another language often (mis)read as a lack of loyalty to the national identity. Claims to minority language rights effectively challenge the very basis on which states are founded, in demanding the institutionalisation of diversity. Nation-states are not founded on 'objective' criteria, such as the possession of a single language. Rather, they have to be 'imagined' as communities (Anderson, 1983, Billig, 1995). Billig (1995, p. 29) argues that the creation of a national hegemony often involves a hegemony of language. However, it is not sufficient to say that speakers of the same language belong to the same nation-state. This common-sense understanding of the relationship between language and nation ignores the diversity and variety of the language(s) spoken within many states. As Rampton's (1995) work has made clear, even the notion of a single 'English' language is an over-simplification, as new varieties emerge from different cultural and social contexts.

A relatively recent construct, national identities gained particular importance with the appearance of nation-states, the fundamental unit of world political organisation, since a nation in a modern sense cannot exist without a shared sense of identity (Anderson, 1983). However, even though nation-state boundaries may be clearly defined, national identities are far from unproblematic. Nations are ideological creations, caught up in the historical processes of nationhood (Billig, 1995). Billig argues that national identity is constantly being discursively

'flagged', with "banal words, jingling in the ears of the citizens, or passing before their eyes" (1995, p. 93). Words which reproduce dominant ideologies of nationalism are banal because they are familiar, routine, habitual, and hardly noticed. "Small words" offer constant but hardly conscious reminders of national identity.

The notion of a 'nation' carries the meanings both of the nation-state, and the nation of people living within the state. Of course, not all of the people living in a state view themselves as each others' equals. Nor do all inhabitants of a particular nation-state, or a particular state, see themselves—or each other—as a part of the dominant national identity narrative. I have previously (Blackledge, 2002) suggested that in Britain the media frequently constructs an oppositional national identity at the expense of some of the country's citizens and non-citizen residents. Furthermore, national identities and narratives may change within the span of one generation when nation-states collapse or redefine their boundaries and political allegiances, as happened in the case of the former Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, or Hong Kong, or when ethnic mobilisation comes into play, as in Canada in the 1960s (Heller, 1992). In this case, the inhabitants of a particular place have to struggle with redefining their own allegiances and identities within the new range of options—including linguistic ones—offered to them. In some cases, local, religious, ethnic or alternative national identities may override those offered by the state. For instance, due to the dominance of ideologies steeped in Islam, many citizens of Arab countries may feel they belong to an Arab nation rather than to a nation defined by their state (Barbour, 2000). Billig points out that "The battle for nationhood is a battle for hegemony, by which a part claims to speak for the whole nation and to represent the national essence" (1995, p. 27). The achievement of national hegemony is well illustrated by the triumph of official national languages and the suppression of rivals.

While national identities can be negotiated in a variety of ways, current research privileges language and literacy policies as increasingly important means of social control which allow nation-states to define 'who is in' and 'who is out'. Bourdieu argues that the official language is bound up with the state, both in its genesis and in its social uses: "It is in the process of state formation that the conditions are created for constitution of a unified linguistic market, dominated by the official language" (1991, p. 45). In order for one language to impose itself as the only legitimate one, the linguistic market has to be unified and the different languages (and dialects) of the people measured practically against the legitimate language:

Integration into a single 'linguistic community', which is a product of the political domination that is endlessly reproduced

by institutions capable of imposing universal recognition of the dominant language, is the condition for the establishment of relations of linguistic domination. (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 46)

This linking of language, literacy, and national identity happens in a number of sites which include language planning, standardisation, educational policy, citizenship testing, and language instruction for immigrants (Blackledge, 2005; Stevenson, 2006). Recent work on language testing for citizenship has demonstrated that in a broad range of national contexts particular languages and language varieties become gatekeeping devices to determine who is permitted to become a member of the community of citizens (Blackledge, 2005; Mar-Molinero, 2006; Maryns and Blommaert, 2006; Stevenson, 2006).

Another, related way to impose national identities is through educational policies that decide which languages are to be employed—and thus legitimised—in the public school system. Recent research has clearly documented the interpenetration of the ideological with the local, in institutional, nationalist, and political dimensions. When a language is symbolically linked to national identity, the bureaucratic nation-state faced with a multilingual population may exhibit ‘monolingualising tendencies’ (Heller, 1995, p. 374). Heller’s (1995, 1999) study of a Francophone school in Ontario observed tensions between the monolingual ideology of the school, and the language use and ideologies of at least some of its students, and found that some of the students resisted the linguistic ideology of the school. Also, in a school which was concerned with using French to resist the domination of English, students set up their resistance to the school through the very language which was oppressing them. Pavlenko (2002) demonstrates that when monolingualism in English emerged as an emblem of American national identity following World War I, this ideology resulted in laws, which delegitimised the use of languages other than English in the public school system in 34 states. The historical approach exemplified in Pavlenko’s work is crucial to a critical understanding of how language ideologies are produced and reproduced. May (2005) argues that the question of language rights should be addressed in the context of the fact that the establishment of state-mandated or national languages is a deliberate political act, and one that clearly advantages some individuals and groups at the expense of others. That is, issues of language rights can better be understood when viewed through a language ideological lens.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

May (2004, 2005) acknowledges post-structuralist research which proposes that for some individuals and groups language may not be a

defining feature of identity, but argues that for others it may indeed be a salient feature. If identities are now theorised as multiple, hybrid, and contingent, they nevertheless are clearly important features of identity claims for some individuals and groups. If the loss of a particular language is not necessarily the end of the world for a particular ethnic identity, for some individuals and groups language certainly *is* a key ideological battleground in the assertion of identities. We can hardly argue theoretically that for students who died protesting the right to establish Bengali as the national language of East Pakistan in 1952, language was not a key feature of identity. There are of course many other examples in present-day Europe. May (2005, p. 330) points out that in these conflicts ‘particular languages clearly *are* for many people an important and constitutive factor of their individual, and at times, collective identities’. May (2004, p. 43) argues elsewhere that while theoretically language may be just one of many markers of identity, in practice it is much more than that, as ‘the link between language and identity encompasses both significant cultural and political dimensions’. Identities are inevitably mediated in and through languages, which (whether we like it or not) come to be associated with particular ethnic and/or national characteristics. Of course, some languages and language varieties are important for speakers’ identities without national or ethnic associations.

May argues that Bourdieu’s notion of *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1990, 1998) provides a useful way of understanding relations between language(s) and ethnicities. The relation between *habitus* and *field* creates the conditions in which existing shared self-evidences are produced and reproduced. In this context, ‘self-evidences’ are those apparently common-sense misrecognitions which constantly construct and reinforce hegemonic ideologies. This process of *symbolic violence* (Bourdieu, 1998, 2000), of production and reproduction of common-sense consensus, occurs in discourses in the media, education, politics, the economy, and the law, to mention only institutional contexts. Language ideologies contribute to the production and reproduction of social difference, constructing some languages and varieties as of greater worth than other languages and varieties. This process can only succeed when, in the ‘institutionalised circle of collective misrecognition’ (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 153), dominant and dominated groups alike accept the greater value of certain languages and varieties.

Bourdieu’s representation of the symbolic value of one language or language variety above others rests on his notion that a symbolically dominated group is complicit in the misrecognition, or valorisation, of that language or variety. The official language or standard variety becomes the language of hegemonic institutions because the dominant and the subordinated group both misrecognise it as a superior language.

For Bourdieu, this misrecognition of the arbitrary nature of the legitimacy of the dominant language (and culture) ‘contributes towards reproducing existing power relations’ (1977, p. 30). Irvine and Gal (2000) note that there are striking similarities in the ways ideologies misrecognise differences among linguistic practices in different contexts, often identifying linguistic varieties with ‘typical’ persons and activities and accounting for the differentiation among them. In these processes, the linguistic behaviours of others are simplified and are seen as deriving from speakers’ character or moral virtue, rather than from historical accident or evolution. Irvine and Gal offer the example of nineteenth-century Macedonia, which was unusually multilingual, with language use not falling within expected ethnic boundaries. Outsiders thus positioned Macedonians as untrustworthy, since apparently shifting linguistic allegiances were construed as shifting political allegiances and unreliable moral commitments. The official language, or standard variety, often comes to be misrecognised as having greater moral, aesthetic and/or intellectual worth than contesting languages or varieties (Blackledge, 2005; Bokhorst-Heng, 1999; Heller, 1999; Jaffe, 1999; Schieffelin and Doucet, 1998; Spitulnik, 1998; Watts, 1999). In Bourdieu’s terms, those who are not speakers of the official language or standard variety are subject to symbolic domination, as they believe in the legitimacy of that language or variety, and ‘Symbolic power is misrecognised as (and therefore transformed into) legitimate power’ (1991, p. 170).

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

The discussion so far has more-or-less assumed that the ‘ecology’ metaphor is an appropriate one to account for and understand linguistic diversity and its relation to speakers of languages and powerful structures in society. However, Freeland and Patrick (2004) convincingly argue that whereas the biological metaphor implies that languages are ‘species’ or objects in the world, the focus of linguists is better targeted at the speakers of those languages, and the complex social, political and cultural practices for which they use them. Freeland and Patrick suggest that if the parallel between languages and species is to be taken as a real reason for preserving languages and as a basis for developing policy, its identification of linguistic elements as kinds of biological elements must be made more plausible (2004, p. 9). They suggest that the metaphor which likens languages to species, endangered languages to endangered species, and linguistic diversity to biological diversity, has become naturalised due to the dominant discourse which views languages as discrete objects. Ricento (2006, p. 46) argues that while linguistic diversity is a fact, analogies between biological ecosystems and

linguistic ecosystems break down very quickly on close inspection. Among other differences, language contact, shift and loss are not comparable to, nor do they involve, species extinction. Ricento suggests that such an analogy weakens the credibility of linguistic ecology as a model to resist the increasing dominance of global languages such as English.

While acknowledging that there are useful links to be made between linguistic diversity and biological diversity, Freeland and Patrick suggest that the 'invasion' of a linguistic habitat by an alien language-as-species need not be harmful to that environment. The dominant, 'host' language is (or should be) as open to change as dominated, minority languages. There is no intrinsic reason why cultural and linguistic change and adaptation should always be from a minority language/culture to a majority one (May, 2004). Freeland and Patrick argue that the 'conservation' approach, rather than countering oppressive practices, may act to restrict the social, economic and even geographical mobility of those who are tied to a linguistic niche which is subject to consistent discrimination. That is, it may not inevitably be the case that speakers of minority, marginalised languages wish to continue to be speakers of these languages. The argument that speaking a minority language rather than the majority language constrains the social mobility of the speaker is well-rehearsed, and is certainly quite convincing. However, May (2005) points out that speakers of minority languages are often also from ethnic minority groups, and are also subject to discrimination other than linguistic. Furthermore, to simply accept that social mobility is constrained by speaking minority languages is to accept rather than challenge this hegemonic situation. It is not inevitable that speaking minority languages in some public settings must disadvantage the speaker, even if it is usually the case at present.

May (2004) points out that while the ecology metaphor may be useful to highlight the seriousness of language loss, it potentially reinforces the view that the loss of languages is an inevitable part of social and linguistic evolution. As a result the wider political power relations which underlie language loss are lost from view: 'Language loss is not only, perhaps not even primarily, a linguistic issue—it has much more to do with power, prejudice, (unequal) competition and, in many cases, overt discrimination and subordination'. (May, 2004, p. 37). Inequalities are fundamentally social rather than linguistic. This view of course acknowledges that discrimination and prejudice are constructed and constituted in language, but proposes that arguments about which languages are validated in a society are often about more than languages alone. Some languages, and therefore the speakers of those languages, are discriminated against by speakers of majority/dominant languages. This process is powerful precisely because some

languages and varieties are misrecognised (by minority and majority groups alike) as being of greater value than others. More powerful socioeconomic groups frequently discriminate against those of lower status. When speakers of some languages are not able to activate their linguistic and cultural resources in some societal settings, the effect is one of both symbolic and material violence. Languages do not start out equal, and speakers of languages do not start out equal. Where speakers of minority languages are unable to access resources because their languages (and therefore they) are discriminated against, it is about more than the diversity of the inhabitants of an ecological system, it is a matter of social justice.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

This chapter has argued that in many Western countries a dominant ideology is constantly produced and reproduced which positions the majority language (usually English) as the only language of communication in institutional and other public contexts. Minority languages associated with immigrant groups are, as Bourdieu put it, rejected into indignity (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 46). Minority languages which have historically been associated with particular ethnic identities often continue to be important for particular groups (May, 2004), but have little capital in majority-language markets. Very often, multilingual societies that apparently tolerate or promote heterogeneity in fact undervalue or appear to ignore the linguistic diversity of their populace. An apparently liberal orientation to equality of opportunity for all may mask an ideological drive towards homogeneity, a drive which potentially marginalises or excludes those who either refuse, or are unwilling, to conform.

Gal (2006, p. 15) argues that in powerful discourse monolingualism is often taken to be the natural state of human life. Furthermore, named languages are taken to be homogeneous, and to be expressions of the distinct spirit of a particular group. In this sense, where linguistic practices conform to certain norms and standards, they are effective in legitimating political arrangements. However, Gal also points out that in Europe a new elite of multilingual speakers (e.g. French, German and English) sustains a breadth of linguistic repertoires which transcends national boundaries. For such groups ethnolinguistic identity may be only an occasional issue. For multilingual speakers of languages with lower status, however, language issues may still be salient as people attempt to negotiate identities, often from relatively powerless positions.

As suggested earlier, however, language ideologies are neither simple nor monolithic. Notwithstanding the argument that minority

language speakers are subject to the symbolic violence of the dominant language ideology, some speakers who (or whose families) may traditionally have been associated with minority 'ethnic' languages are using language and languages in new ways (Rampton, 1995; 1999). While some speakers are either unable to negotiate their identities from inextricably powerless positions, and others in powerful positions have no need to do so, some speakers in modern nation-states are using their sophisticated linguistic skills to negotiate new subject positions (see also Blackledge and Pavlenko, 2001; Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004). In what Gal (2006, p. 27) describes as 'self-conscious, anti-standardizing moves', such negotiations may include linguistic practices which reframe previous standard varieties, incorporating, *inter alia*, urban popular cultural forms, minority linguistic forms, hybridities and inventions. Here language practices associated with immigrant groups no longer represent backward-looking traditions, but may be linked to global youth culture and urban sophistication. Languages and language practices are not necessarily equated to national identity (but may be so), and are not necessarily dominated by the standardised variety. Despite powerful ideologies of homogeneity, populations in many countries—especially countries with a history of recent immigration—continue to be heterogeneous in their practices. May (2005) proposes that linguistic identities need not be oppositional, and asks 'what exactly is wrong with linguistic complementarity?' (p. 337). May calls for further ethnographic studies that articulate and exemplify the broad linguistic principles of language ideological research in complex multilingual contexts. An example of such work is the recent and ongoing research by Creese and Martin (2006a, b) and their collaborators, which provides illustrative accounts of the complementarity of languages in 'complementary schools' in urban Britain.

Stevenson and Mar-Molinero (2006) call for more critical examination of language policies which emerge from and contribute to the contradictions between monolingual ideologies and multilingual practices. In discussing language ideologies in contexts of modernity which include transnationalism and mass immigration, there is certainly a need for such rigour. At the same time, further studies are required which critically analyse the complexity and diversity of the multilingual practices of children, young people and teachers in and out of educational settings, and of their attitudes, values and beliefs about language. Through such studies, we can come to a more comprehensive understanding of the complex relationship of languages to each other, to the speakers of those languages, and to the social structures in the society in which the languages are spoken.

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AN ECOLOGY PERSPECTIVE ON LANGUAGE  
PLANNING

INTRODUCTION: PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

In a general sense, language planning has been conceived as an effort, usually at national level, to change the language behavior of some population for some stated or implied reason. Although initial language planning and policy activity sometimes has been characterized as involving a wide range of social and political (i.e., status planning—van Els, 2005) and linguistic (i.e., corpus planning—Liddicoat, 2005) input to arrive at planning decisions (e.g., Jernudd and Baldauf, 1987), and because language planning is often perceived as having a national function, actual policy development has tended to be focused more narrowly on developing a national/official language within a particular polity. The term *polity* is used here with intent to signify political entities of any size (smaller than a nation—e.g., American Samoa or Puerto Rico within the USA; Hong Kong within the People's Republic of China—or larger than a nation—e.g., The African Union, The European Union, UNESCO) acting more or less independently in the context of designing and implementing language policy.

Such language planning within a particular polity often has as its focus the learning of a single common national/official language and/or a single minority language<sup>1</sup> (or a small group of minority languages) and, therefore, the responsibility for language planning is often delegated to the education sector (i.e., acquisition or language-in-education planning occurs—Baldauf and Kaplan, 2005). Crowley (2000, in Vanuatu), Daoud (2001, in Tunisia), Djité (2000, in Côte d'Ivoire), Gynan (2001, in Paraguay), Hornberger (1989, in Peru), Kaplan and Baldauf (2003, in Pacific basin), King and Haboud (2002, in Ecuador), Mangubhai and Mugler (2003, in Fiji), Medgyes and Miklósy (2000, in Hungary),

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<sup>1</sup> In such cases, the term *minority language* is frequently defined on the basis of the size of its community of speakers; thus, in the United States, for example, Spanish is defined as a minority language, even though the number of speakers is approaching a sheer majority of the national population. Because of the size of the population, much attention has been devoted to dealing with Spanish-speakers. Languages implicating smaller populations can be ignored with impunity. Such considerations (having obvious economic implications) determine which of a multiplicity of minority languages will be addressed by the education sector.

Neustupný and Nekvapil (2003, in The Czech Republic), Nyati-Ramahobo (2000, in Botswana), and Tosi (2004, in Italy) (cf. Kamwangamalu, 2001, in South Africa) provide examples of this phenomenon. As a further planning activity, polities may take measures to increase the standing or prestige of various languages within their borders and in the international context (e.g., Ager, 2005; Baldauf, 2004). As the next section in this chapter indicates, these four types of planning activities have an effect on the sociocultural context or linguistic ecology in which all languages coexist.

Additionally, contrary to early thoughts on the matter within the discipline (e.g., Rubin and Jernudd, 1971), language planning is commonly a political—rather than a linguistic—activity; that is, status-planning decision-making occurs in the political sector rather than in the education sector, even when the planning task has been allocated to the education sector (Baldauf and Kaplan, 2003). Furthermore, such decision-making is constrained at least by budgetary considerations, by considerations dictated by the rigidity of the academic calendar and of the academic structure, and by considerations dictated by the dominant philosophy of education—that is, by decisions about what languages will be taught, about when and for how long they will be taught, and about the population sectors who will teach them and who will learn them, without reference to the readiness of either teachers or students to engage in the activity. As van Els (2005, p. 989) has pointed out, “the normal practice in second language learning and teaching planning—as in all education planning, for all we know—still is for uninformed laymen to develop policies without any recourse to empirical findings or expert advice.”

Kaplan and Baldauf have argued elsewhere (1997) that allocation of language planning to the education sector must of necessity have limited potential for success, because:

1. Only a single generation of children attends the educational institutions of a polity at a given time, thus, a relatively long period of time may be required to reach more than a tiny fraction of the total population;
2. Adults beyond the age of compulsory schooling are, by definition, exempt from the effort to induce some given new language behavior;
3. The education sector is often relatively under resourced in financial and manpower terms;
4. The education sector is internally focused, dealing primarily only with the schools under its control, the administrators of those schools, the teachers in those schools, the students in those schools and the parents of those students;

5. The education sector is isolated; that is, its efforts do not often reach other governmental sectors (e.g., the ministries of commerce, of communication, and those concerned with the military);
6. The education sector, although it is a feeder of manpower to the private sector, has no direct influence on the behavior of the private sector; on the contrary, it is often called upon to meet the expectations of the private sector;
7. The education sector rarely has the leisure or the resources to train teachers appropriately for activities in language teaching and learning, rarely has the resources to develop appropriate teaching and assessment materials, and rarely has the resources to undertake appropriate developmental activities necessary to understand who should learn the language, how long such teaching/learning should take and what levels of proficiency may realistically be expected.

More importantly, the education sector is rarely concerned with all the languages that coexist within a given polity and certainly not with the co-occurrence of those languages in proximate polities; rather, its attention is riveted on the national/official language and, perhaps, on one or two larger minority languages or foreign languages in that polity. There is rarely any understanding on the part of planners that modifications in any of the languages of the polity are likely to have unpredictable consequences with respect to all the other languages in the polity. Finally, the effect of such policy and planning on languages in proximate polities is only very rarely a consideration (but see, Asmah Haji Omar, 1975 for Malay/Indonesian, Willemys, 1984 for Dutch-Flemish).

This condition is very much a product of the self-defining “one-nation/one-language” myth (Grillo, 1989). That myth is itself a product of the notion that national unity is completely dependent on the existence of a single universal language and that the entire population must be homogenized linguistically to assure universal communication deemed necessary to national unity. (In the more recent past, this notion has carried over to national security as well.) The myth in combination with international politics also suggests that when two nations share a particular language, it may be expedient to designate those languages with different names, as in the case of Hindi/Urdu for India and Pakistan or Serbian and Croatian that emerged with the break up of the former Yugoslavia. The mythology frequently leads to a misunderstanding of the nature of literacy and of the potential benefits implicit in bilingualism.

As this brief introduction to language policy and planning suggests, despite the rather narrow way that language traditionally has been viewed in some social and political circles, languages interact with and affect one another both within and across polities—a reality increasingly being recognized by those involved in language planning.

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS: LANGUAGE ECOLOGY  
AS A CONCEPT

In order to be able to focus more clearly on these issues of language mutuality, language planners have begun to talk about language ecology. Mühlhäusler (1996, 2000) has examined the case of language planning and language ecology in the Pacific Basin, particularly in relation to pidgins and creoles, but also more generically. He notes that linguistic ecologies provide a “structured diversity” in a particular area and that “the first manifestations of . . . linguistic imperialism is not the reduction of the quantity of indigenous languages but the destruction of the region’s linguistic ecology, a fact often overlooked by those who write about language decline” (1996, p. 77).

It should be noted that the issue of creating a sustainable language ecology, with all its biological and ecological metaphors, as an utopian solution for resolving problems of minority language rights has been fiercely debated in the context of language policy and planning (see, e.g., May, 2003 for a recent summary; see also Pennycook, 2004). The discussion of this debate goes beyond the scope of this article, which uses the term *ecology* in a more general sense, that is that all languages exist in the context of other languages, dialects, ways of speaking, and so on, or to put it another way, exist in a particular language ecology. This is a fact that is frequently overlooked in language planning and policy-making.

Indeed, it can be argued that it is the linguistic ecology that constitutes a real language planning and policy problem in many situations. A polity may plan changes in a particular language without understanding that its planning may have an unknown impact on that particular language in proximate polities or in those polities elsewhere in the world in which the particular language has some role. France’s *Loi Toubon*, for example, which mandated specific changes in French usage, had influence not only on the French language in France, but on French in all those other participants in *Francophonie* in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific as well as in all those polities in which French is a favored foreign language, taught through the education sector.

Another way in which the language ecology may have been altered is through colonization (and neocolonialism), where new languages (and new language functions) may be introduced into the local linguistic ecology; that is, in the most widely discussed forms of colonization, European languages were introduced into non-European contexts, although historically other languages like Arabic or Chinese may also have had some major impact on such languages as Bahasa Indonesia or Japanese, Korean and Vietnamese. In addition, in many instances, literacy in the colonizing language was introduced (but not necessarily in

the local vernacular). Since much colonization was accompanied by the inculcation of some particular religious view (in parts of Africa, the Americas and the Pacific, Christianity; in the Middle East and North Africa, Islam; in Asia, Buddhism, Confucianism, etc.), missionary activity, often present, was seen to have some influence through two separate forms of language related activity:

1. On the one hand, *language spread*, the spread of the new language(s) (not previously part of the language ecology) through direct proselytization accompanied by the spread of literacy through the teaching of the word of God in the colonial language, without benefit of translation;
2. On the other hand, *language translation*, often in the case of Christian missionary activity, the translation of the gospel into the indigenous language(s), resulting in the introduction and spread of literacy in previously unwritten languages.

This translation activity may have resulted in another intrusion into the existing language ecology; since missionaries were rarely trained linguists, and since their functions were inherently pragmatic, their practical requirement for a “standard” indigenous language sometimes constituted a misperception of the indigenous language, resulting in the creation of a new language in the ecology (Makoni, Mashiri and Meinhof, submitted; Masagara, 1997). But even when the outcome was not a “new” language, it was frequently a new pidgin, a language form that morphed into a new Creole (see, e.g., Crowley, 2000 for Bislama; Romaine, 1996 for use as literary languages).

In the postcolonial era, there has been a heated debate about the role of English and its effect on language ecologies. Is English a “killer language” (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000) spread through linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992) destroying local language ecologies, or has the English language become a world language through its econocultural functions (Brutt-Griffler, 2002), creating an increasing demand for English, but thereby increasing the pressures on other languages in particular language ecologies? While, at the national level, this may lead to the sort of stable bilingualism predicted by Brutt-Griffler for Asia and Africa when English is added to an already wide range of languages, its increasing inclusion in the curriculum must, by definition, take time from subjects, often other languages, thus altering the language ecology.

Of course, the issue of language change and the alteration of language ecologies is not a recent phenomenon. However, in recent times the impact of such changes on language ecologies has become more noticeable as the pace of language change has accelerated, and as languages have been in more widespread contact. In addition, planned language change has become a formal function in many polities, adding

to the pressures for change found in a language ecology. Nevertheless, some aspects of these ecologies have been resistant to, or generated resistance to (e.g., Canagarajah, 1999—Tamil northern Sri Lanka; Clayton, 2002—Cambodia) such changes, perhaps because of their links to identity.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS: JAPANESE LANGUAGE ECOLOGIES AS AN EXAMPLE

By way of illustration, the language situation in contemporary Japan shows how language(s) both shape and have been shaped by their ecological context. It must be remembered that Japan engaged in militant colonial activity for a half-century, during the period between the end of the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) and the end of World War II (1945). In the territories Japan occupied, it undertook to install not only the Japanese language (*kokugo*) but also the Japanese “culture” (*kotodama*); thus, it was engaged in the first of the two forms of colonial language activity (language spread). However, with respect to the second of the two forms of activity (language translation), in some linguistic environments Japan employed the indigenous language for its own ends, often as a temporary measure, serving as a transition to linguistic assimilation (see, e.g., Baldauf and Kaplan, 2003; Gonzalez, 1980 for the Philippines; Kratoska, 1998 for Malaysia; Rhee, 1992 for Korea; Tsao, 1999 for Taiwan).

Internally, in Japan, *Kokugo* (not *Nihongo*) is the national language, not as a matter of law, but as a matter of long-standing convention. There have been attempts to homogenize the regional dialects (as well as Ainu and Luchu) into “standard” Japanese in a long-term effort to create a universal “standard” form of Japanese, deemed necessary for maximum effective communication and for national unity. This has led many casual observers of the Japanese scene to consider that Japan is a linguistically and culturally homogeneous nation (see, e.g., National Language Research Institute, 1998). The actual language situation in Japan, however, reveals that:

1. There are a number of dialects of Japanese spoken in the polity (Kaplan, 2000);
2. A number of other languages are spoken in the polity—that is, Chinese, English, French, German, Korean, Tagalog, and so on (Kaplan, 2000);
3. Japanese is spoken across a substantial Diaspora—that is, in Brazil, in Mexico, in the United States (i.e., in California and Hawaii), in Nepal, and so on (Kaplan, 2000);
4. Popular opinion seems to support the idea that English is virtually the most important second language and perhaps should be legally

designated as the official second language of the polity (e.g., Baldauf and Kaplan, 2003; Kaplan, 2000).

5. Several of the languages used by people living permanently in Japan are also spoken in proximate polities; for example, in the two Koreas, in China, in Taiwan, in Hong Kong, in the Philippines, and so on.

In [Figure 1](#), an attempt is made to represent this situation visually, with the national language, of course, being Japanese (*kokugo*) lying at the center of the figure. Surrounding *Kokugo* are the several regional dialects: *Tokyo dialect* has become synonymous with “standard” Japanese; in addition, at least *Osaka dialect*, *Kyoto dialect*, *Tohoku dialect*, *Kyushu dialect* and *Okinawa dialect* must be mentioned. As these dialects are for the most part mutually intelligible with *kokugo*, they overlap with it. A second group of circles represents the foreign languages available to the Japanese public (largely through the education sector, but also through a large number of private schools—*juku*). Among these, English is the most widespread, and Chinese the second. These overlap slightly with *kokugo* because of the continued use of “Chinese Characters” as an element in the Japanese writing system (Kaiser, 2003) and the recent heavy borrowing from English (Daulton, 2004). The remaining choices are relatively less widely distributed—that is,

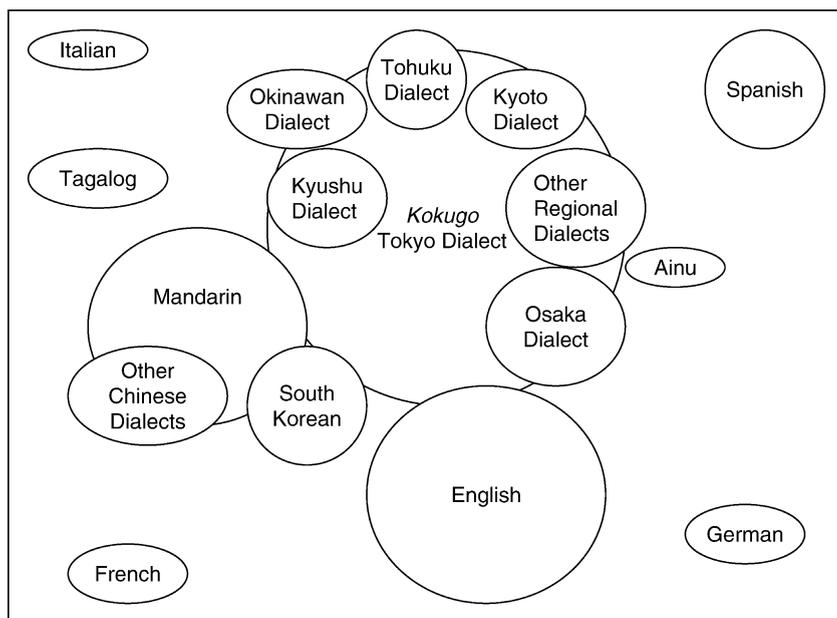


Figure 1 A schematic view of the language ecology of languages spoken in Japan.

French, German, Italian, Korean, Spanish, Tagalog, and so on. Ainu, which has virtually disappeared, and the Ryukyuan<sup>2</sup> languages deserve a special place as the only remaining vestigial indigenous languages.

It must be noted that the “foreign” languages—that is, Chinese, English, French, German, Italian, Korean, Spanish, and Tagalog—are spoken in other polities. Further, it must be noted that Ainu and Okinawan are not spoken anywhere else—not even in “Central Japan.” Additionally, it must be noted that the dialects of Japanese—that is, Kyoto dialect, Kyushu dialect, Okinawan dialect, Osaka dialect, and Tohoku dialect—exist only as varieties of standard Japanese in Japan. For many years, the intent of the government was to weaken those regional varieties in favor of “standard” Japanese. Finally, it must be noted that there is a Japanese diaspora and that additional varieties of Japanese have developed in various geographic settings in which the diaspora is represented—that is, in Brazil, in California, in Hawaii, and in Mexico. These external varieties of Japanese have accepted significant numbers of loan words from the dominant languages in the polities in which the diasporic contingent resides; that is, Portuguese in Brazil, Spanish in Mexico, English in California, and so on. Furthermore, there are generational changes in those communities, so that the Japanese spoken by the first (immigrating) population is likely to be substantially different from that spoken by the second (first foreign-born) generation and by the third generation, the latter constituting a population which may have lost spoken ability but may have retained some passive comprehension skills. This is a phenomenon not unique to the Japanese diaspora, but one that can be observed equally in the Chinese, Spanish, and other diaspora.

From this discussion it can be seen that, historically, Japan has engaged in two types of language planning: on the one hand, there has been a serious effort to move all Japanese speakers toward “standard” Japanese at the cost of Ainu, Okinawan (*Luchu*) and the regional dialects; on the other hand, there has been a serious effort to promote the use of English (and to a much lesser extent to promote other foreign languages), this effort having been almost entirely housed within the Ministry of Education. Neither of these efforts has given even lip service to the continuing nature of the complex language ecology of Japan; that is, efforts to assimilate the regional dialects into “standard”

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<sup>2</sup> Central Okinawan, also called *Okinawan* or *Luchu*, has some 900,000 speakers. Other varieties include *Shuri*, *Naha*, *Torishima*, and *Kudaka*, spoken across southern Okinawa Island, the Kerama Islands, Kume-jima, Tonaki, the Aguna Islands, and islands east of Okinawa Island. These dialects are generally not mutually intelligible with Japanese or with other Ryukyuan languages (Shibatani, 2003). These varieties should not be confused with Okinawan dialect, a variety of Japanese spoken in Okinawa.

Japanese have not been entirely successful because the regional dialects persist, though gradually diminishing over time, and efforts to promulgate foreign languages—even English—have not been entirely successful, because Japanese commentators (see, e.g., Kaplan, 2000) admit they are in general not learned well. The lack of success can be significantly attributable to the fact that the policy has ignored the ecology and issues of identity (see, May, 2003 for a summary of the debate on this issue) in the population.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

While Japan can serve as a useful example, similar phenomena have been occurring across many other polities (see, e.g., Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997, p. 319—Malaysia; Kaplan and Baldauf, 2003, p. 138—Singapore). In a larger sense, Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, p. 269) have argued:

[T]he language planning activity must be perceived as implicating a wide range of languages and of modifications occurring simultaneously over the mix of languages in the environment, some of which may constitute the motivation for an attempt at planned change while some may be dragged along willy-nilly as an outcome of an attempt at planned change in a given sector. Language planning must recognise as well that language modification may not be susceptible to containment within a particular nation-state or other entity that may be isolated for the purposes of discussion but that in truth always remains embedded in a larger context. Rather, the language plan may cause a ripple effect in proximate communities, in nation-states, and across a region (or in other smaller or larger entities).

In this chapter, we have argued further that many language policy efforts in various polities are insufficient or mistaken because they ignore the reality of the language ecology, failing to recognize that whatever occurs in the context of a national/official language situation will in all probability have effects on all the other languages within a polity and across polities, without reference to political boundaries. As in the case of Japan, modifications to any part of the language ecology (e.g., the increasing demand for English has reduced the study of other European languages; the increasing time devoted to English has reduced time spent on the study of *Kokugo* and mathematics; English has also moved into the elementary school displacing other studies since the time available for teaching is fixed) within the polity will have unknown effects on all the other languages within the polity, as well as on those languages that extend beyond the borders of the polity.

More generally, there has been an increasing trend not only to examine and consider these matters of language planning and ecology at the macro or state level, but to look at issues at the micro level as well (Canagarajah, 2005).

There is a powerful metaphoric relationship between linguistic and biological ecology, even if equation is not entirely appropriate (May, 2003). Lewis Thomas, in *The Medusa and the Snail: More Notes of a Biology Watcher*, argues that:

When you are confronted by any complex social system, such as an urban center or a hamster, with things about it that you are dissatisfied with, and anxious to fix, you cannot just step in and set about fixing with much hope of helping. This realization is one of the sore discouragements of our century. You cannot meddle with one part of a complex system from the outside without the almost certain risk of setting off disastrous events that you hadn't counted on in other, remote parts. If you want to fix something you are first obliged to understand, in detail, the whole system (1979, p. 90).

Thomas, of course, is talking about *ecology* in the sense the term is used by biologists, but is a system of interacting languages less complex than a hamster or an urban center?

Aspiring language planners, take note.

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THE ECOLOGY OF LANGUAGE LEARNING  
AND SOCIOCULTURAL THEORY

INTRODUCTION

Sociocultural theory (SCT) has received a significant level of prominence in educational circles and in language education over the past two decades or so (Lantolf and Appel, 1994; Moll, 1990). Historically speaking it is based directly on the work of Vygotsky and his colleagues or students (e.g., A.A. Leontiev, A.R. Luria, and P.Y. Galperin; for a recent overview see Kozulin, Gindis et al., 2003), but it has also (and increasingly) found connections with other work in various parts of the world, for example Jean Piaget, Maria Montessori, John Dewey, G.H. Mead, and Jerome Bruner.

Key features of Vygotsky's SCT are mediation, activity, the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) and the relationship between learning and development. Other areas that receive increasing attention are inner speech, scaffolding (although this term should be referenced to Bruner, e.g., Bruner and Sherwood, 1975), dynamic assessment, activity theory, agency and the use of tools and signs (this relates to mediation).

It must be noted (see also Kozulin, Gindis, Ageyev, and Miller, 2003; Valsiner and van der Veer, 2000; Wertsch, 1991) that Vygotsky left a hugely impressive body of work, but at the same time this body of work remained unfinished at the time of his early death at the age of 37. There are a number of aspects of the work that the researcher of the early twenty-first century needs to adapt, expand, interpret, and integrate with recent advances in education, linguistics, sociology, and psychology. Vygotsky's work is not a finished body of work that must be accepted as is and that should not be added to in any way. It was very much work in progress, cut short in an untimely manner as mentioned earlier. We therefore owe it to the memory of Vygotsky to place his unparalleled insights and achievements in the context of the current time and strengthen the original ideas with new but compatible sources of theory and practice. In this contribution I aim to do so by viewing SCT from within an ecological worldview. It is not my intention to systematically compare SCT and the ecology of language learning side by side to list the similarities and differences (see van Lier, 2004, Chapter 1, for a short

attempt at doing so). Rather, I will sketch some central ecological themes and place them within an SCT perspective.

### THEORETICAL DEVELOPMENTS: PERCEPTION AND ACTION

Central to an ecological approach to language learning are the processes of perceiving, and the insight that perception and action go together. The latter insight is largely credited to the work of James Gibson on the ecology of visual perception (1979). As Gibson explains (1979, p. 1), there are three basic modes of seeing:

1. Snapshot (an immobile perceiver)
2. Ambient (a perceiver looking around)
3. Ambulatory or panoramic (a perceiver moving around).

As J. Gibson explains, the richest information about the environment is obtained in the ambulatory or panoramic mode of perception:

The single, frozen field of view provides only impoverished information about the world. The visual system did not evolve for this. The evidence suggests that visual awareness is in fact panoramic and does in fact persist during long acts of locomotion (1979, p. 2).

Quite simply, you see more when you move around.

Forman (2005, p. 6) makes the interesting suggestion that Gibson's three modes of perception can be related to language learning in the following way: (i)—the snapshot view—relates to a focus on form, (ii)—the ambient view—relates to language use in the immediate context (the context of situation), and (iii)—the ambulatory view—relates to the context of culture. We might further note that the ambulatory or panoramic mode of perception occurs mostly in a project-based curriculum, where learners move around exploring, researching, sharing and jointly constructing particular projects. A traditional grammar-based and teacher-fronted class presumably mostly addresses the snapshot view of perception. We must however bear in mind that, even in such a perspective, learners might “move around” the subject matter mentally, and that language itself can construct its own panoramic space (through stories, examples, anecdotes, and so on). However, it seems unlikely that such a virtual panoramic world alone could sustain a rich multisensory experience of, in and with language. Ideally, the active body and all the senses, as well as social collaborative structures, are involved in the creation of learning experiences. (cf. “Handlungsorientierter Unterricht,”—action-based teaching, Finkbeiner, 2005b; Legutke, 1996).

E. Gibson and Pick (2000) distinguish between two theories of perception: the *enrichment* theory and the *differentiation* theory. They

explain that the enrichment theory is the traditional view in which sense data are seen as “fleeting fragmentary scraps of data signaled by the senses” (Gregory, 1991). It is the job of the cognitive apparatus, through schemata and information processing, to make sense of the data, to “enrich” it cognitively.

In contrast to enrichment theories, E. Gibson and Pick (2000) propose a differentiation theory, in which rich and varied environmental data are detected and used for increasingly varied responses and activities. Perceptual learning consists in learning to see, hear (etc.) different things, to combine perceptual data from various sources into patterned experiences, and to adapt one’s activities to the sensory data available. In real life, including in language learning, perception is multisensory. When we listen to a person speak in a foreign language, we do not just hear the words, we also see gestures, facial expressions, lip movements, and so on, and therefore the information potentially available comes from several sources of sense data at the same time.

In addition to the multisensory nature of language perception, we must tie perception to the realm of action. Analogous to the panoramic or ambulatory mode of seeing, language perception occurs in a context of activity and interactivity. In an ecological perspective, perception and action go together. The active learner hears and sees things most effectively and by virtue of engaging with the linguistic environment in which he or she moves, perceptual action, cognition and emotion are deeply connected, thus providing the conditions for emergent learning. Long before the appearance of J. Gibson’s ecological theory of visual perception Vygotsky already made this point in relation to his important concept of *interfunctionality*:

Throughout the child’s development . . . new systems constantly emerge within which perception acts. Within these systems, and only within these systems, perception acquires new characteristics that are not inherent to it outside that developmental system. (Vygotsky, 1987, p. 300).

The discussion so far suggests that perception is the foundation and the cornerstone of cognitive and social growth. We are not talking about perception as a receptive taking in of sensations, but as an active seeking out of information-for-action and action-for-information in the environment. In the following section I will argue that perception and action are also central to the development of self and identity.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS: SELF AND IDENTITY

Vygotsky’s psychology is essentially a psychology of consciousness. Consciousness embodies all the higher mental functions that Vygotsky talks about. It is not a purely cognitive construct; rather, it is shaped by

and continuously enacted in sociocultural (inter)action and activity. *Consciousness* in Vygotsky's work is similar (perhaps identical) to current uses of the concept of *self*, and what Vygotsky calls *role* is close to what many social scientists and critical pedagogues call *identity*. I will now try to tease apart these concepts, realizing that they are used in a wide variety of different though overlapping meanings.

Let me give a practical example of identity, and from there move to the deeper notion of self as conceptualized from an ecological perspective. As an academic working in a small private graduate institution on the American West Coast, I have an identity vis-à-vis my students and colleagues as someone who speaks several languages, teaches such and such subject matter, has a good memory for references, aspires to be a knowledgeable, fair and engaging teacher, writes articles and books, and so on. Where does this identity come from, or more precisely, from what bits and pieces of beliefs, actions, aspirations, and perceptions is it being cobbled together on an ongoing basis? For it is not a fixed and finished thing, but it is enacted every day in my professional life, and it may be enhanced by what I do and say, or it may be eroded if I do or say things that seem to conflict with the identity. For example, if I suddenly start forgetting all the references that my students and colleagues ask me about (goodness knows, this may happen!), then that part of my identity will be changed or even erased. I might become the guy that forgets everything.

Note that there are two important issues here to take into account: first, my identity is a contextually bound mixture of the qualities and the beliefs that I have about myself, and the perceptions and beliefs of others in that community about me. As Finkbeiner (2005a) aptly puts it, there is not just "Cogito, ergo sum" (I think therefore I am), but also "Cogitat, ergo sum" (They think, therefore I am). My identity is not just how I see myself in this context, but also how others see me (and how I *think* they see me) in this context. Depending on how susceptible I am to others' opinions, my own or the others' views of me may predominate. In fact, we might see identity as a struggle between what I think of myself and what others think of me. Perhaps not always a struggle, but almost certainly always a job of matching and reconciling perceptions and beliefs that come from different directions. In Finkbeiner's model of self, actual, assumed and desired self-perceptions and other perceptions all influence how learners assess their own competence, the perceived difficulty of a task, and a number of aspects of their actual performance (Finkbeiner, 2005a, Chapter 5).

The particular identity that I illustrated earlier is not the only one. I also have identities at home, when I am visiting my relatives in my native town in the Netherlands, with friends, and so on. These identities all overlap, they do not have clear boundaries. However, they do all

form different constellations of beliefs, practices, histories, expectations, and aspirations. Underneath all these different contextual presentations and re-presentations of myself and receptions of me, however, there is an underlying constancy and continuity of who I am, and this deeper, more fundamental concept of who I am is the self.

The idea of a “self” (also called “soul,” or “spirit” in earlier days, and close to the notion of “mind” in some accounts) has a long history in philosophy (see Taylor, 1989; Valsiner and van der Veer, 2000), accompanied by a great deal of controversy. I will not go into that now, but focus on more recent conceptions of the self that take a sociocultural and ecological perspective.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS: SELF AND PERCEPTION

To perceive the world is to coperceive oneself.

*J. J. Gibson, 1979.*

The notion of self is not something we are born with ready-made and fully endowed (van Lier, 2004, p. 114). It is established in and through our interactions in the social and physical world first, and the symbolic world subsequently. However, many researchers of child development have found consistent evidence of the newborn baby’s remarkable propensity to engage effectively with the other (particularly the mother), as well as with the physical surroundings (E. Gibson, 1993; E. Gibson and Pick, 2000; Trevarthen, 1993).

Through perceptual action the child not only learns to perceive objects and events in the world, but also gains information about itself, its movements, its location in space, in sum, about “its self.” Action also provides information about the self as a causal agent, a source of control (E. Gibson, 1993, p. 35). Thus, the source of the self is perceptual, through seeing, hearing, touching, tasting, moving about, usually in combinations of different sensory information and communication and therefore, perceptual action is typically multisensory and multimodal.

As mentioned, there are a number of perspectives and theories about the notion of self, but in this chapter I will focus on social and semiotic interpretations of self. I note, as mentioned earlier, that in many accounts the notions of self and identity are conflated, but I will consider them as separate, though intimately connected constructs. I will argue that it is important to keep the constructs separate to account for both constancy (stability) and change.

In 1988 Ulric Neisser published a paper proposing five different kinds of self-knowledge: ecological, interpersonal, extended, private, and conceptual. The first two can be seen together as *the perceived self* (Neisser, 1993), that is they derive from perceiving the physical and the social

world and, as seen earlier, from coperceiving oneself simultaneously. The other three do not rely on perception but “on taking oneself as the object of thought” (1993, p. viii). Therefore, we might group them together as *the reflected (or reflecting) self*. The extended self draws on personal memories and builds anticipations; the private self is one’s awareness of one’s own individuality and uniqueness; and the conceptual self draws on all theories, beliefs and assumptions in which the person is embedded, and includes social roles and identities.

Neisser’s proposal of five kinds of self-knowledge has led to a number of publications and collections of studies exploring different aspects of the self (e.g., Neisser and Fivush, 1994; Neisser and Jopling, 1997). Central in a number of discussions is the extent to which the various facets of self are a direct result of the interactions of the person with the physical and social (and cultural-historical, one should add) environment, and to what extent mental representations, for example scripts and schemata of various sorts, increasingly influence the construction of self. Here, two different types of cognition might be put into conflict with one another, one the Gibsonian view that argues for direct, immediate perception of the world (and eschews perception via—mediated by—mental representations), and another that mental structures play an essential role in the way the world is perceived, understood and acted upon. Neisser argues however that these two views, though they have sometimes been placed in opposition, are in fact complementary, like two melodic themes weaving in and out in a musical composition (Neisser, 1992).

|   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>Ecological</i><br>the physical environment  | Time and space; Deixis; The body;<br>Speech acts; Peirce’s Indexical signs<br>Demonstratives; Pronouns;<br>Prepositions; Names; Categorization                                   |
| 2. <i>Interpersonal</i><br>emotional rapport and<br>communication                                 | Mutuality, reciprocity,<br>intersubjectivity; Rapport; Turn taking,<br>Rhythm, intonation; Conversation,<br>Formality, distance, intimacy<br>Later: social/societal expectations |
| 3. <i>Extended</i><br>personal memories and expectations,<br>my way of doing things               | Memories, remembering; Story<br>telling; Diaries; Looking for learning<br>opportunities; Strategies, initiative  |
| 4. <i>Private</i><br>personal uniqueness, separateness,<br>differences from everybody else        | Inner and private speech; Self-<br>knowledge (Gardner’s Intrapersonal<br>intelligence); Learning styles; Self-<br>presentation   |
| 5. <i>Conceptual</i><br>identity, roles and status, my ‘theory<br>of me’, my beliefs about myself | My expectations, investment,<br>motivation; Notions of power,<br>control; Discursive self  |

Moving back to language development, one can trace a sort of protocurriculum for language learning on the basis of the five selves (see van Lier, 2004, p. 118 for further details):

The five kinds of self-knowledge can be seen as strands of experience and agency, of linguistic processes and conceptual goals, and of socio-cultural and personal engagement. There is no sequence or set of stages implied here, although one might note that perception and action, not often highlighted as central in most language learning methods or theories, take center stage in this perspective. This is an important point to bear in mind when we draw up conclusions or implications for language teaching and learning. However, as a model for language development, Neisser's proposal remains incomplete in several respects, and I will just name two areas in which it needs amplification: the realm of emotions, and the future-oriented aspects of the self that Peirce traced in his semiotic system (for references to Peirce's collected papers and manuscripts, see Wiley, 1994).

Vygotsky already insisted that consciousness and thinking include the two essential contributing forces of intellect and affect (1987, p. 50). Affects, for Vygotsky, include motives, interests and inclinations, and these emotional processes together with thinking form a "dynamic meaningful system that constitutes a unity of *affective and intellectual processes*" (ibid., emphasis in the original). Thus, the work of connecting the self to the new languaculture (Agar, 1994) through identity formation includes interest, motivation, and agency, in short, the affective engagement of the learner through activity.

The second element not sufficiently addressed in Neisser's framework is the future-orientedness of self and identity. Predominant in Neisser's (and many other, e.g., G.H. Mead's) concept of self is its historicity, a focus on what the self "has become." Mead (1934) describes the self as an "I-me" relationship, an "I" of the present, dialoguing with the "me" of the past. The self therefore becomes essentially a historical self, in which the present "I" consults the past "me" selves. In studies of identity, this dominant perspective is manifested in a focus on autobiographies, remembered anecdotes, narrative, and so on.

In contrast to Mead's past-oriented view of self, C.S. Peirce's notion of self is future-oriented, an "I" of the present, and a "you" of the projected self in the immediate future. The "you" thus becomes the interpretant of the current "I." This is a very dynamic view, one that includes agency, motive and planned future action. In learning, this highlights the importance of planning one's activities, of charting a path or negotiating the strategic steps of a project (Heath, 2000).

Based on a comparative analysis of Mead's and Peirce's views of the self, Wiley (1994; see also Colapietro, 1989) proposes an integration of the two views, thus creating a present-past-future, I-me-you semiotic

triad (Wiley, 1994, p. 13). In terms of the role of identity in language teaching and learning, and in studies of identity in general, this has the advantage of encompassing a wide array of identity-constructing and maintaining processes, including both those that link the present I to the past, and those that link it to the future.

#### PROBLEMS, DIFFICULTIES, AND PROPOSALS: PERCEPTION AND SELF IN LANGUAGE LEARNING

Insofar as second language learning implies the formation of new patterns of identity, such identities are born of an interplay of perception and action, enacted in engagement with the new realities and perspectives the new “languaculture” (Agar, 1994; Lantolf, 2005) affords. Without learning to perceive the affordances of this new languaculture, the learner cannot learn to perceive his or her emerging new identities that need to take shape, and that themselves need to be in constant dialogue with the more stable social and semiotic self.

There is a delicate interplay between action/perception on the one hand, and the physical–social–cultural environment on the other. Analogous to the “I think–they think” perceptions of identity mentioned earlier, the surrounding host environment plays a major role in the options the learner has to develop healthy relations between self, identity and environment. For example, the host environment may be hostile or indifferent, thus impeding the formation of healthy new identities that can connect the self to the new environment and language. In such cases, the learning process is impaired, and the learner (or immigrant, as the case may be) may be unable to function fully in the new languaculture. The learners may withdraw into their native culture, form oppositional cultures (Gibson and Ogbu, 1991), or rebel and assert themselves in different ways (Peirce, 1995).

Closely related to the development of identity is the notion of *voice*, which refers to authentic ways of speaking (and writing). For a learner to speak authentically, he or she needs an authentic audience, that is an audience that not only grants the learner the right to speak, but that also listens and responds authentically (Kramsch, 1993; van Lier, 1996). Through developing a voice in the new languaculture the learner engages with it and has the opportunity to couple self and environment in productive ways by enacting new patterns of identity. In the following section I will suggest some pedagogical consequences of the views presented here.

## FUTURE DIRECTIONS: PEDAGOGICAL ACTION

The discussion thus far suggests an approach to language learning that is activity-based or action-based (cf. the German notion of “*Handlungsorientierter Unterricht*” mentioned earlier). This is nothing new, of course, since many pedagogues of old, from Jan Comenius to Maria Montessori to Lev Vygotsky to John Dewey (and many others) have emphasized the centrality of the active learner and an activity-driven pedagogy. However, it is always useful to advance new arguments to old ideas, and to connect them to concepts that are in current focus (such as communication, identity, agency, and context).

Language learning begins with learning to perceive while engaging in language-related activity. What we perceive are affordances, relationships of possibility between us and something in the environment (Gibson, 1979; Greeno, 1994; Neisser, 1987). Perceiving these affordances and acting upon them must be learned. Sometimes affordances may be directly and easily perceived, other times they may require much practice. Teachers, parents and caregivers direct the learner’s attention to affordances in the environment, and at the same time the learner also perceives certain affordances directly. Vygotsky already saw this interplay between immediate and mediated perception, and argued that words are the primary mediating tool in the gradual mastery of attention:

[T]he development of attention in the child from the very first days of his life finds itself in a complex environment consisting of two kinds of stimuli. On the one hand, things, objects, and phenomena attract his attention in proportion to the strength of their properties; on the other hand, corresponding stimuli-catalyzers, specifically words, direct his attention (1997, p. 167).

Activity (including specifically joint activity) guides the perception of affordances, and the affordances themselves guide (facilitate, direct, change) further activity. Activity involves motive, purpose, planning and emotional engagement, thus on the one hand combining affect and intellect in the ways that Vygotsky considered essential for the development of consciousness and the higher mental functions, and on the other hand including past–present–future orientations that, in the perspective of the semiotic self, lead to the establishment of healthy identities that can connect the self to the new languaculture.

One of the ways in which this action-oriented learning can be instigated is by creating proximal contexts (Bronfenbrenner, 1993) within which the learner’s agency is nurtured, guided and developed. A range of teaching strategies that promotes activity in proximal contexts is

known as *pedagogical scaffolding* (Gibbons, 2002; van Lier, 2004). Although scaffolding has been getting somewhat of a bad press recently (see, e.g., Ellis, 2003), and some alternative terms such as collaborative dialogue (Swain, 2000) or dialogic inquiry (Wells, 1999) have appeared, I still consider the construct worth preserving under its original meaning, as laid out in Bruner and Sherwood (1975). While it is undoubtedly the case that at times the notion of scaffolding has become watered down to refer to any kind of helping or instructional support, such functional erosion can occur with any term one cares to invent (e.g., with notions such as the Zone of Proximal Development, critical thinking, and etc.). As originally introduced by Bruner and Sherwood, scaffolding occurs during unpredictable, “nonrule-bound” moments in an otherwise well-structured, predictable game or activity (1975, p. 280; see also van Lier, 2004, p. 147). The interplay between the predictable and the unpredictable is crucial here. The learner can only develop agency within a structured environment, and must be assisted and stimulated (in a dialogical process that I have called handover/takeover) when new responses, behaviors or ventures occur that depart from the script in developmentally promising ways. This seems to me to be the essence of Vygotsky’s microgenesis, and also of the related anticipatory notion of prolepsis, that is, treating learners “*as if* they had abilities they do not yet possess (which is) a necessary condition of the development of those abilities” (Bakhurst, 1991, p. 67).

Thus, so long as we make sure not to lose sight of this essential process of scaffolding, the pedagogical structures (and proximal processes) within which it can be instigated can be sketched. I have proposed that pedagogical scaffolding, in this perspective, can be seen as unfolding on three planes:

1. A *macro* plane of planning projects or sequences of activities, including ritual and predictable elements that recur over time;
2. A *meso* plane, on which each activity is broken down into steps or actions;
3. A *micro* plane in which the processes of handover/takeover and prolepsis occur in moment-to-moment interaction among participants (van Lier, 2004).

In addition to this instructional perspective on scaffolding, we must also consider that scaffolding can occur not only in an expert-novice context, but also among equal peers, as in Donato’s study of *collective scaffolding* (1994) and Swain’s work on collaborative dialogue (2000). To this peer context I have proposed adding two further ones: working with a less capable other (learning by teaching), and learning by oneself, marshaling available resources (see also van Lier, 2004, p. 157; Vygotsky, 1987, p. 216). In sum, the notion of scaffolding affords a rich

array of proximal contexts and interactional opportunities, not all equal by any means, but all useful in different ways, and all capable of promoting a variety of learning opportunities.

### CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have traced connections between an ecology of language learning and SCT. While these two perspectives come from different traditions, they clearly share strong ideological, conceptual and pedagogical principles and practices. Studies of perception, semiotics, self and pedagogy from ecological sources such as Gibson, Peirce, Neisser, Bronfenbrenner, and others can provide a coherent way of framing pedagogical action that is both true to the spirit of Vygotsky's work and situated in today's complex world of the multimodal, multi-sensory and multicultural learner.

There are other areas of work in which SCT and ecology can illuminate problems and their solutions. A fruitful program of conceptual and empirical work remains ahead, and here I have merely traced some connections and possibilities.

**See Also:** *Susan Lyle: Learners' Collaborative Talk (Volume 3); Frank Hardman: The Guided Co-construction of Knowledge (Volume 3); Claire Kramsch and Sune Vork Steffensen: Ecological Perspectives on Second Language Acquisition and Socialization (Volume 8)*

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## **Section 2**

### **Language Ecologies of Selected Countries and Regions**

## THE LANGUAGE ECOLOGY OF AUSTRALIA'S COMMUNITY LANGUAGES

### INTRODUCTION

Language ecology in a country of immigration such as Australia is the result of a complex interaction between:

1. the backgrounds and pre-migration experiences of a wide range of different groups and individuals;
2. the overarching effect of the dominant language of the receiving community (in this case English) on all of the incoming language users; and
3. the policies (either implicit or explicit) in place in the country of immigration towards the use of languages other than English (LOTEs).

This chapter considers under Early Developments the multi-lingual history of Australia and the changing attitudes towards linguistic diversity since European settlement. For the first 150 years or so there were few attempts to quantify or discuss in any depth the contribution of LOTEs to a national linguistic demography.

The later parts of the chapter outline the ways in which it has been possible to track the developing linguistic demography of Australia since the mid-1970s, both in terms of immigration intake and language maintenance efforts on the part of community language groups. Special attention will be paid to languages in the education systems.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Although English is the national language of Australia, and has been used as such since the arrival of the First Fleet from Britain in 1788, multi-culturalism and multi-lingualism have long been national realities, if not always viewed, acknowledged or promoted in the same ways. This chapter focuses on the languages imported at and after the time of European settlement.

#### *Before Federation*

The late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were characterised first by an accepting but laissez faire attitude towards LOTEs, then by a still

tolerant but somewhat more restrictive approach, resulting largely from the advent of state compulsory education in the late nineteenth century, which mainstreamed monolingual education (Clyne, 1991). There was a vibrant multi-lingual press (Gilson and Zubrzycki, 1967), and the towns of the developing colonies saw the immigration of intellectuals and revolutionaries from a changing Europe. At the same time rural areas in South Australia, Victoria and Queensland were being settled by German-speaking Lutherans, along with speakers of Italian, Irish, Gaelic, Welsh, Danish, French and Polish. The gold rushes of the mid- to late nineteenth century brought with them a further influx of languages in the form of would-be miners from all over the world, including many from China. Bilingual education programs (largely 'private' initiatives) were introduced where there was sufficient demand, particularly among the German-speaking Lutheran enclaves, but also in languages such as French, Gaelic and Hebrew (Clyne, 1988).

### *After Federation*

The federation of colonies in 1901, which formed the nation of Australia, ushered in a period of aggressive monolingualism, accompanied by immigration policies severely restricting the settlement of non-white persons. These were to remain in place until the mid-1970s. English monolingualism was promoted both as a symbol of the British tradition and increasingly as a marker of Australia's national identity (Clyne, 1991), and strong assimilationist views replaced the less interventionist attitudes of the nineteenth century. Although some European migration continued to occur, the major source country was Britain, and the dominant language of the immigrants was English. The image of an essentially British–Australian people, recruited partly with government assistance and fitting into a prosperous and relatively egalitarian society, was the ideal on which continuing immigration policies were to be based.

### *The Post-War Immigration Boom*

In the wake of the Second World War, an extremely ambitious immigration policy was launched. The goals were twofold: to provide a bulwark against the perceived military threat from Australia's northern neighbours and to provide a workforce for a greatly expanding secondary industry (Clyne, 1991; Kipp, Clyne and Pauwels, 1995). The original plan was to import mainly Britons. When this did not prove possible, the government turned first to the refugee camps of Europe, and some 170,000 displaced persons were processed in Australia

between 1947 and 1954 (Lack and Templeton, 1995). Although the UK remained by far the largest single source of Australia's post-war immigrants until the 1970s, the net was cast ever more widely from the early 1950s to include economic migrants from all parts of Europe, including the Netherlands and Germany, but increasingly from Italy, Greece, Malta, Cyprus and Yugoslavia. In the late 1960s, when Southern and Eastern European sources began to dry up, agreements were signed with Syria and Turkey, and in the early 1970s assisted passages were extended to Lebanese. From the early to mid-1970s, with the final dismantlement of the White Australia Policy as well as the refugee crisis in Indo-China, the number of migrants from Asian sources increased dramatically, most recently through the business component of the immigration program.

Within a generation or two, the 'bold experiment' (Lack and Templeton, 1995) of the post-war years—an experiment devised to secure a white and British Australia—had led to an unarguably multicultural society. The population of Australia in 1947 was 7.5 million. By 1971 it had grown to 12.7 million, with immigration accounting for 58% of this increase. The foreign-born component had increased from 2.7% to 11.7% (Jordens, 1995). In 1947 almost 90% of the population was of British origin, and the rest were mainly European. Less than 1% were of Asian origin. In 2001 the population was 18,972,044, with some 28% born overseas and nearly 5% born in Asia (including south, south-east, north and north-east).

### *Policy Directions Since the Second World War*

The expectation of the immediate post-war years was that immigrants would assimilate as quickly as possible to monolingual Australia. There were laws in some states prohibiting bilingual education (Clyne, 1988) and severely restricting the amount of broadcasting in foreign languages. There was very little opportunity in the mainstream education system to acquire a language other than English, and those programmes that were available (most commonly French and Latin) were specifically conceptualised as foreign language programs. Immigrants of the time recall being verbally abused for using LOTEs in public places.

With the 1970s came a change of government, with the reformist Whitlam government elected in 1972 after 23 years of conservative rule. The White Australia Policy established at the time of Federation was finally dismantled, replaced by a points system that opened the way for immigrants from all parts of the world to apply for entry under a common set of conditions. Other enabling changes at the same time,

such as increased space on radio airwaves and the devolution of school governance to the local level, greatly enhanced the profile of community languages in Australia (as they were now called, in preference to foreign languages) (Clyne, 1991). An innovative telephone interpreter service (TIS) was introduced in 1973 to cater for the rapidly increasing diversity of languages in which services were needed, and Schools of Languages (after-hours government<sup>1</sup> language schools now<sup>2</sup> in Victoria, New South Wales, South Australia and the Northern Territory) provided a similarly flexible framework for the teaching of a wide range of languages to students who did not have access to the language of their choice in their day school. Other traditional providers of language education, such as community-run after-hours schools, now received government support. From the 1970s multi-lingual community and government radio and television stations have broadcast in a large number of community languages, and ethnic newspapers have proliferated. A (national) government-funded special broadcasting service (SBS) now operates alongside a number of community-run initiatives to provide radio and television programming (local and international) in a wide variety of languages.

Throughout this period of change in the 1970s a coalition of academic linguists, language teachers, ethnic, aboriginal and deaf groups had been lobbying for an explicit policy on languages for Australia, leading to the release of Australia's first official policy on languages in 1987. Lo Bianco (1987) stressed the complementarity of English and community languages and this was strongly based upon the social justice issues being foregrounded at the time (Clyne, 1997). By the late 1980s, however, the political climate had shifted to one of economic rationalism, and the next policy initiatives (Dawkins, 1991) reflected this shift, with the emphasis on the economic value of languages to the nation and the foregrounding of literacy (in English). The prioritising of a small number of Asian languages nationally (Rudd, 1994) also reflected this economic bias and continued the shift of emphasis away from Australian language communities. Even the local communities of the Asian languages included in the initiative (namely Mandarin, Japanese, Indonesian, Korean) were almost completely disregarded.

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<sup>1</sup> These are Australian initiatives at the state level providing tuition, usually on a Saturday morning, in a wide range of languages at a number of centres.

<sup>2</sup> The Victorian school was established in the 1930s, providing the model for similar ventures in New South Wales and South Australia (1970s) and eventually the Northern Territory. Queensland may follow suit in the near future.

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS AND ONGOING WORK

*Census Data and Language Use*

The year 1976 saw the introduction of a question on language in the 5-yearly Australian National Census, and much of the subsequent work that has been done on language ecology in Australia has been based at least partly on the longitudinal data obtainable in this way. The initial question (in 1976) targeted regular use of a language other than English, there was no question on language use in 1981, and since 1986 the question has been the same: 'Does this person speak a language other than English *in the home?* (my italics), and if so, which one? If more than one language is used, which is the most frequently used?'

According to the 2001 National Census, more than 200 languages were used in Australian homes at that time, and some 16% of the population spoke a language other than English in the home. This proportion rose to 29% and 27%, respectively, in Sydney and Melbourne, Australia's largest cities. Although, as already stated, the language question was somewhat different in 1976, [Table 1](#) illustrates in broad terms the shift of emphasis over nearly 30 years of large-scale data collection on language use.

Although the largest language communities in Australia in 2001 were still speakers of Italian and Greek, languages introduced by the economic migrants of the 1950s and 1960s, other languages of the immediate post-war years—such as German, Dutch, Latvian, Ukrainian, Lithuanian and Polish—have seen a substantial decline, accompanied by a significant increase in speakers of languages from the Middle East and Asia. The trends that are apparent for the entire population are even more apparent in the younger age brackets, as is demonstrated by [Table 2](#).

*Census Data and Language Shift*

The cross-tabulation of birthplace with language use has made it possible not only to establish the size of language communities but to estimate the differential language shift between language communities. For example, the shift rate of 11.4% for Italian ([Table 3](#)) indicates that, of all those born in Italy and permanently resident in Australia, 11.4% now report using only English in the home. Up until 1996 (see Problems and Future Directions), a similar calculation could be made for the second generation—of all those born in Australia with one or both parents born in Italy, 57.9% used only English at home in 1996.

The most retentive language communities in the 2001 Census are newly arrived groups from Asia, Africa and the Middle East, although Greek is still relatively well-maintained, and Macedonian even more so.

Table 1 Top ten community languages in Australia, 1976–2001 (Australian Bureau of Statistics)

| Language       | 1976    | Language       | 1986    | Language   | 1996    | Language           | 2001    |
|----------------|---------|----------------|---------|------------|---------|--------------------|---------|
| Italian        | 444,672 | Italian        | 415,765 | Italian    | 375,752 | Italian            | 353,606 |
| Greek          | 262,177 | Greek          | 277,472 | Greek      | 269,770 | Greek              | 263,718 |
| German         | 170,644 | Serbo-Croatian | 140,575 | Cantonese  | 202,270 | Cantonese          | 225,307 |
| Serbo-Croatian | 142,407 | Chinese        | 139,100 | Arabic     | 177,599 | Arabic             | 209,371 |
| French         | 64,851  | Arabic         | 119,187 | Vietnamese | 146,265 | Vietnamese         | 174,236 |
| Dutch          | 64,768  | German         | 111,276 | German     | 98,808  | Mandarin           | 139,288 |
| Polish         | 62,945  | Spanish        | 73,961  | Mandarin   | 91,911  | Spanish            | 93,595  |
| Arabic         | 51,284  | Polish         | 68,638  | Spanish    | 91,254  | Tagalog (Filipino) | 78,879  |
| Spanish        | 48,343  | Vietnamese     | 65,856  | Macedonian | 71,347  | German             | 76,444  |
| Maltese        | 45,922  | Dutch          | 62,181  | Tagalog    | 70,444  | Macedonian         | 71,994  |

Table 2 Use of selected languages by speakers 0–14 years old, Sydney and Melbourne, 2001 (Australian Bureau of Statistics)

| Language   | Melbourne | Sydney |
|------------|-----------|--------|
| Vietnamese | 15,395    | 15,242 |
| Greek      | 14,446    | 10,464 |
| Arabic     | 12,404    | 37,217 |
| Cantonese  | 10,241    | 21,199 |
| Italian    | 9,434     | 5,699  |
| Mandarin   | 6,540     | 11,320 |
| Spanish    | 3,349     | 6,128  |

Newer migrations from the Indian subcontinent and the Philippines are notable for their rapid shift, which may be at least partially explained by their pre-existing knowledge of English and the status of English in the homeland. A particularly high exogamy rate for the Philippines-born also contributes to the considerable shift in both generations for this group.

Factors affecting language use are complex and interwoven, but cultural distance, core value status of language (if possible combined with other core values, such as religion), community language group cohesion and geographical concentration of speakers have been noted as factors generally favourable to the maintenance of a community language in the Australian context. As already indicated, exogamy has been shown to facilitate shift, particularly for the succeeding generations. For a fuller discussion of factors related to language maintenance and shift in the Australian context, see Clyne, 1991, 2005; Clyne and Kipp, 1997; Kipp and Clyne, 2003; Kipp, Clyne and Pauwels, 1995; Smolicz, 1981; Smolicz, Secombe and Hunter, 2001).

### *Small-Scale Studies*

It should be noted that Census data, although extremely valuable, almost certainly under-estimates the number of people who regularly use a community language in Australia, given the focus of the question on the home domain. Even within the home domain, issues of frequency of use or complexity of language, as well as literacy levels, are not addressed. A number of researchers have supplemented Census data with smaller-scale studies. For example, Pauwels (1986) (for Dutch and German) and Bettoni and Rubino (1996) and Rubino

Table 3 Language shift in Australia, 2001 (first generation) and 1996 (first and second generation) (based on data from the Australian Bureau of Statistics)

| Birthplace                | % shift<br>(G1, 2001) | % shift<br>(G1 1996) | % shift<br>(G2 1996) |           |                  |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-----------|------------------|
|                           |                       |                      | Endoga-<br>mous      | Exogamous | Aggregated<br>G2 |
| Austria                   | 54.4                  | 48.3                 | 80                   | 91.1      | 89.7             |
| Chile                     | 12.2                  | 9.8                  | 12.7                 | 62.3      | 38               |
| France                    | 36.8                  | 37.2                 | 46.5                 | 80.4      | 77.7             |
| Germany                   | 54                    | 48.2                 | 77.6                 | 92        | 89.7             |
| Greece                    | 7.1                   | 6.4                  | 16.1                 | 51.9      | 28               |
| Hong<br>Kong              | 10.3                  | 9                    | 8.7                  | 48.7      | 35.7             |
| Hungary                   | 35                    | 31.8                 | 64.2                 | 89.4      | 82.1             |
| Italy                     | 15.9                  | 14.7                 | 42.6                 | 79.1      | 57.9             |
| Japan                     | 16.9                  | 15.4                 | 5.4                  | 68.9      | 57.6             |
| Korea,<br>Republic of     | 11.1                  | 11.6                 | 5.4                  | 61.5      | 18               |
| Lebanon                   | 6.2                   | 5.5                  | 11.4                 | 43.6      | 20.1             |
| Macedonia,<br>Republic of | 4.7                   | 3                    | 7.4                  | 38.6      | 14.8             |
| Malta                     | 38.2                  | 36.5                 | 70                   | 92.9      | 82.1             |
| Netherlands               | 62.6                  | 61.9                 | 91.1                 | 96.5      | 95               |
| Other<br>South<br>America | 18.4                  | 17.2                 | 15.7                 | 67.1      | 50.5             |
| Poland                    | 22.3                  | 19.6                 | 58.4                 | 86.9      | 75.7             |
| PRC                       | 4.3                   | 4.6                  | 17.1                 | 52.8      | 37.4             |
| Spain                     | 25.1                  | 22.4                 | 38.3                 | 75        | 63               |
| Taiwan                    | 3.8                   | 3.4                  | 5                    | 29.2      | 21               |
| Turkey                    | 7.1                   | 5.8                  | 5                    | 46.6      | 16.1             |

(2006) (for Italian) have examined the issues of standard/dialect and the ways in which situations of pre-existing diglossia between varieties may affect language maintenance efforts in the country of immigration. Pluricentricity, or differing national norms, has been addressed by Clyne and Kipp (1999) for Arabic (from Lebanon and Egypt), Spanish

(from Spain and Chile) and Chinese (Cantonese from Hong Kong and Mandarin from Taiwan). The latter study also addresses the issue of migration vintage, and finds that the attitudes and expectations of two vintages from the same place of migration and with the same language may be quite different. Explanatory factors here include prevailing policies regarding language in Australia, as well as the positioning of the immigrant language in the homeland, and these are also discussed by Borland (2006) (with relation to Maltese) and Søndergaard and Norrby (2006) (with relation to Danish). Country of origin, reason for migration, codification and status of the first language (L1) and the cohesion or otherwise of community language groups in Australia have been discussed in relation to language maintenance patterns by Clyne and Kipp (2006) for Macedonian, Somali and Filipino. Issues of gender have been explored by Pauwels (1995) and Winter and Pauwels (2000, 2006), the latter also looking specifically at friendship groups. Woods (2004) has devised a model for demonstrating the ways in which language and religious practice may interact for a number of immigrant groups. Fitzgerald and Debski (fc) have considered the potential of Internet technology for creating virtual communities in the diaspora. Two issues of the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* (172 and 180) have been devoted to research on community languages in the Australian context, most of them small-scale studies.

From an international perspective, Fishman (2001) has applied his graded intergenerational disruption scale to both indigenous and community languages in Australia. Leitner (2004) describes and discusses the interaction between Australia's non-English language habitats (including indigenous as well as community languages) and the national language (Australian English).

### *Languages Other than English in Education*

The following section gives an overview of school language provisions in Australia, particularly as they relate to the language demography outlined earlier. For a fuller discussion of educational provision, (see Clyne and Fernandez, *Community Language Learning in Australia*, Volume 4). A special issue of the *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* (8(2, 3), 2005) has also been devoted to US and Australian perspectives of heritage/community language education, covering issues such as the status of LOTEs in schools (as well as the status of individual languages), the importance of home language maintenance, uptake of languages at senior secondary level, bilingual education, teacher training and language testing.

There are three main providers of language programmes for school-age students in Australia:

1. *Regular day schools.* Apart from state schools, there are Catholic schools and ‘independent’ schools, the latter largely affiliated with a Christian denomination other than the Roman Catholic Church, or with another religious or ethno-religious group (Islamic, Jewish, etc.). Non-government schools are attended by over one-third of Australian schoolchildren.
2. *Schools of Languages.* These are government schools, in New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and the Northern Territory, which run out-of-hours classes (generally on a Saturday morning) for students who cannot study the language of their choice in their regular day school. They offer a wide range of languages, and are open to the introduction of new ones after a number of base criteria are met (demonstrated demand, availability of teachers and resources).
3. *After-hours ethnic schools.* These are run by communities or private individuals, many of which are subsidized by the federal and state governments and in some cases from overseas.

Up until the mid-1960s French was by far the most commonly taught modern language in the Australian education system, with German available as an additional language in a small number of schools and Italian and Russian also available in a very minor way (Clyne, Fernandez and Grey, 2004).

Lobbying from the mid-1960s by State modern language teachers associations, university departments and ethnic groups resulted in German and Italian, and in some States also Greek, being offered as alternatives to French, particularly in areas where these languages were widely used (Clyne, Fernandez and Grey, 2004). At about the same time, Asian languages—Indonesian and to a lesser extent Japanese and Mandarin—were introduced in some schools. Language offerings continued to be expanded through the comprehensive national policy on languages (Lo Bianco, 1987, see earlier). The number of languages examined as matriculation subjects has continued to rise since 1973 (when restrictive eligibility criteria were dropped), and the number of languages examinable stands currently at 43<sup>3</sup> (with two more under discussion), and with provision arrangement between the state authorities for low candidature languages to be examined nationally. Asian languages received a further boost via the NALSAS program (see earlier, Rudd, 1994), which continued to be funded until the end of 2002.

Primary schools have generally added languages to their curriculum relatively recently—in the 1970s in South Australia, the early 1980s in Victoria and even later elsewhere, although there had been individual initiatives and experimental programmes before this time.

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<sup>3</sup> As of January 2006, five of these are under suspension due to low enrolments.

Table 4 sets out the relative ranking of languages by student numbers in Australian schools in 2001, and compares this with both their ranking in the top 20 languages nationally and in the top 20 languages in the 0–14 age group nationally.

It is clear that the strong position of Japanese in Australian schools over all educational sectors owes more to the position of Japan as the nation's biggest trading partner than it does to any significant community presence (28,317 speakers nationally). In contrast, Italian's position as a long-established, as well as the most widely spoken, community language in Australia is reflected in its strong position in schools, although it is better represented in the state and Catholic systems than in independent schools. This is largely due to a decision of Italian community organizations in the 1970s to devote their resources to teaching Italian in mainstream schools, especially primary schools as distinct from out-of-hour ethnic schools.

Apart from Italian, significant community languages in the Australian context are generally not well represented in the school sector. This is demonstrated most clearly by the cases of Arabic, Greek and Vietnamese. The positions of Arabic and Vietnamese are particularly weak when one considers the numbers of school age children who use these

Table 4 The top ten community languages in Australian schools (from Clyne, Fernandez and Grey, 2004, p. 7)

| Ranking/<br>Language     | No. of students | Ranking in top<br>20 languages<br>nationally | Ranking in<br>top 20 0–14<br>age group<br>nationally |
|--------------------------|-----------------|--|--|
| 1. Japanese              | 402,882         | <sup>a</sup>                                 | 17   |
| 2. Italian               | 394,770         | 1  | 5  |
| 3. Indonesian            | 310,363         | 20   | 13   |
| 4. French                | 247,001         | 18   | 20   |
| 5. German                | 158,076         | 9  | 15   |
| 6. Chinese<br>(Mandarin) | 111,464         | 6  | 6  |
| 7. Arabic                | 31,844          | 4  | 1  |
| 8. Greek                 | 28,188          | 2  | 4  |
| 9. Spanish               | 24,807          | 7  | 7  |
| 10. Vietnamese           | 22,428          | 5  | 2  |

<sup>a</sup>Not in top 20 languages nationally.

languages at home (see [Table 3](#)). For both Greek and Arabic, there has been less emphasis on mainstreaming the language, and more on language maintenance, leading to a larger presence in ethnic schools and the schools of languages. This also applies to Vietnamese, whose arrival in the late 1970s was too late to benefit from the push for community languages in mainstream schools during that period (Clyne, Fernandez and Grey, 2004).

The significant presence of at least two Chinese varieties in Australia (see [Table 1](#)) renders the issue of educational provision a vital one. Although the number of Mandarin speakers is significant, and growing, there are still more speakers of Cantonese in Australia than speakers of Mandarin. In spite of the importance of Cantonese as a language in Australia, and a lingua franca, trade language and media language in South-east Asia, it is one of the few community languages that are not examined, and barely taught, in Australia—fewer than 400 students nationally (Clyne, Fernandez and Grey, 2004; Kipp and Clyne, 1999). At present the only variety available for study at mainstream (and most ethnic) schools is Mandarin. This means that children of Cantonese-speaking backgrounds learning Chinese in school are in effect learning a second language.

The issue of L1 and L2 speakers and assessment procedures has become important, particularly with relation to Asian languages. Although there is a discourse that declares non-background learners to be disadvantaged in a mixed classroom, there is evidence that background speakers and their families are being discouraged from developing their language by the prospect of more stringent assessment measures (Clyne, 2005; Clyne and Kipp, 1999; Clyne, Fernandez, Chen and Summo-O'Connell, 1997). It is also clear that there is a long continuum of background—from passive competence in the home sphere in a vernacular variety to substantial secondary education experience in the standard or codified variety. Assessment becomes particularly relevant within a context of migration, which is often undertaken for the upward mobility of the children. The pluricentricity of Arabic, with a standard Arabic existing alongside a large number of national vernaculars (for example, Arabic from Egypt, Lebanon, Syria and Iraq), also has implications for education, with home background not necessarily equating with competence in the school target language. The issue has also arisen for Italian, where most immigrants spoke a dialect as their L1.

One must conclude that the educational offerings in Australia in terms of language are neither particularly consistent across state boundaries nor reflective of linguistic diversity nationally. There are also issues in terms of the treatment of background speakers, which are acting as disincentives for students to capitalise on or to develop their home language and for parents to encourage them to do so.

## PROBLEMS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

*Data Issues*

Given the consistent lack of a question on language first spoken in the national census (although this was included in a smaller-scale survey carried out in 1983), language shift in the first generation has had to be calculated as the proportion of persons born in a particular country who now use only English in the home. Up until 2001 it was possible to estimate language shift in the second generation as the proportion of persons born in Australia with one or both parents born in a particular country who now use only English at home. The modification of this question in 2001 to a binary choice of parent born in Australia/outside Australia means that it is no longer possible to trace intergenerational transmission in this way. The addition of an ancestry question is of limited practical value in this respect, due both to the subjectivity of the ancestry factor and the lack of generational specificity. Although the language question remains secure for the 2006 Census, allowing for a continuing longitudinal view of the first generation, the parental birth-place question has not been reinstated (despite lobbying from a variety of individuals and groups). This effectively precludes a similarly longitudinal view of the second generation.

*Developing Ecology*

In terms of national language ecology, it has been argued that the rich diversity of languages brought to Australia from all over the world is not always harnessed as it could be, and that language services and educational opportunities do not always keep pace with a changing linguistic demography (Clyne, Grey and Kipp, 2005). An examination of the migration trends over the last decade also reveals an overall downturn in numbers and an emphasis on English-speaking source countries (Kipp, *fc*), with implications for Australia's future linguistic profile.

However, institutions put in place during the halcyon days of language policy making and implementation are still making a significant contribution to multi-lingualism of Australia, and in many ways Australia's approach to its multi-lingualism and multi-culturalism since the 1970s has become a model for other countries to follow. In particular, open-ended systems such as the SBS (ethnic media), the TIS and the schools of languages are very effective in providing services to a wide and constantly changing range of language groups. The inclusion of a question on language use in the National Census still provides an excellent large-scale picture of linguistic demography as well as the basis for a growing amount of fascinating smaller-scale research.

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## THE LANGUAGE ECOLOGY OF MARGINALISED ETHNO-LINGUISTIC GROUPS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

### INTRODUCTION

Depending on how language ecology is viewed, Southern African, focusing specifically on Botswana, Namibia and South Africa, presents situations that suggest that language diversity is viewed as a problem (in Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland—as they recognise one ethnic language) and a resource [in South Africa (Webb, 1995) and Namibia (Haacke and Elderkin, 1997)—as they recognise ethnic multilingualism]. The language ecology in Southern Africa started to change significantly even before the colonial period. More than ten centuries ago Southern Africa, now known for major Southern Bantu languages, was historically populated by autochthonous groups that have come to be known as the Khoisan or the Khoe and the San (Barnard, 1988). These groups are now marginalised (Chebanne, 2002; 2003) and exist as minorities in a region where they were the sole inhabitants. Southern Africa is now mainly inhabited by Bantu ethno-linguistic groups, and the Khoe and San only account for 0.025% of a regional population of 50 million people. It is therefore important to see how these indigenous groups feature and how language ecology is construed in the education policies of these Southern African states.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Historical and linguistic studies that have facilitated classification of the Khoe and San languages have been undertaken by Schapera (1930), Westphal (1971), Köhler (1981), Hitchcock (1982), Andersson and Janson (1997), as well as the notable work of Güldemann and Vossen (2000) and Vossen (1988). For a long time, linguistic interest in these indigenous communities did not match the anthropological commentaries on or description of these peoples' physical looks and cultural habits (Dorman, 1917). The genetic relationship of the Khoe and the San preoccupied most of the early studies on these people. It was in the early studies of Köhler (1981), based on historical sources, that a linguistic distinction between these languages was made. However, most of the modern understanding of the Khoe and San is credited to Schapera (1930), Westphal (1971), and Köhler (1981). The linguistic

and ethnographic distinction of Khoe and San is therefore not new and dates back to the early twentieth century (Barnard, 1992; Schultze, 1928). The term Khoesan (Khoisan) has, to non-linguists, taken a pejorative connotation often relegating these people to a subhuman class. It was only after Schapera (1930) that the term was rehabilitated as a label beyond racial and physical characterisation. The word Khoikhoi (a corruption of Khoekhoe), derived from Khoe with the meaning ‘person’ for most Khoekhoe speakers, has become a generally accepted term for the people and their languages. The word San is derived from Saon, which is a Khoekhoe word for ‘gatherers’. The classification that is retained here is mainly adapted from Snyman (1975), Traill (1986), Vossen (1988) and studies by Güldemann and Vossen (2000).

| Language family | Language   | Country                             |
|-----------------|--|-------------------------------------|
| Sandawe         | Sandawe  | Tanzania                            |
| Hadza           | Hadza  | Tanzania                            |
| Khoe-Kwadi      | Khoekhoe:<br>Nama and !Ora (Khoekhoegowab)<br>Kalahari Khoe Central (  Gana,  Gui, Naro)<br>Kalahari Khoe North (  Ani, Buga,  Ganda)<br><br>Kalahari Khoe East (Kua, Tshoa; Shua, Cirecire; Ganadi) | Namibia<br>Botswana<br>South Africa |
| San             | Southern San:<br>Taa~Tuu (!Xóõ; !Kui)<br>Northern San:<br>#Hoa; Ju (Jūn ’hoasi); !Xū   | Botswana<br>Namibia<br>South Africa |

A key to the use of click symbols is provided at the end of the chapter.

With the exception of a few pastoral communities (e.g. Nama) all these groups have maintained their autochthony. The term San, as used by some indigenous language activists, has become a general term for Khoesan (Khoisan). It is also worth noting that South Africa has lost almost all its indigenous Khoesan languages with the exception of recently resettled Khwedam and Nama communities from some parts of Namibia. These resettled communities are found in the Northern Cape Province where their ethnic languages are being integrated into community education.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The encroachment by other groups into the land and the lives of indigenous communities has been very disruptive. The consequences have

been tragic, causing dispersal (voluntary or involuntary) as well as inappropriate socio-economic development policies that have adversely impacted on the lives of the Khoe and San communities. Cashdan (1979), for instance, reports significant settlement pattern changes and migrations which were in geographical and ethnic variance from accounts by Westphal (1971). Instances of majority languages annihilating minority languages are common in the whole region (Chebanne, 2003). The following subsections summarise some of the main factors in the language ecology of these groups. In view of important historical and social processes that continue to impact on the indigenous minorities and their languages, voices have started to be heard agitating for these communities' protection (Chebanne, 2002; Janson, 2000; Köhler, 1981; Smieja, 1996). Research on language and quality of life by Nyati-Ramahobo (2002), Webb (1995), and Sommer (1992) have demonstrated that linguistic marginalisation was a core factor in the educational process and development of an individual.

### *Factors in Educational Marginalisation*

While in Africa the pre-colonial language situation was by and large determined by consequences of social dynamics (inter-ethnic wars and assimilation), the colonial and post colonial language situations were based on language policies which favoured political consolidation over wide territories that contained different ethnic groups. Colonial language policies were not questioned. Except for Nama (Khoekhoegowab) in Namibia, all other Khoe and non-Khoe languages were not seriously considered for development and for introduction into education. They remained marginalised. Lack of policy to promote language diversity meant that there was no official obligation to match human rights in matters relating to minority linguistic and ethnic groups in the domain of language use. The perpetuation of this attitude has turned out to be assimilating, monopolistic and hegemonic to the detriment of indigenous speech communities. This is unfavourable to their development through the current education system.

### *Social and Linguistic Factors*

Indigenous language communities have faced and continue to face negative social attitudes from other ethnic groups due to their autochthony and their reliance on foraging for their existence. They are extremely poor and are prone to negative socio-economic relations and consequently discrimination even as they abandon their languages. Their small speech communities also leave them helpless under the imposing influence of other language groups. Except where there is outside activism by some non-governmental organisations, these speech

communities lack the capacity to promote their culture and language (Chebanne, 2003; Mphinyane, 2002). State languages policies, especially in Botswana have not taken indigenous languages into account. The situation is better in Namibia and South Africa where constitutional provision exists to cater for indigenous language development. However, only the majority indigenous languages benefit from such dispensations. The complex linguistic phenomenon of 'click', which characterises the Khoe and San languages, has given a false impression that these languages are difficult to learn and that they cannot be reduced to a practical orthography and literacy (Chebanne, 2003). The Khoe and San are therefore socially and linguistically segregated and this disadvantages them in education.

### *Socio-Economic Factors and Marginalisation*

Most indigenous people face socio-economic hardship and abject poverty (Cassidy, Good, Mazonde, and Rivers, 2001). A recent publication on the Khoe and San by Selolwane and Saugestad (2002) revealed that these communities experience powerlessness, marginalisation, disintegration, exploitation, pauperisation and deprivation, all of which result in social and economic exclusion from the main development programme of the State. They also have been rendered landless and have been profoundly traumatised by displacements from their ancestral lands. The fact that their culture is diminishing makes the situation worse. Even though San children go to school, most of them abandon education because of the negative attitudes towards them, as they are regarded as socially inferior. The linguistic trauma of the school languages that are forced on them from the first day at school, and at very tender age, when they are not capable of constructing concepts with any linguistic competence, marks them for life, and makes them school misfits. The societal integration model of the majority cultures, as well as the language policies, cause these ethnic groups to give up their own languages in favour of the majority language (Batibo, 1998). For the Khoe and San, the majority language is not negotiated but imposed at school.

The Khoe and San languages do not figure in language policies in countries in Southern Africa. They therefore remain undeveloped and have no role in promoting the lives of speakers. While combined regional strategies have hardly been envisaged, most of these indigenous communities live in cross-border situations, but unfortunately this does not provide them with any regional status. Due to their small numbers, the Khoe and the San are marginalised. This situation means that the languages of these communities do not feature in education (except for Nama in Namibia) or any social or developmental processes. In

recent years, however, the Working Group on Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA, 2001) has championed efforts to provide Khoe and San languages with a common social reference, and the term San is now used to transcend ethnic and linguistic distinctions. The recommendation of the generic name San for all marginalised communities was made with their approval and with a view to obviate the historical prejudices associated with these indigenous communities in order to create a common basis for their linguistic and educational development.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS: PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

The indigenous people (the Khoe San) have found themselves at a social disadvantage because state policies work to eliminate their autochthony. As observed in various research (Cashdan, 2001; Chebanne, 2003; Saugestad, 2002), governments are very uncomfortable about the existence of indigenous people's culture. Regional development programmes, with the specific actions to develop, empower and promote, only result in the San becoming marginalised and the creation of negative attitudes to their identity, as well as to their forced assimilation. Some of the developmental actions and processes have caused traumatising change. Modernisation is problematic for them. Change of land use and tenure that started during colonialism impoverished them. The relocation practices and inappropriate development policies are alienating. The education systems that do not take into account their language use in the education of their children, discriminates them. All the so-called development efforts seem to be only under-developing them and, at most, dehumanising them. Even the efforts of activism from outside the region and the specific entitlement programmes of the States have generally experienced failures. Their free choice of development programmes and their right to their languages in education and indeed their unique ethno-cultural identity will be critical in their continued existence and identity (Selolwane and Saugestad, 2002; Visser, 1998). The following subsections report on specific situations from indigenous language communities. The metaphors used in the sub-headings attempt to illustrate their various problems and difficulties.

#### *!Xóõ: A Language Losing its Hold*

The !Xóõ live in small groups without much contact with each other. The language of these groups forms a dialect continuum. Research by Traill (1985) suggests that !Xóõ has two main varieties, namely

#Ama Oam (#Ama Pfam) (Western variety), and !Gwaa Oam (Eastern variety). The estimated number of speakers is 4,000. The speakers of !Xóǎ are scattered over a large area stretching from western Botswana to the eastern Namibian border (Andersson and Janson, 1997; Hasselbring, 2000), and are also found in some parts of the Northern Cape of South Africa. While the !Xóǎ language is fast losing its cultural and linguistic hold, it is still spoken in the cultural activities of family, and in interactions in the settlements and villages. All age groups use the language in most daily communication. However, school children are not allowed to use it even on school grounds, and this has adversely affected its vitality among the younger generation. Most !Xóǎ speakers are bilingual with another regional ethnic language. However, this bilingualism does not empower them as it is often the case that their bilingualism is with other marginalised languages which have no educational clout.

*Ju|'hoan and !Xǔ Cluster: Languages on Crutches*

Ju|'hoan, also commonly known as Kaukau in Botswana, is spoken mainly in north-western Botswana and Tsumkwe in Namibia. Ju|'hoan is considered the central variety of !Xǔ which stretches into southern Angola. Geographical and social conditions are the basis of the differences between the Namibia and Botswana varieties. From the research by Hitchcock and Holm (1993), surveys by Batibo (2002) and Hasselbring (2000), and the Botswana census statistics analysis by Chebanne and Nyati-Ramahobo (2003), the population of Ju|'hoan speakers can be estimated between 7,000 and 10,000 in Botswana and Namibia. The language is mostly used at the local village and family level, as well as at community meetings (with interpreters). There are many native speakers who can now read and write Ju|'hoan. This is mainly because of the efforts of the Nyae-Nyae Development Foundation and due to sustained linguistic, cultural research and missionary work. Ju|'hoan has been studied extensively by Jan Snyman (1975) who wrote a grammar guide and dictionary. Another dictionary was published by Dickens (1994), who also updated the orthography. This orthography is now official and used in literacy works in Namibia through the Nyae-Nyae Development Foundation at Tsumkwe. Teacher training will have to be a priority in its development to sustain community-based gains as this language relies on non-governmental assistance to provide crutches to develop its elementary education and literacy materials.

*#Hoan: A Language on its Death Bed*

The #Hoan falls under the Northern Khoe-San language sub-family, together with Ju|'hoan and !Xǔ. It is considered as the southern branch

of this sub-family, while the Ju|'hoan is the northern branch (Traill, 1973). #Hoan has no mutual intelligibility with the languages it is related to. Speakers of #Hoan are located in southern-eastern Botswana (in the Kweneng and Kgatleng Districts). The statistics derived from the Cassidy reports (Cassidy, Good, Mazonde, and Rivers, 2001) puts the total #Hoan-speaking population in the districts of Kgatleng and Kweneng at 1,500. The speakers are bilingual with Setswana and also with Shekgalagari, and there is a strong language shift towards these languages (Batibo, 2003; Hasselbring, 2000). Except for linguistic classification studies by Westphal (1971) and Traill (1973), there has never been any comprehensive linguistic analysis of #Hoan. There are no NGOs working among the #Hoan, and this means therefore that, unlike other San groups, it risks extinction without there being any record of the language. #Hoan is seriously marginalised and threatened with extinction.

*|Nu: An Observed Language Death*

The |Nu language which, according to Miller and Exter (personal communication, 2006) (two linguists working on the language) has less than ten speakers who claim knowledge of it. The speakers are found far apart in farms and settlements in Northern Cape Province of South Africa and do not readily interact to keep the language alive. Miller and Exter have also reported that two of the ten speakers are found in a remote settlement in southern Botswana. Whichever side of the border they find themselves, Afrikaans is their main language of communication. With only ten speakers averaging 60 years of age, |Nu is dying and the current research effort is for the purpose of recording the language rather than trying to revive it.

*The Khoekhoegowab: There is Safety in Numbers*

The languages that are listed under this label are the Nama, Damara, !Hemani and the !Ora, which are mainly Namibian languages. However, in Botswana they all identify themselves as the Nama (Batibo et al., 2003). Nama has long been codified and its orthography and a dictionary dating as far back as 1889 (Haacke, 2003) has inspired orthographies of other Khoesan languages. The large number of speakers and their pastoral lifestyle has been a major factor in the maintenance of this language. They do not face the general marginalisation of other Khoe and San languages. Research has progressed in this language. A new dictionary has been published by Haacke (2003), and there are also grammar guides in the language (Batibo et al., 2003). Nama is the only language from the Khoesan family that has

been adopted by Bantu ethnic groups, especially the Herero that fled German colonial repression in the early 1900 (Batibo, 2000). The Nama language has also been adopted by most Southern San language groups such as the Taa~Tuu language communities. Most of the Taa~Tuu speech communities have become extinct. The only remaining extant language from the Taa~Tuu languages sub-family is !Xóǀ. But in Namibia !Xóǀ communities seem to be shifting to Nama. There are various publications for primary schools and the general public. According to the Namibian language policy, the first three years of education (Grades 1–3) should be in mother tongue and Nama is benefiting from this dispensation.

*|Gui and ||Gana: Threats from Friends and Foes*

The |Gui and the ||Gana languages are mutually intelligible, although the speakers see themselves as different ethnic groups. According to Barnard (1988), there are at least 5,000 speakers of |Gui and ||Gana, of whom probably 2,000 are |Gui speakers and 3,000 are speakers of ||Gana. The |Gui consider ||Gana as ‘black Khoe’ because of their rather darkish skin and their adoption of the cultural ways of the non-Khoe Shekgalagari. The speakers are still relatively positive towards their own individual language. However, they have negative attitudes towards each other’s language. Despite the fact that they have lived alongside !Xóǀ speakers, there has been little language shift towards this language, although some lexical borrowings from !Xóǀ appear in |Gui. However, the speakers use Naro and Shekgalagari as a *lingua franca* (Chebanne, 2003), and this is a threat to the currency of their own language. Though |Gui and ||Gana are related and are mutually intelligible, the speakers use Shekgalagari for inter-ethnic communication. This is affecting the maintenance of the languages. As is the case with most of these languages, there is no orthography on which to base any literacy material. Only a few descriptive and socio-historical studies are available (Andersson and Janson, 1997). In Botswana the fact that |Gui and ||Gana are not developed means that there will be little motivation to include them in literacy programmes in schools, even in areas where speakers of the languages are in the majority.

*Naro: Nursed by Literacy Efforts*

The number of Naro speakers in Botswana (mainly in the Ghanzi District) is 6,000–8,000 (Hasselbring, 2000). Visser (1998) estimates the number at 10,000, while Andersson and Janson put the figure at 9,000 (6,000 in western Botswana and 2,000 in eastern Namibia). Naro has been studied by many researchers, mainly Barnard (1988), and Visser

(1998). The Naro spoken in the west near the Namibian border is substantially influenced by Nama. Historically, Naro belongs together with |Gui and ||Gana, but has evolved grammatically and phonologically, which suggests separate development over a long period of time. This means that its orthography and literacy development may not be of benefit to some of the other indigenous languages. For this reason, the Dutch Reformed Church has also focused and contributed its effort on the documentation of Naro by codifying it and developing its literacy materials. These materials include booklets on religious stories, extracts from the Bible (gospels and psalms), phonological studies, sociolinguistic discussions, and a revised Naro-English dictionary, published in 2001. These activities have nursed Naro and made it one of the most dynamic indigenous languages. Despite this fact, language policy makers in Botswana have not included Naro as a language to be taught in schools.

*The Eastern Kalahari Khoe: Self-Rejection and Abandonment*

Research by Andersson and Janson (1997) and Chebanne (2002) designate eastern Khoe as comprising the Khoe speech communities of Cirecire, Shua, Tshua, and Kua. Recent surveys (Hasselbring, 2000) and analysis of census data (Chebanne and Nyati-Ramahobo, 2003) indicate that there are about 10,000 speakers in the entire area of eastern Botswana area where the Eastern Kalahari Khoe are found. Some small numbers are found in north-western Zimbabwe. Ethnically and linguistically these communities are facing major socio-economic forces from their neighbours, and are now rejecting their language and massively adopting Setswana and Kalanga even in family communication situations. They have developed negative attitudes which will make any language development very difficult. This augurs badly for mother tongue education. Also, nothing will change as long as the Botswana government policy does not integrate ethnic language education.

*The Northern Western Kalahari Khoe: Khwedam (||Ani and Buga)  
Declared to Survive by the Penduka Declaration*

The ||Ani, Buga, and the |Ganda form the Western Kalahari Khoe. In studies by German linguists, they are grouped under the label Kxoe (but pronounced Khoe, as it is retained in this discussion). The north-western Khoe occupy mainly the Okavango Delta of Botswana and the Namibia Caprivi Strip. The ||Ani and the Buga are the main Khoe communities in the area. Their languages are mutually intelligible and are collectively called Khwedam. Population estimates (Cassidy, Good, Mazonde, and Rivers, 2001; Chebanne and Nyati-Ramahobo, 2003)

put the number of Khwedam speakers at around 15,000. While Khwedam has absorbed other Khoesan languages such as Ju/'hoan, it is itself assailed by the main languages of the Caprivi Strip and Okavango. The fact that it is only Khwedam speakers who are multi-lingual with knowledge of the languages spoken in the region means that they are dominated and marginalised linguistically in education. However, substantial descriptive studies by German linguists and anthropologists have been carried out on |Ani and Buga. Literacy efforts associated with the Penduka Declaration (WIMSA, 2001) will contribute to the standardisation of Khwedam and keep the languages alive. However, there is a need for careful planning in harmonising the two languages contributing to Khwedam and to demonstrate the benefits of the languages in terms of literacy development and linguistic studies. This is a viable school language. However, only Namibia has planned to include Khwedam in its elementary education system. The same unfortunately cannot be said about Botswana whose education policy insists on only two school languages, English and Setswana.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

In the research by Janson (2000), the situation of indigenous minority languages is not in itself a problem, but that the lack of status afforded to the languages in the language policies of the states in Southern Africa is a threat to their survival. They have been disadvantaged historically and socio-economically and continue to be neglected. Socio-culturally, they have also suffered as the languages and cultures of these groups have met with negative attitudes from the majority groups who despise them and continue to exercise hegemonic, majority linguistic and cultural values which are life threatening to the existence of minorities such as the Khoe and San speech communities (Nyati-Ramahobo, 2002).

In the language ecology of Southern Africa, if the status quo is left to prevail, stronger languages will continue dominating the educational landscape, and marginalised languages, such as those of the Khoe and San groups will experience language death. This state of affairs has largely been encouraged by educational and social policies in the region which have recognised languages of wider communication for quick and cheaper educational provision (Webb, 1995). The negative impacts of modern social changes and developments (land use changes, sedentarisation, commercialisation, and the onset of mass education) leave these indigenous people in a situation of despair and serious marginalisation (Barnard, 1988). To guarantee the future of these languages several actions need to be envisaged: (1) political and constitutional provision needs to be put in place to ensure that the languages can be preserved through education and other positive social programmes in the

domain of culture; (2) mother tongue education and elementary and literacy efforts in these indigenous languages will ensure that the young learn them, get attached to them and develop learning skills in them; and (3) governments of the region, who have Khoesan communities, must ratify the ILO convention on indigenous and marginalised languages so that they have common strategies for a regional programme to safeguard them.

Finally, because these speech communities are small in number, another strategy for the future is linguistic codification, standardisation and harmonisation of their orthographies. Their grammatical descriptions and literacy materials should also be standardised to cut developmental costs and also avoid idiosyncrasies where writing systems of related languages are so different and unknown by other communities. This could assist in the conceptualisation of the relationships between the communities and could obviate the problems of the current situation that does not augur well for the future of these communities. The speakers themselves need to be put in the forefront of their own development through education. It is knowledge and the understanding of their being that will make them meaningfully engage with modernity and survive the processes of globalisation.

Key of Click Symbols

| Symbol | Phonetic description    | Example (Language names) |
|--------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
|        | Dental                  | Nu; Jun 'hoan            |
|        | Lateral (alveo-lateral) | Ani                      |
| !      | Alveolar                | !Xóǒ                     |
| #      | Palatal (retroflex)     | #Hoan                    |

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## THE LANGUAGE ECOLOGY OF SINGAPORE

### INTRODUCTION

The language ecology of Singapore has been shaped by educational policy, which in turn has been a response to a particularly complex language ecology. Concepts of indigeneity are meaningless in this city state, which has been a multicultural trading port since at least the fourteenth century (Gupta, 1994; Miksic, 2004), and whose present language make-up is the result of British colonialism and associated immigration in the nineteenth century (Gupta, 1994; Platt and Weber, 1980). The colonial government manipulated the delivery of education as a tool of ethnic management and social engineering, and this policy has been continued by the government of independent Singapore (Benjamin, 1976; Bloom, 1986; Chua, 1995; Gopinathan, Pakir, Ho and Saravanan (eds), 1998; Gupta, 1994; Murray, 1971; Pennycook, 1994; PuruShotam, 1998; Tan, Gopinathan and Ho (eds), 1997; Tremewan, 1994).

The extreme societal and individual multilingualism of the early twentieth century (Kuo, 1976; Murray, 1971; Platt and Weber, 1980) has given way to a linguistically more homogeneous society, in which the norm is for everyone to be able to use English and the official language associated with their officially defined race (either Malay, Mandarin Chinese or Tamil). Considerable language shift to English and Mandarin, mostly from non-official languages, has taken place. The entire population is now much more linguistically united than it was, through English, and the Chinese population is also more united than in the past, through English and Mandarin. Those born after independence are likely to know fewer languages, and are less likely to have some knowledge of a language associated with another ethnic group than are those born in the 50 years before independence.

Some aspects of the linguistic ecology of Singapore are shared with the whole Malay world (potentially extending as far as modern Thailand and modern Australia), and even more is shared with (modern) Malaysia and Brunei Darussalam, to which Singapore has close historical and geographical links. But Singapore has always been, to varying degrees, politically distinct from the wider region, and in this paper I will link it to the wider region only when that is unavoidable.

## DEVELOPMENTS

Modern Singapore is a city state, about 640 sq km in area, built across over 30 islands, many of them very small. It is located in calm waters at the southern tip of mainland Asia, where the monsoons of the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean meet, at a crucial point on the trade routes that link China, India, and Arabia. In this small corner of the Malay region, there are cities and the ruins of cities that are or were international trading posts, such as Sri Vijaya, Malacca, Banten, Banda Aceh, and Singapore (the classic history is Wheatley, 1961). Some of these cities (especially Sri Vijaya and Malacca) at their height controlled a wide region. Groups of foreign traders settled in the cities in districts that were set aside for them, and the cities were open to influence by the cultures and languages of India, Arabia, China and Europe. Miksic (2004) argues that although Singapore fits into this 'port of trade' category, it is possible that the foreigners in Singapore may have had more freedom to mix with the local population than was usually the case. In Singapore, we see what seems like rapid change in the twentieth century, but this should be placed in the context of two millenia (at least) of cosmopolitan trading ports in the immediate region, and 600 years in Singapore itself.

There are a number of early Chinese (quoted by Miksic, 2004; Wheatley, 1961) and European accounts of pre-colonial Singapore in the context of the wider region of the Malay peninsula and archipelago. The language which gave rise to most attention was Malay. De Houtman van Gouda (1603) supplied the first European treatment, and Marsden's became the classic account (1812a, b). Malay was the lingua franca of the entire region, and its adaptations as a lingua franca were a considerable source of fascination (especially Bowrey, 1701). The negotiation of multilingualism in the region was to be a central topic of much of the writing on the area.

In 1819, Stamford Raffles and William Farquhar made an agreement with Singapore's Malay rulers and began a formal connection with Britain that was responsible both for its later ethnolinguistic composition and for the prominence that English came to have. Because of the trade established under British control, many immigrants were attracted to Singapore, most of them from groups that had been associated with the region for centuries, and many coming to Singapore from other cosmopolitan cities in the region, especially Malacca. As a result, the population is still dominated by three groups, all of them internally diverse, which in Singapore are officially labelled<sup>1</sup> as follows:

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<sup>1</sup> The terms used for ethnic groups, languages and dialects are always problematic. I have used the terms currently used in official Singapore documents and glossed them

- Chinese: people of Chinese ancestry, mostly from Southern regions of China now part of the People's Republic of China. Brought with them a range of varieties of Chinese, the largest of which are the closely related Hokkien (Amoy) and Teochew. Also large numbers of Cantonese speakers.
- Malay: people whose ancestors formed the majority population in the Malay Region. Most spoke dialects of Malay, which was also the lingua franca of the whole region, but there were substantial groups who spoke other related languages, especially Javanese and Boyanese.
- Indian: people of South Asian ancestry (modern Bangladesh, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka). Most were from Southern India, a small majority being Tamil speakers. Other groups included Malayalees and Punjabis.

There are also a number of groups that are identified as resulting from a genetic and cultural mixture before the nineteenth century, some of which (especially those descended from Arab or Indian Muslim men) were partly absorbed into the Malay population, adopting Malay, and some of which developed contact varieties of Malay (Malacca Chitty, Straits Chinese) or Portuguese (Malacca Portuguese). Some nineteenth century migrants came from smaller groups, often via India, and some of these people (Arabs, Armenians, Europeans, Eurasians and Jews) were important in the development of English in Singapore (Gupta, 1994).

Singapore was briefly (1963–1965) a part of Malaysia, and became a fully independent country in 1965, since when the *People's Action Party* has been returned as the governing party at every election. The government of Singapore is active in social engineering, and has used language, especially as expressed in educational policy, as a major tool in shaping Singapore society (Bloom, 1986; Chua, 1995; Gopinathan, Pakir, Ho and Saravanan (eds), 1998; Gupta, 1994; PuruShotam, 1998; Tan, Gopinathan and Ho (eds), 1997; Tremewan, 1994).

The British colonial power was concerned to classify and manage the population of Singapore, which it did through its decennial censuses (from 1871) and annual reports on education (from 1856). Gazetteers of the region (such as Crawford, 1856; Hamilton, 1815) outlined the salient features of people and languages. Many of those

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by alternatives. The variety called 'Mandarin Chinese' can also be called 'Modern Standard Chinese' and is also known as *guoyu* ('national language'), though this implies a political evaluation that would be regarded as inappropriate in modern Singapore. I use 'Malay' in its widest sense, to refer to all dialects, including the standard varieties of Malaysia, Brunei, Singapore and Indonesia. Singapore designates English, Malay, Mandarin and Tamil as its official languages. Malay is the 'national language', which is a ceremonial designation.

working on the sociolinguistic situation of Singapore (such as Bloom, 1986; Chua, 1995; Gupta, 1994; PuruShotam, 1998) are indebted to Benjamin (1976) for an insight on how multiculturalism is a powerful cultural and social institution in Singapore. Singapore's multiracialism is one in which the state is seen as being composed of the three main constituent 'races' (Malays, Chinese, Indians), with a 'stereotypical list of defining characteristics ascribed to it' (Benjamin 1976, p. 124): an individual's full Singaporean identity depends on membership of a 'race'. A citizen's official racial classification is allocated at birth, based on paternal ancestry: it is expressed as membership of a 'race' (such as 'Chinese') and a 'dialect group' (such as 'Hokkien'). Official race has consequences in allocation of housing, school, and, probably most crucially, in allocating languages studied at school (see below). The sharp official classifications mask the amount of blurring of boundaries that has happened, though most Singaporeans do have a sense of belonging to (at least) one of these subgroups, and will attribute cultural traits to this ancestry (such as appearance, how festivals are celebrated, the style of domestic cuisine, taste in clothes). The younger a person is the less likely they are to speak the language associated with their official dialect group, especially if it is one of the smaller varieties.

The categories used by the British have been persistent into the censuses and the thinking of modern Singapore (Gupta, 1994; Kuo, 1976; Lau, 1993; Leow, 2001; Saw, 1981; Tay, 1983). There are accurate records of officially classifiable race and ethnicity, but the data on language use and knowledge is patchy. It is important to remember that as a result of language shift and intermarriage, it cannot be assumed that a person can speak their official 'dialect group', let alone that it is their native or best language. Censuses do have information on literacy in the official languages, and, since 1980, they have had limited information on language of the home. The way these questions are asked ('what is the main language you speak to...?') underestimates the amount of domestic bilingualism. The Ministry of Education collects some information on home languages of children coming into Primary School, which are released annually. The census and Ministry figures taken together represent the most accurate data on current language ecology that there is, but they are based on self-report, and limited in scope. There has never been reliable information on native language patterns in Singapore: rather researchers use intelligent guesses triangulated with what is available.

In a place as complex as Singapore, the choice of code is highly rule-governed. The home is a place of freedom and knowledge. Members of a family know the repertoires of the individuals and choose a code that is appropriate to either include or exclude other family members. Mixing of codes is routine and expected in the family setting, as is the use

of colloquial varieties of the languages. In interactions with strangers, codes are selected on the basis of an assessment of the ethnic and social characteristics of the speaker, the interlocutor and the setting. The rules are complex and subtle. Many Singaporeans habitually use two or three or even four or more languages on a daily basis. This is an area of Singapore behaviour that has been little studied.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS AND WORK IN PROGRESS: EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE SHIFT

The story of languages in Singapore is one of language shift motivated by pragmatism and linked to educational policy, which in turn is linked to the politics of race. Until the middle of the twentieth century, most people spoke the language their ancestors had brought to Singapore, and often several other languages as well. Bazaar Malay had been established for centuries as a lingua franca over a wide region, and most of those who lived in Singapore had to learn it. The largest single Chinese dialect, Hokkien, was known by most of the Chinese population, and even by many non-Chinese, and also functioned as a lingua franca, especially within the Chinese population.

The colonial education policy provided education in the medium of Malay for Malays, and gave some support to education in English for the rest of the population. Most education in the mediums of English and Chinese was fee-paying, with a great deal of charitable and church involvement. Much of the Chinese-medium education was provided by community associations of various types and was in the medium of the dialect associated with the association. By 1900, about half of all boys had some education, but the literacy rate in females was less than 20% (there are details of this history in Bloom, 1986; Gupta, 1994). Between 1900 and 1920, participation in education rose dramatically and was extended to more social and ethnic groups, and both genders. Recruitment in English-medium schools increased faster than in any other medium. The effects of the change can still be seen in census reports: the younger you are, the more likely you are to be literate, and the more likely it is that one of the languages in which you are literate is English.

Education is a major tool of social engineering and is also the principal route of social and economic advancement: the bulk of the population is enthusiastic about education and keen for their children to achieve. Tertiary education in the medium of English became available in Singapore from 1929 and was available in Chinese from 1958. By the 1950s, girls were as likely to go to school as boys, more children were enrolled in English-medium schools than in any other medium, and someone who was literate in Chinese was likely to know

Mandarin. There are two cornerstones of the racially based policy that has shaped modern Singapore:

- There are four official languages, but English is the language of government;
- There are three main ‘racial’ groups, each of which is recognised as distinct and whose culture is validated. Each group is associated with one of the official languages other than English (Malay, Mandarin Chinese, Tamil).

Education is highly controlled in Singapore, and it is usually not possible for Singaporean children to be privately educated in Singapore. In March 2004, the Ministry of Education announced that it would allow privately funded schools to be established that Singaporeans could attend, but these schools have not yet been developed: it is still best to think of private schools as being principally schools for foreigners. In 2003, education became compulsory for children over 6 years and below 15 years, but it was nearly half a century before it became compulsory.

Until the 1950s, education in the medium of English competed with education in the mediums of (Mandarin) Chinese, Tamil, and Malay. However, over the twentieth century, English-medium education became the most popular, and, from the 1950s onwards, all children were required to learn English, even if they were educated in some other medium. By the 1980s almost no children were educated in any other medium, and from 1987, all education under government control (which means all education for Singaporeans) was required to be principally or solely in the medium of English. Tertiary education in Chinese-medium had ended by 1978.

Since the 1950s it has been required that all children study a language in addition to English. Until 1981, children could choose any of the official languages, the main consequence of which was that, while most children studied the language congruent with their ancestry, some children of Chinese and Indian ancestry studied Malay. Malay, Mandarin, and Tamil are articulated by policy as being associated with the maintenance of culture and cohesiveness in the three racial groups, as providing ‘cultural ballast’. Confusingly, the ethnically representative language is often referred to as the ‘mother tongue:’ this does not imply anything about the child having grown up speaking the language, and Mandarin was rarely a native language until the 1970s. In 1979, the government began to strenuously promote Mandarin, encouraging its use by Chinese people in domains where formerly southern dialects were used. In line with this philosophy, the educational policy has been tightened up, so that (with rare exceptions) children are required to study the language associated with their official race. Virtually all Chinese children now study Chinese, and Malay is studied by few non-Malays.

The prescription of the language to be studied presents problems mainly to people of mixed ancestry, and to members of minority groups that have no affiliation to any of the three languages: the situation is especially fraught for the Indian community (PuruShotam, 1998; Schiffman, 2002). It also presents practical problems for Malays and Indians, because Malay and Tamil cannot be offered in as many schools as Chinese is. A further negative consequence is the emergence of many schools that are attended only by Chinese children. Regulations cap the proportion of minority children allowed in a school: there are no schools that are dominated by minority ethnic groups. Like minorities everywhere, the ethnic minorities of Singapore are more familiar with the majority than the majority are with them (Gupta, 1994).

The lack of opportunity for non-Chinese children in the school system to learn Mandarin, the language linked to the largest ethnic group, has often been commented on in the press, many members of minority groups feeling that they are linguistically excluded from some commercial and social activities dominated by Chinese-speakers. The policy has also resulted, in the 20 years of its operation, in a decrease in the knowledge of Malay by non-Malays, something that was commented on in the Singapore press (Straits Times, 18 February 2005) when Singapore sent help to victims of the Pacific tsunami of 26 December, 2004. Senior members of the government came to the realisation that non-Malays could not communicate with Indonesian authorities in Aceh (Sumatra is visible from Singapore), as the only younger Singaporeans to know Malay now are Malays. The decline in knowledge of cross-ethnic languages arises partly from the education policy having halted a move to Malay that had happened at the expense of Chinese and Indian languages, and partly because English is now available as a universal lingua franca in Singapore.

There has in recent years been some move to redress the ethnic separation that resulted from the prescription of the language to be studied. Within the state education system it has for some years been possible for only the most able students to study a third language formally, from the age of 12 years. Initially the languages offered were Malay, French, German and (for those who already knew Chinese) Japanese. Following a suggestion from the then Prime Minister, Goh Chok Tong in 2002, Chinese became available to academically able non-Chinese in this way from 2004. In response to continuing concerns expressed about the lack of cross-ethnic language knowledge, and in recognition of fact that '[t]he ability to speak a third language is useful, and will help young Singaporeans of all races operate effectively in the region and beyond', there has been an extension of this third language scheme, so that '[f]rom 2007, Sec[ondary] One students will be allowed to offer another M[other] T[ongue] L[anguage] in addition to

their native M[other] T[ongue] L[anguage], as long as they have the interest and inclination' (Ministry of Education, 2004). This means that students of all levels of ability may study Chinese or Malay, or, if there is demand, Tamil, as a third language, even if they do not have high marks in their primary school subjects. The extension of this scheme does make it possible in a limited way for children to learn cross-ethnic languages in school: it is not clear how many will take up the opportunity. Some schools also now have limited 'programmes for students to pick up conversational skills in either Malay language or Chinese language' (Ministry of Education, 2006).

The selection of English as the medium of education for all Singaporean children had an inevitability about it once Singapore broke away from Malaysia in 1965. English was already the dominant medium of education and it unified the racial groups. The negotiation of a potentially difficult racial situation is central to Singapore's politics. The People's Action Party has faced the difficult balancing act of being a small country with a clear Chinese majority enclosed by two large Malay nations (Gupta, 1994). The Chinese population of Singapore is the successor of a division between 'Chinese-educated' and 'English-educated' that is still to some extent linked to a class division, the 'English-educated' having been on average of higher social class, as are the English-focused of today (Kuo, 1976). The better educated you are, the better English you are likely to know, the richer you are likely to be, and the more likely you are to speak English to your parents. The move to universal English-medium education has broken this down to some extent, but there is still a perception that the Chinese of the 'HDB heartlands' or 'neighbourhoods' are Chinese-focused and perhaps chauvinistic. English is the bulwark against this, and Mandarin is the gesture towards this majority group.

The language policy has supplied a universal lingua franca, English, but has unfortunately produced some mono-ethnic (Chinese-only) schools and has reduced the opportunity to learn languages associated with racial groups other than one's own. The situation is a difficult one, and is under constant political discussion. The academic studies referenced here are a mixture of critiques of policy, and studies of how policies are being implemented.

Whenever a language is used as a medium of education, it is likely to become someone's best language. As education was extended to the whole population, the languages of education attracted speakers at the expense of other languages. It is not surprising that English should recruit people who prefer to speak it to any other language, and who speak it to their spouses and friends. And as a result of Mandarin being the variety of Chinese used in education, and because of the government's attacks on other Chinese dialects from 1979 onwards, the

ancestral dialects of Chinese came to be seen as low prestige. Parents who can speak both school languages are likely to use them to their children because they think it is an advantage for their children to be able to speak the languages of education before they go to school. Moreover, most parents of school-age children now can speak both school languages, so that most children now come to kindergarten already able to speak both school languages.

Patterns of intermarriage have long promoted language shift in the cosmopolitan cities of the Malay region. There is widespread intermarriage of different 'dialect groups' within the Chinese community, facilitated by the post-1960 breaking up of the ethnic residential enclaves and by the spread of education. Intermarriage across ethnic boundaries within the Muslim population (84% of whom were officially Malay in 2000) has been commonplace for centuries and through processes of assimilation Malay has also largely displaced related languages like Javanese and Boyanese. English-focused Chinese and Indian Singaporeans of high social class are also likely to intermarry, especially if they are Christian. The fact that only paternal ancestry is recorded makes it hard to estimate just what proportion of the population is mixed in some sense. The languages that benefit from intermarriage are English, Mandarin and Malay.

The use of Mandarin in education from the 1920s created a Chinese population that had a latent knowledge of Mandarin, but used it little. As a result of the drive to switch to Mandarin, over the 1980s oral use of Mandarin in social interaction rocketed, and it is now probably the single largest native language of children under 10 (Gupta, 1994).

Over the generations, the languages passed down to children have changed – Mandarin and English have gained many native and non-native speakers; Malay has gained native speakers but is less commonly learnt as a non-native language; and all other languages (especially Indian languages, languages closely related to Malay, and dialects of Chinese other than Mandarin) have lost native and (especially in the case of Hokkien) non-native speakers. New *lingua francas* have emerged. In the nineteenth century, the main *lingua franca* across racial lines was (Bazaar) Malay, while among the Chinese it was Hokkien. Now, English is the main *lingua franca*, with Mandarin an important *lingua franca* in the Chinese community. English, and even more so Mandarin, are relatively new in the linguistic ecology of Singapore.

English spread to the whole population over the course of the twentieth century. It is hard to find a Singaporean under 60 who cannot speak English, but in a snapshot of the present we see the past—the younger you are, and the higher your social status, the more likely you are to have English as a native language and to speak it in more

domains. However, by the late twentieth century, English was not *restricted* to the social elite, as it had been in earlier generations. The link of English with particular ethnic groups is relatively weak, though the minority groups (Malays and, especially, Indians) are more likely to use English in more domains. The rise of Mandarin has promoted unity among the Chinese population, but Mandarin has spread in some domains at the expense of English, giving rise to some dissatisfaction in other ethnic groups.

Those born roughly 1930–1960 were the most multilingual generation, especially the Chinese, who were typically able to speak English, two or three varieties of Chinese, and Bazaar Malay (Murray, 1971; Platt and Weber, 1980). Their parents and grandparents may have spoken just the ancestral language, plus one or two lingua francas (English, Hokkien, Malay), and their children probably speak just English and the official language of their race, possibly making them unable to converse with their own grandparents, which is the tragic consequence of rapid language shift.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Singapore continues to change. One of the most apparent recent changes is that a remarkably high proportion of those who live in modern Singapore are now non-citizens. There has been a considerable rise in the number of foreigners living in Singapore, from 10% of the population in 1970 and 14% in 1990 to 26% of the population in 2000, and the revelation of this in the 2000 census returns was the subject of extensive comment in the press.

In the reports on the 2000 census, information on most questions is recorded only for Singapore ‘residents’, who are defined as Singapore citizens plus foreigners with a permanent right to reside in Singapore. Apart from visitors, and children at boarding schools in Singapore, there are two groups of ‘non-resident’ foreigners living in Singapore—low-paid ‘work permit holders’ and high-paid ‘employment pass holders’. The overwhelming majority of ‘non-resident’ foreigners living in Singapore are work permit holders in low-paid manual and domestic jobs, most of them from Indonesia, South Asia, and the Philippines. There is legal and societal discrimination against them, although, according to the ILO the conditions under which they work compare favourably to conditions for similar workers elsewhere (Ofori, 1998). The status of the (diverse) higher prestige group of foreigners is closer to that of the Singaporean population, and as they are allowed to be accompanied by family members, some groups have established private schools following, for example, the British, American, Canadian, French, German, Japanese and Swiss curricula.

Foreigners who become Singapore residents still come predominantly from the three traditional sources: the Malay region, India and China. Some of the 'resident' population born outside Singapore are the children of citizens temporarily overseas, but the majority are likely to have, or to have been born with, another nationality. The world's population has become highly mobile, and especially the Chinese. 82% of Singapore 'residents' born outside Singapore are described as 'Chinese:' Singapore is attracting diasporic Chinese from all over the world. The effect on language ecology is likely to further strengthen the two strongest languages, English and Mandarin.

There are moral, hegemonic and ideological issues around the choice of medium of education and associated language shift, which will continue to be explored in relation to Singapore (Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 1992; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). Language shift in Singapore appears to have taken place rapidly in relatively happy circumstances, associated with the rise in participation in education, and in a context of increasing prosperity and social equity. It has also taken place in a region with a long tradition of openness to multiple cultures and languages: Singapore is the latest in a long line of cosmopolitan trading ports in the Malay Region, and pragmatism is what it is about. At the moment the dominant languages in Singapore are English and Mandarin, but, should the need arise, Singapore could just as rapidly adjust to a Chinese, Malay, or even Arabic, focus.

The identification of Mandarin Chinese, Malay and Tamil as 'Mother Tongues' reflects past and current patterns of migration, and shapes what is seen as 'Singaporean'. There is still an ambivalence towards English, which is a vital language in Singapore, but which is still seen within Singapore as in some senses 'foreign'. At official and unofficial levels, for example, it is not accepted that a large proportion of Singaporeans are native speakers of English: when the government discusses the use of 'native speakers of English' in education, they mean people from countries such as the UK, USA and Australia.

The central role of education in a directed policy of language shift is unusually clearly articulated in Singapore. It is hard to know what constitutes free choice of language and what constitutes coercion, and this is something that scholars need to continue to explore. Perhaps the distinction is meaningless. De Swaan (2001) shows how individuals make choices, defend their rights to choice, and shows how individuals will only respond to governmental decisions on language if they correspond with the actual communication value of a language. He celebrates 'complex language constellations' and bilingualism, and the fact that lingua francas have increased 'the coherence of the human species in its entirety' (p. 186). I personally endorse these views. I do not think our present is determined by our ancestral endowment: nearly all of

us must have ancestors who at one point or another were engaged in language shift, and each generation changes the culture of its parents. Language shift need not damage the individual or the society that engages in it. We are actors in a real world of functional language, and of change, and that is the context in which the language ecology of Singapore has taken place, and will continue to take place.

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## LANGUAGE SURVIVAL AND LANGUAGE DEATH IN MULTILINGUAL ITALY

### INTRODUCTION

Although Italy's widespread multilingualism is usually attributed to complex historical circumstances, it is largely rooted in its geography (Savoia, 1997). Once the great barrier of the Alps has been surmounted, there are then the massive Apennines which run from the northwest to the south of the peninsula for nearly 1000 km, being as wide as 50–100 km in some parts. Tortuous routes and severe weather often impede communication, increasing the isolation of many communities. The result today is a country with a rich linguistic mosaic and cosmopolitan spirit, but one where rival local identities still flourish (De Mauro, 1996).

This paper provides an overview of the linguistic transformations in the Italian peninsula since political unification in 1861. It aims to present an account of language policies and their effects on language change, focusing on five dimensions: (1) the spread of Italian (Early Developments), (2) the impact of education (Major Contributions), (3) the debate on the language curriculum (Work in Progress), (4) the struggle for language maintenance (Problems and Difficulties) and (5) new sources of pressure for language change (Future Directions).

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Modern Italian which emerged from Florentine has become a major European language despite originating from a country with widespread multilingualism. This unique situation results from the late unification of Italy (Devoto, 1978; Lepschy and Lepschy, 1977; Vincent, 1981), which also provides an explanation for some controversial decisions in the field of language policy and planning (Tosi, 2004). In the thirteenth century, when Florence failed to become the political leader of the Italian peninsula, Florentine, which had gained the status of a pan-Italian literary language, was kept alive for several centuries almost exclusively by poets and scholars (Migliorini and Griffith, 1984). Outside Tuscany, Florentine was rarely spoken: other states continued to speak their local vernaculars, with the exception of the Papal Court of Rome, where Florentine was used as a *lingua franca* by the

clergy in this cosmopolitan community. Language policy and language planning were first discussed in 1861, the year in which the peninsula was politically unified. Some scholars have estimated that, at that time, for 97.5% of the population Italian was a foreign language (De Mauro, 1963). More generous estimates (Castellani, 1982) indicate that, for some 10% of the population, Italian was neither a mother tongue nor a foreign language.

Two major actors in this debate were the novelist Alessandro Manzoni and the scholar Graziadio Isaia Ascoli. Manzoni enthusiastically supported the use of spoken Florentine as the national language. Ascoli (1870), a linguist in the modern sense, pointed out the impracticality of using the school system to teach a language that was alien to the vast majority of Italians, a prediction fully confirmed by what happened in the following 150 years.

After unification, the linguistic conservatism of communities isolated for several centuries was challenged by what was to become the most influential factor in the spread of the national language: internal migration. There were two major patterns: across regions, mainly from the rural south to the industrialised north; and the urbanisation that took place in all regions. If intra-regional mobility challenged the linguistic isolation of many dialect-speaking communities, inter-regional migration provided the major impulse for the promotion of Florentine, the *lingua franca* of Italy, to overcome the communication problems of the country's widespread linguistic diversity.

In terms of language evolution versus language death, two points need to be noted. First, with the increased contacts between different regional speech communities, monolingualism in the local language was gradually replaced by bilingualism in national Italian and the local community language. This suggests that language maintenance can last as long as bilingualism is stable and the L[ow] language can revitalize the H[igh] language. Second, the promotion of Italian as a national language challenged the status of all other languages of Italy, e.g. Venetian, Piedmontese, Neapolitan, Sicilian, etc., which had previously been spoken not only by peasants and urban working classes but also by aristocrats and scholars. These Italo-Romance languages, now demoted to the status of 'dialects', began their struggle for survival, mainly in rural situations and/or in domains little affected by the national integration. This set in motion a process of gradual extinction, which was accelerated by industrialisation and urbanisation, confining these regional languages to the private domain (Maiden and Parry, 1997).

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The adoption of Italian and the rejection of the local language were welcomed by the literary and educated circles—predominantly middle

class in extraction—as a transition from *parlare sporco* (wrong talk) to *parlare pulito* (right talk). Yet in the eyes of ordinary people and sometimes the upper classes—especially where the local dialect was strongly supported by historical traditions—the attempt to Italianise everyday spoken language was seen as affected and ostentatious. The linguist De Mauro recalls ironic comments common all over Italy ridiculing the new linguistic habits of the recently urbanised bourgeoisie (in Milanese: *parla come te manget* [‘speak as you eat’], and in Neapolitan *parla comma t’ha fatto mamma-te* [‘speak as your mother made you’]). Schools were another major factor in the spread of the national language. The commitment shown by the school authorities to imposing ‘good’ models of the literary language led to such radical stigmatisation of the local dialects (called ‘weeds’) that, for the first 100 years after unification, the mastery of the national language was simply used as an instrument of social selection. Privileged social groups who were already Italianised were admitted into higher education, but large sectors of the national community (the lower classes in the cities and the rural communities) struggled in the primary classroom with a mother tongue that was, in fact, a foreign language. At the turn of the century, researchers, doctors and teachers often believed that large sectors of the rural and working population were not competent in Italian because of a mental state of confusion produced by their poverty. This view, however, was not shared by all intellectuals and educators and the cultural historian Giuseppe Lombardo Radice, concerned about the limited access to schools, proposed an innovatory scheme significantly entitled ‘*Dal dialetto alla lingua*’. His aim was to raise the status of the dialects and to use the pupils’ native competence in these languages as a basis on which schools could develop the teaching of Italian. This project was short-lived, partly because of the quiet resistance of conservative teachers and partly because of the overt opposition of the new Fascist government. On a par with other expressions of local culture and regional diversity, the use of dialects was considered to be anti-Italian and, if they could not be stifled altogether, they were systematically ignored (De Mauro, 1963).

At that time language education focused primarily on patriotic literature, so as to teach young people to be good Italians and to speak the ‘correct’ language. Grammar lessons were common in the language curriculum but it was taught prescriptively, for pupils who were mainly selected on their mastery of the formal rules of the language.

The anti-fascist scholar and politician Antonio Gramsci was against both the old-fashioned normative approach to grammar teaching and the idea that schools could stand back and let language teach itself as proposed by the Education Minister Giovanni Gentile. Gramsci’s vision of ‘conservative schooling for radical politics’ (in Entwistle’s words, 1979) was expressed half a century before the widespread

concern of contemporary sociologists for the *laissez-faire* policies of conservative governments, who back liberalism to foster consent while maintaining the status quo. Gramsci's non-conformist view of language education becomes clearer when viewed in his long-term perspective: he felt that it was a priority for a national community to share the same language, because of the limited cultural and political value of dialects in modern society. Yet at the same time he knew that dialects provided young children with solid emotional and intellectual support. Gramsci's innovative ideas contained many of the conclusions modern linguists have reached when debating the ways in which to teach the standard language to speakers of dialects and non-standard varieties. However, his ideas could not stimulate a national debate until after the war, as he was imprisoned by the Fascists for life, though he was an elected member of parliament.

For some 15 or 20 years after the war, apart from Gramsci's lessons, language education stagnated. While language teaching remained hopelessly unimaginative, it was instrumental in maintaining a selective school system. For at least 15 years, language curricula did no more than teach eloquence to those who knew the language and failed to teach the language to those who did not. In the school year 1959–1960, only 20.4% of 13–14 year olds successfully completed a post-elementary level of education. Almost 31% of children of the same age were still in elementary schools or in the first two years of post-elementary schools or training courses, and just under 50% had left school without completing the five years of compulsory elementary education (De Mauro, 1963).

Things changed in the 1960s when attendance at lower secondary school (between the ages of 11–14) became compulsory and when this middle school became comprehensive with the reform '*scuola media unica*' in 1963. A debate on the national language, the treatment of dialects in school and the need to reform language courses was stimulated by the work of the linguist Tullio De Mauro. He enriched the debate on language education by confronting social class, linguistic diversity and school achievement. This was probably the most important attempt to revive Gramsci's recommendations in post-war Italy. Working from the historical division between language and dialect, De Mauro highlighted the fact that the lower classes sought to achieve competence in the national language and that schools and society had often combined to deny them such opportunities. He stressed that children are cut off from reality when schools attempt to eradicate dialects. Historically, these, as De Mauro showed, had been sources of linguistic creativity for individual speakers and of cultural resources for the national language. It was wrong, therefore, for a child's development, and in terms of language and cultural loyalty, to ignore the dialects and to

concentrate on teaching the national language on the norms and models of the literary tradition (De Mauro, 1963).

A passionate call not to undervalue or stifle the linguistic and cultural experiences of underprivileged communities was also made in a wonderful book written by primary school children in an isolated, socially deprived area: '... we should settle what "correct language" is. Languages are created by the poor, who then go on renewing them forever. The rich crystallise them in order to put anybody who speaks differently on the spot' (Scuola di Barbiana, 1967). Don Milani, the teacher-priest who inspired this work, entered the controversial domain of language education in a class-divided society, and his pupils succeeded in demonstrating how everyday language teaching in the classroom is often used to select rather than to educate the new generations (see also don Milani and Scuola di Barbiana, 1977).

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

With the reforms of the 1960s, large numbers of young people from rural and working-class backgrounds gained access to education. However, 'native competence' in Italian was idealistically assumed in all children and teachers were still only able to communicate with middle-class pupils who had already been Italianised by their parents. Gradually, many teachers came to feel that the new ministerial guidelines and old-fashioned classroom instruments were teaching neither good everyday use to all, nor academic mastery to a few. In the early 1970s, the association Group for Action and Research in Language Education (GISCEL) co-ordinated initiatives for school and university teachers who were interested in developing language education methods especially for social groups who had previously been excluded from schools. In a country that was finally changing from a rigid class system into a democratic society with new needs and different priorities, its manifesto '*Dieci Tesi per l'educazione linguistica democratica*' (Ten Theses for Democratic Language Education) (GISCEL, 1977) set out some innovative principles for the teaching of the national language. The main principles counteracted the traditional belief that language is uniform and speakers can easily conform to the most prestigious models. In schools, this manifesto helped to spread new projects based on the idea of freedom to criticise, rather than conform, which was seen as a prerequisite for both teachers and learners and was essential for the success of language education. Since teachers would need training in how to elicit language awareness in pupils, reservations were advanced that, once sanctioned by the central authorities, such projects could not always be carried through, as teachers had little or no training to help them implement the new ideas.

Another reason for teachers' dissatisfaction was that remodelling pupils' language for classroom purposes was not really teaching language. There was also a moral argument that probably influenced the profession in that training children in linguistic hypocrisy was an effective way of training them to all kinds of hypocrisy (Mengaldo, 1994). Gradually three main positions emerged within the profession. An élite of extremely motivated teachers became the protagonists in later debates and changes. They were backed by a large number of progressive, sensitive teachers who were prepared to support the innovations initiated by the first group, though perhaps not always to implement them. The majority of classroom teachers were, however, reluctant to adopt any change that might interfere with their comfortable though uninspiring routine. Numbers varied from North to South and between cities and rural areas. Many linguists spoke of a typically Italian situation where school change is initiated by the teaching profession rather than by the education authorities.

Because of a lack of ideas and/or political impotence, for years the school authorities pursued a compromise between (a) language education as training for social emancipation (under pressure of the changes proposed by the most innovative teachers) and (b) language education as a way of exercising the mind and learning to think systematically and logically, studying the notions and models of the old literary tradition. Berruto (1983) comments that this produced two types of language teaching in Italian schools: one based on the unquestioning acceptance of the old tradition, the other innovative. The latter was adopted by only a small élite of the profession, because the teachers had to organise their own re-training and to take charge of ordering equipment and materials and to take any measures necessary in the running of the school or classroom management.

The state's response to the new campaign which aimed to translate the comprehensive approach to equal opportunities into more effective classroom teaching is still contradictory and inconsistent today. No government has so far taken the responsibility for initiating a reform which would lead to a systematic definition of the role of language teaching in compulsory education, and above. All governments have allowed pilot projects, which means that the most innovative teachers have been able to make important changes in their schools. Today, there is still an obvious contradiction between the ruling that each *sperimentazione* ('pilot project') should last only 3 years and the obligation for approved projects to be of national relevance. In fact, the political responsibility for national reform was too big for any government, while no government wished to be accused of suppressing the best models developed by the most innovative and successful schools.

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

The recession of dialects has had as much to do with their stigmatisation in schools as with the rapid transformation of Italian society (Sobrero, 1997). Ignazio Buttitta (1899–1997), a poet who composed verses in his native vernacular which he himself recited to co-villagers, described the gradual extinction of Sicilian in his community with these words:

You may clap a people in irons,/strip it bare,/gag it,/it will still be free./You may take away its work,/its passport,/the bed where it sleeps,/the table where it eats:/it will still be rich./ A people, /becomes poor and enslaved /when they rob it of the language /passed down by its fathers, /and it is lost for ever./It becomes poor and enslaved/ when words no longer give birth to words/ and they eat each other out of house and home. I realise it now, /as I tune the guitar of my 'dialettu' / which each day loses another string. (Translation by Roger Griffin)

A stabilisation in the use of dialects, however, has been confirmed by two recent national surveys (Doxa, 1991, 1996), although with some regional variations (De Mauro, 1994). The comparison between the data of the two surveys suggested to Lepschy (2002) that if Italy was a monolingual country at the time of unification, today it is largely bilingual.

Bilingualism today is not, however, a condition of speakers of Italian 'dialects' but also of speakers of established 'minority languages'. They include historic minority languages and domestic minority languages. The pattern that has emerged for all minorities is bilingualism, though with a shift towards the expansion of Italian and the decline of minority languages, with the exception of historic minority languages. An important factor of decline is that these communities are often trilingual or quadrilingual rather than bilingual (Denison, 1972). Occitan developed from old Provençal and is still spoken in the western part of Piedmont. Franco-Provençal is mainly concentrated in the Aosta Valley, a region which acquired autonomous status in 1945. Standard French was the traditional language in schools and churches and Italian was usually reserved for official use and for higher education. This balance has changed, especially in the Aosta Valley, where political support for bilingualism and bilingual education is reinforcing French at the expense of the Franco-Provençal variety. The German-speaking communities are committed to the preservation of German even at the cost of maintaining, or spreading, its use in domains—like education and work—which may seriously hamper the use of the national language. In the Eastern Alps, Slovene communities, also fluent in

Friulian, are increasingly dominated by a third language (Italian) and occasionally by a fourth language (German). Croatian, Albanian and Greek communities in the eastern and southern regions have been influenced by contact with Italian and the distance between the communities has hindered the koineization of their dialects and the identification of common models for teaching purposes. The Catalan minority in Alghero differs in that linguistic contacts with the city of Barcelona have increased in recent years. Yet Catalan is under pressure from Italian, and from Sardinian, because the new generations seem less committed and sometimes have receptive competence only. Although Sardinian has long been recognised as a distinct language of the Italo-Romance family and is the most widely spoken minority language in Italy with a million and a half speakers, it has always been treated as a dialect, both in schools and society. Today, many young people are still competent in Sardinian, and use it more frequently than other Italians use their local dialects but this circumstance is not expected to provide secure support for long-term maintenance. Ladin—which is Raetro-Romance in origin—also continues to be exposed to the penetration of the national language, mainly because the dispersion of its communities makes language loyalty and community solidarity difficult. Friulian, also in the north-east, is the second largest domestic minority language, and its maintenance is due to its speakers' loyalty to the rural past (Francescato, 1993). However, the declining competence is due to poor literacy (when a hybrid koiné is taught with a supra-local orthography the language seems artificial) and the rapidly developing non-rural economy which encourages young people to adopt Italian at work.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

In 1999, a law on minority language rights (482/1999) was introduced to implement a number of EU resolutions. The two major criteria for eligibility were: (1) identification of the minority language with a specific geographical area; and (2) the fact that the community had been settled there for a long time. The legislation, referring to these communities as 'historic linguistic minorities', declared the intent 'to safeguard their language and culture'. This legislation's main limit was immediately identified by linguists. It defined the same conditions and applied the same criteria to all listed minorities—but not to speakers of Italo-Romance dialects—without distinction between the quality and quantity of language maintenance activities and their impact on minority identities. Linguists have argued that the new law should have introduced a differential treatment for the rights of the most committed communities living in large areas (e.g. the German-speaking people in

South Tyrol), those with a historic loyalty to an old minority language (e.g. Friulian and Sardinian) and longstanding minorities which include few speakers without significant commitment to their linguistic heritage (e.g. Greek and Croatian).

In terms of language evolution versus language death, the destiny of minority languages is very different. Those which have survived because they are rooted in a rural background, with or without community isolation, will face a struggle not dissimilar from that of the Italo-Romance languages called 'dialects'. School education and literacy do not encourage efforts and resources invested in less marketable languages, although fluency may survive as a mark of individual identity and/or group commitment to local customs. Bilingual education in support of stable bilingualism is, therefore, a realistic prospect only for those minority communities (French, German and Slovene) who feel that their economic opportunities and mobility will be enhanced by high levels of fluency and literacy in two EU languages.

In Italy, most scholars agree over the diverse future of regional and local languages and dialects: in some cases stabilisation within compartmentalised domains, in some others gradual but steady extinction. There is no consensus, however, about the risk to Italian (but note Claude Hagège's accusation that Italians do not do enough to protect their own language, in *Corriere della Sera*, 6/5/2005). The dominance of English as a lingua franca is undoubtedly on the increase in Europe, but many cannot believe that it will lead to a worldwide crisis and that the major languages of Europe must soon face the prospect of 'language murder' (where the speakers of the dominant language overwhelm those of the recessive one) or one of 'language suicide' (where the speakers of the recessive language voluntarily give it up in the face of a language with greater prestige). Certainly the Italian linguistic mosaic, with its interplay of regional and local languages and dialects, provides a valuable testbed for discussions on the factors leading to language evolution or, vice versa, to language extinction in Europe (Terracini, 1957; Vincent, 2002).

Multilingualism within Italy has never been official, nor supported by a national policy. By contrast, multilingualism in Europe today is official, and Europe does not have, nor is it very likely to have, a policy of a common language, or a lingua franca, at least in the near future. But there are other considerations. Like Latin during the expansion of the Roman Empire, Florentine, once it became the official language of Italy, spread neither by promotion nor by coercion. Not even the nationalistic language policy introduced by the authoritarian fascist regime succeeded in displacing local dialects and minority languages and replacing them with the national language. Italian spread as soon as it found a consensus instrumental in consolidating its socio-economically hegemonic

position. This dilemma is very well known in sociolinguistics and Bernard Spolsky writing about endangered languages in 1972 put it very poignantly, when he said that to salvage a language and to salvage its speakers is not the same thing.

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THE LANGUAGE ECOLOGY OF THE MIDDLE EAST:  
JORDAN AS A CASE STUDY

INTRODUCTION

The Middle East is geographically, historically, linguistically and culturally diverse in ways that do not permit simple generalisations about its language ecology. This is true of the Arabic-speaking part of this region where, in spite of shared cultural commonalities, a mosaic of historical, political and socio-economic conditions has created diverse language situations with their own special characteristics. Thus, although Arabic is shared as a common code by most people in the Arab world, the language largely exists in a diglossic situation consisting of the standard and many dialectal varieties, some of which are hardly intelligible to the speakers of other dialects (Ferguson, 1959, 1996). Even the standard, which is assumed to be constant by Arabs, does exhibit phonological and lexical variation from one dialect area to another. This variation is most apparent in the oral medium, but it also exists in writing, especially between the Mashreq (Eastern part of the Arab world) and the Maghreb (North Africa). These variations are due to, *mutatis mutandis*, historically deep contact situations between Arabic and other indigenous languages and, in more recent times, to pervasive contact with the major European languages, mainly English and French (Abu-Absi, 1997; Shaaban, 1997). Hybridised intermediate forms of Arabic, embodying features of the standard and the dialects, are generated in inter-dialectal and other situations (El-Hassan, 1977; Hary, 1996) through classicistion, colloqualisation and dialect koenisation/levelling (Ibrahim, 1989). In the Gulf region, owing to the influx of large numbers of workers from the Indian sub-continent in the last two or more decades, a pidgin form of Arabic is emerging for use in restricted spoken domains and, in some cases, in the press in cartoons and other humorous writings (Smart, 1990). To overcome these difficulties of scope, this chapter focuses on Jordan using it as an example to point to similar trends in the linguistic ecologies of other parts of the Arabic-speaking Middle East. The paper also concentrates on the dialectal varieties—with little reference to the standard except in the field of education—whose position as the official and dominant language of culture is assured in the ecologies of the Arab Middle East.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The language ecology of Jordan is shaped by its history as a recent state (Robins, 2004), the influx of populations into the country as a result of wars in the region, other less-intensive migrations from outside the Middle East, modernisation and urbanisation. Most of these factors are at play in other countries of the Arab Middle East, although their onset and trajectories may differ from place to place depending on contextual factors. As a country, Jordan was created in 1921 mainly out of what used to be called Bilad al-Sham (Greater Syria, including present Lebanon, Syria and historical Palestine). Its indigenous population were mainly nomadic and semi-nomadic Arabs, although before the creation of the country they were joined in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century by three waves of Circassian and Chechen immigrants from the North Caucasus, whose numbers at present stand in the region of 100,000 and 10,000 people, respectively. In addition, the population mix of the country includes 100,000 Gypsies, and a small community of Armenians of around 3,000–4,000 people whose ancestors arrived in the region after 1915. Each of these minorities has its own indigenous language, but Arabic in its various forms, standard and dialectal, is the dominant language in Jordan. This kind of linguistic mix is characteristic of most Arabic-speaking countries. In some cases—for example Algeria, Iraq, Lebanon, Oman and Sudan—the linguistic mix is more diverse and/or more politically volatile, leading to complex and more combustible language ecologies.

Politically and linguistically, Jordan has been fundamentally shaped by its relationship to Palestine and the Palestinians (Nasser, 2005). The 1948 war with the Jewish population in Palestine led to the dismemberment of the country. Jordan took control of what came to be known as the West Bank (of the River Jordan) in the same year and, in 1951, consolidated its hold on this territory by linking it in a political union with what used to be called Transjordan, now re-christened as the East Bank (of the River Jordan). As a result of the 1948 war, around 500,000 Palestinians took refuge in Jordan, mainly in the East Bank, becoming citizens of the newly configured state. This number grew considerably as another wave of Palestinians, some of them second-time refugees, moved from the West Bank to the East Bank following the 1967 Arab–Israeli war.

The first two massive population movements into Jordan brought two language ecologies into contact with each other. With its emblematic phonological variant [g] as a reflex of standard [q], East-Bank Jordanian Arabic is classified as a Bedouin variety. Before 1948, the East Bank lacked any urban centres of sufficient historical depth and socio-cultural influence to lay claim to an urban variety of its own.

Palestinian language ecology, by contrast, was characterised by three varieties: an urban variety (*madani*), a sedentary variety (*fallahi*) and a demographically smaller Bedouin variety. These varieties are stereotypically symbolised by the glottal stop [ʔ] and [k] and [g] as reflexes of standard [q]. Early research on these varieties consisted of describing their main linguistic features and commenting on their dialect geographies, with little information on contact phenomena among the dialects or on any emerging shift in the linguistic repertoire of the country (Cleveland, 1963, 1967). However, more recently, Sawaie (1994) has offered some cogent comments on language contact between the East-Bank Jordanian and the Palestinian dialects and the possible patterns of shift that might have existed between them during the first two decades of the new state (1950s and 1960s). Since Palestinians were more highly educated than East-Jordanians, and since, as a result, the Palestinians had a greater share of jobs in the institutions of the state, particularly education, it is likely that some (urban) Palestinian speech norms served as models for East-Jordanians. Amman, as a rapidly expanding capital, was most likely to have been moving in this direction because of the high concentration of Palestinians in the city. The fact that the state-building project in Jordan along East-Jordanian lines did not start in earnest until the 1970s (Massad, 2001), in spite of its roots in an earlier period (Nasser, 2005), gives credence to this situation, as we shall see later.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

In the early 1980s, dialect maintenance, dialect shift and language attitudes emerged as the main research topics of the language situation in Jordan. A similar research orientation existed for Egypt (Schmidt, 1974), Bahrain (Holes, 1987) and Tunis (Jabeur, 1987), confirming the influence of the Labovian paradigm on Arabic sociolinguistics. Work on the urban, sedentary and Bedouin varieties in Jordan sought to establish their prestige values relative to each other and, further, to use this information as the basis for explaining patterns of dialect maintenance and dialect shift (Abdel-Jawad, 1981; Al-Wer, 1991; Al-Khatib, 1988; Hussein and El-Ali, 1988; Hussein, 1980; Sawaie, 1986; Suleiman, 1985). The urban variety was judged to be highly valued because of the connotations of prestige and sophistication it traditionally enjoyed. In attitudinal studies, the urban variety was judged to be the most beautiful of the three dialectal varieties. But it was also judged to be the most effeminate variety, a view not unrelated to the position advocated by the famous fourteenth-century sociologist Ibn Khaldun (1958, Vol. I, p. 257), who placed Arabic firmly in its social milieu. Commenting on this urban feature, Sawaie notes that ‘men

using [?] ... in the regions where this variant is not spoken indigenously are generally viewed on the positive side as urban, and on the negative side as sissy, effeminate and 'city-slick' (1994, p. 82). As we shall see later, attitudes such as these are important in explaining the patterns of dialect maintenance and dialect shift in Jordan.

The Bedouin variety enjoys high prestige among East-Jordanians. It is regarded as the indigenous variety for this group. It is also rated as the most masculine of the three dialects and the closest to standard Arabic. Among Palestinians, Bedouin Arabic is traditionally not highly rated—a view consistent with the position expressed by Ibn Khaldun over six centuries ago—but this view changed dramatically in the 1970s when the state embarked on reconstituting its state-building project along East-Jordanian lines. It is, however, important to point out that the term Bedouin designates not so much a living environmental ecology in Jordan as it does a set of social structures that hark back to such an ecology (Layne, 1994; Shryock, 1997).

The sedentary variety is heavily stigmatised. In attitudinal studies in Jordan, it is judged as the least prestigious and least beautiful variety. This assessment of the variety replicates the negative attitudes towards it in its indigenous Palestinian setting, although these attitudes are less acute in the latter context (Shorrab, 1981). In addition, this assessment seems to be linked to deeply held negative attitudes towards the fallahin (sedentary population/peasants/agriculturalists) in Arab culture. Ibn Khaldun (1958, p. 289) talks about the meekness of those who work in agriculture (filaha), and quotes Prophet Muhammad who is reputed to have said that the 'ploughshare never entered anyone's house save accompanied by humbleness'. This negative attitude is found in Arabic literature, in which agriculture was considered as 'one of the lowliest occupations, suitable only for the meanest type of human being' (Badawi, 1985, p. 28). Thus it is nature rather than the farmer (fallah), and the garden rather than the gardener, who were the subject of poetic compositions in Arabic literature.

These perceptions of the three dialects help explain the patterns of dialect maintenance and dialect shift that have emerged in Jordan in the past few decades (Abdel-Jawad, 1986). Broadly speaking, speakers of the sedentary variety have been squeezed from both sides. Men tend to shift to the Bedouin variety because of its masculinity connotations, while women tend to shift to the urban variety for the opposite reason. This is particularly true of young male and female speakers, who, mainly through education, have social networks that encourage these shift patterns. Older speakers tend not to conform to these two patterns, but they may code-switch to standard-like features in inter-dialectal or inter-generational contexts to suppress the low prestige of their indigenous dialect. It is, however, important to stress that the dialect shifts

described here principally affect Palestinian sedentary [k] which is replaced by Bedouin [g] and urban [ʔ] in male and female speech, respectively. Other feature shifts—for example the replacement of sedentary [θ] by urban [t] or [s] or the replacement of sedentary [ð] by urban [d] or [z]—lag behind. The same may also apply to aspects of vowel quality in the speech of sedentary men when shifting to the Bedouin variety. We may ascribe the advanced nature of the shift from sedentary [k] to Bedouin [g] to the stereotypically emblematic nature of these two variants.

The shift from urban to Bedouin and vice versa reflects the perceptions of these varieties in the Jordanian socio-cultural sphere. In inter-dialectal situations involving Bedouin speakers, urban men tend to switch to the Bedouin variety by replacing their emblematic [ʔ] with [g]. This switch has been ascribed to the masculinity connotations of [g]. Although this may be true, masculinity cannot completely explain this switch, not least because indigenous [ʔ] speakers switch back to their native variety in neutral situations. In conversations at home with other [ʔ] speakers or when abroad, urban men stick to their urban variety. Furthermore, the shift to the Bedouin variety does not extend to other less-emblematic features, for example replacing urban [t] and [s] as reflexes of standard [θ] by Bedouin [θ], in spite of the correspondence between the two instances of [θ] and the high prestige of the standard. In fact, Bedouin male speakers have been found to use some low-salience urban features, for example [t] for their native [θ], which is a switch in the opposite direction. We also know that, in conversation with speakers of other varieties, for example Egyptian Arabic, Bedouin speakers do switch from [g] to [ʔ], although this switch may not be universally practised (Abu-Melhim, 1991). These examples strongly suggest that the masculinity of [g] as an indexical symbol of the Bedouin variety is restricted to its own political geography and is valid in language use, for urban males, mainly when inter-dialectal contact occurs within the linguistic ecology of Jordan.

The opposite shift from Bedouin [g] to urban [ʔ] characterises women's speech. This is ascribed to the beauty, softness and effeminateness perceptions of this variety. The traditionally high prestige value of this variety regionally is another factor behind this shift. However, we must not assume that this shift is complete. In cities or towns where no or few [ʔ] speakers live—for example Karak and Ma'an in the south and or Ajloun in the north—the shift to the urban variety is weak or non-existent. In addition, the further a locality is from Amman and the other big urban centres, the weaker is the shift to the urban variety. Even in the big urban centres the shift is not uniform across the repertoire of variants that distinguish the urban from the Bedouin variety. Thus, the shift from Bedouin [θ] to urban [t] or [s], as reflexes of

standard [θ], tends to lag behind the shift from [g] to [ʔ]. The same is true for the shift from Bedouin [ð] to urban [d] or [z] as reflexes of standard [ð]. In addition, the shift from Bedouin [g] to urban [ʔ] may be stunted in localities and under social conditions where one may expect it to occur, owing to the dense social networks in the speech community in question and the way speakers position themselves in relation to their community in affiliative terms, at the individual and collective level. Age and inter-generational factors are also relevant in establishing the parameters that operate in this shift.

This description of language attitudes and dialect shift identifies sex/gender as a key factor in shaping the language ecology of Jordan, with men and women tending to go their separate ways. On the one hand, Bedouin men stick to their variety, with sedentary and urban men shifting or code-switching to it, subject to the caveats given earlier. On the other hand, urban women stick to their variety, with sedentary and Bedouin women shifting or switching to it, subject to the caveats mentioned earlier. A distinction is made here between dialect shift (for sedentary speakers) and dialect switch (for urban speakers) to signal the rootedness of the former phenomenon and the provisional character of the latter in the linguistic behaviour of the two groups. The sedentary variety in Jordan is losing speakers; it is squeezed on the female side by the urban variety and on the male side by the Bedouin variety. Should these shift patterns persist, as I think they will, it is likely that the sedentary variety will lose its speakers in Jordan over the next 2–3 generations. This in turn would raise the question of the very identity of the Bedouin variety. Would it continue to be seen as Bedouin? Or would it take on a new character in which Bedouinness would be a relic of the past?

These patterns of dialect shift make the Bedouin variety the prestige code for men and the urban variety the prestige norm for women. However, the rate of shift to the urban variety among women is more advanced than the corresponding shift to the Bedouin variety for men. It may be that this dialect shift has been in progress for a longer period, augmented by the high esteem of the urban variety extra-territorially in the region at large.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS: PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

The sex-based account does not provide a full explanation of the factors that led to the switch or shift from the urban and sedentary dialects to the Bedouin variety or for the maintenance of this variety. First, this account does not explain the fact that the shift or switch to [g] started to make itself felt following the 1970/1 clashes between the Jordanian

armed forces and the Palestinian guerrilla movement, which led to the defeat of the latter and their subsequent eviction from the country. This event had a cataclysmic effect on Palestinian East-Jordanian relations, ushered in an accelerated phase of state building on East-Jordanian lines, and, as a result, marginalised the Palestinians politically, culturally and economically in terms of government employment (Abu-Odeh, 1999). Second, the sex-based account does not explain the historical coincidence between the shift to [g] and the use of the ethno-linguistic label *beljiki* (lit. Belgian) to designate the Palestinians as the out-group in Jordan. Third, the sex-based explanation does not explain why on the Syrian side of the Syrian–Jordanian border [g] speakers shift to [ʔ] in contact situations with urban speakers to escape the stigma associated with [g]. This discrepancy suggests that the masculinity connotations of [g] and their impact on dialect shift are context-dependent and that other factors may be involved in motivating this shift. And, finally, the sex-based explanation does not capture the perception among speakers in Jordan that [g] is judged to be the Jordanian variant, and that sedentary [k] is judged to be a Palestinian variant. Although [ʔ] is a Palestinian feature, it is not exclusively associated with the Palestinians, perhaps because it has a strong regional showing extra-territorially in Egypt, Lebanon and Syria. For these reasons, the sex-based explanation must be supplemented by other considerations.

Recent research strongly suggests that one of the most important factors in understanding the dialect shift/switch to [g] is state-building and the drive to achieve this on East-Jordanian lines (Massad, 2001; Suleiman, 1993, 1999, 2004). On the linguistic front, this state-building project has given currency to [g] as the emblematic linguistic symbol of Jordanian national identity through its association with the security-related institutions of the state (armed forces, police and intelligence services) and through popular culture (music, drama, soap operas). In the charged political and security atmosphere of the 1970s, continuing into the 1980s, shifting to [g] was a sign of belonging, of declaring one's identity as a loyal Jordanian citizen. Palestinians, particularly those of sedentary background, adopted the Bedouin variant in a double move to suppress their identity and to blend into the emerging political sphere. The fact that sedentary Arabic is a stigmatised variety accelerated the process of dialect shift that had already begun in its indigenous setting, although this process was in the direction of urban [ʔ] not Bedouin [g] (Cadora, 1992).

Although the language ecology of Jordan has been dominated by the dynamics of the East-Jordanian and Palestinian contact situation, attention in recent years has turned to the language situation of the main ethnolinguistic minority groups in the country: the Circassians, the Chechens, the Gypsies and the Armenians. All these groups exhibit

strong bilingualism involving Arabic and their indigenous languages, which are mainly spoken. However, the Chechens and the Gypsies exhibit a strong tendency towards language maintenance. In contrast, the Armenians display an advanced case of language shift. The Circassians stand somewhere between the two, although the forces of language shift are in the ascendance. In all cases, there is no minority language provision in the education system in Jordan. Any existing provision is offered through community centres, although this does not apply to the marginalised Gypsies who, as far as I know, do not have such centres.

Language maintenance among the Chechens defies the three-generation rule, whereby the language of the host society, as the language of socio-economic opportunity and social mobility, is said to replace the community language in the home and the crib within three generations of settlement (Fishman, 1989). There are many reasons for this maintenance, including the compact nature of Chechen settlement in Jordan, the tight social networks among members of the community, resistance to inter-marriage with members of the host community and the positive attitude towards the Chechen language and the original homeland (Al-Wer, 1999; Dweik, 2000). As a result, Chechen is used in the home, in the neighbourhood and in most intra-community affairs as a medium of intimate communication, social bonding, solidarity, cultural exchange and boundary-setting. These factors ensure a high proficiency rate and language use for Chechen across the generations. Constant attachment to the original homeland, fuelled by the continued political trauma associated with it in recent years have had a positive influence on language maintenance in the community, which seems set to continue.

Gypsy language maintenance presents another case that breaches the three generation rule (Al-Khatib and Al-Ali, 2005). The Gypsies exhibit a high rate of passing their language (called *Dom*) to the younger generations, which they use in home and community settings. Unlike the Chechens, the vast majority of the Gypsies are nomads, and they exist as a disenfranchised and lowly group on the margins of Jordanian society. Gypsies who have given up nomadic life and settled in the urban centres exhibit high rates of language shift to Arabic. This discrepancy in language proficiency and language use between the two categories of Gypsies, the settled and the nomadic, suggests that the social and physical isolation of the Gypsies is a strong factor in their language maintenance. It also suggests that language shift to Arabic would take hold among the Gypsies if their social and physical isolation were to be ended, and that, within three generations, they may experience severe language loss. The fact that the Gypsies rate Arabic more positively than *Dom*, their native language, is a harbinger of this.

Although both the Gypsies and the Chechens exhibit strong language maintenance, the conditions that give rise to this phenomenon are not the same. The Chechens practice this from a position of self-confidence in their capacity as a community with higher-than-average socio-economic status, strong links to the political and security establishment in the state and a strong sense of extra-territorial belonging to the original homeland. The Gypsies enjoy none of these privileges; in fact there is a sense in which language maintenance is imposed on the Gypsies from the outside by a host community that stereotypes, stigmatises and rejects them.

The Armenians are a small minority in Jordan (4,000 people) who are positively oriented towards their indigenous language, perceiving it to be more beautiful than Arabic, the host language to which they are shifting (Al-Khatib, 2001). Although Armenian is used in the home and church settings, Arabic is moving into the former at a high rate among the young age group. In addition, Arabic is widely used in intra-community settings in a wide variety of contexts, replacing Armenian, which is undergoing strong attrition. This process of language shift is aided by the small number of Armenians in Jordan, their diffuse pattern of settlement and their integration in society at large.

The Circassians stand roughly halfway between the Chechens on the one hand, and the Armenians on the other in terms of language maintenance and language shift. The Circassian language is still being passed from generation to generation, but this is happening at an ever decreasing rate, in spite of the fact that there is a strong attachment to the original homeland among members of the community. The Circassians rate their indigenous language highly, considering it more beautiful than Arabic (Dweik, 1999), but this positive attitude is not sufficient to reverse the course of language shift the community is undergoing. And, finally, although the language is dominant in family and community settings, among the young generation, Arabic is making strong inroads in these settings. The Circassians lack the pattern of compact settlement found among the Chechens to be able to resist the shift to Arabic. And, unlike the Gypsies, they are integrated in Jordanian society at the highest political and security levels, a fact that calls for social and linguistic integration.

Standard Arabic, which is the sole medium of the written syllabi in all state schools in Jordan, is not a monolithic language across the Arabic-speaking world. It exists in varying forms, particularly in the lexical domains, in different Arabic-speaking countries and regions (Bentahila and Davies, 1991). Standard Arabic is acquired through formal instruction, thus making the linguistic distance (Ibrahim, 1983) between it and the dialects in structure and domain specialisation the source of learning difficulties and problems, which can be very acute

in promoting literacy (Al-Musa, 1990). These difficulties have become a rallying cry for the language reformers who call for simplifying pedagogic grammars, but with little success. A state of linguistic inertia—caused by long-established norms and practices that favour rote learning, social and cultural conservatism in engaging the language issue from a modernising perspective, and the lack of political will as an engine for change—has not served standard Arabic well as a means of communication. In the schools and universities, standard Arabic learners are short changed by teachers who use non-standard forms of the language in instruction most of the time, even in Arabic language teaching. Learning standard Arabic in the schools and even universities is, therefore, primarily a form of learning about the language rather than learning the language itself as a living means of communication. This prevalent practice limits student exposure to the language and perpetuates the status quo. Impaired learning in the language and limited exposure to it in the classroom cause speaker anxieties and a reluctance to use it in public. In Jordan, as in most Arab countries, Arabic is one of the most dreaded school subjects. This feeling towards Arabic is sometimes combined with satirical views of Arabic language teachers who are constructed as sticklers for grammatical rules—which even they do not master—and as champions of archaic or fossilised modes of expression (Haeri, 1997).

Arabic language teaching in Jordan, as in most Arabic-speaking countries, tends to be teacher-centred and outcomes- or product-oriented. The emphasis, in other words, is on *what* students learn rather than on *how* they learn it. This mode of approaching language teaching encourages rote learning and testing regimes that favour recognition and recall instead of engaging the students' analytical and critical skills. The system therefore produces learners with low-level language skills and limited literacy capacities. Diglossia is an important factor in this, but so are societal attitudes that favour foreign languages, mainly English and French, for instrumental and language display purposes. The position of standard Arabic as a marker of group identity is not called into question in all of this. The efficacy of a language as a symbolic marker of identity does not necessarily depend on its linguistic vitality. This is true of standard Arabic. However, instrumentally the language seems to be squeezed by competition from two directions: the colloquial and the foreign languages (English in Jordan). Although the colloquial is not part of the official syllabus, it is nevertheless part of the classroom syllabus in that both teachers and students use it extensively in activating the written syllabus. It is ironic that teachers and students use the stigmatised colloquial in the education field to (1) denigrate the colloquial and (2) extol the beauty and other constructed virtues of the standard.

Alongside Arabic as a standard language, the different dialectal varieties and the minority languages dealt with earlier, English has made strong inroads into the language ecology of Jordan. In education, it is the second language in state schools and it is used as the language of instruction in some private schools in pursuing foreign school-leaving qualifications. At university level, English is used as the language of instruction in the pure, applied, medical and medical-related sciences, although this needs qualification. Based on my observations of lectures at Jordanian universities, as well as teacher and student reports the situation is more complex, with both English and Arabic sharing this domain for different functions and in different configurations as matrix and embedded languages. This is similar to the situation in Egypt, which Qabary (2003, p. 69) succinctly describes as follows: 'Though textbooks in medicine [in Egypt] are . . . in English, and the prescribed language for [instruction] is English . . . , lectures are actually a mix of Arabic and English'. English is also used widely in shop signs as a marketing device to convey to prospective shoppers an image of modernity and quality (El-Yasin and Mahadin, 1996; Kamil, 2005; Salih and El-Yasin, 1994). Even when a shop's name is Arabic, the sign often appears in Roman alphabet alongside Arabic to lock into these same connotations of modernity and quality. In Internet use and mobile texting the Roman alphabet is increasingly used to render Arabic words with the help of additional customised symbols, some of which are acquiring a high degree of fixity (Sakarna, 2004; Warschauer, 2002, for a comparison with Egypt). Information technology is creating a big gap with Arabic, which English fills in a variety of ways (Al-Khawaji, 2005; Ali and Hijazi, 2005), although, judging from the Egyptian experience, the use of this technology in educational reform may not be as effective as policy makers would let us believe (Warschauer, 2003). In upmarket areas, the linguistic landscape tends to have a high percentage of English language use. Finally, with the levels of English language competence improving steadily, code-switching to English is emerging as a style of speaking among segments of the population, particularly the elites and educated young speakers who use it as a form of language display to project an image of modernity and sophistication (Kamhawi, 2001). The fact that a documentary film has been made about this phenomenon reflects its popularity among a growing segment of the population, mainly the young and the materially and socially upwardly mobile in Amman who act as trend-setters (Al-kury, 2005). In all of these respects, Jordan is no different from other Arabic-speaking countries where an imperial or ex-colonial language is involved, for example French in North Africa and Lebanon (Bentahila, 1983, for code-switching in Morocco; Al-Dhwadi, 1986, for code-switching in Tunisia other North African countries; Abou,

1962, for Lebanon; Abou, Kasparian and Hadded, 1996, for Lebanon). These incursions by English in the Arabic-speaking world, mainly under the influence of globalisation in recent years, have sounded alarm bells among the language defenders. A recent issue of the popular Egyptian magazine *Al-Hilal* (May, 2006) considers these terrifying incursions as part and parcel of the dangers threatening Egypt's national security. Egypt is not alone in this: Jordanians express similar views.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Modernisation and the creation of urban centres in Jordan and other parts of the Arab Middle East have generated new contexts for the mutation of the existing language ecologies. Population movements, whether for socio-economic reasons or because of wars, have helped shape these emerging ecologies. In linguistic terms, contact of speakers, languages and dialects in new and expanding social and linguistic spaces is the engine of ecological change. Within these spaces, new conditions of group settlement, language use and language attitudes develop. More research is needed in the Arabic-speaking world to understand this new complex structure and its impact on language ecology.

State building is another important factor in understanding the language ecology of the Arabic-speaking countries. Jordan presents an example of how the state-building project can skew this ecology in favour of a given variety that, through the institutions of the state, is constructed as a symbol of a male-gendered nation. More empirical research is needed to test and refine our understanding of the impact of the state-building project on language ecology in the Arab Middle East. For this purpose, researchers can exploit some of the methodological instruments developed for similar contexts, with appropriate customisation (Bourhis, Giles, Leyens, Tajfel, 1979). Conducting such field research may, however, meet with security-concocted obstacles owing to the sensitivity of this research and the fragile nature of the Arab states and their state-building projects (Ayubi, 1995).

The incursion of the erstwhile colonial or imperial languages into the Middle East, namely English and French, is an important feature of the developing ecologies of the Arabic-speaking countries. Coupled with modernisation, urbanisation and globalisation, the pervasive spread of these languages in the last few decades is set to continue and intensify. The linguistic landscape of most urban centres provides ample evidence of this spread through shops and other public signs, as does the use of these languages in education and code-switching. More research is needed to ascertain the exact impact of these languages on the native ecologies or the extent to which these languages have been appropriated, moulded and made to bed in these ecologies.

A proper understanding of these issues cannot be made without drawing a categorial distinction between the functional role of language as a means of communication and its ability to serve as a symbol or motif of socio-political identity. This distinction between the functional and the symbolic is important for understanding the dynamics of language shift from variety to variety or from language to language in the Arabic-speaking Middle East. This distinction is also important for understanding the value-laden contact between the ex-colonial and imperial languages and Arabic.

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INDIGENOUS CONTRIBUTIONS TO AN ECOLOGY OF  
LANGUAGE LEARNING IN LATIN AMERICA

INTRODUCTION

New current ideas regarding the ecology of language and the ecology of language learning do not seem to be explicitly reflected in existing specialized literature in Latin America, with a few notable exceptions (Hornberger, 2002, López, 2005, López and Sichra, *Intercultural Bilingual Education among Indigenous Peoples in Latin America*, Volume 5, Menezes de Sousa, 2002). Nonetheless, it must be singled out that the principles underlying such current tendencies have indeed been present in various aspects of language learning and teaching in the region for some time now, particularly in relation to indigenous languages and to learning and teaching languages in indigenous settings in the context of intercultural bilingual education programs (known by the acronym EIB in Spanish). This ecological principle has become more evident as of the late 1980s and 1990s when programs adopted the intercultural paradigm (López, 2005), and were increasingly designed and implemented with active indigenous participation and as the result of indigenous struggle and commitment (López and Sichra, *Intercultural Bilingual Education among Indigenous Peoples in Latin America*, Volume 5). It could have not been otherwise since most of the basic thoughts that underlie current understandings of the ecology of language (Haugen, 1972, Mühlhäusler, 1996) and of the ecology of language learning (van Lier, 2003) are inherent in the views indigenous persons have of language and in the readings they commonly share of the ways languages are learned and used in every day life.

The indigenous approach to language from what I would call a “language in life” perspective indeed points in the direction of the ecology of language since it regards language and the acquisition and learning of languages not only in their own specific social setting but also in the political context in which these processes take place. This language in life perspective is periodically reconstructed in strict connection with the history of linguistic domination and oppression under which the indigenous languages function in the prevailing colonial organization of Latin American societies (López, 2005). Indigenous monolingualism, bi and multilingualism as well as the accelerated

processes of language decay and loss experienced in the region are a direct result of such conditions.

But apart from these political considerations, indigenous leaders establish other connections between language use, learning and teaching and aspects of everyday reality that one could hardly imagine. Such is the case for example of the connections between language and health suggested by Benjamín Chumpi, a Peruvian Awajun leader concerned with the state of education in Amazonian indigenous communities (personal communication 1998). He argues that the denial of the right to use one's native language derives in depression and even in physical illness, such that the relationship between language and health needs to be looked into.

Yet indigenous views of language have not been sufficiently studied in Latin America. Had they been the field of language learning and teaching would have benefited immensely from insights pointing toward more situated and meaningful language teaching practices in the region. The fact is that the integral and holistic view of life that indigenous peoples share (Bolaños, Ramos, Rappaport and Miñana, 2004; Prada, 2006) leads to unique understandings and explanations of language use, learning and teaching which call for urgent systematic study.

#### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

In Latin America, ecological understandings of language can be inferred from the indigenous political agenda and from indigenous "life plans" or platforms for the future. The indigenous positions captured in FORMABIAP (1997) and Bolaños group (2004) point us in the direction of new views of language use, learning and teaching and also into new understandings of literacy (Menezes de Souza, 2001, 2002; Aikman, 2003) and authorship (Lindenberg-Monte, 1996) in indigenous multilingual settings.

Indeed, in the 1970s when the Nasa indigenous leaders in the Colombian Andes began their explorations of a new type of education, called *ethnoeducation*, they were aware of their children's learning needs and opted for an approach to education that uses two languages simultaneously: their own (L1) and Spanish (L2) (Bolaños, Ramos, Rappaport and Miñana, 2004). 35 years ago their autonomous educational program stated their children had to speak, read and write both languages equally well. Today their agenda also includes English in the upper primary school curriculum and is increasingly challenged by the fact that in many communities children have lost active use of the ancestral language (Libio Palechor, personal communication). But in contrast with ongoing discussion in bilingual education academic circles related to whether the L1 merits exclusive or privileged attention during

the first one to three years of schooling, indigenous views seem to be freer of such technicalities, generally pointing out untried and innovative concurrent approaches rather than resorting to the language separation strategies language planners generally suggest. The fact is that, in indigenous everyday life, the two—or in some cases three or more—languages are needed many times in connection to one another and not as discretely separate as is often supposed. Furthermore, even in predominantly monolingual indigenous settings, the two languages might be used in relation to one another, many times for specific purposes under a complementary distribution scheme.

From a similar perspective, in the late 1980s when FORMABIAP designed a new teacher training curriculum for and with 15 different indigenous ethnolinguistic communities of the Peruvian Amazonian region, the multi-ethnic team of educators responsible for its preparation broke away from the mainstream tradition of identifying specific and separate subjects for each domain of knowledge. They organized their curriculum around integrated areas of knowledge and practice, one of which was that of language and communication (FORMABIAP, 1997). Although they specifically identified objectives and content related to the L1 and the L2, they looked for explicit links and connections between L1 and L2 use and also regarding the processes of learning and teaching these languages, since their aim was to prepare indigenous teachers and educators (FORMABIAP, 1997). But what is interesting to note is that this curriculum proposal also included specific attention to other forms of discourse indigenous persons learn when involved in the social dynamics of their communities, as well as to other non-linguistic forms of expression: corporal, musical and graphic, amongst others (FORMABIAP, 1998). Critical observations have recently foregrounded the apparent overemphasis given in the classroom to the written word in detriment of orality, an important cultural trait in the indigenous societies this program intends to serve (Vigil, 2004).

It must also be pointed out that in both the Nasa and FORMABIAP cases, language learning was not singled out as a specific independent activity but as directly connected to other curriculum areas such as natural and social sciences. Although that might be the norm in language teaching at primary school level, this type of curriculum organization is not common in the education of adults and even less in teacher education. The FORMABIAP curriculum considers eight integrated areas of study, one of which is ecology or ecosystems.

This model of curriculum integration and of a more comprehensive and less compartmentalized view of language gained further impetus in the mid-1990s when at PROEIB Andes an MA professional development program in EIB was implemented. In this case four integrated and interrelated areas were identified: education, culture, language, and indigenous

language development (PROEIB Andes, 1998). Each of these areas, although geared to specific objectives and content, relates to the objectives and content of the other areas, the underlying principle being that each area directly feeds or impacts on the development of professional capacities the MA indigenous students require to enhance their practice either as teacher-educators or as educational planners.

With these considerations in mind, language education at PROEIB Andes encompasses (i) the oral and written development of the students' most used and preferred language, which at the time they begin their graduate studies might no longer be their L1, (ii) the oral and written development of the indigenous language they speak or learn whilst in the program, (iii) the acquisition of digital literacy and (iv) the development of a critical awareness of language and literacy, beginning with the reconstruction of the participants' autobiographies as bi or multilingual individuals. Additionally, they develop insights into language pedagogy, sociolinguistics, language policy and planning, and the history of language contact and conflict in their societies, vis-à-vis the process of colonization and of the enshrining of a Eurocentric view of life in the region. A good portion of each semester is spent in field work, where they explore the views community elders and indigenous men and women in general have of language learning and use. Finally, as part of their education, these indigenous professionals carry out empirical research and produce numerous written reports, thus discovering the meaning and sense of becoming an *author*.

Indeed, it is this notion of indigenous authorship—in both the patrimonial and hegemonic languages—that forms part of the education of indigenous teachers. In many contexts, Indigenous authorship is a strong component of community teachers' education in Brazil (CIESI, 2005; Franchetto, 2003; Lindenberg-Monte, 1996). As a result of two decades of intensive work there is now an increasing body of literature on this notion and on its implications for language learning and development in connection with the empowerment of these indigenous educators. Along similar lines, in Guatemala and Bolivia experiences have been carried out to prepare indigenous teachers as authors of written materials in the vernaculars. In Bolivia, in a 3-year project (2001–2004), 11,000 teachers were trained in the production of written texts in Aimara, Guarani and Quechua (cf. López, 2005; von Gleich, 2004). In so doing, they applied to the vernaculars some of the basic competencies they already had for writing in Spanish. They used the written mode creatively and to depict different aspects of contemporary indigenous everyday life. In most cases, these written materials also enriched indigenous language teaching in their classes (Lauracio and Plaza, forthcoming).

The emphasis given to the written word in indigenous communities, as a result of the demands the formal education system places on schools and communities, has recently led researchers into other avenues. Some are beginning to look into alternative modes of graphic representation through indigenous textile and ceramics production (cf. Arnold, Yapita et al., 2000; López, 2001), and also through body-painting (Franchetto, 2003), while others have identified the development of multimodal understandings of literacy in which alphabetical writing is combined and complemented with other types of graphic representation in order to give “fullness” to a given message indigenous authors wish to transmit (Menezes de Souza, 2001). Some researchers have also begun to wonder if other types of literacy should be the object of formal study in EIB programs since written texts by indigenous persons seem to reflect a combination of oral and written strategies (Rockwell, 2001). Such strategies may point in the direction of new and alternative modes of literacy (Sichra, *Language Diversity and Indigenous Literacy in the Andes*, Volume 2; Zavala, 2002), and even, in some cases, in accordance with the views of small and isolated indigenous communities, the possibility of reserving literacy only for Spanish as an internal strategy to defend their culture and language (Aikman, 2003).

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Several ecological themes emerge from a consideration of indigenous perspectives and experiences in language and education.

*Towards an integrated view of language and learning.* Indigenous organizations and leaders have long claimed that language cannot be studied in isolation and detached from the territory in which it is or was spoken. They consistently and insistently claim that the ancestral indigenous territory constitutes the most appropriate setting for the reproduction of culture and language (CONAMAQ et al., 2004). The indivisible link established between language, culture, identity and territory (Prada, 2006) leads to more integrative understandings of language and learning. It is also this territorial view of language that underlies an equally integrated understanding of indigenous demands regarding their position and their rights in a democratic society. Language, cultural and territorial rights are part of a comprehensive and globalized agenda that forthrightly claims the indigenous peoples’ right to their own existence in the context of multiethnic and multicultural societies.

On this basis, indigenous educational proposals suggest a shift in the ways in which language is taught. It is an approach similar to the

'whole-language' orientation, where meaning and content are regarded as more important than form and the classic distinction between L1 and L2 may not apply as rigidly as it used to (FORMABIAP 1997 and 1998; Vásquez, 2002; Walqui and Galdames, 2005). From this language in life perspective, concurrent L1–L2 approaches might be called for, as well as recognition of the role code-switching plays in everyday life, and hence in the classroom and in language learning. In indigenous communities, naturalistic language teaching approaches might be more culturally sensitive and appropriate since they seem to match indigenous people's expectations and understandings. In the same vein, the relationship between orality and literacy as well as between reading and writing needs to be revisited related to the social practices that influence indigenous community language behavior, but also in light of the needs indigenous students face today in their trajectories as individuals who also need to read and write in order to go through the formal educational system successfully and to participate as intercultural citizens.

*Awareness of the diminished political and social position indigenous languages enjoy.* Indigenous views of language and learning go beyond the recognition of the social environment in which language learning takes place, and intend to also account for the long history of linguistic oppression and domination. These views are counter-hegemonic in as much as they question the status-quo. Indigenous school-children and their parents are acutely aware of the critical socio-historical conditions affecting their patrimonial language and because of it they many times favor learning in the L2. Parents see this possibility as a viable strategy to counteract linguistic oppression and marginalization (Aikman, 2003; Lopez and Küper, 1999). Nonetheless, when they become aware that their L1 deserves official government recognition and that there are cognitive and affective advantages in learning through the indigenous language, they usually embrace a two-language orientation. This recognition includes the concomitant demand that mainstream children learn an indigenous language and hence a two-way EIB proposal emerges (CONAMAQ et al., 2004; CNEM, 2004, López, forthcoming). Otherwise, EIB could be regarded as a modality planned only for the indigenous population and suspicions arise as to the sincerity of this new educational program most Latin American governments now endorse (López and Sichra, *Intercultural Bilingual Education among Indigenous Peoples in Latin America*, Volume 5).

*A new emphasis on language revitalization.* Over the past two decades—alongside with significant progress in political participation of indigenous leaders at national and international levels, political demands on language education increasingly point in the direction of language revitalization. Indigenous leaders are aware of the dangers

their languages now face and see the school as the agency responsible for reintroducing in society the patrimonial language at risk. "The school must return to us the language it once took away from us" is a slogan increasingly heard in vulnerable indigenous communities (López, forthcoming). Furthermore, it must be noted that the purposes sustaining this claim go beyond communicative needs or aspirations and deal with the necessity and desire to exercise territorial rights, to defend indigenous knowledge, to guarantee sustainable development and even the individual's survival as an indigenous citizen.

*A new look at indigenous ancestral orality.* A process of repositioning indigenous appropriation of the written word with regard to the revitalization of indigenous orality is under way, precisely as a result of the integrative view of language and language learning the indigenous agenda is pushing for in those countries and regions where the indigenous political movement is strong. The repositioning of indigenous orality seems to be a by-product of the increasing attention indigenous claims have gained regarding the educational and political reconsideration of their own knowledge, ways of knowing and cultural practices and values (Galdames, Walqui and Gustafson, 2005; Prada and López, 2005). The search for an intercultural approach to education and the renewed indigenous demands regarding their cultural heritage are drastically changing the scene of indigenous education in Latin America (CNEM, 2004; CONAMAQ et al., 2004; Rodríguez, 1999). For the first time in centuries, indigenous demands are both political and epistemological and have put the ontology of school knowledge at stake (Howard, Barbira-Freeman and Stobart, 2002; Prada and López, 2005). The need to reposition indigenous orality has become more evident than ever and in many ways indigenous oral discourse is seen as the basis of indigenous everyday life (Prada, 2006; Rodríguez, 1999, 2003). Hence educational proposals are shifting from the exclusive attention placed on writing towards a more balanced understanding of indigenous language use and learning (Galdames, Walqui and Gustafson, 2005) and explicit attention is now given to the inclusion and development of indigenous orality at school (Bolivia, 2003; Francis and Reyhner, 2002; Rodríguez, 1999).

*An intercultural approach to language education.* The ecological approach the indigenous view of language has put forward is fundamentally intercultural, since language and culture are regarded as indivisible. This might be the reason why indigenous persons establish a direct connection between language and identity even in cases where they may have lost active use of one of the languages they acquired in childhood (Anacona, 2006).

In the view of some indigenous intellectuals and leaders, indigenous students must learn the hegemonic language beyond what schools

generally consider necessary, since in everyday life they might need to write complex texts and even poetry in this language, at times to defend their own (Green and Houghton, 1996). In the same vein of maintaining an indivisible link between language and culture, the indigenous approach implies establishing a close connection between the indigenous language and the knowledge system it forms part of, thus breaking away from the tradition established by the early missionary approach that used the indigenous languages detached from the indigenous culture and world view and only as a more efficient mode to transmit Christian religious and official curriculum content (López, 2005). As of the 1990s, most EIB teacher education programs have become involved in processes of curriculum redefinition with more consideration paid to indigenous knowledge systems, as in Mato Grosso, Brazil (CEISI, 2005; Franchetto, 2003) and Popayan, Colombia (Bolaños, Ramos, Rappaport and Miñana, 2004).

*Language education as a tool for social emancipation.* Counter-hegemonic language policies and practices such as those oriented to language revitalization and to the repositioning of indigenous orality in the school-curriculum reveal a shift in the perception of schooling and of the role education should play in indigenous societies. Language renewal policies seem to be part of the prolonged indigenous counter-hegemonic struggle and fight for a different political, social and cultural arrangement of power and knowledge in the multiethnic countries they live in. Most indigenous leaders and organizations see EIB as part of that struggle.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Language policy and planning is an area where attention is increasingly paid to an ecological approach to language and language learning. This is a by-product of the close link established between language policy and planning and indigenous people's rights (Hamel, 1997) and also of the growing attention given to indigenous voices and demands (Hornberger, 1996, López, forthcoming). An ecological orientation to language policy and planning entails the analysis of their locus of enunciation. Both top-down and bottom-up policies would need to be made explicit, compared and analyzed vis-à-vis the specific sociohistorical and political context in which they are formulated and applied.

Similarly, an unprecedented concern for curriculum diversification and the need to formulate different and specific local curricula become evident. This new curricular concern offers an equally new opportunity for the repositioning of orality and for a renewed balance between orality and writing in indigenous societies (Sichra, Language Diversity and Indigenous Literacy in the Andes, Volume 2; Zavala, 2002), particularly

in connection with the teaching of indigenous languages at school (Galdames, Walqui, Gustafson, 2005; Rodríguez, 1999).

New alternative proposals for the teaching of Spanish as L2 in basic education have been reconsidering the relationship between the pupils' L1 and L2 in light of what occurs in indigenous communities (Bolivia, 2003; Hamel et al., 2004; Mandepora and Limachi, 2003; Peru, 2002; Sainz and Ruiz, 2004; Trillos, 2003; Vásquez, 2002; Walqui and Galdames, 2004). In many ways these new schemes go beyond traditional approaches to L2 teaching in Latin America: in general they are needs oriented, content-based, meaningful and situated, communicative, intercultural and influenced by new insights from discourse analysis and text linguistics. They also look at L2 teaching in relation to other school curriculum areas and to the specific social context in which they are implemented. More often than not, these approaches are the result of action-research projects within the framework of pre-service or in-service teacher training projects (Hamel et al., 2004; Mandepora and Limachi, 2003; Rodríguez, 2003; Sainz and Ruiz, 2004).

Similarly, in the new educational reforms of the 1990s, the area of language and communication in Spanish L1 mainstream education has received special attention (Condemarin, 2003). Under the influence of text linguistics, sociocultural theory and cooperative learning approaches, and taking into consideration the social and cultural context in which learning takes place, new materials for the teaching of Spanish as L1 were prepared in most countries. The written word and the appropriation of reading and writing in particular have been given more systematic attention (Jolibert, 1992). The emphasis placed on the students' autonomous production of written texts has set Spanish L1 teaching in a new light in various South American countries (Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Chile, Paraguay and Peru). In some cases, these didactic principles have later been successfully applied in indigenous communities and with vernacular languages as well (Lauracio and Plaza, forthcoming; López, 2005).

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

One of the limitations for further development of an ecological approach to language learning in Latin America derives from the shortage of bibliographic references in Spanish or Portuguese and the insufficient attention universities pay to issues related to language learning and teaching in general. Although the field of language teaching in EIB programs shows progress in developing and implementing an ecological orientation, we have no news of similar progress in mainstream education in relation to either foreign language teaching or mother tongue teaching.

Nevertheless, foreign language teaching does show a renewed interest in communicative approaches, under the influence of pragmatics and discourse analysis, while the teaching of Spanish and Portuguese as L1 during the last decade has experienced a singular shift towards more meaningful and communicative approaches with a special focus on the production of written texts. In these two areas research is insufficient, the field being characterized in the best of cases by the consumption of research results produced in the North. Very little research is done on elite bilingual education (see de Mejía, *Enrichment Bilingual Education in South America*, Volume 5), foreign language teaching and Spanish or Portuguese L1 teaching. Nonetheless, some of these issues such are looked into at national and international professional meetings. Two recent international conferences, for example, in Argentina in 1994 and in Colombia in 1996, have discussed the issue of elite bilingualism, including the contrast with indigenous bilingualism.

One of the most serious limitations for an ecological understanding of language in indigenous settings is related to the little attention formal education in general gives to indigenous ancestral orality. Whilst orality as such has generally been the concern of anthropologists and in a lesser degree of descriptive linguists, language educators and applied linguists have most generally paid attention to the development of oral expression in the classroom, overlooking the difference between orality and classroom oral expression. Hence attention has been given to new functions the indigenous language must fulfil when introduced in formal settings such as the school and the classroom. The lack of understanding of the role orality plays in a predominantly oral society in connection with the construction and transmission of knowledge, values, beliefs, and even history and simply every day life, along with the separation traditionally established between indigenous communities and schools have severely affected the necessary repositioning of orality in the education of indigenous students. The insufficient thought given to ancestral orality as a way of life could be overcome if language teaching evolved into an interdisciplinary endeavor with applied linguists and language educators working closely with anthropologists and descriptive linguists. However, we could arrive at even more radical approaches if language planners and educators were to make a deliberate effort to listen attentively to indigenous voices so that cooperatively we could engage in uncovering and systematizing indigenous ways of knowing about language and language learning through a process of comparison and contrast with more Western oriented hegemonic views.

Last but not least, apolitical understandings of language teaching in indigenous settings do not contribute to the development of an ecological approach. Educational planners and language educators have

tended to stress the technicalities of language teaching while paying less attention to the political role they as educators and planners are expected to play regarding the indigenous people's life plan and political project. The emphasis given to the technical and didactic aspects of language teaching has not taken into account the counter-hegemonic views that unite indigenous leaders and organizations in their struggle for a rearrangement of power, culture and knowledge in the continent.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

There is still more to do to structure an explicit ecological approach to language learning and teaching in Latin America. Language planners, educators and researchers in general need to listen carefully to those other voices that have long been silenced. Indigenous views of language and language learning could indeed help revitalize the language teaching field and turn it into an enriching real life experience. The fact is that indigenous peoples share an integrative and holistic view of life that can contribute to new and innovative approaches to language teaching. Listening to those new-old voices and working with indigenous community elders and leaders would definitively contribute to the systematization of the ecological view of language as well as to the renovation of language planning and language teaching.

In both indigenous communities and mainstream education, an ecological approach to language learning implies a shift in what has been done so far. On the one hand, teaching has to become multimedia and different kinds of resources need to be taken into account at a time when technology marks a new and different history even in remote indigenous communities. For instance, video and DVD recordings could facilitate the reinsertion of the oral word in the classroom and also help indigenous orality regain its role in the education of indigenous children and youngsters, thus conquering new domains of use. Community elders could be invited to visit schools and talk to young children as a preliminary step for school children to then visit wise-persons' homes and restart listening to their advice and learning from them. In urban settings, the use of videos depicting indigenous life, culture and knowledge in rural communities could most certainly generate interesting discussion and learning experiences for all.

Strategies such as these could contribute to the language in life approach that indigenous leaders have implicitly put forward. This approach applies in indigenous language teaching and extends to the teaching of the region's hegemonic languages as L2 and even as L1. This language in life approach also entails paying specific attention to local and regional varieties of Spanish and Portuguese and formally introducing them into the classroom, thus establishing new and richer

links between the school, the home and the community and in turn richer and healthier learning environments.

Repositioning orality and the local and regional varieties of the languages in question, including code-switching in indigenous communities and neighborhoods, could contribute to better student attainment as well as to fulfilling the indigenous aspiration of achieving mastery in reading and writing in the hegemonic language. The repositioning of orality in indigenous schools could also be an excellent starting point for the introduction of the written word wherein we could begin by introducing narratives and not isolated sentences and words (Rodríguez, 1999). But to do so we must be extremely creative and critically aware so that we do not reduce a way of life—orality, and the complex and varied types of discourse it encompasses, simply to oral expression or even worse a bad transcription or a mere text for school.

What cannot be forgotten in reimagining language teaching in indigenous Latin America is the conditions in which learning takes place. On the one hand, we face a political and epistemological challenge from the increasingly important indigenous political movements concerning education and life in general, and the call for construction of a new intercultural and democratic order in the region, and, on the other, we need to reflect on the still difficult circumstances and endangered settings in which learning and teaching take place. That obliges us to commit ourselves to make of language teaching a tool to the social emancipation indigenous peoples seek. When designing and implementing language teaching proposals from an indigenous ecological perspective, other equally important aspects of life cannot be put aside.

Languages do not have an autonomous life. If they want to be living languages they must be language of living peoples. Indigenous languages share their histories with the communities that speak them . . . If we the indigenous people speak of our languages it is because we are convinced that sociolinguistic conditions can be modified. We believe that it is possible to recuperate the spoken word. We are committed to the transformation of the present situation of our indigenous languages, to reversing the process of loss of prestige, mutilation and prohibition that has seriously affected our languages. We believe in and dream of a future in which when we say river we hear it roar, when saying thunder our elders' spirits emerge from earth, and when we say children one hears their unending laughter.

Las lenguas no tienen vida propia. Si quieren ser lenguas vivas deberán ser lenguas de pueblos vivos. Las lenguas indígenas tienen las mismas historias de los pueblos que las

hablan . . . Si los indígenas hablamos de las lenguas es porque estamos convencidos de que las situaciones sociolingüísticas pueden ser modificadas; porque creemos que es posible recuperar la palabra. Nos encontramos comprometidos con transformar la situación de las lenguas indígenas [. . .], en revertir el proceso de desprestigio, mutilación y prohibición de que han sido objeto. Creemos y soñamos en una mañana en el cual al decir río se vuelva a escuchar su caudal, en que al decir trueno los espíritus de los padres emerjan de la tierra, y en que al decir niños todos escuchen una risa interminable.

Manipiniktikinya or Abadio Green Stocel, Colombian – Panamenian Kuna or Tule leader, 1996. (In Green and Houghton, 1996.)

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## **Section 3**

### **The Language Ecologies of Dispersed and Diasporic Communities**

## LANGUAGE ECOLOGY AND LANGUAGE COMMUNITIES IN THE MALAY WORLD

### INTRODUCTION

The Malay World can be described, on geographic and linguistic grounds, as those parts of Southeast Asia where the Malay language is spoken, whether as a first or second language. This simple description encompasses many parts of Southeast Asia. In Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei, Singapore, and Thailand, Malay is spoken as a home language; while, in the Philippines, Cambodia, and Vietnam, Malay is spoken by some communities as a second or third language. The Malay World, then, straddles two regions usually identified separately in surveys of Southeast Asian ethnic groups: Mainland Southeast Asia (LeBar, Hickey, and Musgrave, 1964) and Insular Southeast Asia (LeBar 1972).<sup>1</sup> This orientalist bipartition rests on significant differences among the hundreds of languages of the region as well as complex patterns and traditions of language use. Malay is sited in this complex ecology as the main language of Southeast Asia.

This contribution will consider four aspects of the ecology of languages in this Malay World:

1. The history of studies about the ecology of languages in the Malay World;
2. Major studies about language ecology in the Malay World;
3. Problems in studying the language ecology of the Malay World; and
4. Directions for the study of languages in the Malay World.

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<sup>1</sup> This tradition has been maintained even in more recent categorizations of the region. For example, in a recent popular language atlas (Comrie, Matthews and Polinsky, 1996), parts of Southeast Asia are discussed and illustrated in a chapter entitled South and Southeast Asia, while other parts of Southeast Asia are treated in a separate chapter entitled Pacific. In both LeBar's and Comrie's systems of classification, the Malay peninsula is in the awkward position of being unavoidably geographically located in mainland Southeast Asia, but being conceptually assigned to another region, i.e. "Insular Southeast Asia" (LeBar) or the "Pacific" (Comrie).

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS: THE HISTORY OF THE  
STUDY OF LANGUAGE ECOLOGY IN THE MALAY  
WORLD

The first European visitors to the Malay World had much to say about its language ecology. As early as the sixteenth century (Collins, 2000; Reid, 1988), these authors noted three important facts. First, they observed that there was an enormous diversity of languages, often with little or no mutual understanding. Second, in that forest of language diversity, Malay was the single, most widespread language of Southeast Asia, where it served as a contact language among speakers of different languages. Third, moreover, Malay was not simply the language of trade, a pidgin language, but it was also the language of diplomacy, religion, and learning; Malay was a written language.

Francis Xavier summarized the language ecology in his 1546 letter written in Ambon, on the eastern edge of the Malay World (see Schurhammer, 1980, pp. 135–136):

Each of these islands has a language of its own ... The Malayan language is very common in these parts ... and the language which they write is Malay ... which the Moorish *cacizes* taught them to write and still teach them.

Indeed, as A. Galvaõ, governor of the Portuguese outpost of Ternate also on the eastern periphery of the Malay world, wrote in 1544 (Jacobs, 1971): Malay was “like Latin in Europe.”

All three ecological features, namely language diversity, Malay pre-eminence in that diversity, and literacy in Malay, had important repercussions on the European response to language communities in the Malay World. Precisely because of the large number of languages in the region and the usefulness of Malay, neither the Portuguese nor, later, the Dutch paid much attention to local languages other than Malay. In Xavier’s 1546 letter noted above, this missionary listed all the Catholic prayers and doctrinal articles he himself had translated into Malay to be taught to potential converts in the Malay World. So, at this very early period, Malay had already been chosen as the medium of instruction even where it was not the indigenous language, for example in Ambon and North Maluku.

This policy of language appropriation for education persisted, in fact, was expanded, in the formative Dutch colonial period. A Calvinist missionary, François Valentyn (1726, p. 26), writing almost 200 years after Xavier listed the titles of numerous hand-written Malay-language books being circulated among Muslim villagers of Ambon Island, although the Muslims’ home languages were not Malay. Valentyn (1726, pp. 119–130) also provided the titles of dozens of Malay-language printed books being used in 1708 in schools in the Christian villages of Ambon.

It was not until the nineteenth century that the Dutch began to pay attention to local languages. Under the aegis of the Dutch missionary board (*Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap*), the complexity of north Sumatra's Batak languages, the Ngaju Dayak language of southern Borneo and the Bugis and Makassar languages of southern Sulawesi were documented and described (Teeuw, 1971, p. xiv). But in other areas of the Malay World the emerging awareness of minority languages was coupled with the realization that they had been or were being replaced. In Ambon, for example, by the late nineteenth century the local languages of almost all Christian villages had been completely replaced by the regional dialect of Malay (van Hoëvell, 1876, pp. 4–5).

The use of Malay as the language of mass education under the colonial system, particularly in what is now Indonesia, coupled with the choice of Malay as the national language, renamed Indonesian, by the independence movement in 1928, accelerated this process of language replacement (Collins, 1999). By the late twentieth century, a regional Malay dialect, Manado Malay, had replaced most local languages of northernmost Sulawesi as the first language of most inhabitants (Danie, 1991). Modern Indonesian has also encroached on many domains previously restricted to local languages; see Kuipers's (1998) report on language use in Sumbawa, for example. Mühlhäusler (1996) went as far as to declare that Indonesian was a "killer language" because it had been replacing minority languages at an ever-increasing rate.

Elsewhere in the Malay World, the impetus of Malay as the language of education and often the language of locally dominant ethnic groups also has had an impact on the survival of other languages. In northern Borneo, in particular Brunei, minority languages are being replaced by the local dialects of Malay (Martin, 1994); see also Zainah (1982) and Aminah (2000). In Indonesia's western Borneo there are documented cases of shifts in ethnic affiliation and subsequent language shift as early as the mid-nineteenth century, for example the Embau Malays (Yusriadi, 2005), and elsewhere in western Borneo of language shift in progress (Collins and Sujarni, 2004). Other authors (Benjamin, 1983) have made the same claim about language shift among speakers of Mon-Khmer languages in the Malay Peninsula.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

In this setting of diverse languages and a long history of colonial domination, surprisingly there are few in-depth studies of language ecology in the Malay World. Of course, enumerations and lists of languages can be found (Grimes, 1988, for example), but studies of how these languages interact, how they are used and for what purposes are not

widely available. Two exceptions are Oetomo's (1987) study of language use and language choice among ethnic Chinese in a medium-sized city of Java's northeast coast, and Florey's (1990a), study of language use and language choice among Alune villagers in a small hamlet in the interior of Seram in central Maluku.

Clearly, these are two very different settings and topics. The one deals with an immigrant group in a harbor city of densely populated Java with a focus on identity and language choice. The other presents research on language obsolescence within a small indigenous ethnic group in a sparsely settled rural area far from Indonesia's administrative center in Java. However, both studies were undertaken in two regions of Indonesia with the longest histories of colonial contact and intense exploitation, dating to the sixteenth century. Moreover, both studies are firmly grounded in participant-observer methodology with extensive use of authentic recordings of language use.

Oetomo's (1987) sample was 30 households of ethnic Chinese in a community of 5,500 Chinese in Pasuruan, a small coastal city of 94,000 people. In the larger Pasuruan community, three Austronesian languages were in wide use: Javanese, the language of the ethnic majority in the city, Indonesian, the national language, and Madurese, used by a smaller local ethnic group. However, in the ethnic Chinese sample, although Madurese played no role, a much larger number of languages was available: Javanese, Indonesian, East Java Malay, Hokkien, Hakka, Mandarin, and Dutch. Hokkien, Hakka, and Mandarin are Sino-Tibetan languages and Dutch Indo-European. Knowledge of and competence in these languages, some of which are not related to each other even distantly, was not distributed equally within the community; nor were attitudes towards these languages shared equally in the sample population.

Oetomo (1987) found that within the Chinese community there were strong class differences, that were in part based on subethnic differences. In Java, in general, ethnic Chinese are often classified into two distinctive groups, the *peranakan* group, whose ancestors immigrated to Java several generations ago and whose culture reflects a longer stage of assimilation, and the *totok* group, who immigrated to Java in the mid-twentieth century and whose patterns of assimilation reflect their "late" arrival in the Javanese cultural environment. At least some *totok* Chinese can choose Hokkien, or even Hakka, because these languages once or still are used in the family setting. Some of these *totok* Chinese also had had access to Mandarin language education (before all Mandarin language schools in Indonesia were closed in 1965); so Mandarin is also a language that some members of the community can choose to speak. In contrast, *peranakan* families do not speak Hokkien, Hakka or Mandarin. Upper class *peranakan* Chinese,

however, can choose Dutch for in-group communication, because up until the 1950s Dutch language education was still an option for the well-to-do in Indonesia.

Both *peranakan* and *totok* Chinese speakers share Javanese, East Java Malay and Indonesian as parts of their linguistic repertoire, but their attitudes towards these languages, as well as their use of them, differ. Among *totok* Chinese, Javanese is a likely choice as the day-to-day home language; whereas *peranakan* Chinese, especially the upper class, have chosen East Java Malay as their home language. Both groups, however, choose Javanese to speak with the Javanese majority of Pasuruan, except in certain very formal settings where Indonesian would be the choice of both groups. Interactions between *totok* and *peranakan* Chinese are not infrequently hampered by their different attitudes towards Javanese. For upper class *peranakan* Chinese, only East Java Malay is acceptable in most intraethnic (*totok-peranakan*) exchanges, whereas some *totok* Chinese and lower class *peranakan* may mix Javanese into the East Java Malay they speak with *peranakan* resulting in “almost violent” reactions (Oetomo 1987, p. 116) on the part of the insulted *peranakan* Chinese.

In short, Oetomo’s study provides numerous detailed accounts of language use and choice related to power, status, age, and ethnicity, all within the context of a dominant national language that now is the medium of instruction for all Indonesians. The differences in the codes used by subethnic groups within even this small sample of ethnic Chinese are also striking and reflect different histories and different attitudes towards the language resources available. In contrast, Errington’s (1998) study of the use of the Indonesian and Javanese languages in rural ethnic Javanese hamlets in the interior of Java provides a glimpse of a different ecology, where Indonesian and Javanese interact not to mark subethnic or class distinctions but stylistic differences.

In contrast to Java with its few, but very large, language communities, for example Javanese with its 80 million speakers (Grimes, 1988), Maluku is a region of enormous language complexity, both historic and contemporary. In Central Maluku where Florey (1990a) conducted her research as many as 40–50 autochthonous languages (Collins, 1983) are spoken by small communities in an area with a long history of colonial exploitation and contemporary turmoil. Florey’s research was conducted in Lohiatala, an Alune village near the south coast of Seram island with 666 inhabitants (in 1988), of whom fewer than 30 were not ethnic Alune. However, Lohiatala is only 10 km from the main coastal road and only 20 km from the polyglot administrative capital, Kairatu. Indeed, the village nearest to Lohiatala, Waihatu, consists of an Indonesian government resettlement village with migrants chiefly from Java and Lombok. In this village of 1900 people (three

times larger than Lohiatala) and in the small neighboring village of Waesamu, the regional dialect of Malay, Ambonese Malay, is the most frequently used language code.

In Lohiatala, three languages are used: Alune, Ambonese Malay, and Indonesian; all are Austronesian languages but Alune is only very distantly related to Indonesian and Ambonese Malay. The use of Indonesian in the village is restricted to very formal domains, such as education, church services, and village meetings. However, Ambonese Malay has become the language most frequently used in this village, although “the displacement of Alune by Malay is occurring along generational lines.” Florey found that, because of radical social changes, such as conversion to Christianity and the introduction of Malay language education in the 1920s as well as forced removal to the coast in the 1950s, younger fluent speakers of Alune (aged 35–45 years) have initiated “a change in the role of Alune from a language used in all domains of daily life to a secret language . . .” (Florey, 1990a, pp. 154–155). These speakers are “unintentionally” accelerating language shift in Lohiatala.

Florey’s research is exemplary because of the insights she obtained as a participant–observer resident; she was able to see beyond overt patterns of language usage to explore language allegiance and the local epistemology of knowledge. In so doing, she surpassed earlier, superficial treatments of language change in other parts of Maluku. Laha, another village forced to move during social upheavals—in this case in the seventeenth century (Knaap, 2004), has managed to retain a distinctive Laha language but only at the cost of a drastically remodeled grammar that parallels Ambonese Malay (Collins, 1980), but this analysis was based on mere comparison of overt language data rather than a study of other aspects of the culture and without a careful consideration of cross-generational differences in language use and language attitudes. Using Kaartinen’s work as a participant–observer resident in Banda Eli, language use among the Bandanese, refugees from seventeenth century colonial mayhem in the Banda islands to the Kei islands, could be more adequately described (Collins and Kaartinen, 1998) based on observed social uses of the four language codes available: Bandanese, Keiese, Ambonese Malay and Indonesian.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Language ecology in the Malay World is more complex than the simplistic image of an ever-advancing assault of the Malay/Indonesian language on other languages of the region, as Mühlhäusler (1996) depicted it. If we fail to realize the nuanced complexity of the ecology, we will proceed from false assumptions and flawed methodologies. Let us consider some facts about the relationship of Malay/Indonesian to

minority languages. First of all, in the brief descriptions of studies in Java (Oetomo, 1987) and Maluku (Florey, 1990a, b, 1993, 2001) above, it is clear that language choice is multifaceted. Members of the same ethnic group, like the Pasuruan Chinese, may have very different language competencies and attitudes towards Malay and other languages in their repertoires. Moreover, it may be precisely the loyal, fluent speakers of a language, like Alune, who unintentionally accelerate language death. Second, in some parts of the Malay World, Malay is actually in retreat. Tadmor (1995) has documented the increasing shift from Malay to Thai in certain formerly Malay-speaking villages in central Thailand. This matches the historic loss of Malay as a spoken language of Manila in the sixteenth century and in modern times in southern Burma (Ainsworth, 1930). We should note too the considerably reduced domains for Malay language use in Singapore, recently documented by Roksana (2003) even among the ethnic Malays of Singapore. Third, in contrast to the apparent expansion of Ambonese Malay in Maluku noted by Florey (1990a, b, 1993, 2001), in other parts of the Malay World, local Malay dialects are disappearing in favor of standard Malay/Indonesian dialects or koine Malays (Collins, 1997). Thus, the image of an advancing Malay is more diverse and complicated because in those cases Malay replaces Malay. Fourth, in some areas speakers of minority languages in the Malay World abandon their languages, not to shift to Malay at all but to shift to another locally dominant language. About 40 years ago, for example, language replacement was observed in Sarawak (Needham, 1963), but in this case the shift was from Penan to another local language, Bintulu, not Malay.

Nonetheless, Malay/Indonesian is the language of education, religion, government, media and commerce in many parts of the Malay World. It is true that many smaller minority languages are in danger of being completely replaced by this national language of Brunei, Indonesia, and Malaysia. Consequently, one of the problems that needs to be addressed is one of the basic issues in the study of language ecology: an inventorization of the languages used by societies in the Malay world. Recently it was estimated that there are 800–850 separate languages spoken in Malaysia and Indonesia alone (New York Times, 2005). However, the present poor documentation and description of those many languages is a serious impediment to intensive study of how those languages relate to each other. We cannot discuss issues like language death, multilingualism, creolization, and language contact without knowing what languages are out there.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The fact of Malay is that it is an ancient, complex language spoken in dozens of varieties within the context of 800–1000 other languages.

That many of those hundreds of languages have not been studied and described already indicates a major direction for needed research. First, as noted above, all the languages of the Malay World must be studied in order to understand the basic building blocks of the language ecology of the region. But there is a second issue: These studies must be undertaken in a spirit of broad ranging comparative inquiry. Too often linguists approach the study of a language as if it were spoken in isolation from other languages. Therefore, they discover unique phonological features and remarkable morphological retentions in “their” language only because they have closed their eyes to the context in which these languages are spoken. They overlook areal features and even linguistic mimicry because they are not interested in complicating their elegant analyses.

Malay, for example, has changed from its Western Malayo-Polynesian origins as a language with intricate affixational systems to mark patient and subject relationships; Malay has moved from a grammar that was similar to that of a Philippine language and has become grammatically more like languages of Mainland Southeast Asia, in which syntax and syntactic markers bear the weight of expressing agent–patient relationships. More linguists need to study the South-east-asianess of Malay, as suggested by areal phenomena such as convergence, serialization, and grammaticalization. As Duranti (1994, p. 102) wrote: “What we need to do is move beyond idealization of language, speech genres, and formalization and look at concrete examples of how language is used . . .”

Another comparative issue is at stake as well. Oetomo (1987), as outlined here, provided a detailed description and analysis of the language ecology of a small community of ethnic Chinese in a Javanese city. However, the documentation of this minority group’s language ecology should be the starting point for examining other ethnic Chinese communities in other parts of the Malay World. Recently Chong Shin (2005) broadened our perspective of the use and choice of languages among the Chinese in this region by studying the language ecology of such a community in the interior of Indonesia’s western Borneo. The fact that he noted an ecology considerably different from the one that Oetomo described should be a challenge to other linguists to carry this task to other areas and to other ethnic groups.

Finally, and perhaps of even greater importance is the need to study language maintenance and shift. Florey’s pioneering study of almost 20 years ago remains the only in-depth, empirical research on the processes of language change in a small community of the Malay World. She demonstrated the specific histories and psychologies that have had a deleterious impact on the survival of the Alune language in Lohiatala. The hundreds of other endangered languages of the Malay World merit just as meticulous a program of research.

**See Also:** Peter G. Sercombe: *Small Worlds: The Language Ecology of the Penan in Borneo (Volume 9)*; Anthea Fraser Gupta: *The Language Ecology of Singapore (Volume 9)*; Mukul Saxena: *Ideology, Policy and Practice in Bilingual Classrooms: Brunei Darussalam (Volume 9)*

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THE ECOLOGY OF THE CHINESE  
LANGUAGE IN THE UNITED STATES

INTRODUCTION

Increasingly, leaders across public and private sectors are recognizing the rise of Asia as one of the central facts of the twenty-first century. Fundamental to this shift is China's tremendous economic growth and emergence as a social and political leader in the region. Responding to these changes, the educational system in the USA is scrambling to increase the number of American students who can demonstrate a functional proficiency in Chinese (Asia Society, 2005). The same task, only a few decades ago, would have been inconceivable. What are the factors that affect the prestige, desirability, and marketability of a language other than English? In order to answer this question, this chapter takes an ecological perspective by examining the Chinese case in the USA.

As a nation of immigrants, the USA has been caught in the ideological struggle about languages between *unum* (assimilationist) and *pluribus* (pluralist), which is symbolized in the motto of the nation, *E pluribus Unum* ("out of many, one") (Lo Bianco, 2001). The ecology of the Chinese language has also evolved as it responds to the waxing and waning of public discourses and language policies in the US context.

Building on the themes synthesized in Hornberger's language ecological framework (2003) and my own work (Wang, 2004), this chapter reports on Chinese immigrants and their languages in the USA. It is important to note that all varieties of Chinese spoken by Chinese people dispersed from China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, and other South-East Asian countries, or in other parts of the world are referred to in this discussion.

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

*Chinese Immigrants and their Languages in the USA (Evolution)*

Complicating the ideological struggle is the fact that different languages are placed in different hierarchical orders of need and importance based on their real or perceived economic, political, and socio-historical-cultural relationships with the USA and the world. Russian stands out

as a good example (Brecht with Caemmerer and Walton, 1995). The historical account of the status and positioning of Chinese speakers inside and outside the USA also illustrates this equation.

As early as the Revolutionary War, the first wave of Chinese settlers began to arrive. With the exception of a few wealthy merchants and students who were allowed to bring their families, most settlers were uneducated laborers from villages in southeastern China searching for work on the plantations in Hawaii and then in farms in California (Takaki, 1989; Tuan, 1998). These laborers, who looked and dressed distinctively different from other groups of settlers, came without families and were willing to work hard for longer hours and for lower wages. They stirred racial hysteria among white workers. A series of discriminatory laws, for example the Nationality Act of 1870, the Page Law of 1875, the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, and the Immigration Act of 1924 (Hing, 1993), coupled with their forced segregation into Chinatowns in various cities, drove Chinese male settlers into life-long bachelorhood. Before the Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed in 1943, Chinatowns were essentially communities of bachelors, instead of families. That explains why there were not many third, fourth, or fifth generation native-born ethnic Chinese in the USA before the 1970s, as compared with ethnic Japanese (Tuan, 1998).

After World War II, the public sentiment toward Chinese slowly changed from unfavorable to a more tolerant one. The year 1965 was a significant turning point for the Chinese when the Immigration Act was signed, which abolished racial discrimination against all immigrants and re-opened the doors for the Chinese. The subsequent immigration laws passed in 1970 and 1976 further changed the demographics of Chinese communities in the USA. Because these new laws gave preferences to those with professional skills or seeking family reunification, they brought many well-educated intellectuals and highly skilled workers who made up the second wave of Chinese immigration to the USA (Hing, 1993; Takaki, 1989). Instead of congregating in Chinatowns, these newcomers tended to spread out near major universities and into the suburbs.

In the late 70s and the 80s, the third wave of Chinese immigrants that consisted of four different sub-groups began to arrive. One was a large influx of refugees and *boat people* from Southeast Asia, many of whom were ethnic Chinese, who arrived during the decade from 1974 to 1984 as a result of the US policy in the area (Wong, 1988). The other group was a steady stream of working-class Chinese, both legal and illegal, who arrived in the USA from the People's Republic of China (PRC). Another group consisted of affluent people from Hong Kong and Taiwan, who came here under the immigration investment category. The last group included professionals, students, and their families

who came around and after the Tian'anmen Square Incident in 1989 from the PRC (Zweig and Chen, 1995).

Once again these four groups changed the landscape of the Chinese communities in the USA. For example, many traditional Chinatowns that are concentrated in metropolitan areas have expanded to become Asian-towns due to the influx of Southeast Asians and Chinese settlers. The more affluent people emigrating from Hong Kong and Taiwan have created modern versions of Chinatowns such as the "Chinese Beverly Hills" and "Little Taipei" in Monterey Park (California), Flushing (New York), or in many suburbs in California and New Jersey (e.g., Takaki, 1989). The continuous emigration of Mainland Chinese graduate students and scholars has also joined the second wave of Chinese immigrants from Taiwan and Hong Kong to move into the suburbs in significant numbers (Zweig and Chen, 1995). Not only do these professionals know how to insert themselves into the mainstream society, but they also quickly learn how to use their high human and cultural capital to build social capital to engage the dominant groups (Wang, 2004).

Similarly, the macro environment for the Chinese language has been changed as China transformed itself into an emerging global power, aided by the fact that Chinese-speaking regions such as Hong Kong, Singapore, and Taiwan are also important players in the global market economy. In theory, the prestige, desirability, and marketability of the Chinese language should be able to ride with the forces of globalization. In reality, however, the Chinese language has simultaneously been subjected to both endangerment and counter-endangerment actions in the US educational context.

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

### *Assimilationist Ideologies and Policies in the USA (Environment and Endangerment)*

To examine US language educational policies, Ruiz's concept of *language orientations* that analyzes each policy's underlying public attitudes is useful: language-as-problem, language-as-right, and language-as-resource (Ruiz, 1984).

The *problem* orientation stems from the US assimilationist ideology on learning the de facto official language of the nation, English. Under this view, and while English is not the official language of the USA, there has been a prevailing monolingual ideology in US society that immigrants and indigenous groups like American Indians and Alaskan Natives should give up their "little" languages that impede their assimilation to the society and are the root of their collective problem of poverty and underachievement (Kloss, 1978/1998; Macias and Wiley,

1978/1998, p. ix; McCarty and Zepeda, 1995). Since US Senator S.I. Hayakawa first proposed an English Language Constitutional Amendment in 1980, the discourse of *Unum* has been gaining ground. At least 24 states have passed English only legislation. Additionally, California (1999), Arizona (2000), and Massachusetts (2002) voters have passed anti-bilingual education referenda (Crawford, 2003).

Throughout the 60s and 70s, while the problem orientation continued to prevail, the view that language minority children should enjoy equal *rights* to education became a concern during the civil rights movement. The Bilingual Education Act was signed into law in 1968 with the assumption and hope that the bilingual programs established under this Act would rectify the linguistic handicap of language minority students and raise their school achievement (for more details on bilingual education policies and orientations, see Evans and Hornberger, 2005). It is interesting to note that the famous landmark case of Lau versus Nichols (1974) argued for the rights of a group of Chinese-speaking children to meaningful education (Ruiz, 1984).

This kind of environmental hostility toward immigrant languages is epitomized in the provisions of *No Child Left Behind* (NCLB, Public Law 107–110, 2001), which mandate that all children must be tested for their English literacy from Grades 3 through 8 in order for the schools or school districts to avoid punitive sanctions. Although the original intent of NCLB is to emphasize accountability for all children, the effect has been to reinforce the language-as-problem orientation. Based on the place of birth, date of entry to the USA, the assessed proficiency and literacy level in English and academic subjects, immigrant children, Chinese included, are subject to these provisions. The development of their heritage language and the notion of tapping into their heritage language as a resource for learning English and academic content have been glaringly absent in the discourses in and around the implementation of NCLB.

As assimilationist ideologies and educational policies continue to play out in the society, the *resource* orientation that has entered the public discourse since the late 1980s further complicates the issues of language education. On the one hand, competence in another language other than English has long been viewed as a desirable asset for English-speaking mainstream students. On the other hand, foreign language education (FLE) in the USA has been susceptible to world events and immigration patterns and has not received adequate support (Lantolf and Sunderman, 2001). The 9/11 terrorists' attacks on the US created a sense of urgency and resulted in a series of Congressional Resolutions (e.g., House Resolution 22; House Resolution 115; and Senate Resolution 28; see <http://www.languagepolicy.org>). As of the summer of 2005, however, FLE remained an intelligence and political issue in the US Departments of State and

Defense that had yet to be translated into policies of the US Department of Education.

Because of a lack of coherent and comprehensive language education policy, one consequence of this *crisis-response* approach has resulted in the *languages of the moment* phenomenon (emphasis is mine but see Lantolf and Sunderman, 2001 for detail). For example, the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) of 1958, enacted after the Soviet Union's launch of Sputnik, identified Russian as a critical language; so have Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, and Korean shared the spotlight in the discourses arguing for US national security and economic competitiveness. Slowly and gradually students of these and other home language backgrounds have been recognized as "heritage language" speakers who are viewed as personal and societal resources (Brecht and Walton, 1994; Fishman, 1968; Peyton, et al., 2001; Wang, 2004; Webb and Miller, 2000). However, as mentioned earlier, under the NCLB, heritage languages have continued to be viewed as barriers to students' achievement, which must be eradicated within 3 years of enrollment in the K-12 public educational system. The implications of these conflicting policies in the USA are evidenced in the fact that numerous bilingual educational programs and foreign language programs have been terminated or seriously marginalized (Crawford, 2003; Evans and Hornberger, 2005; Rosenbusch and Jensen, 2005).

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

### *Chinese Heritage Language Schools and Language Maintenance (Counter Endangerment)*

Because freedom of speech is considered a constitutional right of US citizens, the policy and attitude toward immigrant languages used in the private sphere of ethnic communities is "tolerance oriented," as categorized by Kloss (Macias and Wiley, 1978/1998, p. x), which means the use of non-English languages in communities or homes are neither prohibited nor encouraged. Under this *laissez faire* policy, Chinese heritage language schools came into being. These schools are examples of what Fishman calls *reversing language shift* (1991), as they represent efforts to preserve heritage languages in the dominant society.

Paralleling the immigration patterns of the Chinese, there are three major groups of Chinese community schools in the USA: the traditional Chinese schools in and around Chinatowns in large cities; the suburban Chinese schools established by the second wave of Chinese immigrants since the late 60s and 70s; and the Mainland Chinese schools since

the 80s. These three systems are independent of one another and usually do not interact.

The earliest US Chinese language schools began in the nineteenth century, and served the needs of a few Chinese merchants who were allowed to bring their families in Chinatowns in large cities on the West Coast. Because the residents of Chinatowns in the USA had traditionally come from Guangdong, most of these first type Chinese schools taught and still teach in Cantonese. The early Chinese schools were bilingual in nature because Chinese children were not allowed to attend public schools at the time. These private or church-run schools taught classical Chinese along with other subjects, and the language of instruction was Chinese (Chan and Tsang, 1983). Their goal, in addition to teaching the regular American curricula, was to prepare young Chinese scholars to continue their education in China should their parents return to the homeland. Later when public schools began to accept Chinese students, these community Chinese schools remained open but changed into either after-school programs or weekend schools. Today Chinatown Chinese schools continue to offer Cantonese, Taishanese, or Fukienese to their students. As Chinatowns have expanded to become Asian towns, these Chinese schools also offer instruction in Mandarin, Vietnamese, Hmong, or Cambodian as a home language and English as a second language (Hardman, 1994; Skilton-Sylvester, 1997). Because these Chinese schools service a large number of immigrant children, many of them have been incorporated into the local educational system and have become bilingual schools or service centers for new arrivals.

The second type of Chinese schools was established by the second wave of Chinese immigrants from Taiwan or Hong Kong, most of which teach Mandarin. Because Chinese is normally not available as a foreign language in American schools, and because of the Chinese tradition of setting up private one-room schools in the villages, Chinese families would often get together to set up their own schools, teaching children their ancestral language and culture at the weekends. These Chinese schools also had a humble start, operating in the basement of a church or a few rented classrooms from a nearby university or school (X. Wang, 1996). Since the early 1990s, because of the political movement driven toward independence in Taiwan, a new branch of Chinese schools emerged from the second-wave of Chinese schools and began to teach Taiwanese, a dialect related to Minnanyu, also known as Fukienese.

The third type of Chinese schools, also teaching Mandarin, was established by immigrant families from the People's Republic of China (PRC). These families followed the second wave of Chinese immigrants, and they faced challenges and issues similar to the second-type

of Chinese schools (for details about challenges facing Chinese heritage language schools, see X. Wang, 1996).

In 1994, with the support of the National Foreign Language Center (NFLC), the ten regional associations of the Taiwan/Hong Kong system formed the *National Council of Associations of Chinese Language Schools* (NCACLS). Its mission is to help the second type of Chinese schools meet the needs of their students, voice their concerns to the mainstream society, and forge a link between Chinese heritage language schools and the formal educational system at both the K-12 and college levels. In 1995, there were 82,675 students and 5,540 teachers in 634 Chinese schools nationwide (X. Wang, 1996). In early 2005, student enrollment was estimated to be around 100,000 (<http://www.ncacls.org/>).

Almost simultaneously in 1993, under the auspices of NFLC, the PRC group also formed a national organization named *The Chinese School Association in the United States* (CSAUS), whose membership quickly grew to 130 by 1999 and which expanded to 300 schools with 60,000 students in 2005 (see <http://www.csaus.org/>). Table 1 summarizes the chronological order, family origin, and languages taught in these three groups of school.

Since the 1990s, many Chinese schools have been experiencing a new phenomenon—the presence of non-Chinese families who adopted children from China. According to figures released by the Families with Children from China (FCC), the number of such adoptions has grown from a few dozen in 1985 to 5,053 in 2000, bringing the total number of adoptions from China since 1985 to 23,903 nationwide (<http://www.fwcc.org>, 2004, para 5). This special population presents another dimension of need because most of the parents are not

Table 1

| Group type            | Chinatown Chinese Schools                        | NCACLS  | CSAUS      |
|-----------------------|--|---|------------|
| Time of establishment | Nineteenth century                               | Early 1970s                                     | Late 1980s |
| Family Origin         | China, mainly from Guangdong or Fujian Provinces | Taiwan and Hong Kong                            | PRC        |
| Language taught       | Cantonese, Taishanese, Hakka                     | Mandarin, a few teach Taiwanese (a Min Dialect) | Mandarin   |

Chinese-speaking and do not practice Chinese culture. The majority of Chinese heritage schools are not equipped to service the linguistic and socio-cultural needs of these families.

In fact, because these heritage schools are operated by parents and community members, they are left alone to wrestle with a myriad of challenges such as teaching Chinese as a second language in the US context, getting trained teachers, developing content-rich curricula, finding adequate textbooks and assessment, as well as receiving credits from local schools or universities, to name some key examples. Their efforts have largely been unnoticed by the mainstream society (X. Wang, 1996; S.C. Wang, 2004). The national organizations marked the beginning of dialogue between the heritage and the formal educational sectors. The sense of urgency created in the post-9/11 context has finally brought the heritage language schools to the table of FLE.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

##### *Promoting Chinese as a Foreign Language (Language Spread Efforts)*

In academic circles, taking the resource orientation to building national language capacities, numerous projects have been dedicated to linking the five sectors of the FL field: the formal educational system, the government, business proprietors, the home government, and the heritage communities (Brecht and Walton, 1994). The two national Chinese school organizations reflected one aspect of these efforts.

In the formal educational system, however, Chinese is a newcomer as opposed to the commonly taught European languages such as French, German, or Spanish. Because the National Defense Education Act Title VI of 1958, now Title VI of the Higher Education Act, focused the introduction of the non-Western European languages to a limited number of graduate programs in select universities, it did not have much impact on spreading the study of Chinese in K-12 schools (Moore et al. 1992, pp. 1–2). Two major private initiatives were instrumental for introducing Chinese to the US schools: The Carnegie Foundation's initiative in the early 60s throughout the 80s and the Geraldine Dodge Foundation's initiatives from the 80s through the early 2000s.

The Carnegie initiative took a top-down approach by establishing 7 university centers, under which 200 high school Chinese programs were built and supported. By 1980, only two Carnegie funded high schools still offered full-fledged Chinese language programs (Moore et al., 1992, p. 6). Building on the lessons learned from the Carnegie initiative, the Dodge Foundation's multi-million dollar initiative took

a bottom-up approach by establishing: (i) 60 high schools nationally, (ii) a Secondary School Chinese Language Center at Princeton University, and (iii) the *Chinese Initiative for Children* in 11 elementary schools in the State of New Jersey (Moore, 1992; Secondary School Chinese Language Center Newsletter, August 2002). To date, the Princeton Center has ceased to operate, and it is unclear how many of these Dodge-funded schools still offer the Chinese language.

Besides the Carnegie and Dodge initiatives, federal funding support has been limited to the Foreign Language Assistance Program (FLAP). First enacted in 1988 and 1990, respectively, FLAP grants award state and local educational agencies for 3 years to develop model programs that establish, improve, or expand foreign language study in elementary and secondary schools. In the 1992 reauthorization, Chinese was identified as one of the “critical languages” that should receive funding priority, but the funding had been too little and too competitive to put Chinese language programs on the map significantly.

Interestingly, the June 2004 National Language Conference turned out to be a defining event in the recent history of USFLE. The Departments of Defense, State, and Education, in partnership with the Intelligence Community and the Center for the Advanced Study of Language of the University of Maryland, hosted the conference and produced an influential white paper, recommending immediate and long-term engagement by public, private, and government agencies to improve the nation’s foreign language and cultural competency, particularly on critical need languages such as Arabic, Chinese, Russian, Hindi, and Farsi (<http://www.nlconference.org>). In response, President George W. Bush announced the National Security Language Initiative (NSLI) in January 2006, which was co-sponsored by the US Departments of Defense, Education, State, and the Office of the Director of National Intelligence, requesting 114 million dollars for fiscal year 2007 (<http://www.ncela.gwu.edu/spotlight/NSLI>).

On the non-governmental side, the College Board, the Chinese government, and the Asia Society have been important players in promoting the Chinese language in the USA. For example, the College Board is developing Chinese Advanced Placement (AP) courses and tests, along with Italian, Japanese, and Russian, to be available in 2007 (<http://www.apcentral.collegeboard.com>). The Office of Chinese Language Council International (commonly known as Hanban, see <http://www.hanban.edu.cn>) of the PRC has been engaging in a variety of activities ranging from teacher training, professional development, materials and curriculum development, to assisting the College Board to develop the Chinese AP Program. It also collaborated with the US Department of Education in developing a free-of-charge language

learning system in English and Chinese (<http://elanguage.cn>). The Asia Society convened a series of leadership meetings that produced a report about how to expand the Chinese teaching field and a handbook for establishing Chinese programs in K-12 schools (Asia Society, 2005, 2006).

Taken together, these initiatives illustrate how Chinese is gaining prominence in becoming an important foreign language in the USA. Time will tell if these efforts will come to fruition.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The Chinese case illustrates the following points about language ecological systems: First, numerous factors in the environment shape, enable, or impede the evolution of an ethnic community language in a hosting society; these include the language orientation of the dominant society toward the particular language and the real or perceived need for the language by its speakers and the society.

Second, the “fate” of an ethnic community is closely tied to who their members are; that is, race, ethnicity, national origin, education level, occupation, manner of entry, and the size of the group, to name some examples (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). Immigration laws, political power and relations between the home and host countries, and the socio-cultural and economic impacts of the group as perceived by the dominant society also play important roles. The history of the Chinese groups in the USA provides strong evidence for how these factors have played out.

Third, an ethnic community group can counter language shift by engaging in intergenerational transmission of its heritage language and culture. The conditions for each group vary, but the mechanism and challenges are similar from group to group. By pooling the community’s resources, the group can create a space of its own in the dominant society (Wang, 2004). By maintaining its heritage language, the group is also helping the USA to maintain and expand its foreign language capacity.

Fourth, because the desire to form a unified national identity through language is strong in the USA, as seen in the motto of “*E pluribus Unum*,” immigrant children are always subject to the English language learning policies of the dominant society. While English proficiency is a ticket for social mobility for any individual in the US society, there is a danger in promoting a monolingual policy in the context of globalization. Such a myopic view will significantly reduce the human capital stock of the USA in the long run (Wang, 2004).

Finally, in building its foreign language capacity for the twenty-first century, the USA must re-evaluate its language educational policies in

a comprehensive way in order to avoid creating conflicting policies and engaging in practices that are counter-productive to the language needs of all children and of the nation.

The story of the Chinese language in the USA is a continuing saga. In this global age when the world's population is constantly and continuously migrating, this Chinese case helps shed some light on the field of language planning and language education in many contexts in the world.

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#### USEFUL WEBSITES

- Asia Society <http://askasia.org/Chinese>  
 Chinese School Association in the United States <http://www.csaus.org/>  
 College Board Advance Placement Homepage <http://www.apcentral.collegeboard.com>

Families with Children from China <http://www.fwcc.org>  
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The Office of Chinese Language Council International <http://www.hanban.edu.cn>

## SMALL WORLDS: THE LANGUAGE ECOLOGY OF THE PENAN IN BORNEO

### INTRODUCTION

Borneo Island sits astride the equator, is 750,000 km<sup>2</sup> in area, and had an estimated population of 15 million people at the beginning of the twenty-first century. It is divided politically among Brunei Darussalam (hereafter Brunei), Indonesian Kalimantan and the East Malaysian states of Sarawak and Sabah.

The ethnonym Penan is used here generically to refer to those in Borneo who were, have been or, in a few cases, continue to live as nomadic hunter-gatherers, i.e. people whose economies are based on hunting wild game, fishing and gathering uncultivated plant foods, without plant or animal domestication other than dogs (cf. Lee and Daly, 1998). This article provides a brief socio-cultural outline of the Penan. This serves as an introduction to the language ecology of the congeries of Penan people in the East Malaysian state of Sarawak (124,450 km<sup>2</sup>, population approximately 2.18 million, capital Kuching) and the independent sultanate of Brunei (5,765 km<sup>2</sup>, population around 350,000, capital Bandar Sri Begawan), with close reference to the dominant languages and formal education in these states. This discussion does not include Sabah where there are no Penan; neither does it take account of Penan in the three northern provinces of Kalimantan (in Indonesia), whose circumstances are substantially different in a number of ways, largely historical and political, from the Penan in Sarawak and Brunei (for details of Penan in Kalimantan see, for example, Sellato, 1994).

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

There are three main ethnic groups in Borneo, Chinese, Dayak and Malay. The Penan are part of the Dayak group of peoples who are generally seen as indigenous to Borneo and non-Muslim. Penan in Sarawak and Brunei currently number around 11,000 people and thus constitute an ethnodemographic minority (cf. Haarmann, 1986). They traditionally inhabit mountainous areas between river basins and can be divided into Western and Eastern Penan. The Western Penan are situated upriver in Sarawak between the state's two longest rivers, the Rejang and the Baram, and generally comprise larger communities than their Eastern

counterparts. The Eastern Penan also live mostly inland, east of the Baram River as far as the Limbang River watershed, with one small community in the southern part of Brunei's western enclave. Compared to Western Penan, nomadic Eastern Penan encampments are of shorter duration, they generally have smaller foraging areas, and less developed institutions of group leadership. The two broad varieties of the Penan language (Eastern and Western), although there is diversity within these, are dialects of Kenyah (Blust, 1972; Sercombe, 2002), a language of a Central Bornean group of settled agriculturalists; and the linguistic division of (Eastern and Western) Penan coincides with the socio-cultural and geographical separation of the two clusters.

Detailed information about the Penan has only been available since the 1950s (prior to which little had been written of Borneo's hunter-gatherers), including Needham (e.g. 1953) comprising ethnographic work mostly on Eastern Penan; Langub's (e.g. 1974) ongoing interest in and accounts of Penan transition to settlement, along with their reactions to development, including formal education; and Brosius' (e.g. 1986) work among Western Penan. The latter two authors have foregrounded the often depleted social circumstances of Penan communities in Sarawak.

There are a number of salient points regarding the Penan's changing ecology, including the following: they have largely shifted towards sedentism (sometimes under pressure and sometimes voluntarily) since the middle of the twentieth century, although individual groups continue to maintain a sense of political independence. Settlement, however, has not necessarily brought an improvement in quality of life, according to Penan (Sarawak News, 2002; Voeks and Sercombe, 2000 among others). With sedentism has come increasing contact with settled groups, representatives of government and national institutions (although minimal exogamy) and greater exposure to other languages, with the Penan very much an ethnosociological minority (cf. Haarmann, 1986). Most Penan are now involved in slash-and-burn rice agriculture (albeit not always successfully) and or wage labour, although most still continue to hunt, collect uncultivated wild flora, and other forest products for sale or trade, where this is viable. Eastern Penan have an egalitarian form of social organisation and a limited suite of ritual traditions, although these have been affected in two main ways: conversion, among many communities, to Christianity (in Sarawak) and a sense of shame about traditional beliefs (Sercombe, 1996); and Islam (by nearly half the Penan group in Brunei) and acquisition of language associated with this. Secondly, there has been the introduction of a government-paid stipend for village headmen in both Sarawak and Brunei, increasing socio-economic differences within communities. Extensive extraction activities practised by government-licensed logging companies in Sarawak

have also resulted in a loss of resources and material hardship for many Penan (although not in Brunei). All the above-mentioned factors have affected symbiotic relations within communities with, for example, the waning of the practice of sharing perishable resources; and have also brought about some borrowing of Malay language features into Penan (Sercombe, 1996). The Suai-Niah Penan in Sarawak's Miri District, however, unlike many Penan communities, have made a less painful transition to settlement, since settling on the coast (Langub, 1996), but they have access to roads, local markets and government services which other Penan do not.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The hegemony of the Malay-dominated government in Brunei (Martin, 2002) and Sarawak over other ethnic groups is an ethnopolitical variable (cf. Haarmann, 1986) that affects the language ecology of the Penan in a number of ways, a significant aspect of which is education. State schools do not exist in a vacuum but within a larger social and cultural context and language and literacy education (qv. *Literacy*, Volume 2) can be as much about the distribution of knowledge and power in society as the imparting of skills, such that education is an agent of social control rather than nurture. Schools in Malaysia and Brunei act as conduits for curricula that reflect government-led views, including the importance of Malay as the dominant national language, Islam as the principal religion and English as, in effect, 'the' foreign language, largely ignoring local language ecologies. In interior parts of Borneo, neither Malay nor English is endemic. Both have relatively little ethoglossic value in districts inhabited by Penan in Sarawak or Brunei. Malay, nonetheless, is more accessible to Penan, than English, as a language that is typologically closer to their own; and is more likely to function as a lingua franca between local inhabitants and teachers or other government representatives, from parts of Brunei or Malaysia who are not cognisant of Penan or other local languages. Nonetheless, the imposition of Malay and English contributes towards an 'artificial ecology' (Mühlhäusler, 2000, p. 326), in areas inhabited by Penan. Martin (2002) describes 'race', 'language' and 'nation' as central to the language ecology of Brunei. These are also significant to the language ecology of Sarawak. It is through Malay that state-controlled ideology is attempting to solidify or, in the case of Brunei, homogenise its populous (qv. *Language Policy and Political Issues in Education*, Volume 1). In the same way 'English was used to spread Christianity and western civilisation, so Malay is being used to spread Islam and Islamic civilisation' (Mühlhäusler, 1996, p. 209), in both Brunei and Malaysia.

In upriver areas, where most Penan live, there are few Chinese traders or permanent Malay inhabitants. Penan are exposed to at least

three languages, apart from their own. Firstly, there is the language(s) of their settled neighbours, most likely to be Kayan, Kelabit, Kenyah or Sa'ban in Sarawak; or Dusun and Iban for Penan in Brunei. Penan are primary bilinguals in acquiring a neighbouring language without instruction, and balanced in their use often by having near first language levels of proficiency (qv. *Knowledge about Language*, Volume 6). The second local language is additive in that it is useful, as a means of communication within the wider district level speech community, and is acquired without pressure, or at the expense of Penan (Sercombe, 2003). At primary school, pupils receive instruction in Malay, the national language of both Brunei and Malaysia, the Penan's third language, with English being a fourth (other) language, in which few Penan achieve a functional level of proficiency. However, since 1985 in Brunei, the supranational language, English, officially became the medium of instruction for geography, science and mathematics, as well as English language, from the fourth year of primary school (qv. *Bilingual Education*, Volume 5). Penan are generally multilingual and, if they learn to read and write, they are monoliterate in Malay, in Brunei; while in Sarawak, Penan become both multilingual and, if they gain reading and writing skills, biliterate in Malay and Penan, often having access to religious texts in their own language. Thus, for most Penan language is not a binary but a multidimensional issue. It is, however, uncommon (and unknown in Brunei) for members of other ethnic groups to acquire or learn Penan (qv. *Second and Foreign Language Education*, Volume 4).

Penan children's entry into formal education influences interactional, ethnocultural and ethnolinguistic aspects of their language ecology (cf. Haarmann, 1986). Penan living in the interior are dependent on education as a means of upward social mobility, the only way they are likely to improve their economic lot. Penan endorse the value of formal education, but have long had a poor record of success in formal education (in Sarawak and Brunei), achieving low levels of text literacy, compared to their traditionally settled neighbours, with few Penan completing primary education and even fewer progressing to secondary, let alone higher, education. Kedit's (1982) ecological survey of the Penan in the middle Baram area of Sarawak revealed that, among six Penan communities, only a handful of individuals from three groups had attended any formal education. Langub (2000) reported on five Western Penan communities, in the Belaga District of Sarawak. At that time, no Penan child from this district had completed secondary education, mainly due to financial hardship, or some form of exploitation. Sercombe (2002) found a similar situation in Sukang primary school in Brunei, where Penan comprise the majority of school pupils, but have the lowest rate of academic success, with only one Penan ever

having progressed to secondary education (since 1964). Officially, English is the main medium of instruction in the upper 3 years of primary school, in Brunei, but there are few Penan pupils in these year groups and those few were unable to produce more than a few phrases or brief formulaic utterances in English, after 6 years of exposure to the language. As Cummins (2000, p. 103) suggests: 'major causal factors in linguistic minority students' underachievement are socio-political in nature.' Sercombe (2002) also found reduced levels of knowledge of Penan traditional activities and material culture, with many Penan children in Sukang (in Brunei) no longer aware of Penan neonyms or teknonyms, language related to processing sago or the names of certain hunting tools. The result is that while Penan children are not succeeding at school, they are also losing touch with their own heritage (qv. Knowledge about Language, Volume 6).

In June 2002, in the Baram River district of Sarawak, Penan area representatives evaluated a range of features of quality of life, including government rural educational provision, with an 'F', the lowest possible rating (Sarawak News, 2002). Nevertheless, there has been educational advance for some Penan. Established in 1957, at Long Lamei in the upper Baram, the first primary school located in a Penan village, with trained qualified Penan teachers has probably produced more Penan primary school graduates than any other school in Sarawak (although not without some of the problems already mentioned). Unfortunately, those Penan who do progress academically are less likely to return to their own communities (Sercombe, 2002).

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Hunter-gatherers had, until a relatively short time ago, generally not lived under the yoke of national governments. In the twenty-first century, there can hardly be a hunting and gathering community around the globe that has not been, in some measure, affected by the emergence of the centralised nation state, with its inclination towards national uniformity (Lee and Daly, 1998) and the incursions of industrialisation, often in areas inhabited by hunter-gatherers. However, the domination of ethnic minorities has generally been seen as in their best interests, by the state at least (Sellato and Sercombe, 2007); and Penan have been expected to 'adopt the discourse of development and all its entailments' (Brosius, 1993, p. 47), with nomadism otherwise being perceived as indicative of backwardness and anarchism.

With specific regard to the ecology of state schools and language education, there are a number of issues which affect Penan's levels of achievement. There is little similarity between rurally located Penan village schools and those in urban parts of Malaysia and Brunei:

physical inaccessibility (frequently only by river or footpath), limited access to resources (such as print and electronic media) and services (for example, electricity is often only available for part of the school day, if at all); teachers from coastal areas may resent being posted to an upriver school, a sentiment that can be reflected in their perceptions of Penan as having low social status, as ex-hunter-gatherers and their attitudes towards Penan, as is the case in Brunei (cf. Rousseau, 1990; Sercombe, 2002). Teachers are unlikely to know Penan, may speak Malay as a second language (particularly in Sarawak, where Malays are in a minority) and know English as a foreign language. Few Penan reach the necessary level of language proficiency in Malay (and certainly not in English) in order to benefit from state education.

There is a contrast between the formal stratified and disciplined setting of the school compared to the more informal, egalitarian environment of Penan communities and homes. Schools tend to be male teacher-dominated, unlike Penan domestic contexts where women are of similar numerical and social status. There appears to be a schism between the traditionally oral, fluid culture of the Penan and the teaching of literacy (and other) skills in schools. Learning in school is compartmentalised and there are clear levels of social stratification with concomitant individualisation (implying privacy and isolation) versus communality. The hierarchical and competitive nature of schools with their regimes of authority are at odds with the atmosphere of social autonomy and traditional means of learning and sharing knowledge in Penan society. Penan children's homes are places where the acquisition of life skills tends to be holistic. In literacy, language tends to be isolated, such that printed text has independent meaning (unlike spoken language) and the object rather than the conduit for analysis, divorcing it from the experiences of Penan. Very rarely are the benefits of literacy obvious in school so that Penan children can see how they might gain from reading and writing.

Penan children's behavioural and learning styles also appear to be at odds with those of the institutions in which they are taught (cf. Heath, 1983). Penan children tend to learn by observation and imitation (an inductive process), a form of apprenticeship, rather than through explicit verbal instructions (often a deductive process). Talk itself is frequently more of a social than a formal or transactional function for Penan; and participation in discourse is voluntary, such that non-participation is not necessarily equated with non-cooperation. Penan parents tend not to foster individual academic ambition through, for example, the domestic use of Malay, as do parents of children from other ethnolinguistic groups, in Brunei in particular (Martin, 2002). However, Penan parents say that they value the idea of educational

success although they do not expect it, based on past experiences (Sercombe, 2002).

Teachers' expectations in Bruneian and Malaysian schools often reflect the myth of the 'universal child' (Christie and Harris, 1985, p. 81) and little credence is given to Penan worldviews. Penan pupils' performances seem to fulfil teachers' perceptions of them as lazy and academically weak (Sercombe, 2002). Penan children are also generally unused to overt criticism, which they are less likely to experience in their own communities. This does not encourage them to pursue formal education, given what may be a miserable experience, the acquisition of a fairly negative self-concept and the absence of parental pressure.

Penan gain no personal or official recognition or credit for their first language knowledge and teachers from elsewhere often do not speak Penan and may prohibit Penan from using their language in the classroom (qv. Knowledge about Language, Volume 6). The national curriculum has no Penan history, stories, myths, pictures, language or songs. The media of education (Malay, and English in particular) have very limited functions for the Penan outside the immediate school environments and, as Malone (2004) suggests, the success of children in second or foreign language immersion education depends on their economic status. Beyond the school, most Penan children have little access to either of these languages, either through the media, or through social contact with groups who use Malay or English, given their limited mobility and their levels of poverty.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

If adaptation to settlement has been a major upheaval for human beings in general, then few Penan have been able to make the shift, as citizens of either Brunei or Sarawak, in ways that might (economically) benefit their communities. The major challenges faced by Penan are common to hunting and gathering groups elsewhere who have made, or who are making, the transition to settlement. Foremost among these, for the Penan, is the attenuating ecology of their physical environment, through the commercial exploitation of the rainforest (under the state's approval) in Sarawak, on which they have long depended. This has embittered many Penan towards the state, in the light of: firstly, their concept of *molong*, a form of stewardship that involves judiciously preserving and fostering natural primary resources. And, secondly, their own close emotional relationship with the landscape, its association with significant past events, genealogies through granting names of geographical features to relatives and friends, and vice versa, and the inter-relationship of these connections in their language.

The Sarawak government's position was made explicit, however, in a special 1992 state-administered Sarawak Museum exhibition, the point of which was to show the Penan entering the mainstream of Malaysian society (Brosius, 1993). And it was as far back as 1937 that the British influenced Brunei government had decided it would be unable to provide education in different local languages, and moved towards the idea of assimilating non-Malay peoples (Brunei Government, 1938).

Within Malaysia and Brunei's language ecology, language planning takes little account of pupils who come from non-Malay-speaking backgrounds (qv. Language Policy and Political Issues in Education). Children from ethnolinguistic minorities are under external pressure to be multilingual in Malay and English if they are to progress in education and beyond. They have to acquire a sufficient command of the selected medium if they are to profit from the education system. This can be seen as a form of transitional bilingualism that aims (deliberately or otherwise) at the reduction of linguistic diversity and language shift.

Penan is still the language of primary socialisation among most communities; and Penan continue to use their language as their social networks remain primarily rooted among their own ethnic group. They have mostly not succumbed, as yet, to a trend of acculturation towards Malay, as has happened among other groups in Brunei (Martin, 2002). For the few Penan who have been able to improve their situations since settling, this has often taken place outside their own communities and the intra-ethnic domain of Penan language use, sometimes with a shift to another language.

The lack of Penan materials in written form does not seem to have affected the chances of its continuity. There is an orthography for Penan and most of the Bible (Bible Society of Singapore, Malaysia and Brunei, 1974) is available in Sarawak in Eastern Penan, albeit the result of a standardisation process that makes it appear somewhat stilted and removed from the way Penan is used orally.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The prognosis for the language ecology of Penan, within the context of Brunei and Malaysia, is uncertain at the present time. Penan in Sarawak are affected by issues of logging and customary native land rights; and in Brunei, they number less than 60 people, are not seen officially as indigenous to the state and are under ongoing pressure (of prosyletisation and financial incentives) to embrace the national religion (Sercombe, 2002).

While Malay and English may be suitable as media of education, their roles are not being articulated as appropriately as they could be,

given the low success rates of Penan in formal education and the national language ecologies of Brunei and Malaysia. This should have implications for the content and style of educational provision in both Sarawak and Brunei. Policy makers and planners would do well to engage with Penan communities as there is certainly a need for schools to work with, rather than in opposition to, the homes of Penan pupils. At a minimum, some account needs to be taken of Penan communities at large in, for example, the orientation of posted teachers, if there is to be any improvement in Penan children's rates of academic success. Greater Penan participation in social institutions, to which they presently have only limited and often token access, is likely to lend Penan a greater sense of involvement in the (planning of their) future. Moll (1992), for example, supports the idea of a socio-cultural approach to bilingual education that utilises the resources available in children's communities, 'funds of knowledge', such that the domestic community becomes a resource and is legitimised to the same level as school knowledge.

Even so, outside of state intervention, neighbouring group languages contribute towards a balanced local ecology (cf. Mühlhäusler, 2000), where patterns of language use are very different from those in coastal parts of Borneo island. Penan, by dint of their relatively remote rural circumstances, have more chance of maintaining their language, where current group cohesion is greater than if they lived in urban circumstances (where the possibilities for group fragmentation, disparate social networks and exposure to other social variables would be greater). Penan are both positive about both their own language (Sercombe, 2002) despite there having been a case of language shift among one community in Sarawak (Needham, 1965); and in Brunei at least, there being signs of language change (with the adoption of Malay terms, even where there are Penan equivalents) and shrinkage (with the decline of necronymy and tekronymy), as well as a case of shift among Penan individuals (Sercombe, 2002).

Neither Malaysia nor Brunei will be able to resolve many of their challenges in language and education until politicians, planners and educationists are clear about the criteria they are using to decide 'what is best for children: knowledge acquisition, individual growth, economics, national unity, religious development or ethnic identity maintenance' (Clammer, in Gaudart, 1987, pp. 544–545) (qv. Language Policy and Political Issues in Education).

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## THE MOROCCAN COMMUNITY IN THE NETHERLANDS

### INTRODUCTION

In January 2005, 314,699 people of whom at least one parent was born in Morocco were living in the Netherlands, among a total population of more than 16 million. More than 1.5 million people have a non-Western background. The largest groups are Turkish, Surinamese, Moroccan and Antillean/Aruban, as can be seen from [Table 1](#).

Most members of non-Western minority groups live in the major cities, but they are not equally distributed. In both Amsterdam and Utrecht, the number of Moroccans is higher than the number of Turks. But in cities like Rotterdam, Den Haag, Arnhem and Deventer it is the other way round, as illustrated in [Table 2](#).

The focus of this article is the Moroccan minority in the Netherlands. It was in the 1960s and 1970s that Moroccan men started to come to the Netherlands as migrant workers. At the time, it was not their intention to settle in the country. However, from the 1980s onwards many workers were joined by their families, and they did indeed begin to settle in the country.

In Morocco, approximately 30–40% of the population are Berbers who use one of the varieties of Berber as their mother tongue. Usually, three main groups of Berber languages are distinguished: Tarifit or Rifberber, spoken in the Northern Rif mountains; Tamazight in the Middle-Atlas region; and the variety of Berber in the South is referred to as Tashelhit. The remaining 60–70% of the population speaks Moroccan Arabic, which is the lingua franca in the country.

Arabic and Berber differ from each other in many respects, but since they have been used alongside each other for a long period of time, they have mutually influenced each other. In the Netherlands, however, 70–80% of Moroccans originate from the Berber speaking Rif mountains, in the North of the country. Among the first generation, Moroccan Arabic is the lingua franca, as in Morocco, but among the second and third generations, Dutch is dominant. More general introductory information about Moroccans and their languages in the Netherlands can be found in Dorren (1999) and Otten and de Ruiter (1991). Maarten Kossmann published bilingual traditional stories from Berber communities (Kossmann, 2003).

Table 1 Some (first and second generation) non-Western minorities in the Netherlands, January 2004, based on [www.cbs.nl](http://www.cbs.nl)

|                               |                   |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|
| <b>Total Dutch population</b> | <b>16,258,032</b> |
| Turkish                       | 351,648           |
| Surinamese                    | 325,281           |
| Moroccan                      | 306,219           |
| Antillean/Aruban              | 130,722           |

Table 2 Total numbers of inhabitants and percentages (first and second generation) of people with non-Western, Moroccan and Turkish background in six Dutch cities. January 2004, based on [www.cbs.nl](http://www.cbs.nl)

|                    | Total      | % Non-Western | % Moroccan | % Turkish |
|--------------------|------------|---------------|------------|-----------|
| Amsterdam          | 739,104    | 33.9          | 8.5        | 5.1       |
| Rotterdam          | 598,923    | 34.6          | 5.9        | 7.4       |
| Den Haag           | 469,059    | 24.6          | 1.7        | 3.3       |
| Utrecht            | 270,224    | 20.4          | 8.6        | 4.5       |
| Arnhem             | 143,110    | 16.6          | 1.8        | 5.3       |
| Deventer           | 89,142     | 12.7          | 0.3        | 7.0       |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 16,258,032 | 10.1          | 1.9        | 2.2       |

The sections below provide some information on Moroccans and their languages in the Netherlands. Due to space constraints, the choice of literature is selective. It will, however, become clear that in the past 30 years the focus has taken into account both an educational and linguistic perspective. In the final section of this article, some problems concerning research and the Moroccan community in the Netherlands will be touched upon.

#### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Since the presence of Moroccans in the Netherlands is relatively new (about 40 years), the earliest studies appear from the late seventies onwards, written mainly in Dutch. These mainly focus on the acquisition of Dutch by Moroccans and other migrant workers, as well as on

problems arising in educational contexts. Many of these early sources take contrastive analysis or error analysis as their starting-point (for example, Coenen, van Wiggen and Bok-Bennema, 1978). In addition, teaching Dutch as a second language was and continues to be a central theme (qv. Kramsch, *Applied Linguistic Theory and Second/Foreign Language Education*, Volume 4). Another source worthy of note is that by Appel, Cruson, Muysken and de Vries (1980), which is a collection of articles focusing on language problems in education, and the acquisition of Dutch. In the majority of the articles in this collection, Moroccans and Turks are treated as one group, due to the similarities between the two groups, even though the linguistic profile of the two groups is different.

Beside studies on educational aspects, there have also been studies which provide a sociological or anthropological perspective, and these are useful for those who wish to study the Moroccan community in the Netherlands. There are also works targeted at an audience which is not familiar with the Moroccan community in the Netherlands. For example, van den Berg-Eldering (1982) investigated the motives, norms and values of single men who had migrated to the country, both prior to migration and when they were in the Netherlands. She concluded that the main reasons for Moroccan wives and children to migrate and join their husbands were family problems at home and an attractive and cheap system of social welfare and health care in the Netherlands. Usually the intention was to return to Morocco after a relatively short stay in the country. Families were in no way prepared for the Dutch way of life and their migration frequently lead to culture shock. In another study, van der Meer (1984) investigated the Moroccan styles of communication and how this was different from Dutch communicative processes. One example is the way in which Moroccans experience illness and how this might cause misunderstandings between doctors and their Moroccan patients.

In 1982, Roel Otten published an article about language problems for Moroccans learning Dutch (Otten, 1982). In this article, he sketched the complex linguistic situation in Morocco, and focused on differences between Rif Berber and Dutch, at the phonological, morphological and syntactic levels. For each of the levels mentioned, he predicted the problems Berber-speaking Moroccans would encounter in learning Dutch based on first language transfer. For example, Dutch has more vowels than Berber, leading to the difficulty in distinguishing between Dutch minimal pairs such as *bom-boom* ('bomb'-'tree') and *deur-duur* ('door'-'expensive').

Appel (1984) focused on the sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic aspects of second language acquisition in Holland. He refers to the evaluation of an experimental transitional model in primary education.

In this model, Turkish and Moroccan children were taught through their native language in the first year, and gradually Dutch replaced their first language. The conclusion was that there were no negative effects on the children's school success. In 1993, Erin Wagenaar published a book about the same topic, though focusing on younger (4–6 year olds) children (Wagenaar, 1993) (qv. Cruickshank, *Arabic-English Bilingualism in Australia*, Volume 5).

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Following the earlier studies referred to in the section above, the focus on the linguistic ecology of the Moroccan community in the Netherlands as linked to the education of members of that community gradually became broader. Studies on mother tongue teaching gained momentum and more attention was given to issues such as bilingualism, code-switching and language attrition.

#### *Minority Language Teaching*

In the Netherlands, mother tongue teaching to Moroccan children in Dutch primary schools was supported by the government from 1974 until August, 2004. In the early years, the purpose of this type of education was to facilitate re-migration to Morocco, and to serve as an extra help for children who had just arrived, and to avoid alienation from their community. In the early years, schools with a certain minimum of Moroccan children could provide 2.5 hours of mother tongue teaching within school hours. Teachers usually commuted between schools which made it difficult for them to get involved in the different schools, and to stay in close contact with other teachers in the same school. Therefore, these teachers were often more 'outsiders' than 'insiders'. After 1980, when it became clear that most Moroccans would not return to Morocco, the main purpose changed from re-migration to help avoid identity problems and to facilitate the acquisition of Dutch and integration into Dutch society (van de Wetering, 1990).

The short history of Moroccan mother tongue teaching in the Netherlands has been beset with problems, and there are also issues to do with political will. One of the main problems in mother tongue teaching to Moroccan children was a matter of language choice. For the Moroccans themselves it was unacceptable that the oral languages Moroccan Arabic or Berber would be the languages to learn. Written proficiency is only possible in Standard Arabic, which is highly prestigious and very different from both oral languages. (cf. Suleiman, *The Language Ecology of the Middle East: Jordan as a case study*, Volume 9) One major problem, for example, was that there were not enough teachers in the Netherlands,

resulting in the recruitment of teachers who came straight from Morocco without any knowledge of Dutch language and society.

In 2002, minority language teaching became the responsibility of the municipalities instead of the central government. In addition, a distinction between the first and last years of primary education was made: in the first four years (age 4–8), minority language teaching would take place within school hours, and it would serve to facilitate the acquisition of Dutch as a second language. In the last four years (age 8–12) it was only meant to strengthen cultural identity and it had to take place outside regular school hours. However, the new structure set in place in 2002 ended in 2004 when all government support for minority language teaching was withdrawn. Initiatives that were in place were thus never allowed to develop (qv. Pennycook, *Critical Applied Linguistics and Language Education*, Volume 1).

The use of Moroccan languages at home and in school is discussed in Extra and Gorter (2001) and Extra, Aarts, van der Avoird, Broeder and Yağmur (2002). In the latter, results of a survey showed that more than 90% of 4–17 year old Moroccan children (both Berber-speaking and Moroccan Arabic-speaking) are able to understand and speak Berber or Moroccan Arabic. It was found that of the youngest children, 45% had a preference for Moroccan Arabic or Berber. At age 10–11 this decreased to 25%, but it increased to 36% at the age of 17.

One further contribution is that of Bos (1997), who has studied the bilingualism of school-age Moroccan children in the Netherlands. The book focuses mainly on the development of bilingualism before the age of 12, and it provides little information on the relation between bilingualism and educational achievement.

### *Linguistic Aspects*

Within the Dutch context, it is impossible to see Moroccans and their languages as independent from educational and political developments in the country. There are a number of studies which focus on the contact between Berber and Moroccan Arabic on the one hand, with Dutch, on the other.

De Ruiter (1989) studied proficiency in Moroccan Arabic and Berber and proficiency in Dutch among Moroccan children, noting that some informants were no longer able to express themselves in Moroccan Arabic or Berber. He cautioned against use of the term ‘mother tongue’, preferring in its place the term ‘original language’.

In 1990, one of two studies on code-switching between Dutch and Moroccan Arabic appeared (Nortier, 1990). In this book, information is provided about the speakers’ backgrounds, their bilingual proficiency, and the functions and positions of the languages involved, both in

Morocco and the Netherlands. The data showed that code-switching is a common phenomenon in contact between bilingual Moroccans. Code-switching within sentence boundaries (intra-sentential switching) and the insertion of single Dutch words in Moroccan Arabic statements were more frequent than switches between sentences.

A second book on code-switching between Dutch and Moroccan Arabic is that by Boumans (1998). This study is more linguistic in nature and is mainly concerned with the development of a theoretical framework, based on Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame (MLF) Model, which Boumans has adapted to fit his data. The main claim in the MLF model is that in code-switching, there is always a base (matrix) language which sets the grammatical frame in which elements from the other language may be inserted. Instead of referring to matrix language and embedded language, Boumans proposes Community language versus Superimposed language, a distinction based on more sociolinguistic principles than Myers-Scotton's distinction.

In the Netherlands, there is an ongoing process of language shift. The native languages Moroccan Arabic and Berber are clearly being replaced by Dutch. At least two studies have focused on language shift and loss among Moroccans. El Aissati (1996) studied the loss of Moroccan Arabic and E-Rramdani (2003) compared the acquisition of Berber in the Netherlands and Morocco. El Aissati showed that his group of 25 second-generation informants used more Dutch than Moroccan Arabic in daily life. Moreover, proficiency in Dutch is higher than in Moroccan Arabic. The lower Moroccan Arabic proficiency, the more problematic correct plural formation was. Also on the syntactic level, for example, with respect to the formation of relative clauses, the control group in Morocco performed better than the Moroccan informants in the Netherlands. Comprehension of Moroccan Arabic sounds was not different from the control group in Morocco, but production was affected by Dutch.

E-Rramdani conducted a study among 4–5 and 12–13 year old children in the Netherlands and Morocco, in which he focused on grammatical morphemes and the command of different word orders in Tarifit-Berber. Of the three possible word orders, one (VSO) was absent in the children's speech, both in Morocco and in the Netherlands. This is surprising since Berber is assumed to be a VSO language. This might be an indication of a change in progress.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

In Amsterdam and Tilburg a project entitled Development of Academic skills at School and at Home (DASH) is being carried out among Moroccan and Turkish students over the period 2004–2009.

The Moroccan (that is, Berber) part of the study is being carried out by Mohammadi Laghzaoui and Yahya E-Ramdani and is titled 'Academic language development of 3–6-year-old Moroccan–Berber (–Dutch) children in communicative contexts at home and in school'. Since Moroccan children entering Dutch schools face a range of language-related problems, a smoother transition from home to school is one of the aims of the study.

Since the late nineties, there has been considerable interest in the ways adolescents in ethnically mixed groups use Dutch. A lot of words in these youth languages have their roots in other languages spoken in the Netherlands, such as Sranan (Surinamese creole), Papiamentu, Arabic, Berber, Turkish and (American) English. This urban variety is only used in very specific and informal contexts, preferably among insiders and only when adults such as parents and teachers are absent. In cities like Amsterdam where there is a large Surinamese minority, Sranan lexicon dominates the non-native lexicon and in Utrecht with its relatively large Moroccan minority, the influence from Moroccan Arabic and Berber is strong. This, and other multilingual and multicultural phenomena related to Utrecht are presented in Bennis, Extra, Muysken and Nortier (2002) which summarizes the findings of an interdisciplinary study on the mixing of languages and cultures in a multicultural neighbourhood in Utrecht. This book, written in Dutch, has a comprehensive list of references, many written in English.

Several studies in progress are concerned with language use among teenagers and adolescents. Two of them will be mentioned here. During the period 2005–2009 a large-scale quantitative project is being carried out in Amsterdam and Nijmegen. In this study, ethnolects of Dutch are studied among Moroccan, Turkish and Dutch 11–19 year old males<sup>1</sup>. In a separate study, in Utrecht, Margreet Dorleijn and Jacomine Nortier, are carrying out a qualitative study in which they focus on the use of a Moroccan (both Berber and Moroccan Arabic) accent and intonation in Dutch, which has strong covert prestige. It appears that not only Moroccans, but also others such as teenagers with a Dutch or Turkish background make use of this recognizable accent and intonation (Dorleijn, Nortier, Boumans, Cornips and El Aissati, 2005).

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Despite the increasing number of studies on the changing language ecology of Moroccans in the Netherlands, there is nevertheless a lack of literature on Moroccan Arabic and Berber. This is linked to the

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<sup>1</sup> More about this project can be found on <http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/meertensnet/wdb.php?sel=3239&ql=ethnolects>

low status of these oral languages and the fact that there is no real standard for Berber and Moroccan Arabic. Another problem is that until recently, there was little possibility for native speakers of Dutch to learn Rifberber in the Netherlands, even though courses in Moroccan Arabic have existed for some decades now. It is possible that as native Berber speakers have now started to obtain research positions in universities in the Netherlands more work will appear in the future.

In the last few years, political developments as well as incidents in which members of the Moroccan community were involved have negatively influenced public opinion about the Moroccan community. As a group, and often as individuals, they are highly stigmatized. The government's reaction is that integration into Dutch society should have priority above emancipation and development of Moroccan languages and culture. One major issue then, is how young Moroccan adults deal with the combination of home and mainstream culture (Ait Ouarasse, 2004).

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Work in progress stresses the importance of understanding the interdependency of language and societal processes. It is to be expected that this tendency will be elaborated on in the future, though one can never be sure about the impact of socio-political developments. It will be a major challenge to show that the stigmatized position of a large group of immigrants, like the Moroccans in the Netherlands, is not caused by intrinsic characteristics of the group itself, but by the way that this particular group and other parts of society react to each other. Furthermore, an increasing focus on success factors of social mobilization within minority groups could have positive practical consequences. It would be good if future research could show that mother tongue proficiency influences overall performance and self-confidence, both on the individual and on the societal level. It is to be hoped that this is more than wishful thinking.

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# **Section 4**

## **Classroom Language Ecologies**

## POLICY, PRACTICE AND POWER: LANGUAGE ECOLOGIES OF SOUTH AFRICAN CLASSROOMS

### INTRODUCTION

The linguistic ecologies of South African classrooms are embedded in complex local, national and global linguistic ecologies, with far-reaching implications for access and equity in education.

South Africa is a multilingual country with 11 official languages now recognised in the democratic Constitution of 1996 (South Africa, Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996) (see [Table 1](#)).

Multilingualism is considered the norm (Makoni, 1994, p. 20; Reagan, 2002, p. 421) and the Language-in-Education Policy (LiEP) states, ‘being multilingual should be a defining characteristic of being South African’ (South Africa, Department of Education, 1997). This is symbolised by the national anthem (South Africa, Department of Education, 1997), which has four verses, each in a different national language: Xhosa, Sotho, Afrikaans and English.

Despite attempts to promote linguistic equality and raise the status of African languages, English, the home language of only 8% of the population, continues to dominate the linguistic landscape at the centres of political, economic and social power (Wright, 2002). Although African languages are widely spoken at regional and community levels, particularly in rural areas, and are valued as languages of intimacy (Haugen, 1972, p. 329) and as symbols of cultural identity (Banda, 2000), the dramatic drop in the numbers of students studying African languages at universities (Wright, 2002) seems to indicate that they are losing rather than gaining status. Afrikaans, which was an official language alongside English prior to 1996, has now been stripped of its political power and consequently has lost some status nationally. Thus it would seem that Gal’s observation holds true for South Africa: namely that as a result of globalisation, the characteristic form of language change is that local languages are ‘subordinated to “world languages” in diglossic relations’ (Gal, 1989, p. 356; see also Makoni, 1994, p. 22).

Mesthrie (2002) provides a detailed linguistic analysis of contemporary South Africa and reminds one that the linguistic situation is a dynamic one. Classrooms are the sites where the dynamics and tensions between the global, national and local linguistic ecologies

Table 1 South African official languages and speakers

| Official languages and percentage of population speaking languages as first home language |    |
|---|----|
| IsiZulu   | 24 |
| IsiXhosa  | 18 |
| Afrikaans   | 13 |
| Sepedi  | 9  |
| English   | 8  |
| Setswana  | 8  |
| Sesotho   | 8  |
| Xitsonga  | 4  |
| Siswati   | 3  |
| Tshivenda   | 2  |
| IsiNdebele  | 2  |

*Source:* Census 2001 in South Africa, Statistics South Africa (2004).

are possibly most acutely experienced. Although there are currently few analyses of South African classroom language that are framed in explicitly ecological terms, there is much that refers to the complexities of linguistic history, politics, economy, identities, attitudes and pedagogy, that impact on classroom language ecologies and learning in classrooms.

#### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

While South Africa is a country best defined in as being ‘in transition’ from a colonial and apartheid (Afrikaans: segregation) past to a future democratic ideal, defined in terms of equity, social justice and redress, the heavy imprint of the past continues to be felt in every aspect of society including language attitudes and classroom practices.

Hartshorne (1992) provides a clear and detailed analysis of the historical–political context within which current language in education policy and practices are nested (see also Mesthrie, 2002; Murray, 2002). Language, and in particular, language in education policies have been central to South Africa’s political struggles. Successive Dutch and then British colonial governments used language in education as an instrument to enforce political and ideological domination. British anglicisation policies, particularly those in schools, rankled deeply

with the Afrikaner community and set the scene for a bitter 'taalstryd' (Afrikaans: language struggle) which provided a focus for 'a powerful Afrikaner identity which would provide the emotional drive for the acquisition of political and economic power' (Hartshorne, 1992, p. 191; see also Lanham, 1996, p. 25). Linguistic equality for Afrikaaners was finally achieved with the political compromise of the union of South Africa in 1910 and the recognition of two official languages: English and Dutch (replaced by Afrikaans in 1925). Proficiency in both languages became a requirement for employment in the civil service.

At the political periphery in the nineteenth century, African languages were transcribed and standardised by missionaries, for use in the initial education and religious conversion of indigenous peoples. Literature in African languages was published, as were several African language newspapers. However mission education of Africans was mainly through the medium of English, and so, as in other parts of Anglophone Africa, education came to be synonymous with English (Pennycook, 1994, p. 261), a perception that persists today.

It was from the ranks of an elite group of mission-educated Africans that the political leadership of the African National Congress (ANC) emerged, to challenge the political status quo that excluded them from political rights. Although the Freedom Charter of the ANC (1955) recognised the 'equal right of all people to use their own languages,' the political struggle for liberation, where it engaged with national and international audiences, was waged through the medium of English and so English accrued additional status as the language of liberation (Mesthrie, 2002, p. 22). The role that African languages played in the liberation struggle was primarily to mobilise, resist and subvert, frequently through song (see Hirsch, 2002).

After the succession of the Afrikaner Nationalist Government in 1948, segregation on the basis of racial and linguistic identity became the cornerstone of apartheid ideology, with Africans being forced to live in designated areas on urban peripheries known as 'townships' or in ethnolinguistically defined rural 'homelands'. Mission schools for African students were forcibly closed and in 1953 the notorious system of 'Bantu Education' was introduced for Africans, with the expressed purpose of limiting their academic progress, in line with the limited socio-economic and political roles the government intended for them. This was made clear by Verwoed, Minister of 'Native Affairs' and later Minister of 'Bantu Education' who stated: 'When I have control over native education, I will reform it so that natives will be taught from childhood that equality with Europeans is not for them'; and, 'There is no place for the Bantu in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour' (Verwoed, 1955 in Christie, 1985, p. 12).

Thus the internationally accepted principle of home language medium of instruction was used by the apartheid government to justify the ethnolinguistic segregation of schools (including separate schools for English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking white students) (Heugh, 1995, p. 42). When home language medium of instruction was extended from Grade 4 to Grade 8 in African schools, this was initially resisted by the majority of Africans who correctly interpreted the motives of the apartheid government as that of divide and rule, and to restrict African access to cultural and economic capital.

It was the state's efforts to impose Afrikaans as a medium of instruction for 50% of subjects in African secondary schools that sparked off the 1976 student uprising in Soweto (a township outside Johannesburg) which rapidly spread to the rest of the country and ignited almost two decades of political struggle, much of it based in township schools. One of the immediate results was that English was restored as the sole medium of instruction from Grade 5, after an initial period of home language medium of instruction.

A long-term result of these political struggles around language has been the negative attitude of African parents and students towards Afrikaans as the 'language of the oppressor,' and towards African language medium of instruction as part of the Bantu Education package; and on the other hand to entrench the notion of English as the desired language of education (Hartshorne, 1992; Mesthrie, 2002; Reagan, 2002), despite the seemingly obvious problems that this creates for learners in the classroom. These political perceptions, coupled with the very real global hegemony and economic power of English (Wright, 2002), have served to promote English as the language of aspiration for the majority of South Africans.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

##### *The Language Ecology of Schools under Apartheid*

Under apartheid, English and Afrikaans students learned through the medium of their respective home languages, with all the attendant cognitive advantages, and accrual of cultural and linguistic capital in a political system dominated by Afrikaans speakers and an economic system dominated by English speakers. By contrast, African parents and students, for all the political reasons outlined, and with a recognition of the economic value of English, opted to switch to English medium of instruction as soon as possible, on the basis of the popular belief that 'time on task' would maximise opportunities for English acquisition (NEPI, 1992, p. 64).

*Problems for African Learners*

From the outset Bantu Education was designed for inequality: it was marked by gross under-resourcing (for example in 1984, government per capita spending was R1926 on white students and R294 on African students (SAIRR, 1995)), separate and inferior training for African teachers (Hartshorne, 1992), plus massive increases in the numbers of learners (Macdonald, 1990a, p. 36). After 1948, opportunities for English acquisition by both teachers and learners was deliberately restricted by the apartheid government, in efforts to re-orientate the African population to Afrikaner influence and control: teacher training which had been largely under the control of English-speaking missions was taken over by the state; those teacher training colleges in urban areas were closed down and new colleges opened in rural areas designated as homelands; the English-speaking staff were replaced by Afrikaans speakers and 'the standards of English at the colleges deteriorated rapidly and alarmingly' (Hartshorne, 1992, p. 236). These factors combined with the geographic separation of the population on basis of language and race, to make the development of adequate English proficiency by African teachers increasingly difficult and problematic, given that it remained the chosen medium of instruction in African schools. However, the blatant inequalities of apartheid education, along with the post-1976 political education struggles in African schools, tended to divert attention from the language medium and the contribution of this to high dropout and failure rates (Probyn, 2001, p. 262).

*Research in Response to Problems*

Nevertheless by the mid-1970s some academics were starting to pay attention to the problems of language and learning in African schools and two successive research studies provided some insights into classroom practices. The Molteno Project (Rodseth, 1978, 2002) investigated optimum literacy teaching methods and in the preliminary classroom based research found poor literacy teaching and achievement in the vernacular (ibid., pp.101–103). They concluded that 'an efficient vernacular reading is the key to effective reading in English . . .' (Rodseth, 1978, p. 4) and designed a mother tongue-based literacy programme 'Breakthrough to Literacy' for Grade 1, followed by 'Bridge to English' in Grade 2, programmes that have achieved wide success in Africa (Rodseth, 2002), but ironically have had limited government support in South Africa itself.

The second research study, the Threshold Project headed by Macdonald (1990a, b), stands as a seminal investigation into the problems faced by

African learners in Grade 5 when they switched from home language to English medium instruction and revealed the deep learning problems that resulted from this policy. Macdonald noted that apartheid had denied black students contact with mother tongue models of English (1990a, p. 39) and identified some of the limiting factors in the Grade 5 classrooms, where English was the medium of instruction:

- a. the teacher's difficulty in giving clear expositions in English;
- b. the paucity of the children's English, specifically in relation to giving a reasoned account of new concepts;
- c. the virtual absence of learning aids of any description;
- d. the virtual unusability of conventional text material, and
- e. the relative remoteness of the concepts from the child's experience (ibid., p. 141).

Macdonald observed: 'The global effects of these factors is loss of meaning. The children are likely to be alienated by what they have to learn, and only dimly perceive the implications and linkages between the concepts they are presented with' (ibid., p. 141).

Macdonald found that the difference between the levels of English in the English curriculum materials at the end of Grade 4 and the level of English required in content textbooks in Grade 5 when learners switched to English was an insurmountable gap for most second language learners (ibid., 1990a, pp. 48–49). She concluded that the language proficiency of the learners moulded the task of teachers who tended to code-switch and to write up simplified notes for learners to learn by rote (ibid., 1990b, p. 44). Macdonald made the point that the 'Rote Rhythm' method of question and answer (where learners chorus the last word in a sentence provided by the teacher) was common and this enabled learners 'to answer quite intelligibly *in the words of the passage which they did not understand*' (original emphasis) and that that kind of teaching 'forms a closed loop from which genuine information about what is not understood simply cannot escape; the teacher is safe as the controller of knowledge' (ibid., 1990a, p. 143). Chick (1996) described this interactional style as 'safe talk' as it enabled teachers and learners to preserve the appearance of purposeful classroom activity, without exposing their lack of competence.

Macdonald also noted the affective impact of these practices and concluded that Grade 5 learners were subjected to a stressful experience of failure (ibid., 1990b, p. 17) and were 'alienated from the process of schooling from an early age' (ibid., 1990a, p. 47). The Threshold Project recommended a gradual transition to English over a number of years and that children should become effectively literate in their mother tongue before introducing English literacy (1990a, p. 57).

These research projects provided valuable insights into what was actually happening in classrooms in terms of language and literacy

practices and offered practical solutions to the perceived problems. However, they did not problematise the notion that English medium instruction was the desired and desirable goal.

*Critique of English Hegemony/Advocacy for African Languages*

Against the backdrop of the intensified political struggles in the mid-1980s, Ndebele, in a speech in 1986 to the Jubilee Conference of the English Academy of Southern Africa, inserted a sharp critique of the hegemony of English in South Africa, pointing to its role in imperialism (Ndebele, 1987, p. 3) and noted that as such 'it cannot be considered an innocent language' (ibid., p. 11). He pointed out that the choice of many post-colonial countries to adopt a colonial language as their official language was as a result of 'the necessity of limited choices' (ibid., p. 3), given the role of English in international business and technology. He questioned the assumption that the acquisition of English should be regarded as synonymous with education and suggested that 'a fracture between the acquisition of knowledge and the acquisition of English must be brought about' (ibid., p. 14).

The critique was echoed by language NGOs such as the National Language Project (NLP) and the Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa (PRAESA), as well as the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI), a broadly consultative process that served to broaden the debate around education policy issues, including language in education, in the run up to the political changes of 1994. The NEPI report on *Language* offered a view of linguistic diversity and multilingualism as a national resource and claimed that any language in education policy should be based on the principles of non-sexism, non-racism, a unitary system of education democracy and redressing the historic imbalances between the statuses of languages (NEPI, 1992, p. 4). The report noted the need to actively promote African languages, while also recognising the need for increased access to English and favoured the 'simultaneous pursuit of both' (ibid., pp. 17–18) while warning that

the promotion and development of African languages will require great political will and financial resources. This cause can only credibly be taken up by African protagonists who have access to power of various kinds, including state power. The paradox is that it is precisely their proficiency in English that is a salient marker of what enables them to be in power. And it is the visible status and privileges of those who are proficient in English that give rise to the call for more English from those who have little power and few privileges (ibid., p. 19).

The report provided a comprehensive overview of language in education issues in South Africa and discussed various policy options, noting that the contexts of schools varied widely and that no one policy would fit all (*ibid.*, p. 15). It highlighted the tension between giving parents the democratic right to choose a language policy for their school and the risk of such decisions being made on popular sentiment in favour of English, rather than sound pedagogical grounds (*ibid.*, p. 43). It warned that ‘comparative studies have shown that L2 medium of instruction is a serious obstacle to children in poorly resourced schools in areas where there is no reinforcement of skills in that language outside the school, and where teachers’ proficiency is limited’ (*ibid.*, p. 89).

Advocacy for an increased role for African languages as ‘language of learning and teaching’ (LoLT) was taken up by a range of academics, notably Alexander (1990) and Heugh (1995) who drew on the theories of Jim Cummins, to advocate a language in education policy that promotes ‘additive bilingualism’ (see also Luckett, 1995). However, other academics such as Makoni (1994) and Banda (2000) have questioned whether such theories developed in Canada, with a very different linguistic ecology, are directly applicable to South Africa. An influential report to advise the new government on language policy and planning was drawn up by the Language Plan Task Group (South Africa, Language Plan Task Group, 1996) and included recommendations for a language in education policy.

### *Policy Initiatives*

Redress for indigenous languages found fulfilment in the language provisions of the new Constitution (South Africa, Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996) and the establishment of the Pan South African Language Board with the brief to ‘provide for the recognition, the promotion, and the development of all South African official languages, with particular attention being given to those languages that were previously marginalised’ (South Africa). Likewise, the LiEP (South Africa, Department of Education, 1997) reflected these concerns: it values cultural diversity, and multilingualism as a means to intercultural communication and nation building, and for national and international communication; it recognises individual language rights and the right for learners to be taught in their home language; and it aims to provide learners with equitable access to the education system. To this end it advocates policies that will promote additive multilingualism, which it claims are most supportive of general conceptual growth among learners, with the underlying principle of maintaining home languages while ‘providing access to and effective acquisition of

additional languages' (ibid., 1997). However policy formulation is the responsibility of School Governing Bodies, made up of parent, teacher and student representatives and is subject to a 'practicability' proviso, which leaves the way open for the maintenance of the status quo.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS: THE LANGUAGE ECOLOGY OF SCHOOLS POST-APARTHEID

In state schools, different linguistic ecologies exist: since the achievement of democracy in 1994, a united non-racial education system has been established. With the desegregation of schooling, the demographic shift of learners has been from the rural and township peripheries to the historically better resourced schools in urban centres. Thus typically the student bodies of former 'coloured', Indian and white schools have become racially mixed and multilingual (Chisholm, 2004) while the racial and linguistic makeup of the teaching staff has remained relatively unchanged (Soudien, 2004, p. 101). However access to such schools has been limited by parents' ability to pay the fees that public schools are allowed to charge in order to supplement limited state funding (to maintain smaller class sizes, better infrastructure and resources) and so class appears to be replacing race and language as the determiner of access to better resourced schools where English is the LoLT (Fiske and Ladd, 2004, p. 58). The vast majority of African learners remain in impoverished township or rural schools, physically on the periphery and relatively unchanged in terms of their linguistic-racial composition, resourcing or the quality of education they are able to offer (although there are some notable exceptions). Apart from the multilingual metropolitan areas such as Gauteng, where township schools reflect the multilingual nature of the townships, the majority of African learners still attend schools where a regional language dominates and is generally shared by teachers and learners (Heugh, 2002, p. 185).

Ironically, the pedagogically sound LiEP has not received popular support. Research shows that for the most part, the LiEP has not been implemented as required at school level (Probyn et al., 2002; South Africa, Department of Education, NCCRD, 2000; Vinjevd, 1999). Reasons cited include: the lack of an implementation plan; the fact that the LiEP was overshadowed by the new curriculum which was introduced at the same time; the perceived need to access English and the commonsense assumption that time on task is a necessary condition for acquisition; the perception that African languages have not developed the necessary corpus for academic use; a lack of available textbooks to support the extended use of African languages as LoLT; a lack of capacity for policy formulation on the part of School Governing

Bodies in township and rural schools; and an apparent lack of political will, possibly stemming from a lack of familiarity with underlying language acquisition theories and a reluctance to push a policy that does not enjoy popular support.

In addition, in African schools there is a perception among teachers that parents are choosing to send their children to formerly white, Indian and 'coloured' schools so that they can acquire English; and so teachers feel under pressure to introduce English as the LoLT even earlier to counter this trend and protect their own jobs. Research by De Klerk (2000) into the motivation African parents for sending their learners to formerly white schools, revealed that although access to English was a major consideration, the better resources, pupil teacher ratios and learning opportunities at such schools were also an important part of their motivation. De Klerk found considerable conflict in the minds of both parents and children as to the future role of their home language, Xhosa, in their lives and the majority of parents believed it was important to support and maintain their children's mother tongue for cultural and communicative functions in family and community (*ibid.*, p. 209). As Banda (2000) notes: 'Blacks want to use English as a tool for socioeconomic mobility, while preserving their linguistic and cultural identity' (*ibid.*, p. 57).

Where changes to language policy have been made in the formerly white, 'coloured' and Indian schools, it has generally been to introduce an African language as subject, or in previously Afrikaans medium schools, to introduce an English medium stream to accommodate African learners (Probyn et al., 2002; South Africa, Department of Education, NCCRD, 2000; Vinjevd, 1999). The ethos in these schools has been largely that of assimilation (Soudien, 2004, p. 89) with consequent home language loss and shifts in culture and identity for many learners. Teachers' general lack of proficiency in African languages in such schools means that teachers do not have recourse to African learners' home language and so there is a close fit between intended and enacted language policies. However, there have been some reports that this lack of proficiency has led to discipline problems with African learners who are able to use their home language to subvert teachers' authority (Murray, 2002, p. 440).

The great majority of African learners (80%) remain in township or rural schools and any changes to language policies have been to introduce English as LoLT earlier: to coincide with the start of the Intermediate Phase of the curriculum in Grade 4, or in many cases, even earlier. This is despite learners' lack of exposure to English outside the classroom and lack of reading resources in homes and communities to support literacy development (Probyn, 2005). Thus the material conditions described by Macdonald (1990a, b) have not changed

substantially for such schools; nor have the classroom practices. The cited research studies show that when learners have to switch from home language to English LoLT, there is frequently a wide gap between intended (even if these are implicit policies) and enacted language policies. Most often, the common home language and English are used for functionally differentiated purposes, with the home language used for oral communication outside classrooms and to some extent inside classrooms as well, while reading and writing are done in English.

Teachers are faced with the dual task of teaching the content and language, and acknowledge that these goals are frequently in conflict (Probyn, 2001; Setati, Adler, Reed and Bapoo, 2002). Neither teachers' (see Horne, 2001) nor learners' English language skills allow for unproblematic communication of the curriculum through English and so the most common strategy used by teachers is that of code-switching to the learners' home language for a range of communicative, affective and management purposes as follows:

- to communicate aspects of the lesson content, for example new concepts and vocabulary;
- to draw learners' attention to a new idea or word;
- to clarify a difficult English grammatical construction;
- as an attention check (for example, using a home language question tag);
- to encourage learners to participate in classroom discussion;
- to create a relaxed atmosphere in the classroom;
- to crack jokes to relieve the stress of learning through a second language;
- to relate aspects of the lesson to the learners' own lives and contexts;
- to appropriate unfamiliar terminology by adding home language prefixes to English words (for example using the Xhosa prefix 'i-' as in i-battery or i-cell);
- for classroom management and discipline (Probyn, 2005).

Learners' language use in the classroom is most frequently characterised by oral-written diglossia, with informal group discussion in home language and reporting back attempted in English, with some code-switching sanctioned by teachers (Probyn, 2001; Setati, Adler, Reed and Bapoo, 2002). All reading and writing is done in English but research indicates that in fact relatively little reading and writing is done in class (Vinjevold, 1999; Taylor, Muller and Vinjevold, 2003), and reading is severely constrained by a lack of reading materials. There is little evidence of teachers having explicit knowledge of how to mediate the gap for learners between oral home language and written English (Probyn, 2005; Setati, Adler, Reed and Bapoo, 2002).

In addition, research indicates that many teachers regard code-switching as illicit, a lack of proficiency in the LoLT, rather than a valid linguistic strategy (Adendorff, 1996; NEPI, 1992, p. 49; Setati, Adler, Reed and Bapoo, 2002): for example, a teacher referred to 'smuggling the vernacular into the classroom' (Probyn, 2001). It should be noted that teachers' classroom language practices, including code-switching, and the practices of learners in their classrooms, are by no means uniform and vary according to teachers views on the matter, their own language skills and contexts of practice (Probyn, 2001; Setati, Adler, Reed and Bapoo, 2002)

Teachers have noted that teaching and learning through the medium of a poorly acquired additional language is time consuming and as a result they frequently do not complete the syllabus. In addition, it is stressful for learners as well as teachers, who feel helpless in the face of such problems. It has been suggested that learners may feel alienated from the subject content when it cannot be expressed in their own language because the corpus has not been developed to express subject-specific terminology (Probyn, 2001).

Despite the obvious difficulties of teaching and learning through the medium of English, it appears from available research studies (Barkhuizen, 2001; Probyn et al., 2002; South Africa, Department of Education, NCCRD, 2000) that the majority of African teachers, parents and learners are resolutely in favour of English as the medium of instruction after the initial phase of home language medium of instruction. This speaks partly to the naturalised status of English as the language of education, and the very real power of English as a language of access to the centres of power, economically, politically and socially.

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

In South Africa, there is growing public recognition of the role of language in learning and the obstacle to effective learning that the LoLT poses for many learners. This is partly as a result of the negative publicity surrounding the poor performance of South African learners in the Third International Mathematics and Science Study and the link made by the research report between poor performance in mathematics and science, and poor proficiency in the language medium (Howie, 2001).

A more recent research report has also linked proficiency in English to achievement in mathematics and science (Clynick and Lee, 2004, pp. 53–56); and the shortage of good quality Grade 12 passes in mathematics and science is perceived as a serious limitation on economic growth (Kahn, 2005, p. 147). However, as discussed, proficiency in

English can now be taken as a proxy for social class, and is but one of a range of factors, including historic inequalities in terms of teacher training and resources, that account for learners' poor achievement levels (see Taylor, Muller and Vinjevold, 2003).

Although political change has translated into some material improvements for rural schools, rural education remains grossly under-resourced in communities marked by dire poverty (Emerging Voices, 2005), and so language in education is an additional obstacle to equitable access to the curriculum. Recent research into rural education in three predominantly rural provinces found that on average 42% of learners reported that they had difficulty understanding their teachers and more than a quarter reported they did not find it easy to understand textbooks (*ibid.*, p. 88).

There have been some public calls in the press for a greater role for African languages as languages of learning and teaching and as subjects for study—largely in response to the poor matriculation examination results. However, opinions both at an academic and political level remain divided on the issue with some academics strongly advocating an increased role for African languages in education on pedagogic grounds (see Heugh, 2002) while others advocate an acceptance of English as the dominant language of education on pragmatic and political grounds (see Vinjevold, 1999).

However, this at times adversarial debate has tended to mask the issue of literacy *per se* (Murray, 2002) and the fact that learners' home language literacy levels are also cause for concern: a national evaluation of Grade 3 learners, where they were tested in their home languages (apart from in a minority in multilingual classes), found average scores of 39% for reading and writing (South Africa, Department of Education, 2003). Research that identifies the lack of reading resources in schools (80% of schools have no libraries (Bot, Wilson and Dove, 2000), low prevalence of reading and writing in classrooms (Taylor, Muller and Vinjevold, 2003) and confusion among Foundation Phase teachers as a result of the training for the new curriculum (Macdonald, 2002) provide some answers as to causes of low literacy levels. In addition, there is frequently a gap between the African language dialect that learners speak at home, and the standardised form of the language they are expected to master at school (Emerging Voices, 2005, p. 95). Ironically, the standard varieties are associated with rural areas and so are less prestigious than urban varieties (Banda, 2000; Mesthrie, 2002).

Contests around policy at a macro-level have also tended to divert attention from the gap between policy and practice in township and rural classrooms, where the LoLT is an additional language, and the ways in which teachers code-switch between English and the learners' home language to achieve a range of cognitive, management and

affective purposes. Although there is some small-scale research evidence of skilful and strategic use of languages by experienced teachers (Probyn, 2001), generally there is still a deficit view of code-switching and little training for teachers in how to use the language resources of the classroom in a planned and strategic manner.

In middle-class schools, the assimilationist policies of schools and lack of proficiency by most teachers in the learners' home language have implications for learners' personal identity and identification with the education process. Research has shown the dilemmas experienced by African learners in such contexts: a tension between the shift to English language and culture and a loyalty to home language and culture. Perhaps in these multilingual settings a new South African identity is being forged.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

In post-apartheid South Africa, the emergence of a small but rapidly expanding black middle class has meant that class rather than race has come to determine access to well-resourced schools (Banda, 2000; Chisholm, 2004) with concomitant proficiency in English, and as a result, further upward mobility. Chisholm concludes that although the stated intent of education policy has been redress for the poor, 'educational development and the emerging system have favoured an expanding, racially mixed middle class' (*ibid.*, p. 7).

Researchers comment on a 'pragmatic shift' towards English by urban youth who equate upward mobility and economic success with English (Setati, 2005, p. 151). There would appear to be a change in focus among urban youth from the political activism of pre-1994, to that of post-democratic consumerism. It seems questionable whether those who do acquire the cultural capital to access the centres of economic and political power, will use their position to champion the cause of the urban and rural poor, or whether a form of 'elite closure' (Myers-Scotton, 1993) is taking place, with the gap between the minority of well-resourced middle-class schools and the majority of historically disadvantaged schools widening rather than narrowing.

The tensions between policy intentions and practice at a macro-level are reflected at a micro-level in township and rural classrooms, where schools have resolutely opted for English LoLT, for a range of practical and political reasons, but where the existing linguistic ecologies make policy intentions unsustainable. At present, there is little research-based teacher training to address the contradictions and uncertainties in policy and practice in township and rural schools. There is a need for the development of systematic and appropriate use of both languages in the classroom, backed by appropriate resources, which will bridge the

current gap between languages and modes in practices that open access to the curriculum.

Language, both in terms of literacy and LoLT, has been identified as a point of leverage in the curriculum (Taylor, Muller and Vinjevd, 2003). However, academics need to relinquish strongly held ideological positions in the interests of addressing questions of language and learning from a more nuanced and pragmatic perspective, to take into account local linguistic ecologies and work with social attitudes and aspirations.

Current classroom language ecologies are nested within local, national and global language ecologies which in turn reflect the dynamically evolving social, political and economic transition of South Africa. Current trends appear to reflect a widening class gap and increasing marginalisation of the urban and rural poor. The challenge for education is to counter these trends and to deliver on the post-apartheid democratic ideal of social justice by broadening access, equity and redress.

**See Also:** *Kathleen Heugh: Language Policy and Education in Southern Africa (Volume 1); Pippa Stein: Literacies In and Out of School in South Africa (Volume 2); Nkonko M. Kamwangamalu: Second and Foreign Language Learning in South Africa (Volume 4); Margaret Akinyi Obondo: Bilingual Education in Africa: An Overview (Volume 5)*

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LANGUAGE ECOLOGIES AND THE MEANING  
OF DIVERSITY: CORSICAN BILINGUAL EDUCATION  
AND THE CONCEPT OF ‘POLYNOMIE’

INTRODUCTION

Language ecology approaches to multilingual classrooms have focused attention both on the way that linguistic practices in the school articulate with the wider sociolinguistic context as well on the way that classrooms themselves constitute “microecologies” of linguistic, social, political, and pedagogical practice (Creese and Martin, 2003). Diversity is one of the focal concerns of a language ecology approach, which both takes linguistic diversity to be an intrinsic good (Mühlhäusler, 1996, p. 310) and looks at the social and cultural conditions in which linguistic diversity is maintained or reduced (Fill and Mühlhäusler, 2001; Mühlhäusler, 1996).

Bilingual education on Corsica is explicitly intended to change the language ecology on the island; specifically, to counter the effects of language shift and create a bilingual ecology where there is greater balance in the use and status of Corsican and French. Because of the advanced state of language shift from Corsican to French, bilingual schools themselves constitute controlled and relatively isolated language ecologies. The use of the two languages in school for similar functions and amounts of time contrasts sharply with children’s largely monolingual French usage in the home and wider society. Bilingual schools are not modeled on the bilingualism of the society; rather, they are models of a possible bilingual society/individual/practice. The language ecology of the school thus has a dual focus. First, it is designed as a socializing environment for children into a mode of bilingual behavior that is not modeled elsewhere. Secondly, it serves a political and representational role that is oriented outward to the wider society: by displaying Corsican as a legitimate language, Corsican bilingual schools aim to change the ideological landscape of the Corsican language ecology (diglossic language attitudes) and thereby, encourage more use of Corsican and more support for its teaching.

In light of these dual focuses, I consider bilingual school practices and ideologies related to two kinds of “internal” diversity: (i) regional dialectal diversity of Corsican and (ii) diversity resulting from language contact, domination and shift. Both of these kinds of linguistic diversity

exist “out there” in the world outside the schoolroom doors and neither of these kinds of diversity has traditionally been recognized or legitimated by French school practice, which has been dominated by a monolingual and monodialectal norm (Marcellesi and Treignier, 1991, p. 269). In this sense, my study explores the ways in which minority language education both responds to and shapes the new linguistic ecologies created by minority language shift *and* by minority language revitalization processes. As we will see, this is a complex dynamic that has implications not just for the relative status and use of the two languages but also for the way that linguistic codes are defined. This perspective is the basis for a reflection, at the end of this chapter, on both the potential and limitations of a language ecological framework for understanding processes of language revitalization, focusing on the difference between defining ecologies in terms of properties and positions of codes vs. defining ecologies in terms of social/political responses to the issue of linguistic diversity and variation.

#### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS AND MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The ecological metaphor is consistent with a rich anthropological view of social and cultural process which emphasizes the interconnections between the multiple systems (cultural, economic, institutional, ideological and so forth) that affect language practices, as well as how shifts in relationships between those systems influence patterns of language use over time. Creese and Martin’s 2003 volume *Classroom Language Ecologies* is perhaps the first to assemble research around this explicit label, but this work is very consistent with a tradition of ethnographic and sociolinguistic work on language in education that includes work by Hornberger (2002, 2003), King (2001) and Freeman (1998). In the discussion of work in progress, I explore these kinds of interconnections in a Corsican bilingual classroom, with a focus on the way that linguistic and pedagogical choices and patterns in the school have to be understood with reference to the history of Corsican relations with French, traditional French language pedagogical practice, language attitudes and practices of social actors “outside” the school, as well as the political and ideological context of Corsican language revitalization efforts. In particular, I address the impact of a particular model of language that has gained wide currency in Corsican pedagogical circles: the concept of “*polynomie*.”

First coined by the French sociolinguist Marcellesi, *polynomie* is a pluralist ideology of language that locates language identity in collective recognition of unity in diversity (1989, p. 170). A polynomic language is:

une langue à l'unité abstraite, à laquelle les utilisateurs reconnaissent plusieurs modalités d'existence, toutes également tolérées sans qu'il y ait entre elles hiérarchisation ou spécialisation de fonction. Elle s'accompagne de l'intertolérance entre utilisateurs de variétés différentes sur les plans phonologiques et morphologiques, de même que la multiplicité lexicale est conçue ailleurs comme un élément de richesse (1989, p. 170).

*a language with an abstract unity, which users recognize in multiple modes of existence, all of which are equally tolerated and are not distinguished hierarchically or by functional specialization. It is accompanied by tolerance of phonological and morphological variation by users, who also view lexical diversity as a form of richness.*

This “abstract unity” of a polynomic language is not linguistic, but social: it is the community that applies the label of “language” to a set of linguistic practices (Marcellesi, 1983). In fact, the recognition of unity in Corsican dialectal diversity is embodied in the Corsican orthography first outlined in a manual called *Intricciate è Cambiarine* (Geronimi and Marchetti, 1971) and largely followed today. This system allows writers to encode their own regional pronunciations. For example, in the center of the island where the school was located, there was microregional variation between /i/ and /ɛ/. A person who pronounced “we are” as [simu] would write it “simu” and a person who said [semu] would write “semu.” This legitimation of Corsican dialectal variation implies a classroom language ecology in which there are no hierarchies between variants of Corsican, and stands in sharp contrast to the monolingual ecologies of traditional French schooling. A polynomic perspective also has the potential to legitimate mixed codes that result from language contact and shift; according to Marcellesi, there are no linguistic forms that are excluded a priori from being legitimate (Marcellesi, 2003, p. 285).

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

The brief analysis that follows focuses on the implications of the concept of polynomie for school practice. A polynomic classroom ecology has implications for the relationship between the bilingual school and existing bilinguals in the society, and more widely, for the nature of what Corsicans will label the Corsican language. I explore the complexity of these issues in the analysis of classroom data involving the visit of a carpenter to a Corsican bilingual school. The scheduling of his visit was intended to integrate school and society in a single language ecology and to offset the relative isolation of these classes.

*The Ethnographic Context*

The data reported on here were collected during a year of fieldwork in 2000 in a Corsican bilingual primary school located in a village. The school comprised two multiaged classrooms—one for children aged 3–6 (through first grade) and the other for the 7–11 year-olds (through fifth grade). The two teachers in the school were very early advocates and adopters of bilingual education, and of a polyomic approach. The 27 children in the school came from diverse linguistic backgrounds with respect to Corsican. Many did not speak or hear much Corsican in the home. A minority of the children (two pairs of siblings) had parents who had spoken to them only in Corsican during their first years of life. About 4–5 (this number changed during the fieldwork period, which spanned two school years) had grown up bilingual, though all of these children’s French competence was higher than their Corsican competence.

*Classroom Data: The Status of Dialectal Diversity and Contact-Induced Practice*

In a year of observations, I found that teachers invariably commented positively on dialectal diversity, and took pains to make these values explicit. For example, teachers told children that spoken variants (such as [peura] or [paura] for “paura” [fear] and written variants (such as “Sabbatu” and “Sabatu” [Saturday]) were equally correct. Teachers also used different spoken and written variants in their own practice, such that students saw and heard multiple varieties incorporated into the official, “legitimate” discourse of the class.

Teachers’ responses to linguistic diversity brought about by language shift from Corsican to French was more varied and nuanced. In this section, I describe in some detail the classroom visit of a carpenter called Mr. Ottaviani, because this visit prompted a dramatic and extended focus on Corsican/French boundaries in the lexicon. Mr. Ottaviani was recruited to come to visit the school because he was a carpenter who spoke Corsican and was willing to talk about his job to the children in the bilingual program. The recruitment of visitors like Ottaviani was explicitly designed to reduce the gap between the school and the Corsican-speaking “outside” society: to create a unified ecology. In the Corsican sociolinguistic context, this bringing-in, however, involves some staging: visitors are asked to engage in linguistic interactions with children (in Corsican) that do not correspond with their daily practice, even though those people may speak Corsican regularly with certain adults in the course of a work day. In this respect, in any event of this kind, there is a built-in gap between habitual linguistic practice

and the (almost) exclusive use of Corsican during the visit. This gap exists both for the outside visitors and for the schoolchildren. For both, the visit imposes a greater use of Corsican than usual.

The day that Mr. Ottaviani arrived, he came with a number of tools and pieces of wood, and set them on a table. The discussion and presentation took two forms. First of all, the children had prepared written questions for him, which they took turns reading out loud. Because of the emphasis on the display of tools and practices that were unfamiliar to many of the children, vocabulary became a focus of the discussion. Some of this discussion positioned Mr. Ottaviani as having expert linguistic knowledge in Corsican; the children were the apprentices. For example, he showed them a square, and named it, “a squadra.” The teacher then asked the children, “A cunniscite? Serve à . . . .” (Do you know this one? It is used to . . . .”). A child filled in the blank successfully: “à circà l’anguli dritti” (“to find the right angles”). The teacher then brought in additional math vocabulary: the Corsican words for obtuse and acute angles that the older children knew from their math lessons. In these moments, Mr. Ottaviani was aligned with adult expert knowledge in his supportive role in the pedagogical discourse.

Mr. Ottaviani also showed the class a truss and named it in Corsican: “a raffia.” He said he did not know the French word; the teacher supplied “trusquin.” He told them a Corsican term for the curly shavings created by planing (“a sicatura”) and did not provide the French word. Not knowing a French word, and providing “traditional” Corsican vocabulary terms without translation positioned Ottaviani as an authentic Corsican speaker. But if Mr. Ottaviani did not know the French word “trusquin,” his technical vocabulary was peppered with French and corsicanized French terms, like many speakers in his generation. This usage gave rise to both an implicit and an explicit contrast to classroom discourse. The implicit contrast stemmed from the fact that some of his professional vocabulary overlapped with school vocabulary: in addition to the geometrical terms, he talked about pencils, scissors and workshops—terms used every day in the bilingual school. However, the children had been taught a “pure” Corsican vocabulary for these things, and this ended up contrasting with Mr. Ottaviani’s usage. So when Mr. Ottaviani mentioned writing with a pencil, he called it “u crayon,” a Corsican adaptation of the French word for pencil (“crayon”) that involved the use of a Corsican article “u” and a Corsican pronunciation (a rolled “r” and a lack of nasalization on the final syllable). However, the children used the classroom term (“a minna”) when asked to summarize the tools he had shown them. Mr. Ottaviani also referred to his four workshops as “quattru ateliers,” where the French word “ateliers” was used more or less unmodified in the Corsican phrase. These workshops were subsequently referred to as

“atelli” by the children, following their classroom usage of that word for small-group centers. His remarks about the smells of the woodshop included reference to “u parfumu” (from the French “parfum”); this was revoiced as “profumi” in the very next turn by one of the teachers.

From a polyomic perspective, this differential usage by Mr. Ottaviani and the teachers and children could have been part of an integrated ecology, and could have coexisted without any implied hierarchy. However, as the explicit metalinguistic discourse of the lesson illustrated, his gallicisms were in fact devalued. Almost every time he used a term derived from French, it became the object of a Corsican word search. This is in large part because the pedagogical activity that the teacher initiated when Mr. Ottaviani started to speak was listing carpentry vocabulary *in Corsican* on the board. So, when he held up a screwdriver and called it a “tournevis,” the teacher asked how that might be said in Corsican. Ottaviani came up with “tornavita;” this term got written on the board. A similar sequence occurred for the word for “scissors:” Ottaviani called them “scisiseaux à bois” and then—having begun to be socialized to the pedagogical task—rapidly translated himself and provided “tagliolu.” A few minutes later, confronted with the word for wood drills, he first provided the French noun (“perceuse”) and then the Corsican noun (“u trapanu”) which, he explained, was used to “trapanà” (INF: to drill). He also noted that the “trapanu” had been replaced by “les perceuses.” In doing so, he revealed that in his semantic system, “trapanu” referred only to the hand tool that hardly anyone used anymore and “perceuse” was the word for the modern piece of equipment in his shop. Only “trapanu,” however, was written on the board. In fact, the final list of words written on the board excluded all of the French or French-origin terms Mr. Ottaviani had used in his Corsican description of his trade, as illustrated in [Table 1](#).

Mr. Ottaviani’s engagement with the pedagogical exercise was good-natured, as was the entire discussion. But that discussion set up an academic framework of linguistic authority that was far removed from Mr. Ottaviani’s base of knowledge. This became evident to him quite early on, as evidenced by his comment that he did not know if the word “raffia” (for which he only knew the Corsican) was spelled with one or two “f”s. Later, after he had provided the word “trapanu” and saw it written on the board, he asked whether that spelling would be pronounced [trapanu] or [trabanu]. This question is interesting because in asking it, Gionga revealed lack of confidence in his native-speaker knowledge of pronunciation (he had himself pronounced it correctly as [trabanu]). The teacher explained that the letter “p” in between two vowels was pronounced [b].

Here we see that the frame of the interaction made it “about” Corsican as a bounded linguistic code, used as a vehicle for high-status

Table 1 Words excluded and included from the final classroom written record

| Words excluded from final list on board |                        | Words included in final list on board |                       |
|---|------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| u crayon                                | <i>the pencil</i>      | a minna                               |                       |
| a raboteuse                             | <i>a planer</i>        |                                       |                       |
| machine                                 | <i>machine</i>         |                                       |                       |
| frese                                   |                        |                                       |                       |
| parfumi                                 | <i>perfumes</i>        | profumi                               |                       |
| ateliers                                | <i>workshops</i>       | atelli                                |                       |
| camions-grues                           | <i>cranes</i>          | a sicheria                            |                       |
| u tournevis                             | <i>the screwdriver</i> | u tornavita                           |                       |
| un ciseau à bois                        | <i>shears</i>          | u tagliolu                            |                       |
| la gouge                                | <i>the gouge</i>       | a scorpina                            |                       |
| la perceuse                             | <i>the drill</i>       | u trapanu                             |                       |
|   |                        |                                       |                       |
|   |                        | a carta vetra                         | <i>drafting paper</i> |
|   |                        | a piana/u pianellu                    | <i>the plane</i>      |
|   |                        | u raffiu                              | <i>the truss</i>      |
|   |                        | a falsa squatra                       | <i>the square</i>     |
|   |                        | metru                                 | <i>meter</i>          |
|   |                        | a vita                                | <i>the screw</i>      |
|   |                        | u chjodu                              | <i>the nail</i>       |
|   |                        | I ricciuli                            | <i>wood shavings</i>  |
|   |                        | u martellu                            | <i>the hammer</i>     |
|   |                        | un batticherchju                      |                       |
|   |                        | u cumpassu                            | <i>the compass</i>    |

pedagogical work. Mr. Ottaviani was invited to the school in order to talk about his profession in *Corsican*. This is not to say that there was no interest in his practice, or that the communicative function of the interaction was completely overridden. In fact, the teachers in this classroom often conducted content instruction on a given topic in *both* languages over the course of a unit of instruction. But for this particular

event, the focus on content and communication was accompanied by a heavy emphasis on form. In these circumstances, Mr. Ottaviani's mixed set of competencies and his mixed vocabulary was only partially validated by school practice: it was subject at every turn to correction, and the only official record (the list of words written on the board) was a purely Corsican one.

*Discussion: Implications for the Classroom Language Ecology*

The fact that teachers in this school positively evaluated and incorporated different spellings and pronunciations of Corsican shows that minority language education practices have the potential to rework dominant language ideologies by creating classroom language ecologies in which dialectal variation is valued. There is real evidence of polynomic practice in this school. At the same time, experimental research I conducted on these schoolchildren's perceptions of Corsican orthography shows that the teachers' more or less *passive* enactment of polynomie only partially offset children's perceptions that teachers endorsed a single correct norm (Jaffe, 2003a). Here, we see the persistence of dominant language ideologies and hierarchical relationships in the language ecologies of schools in general. Children may encounter practices that validate linguistic diversity, but they have far more extensive school experience being tested and evaluated with reference to a single and undisputable linguistic norm. This implies that making significant change in the status of linguistic diversity in classroom language ecologies requires a concerted effort to make that diversity a central and explicit part of the curriculum.

The data on Mr. Ottaviani's visit further illustrate the point that habitual school practices—particularly literacy practices—tend toward a monolingual and a purist norm. This is the case even in a school like this one, where teachers were comparatively open to multiple and mixed codes. This is due to a number of factors. First, there is the attempt on the part of the teachers (and all those involved in Corsican bilingual education) school to create two parallel, equally elaborate and independent school discourses in both French and Corsican. Because Corsican has never historically been taught in school, the creation of a Corsican school vocabulary automatically involves a certain amount of purism; this purism is also an integral part of the work of social legitimation of Corsican done by the bilingual schools. In this respect, we see the way that schools participate in the wider sociolinguistic ecology—and its governing politics of representation. In Corsican society, regional dialectal diversity, though evoked in public discourse as a potential impediment to Corsican linguistic unification and teaching, does not have the same delegitimizing implications for Corsican as French “interference.” Within the school, the teachers were also trying

to counteract the dominance of French in the children's lives and practices, which made French influences on their own (or others') Corsican problematic.

It is also the case that the kinds of habitual literacy practices that took place during the carpenter's visit focus attention on form, and this in turn focuses attention on the maintenance of linguistic boundaries—the autonomy of linguistic codes. That is, within the ecology of the school, there are some activities that are more or less hospitable to plural and mixed practices than others. This activity was defined as a Corsican-only one, but many other moments in the day were not, and during those moments, alternation between Corsican and French, or the use of Gallitized terms, would have attracted far less attention. What we see, in effect, is that the “staged” quality of the “outside-inside” Corsican-language interactions organized by the teachers made the expression of the diversity of everyday sociolinguistic practice off-limits. This had the unintended consequence of emphasizing the gap between school and everyday Corsican language practice.

The teachers' negative reactions to French elements in Mr. Ottaviani's Corsican also illustrate a continuing tension between traditional models of Corsican language authority and authenticity and new academic ones created by the very advent of Corsican language education. This event underscores the way that school practice engenders language hierarchies, narrows the range of linguistic forms that are considered legitimate and therefore potentially limits internal diversity (in this case, the diversity of language forms to be used and recognized by a community of future speakers of Corsican as being “Corsican”). The responses to Mr. Ottaviani also may have unwittingly contributed to a diglossic dichotomy between Corsican as the language of “tradition” and French as the language of modernity, since the referents of the Corsican technical vocabulary written on the board were all hand (not power) tools.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Although the above analysis points to some of the strengths of an ecological approach, there are also several embedded elements of the ecology metaphor that call for caution when evaluated in the light of the data I have presented. In particular, the first is the implicit equation of language with biological species—the naturalization and essentialization of linguistic and cultural boundaries (and the relationships between them). In an ecological discourse, “a” language is sometimes viewed as separable from an environment that either sustains or weakens it. Mühlhäusler's formulation provides a partial remedy to this tendency: he emphasizes the effect of particular ecologies on the maintenance of linguistic *diversity* rather than on the maintenance of named codes (1996, p. 322).

## FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Language ecological approaches to the classroom can be enhanced in the future by the acknowledgment of the inseparability of language-as-practice from “environment” or “ecology” themselves. In educational contexts, language practices often embody *ideologies* of essential, bounded identities. But sometimes they do not. Moreover, the central questions in multilingual classroom ecologies (for both researchers and local social actors) are about the interface between practice and ideology (Creese and Martin, 2003, p. 4; Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001; Jaffe, 2003b, c). Thus in the Corsican case, it is not just a question of asking: does the bilingual classroom constitute a language ecology in which Corsican (or Corsican-French bilingualism) will thrive? Rather, the question is: how do classroom practices shape taken-for-granted ideas and assumptions about what kinds of linguistic diversity will be defined as speaking language X, who will count as a legitimate speaker, and how language use/competence and individual or collective identity are/should be linked? Bilingual classrooms on Corsica and elsewhere are not just *acting on* an existing language ecology, they are part of it, and the influences (and linguistic repercussions) go in both directions. Here we see complex interconnections between traditional models (tied to local varieties) and inevitable change. People who learn Corsican in school will not speak in the same way as Corsican speakers who were schooled only in French, and speaking Corsican will inevitably have a different constellation of meanings attached to it because of those different paths of acquisition. These kinds of questions call for a social, rather than a linguistic definition “health” or “sustainability” associated with the ecological metaphor.

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## LANGUAGE MINORITY EDUCATION IN JAPAN

## INTRODUCTION

Currently there are 20,692 foreign-national students in Japanese public schools (elementary through high school) identified by the Ministry of Education as “requiring Japanese language instruction” (Monbukagakusho, 2006b) (henceforth referred to as Japanese as a Second Language [JSL] students). This is still a tiny fraction—0.13%—of the total student population. However, the number has nearly quadrupled since the ministry started a tally in 1991 (5,463), and the JSL students are spread across 5,281, or 13% of all public schools in Japan. The fact that 80% of the JSL students attend schools where there are fewer than 5 of them while 1% attend schools with more than 30 such students (Monbukagakusho, 2005b) suggests that there are pockets of regions across the country with large concentrations of foreign-national families. Brazilians, Chinese, and Peruvians make up more than 70% of the JSL students in public schools (Monbukagakusho, 2006b).

This chapter provides an overview of language minority education in Japan, focusing in particular on the education of non-Japanese-speaking children in public schools (see also Fujita-Round and Maher, *Language Education Policy in Japan*, Volume 1). Throughout the chapter, I use the term *language minority (LM) students* to refer broadly to elementary- to high-school level students for whom Japanese is not their first language (L1). *JSL students*, on the other hand, refers to a subset of LM students who are beginning-level Japanese learners and who have been identified by the Ministry of Education as “requiring Japanese language instruction.”

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

LM education in Japan has a short history. Although there had always been ethnic/linguistic minorities in Japan throughout its history, LM students emerged as a major educational issue only in the late 1980s and the early 1990s. This is closely related to the country’s current and projected labor shortage. Japan is a rapidly ageing society. With the nation’s current fertility rate of 1.25 (Koseirodosho, 2006), one of the lowest in the world, the Japanese government is aware of the need for immigration to support the nation’s economy. Although the government

does not officially allow the entry of unskilled foreign workers, it has devised a number of “backdoor” and “side door” immigration policies that in fact enable foreign nationals to enter the country and engage in unskilled labor legally (Cornelius, 1994; Kajita, 1998). For example, the Immigration Control Law was revised in 1990, making it legal for *Nikkei-jin* (descendents of Japanese emigrants) and their spouses to work in unskilled job sectors in Japan (Sellek, 1997; Vaipae, 2001). As a result, the number of Nikkei Brazilians and Peruvians in Japan jumped from 18,649 in 1989, to 145,614 in 1991 (Tanaka, 1995, p. 218), to 359,808 in 2005 (Homusho, 2006). Similarly, the government started the “corporate trainee” programs in 1990, enabling private companies to accept trainees from developing countries. Although called “trainee” programs, in reality they have become a convenient way for small companies and farms to secure cheap labor for menial jobs that most Japanese citizens would not take (Cornelius, 1994). Currently, 54,107 trainees live and work in Japan, more than 70% of them Chinese (Homusho, 2006).

Many of these “newcomers” as well as a number of international students—the majority of them from China and South Korea—started sending their children to Japanese public schools in the 1990s, creating a challenge that Japanese schools have not faced before: Educating children whose L1 is not Japanese.

In response to the rapid increase of LM students in public schools, in 1992 the Ministry of Education began allocating extra teachers to schools that had large numbers of JSL students to hold pullout JSL classes (Ota, 2002). This system continues to date: A budget is set aside to cover the salary of up to two extra teachers at each designated school, and the JSL teachers are chosen among the school’s existing staff. It is important to note that the vast majority of JSL teachers are regular classroom teachers with virtually no prior training in second language acquisition and who must learn to work with JSL students on the job (Ota, 2002). Vaipae (2001, p. 199), who surveyed LM education in the mid-1990s as it began to take shape, writes, “The only language education model apparent in our observation was submersion with the goal of assimilation.”

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

A decade later, Vaipae’s (2001) observation remains an accurate description of LM education in Japan today. By now, various forms of JSL support have been implemented across the country, such as pull-out JSL classes, the Center School system (where LM students from nearby schools are gathered in one school to receive JSL instruction on a regular basis), and team-teaching between homeroom and JSL teachers (Noyama, 2000). But Sakuma (2005) points out that even after

two decades of the arrival of LM students on the Japanese education scene, no systematic methodology of teaching JSL has been established. There is an awareness among Japanese researchers that academic language proficiency in an L2 is distinct from conversational fluency and that the former takes much longer—5–7 years—than the latter (Cummins, 1981; Thomas and Collier, 1997; see also Cummins, BICS and CALP: Empirical and Theoretical Status of the Distinction, Volume 2). Yet, JSL instruction in most schools does not reflect this knowledge. The pullout classes focus on elementary-level Japanese, instruction centering around basic Japanese conversational skills, the learning of two basic scripts (*hiragana* and *katakana*), and Grades 1–2 level Chinese characters (Kanno, 2004; Nakanishi and Sato, 1995). LM students who achieve grade-level academic proficiency in Japanese are the exception rather than the rule.

Moreover, LM students' academic learning is put on hold while they are learning Japanese (Ota, 2000; Sato, 1995). They are either placed in the regular classroom where they do not understand the instruction, or pulled out for JSL instruction, in which they engage in cognitively undemanding, content-less language exercises, while their Japanese classmates march on with their academic learning. A veteran junior high-school JSL teacher in Kanno's (2004, pp. 333–334) study points out:

For those who arrive in Japan in the middle of elementary school, Japanese language instruction takes the priority, which means that subject matter learning is put on hold. And the students arrive in junior high school without having filled in the missing pieces. When they arrive in junior high and come face to face with even more difficult instruction, they are totally lost.

In other words, the current LM education in Japan has a systemic mechanism that forces LM students to take on an identity of incompetence (Kanno, 2004; Ota, 2005).

LM students' L1 plays little role in the school setting. Bilingual instructional aides are often hired on a part-time basis to assist students who arrive with little or no Japanese proficiency and to act as liaisons between homeroom teachers and LM parents. But the use of students' L1 for instructional purposes is kept to a minimum: Pullout JSL instruction is predominantly in Japanese as is regular classroom instruction. Some schools and local boards of education provide L1 maintenance support, but again this is the exception rather than the rule. The importance of L1 maintenance is recognized, if at all, only with respect to the children of Brazilian and Peruvian migrant workers who are planning to return home one day. For those who are to stay in Japan, schools consider their L1 to be irrelevant. Other aspects of L1, such as identity development (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981), interdependence with L2, and its role in cognitive development (Cummins, 1979) are not at all taken into

account (see also Skutnabb-Kangas, *Language Rights and Bilingual Education*, Volume 5).

Spending a large part of the day in schools that afford little or no room for their L1, many LM students undergo L1 attrition with a major negative impact on their cognitive development. Many LM students develop subtractive bilingualism (Lambert, 1975): They lose their L1 rapidly while not acquiring grade-level Japanese language proficiency. Subtractive bilingualism deprives a person of any language for higher-order thinking and learning. Both Ota (2000) and Kanno (2004) have observed that many LM students fail to learn Grade 3 level Chinese characters. Ota (2000) speculates that it is not simply the orthographic complexity of the characters or the number of characters that third graders are expected to learn that causes the problem; rather, that it is the cognitive complexity of the concepts underlying these characters that are taxing LM children who have been prevented from acquiring academic language proficiency in either language. For, unlike Grades 1–2 level characters that refer to concrete objects, characters introduced from Grade 3 on represent more abstract concepts.

Beyond their negative impact on the students' cognitive development, the current assimilation policies in LM education in Japan have major consequences for LM students' identity as well (see also Norton, *Identity, Language Learning, and Critical Pedagogies*, Volume 6). Even among Japanese children, the dominant ideology of Japanese public education is "to treat everyone equally," which in practice means to ignore differences and to force children to fit into one mold (Shimizu, 2002). Japanese schools apply the same principle to LM students and expect them to manage most of the cultural and linguistic adjustments themselves. Ota (2005) argues that for LM students to participate in the Japanese school community requires a major restructuring of their identity: Doing well in math, for instance, involves not just performing math per se but also performing the role of a model Japanese student. Kanno (2003, 2004) reports that even in a public school she studied, where 43% of the students were LM students, she never heard two of them conversing with each other in their L1. In this school, there was enough openness and understanding to allow LM students to participate in the community fully—rare in public schools. Even so, LM students learned to participate by shedding their ethnic and linguistic identities and assimilating a Japanese identity. Other studies report instances of bullying of LM students by Japanese classmates (Miyajima and Ota, 2005b; Yamawaki, 2005), and of LM students denying their ethnic identity, insisting that they are Japanese (Sekiguchi, 2003; Shimizu, 2002).

The point is that such "passing" is possible for many LM students (Sekiguchi, 2003). The majority of LM students in Japan are either

ethnically Japanese or Asian. Physically they blend in. Many of them also have official or unofficial Japanese names. Once they acquire conversational Japanese, it is therefore possible for many of them to pass as Japanese—if not actively claiming a Japanese identity, then at least downplaying their differences. In an environment where assimilation is strongly promoted, it is not surprising that many LM students try.

Another issue that has emerged as a major problem recently has to do with LM students' educational career beyond junior high school. Up to the end of junior high school (Grade 9), LM students are admitted to public schools. They move from one grade to the next regardless of their academic performance. But high school is not part of compulsory education; students must pass entrance examinations to be admitted to high schools. In reality, the majority (97.7%) of Japanese students advance to high school (Monbukagakusho, 2006a), making a high-school diploma absolutely a minimum requirement for any kind of career in contemporary Japan (Sakuma, 2005). In contrast, only about 50% of LM junior high graduates advance to high school (Noyama, 2000; Ota, 2005).

Some measures have been taken to facilitate LM students' admission to high schools. Some boards of education provide special provisions such as permission to use bilingual dictionaries during the entrance exam, extended exam time, and printing *hiragana* on exam questions alongside Chinese characters to facilitate reading (Enoi, 2000). Enoi cautions that although these measures represent some progress, they may benefit only those rare LM students who have achieved near-academic parity with Japanese students and who only need a little extra help to be competitive. Even with such newly implemented policies, LM students who advance to high school tend to be admitted into less competitive schools and night-time high schools, which are usually the only option for those who have failed to secure entry into day-time schools (Enoi, 2000). High school, which has long become part of the standard educational career for Japanese nationals, therefore, continues to be beyond reach for the majority of LM students.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Japanese language instruction for LM students so far has fallen on the shoulders of regular classroom teachers and teachers who have been designated as "JSL teachers" but who in fact lack training in L2 instruction. Several standard JSL textbooks exist, but it has been left up to each local board of education and school to devise its own curriculum, often resulting in mechanical drills and cognitive undemanding, decontextualized language exercises. Slowly emerging is an awareness of the importance of moving beyond elementary-level conversational

Japanese and nurturing academic language proficiency in Japanese. In 2003, the Ministry of Education published its first comprehensive JSL curriculum for elementary school level LM students (Monbukagakusho, 2003). The main difference between this curriculum and existing JSL textbooks is that it aims to foster academic language proficiency in Japanese and provides concrete ideas for integrating JSL instruction and subject matter teaching. The committee is currently working on the development of a junior high school JSL curriculum (Kawakami, 2005).

Another recent development is a growing awareness of nonschooled LM children. Research on LM education in Japan has so far focused mostly on LM children who are attending school. However, recent reports point out that a significant fraction of LM students are not attending any type of school. Miyajima and Ota (2005b) have recently published an edited volume on this topic, the first of its kind. At present no official statistics are available, but Ota and Tsuboya (2005) have attempted an estimate of nonschooled, foreign-national children on the basis of statistics issued by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication in 2003. According to their estimates, of the approximately 106,000 foreign-national children (age 6–14) living in Japan at that time, 12,098 of them, or 11.4%, were not receiving any type of full-time schooling. In a country where virtually every child attends a full-time school, this is clearly an anomaly. The Ministry of Education, which has been slow in acknowledging this problem, has finally decided to investigate the state of nonschooled, foreign-national children in 2005 (Monbukagakusho, 2005a).

The large number of LM children's nonenrollment in schools can be attributed to several factors, many of which have already been discussed: Inadequate JSL instruction, submersion education in the regular classroom, assimilation policies that often lead to bullying among children. However, a critical factor is the lack of foreign-national children's rights to public education in Japan. Japanese-national children have a constitutional right to 9 years of compulsory education: "All people [i.e., Japanese citizens] shall be obliged to have all boys and girls under their protection receive ordinary education as provided for by law" (Japanese Constitution, Article 26). Japanese parents who fail to send their children to school are repeatedly and persistently warned by the local school boards, because it is their legal duty to ensure that their children receive compulsory education. However, this right does not apply to foreign children. In reality, most public elementary and junior high schools (i.e., compulsory education) accept foreign-national children if their parents wish to enroll them. But the fundamental aim of Japanese public education is to foster Japanese citizens;

as such providing education to non-Japanese children is seen as “doing a favor” (Sakuma, 2005). The lack of legal obligation has led to a *laissez-faire* attitude both at the Ministry of Education level and at the level of local schools about LM children who stop coming to school or who do not enroll in the first place (Sakuma, 2005). Essentially, as far as Japanese schools are concerned, LM students are admitted if their parents approach the schools, but they are also free to leave or not to come in the first place.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

The nonschooling of LM children is often associated with Nikkei Brazilian children, who at present constitute the largest group of JSL students in Japanese public schools (Monbukagakusho, 2006b). One characteristic of this group is that their parents are migrant workers who intend to return to Brazil in the future. They come to Japan for economic motives: They plan to work in Japan, save enough money, and return home in a few years. Some educators point out that in addition to the institutional factors that alienate LM students, in the case of Brazilian children who do not attend any school, their parents are partly to blame (Ishikawa, 2005; Miyajima and Ota, 2005a; Ota and Tsuboya, 2005; Sekiguchi, 2003). They argue that these parents are so preoccupied with making money that they are not sufficiently involved in their children’s education in Japan. What complicates the situation further is that despite their intention to return to Brazil one day, many Brazilians in Japan are prolonging their stay and turning into *de facto* permanent residents (Ishikawa, 2005; Ota and Tsuboya, 2005; Sekiguchi, 2003). If Brazilian parents neglect their children’s schooling in Japan because “they are going home soon” and yet stay indefinitely, they run the risk of leaving their children stranded between two worlds: The children would not be able to increase their educational and social participation in their host society while becoming increasingly estranged from their home country. As a junior high-school teacher quoted in Miyajima and Ota (2005a) states, “Parents need to receive counseling and be told squarely that children’s education is not something you can put off; that it is an immediate concern” (p. 9, my translation).

Two other basic problems with LM education in Japan have to do with the criteria by which to identify JSL students and the exact number of such JSL students. The official figure the Ministry of Education releases every year—20,692 for 2005—counts those “foreign pupils and students who require Japanese language instruction.” This immediately excludes LM students who have become naturalized citizens. Also, even for foreign-national students, the ministry does not have

clear criteria by which to decide who “requires Japanese language instruction.” Kawakami (2005) writes that the way the ministry calculates the figure is to simply add up all the numbers of foreign-national students needing JSL instruction reported by public schools around the country; who is to be included in this category is left entirely up to each school to decide. It is most likely that those who are already conversationally fluent in Japanese and are no longer receiving any JSL instruction are excluded from the figure. But as we have seen, many LM students who sound fluent on the surface fail to acquire grade-level academic Japanese. Given that the ministry’s figure excludes both naturalized LM students and foreign-national students who possess basic conversational skills in Japanese, it is likely that the figure vastly underestimates the real number of students who are educationally disadvantaged by a lack of sufficient academic language proficiency in Japanese.

Then, exactly how many LM students are there who are not yet at grade level in Japanese language proficiency? According to statistics that the Ministry of Education has released once, in 2005 (Monbukagakusho, 2005b), 70,345 foreign-national students attended public schools in 2004. But this figure includes second- to fourth-generation ethnic Korean students who, though Korean by nationality, are Japanese monolingual speakers. On the other hand, this figure excludes those LM students who have become Japanese citizens. This figure, then, does not immediately equal the number of LM students in public schools. How many such LM students are not yet at grade level in their academic Japanese language proficiency is even harder to estimate from this figure. However, the figure does suggest that the LM student body that needs continuing support in JSL is much larger—100% or potentially even 200% larger—than the Ministry of Education acknowledges.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

As the initial shock of an influx of LM students arriving in Japanese schools subsides, and as an infrastructure for their systematic education builds slowly, a number of issues remain. Future directions for research include: An accurate assessment of LM students’ Japanese and L1 proficiency and academic performance; the development of criteria by which to determine LM students who require special JSL instruction; an analysis of the impact of the Ministry of Education JSL curriculum on school practice; an inquiry into LM students’ development (or lack thereof) of multilingual and multicultural identities and how the

Japanese school education influences this process; an investigation of the academic trajectories of different groups of LM students; and asking ourselves, if some LM students reach higher education against all odds, what combinations of factors and circumstances have enabled them to do so.

In closing, two future research agendas deserve some elaboration. The first is the need for more ethnographic research on LM education in Japan. Educational research in Japan has a tendency to rely heavily on questionnaire surveys, and research on LM education is no exception. Although surveys are useful in capturing broad pictures, they do not reveal ideological conflicts, competing discourses, and power struggles among different stakeholders that underlie those general patterns (see also Toohey, *Ethnography and Language Education*, Volume 10). Some ethnographic studies have investigated complex interactions surrounding LM education in Japan (Kanno, 2003, 2004, 2007; Morita, 2002; Ota, 2000; Sekiguchi, 2003). Yet much more is needed to inquire into why, despite good intentions of many teachers who devote themselves to supporting LM students, the Japanese education system on the whole is failing LM students.

A second agenda, which is closely related to the first, is to apply perspectives of critical pedagogy and critical ethnography to research on LM education in Japan. Although earlier works were largely descriptive (relying heavily on surveys), recent research (Kanno, 2003; Miyajima, 2002; Ota, 2002; Sakuma, 2005) is more politically aware, exposing systemic discrimination underlying LM education in Japan. However, the idea that education is political clashes with the deep-rooted egalitarianism in the Japanese school education—itsself an ideological position—which leads to the claim that if everyone is treated equally, one's ultimate educational attainment is determined by one's merit. An important research agenda, therefore, is to expose and interrogate the mechanisms of social and cultural reproduction (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990; Willis, 1977) by which schools ensure that the vast majority of LM students stay at the bottom of the socio-economic hierarchy, just like their parents.

**See Also:** *Sachiyo Fujita-Round and John C. Maher: Language Education Policy in Japan (Volume 1); Jim Cummins: BICS and CALP: Empirical and Theoretical Status of the Distinction (Volume 2); Tove Skutnabb-Kangas: Language Rights and Bilingual Education (Volume 5); Bonny Norton: Identity, Language Learning, and Critical Pedagogies (Volume 6); Haruko Minegishi Cook: Language Socialization in Japanese (Volume 8); Kelleen Toohey: Ethnography and Language Education (Volume 10)*

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IDEOLOGY, POLICY AND PRACTICE IN BILINGUAL  
CLASSROOMS: BRUNEI DARUSSALAM

INTRODUCTION

English language and English medium classrooms in a non-native context are intrinsically bi/multilingual and bi/multicultural as both learners and teachers bring their multiple identities and home–community sociolinguistic practices into the classroom. In countries where policy makers and other stakeholders have realised and accepted this fact, these identities and practices are exploited (or expected to be) as ‘resources’ (in the case of Britain, for example, see Martin-Jones and Saxena, 2003); where this is not the case, they are positioned as ‘problems’. The latter is generally seen in post-colonial multilingual countries (e.g., see Arthur, 2001; Canagarajah, 2001; Hornberger and Chick, 2001; Lin, 1996) where the interaction between oppositional values of local dominant ideologies on the one hand and ‘English-only’ ideology on the other shape bilingual classroom ecologies. These ecologies are often reflected in language choices, rules for interaction and norms of interpretation. This essay focuses on how this post-colonial tension is played out in the bilingual classrooms in Brunei Darussalam, a small, oil-rich country in Southeast Asia, with a population of 379,444 and a land area of 5,270 km<sup>2</sup>.

Brunei, an ethnolinguistically diverse country, is located on the north-western coast of the island of Borneo. This Muslim kingdom is a ‘state’ (Tollefson, 1991, p. 10) headed by the 39th Sultan of a Malay Muslim ruling dynasty stretching back 600 years. The Sultan belongs to the dominant Brunei Malay Muslim group that overwhelmingly dominates Brunei in numerical, administrative and political terms. There are nine other indigenous ethnolinguistic groups: Belait, Bisaya, Dusun, Kedayan, Murut, Tutong, Mukah, Iban and Penan, whose cultural and linguistic *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1990) hardly command any value in the cultural and linguistic markets of Brunei (see Saxena, 2006). Among the non-indigenous communities is a large population of Chinese and smaller groups of transitional expatriate groups. *Bahasa Melayu* (Standard Malay) is officially the language of administration and education. The local variety, Brunei Malay, however, is spoken, as first or second language, by the majority of the population. English is also used for certain official purposes. Both Malay and English are

taught and employed as media of instruction in the country's bilingual education system. The use of Malay–English code-switching is a common practice in Bruneian communities and classrooms (Saxena, 2006, forthcoming).

A complex interaction between Brunei's broader sociolinguistic context, its bilingual education policy and classroom ecologies is shaped by a constant negotiation between 'convergence' and 'divergence' forces associated with the national ideology, *Melayu Islam Beraja* (MIB), Malay Islamic Monarchy, and the ideology of modernisation/internationalisation (for a complete discussion, see Saxena, 2006). On the one hand, the national ideology reconstructs Brunei's history and invokes Islamic values in support of the monarchy. Consequently, an inextricable link between Malay ethnic identity, Malay culture, Malay language (the official/national language), Islam and the nation is legitimised. On the other hand, increasingly, Brunei also perceives itself as part of the global economic and political system, and strives to diversify its economy beyond the production and export of oil and gas. Consequently, it considers the learning and use of English essential for modernisation and internationalisation. The constant interaction between the ideology of Brunei's traditional social hierarchy and Brunei Malay culture instituted into MIB philosophy and an ideology of modernisation and internationalisation helps provide an explanation for the development of Brunei's bilingual education policy and bilingual classroom practices.

#### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS: EVENTS LEADING TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION POLICY

Prior to the establishment of the British Residential system of government in Brunei, the only form of schooling available was quasi-seminarial, the focus being on basic Arabic literacy and *Koranic* recitation. Formal education in Brunei was instituted during the British Residential period (1906–1959) with the opening of the first Malay vernacular school in the capital of Brunei in 1912. The earliest statement on the language-in-education policy in Brunei was made by the British Resident, Graham Black, in the Brunei Annual Report of 1939:

As at least a quarter of the indigenous population of the state is composed of races whose mother tongue is not Malay . . . The provision of education in their several languages is obviously impracticable, and it is inevitable that, linguistically at any rate, the other races must be *assimilated* [my emphasis] to Malay (Government of Brunei Darussalam, 1939, pp. 33–34).

This policy aimed at centralising the (British) administration by educating local bureaucrats in a single language. In later times, however, it also consolidated the authority of the Sultan over an ethnolinguistically heterogeneous state. It provided a sociolinguistically assimilatory model for Brunei to develop later as a cohesive 'one language—one culture—one nation' state (Saxena, 2006). This 'liberal pluralism' model (May, 2001) is encapsulated in the national ideology of MIB (enshrined in the 1959 Constitution of Brunei). MIB favoured Malay culture and language over other indigenous languages and cultures, and raised their status to that of national culture and national language. Since independence, MIB has been the guiding philosophy for social, cultural and education policies.

By the middle of the last century, Malay schools and, following the discovery and production of oil, Chinese schools and English Mission schools were the three separate systems of education in existence, but without any cohesive education policy (Martin, 1997). However, the 1959 Constitution declared Malay (*Bahasa Melayu*) the official language of the country, which set the scene for the current bilingual education policy.

The post-residential and pre-independence period (1959–1984) saw the commissioning of two education policy reports with the aims, among others, of making Malay the main medium of instruction in primary and secondary schools, and promoting a common national identity. The first report, the Aminuddin Baki-Paul Chang Report (1959), was based on a Malaysian (then Malaya) policy report, the Tun Razak Education Report (1956). It was adopted as the National Education Policy in 1962. However, it was not implemented due to 'the 1962 rebellion by dissident groups who were opposed to the Sultan's rule' (Jones, 1995, p. 108).

The second report, the Report of the Education Commission of 1972, emphasised the importance of the Malay language on the grounds of national ideology, stating that 'Brunei is a Malay State, with Malay as the official language, Islam as the State Religion and is also a Constitutional Monarchy' (Government of Brunei Darussalam, 1972, p. 7). The report recommended the merger of the dual system of separate streams of Malay and English medium education in existence at that time, into a single stream of Malay education. For Malay to become the sole medium of instruction, education experts from Malaysia would have played a central role in corpus planning. However, as Jones (1995) has pointed out, political and diplomatic tension between Brunei and Malaysia in 1974 became one of the main reasons why the report was not implemented. This political situation instead reinforced the position of English in education as Brunei stopped sending students for teacher training in Malaysia. The lack of higher

education institutions in Brunei left Britain as the sole destination for teacher training.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS: BILINGUAL EDUCATION POLICY, ATTITUDES AND PRIMARY CLASSROOM PRACTICES

The separate education system of Malay and English streams in Brunei changed in 1985, a year after Brunei's independence, when Brunei introduced the *Sistem Pendidikan Dwibahasa* or Bilingual System of Education. In maintaining the aims of the 1959 and 1972 reports, the concept of a bilingual system of education was 'a means of ensuring the sovereignty of the Malay Language', but there was a departure from the earlier reports in respect of 'recognising the importance of the English Language' (Government of Brunei Darussalam, 1985, p. 2). In this system, except for English as a subject, Malay is used as the medium of instruction for all the subjects in the first 3 years of education (the lower primary). From the fourth year (the upper primary) onwards, there is a switch to English for mathematics, science, geography and history (although, subsequently the language medium for history changed to Malay in 1995). This 'abrupt' language medium switch from lower to upper primary in the fourth year of schooling has attracted considerable research interest because it is seen as being associated with students' poor performance and code-switching in English language and English medium lessons.

Baetens Beardsmore (1993, 1996) and Jones (1995, 1996) thoroughly examined the education system and proposed an alternative distribution of the subjects and language medium to address the problem of students' poor performance in English at the upper primary level. Drawing on Cummins' (1984) work, they suggested that subjects like mathematics and science are 'cognitively difficult subjects', and therefore they should be taught in the Malay medium until lower secondary (Year 8), whereas physical education and arts (and handicraft) are 'not cognitively demanding', and therefore they should be taught in English. Earlier, in an attitudinal survey (Ahmad Haji Jumat, 1992), principals, head teachers and teachers attributed students' poor performance in English to its early introduction, a demanding curriculum and examination system, the difficult language of the textbooks in English, an overemphasis on rote learning, and use of Malay in English medium classes. Other attitudinal surveys among teachers and students attributed the switch from English to Malay to teachers' need to explain abstract concepts (Murni Abdullah, 1996), teacher's own lack of proficiency in English (Martin, 1999; Zulkarnain Edham, 1997), and the snob value associated with the use of English in and outside the classroom (Zulkarnain Edham, 1997).

As for actual classroom practices, from his detailed micro-ethnographic Ph.D. study (see Martin, 1997) in rural and urban primary IV level classrooms, Martin (1996, 1999) has reported that teachers used substantially more 'Brunei Malay-*Bahasa Melayu*' mixed code for classroom management talk in the rural schools than in the suburban schools. He found Malay-English code-switching more common in history lessons than in science, and the least in mathematics lessons. He showed how demands of the curriculum led to a high frequency of code-switching. For example, teachers and students often switched from English to Malay while negotiating the meanings of difficult words. Drawing on the norms of community level code-switching, learners expressed themselves more freely, which created a more meaningful interaction with the teachers. However, generally, teachers dominated the talk and controlled the interaction. These two features of teacher talk left very little room for meaningful communication as they led to slot filling, labelling and chorusing, which, Martin concluded, amounted to 'safe talk' (Chick, 1996).

Another noteworthy finding of Martin's study was the exclusion of the minority indigenous languages from the classroom. For example, he observed that in the ethnically mixed population of students, while both Brunei Malay and minority languages were used outside the classroom, only Brunei Malay was used, with English, in the classroom.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS: IDEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATIONS OF INTERACTIONAL PATTERNS AT HOME, COMMUNITY AND CLASSROOM

As I have tried to show in the previous section, the agenda for the earlier research on Bruneian bilingual classrooms at the upper primary level has been mainly defined by the problems seen to be arising from the abrupt switch in language medium at this stage of schooling. As a consequence, serious research at the secondary school level has largely been neglected. In this section, I will draw on general findings from my ongoing micro-ethnographic research in Bruneian classrooms, the only in-depth study of this nature to be carried out since Martin (1997). It has been carried out both at primary and secondary levels, but in this paper my main focus will be on the latter because the findings from the former are similar to what has been reported by others as shown in the previous section. I will relate the classroom findings to my ongoing micro-ethnographic research in Bruneian families and communities, as well as broader values and ideologies. Both the classroom and community level research has involved ethnographic observations, audio recordings of communicative events, semi-structured interviews and

focus group discussions, as well as discussions during chance encounters. I highlight below only the general findings of my research due to limitation of space.

*Code-switching, IRE and Silence in 'English' Classrooms*

Recent work demonstrates that there is a great deal of variation in practices across schools and classrooms. However, two characteristics of Bruneian primary level classrooms are present in secondary level classrooms also, viz. code-switching and an Initiation-Response-Evaluation (IRE) pattern of interaction. The main difference, in general, between the primary and secondary classroom is that the frequency of code-switching and IRE patterns reduces slightly and group work increases slightly as one moves from primary to secondary classrooms, from classrooms with more experienced teachers to less experienced teachers, from overcrowded to less crowded classrooms, from low to high-ability classrooms, from low to high-achieving schools and from English language lessons to English medium lessons (e.g. mathematics and science), particularly at the upper secondary level.

At upper secondary level, teachers from 'English' classrooms (both language and content-based) say that they feel under great pressure to 'police English' for a number of reasons. At this level, for example, the syllabus demands more group work and requires students to debate their opinions on certain social issues. But teachers are not always successful in maintaining students' discussions in English alone, even where students' English proficiency is not a problem. Since their earlier schooling, students have been habitually using Malay and/or code-switching between Malay and English with each other inside and outside the classroom. They often get excited and go off-task, creating a noisy classroom which is interpreted by the authorities and other teachers as an undisciplined classroom because, as one teacher said, 'a silent, disciplined classroom is where learning is taking place'. Occasionally, even when students are on-task, they tend to engage in 'disputational' and 'cooperative' talks rather than 'exploratory talk' (Mercer, 1995). I am also discovering that the ground rules for group work are not made explicit to them because the teacher is inexperienced or traditionally trained, and/or students are not used to offering their opinions as in most of their earlier schooling they had experienced mostly IRE talk.

The predominance of the IRE pattern in Brunei classrooms stems from a number of reasons. The top-down administration style of Brunei education has its origins in the Ministry of Education (MoE). The MoE sets guidelines for syllabus, schemes of work, and examination schedules. It actively discourages the use of code-switching in English classrooms. Many teachers feel that the pressure to use only English coupled with a heavy syllabus and the pressure of examinations make

them resort to IRE. In order to avoid an unfavourable annual appraisal by the MoE and therefore loss of annual bonus, teachers say that their main concern is to try to meet syllabus deadlines and to try to produce good results by drilling into students the right answers. In recent times, a growing pressure for good results in English is also coming from parents who are becoming more vocal during parent–teacher meetings and expressing their opinions through local newspapers.

Long-serving teachers who are not selected for in-service courses are either not aware of or do not favour communicative methods of teaching and mainly use IRE. The more recently trained inexperienced younger teachers overlook or fail to follow the communicative methods as they are more susceptible to the pressures from the MoE, school authorities and parents for good results. If anything, the number of such teachers is on the rise. A rapid process of localisation in the last couple of years has seen experienced expatriate teachers being replaced by fresh TESL graduates from the local university, regardless of their degree grades. The IRE pattern of interaction reduces the pressure on such inexperienced teachers and students' limited resources of English, and thus reduces the dependence on code-switching into Malay.

When I showed them the transcripts of classroom interaction, some secondary level students thought the reason for the excessive use of IRE in Brunei was that 'Teachers want to maintain authority and status and don't want to feel insecure, paranoid, or lose face if a student asks a difficult question'. On the other hand, many students believed that they were being taught 'culturally to accept whatever teacher says and not to question her authority . . . teacher is always right'. Teachers do not wish to be caught off-guard because as one teacher said 'there is a feeling among students the teachers should know everything'. Therefore, with or without code-switching, the IRE pattern produces rhythmic and ritualised choral responses from students to teachers' display questions. This helps save the face of all the participants involved, which amounts to 'safe talk' as observed also by Martin (1997). On the other hand, individually nominated display questions and open questions, more often than not, lead to silence as students are generally reluctant to offer an opinion.

Many of the reasons for the silence and low level of response given by the students in Brunei are similar to the ones observed in bilingual classrooms in other countries, for example the fear of error, negative evaluation, correction, being laughed at by other students, dislike for being put on the spot and losing face. Other reasons are associated with the marginalisation of home and community languages as a result of English-only ideology, as can be seen in students' resistance through silence and the silence produced by teachers 'policing English' and levying fines. However, I would like to focus and elaborate on another reason for silence that is considered rather important by the teachers

and students in Brunei. They tend to attribute the silence among students to the highly hierarchical nature of the society, guided by the MIB philosophy, which socialises young people to be silent in the presence of higher status people, such as teachers, and prevents them from offering their opinion.

*Ideology, Socio-Cultural Hierarchy and Silence at Home and Community*

As my ethnographic research in the families and communities is revealing, Bruneian children are socialised into picking up subtle politeness signals for deference and indirectness embedded in everyday interactions. Brunei Malays as a discourse community and a community of practice learn that the Brunei–Malay culture is, as one student said, ‘all about gentleness, politeness, decorum and hospitality’. The national ideology that produces and reproduces this discourse community encapsulates ‘the principles of social order and system of beliefs’ (Ochs, 1986, p. 2) to which individuals are exposed in family and social networks, in education, at work, mosques, festivals and social and official ceremonies. The principles of obedience and filial piety are socialised through participation in language-mediated interactions in socio-cultural events. Often, my older respondents pointed out that any disobedience or impiety is considered to bring misfortune, as told in Malay folktales such as *Si Tanggang* and *Nakhoda Manis*, in which the ungrateful son turns to stone. *Menjawab* (Malay ‘talking back’) is said to lead to *ketulahan* (bad luck) as often Malay children are told *ketulahan kan karang* (‘beware of God’s punishment’; or ‘told you so’ when children meet some misfortune, e.g. falling down). Such sociolinguistic encounters underscore the status of parent vis-à-vis children.

As children grow and are socialised into various events in other domains and attend MIB classes at school, they begin to acquire and learn the sociolinguistic behaviour associated with the social hierarchy in Brunei society: the Sultan, the immediate royal family, other nobles (*Pengirans*) and non-nobles with honorary titles at the top, followed by those from higher socio-economic classes and people of older age, in a descending order of social status. The hierarchical interactional behaviour is embedded in and manifests itself most markedly in the Brunei Malay address system. For example, in case of the use of second person pronoun ‘you’, the variant *gian* [ñian] (you) is appropriate when interacting with a *Pengiran*, and when addressing an elder, *kita* or *abiskita* (you) is used to show respect instead of informal *kau* (you). The general agreement among the respondents was that by about age ten, children are expected to have learnt proper ways of addressing and interacting with their elders. They are not allowed to participate or interfere in elders’ conversation. They are taught not to initiate a

conversation and not to respond unless prompted. From a very early age, they learn to be quiet in adults' company. They learn that voicing an opinion is the prerogative of the person of the higher status, a lesson that lasts a life time.

*Interactional Negotiation of Competing Ideologies  
in 'English' Classrooms*

As Brunei is a small, closely knit society, social impropriety is not taken lightly. I often heard from my respondents that people in this society do not wish to be a 'nuisance'. Individuals go to a great length to avoid causing offence to others in their sociolinguistic behaviour as that would bring shame to the family and/or hamper their progress in the society/career. Brunei classrooms are not immune to these sociolinguistic norms. The boundary between the classroom and other social situations is blurred, and with that the associated roles and subject positions. Teachers are not just teachers of English with their identity constructed by the English-only ideology; they are also Bruneian adults. They are, as focus group discussions with teachers and students reveal, reluctant to threaten students' face who, given the small population, might be related to them or belong to a higher status family. Students are also MIB-inducted Bruneians who are taught not to make their teacher lose face by asking a difficult question or by voicing their opinion. Therefore, the rules for interaction and norms of interpretation acquired outside school shape the classroom discourse practices, which is predominantly IRE. The silence on students' part may simply be socio-culturally constructed and not necessarily due to a lack of competence in the subject matter or English.

Classroom organisation and recurrent classroom events are constant reminders of MIB oriented culture, for example, the MIB seating arrangement whereby boys and girls do not sit together, and students greeting teachers with Arabic/Islamic expressions at the beginning and end of a lesson. Further reinforcement comes from regular attendance at 'Civik' or MIB and Religious Knowledge classes along with other subjects as part of the school curriculum. These classes constantly reinforce in the minds of students the juxtaposition of Islamic religious morality, Malay culture, Malay language and their national Malay identity. These reminders often manifest themselves when students try to redefine the interactional context of the classroom. For example, when teachers impose the English-only ideology on students' use of code-switching, students say that they sometimes respond by evoking the MIB slogan *utamakan Bahasa Melayu* (Priority to Malay). Sometimes they say it to provoke teachers or as a form of resistance to the wider English-only ideology. At other times they say it out of genuine confusion because the MIB classes, government-sponsored signboards at

important road junctions and their parents at home always remind them to prioritise use of Malay. Either mindset partially explains the use of code-switching by the students in the English classrooms. Like their teachers' use of code-switching for pedagogical and social purposes, the students can be seen as trying to negotiate the tension between the two dominant competing ideologies, English-only and MIB. These ideologies are divergent and convergent, respectively, in terms of serving the interests of the centre and periphery in the classroom.

#### PROBLEMS, DIFFICULTIES AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS: THE DILEMMA

There is a dearth of informed micro-ethnographic research on bilingual classrooms in Brunei, particularly at the secondary level. Among other reasons, research on education in Brunei did not start until the establishment of the only university in Brunei in 1985, a year after the independence of Brunei, and it did not pick up until the 1990s. Earlier research has identified a number of problems, including the difficult English textbooks and syllabus, overemphasis on examinations, an earlier switch of language medium from Malay to English at the upper primary level, and inexperienced teachers. However, such problems cannot be tackled unless there is a better understanding of how Brunei's bilingual classroom ecologies are being shaped.

The post-colonial dilemma policy makers and teachers in Brunei face is that the main aim of Brunei's education policy is to produce citizens who can uphold the principles of the MIB ideology, yet they cannot escape 'the monolingual fallacy' (Phillipson, 1992) of the English-only ideology. As in many other post-colonial contexts (Creese and Martin, 2003; Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001), this dilemma produces two dominant patterns of bilingual classroom interaction in Brunei, viz. IRE and code-switching. Among other reasons, these patterns are the product of negotiating the tension between good performance in English and upholding Brunei's unique socio-cultural hierarchical structure of the society shaped by its national ideology and reproduced by various government institutions, including education.

We need to recognise the agency of the participants in Bruneian classrooms in their skilful negotiation of the opposing values of the two ideologies as manifested in Malay-English code-switching and their silence. However, the participants from the indigenous minorities do not have such active choices available to them due to the marginalisation of their languages and cultures inside and outside the classrooms. Their silence is due to the monopolisation of the education policy, classroom practices and societal multilingualism by the dominant ideologies and the two legitimised official languages, viz. Malay

and English, which are squeezing out the minority languages. The consequences of this culture of silence are evident in many post-colonial nation states as reflected in the alarming rate at which language shift, attrition and death is taking place around the world (e.g. see Nettle and Romaine, 2000). Each multilingual context has to arrive at its own local solutions; however, for Brunei, some future directions in this regard may come from countries which practise multilingual education policies in the belief that linguistic diversity empowers individuals to participate fully in the social, political and economic life of the nation (e.g. see May, 2001; Tollefson and Tsui, 2004).

**See Also:** *Joan Kelly Hall: Language Education and Culture (Volume 1); Monica Heller: Language Choice and Symbolic Domination (Volume 3); Jill Bourne: Official Pedagogic Discourse and the Construction of Learners' Identities (Volume 3); Joseph Lo Bianco: Bilingual Education and Socio-Political Issues (Volume 5); Jim Cummins: Teaching for Transfer: Challenging the Two Solitudes Assumption in Bilingual Education (Volume 5)*

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## CLASSROOM ECOLOGIES: A CASE STUDY FROM A GUJARATI COMPLEMENTARY SCHOOL IN ENGLAND

### INTRODUCTION

The human and linguistic ecology of Britain has changed substantially over the centuries. Since World War II, particularly, there has been a dramatic increase in the number and diversity of groups of peoples which have settled in the country. These groups include displaced refugees who entered the country in the immediate aftermath of World War II, people from the Indian sub-continent, East Africa and the Caribbean, and, most recently, other groups which have moved to Britain to escape from political upheavals, war or famine. These 'new minorities' in Britain brought with them their own languages which are often referred to as 'community languages', 'heritage languages' or 'Languages other than English'. These languages have largely been left to fend for themselves, with little or no government support. Many of the groups have taken it upon themselves to provide some support for cultural and linguistic maintenance, and this has been done mainly through the setting up of 'complementary schools'. Until recently, complementary schools had received little official acknowledgement and, in addition, they remain largely under-examined and under-theorised. This chapter provides a case study of one Gujarati complementary school in England, focusing on the multilingual experiences in the school environment. It is recognised that classroom experiences are shaped by experiences outside the classroom, as well as the pressures, policies, values and ideologies which exist in the wider environment. In exploring the subtle dynamics of classroom life in one complementary school within the framework of these external pressures, policies, values and ideologies, an account of the multilingual classroom (and school) ecology is provided.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Several sources provide brief accounts of the histories of migration patterns of the new minority groups. For example, *The Other Languages of England* (Linguistic Minorities Project, 1985) provides a typology of migrations into Britain up to 1985, based on the time frame of the migration and on the reasons for the initial migration and settlement.

In this typology, the two major categories are migrant labour and political refugees. More detailed and up-to-date information is provided in Edwards (2005), in a chapter entitled 'Roots of Diversity', a chapter which also contains information on the histories of migrant populations in other parts of the world, notably Australia and the USA. Other sources have provided accounts of particular communities, such as Ghuman (2003), who reviews the history of the migration of South Asians to the USA, Canada, the UK and Australia. What is clear from the literature is that there are very significant numbers of linguistic minorities, and these have increased dramatically over the last few decades. With reference to the city of London alone, it was noted in Rosen and Burgess' (1980) study that there were 55 languages used by London school children. A later study, by Baker and Eversley (2000), noted that over 300 languages are spoken by children in the city's schools.

Within Britain, although government rhetoric appears to highlight the importance of multilingualism, the maintenance of the languages of the new minorities has historically been seen as beyond the remit of mainstream education. The Swann Report suggests that linguistic and cultural maintenance is 'best achieved within the ethnic minority communities themselves' (Department of Education and Science 1985, p. 406). A fuller discussion of the language policies related to the minority communities is provided in Rassool (Language Policy and Education in Britain, Volume 1).

Many minority communities have indeed taken steps to ensure that their languages and cultures are passed on to the younger generations through a formal educational process. Several terms are used for this type of education, such as community language education and out of hours learning, and the schools in which this learning takes place are referred to as supplementary schools, community (language) schools or complementary schools. In the USA and Australia, a term in common use is 'heritage/community language education' (Hornberger, 2005). Such education provides a "borrowed" but "safe" and largely "hidden" space in which communities can learn about their own cultures and languages (Creese et al., 2006a; Martin et al., 2006) but, as noted in the introduction above, little has been reported in the literature about how these educational spaces function. What is clear, though, is that there is a considerable number of these educational institutions around the country. Kempadoo and Abdelrazak (1999) provide a directory of 'supplementary and mother-tongue schools' but, although they list over 1,000 schools, they are at pains to point out that the list only scratches the surface. They make reference to the significance of this form of education and how the schools help children with their learning in several ways, not least due to the 'positive impact on pupil self-esteem and confidence' (1999, p. iv). Verma et al., (1994, p. 12) noted that the initial aim of this type of education was to strengthen 'cultural

and religious identity in the face of the threat of cultural assimilation'. Similarly, Hall et al., (2002, p. 415) refer to the way schools 'correct' the rather 'subtractive' approach to language learning in the mainstream sector with an 'additive' approach, 'filling in the gaps of cultural specificity that mainstream schooling neglects'.

In order to begin to consider how these 'hidden' educational spaces function, and to investigate the discourses within them and the relationships with the wider environment outside the school, this chapter draws on an ethnographic study of one complementary school in England. In focusing on the classroom culture within the school and in relation to the wider environment, an ecology metaphor is used in order to capture the complexity and importance of the interactions and inter-relationships which occur. The ecology metaphor as applied to schools and classrooms is not new. In fact, Breen (1986) has likened the classroom to a 'coral reef' due to its incredible complexity. Much of what goes on in a coral reef is unseen, and the relationships between the members of the ecosystem and the environment outside the ecosystem are also unclear. Likewise, although we can see and hear what is going on in a classroom, there is a lot more going on under the surface.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The complexity of classroom life is illustrated in a recent volume which, within an ecological framework, explores the interaction between languages and their speakers in multilingual and multicultural classrooms, the dynamics of multilingual classroom interaction, and the positionings of classroom languages and their speakers in dominant educational discourses (Creese and Martin, 2003). The multilingual classrooms are located in diverse contexts but they all investigate some aspect of interactions and inter-relationships between teachers and learners and how the discourses within and between micro and macro levels of education are institutionally and societally (re)produced. For example, the study by Skilton-Sylvester (2003), which focuses on Khmer/English biliteracy in multilingual classrooms in the USA, considers the legal and official language policies in relation to minority groups, linking these to the implicit policies and ideologies which exist outside the official discourses. The major focus of the paper is the interplay between policy making, the ideologies which support these policies, and the micro-level practices in schools and classrooms. Skilton-Sylvester's study provides a telling account of how teachers support and contest ideologies about the education of linguistically diverse students. In the same volume, Creese (2003) explores how, in a London secondary school, bilingual teachers' ethnicity and language resources in Turkish and English are employed by the school to (re)produce a discourse of equality that actually seeks to level out difference. The study shows how the

bilingual teachers mediate, negotiate, and action identification positionings towards and away from the dominant discourse of institutional sameness.

The studies referred to above provide an ecological perspective through their focus on minority groups within the mainstream schooling sector. Up until recently there has been an almost complete dearth of studies which focus on the ecologies of complementary schools and their classrooms. There are several possible reasons for this. In the first place, as noted earlier, these schools tend to be hidden away from the public gaze, using borrowed space for their activities. Although the communities themselves recognise the importance of their languages and cultures, this recognition is not generally found in the wider environment, an environment which, although it purports to 'celebrate' multilingualism and diversity, does not appear to be able to cope with multilingualism in actual practice. The complementary schools have therefore been left to fend for themselves and there has been very little public acknowledgement of the work they do. However, a recent government report has noted that attendance at complementary schools 'can enhance pupils' respect, promote self-discipline and inspire pupils to have high aspirations to succeed' (Department for Education and Science, 2003, p. 26).

A small number of studies which focus on the ecologies of complementary schools have begun to be reported in the literature. Arthur's (2003) study, for example, focusing on after-school lessons in Somali in Liverpool, explores the roles of Somali literacy practices in the daily lives of the young people who attend these lessons. She relates the bilingual language practices to the different values associated with the languages they speak, as well as to the social and linguistic experiences these people bring to the classroom. Arthur's study explores the potential role of Somali literacy (including the teaching of literacy) and the effect this has on the development of cultural and linguistic identity which young Somali people have in their community.

Wu's (2006) study of what she refers to as Chinese community schools in the UK, focuses on language choice and cultures of learning in the schools. Wu notes the importance of the different socio-cultural histories of the participants and, in particular, how this influenced the language choices of the students and teachers in the school, as well as the importance of cultural traditions such as respect for elders and use of address terms. Using extracts from several lessons, Wu shows how both English and Chinese were used to accomplish the lesson.

In a study of 'parallel literacy classes' in second or third generation Pakistani children in Watford, England, Robertson (2006) notes how the children learn to switch between literacy systems, and how they use a range of strategies to negotiate the simultaneous learning of multiple literacies. The study focuses on English literacy classes in a

mainstream school, Urdu literacy classes in a complementary school and Qur'anic classes in the local mosque. Robertson's study demonstrates the realities and complexities of the children's multilingual lives—and this resonates with Sneddon's (2000, p. 103) assertion that '[c]hildren all over Britain live their daily lives in two, three or more languages'. With reference to the Urdu classes in Robertson's study, it is shown how the teacher routinely asks children to discuss and translate words in both English and Urdu, as well as their home language Pahari. The significance of Robertson's study is that it shows that where the English literacy lessons present the children with a 'closed system of literacy . . . based on a monolingual "English-Only" version of literacy', in community language lessons, the children's knowledge of English and Pahari is 'used as a springboard for teaching and learning' Urdu (Robertson, 2006, p. 57). In a similar vein to the work of Robertson, Kenner (2004) notes how children growing up bilingual and attending community languages classes, experience their worlds as 'simultaneous' rather than as separate linguistic and cultural entities. Complementary schools are thus an important site where children integrate and synthesise their linguistic and literacy resources.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

This section reports on a recent study on complementary schools in Leicester, England, and work in progress which has emerged from this study. The initial study surveyed all the complementary schools in Leicester in order to determine the scope of provision in supporting minority linguistic and ethnic communities in the city (Martin et al., 2004). Following the survey, two Gujarati complementary schools were selected for ethnographic observation in order to explore the teaching and learning practices in the schools as well as the classroom and school discourses. These practices were located within a framework which takes into account the pressures, policies, values and ideologies which exist in the wider environment outside the schools. The Leicester study (Martin et al., 2004) shows that the two schools: (i) are important sites for the acquisition of linguistic and literacy knowledge; (ii) add value and enhance learning across other educational settings; (iii) play an important role in community cohesion; (iv) provide a positive and uncontested model for bi- or multilingualism; and (v) widened the participants' choices and uptake of identities. In the discussion of the work emerging from the Leicester study below, we pick up on several of these issues within an ecological framework.

Li Wei (2006, p. 80) has noted, with reference to the Leicester study, the significance of the 'dynamic and negotiated nature of social identity and on the strategic use' of Gujarati and English in the

complementary schools in the study. Both these issues are central to an understanding of the ecology of the classrooms. With reference to the former, Creese et al. (2006a) refer to three identity positions which emerge from the interview data in the Leicester study: multicultural, heritage and learner identities. The first two of these explore the importance of ethnicity as a social category for those attending the complementary schools whereas the final one refers to the opportunities that complementary schools provide for students to perform their identities as successful learners. The study of Creese et al. (2006a, p. 40) demonstrates the way the two complementary schools provide experiences which are different from those in mainstream schooling, in that they allow 'young people to meet and consider (reproduce or contest) existing categories around nationality, culture, ethnicity, bilingualism and learning'. Such schools are therefore important contexts for participants 'to explore identity positions and create narratives in new and imaginative ways'.

Focusing specifically on how one Gujarati complementary school in the Leicester study 'manages' bilingualism, Martin et al., (2006) note that both Gujarati and English are used in the school, in the assemblies, in the corridors and in the classrooms. The two languages do not appear to be compartmentalised in any formal way. On the contrary, the use of both languages is spontaneous, flexible and unproblematic. The way two languages are used in the classrooms appears to resonate with studies in other contexts, particularly in a range of post-colonial contexts where policy dictates that a former colonial language is the language of instruction. In such contexts, teachers and learners switch into their own languages during lessons (see, for example, Arthur and Martin, 2006).

In the classrooms observed, the teachers often initiate in Gujarati and the students usually respond in English. This is, perhaps, not surprising, as English is the first language for the majority of the children. At the younger end of the school, English is used to a greater extent, apart from in cases where the teacher is drilling a particular structure. In classes in which students have been learning Gujarati for longer, more Gujarati is used. Extracts from such classrooms show clearly how the negotiation of meaning is managed both jointly, between teacher and students, and bilingually. The classroom talk tends to be very structured, based around an exchange framework in which the teacher controls what is said. Labels are often requested in Gujarati or, alternatively, English labels are requested for Gujarati words. A common initiation by the teacher, in either English or Gujarati is 'What does X mean?' and the discourse conventions of the classrooms require the students to provide the label in the other language. Instances of more spontaneous talk are usually in English. The teachers will

sometimes request ‘Gujaratima’ (‘in Gujarati’), but this does not usually occur in spontaneous speech. What is very evident is that the teacher is happy for the students to discuss issues in English. An example occurs in one classroom where the teacher and students are unravelling the content of a letter written in Gujarati. The letter is about wedding ceremonies, and they unravel the meaning of the letter in two languages. The teacher is using mainly Gujarati and the students mainly English. What is of interest is that the teacher puts no pressure on the students to use Gujarati. The teacher recognises the importance of the cultural content of the lesson and he later opined in an interview that ‘you can’t separate language and culture’ (Martin et al., 2006, p. 15).

In all classrooms, a major feature is the importance given to literacy. Many parents actually send their children to these schools with the particular purpose of developing some level of literacy—often due to the fact that these parents themselves missed out on learning to read and write Gujarati due to their particular migration trajectories.

What emerges from the studies discussed here is the way they provide bilingual and bicultural spaces in an institutional context, far removed from the sort of ‘celebration’ of bilingualism and biculturalism discourse which exists outside the school. By this we mean that the complementary school provides a safe space for the actual social experiences of bilingualism and biculturalism, in a wider environment where monolingualism is a perceived norm (cf. Rassool, *Language Policy and Education in Britain*, Volume 1). As noted by Hall et al., (2002, p. 410), such schools provide ‘a sense of belonging to a community that supports [students] practically, culturally, socially, emotionally and spiritually’. The classroom ecology of the schools provides some evidence of how this sense of belonging is provided. At the same time, the interactions and inter-relationships in the classrooms and school demonstrate how dominant ideologies around bilingualism are contested. The school allows students opportunities to bring together their different life experiences and to express fluidity in their identities (rather than essentialised ethnic identities), and flexibility in their use of languages (cf. Creese et al., 2006a).

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Complementary schools have, traditionally, not been the focus of detailed research. Although some studies have provided information on the numbers and types of schools, their aims, and the languages that they teach, as noted above, very little detailed research has been carried out within an ecological framework, specifically the investigation of the multilingual practices in the schools and their relationships with the

wider environment. One of the reasons is that schools very often remain hidden from the public 'monolingual gaze'. Until recently, although schools and communities recognise the important function that they fulfil, people outside the communities have tended to ignore them.

### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Findings from the Leicester study (Martin et al., 2004) mentioned earlier in this chapter have shaped new research agendas and a large comparative study is now underway which investigates multilingualism in complementary schools in four communities. The focus of this new project (Creese et al., 2006b) is to investigate how complementary schools extend or restrict the performance of young people's multilingual repertoires. The ethno-linguistic groups concerned are Bangladeshi, Chinese, Gujarati and Turkish in Birmingham, Newcastle, Manchester, Leicester and London. The project aims to explore the social, cultural and linguistic significance of complementary schools both within their communities and in wider society, and to investigate how linguistic practices of students and teachers in complementary schools are used to negotiate their multilingual and multicultural identities. We bring an ecological approach to this research, exploring the relationship of languages to each other and to the society in which these languages exist. This ecological framework highlights the importance of linking together patterns of language use in particular contexts with ideologies about language(s) and their users at the macro-sociopolitical level.

There are a number of other future directions in which work on the ecologies of classrooms in complementary schools could proceed. An important starting point could be Hornberger's (2002, 2003) ecological framework for ideologies underlying multilingual language policy and practice. In this framework, Hornberger includes 'language evolution', 'language environment' and 'language endangerment'. In relation to complementary schools, we certainly need more studies that consider these issues. One important area is the way that complementary schools provide a context for language evolution, how languages come together, how languages are used and how they change, and what new multilingualisms are emerging from such a context. According to Li Wei (2006, p. 82), these new multilingual practices 'constitute vital socio-symbolic resources for linguistic minority speakers and communities'.

Secondly, we need more information about how environmental factors and ideological positions influence language use. What role do complementary schools play in contesting prevailing and privileged ideologies? Does the type of flexible bilingualism that is part of the complementary school classroom play a role in counteracting the rather 'monolingualising' nature of the UK? This requires that we begin to

look beyond the traditional boundaries of sociolinguistics and focus on ‘more fluid ways of thinking about language, identity and belonging’ (Pennycook, 2003, p. 514), crossing (cf. Rampton, 1998), and new multilingualisms. Finally, and significantly, the whole issue of language endangerment needs to be explored. We know that one of the major aims of complementary schools is language and cultural maintenance, but little is actually known about how successful these schools are in the maintenance of language and literacies. All these questions are inter-related, and hence the usefulness of an ecological approach.

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## **Section 5**

### **The Language Ecology of Literacies, Oracies, Discourses**

## CONTINUA OF BILITERACY

## INTRODUCTION

The continua of biliteracy model offers an ecological framework in which to situate research, teaching, and language planning in linguistically diverse settings (Hornberger, 2003). The framework uses the notion of intersecting and nested continua to demonstrate the multiple and complex interrelationships between bilingualism and literacy and the importance of the contexts, media, and content through which biliteracy develops. The notion of continuum is intended to convey that although one can identify (and name) points on the continuum, those points are not finite, static, or discrete. There are infinitely many points on the continuum; any single point is inevitably and inextricably related to all other points; and all the points have more in common than not with each other.

Biliteracy, in this model, is defined as “any and all instances in which communication occurs in two (or more) languages in or around writing” (Hornberger, 1990, p. 213), a definition which follows from Heath’s definition of literacy events as “occasions in which written language is integral to the nature of participants’ interactions and their interpretive processes and strategies” (Heath, 1982, p. 50). Unlike Heath’s definition which focuses on the literacy event, my definition of biliteracy refers to instances, a term encompassing events, but also biliterate actors, interactions, practices, activities, programs, sites, situations, societies, and worlds.

The continua of biliteracy is an ecological framework, incorporating three key themes of the ecology of language metaphor: language evolution, language environment, and language endangerment. Numerous scholars, beginning with Haugen (1972), take up one or more of these themes in considering what Haugen called the reciprocity between languages and their psychological and sociological environments. Common across writings on the ecology of language are these themes that parallel those in the ecology movement more generally—evolution, environment, and endangerment. Specifically, an ecological view of language posits that languages (i) live and evolve in an ecosystem along with other languages (*language evolution*), (ii) interact with their sociopolitical, economic, and cultural environments (*language*

*environment*), and (iii) become endangered if there is inadequate environmental support for them vis-à-vis other languages in the ecosystem—and the ecology movement is about not only studying and describing those potential losses, but also counteracting them (*language endangerment*). The continua of biliteracy is an ecological framework in that the very notion of bi- (or multi) literacy assumes that one language and literacy is developing in relation to one or more other languages and literacies (*language evolution*); the model situates biliteracy development (whether in the individual, classroom, community, or society) in relation to the contexts, media, and content in and through which it develops (i.e., *language environment*); and it provides a heuristic for addressing the unequal balance of power across languages and literacies (i.e., for both studying and counteracting *language endangerment*).

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Early papers on biliteracy (Goodman, Goodman, and Flores, 1979; Lado, Hanson, and D'Emilio, 1980; Spolsky, 1981) often left the meaning of the term implicit or assumed rather than stated. Genesee (1980) uses the term only in the title and concluding paragraph of his article reporting results of a survey on second language reading habits of adolescent immersion students in Montreal; and Cummins (1981) also uses biliteracy in his title, while referring within to “bilingualism and the acquisition of literacy skills.” His plea for attention to biliteracy is matched by Valdés' (1983) call for language planning to develop the use of written Spanish language in Hispanic communities; she too does not define biliteracy, instead assuming a meaning which can be roughly glossed as “reading (and writing) in two languages (or in a second language).”

Niyekawa, on the other hand, defines biliteracy as “an advanced state of bilingualism where the person can not only speak two languages fluently but also read and write these two languages” (Niyekawa, 1983, p. 98), excluding from her definition not only those who are less than fluent but also those who are biliterate but not bilingual; her definition is thus considerably more strict than mine in disallowing “lopsided” bilingual or biliterate instances. Fishman's definition of biliteracy as “the mastery of reading in particular, and also of writing, in two (or more) languages” (Fishman, Riedler-Berger, and Steele, 1985, p. 377) is, like Niyekawa's, more specific than mine, in that it focuses on mastery; yet it shares with mine a perspective encompassing not just the use of two languages, but of two (or more) languages (or language varieties).

The original impetus for my 1989 review of literature relating to biliteracy was an ethnographic research project initiated in Philadelphia in 1987, the Literacy in Two Languages project (see below). Finding

very little scholarly work attending explicitly to biliteracy, I looked instead to its component parts, i.e., the literatures on bilingualism and the teaching of second/foreign languages and the literatures on literacy and the teaching of reading/writing. A common ground that emerged was that dimensions of bilingualism and literacy traditionally characterized in terms of polar opposites, such as first versus second languages (L1 vs. L2), monolingual versus bilingual individuals, or oral versus literate societies, turned out, under the scrutiny of research, to be only theoretical endpoints on what is in reality a continuum of features (cf. Kelly, 1969, p. 5).

This notion became the building block for the continua model of biliteracy. Specifically, the continua framework depicts the development of biliteracy along intersecting first language–second language, receptive–productive, and oral–written language skills continua; through the medium of two (or more) languages and literacies whose linguistic structures vary from similar to dissimilar, whose scripts range from convergent to divergent, and to which the developing biliterate individual’s exposure varies from simultaneous to successive; in contexts that encompass micro to macro levels and are characterized by varying mixes along the monolingual–bilingual and oral–literate continua; and with content that ranges from majority to minority perspectives and experiences, literary to vernacular styles and genres, and decontextualized to contextualized language texts.

The continua framework can be schematically represented as in [Figures 1, 2, and 3](#). [Figures 1 and 2](#) depict the nested and intersecting nature of the continua, respectively, while [Figure 3](#) summarizes all 12 continua (four nested sets of three intersecting continua each). The three dimensionality of each set of three intersecting continua is representative of the interrelatedness of those three constituent continua; and the nested three-dimensional spaces indicate that the interrelationships extend across the four sets of continua as well. The two-way arrows represent the infinity and fluidity of movement along each of the continua; and the three-dimensional spaces must also be visualized as infinitely expanding and contracting, not as bounded boxes as in the diagram.

The notion of continuum conveys that all points on a particular continuum are interrelated, and the intersecting and nested relationships among the continua convey that all points across the continua are also interrelated. This ecological framework suggests that the more their learning contexts and contexts of use allow learners and users to draw from across the whole of each and every continuum, the greater are the chances for their full biliterate development and expression. Implicit in that suggestion is a recognition that there has usually *not* been attention to all points and that movement along the continua and across the inter-

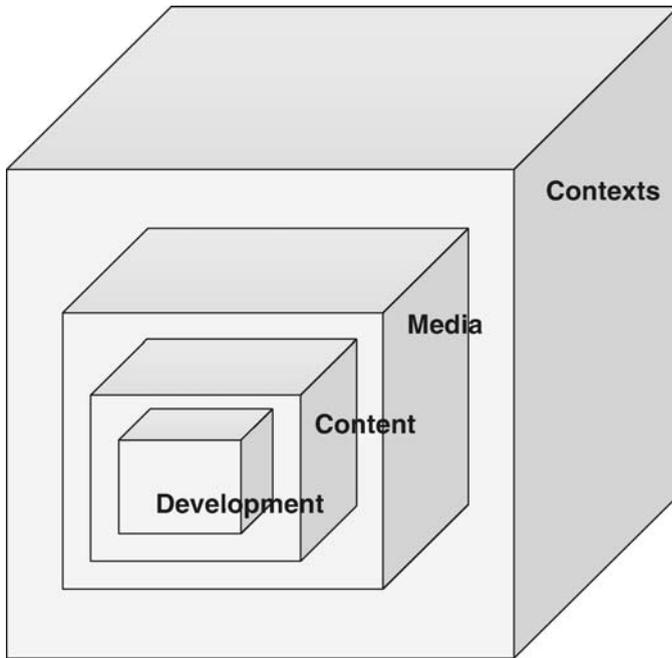


Figure 1 Nested relationships among the continua of biliteracy. Reprinted with permission from: Hornberger, N.H. and Skilton-Sylvester, E.: 2000, 'Revisiting the continua of biliteracy: International and critical perspectives', *Language and Education: An International Journal* 14(2), 96–122.

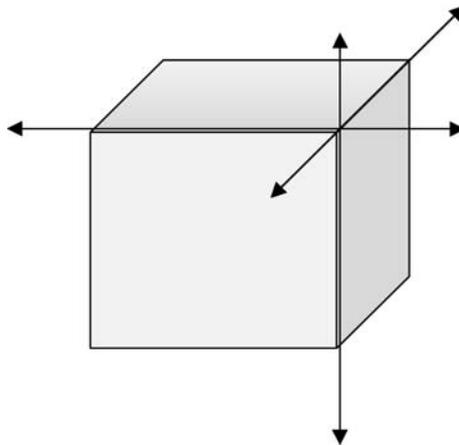


Figure 2 Intersecting relationships among the continua of biliteracy. Reprinted with permission from: Hornberger, N.H. and Skilton-Sylvester, E.: 2000, 'Revisiting the continua of biliteracy: International and critical perspectives', *Language and Education: An International Journal* 14(2), 96–122.

traditionally **less** powerful ← → traditionally **more** powerful

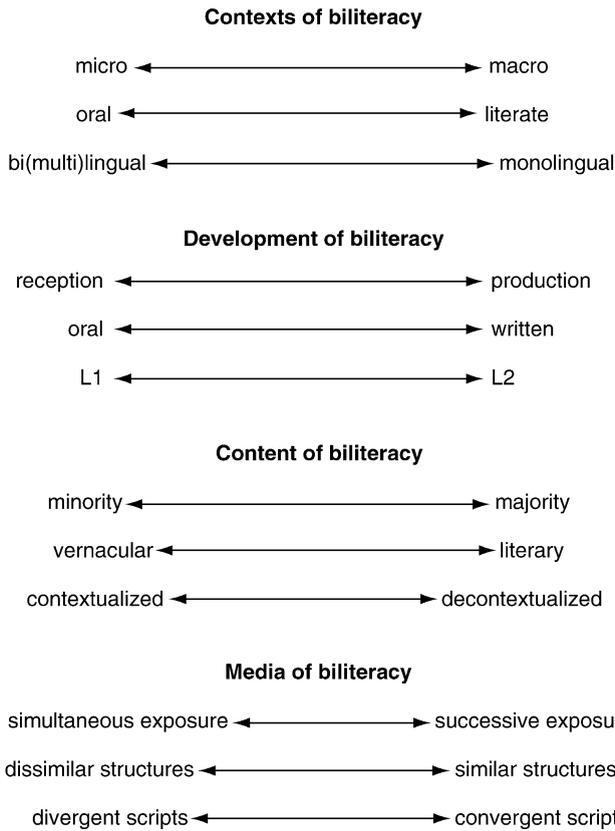


Figure 3 Power relations in the continua of biliteracy. Reprinted with permission from: Hornberger, N.H. and Skilton-Sylvester, E.: 2000, 'Revisiting the continua of biliteracy: International and critical perspectives', *Language and Education: An International Journal* 14(2), 96–122.

sections may well be contested. In educational policy and practice regarding biliteracy, there tends to be an implicit privileging of one end of the continua over the other such that one end of each continuum is associated with more power than the other (e.g., written development over oral development; see Figure 3); there is a need to contest the traditional power weighting by paying attention to, granting agency to, and making space for actors and practices at what have traditionally been the less powerful ends of the continua.

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The initial impetus for formulating the continua of biliteracy framework was the Literacy in Two Languages project, a long-term comparative, ethnographic research project in two language minority communities of Philadelphia. Through participant observation, interviewing, and document collection in school and community settings in the Puerto Rican community of North Philadelphia and the Cambodian community of West Philadelphia, the study sought to understand biliteracy attitudes and practices in classroom and community, and their fit with local, state, and national policies and programs addressing them. The continua framework proved useful in analyzing the data and drawing conclusions from the research; and by the same token, the ongoing research continually informed the evolving framework.

For example, an early paper from this project showed how *biliteracy contexts* for Puerto Rican and Cambodian students in Philadelphia in the 1980s were framed and constrained by an ecology in which national policies emphasized English acquisition at the expense of minority language maintenance (e.g., the proposed English Language Amendment to the Constitution, the 1984 and 1988 renewals of the Bilingual Education Act of 1968, and the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986), the educational system used minority languages only to embed the more powerful English literacy, and the assimilative “charm” of English pulled students’ biliterate development toward English. Also part of the Literacy in Two Languages project, Joel Hardman and I reported on our study of adult *biliteracy development* in programs for Puerto Ricans and Cambodians in Philadelphia, making an argument for the inadequacy of an autonomous, cognitive skills-based view of literacy with its emphasis on a single, standardized schooled literacy in the L2 and for the benefits of an ecologically complementary ideological, cultural practice view (Hornberger and Hardman, 1994, p. 168).

When we turned our attention to the *media of biliteracy* in two-way bilingual programs in the Puerto Rican community, we found that faculty and staff continually faced challenging media-related decisions with regard to, for example: (i) placement of students in English-dominant and Spanish-dominant streams; (ii) distribution of English and Spanish in the program structure and the classroom; and (iii) instruction and assessment in (a language ecology of) coexisting standard and non-standard varieties of English and Spanish (Hornberger, 2005d; Hornberger and Micheau, 1993). In a related, spin-off of the Literacy in Two Languages project, specifically her own ethnographic dissertation study of literacy, identity and educational policy among Cambodian women and girls in Philadelphia, Ellen Skilton-Sylvester (1997) found

it necessary to supplement the original three sets of continua (context, media, and development) with the continua of *biliteracy content*, in order to account for the identities and meanings expressed through biliterate practices and especially for the important role of contextualized, vernacular, and minority texts in (the ecology of) the women's and girls' biliterate development.

Beyond this original work within the ecology of languages in Philadelphia, the continua framework has been applied in a range of other ecological contexts in the USA and internationally. At the level of multilingual classroom ecologies (Creese and Martin, 2003), Bloch and Alexander (2003) use the continua as heuristic in exploring ways of developing, trying out, and demonstrating workable strategies for teaching and learning multilingually in one Cape Town primary school, in the context of South Africa's recent language policy initiatives promoting multilingualism and the African languages. Schwinge uses the content and development continua to analyze how two US "elementary school bilingual education teachers who teach a mandated curriculum utilize the various linguistic, cultural, and textual resources that are available in their bilingual classrooms to help ensure that their classroom instruction is comprehensible, draws upon the community's local funds of knowledge, and enables students to successfully become bilingual and biliterate" (Schwinge, 2003, p. 248).

At the program level, Jeon (2003) argues that the continua of biliteracy framework provides a rationale for Korean-English (and other) two-way immersion program policies, while Basu (2003) uses the continua comparatively in analyzing the ecology of bilingual education programs in two schools of New Delhi, India, to understand why it is that, despite the far reaching and progressive goal of the bilingual education policies, one school is more successful in making its students proficient in the L2 than the other.

Bilingual teacher professional development offers other instances of biliteracy ecology that the continua framework has been used to elucidate. Bertha Pérez, Belinda Bustos Flores, and Susan Strecker (2003) apply the continua in comparing the experiences of two groups of bilingual teacher education candidates in US Southwest, following them through different phases of their preparation, including admissions interviews, written tests, and fieldwork tutoring practicums. The four US resident "*normalistas*" (graduates of a Mexican normal school) and the three homegrown "*paraprofessionals*" share Latino culture broadly defined, but differ in specific ecologies of their cultural upbringing and their use of vernacular and standard, literary Spanish and English language skills. The authors find the dynamic of the biliteracy continua in evidence within the teacher preparation program in the acceptance of the use of both English and Spanish vernaculars,

which in turn enables both groups to understand the local community's use of the vernacular, while also providing opportunities for their development of standard English and Spanish for academic purposes.

Also related to the ecology of teacher professional development, Cahnmann (2003) and Hardman (2003) each look closely at teachers' classroom practice, using the continua framework to explore tensions, struggles, and contradictions around the control of content in an ESL/bilingual classroom (Hardman) and a bilingual teacher's assessment and correction of students' oral and written productions (Cahnmann). Hornberger (2004) also addresses ecological dilemmas confronting bilingual (and language) educators and ways in which the continua framework might shape a response by enabling educators' awareness of the complex ecologies of biliteracy and providing a heuristic for their decision making in shaping curriculum and classroom practice—in relation to global/local contexts for biliteracy; standard/nonstandard varieties as media of biliteracy; language/content in biliteracy development; and teacher's and students' languages/cultures/identities in biliteracy content. Lincoln (2003) and Mercado (2003) provide rich case studies of this last dilemma in particular, in a consideration of language minority student voices in rural Arkansas (Lincoln) and of biliteracy development among Latino youth in New York City (Mercado).

Canagarajah (2005, p. 198) emphasizes that the continua framework offers an ecological heuristic for considering language policy; and this is exemplified in the work by Bloch and Alexander (2003) in South Africa, Baker (2003) on the Welsh National Curriculum, Freeman (2004) on Puerto Rican (and other language minority) community bilingualism in the USA, and Hornberger (2003) looking comparatively at implementational and ideological spaces for multilingual education in South Africa, Bolivia, and Paraguay. The continua framework has also been applied in describing, analyzing, and interpreting heritage language education at the level of policy, program, classroom, community, and individual, for Korean-American (Jeon, 2005; Pak, 2003, 2005) and Chinese-American heritage learners (Wang, 2004; *The Ecology of the Chinese Language in the United States, Volume 9*) in the USA, as well as in a comparative US/Australian dialogue (Hornberger, 2005b), in all cases illustrating the centrality of ecology and identity in the biliterate development of heritage languages and their speakers (Hornberger and Wang, 2007).

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Similarly to work more generally in language planning and policy (cf. Ricento, 2000, 2005), recent and ongoing work using the continua framework takes up themes of ideology and identity in relation to the

ecology of biliteracy. A group of researchers and educators in the Pacific Islands explore the language policy/practice connection in classrooms which they characterize as linguistic borderlands, sites where teachers contend every day with postcolonial educational policies where English is designated the main medium of instruction, even though the children come to school speaking for example Marshallese, Palauan, or Samoan. Low and her colleagues use the continua of biliteracy framework to analyze ideological tensions and paradoxes in teachers' discourses about the contexts, development, content, and media of biliteracy; and to call policymakers' attention to the need to create "a dialogic space where community members can query which language(s) should be the medium of instruction and for what purposes" (Low, Penland, Ruloked, and Sataua, 2004, p. 32).

Hélot (2005) applies the continua framework as analytical heuristic to elucidate ideological principles and biases underlying language education policies in France, which have tended to favor prestigious bilingual education for monolingual learners and neglect the bilingualism of minority speakers. Illustrating through a counter-example to this tendency, she reports on a language awareness initiative carried out in a small, rural primary school in a multicultural community in the south of Alsace, demonstrating how teachers "reversed the relations of power imposed by the curriculum through opening their school to parents and making their classrooms inclusive of all the languages and cultures of their pupils," including the Alsatian dialect, immigrant languages such as Arabic, Turkish, Berber, Serber-Croate, as well as more prestigious languages such as Japanese, Italian, Spanish, Russian, and Chinese. She uses the continua framework, then, to argue for a more ecological approach to policy and practice, one that would bridge the gap between prestigious bilingualism and minority bilingualism.

An ongoing 4-year ethnographic study of multilingual, multimodal, transnational literacy practices of Latino immigrant youth in Manhattan, USA, employs the continua of biliteracy framework in seeking to understand how "academic English literacy intersects with the literacy practices of these Latino students outside of school and/or in Spanish; as well as how these multiple literacies might ultimately serve as resources in schools" (Bartlett, 2004). This research promises to provide insights on identity development in relation to a transnational ecology of language and literacy practices. Similarly, Utakis and Pita (2005) consider the transnational practices and identities of the Dominican community in the Bronx, in a context where current educational policy and practice presents Dominican students with unacceptable forced choices between Spanish and English, home community and host community, local and global affiliations. The authors argue that, in contrast, the continua of biliteracy provides a framework "to

articulate the policy and pedagogical changes that would do justice to the educational needs of Dominican students” (Utakis and Pita, 2005, p. 159).

Utakis and Pita (2005, p. 160) also emphasize the potential of the continua framework as a heuristic tool teachers can use in opening up ideological spaces in the local contexts of classrooms, in turn contributing to changes in the community and society. This latter point takes up a theme that had emerged when I used the continua of biliteracy framework as ecological heuristic for situating community and classroom challenges faced in implementing transformative multilingual language policies in three national contexts—post-apartheid South Africa’s new Constitution of 1993, Bolivia’s National Education Reform of 1994, and Paraguay’s post-dictatorship democratic education reform of 1992; and found, following Chick (2001), that ideological space opened up by top-down policies can contribute to the emergence of new discourses in implementational spaces at the grassroots level (Hornberger, 2003, 2005c).

Issues of identity, ideology, and ecology in relation to the continua of biliteracy are also salient in my recent and ongoing comparative ethnographic research on multilingual language education policies and indigenous language revitalization. In indigenous contexts of socio-historical and sociolinguistic oppression involving Quechua in the South American Andes, Guaraní in Paraguay, and Maori in Aotearoa/New Zealand, I consider examples of contentious educational practices from an ecological perspective, using the continua of biliteracy and a Bakhtinian notion of voice as analytical heuristics, and suggesting that the biliterate use of indigenous children’s own or heritage language as medium of instruction alongside the dominant language mediates the dialogism, meaning-making, access to wider discourses, and taking of an active stance that are dimensions of voice (Holland and Lave, 2001). Indigenous voices thus activated can be a powerful force for both enhancing the children’s own learning and promoting the maintenance and revitalization of their languages (Hornberger, 2006). My current work in progress explores these themes of voice, identity, and the continua of biliteracy in the context of a graduate program in bilingual intercultural education for indigenous educators at PROEIB-Andes in Bolivia (Hornberger and Hult, forthcoming; Hornberger and Johnson, forthcoming).

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

The usefulness of the continua of biliteracy in a variety of contexts and for a range of purposes is testimony to a certain versatility, enabled perhaps by its complexity. That same complexity has been one of

the drawbacks of the framework as well; it is a difficult framework to grasp intuitively and has proven resistant to easy representation. Similarly, existing representations of the continua framework (e.g., [Figures 1, 2, 3](#)) are sometimes misinterpreted as conveying a static, bounded, dichotomized (essentialized or structuralist) view rather than the fluid, flexible, and infinitely expanding model intended. Those who struggle with the model long enough to grasp the dynamic nature of the intersecting and nested continua, however, eventually conclude that its complexity is also perhaps its greatest virtue, in that the phenomena it intends to represent are complex and too easily reified by oversimplification. Hanauer (2005) aptly captures this tension between the continua model's unifying conceptualization and, simultaneously, its postmodern sensitivity to locality and fragmentation.

Hanauer (2005) also points to another related tension inherent in the model, namely that "its strength as a complex network of embedded continua makes it problematic for the practical purpose of conceptualizing specific cases of interaction among variables" (Hanauer, 2005, p. 302). It is perhaps for this reason that the continua model is so often used in conjunction with other theoretical constructs—in alliance with other theoretical frameworks, as Street (2003) puts it. Indeed, the continua model informs and is informed by work in sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, ethnography of communication, cross-cultural psychology, sociocultural and activity theory, cultural anthropology and ethnography, critical ethnography, critical discourse analysis, critical literacy studies, semiotics, and constructivism, among other disciplines and perspectives (Hornberger 2005a). At the same time, the continua model is clearly not a *sine qua non* to do biliteracy work, since there is continuing research on biliteracy that does not explicitly draw on the continua model, though it is certainly not incompatible with it (e.g., Bialystok, 1997; Dworin, 2003; Moll and González, in progress; Wiese, 2004; University of California Linguistic Minority Research Institute Research Initiative on Biliteracy Development).

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

There remain unanswered questions about the continua framework. It has proven useful in ethnographic research, but has yet to be tested as a basis for experimental or survey research. Likewise, it originated as a descriptive framework, but remains relatively uncharted for predictive and explanatory uses. Such uses need further exploration through continuing research in a wide range of settings and circumstances. For example, colleagues in Singapore are beginning to explore how measures might be constructed for the different continua as part of an effort to make the framework more predictive and explanatory

based on empirical modeling of the interrelationships among the various variables and their impact on biliteracy acquisition (Peter Gu and Guangwei Hu, National Institute of Education, Singapore, personal communications, July and September 2005).

In the meanwhile, Freeman suggests that the continua framework already “helps explain how microlevel language teaching and learning processes can challenge macrolevel sociopolitical relations” (Freeman, 2004, pp. 110–111). She emphasizes the activist, transformative uses to which the continua can be put at individual, classroom, community, and societal levels. For instance, language planners can use the continua to look closely at the contexts, media, and content of particular individuals’ or groups’ biliteracy, identifying contradictions between beliefs and practices, or discrepancies between ideal policy and actual implementation, and then using those contradictions and discrepancies to further pry open ideological and implementational spaces for biliteracy development (Freeman, 2004, p. 83; Hornberger, 2005c).

Egbo (2005) too draws attention to the fact that the continua model “simultaneously allows for an explanatory critique of existing language policies, practices, and programmes, while at the same time, provides a conceptual framework for praxis and critical change . . . few conceptualisations of biliteracy in the emerging body of literature offer such tangible methodological guide” (Egbo, 2005, pp. 87–88). Cook-Gumperz similarly emphasizes the move “beyond a programmatic concern with multilingualism to seriously address the instructional needs that arise in today’s multilingual societies” (Cook-Gumperz, 2004).

It is this praxis side of the continua model, which offers both its greatest attraction and the greatest potential for its improvement and refinement, through application locally in actual contexts. For example, Goh and Silver (2006) incorporate it in their language teachers’ guide as an overarching conceptual tool for teachers in understanding the reciprocal roles of language in literacy development and of literacy in language development; they have found it to be important not only for teachers in bilingual classes but for any classroom teacher with bilingual students. LoBianco highlights its usefulness as a “schema for both understanding and intervention at community level, within educational institutions for pedagogical intervention, and at the wider social and political level for policy-making” (LoBianco, 2004, p. 337). Luke (2005), speaking at a regional meeting of education ministers in Southeast Asia, also suggests the possible utility of the continua to guide policy-making. In other words, these scholars emphasize the practical uses of the continua model for policy makers at classroom, community, and macrosocial levels. Indeed, Canagarajah points out that “a distinctive feature of Hornberger’s model is that policy is

not made only for macro-social domains in education. Local life in the classrooms is also treated seriously” (Canagarajah, 2005, p. 198).

Basic questions about biliteracy remain unanswered or partially answered. Questions like: Who becomes biliterate and where, when, how, and why do they do so? How can biliteracy best be acquired, nurtured, maintained, and promoted? What is the role of the family, the home, the school, the community, and the wider society in fostering and promoting biliteracy acquisition and use? It is to be hoped that the continua framework can contribute to answering some of these questions more fully than they have been answered up to now and that it will, indeed, “serve teachers, researchers and policy-makers well . . . in intervening positively to bring about more optimistic and just language and literacy futures” (LoBianco, 2004, p. 341).

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## THE ECOLOGY OF LITERACY IN HONG KONG

### INTRODUCTION: HONG KONG AS A CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC CROSSROADS

The majority of people in Hong Kong are ethnically Chinese, and are either immigrants from southern China, especially from Guangdong and Fujian provinces, or descendants of immigrants from those regions of China. Hong Kong presents an interesting case for literacy research as one of the major meeting places of diverse peoples, cultures, and language varieties given its over 150 years' history as a trading port ceded in 1842 from Dynastic China to Britain until 1997, when it was handed over to the People's Republic of China as a Special Administrative Region keeping many of its existing legal and civil institutions intact. As an international financial city in the twenty-first century, it seems even more globalized than other cities in China and Asia with its advanced, globalized telecommunications systems, western free trade and legal institutions, and frequent flows of tourists and business executives from Mainland China, Taiwan and other parts of Asia and the world.

The everyday literacy practices of the predominantly Cantonese-speaking people in Hong Kong are thus highly hybridized with linguistic and cultural influences from diverse sources, including frequent linguistic mixing and switching in both speech and writing. Such hybridized practices are, however, seldom seen as 'good' literacy practices by mainstream literacy education and government official norms. However, Hong Kong people's everyday literacy practices have not been subjected to any serious linguistic planning or standardizing efforts of the government, either. While Cantonese can be written by newly made characters or by drawing on characters in written Chinese (see studies on newspaper literacy below), the Hong Kong government and official, educational institutions do not recognize Cantonese as a written language in its own right, but only as a spoken vernacular. School literacies and everyday literacies outside of school, thus, seem to be treated as two systems largely encapsulated from each other. Research studies in these two areas also seem to be encapsulated from each other due to traditionally little interaction between sociolinguists and literacy educators in Hong Kong. In this chapter I outline the development of literacy research in Hong Kong and propose some directions for future research that seek

to both respond to the emerging new media literacy practices among young people and to build bridges between school literacies and everyday literacies, drawing on the ecological framework of *Continua of Biliteracy* from Hornberger.

#### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Luke and Richards' (1982) article on the status and functions of English in Hong Kong represents one of the early efforts in charting out the general ecology of language use in Hong Kong. While the paper focused on English, it also touched on the functions and status of other language varieties used in Hong Kong. Hong Kong was characterized by Luke and Richards (*ibid*) as a situation of 'diglossia without bilingualism'. As a British colony (from 1842 to 1997) English occupied the high position of formal language in most official and educational domains while the vernacular, Cantonese, occupied the low domains in people's social and everyday life. Luke and Richards (1982) argued that there existed a small group of Chinese-English conversant bilingual elite who function as the middle-people between the British ruling class and the Cantonese-speaking masses. The ruling English speakers and the mass of Cantonese speakers were characterized in this study as largely socially and linguistically encapsulated from each other.

Luke and Richards' (1982) study provided a general background to understand the language ecology in Hong Kong in the 1960s to the 1980s. (Li's (1999) study, discussed in the following section, will provide an update on the situation from the 1990s onwards). It can be said that the majority of people in Hong Kong largely function in a Cantonese linguistic environment. Snow's studies (e.g. his doctoral thesis in 1993 and his book based on his thesis in 2004) offered the most comprehensive documentation of the historical development of a written Cantonese literature since the Ming dynasty (e.g. Cantonese opera scripts, Buddhist chants and verses written in Cantonese) in Southern China. Snow's detailed study of the historical origins and development of the Dialect Literature Movement (DLM) in Southeast China in the first half of the twentieth century (particularly related to the literacy work of communist workers in the rural areas) provided us with a rare window on how written Cantonese literature has had a long history associated with community development work and empowerment of the rural and working classes in the Cantonese speaking areas of Southeast China, including Hong Kong. Snow also provided a historical outline of the social and economic factors leading to the flourishing of Cantonese-style writing in popular newspapers, magazines, advertising and private communications after the Second World War, especially during the

1970s–1990s when Hong Kong became increasingly urbanized, commercialized and witnessed an economic boom that brought about the rise of local Cantonese popular culture and Cantonese mass media entertainment.

Other early studies by local sociolinguists, mainly based on the linguistic analysis of texts, have focused on newspaper literacy in Hong Kong. For instance, Luke and Nancarrow (1991) described the unique linguistic features of Hong Kong newspaper writing and identified the sources of linguistic influences as multiple: spoken Chinese (*Putonghua*), modern written Chinese (*baihua wen*), Classical Chinese (*wenyan*) and spoken Cantonese. This unique form of literacy also feeds back into spoken Cantonese as a high variety of spoken Cantonese (e.g. in formal news broadcast speech, documentary commentaries and dialogues and narration in historical TV dramas). Luke and Nancarrow (*ibid*) thus argued that the ability to speak formally must also be regarded as part of literacy, and spoken Cantonese in its more formal styles would equally require learning and practice. Luke and Nancarrow also argued that the unique way of teaching Chinese texts in Hong Kong schools also provided the general reading public with the skills and conversion rules to read Hong Kong style newspaper literacy. Children in Hong Kong schools are taught to read aloud modern written Chinese in spoken Cantonese. In this way Hong Kong people have been socialized into ways of converting formal Chinese writings into spoken Cantonese and vice versa. However, as sociolinguists researching language use largely outside of school settings, Luke and Nancarrow (*ibid*) did not provide any detailed description of the processes in which children are socialized into the above literacy and oral practices between spoken Cantonese and Standard Written Chinese and there has been little research in this specific area to date.

Apart from analysing the linguistic sources of influences on newspaper writing style, early studies also focus on analysing the systematic ways in which spoken Cantonese is represented in popular writing. Luke (1995) analysed the writing system in Cantonese paperbacks in Hong Kong. The 1980s witnessed the rise of popular pocket-size books in Hong Kong. These books cover a variety of genres (e.g. ‘how-to’ manuals, short essays, stories, romance fiction, jokes, etc.) and a diverse range of topics (e.g. how to invest, how to keep fit, how to make friends, how to dress up, etc., or short witty essays on everyday observations of city life and people from different walks of life in Hong Kong). Since these topics are closely related to the everyday life of most Hong Kong people the language style of these popular books is very close to the colloquial spoken language used in Hong Kong people’s daily life; i.e. spoken Cantonese with occasional mixing in of English words related to everyday topics and events in Hong Kong

(e.g. marketing, creative, presentation). Luke (1995) focused on the informal but systematic ways in which the everyday spoken language of Hong Kong people is represented in these books. He concludes that when a spoken Cantonese word does not have a corresponding Chinese character, the most frequently used ways to overcome this orthographic gap are: (i) to use a Chinese character that has the same or a similar sound to that of the Cantonese word, and (ii) if no Chinese character with the same or a similar sound exists, new characters will be made from parts of existing Chinese characters to represent the Cantonese word. Sometimes, English letters or words with similar sounds are used but this is not a frequent practice compared with the above-mentioned two practices.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Due to the expansion of secondary education in the late 1970s and 1980s and the expansion of higher education in the 1990s, the bilingual middle class has expanded and in a recent article by Luke (2003), Hong Kong society in the post-1997 era is described as one experiencing 'decreasing diglossia with increasing bilingualism'. Luke (2003) argued that after 1997 many important political speeches are made in both Cantonese and English (or more in Cantonese than in English, e.g. in the Legislative Council) and there is the rise of Cantonese as a main working language in more and more high domains which used to be the exclusive territory of English. Putonghua (the national standard spoken language of China), on the other hand, in the post-1997 era has risen in importance in two radically different domains: the 'super-high' domain where its use is symbolic of national sovereignty, and the low domain of tourism and services where its use is functional and practical in dealing with tourists from the Mainland.

Li (1999) also provided an update of language education in Hong Kong since Luke and Richards (1982). Li described the sociolinguistic matrix by outlining the distribution of the main functions of the two written languages: standard written Chinese (SWC, also variously known as MSC—modern standard Chinese, modern written Chinese, or 'baihua wen') and English, and the three spoken languages: Cantonese, English, and Putonghua (the standard spoken language of China), in four key domains: government, media, employment, and education. Cantonese and English remain the most important spoken languages in Hong Kong society. Li argued that the macro-sociolinguistic analysis, 'diglossia without bilingualism' (Luke and Richards, 1982), should be replaced by 'polyglossia with increasing bilingualism'. Li pointed out that there are two written High varieties, SWC and English, and the former is

penetrating into some domains formerly dominated by the latter in post-1997 Hong Kong. Cantonese, typically interspersed with some English words or phrases is assigned Low functions in both spoken and written mediums. Li argued that there is some indication that Putonghua is getting increasingly important in post-colonial Hong Kong, but there are as yet no significant social functions assigned to it. Compared with the early 1980s, significant changes have taken place at all levels. These changes centre on the increasing hybridization of different language resources (e.g. English, Cantonese, SWC) in everyday informal spoken and written language: code-mixing and switching practices are increasingly common nowadays in Hong Kong (see Li, 2002 for a comprehensive survey of code-mixing and switching research in Hong Kong).

The language-in-education policy issues have also been intensively researched. Pennycook (1998, 2002) analysed language-in-education policy issues in nineteenth and early twentieth century Hong Kong, and argued that the British colonial government's Orientalist mother-tongue (vernacular) education policy might itself be infused with social control and cultural governance desires (e.g. via Confucianist ideologies of respect for the authorities). Key studies have revolved around the research questions of how the government's recent medium-of-instruction policy for secondary schools has been received or resisted in the schools (Poon, 1999; 2000a, 2000b). Lin (2005) summarized the research literature and discussed how the government and official educational institutions' English dominant policy (reinforced by recent globalization forces and discourses) has further stratified the society into the English-conversant bi/multilingual cosmopolitan elite and the largely (Cantonese) monolingual working masses, and how language policy functions to produce subaltern (marginalized) identities and subjectivities. Tsui's study (2006) also expressed similar views.

Recent studies on mass media literacy have largely carried on with the linguistic tradition of analysis from early studies laid down by Luke and his colleagues. For instance, Li (2000) offered a comprehensive review and extension of the linguistic analysis of Cantonese literacy styles in newspaper and other mass media in Hong Kong in the 1990s. He focused on the major research question that Luke and others started off with: how do Cantonese mass media workers in Hong Kong cope with the task of representing colloquial Cantonese speech in writing. He concluded that many young people in Hong Kong, when they write and speak in informal situations, readily draw on whatever resources are available to them for effective communication:

A more realistic analysis of the trilingual situation in Hong Kong is that, given the need to lend expression to the vernacular they know best, speakers of Cantonese turn to

Modern Standard Chinese (MSC) and English for contingent, sometimes idiosyncratic solutions to fill the orthographic gap in the non-standard variety (Li, 2000).

The ‘non-standard variety’ in the above quote refers to the newspaper style of writing that Luke and others have studied since the early 1990s. Recent studies by Wu (2000, 2006a, 2006b) on the features of orality in Hong Kong print media, especially in commercial and political advertising and local news and entertainment news texts, showed the increasing use of oral involvement strategies:

Three different forms of orality that are mingled in the different types of written media discourse are identified: (i) question-answer pairs; (ii) general emphatics, first person pronouns and second person pronouns; (iii) colloquial Cantonese. Besides their interpersonal function of involvement and the social functions of solidarity and in-group identity, these orality features and strategies are found to (i) help the success of an advertisement by enhancing its attention value, readability, memorability and consequently selling power, (ii) enhance the immediacy, credibility, and objectivity of the news reporting by foregrounding the individual’s voice, style or comments. (Wu, 2000, p. 87).

Wu (2000, 2006a, 2006b) argued that a dynamic rather than a purist approach towards language use and cultural expressions in society should be taken and the use of colloquial Cantonese speech features and the mixing of SWC, English and Cantonese in print media should be seen as the creative use of diverse linguistic resources for persuasive writing and effective communication rather than as signs of a decline in the society’s language standards.

While the above-cited sociolinguists have largely researched on the majority language—Chinese or Cantonese (albeit with the mixing in of some English words/letters)—mass media texts, a number of local sociolinguists have also researched on the linguistic features of English as well as the ecology of English use in Hong Kong. Bolton’s edited volume (2002) offered one of the first comprehensive efforts to document works in this area. Of particular interest in this collection are articles by Bolton (2002), Chan (2002) and Lam (2002).

Bolton (2002, p. 34) argued that Hong Kong has moved from ‘elitist bilingualism’ to ‘mass bilingualism’, citing the census statistics that

Table 1 Census results for self-reported knowledge of English in Hong Kong 1931–2001 (From Bolton, 2002, p. 34)

| 1931 | 1961 | 1966  | 1971  | 1991  | 1996  | 2001  |
|------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 6.3% | 9.7% | 20.0% | 25.5% | 31.6% | 38.1% | 43.0% |

indicate a rise in the proportion of the population claiming a knowledge of English over the decades, as illustrated in the table below:

While self-reports cannot be taken as accurate measures of the population's English proficiency, they do reflect a rising trend of confidence in one's knowledge in English among Hong Kong people. Drawing on a number of criteria for the development of world Englishes, Bolton (2002) argued that Hong Kong society has the potential to develop its own variety of English-Hong Kong English.

However, Bolton's view might be seen as a bit optimistic as the actual proportion of Hong Kong people actively using English in their everyday life seems to remain small. Chan (2002) offered an instructive window with telling figures and statistics on the diminishing readership of the *South China Morning Post*, the major English language newspaper in Hong Kong. Similar trends are happening in English language broadcasting: the audiences of the English TV and radio channels have been limited and have further diminished after 1997. English 'mass' media in Hong Kong seems to draw their readers and audiences mainly from the expatriate communities as well as the well-educated professional bilingual communities, and has not reached the 'masses' yet.

Are there any English creative works and literacy circles in Hong Kong? Lam's (2002) article provided observations on the small but vibrant amount of English literacy activity in Hong Kong, mainly among English writers or well-educated Chinese writers. While Lam (2002) proposed that there should be more English literary creative programmes in university, it seems that to attract more young people to engage in English literary activities, language arts education needs to be strengthened in the primary and secondary school sectors too and more links and cross-fertilization should be fostered between young people's Chinese/Cantonese pop cultural activities and English language arts activities (see Lin's work-in-progress in the next two sections).

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

There is much work in progress which cannot all be covered in the limited space here. I shall, therefore, summarize studies deemed to be most relevant to literacy educators. One interesting area of research is that of 'Hong Kong English': for example whether it is a fully or partially developed indigenous variety of English, and whether pedagogically Hong Kong English can be adopted as a viable target model (see views expressed by Andy Kirpatrick, 2006, cited in *Ming Pao Daily*, 4 September 2006, p. 16). Li concludes in his recent study (under review) as follows:

In sum, what is proposed here is a radically re-structured curriculum that incorporates the strengths and insights of WE [World Englishes] and ELF [English as a Lingua Franca] research and the empowering potential of Standard

English. . . . [we have] HKE [Hong Kong English], where a common core is similarly supplemented by an indigenized vocabulary that is incomprehensible to those who are unfamiliar with Hong Kong culture . . . (Li, under review, p. 17).

Another piece of work-in-progress (Cheng and Warren, forthcoming) examines the structure and linguistic realisations of disagreements in a corpus of Hong Kong spoken business discourses. The findings are compared with the forms of disagreement, and their associated realisations, represented in Hong Kong school English language textbooks. Important differences were found: Students in Hong Kong are taught to be more direct in English than real-life norms would permit. Cheng and Warren (forthcoming) find this problematic, especially when Hong Kong Chinese tend to have a cultural preference to be indirect and to be other-oriented.

While Hong Kong English has been a hot topic for research, few studies have researched the development of spoken Cantonese of children in Hong Kong. A seminar by Benjamin Tsou and his colleagues (2006) reported on their ongoing pioneering work to develop a Hong Kong Cantonese Oral Language Assessment Scheme (HKCOLAS) for use by speech therapists working with Cantonese children in Hong Kong. Their study involves analysis of large corpuses of Chinese newspaper language and textbook language collected over the past ten years, which provide useful data for future research on the features of media literacy in Hong Kong. With further research and development the scheme might be adapted for use by teachers in school settings too.

Even fewer sociolinguistic studies in Hong Kong have looked at youth sub-cultural literacies and explored the educational potential of these informal youth literacies. Lin's (forthcoming) study of hip hop youth subculture and rap lyrics in Hong Kong is the first study of this kind in Hong Kong. Making local hip hop music and lyrics in Hong Kong has always been a marginal practice engaged in mostly by grass-root youths who find in this trans-local music genre and subculture the powerful symbolisms to express their defiant voices to mainstream society. These Hong Kong youths use rap lyrics in their local language—Cantonese—to express their sharp critique of society, of the education system, and of what they see as mainstream hypocritical practices and overly commercialized mass media practices. Through using Cantonese rap in artful ways they construct alternative discursive spaces where their defiant voices and sharp social critique can be heard in a fun yet powerful genre. In Lin's study (*ibid*), she drew on interviews of a first-generation Hong Kong hip hop MC - *MC Yan* of the former popular Hong Kong band, LMF (*LazyMuthaFuckaz*), and analysis of his Cantonese hip hop lyrics to discuss how some youths

in Hong Kong construct their powerful voices and identities in pockets of alternative spaces in a society that privileges the middle classes with their cultural capital, and in an education system where the local language of Cantonese is *officially* placed at the bottom of the linguistic hierarchy, albeit it is the indispensable (but often backgrounded) working language of everyday life. To MC Yan, both rapping and street graffiti are part of his larger public educational project to make his message known/seen/heard by more people in Hong Kong and China. In his words, 'My message is to ask people to reflect, to use their brains to think and their hearts to feel.' The artwork he did for a local magazine (see Figure 1) shows his experimental efforts to combine street graffiti art with Cantonese rap lyrics in print media, using



Figure 1 MC Yan's artwork for a local magazine: combining Street Graffiti artwork with Cantonese rap lyrics in print media.

metaphors to satirically refer to China's political moves to set up legislation that will reduce the freedom of speech in Hong Kong. Blurred in the background picture were some policemen rounding up a pedestrian in a street in Sam Shui Po, one of the poorest ghetto areas in Hong Kong. Overlaid on the picture in the left bottom corner is a photo of MCYan's street graffiti tag (his signature: SYan). The white graphic design above the Cantonese lyrics is composed of two Chinese characters (meaning 'seventeen', the name of the local youth magazine) written in graffiti style and turned anti-clockwise by 90°. Analysis of this piece of artwork, drawing on Hornberger's (2003) *Continua of Biliteracy*, would involve blurring the boundaries of oral and written language, of English and Chinese, of Chinese and Cantonese (The English words, 'The Rap is:', precede the Cantonese rap lyrics written in Chinese characters), of reception and production (e.g. rap lyrics written to be both *read* and *rapped*), and of micro and macro-analysis (e.g. the micro-analysis of the Cantonese rhyming structure and colloquial lexical pattern in the rap lyrics should be situated in the analysis of the macro-socio-political context to which this piece of rap lyrics respond with a protest message).

It seems that there is a possibility to draw on youth sub-cultural hip hop culture and its artistic and linguistic creative practices as resources for a critical public pedagogy (Carrington and Luke, 1997) that reaches out to youths and people beyond the classroom. There remains a lot of work to be done in this area to chart out what exactly such a pedagogy would look like and what effects that might have.

#### PROBLEMS, DIFFICULTIES AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS FOR RESEARCH

It seems that the body of research on the ecology of literacy in Hong Kong has traditionally focused mainly on linguistic analysis of mass media texts. The research methodology can be broadened from linguistic text analysis to include ethnographic studies of youth literacy practices; i.e., to analyse not only the texts but also the literacy practices situated in different communities and youth subcultures. In fact the everyday, informal literacies are as important as school literacies in light of Hornberger's (2003) ecological framework of continua of biliteracy. Traditionally, researchers and educators in Hong Kong have tended to treat everyday literacies as separate from school literacies instead of seeing them as lying on continua—the oral and the literate traditions, the standard Chinese language and the vernacular Cantonese language, Chinese and English linguistic and literary resources. All of these should be conceived as constituting overlapping continua rather than different, encapsulated language systems. Researchers whose works are reviewed above tend to work in largely encapsulated arenas;

e.g. on Hong Kong English, or on Chinese media literacy. However, if we are informed by Hornberger's continua of bi/multi-literacy, there should be more cross-over and collaboration among researchers working on English and Chinese literacies, formal and informal literacies, oral and written language practices, standard and vernacular language practices, and so on.

Literacy researchers should also expand their analysis to cover the newly emerging literacies mediated by new digital media. Every day many Hong Kong young people spend a lot of their time using literacies in the new communication media: MSN/ICQ ('I seek you'), email, SMS, weblogs, and so on. A lot of literacy practices are going on without receiving the attention of sociolinguistics researchers and literacy educators (but see the on-going research projects of Angel Lin on youth SMS practices and on-going projects of Rodney Jones (2006) on ICQ and electronic discourse practices in Hong Kong). Without understanding young people's outside-of-school informal literacy practices, school literacy educators cannot think of innovative ways to link everyday literacies with school literacies to help students access school literacies without finding the latter alien or irrelevant to their everyday lives. Treating different literacies as encapsulated systems only makes us neglect the rich potential of innovative bi-/multi-literacy and language arts programmes that can be developed to draw on different linguistic, sub-cultural and literate traditions and resources to support the development of multiple literacies; e.g. using rap lyrics genres to bridge youth popular cultural literacy and school literacy (see Lin, A. and Chan K. Y., forthcoming). Future research directions should therefore take a much more holistic, ecological perspective on multiple literacies and draw on the framework of continua of biliteracy developed by Hornberger to conceptualize, research, and develop education programmes on different literacies as mutually affecting and supporting one another.

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THE ECOLOGY OF LITERACY AND LANGUAGE:  
DISCOURSES, IDENTITIES AND PRACTICES IN HOMES,  
SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITIES

INTRODUCTION

An ecological model of language and literacy is a useful metaphor that recognises multiple languages and literacies, taking on the different oral and written languages communities draw on in their daily lives, but also accounting for institutional policies and practices that impinge on those everyday practices. Scholars in the field of language and literacy studies have drawn upon cultural studies, psychology, sociology, anthropology and theories of the mind and culture to understand literacy and language within a wider structure. One of the challenges for researchers who draw on the ecology metaphor is that this approach to language learning both asks for attention to identity and learning, but also requires an understanding of the relationship between language, literacy and social environments. Therefore, researchers of literacy and language have to account for institutional policy thinking on language and literacy, while at the same time studying face-to-face interaction in sites as diverse as homes, classrooms, community centres and neighbourhoods. One key aspect of thinking in the field of the ecology of literacy and language is the concept of *social practice*. By focusing on practice theory, relationships between people and things can be unpacked and described. Practices take place within communities and social structures, and come into being through interaction and can be understood as taking place within a network of social relations. By understanding the concept of ecology as one connected with studying the web of everyday practice and interaction, a lens can be created to look at that ecology in relation to language and understand its workings.

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The term ‘ecology of language’ has been used by a number of scholars, with reference to literacy and language, including Haugen, who defined language ecology as, ‘the study of interactions between any given language and its environment’ (Haugen, 1972, p. 325), and in doing so, considers the environment as both psychological and sociological. Barton described the ecological metaphor as being useful because it

takes as its starting-point an interaction between individuals and their environments (Barton, 1994, p. 29). He referred to Bateson's *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*, written in the 1930s and 1940s, which brings the lens of an anthropologist onto a number of disparate areas, including biology and psychology (Bateson, 1972 reprinted 2000). This signalled the way in which the ecology metaphor enables an appreciation of the inter-disciplinary nature of literacy and language studies.

This review discusses an ecological approach to studying language and literacies in homes, schools and communities. For example, Heath, in *Ways with Words* paid attention to the way in which the families in her study decorated their houses, lived their lives, and organised their children's bedtime routines in relation to their interaction and literacy and language practices (Heath, 1983). In order to research out-of-school literacy practices, Heath's work drew on the study of language, and the ethnography of communication, as developed by Del Hymes and others at the University of Pennsylvania (Hymes, 1996). Hymes used the ethnography of communication to describe the way in which language was linked to context, to people's lived social worlds, and to their narrative patterns. Gee drew on this to study literacy in diverse socio-cultural contexts, across home, school and communities, and in doing so, identified that discourses were linked to social and cultural models, and developed the idea of 'cultural models' to describe the ways people construct and reconstruct language in interaction, arguing that schooled under-achievement can be linked to a misunderstanding of different ways of speaking and being in the world (Gee, 1996). These early developments have been built upon in the studies described later to identify how different D/discourses can be identified with particular sites or domains of literacy and language. The New Literacy Studies identified that literacy and language practices sit within wider social practice. The focus of literacy as a social practice often concentrated on different sites where different literacy practices could be observed. These could be identified as domains of literacy, which connected to specific sites (Barton and Hamilton, 1998). By looking at different sites and domains, the ecological view of literacy, as connecting across domains, can be brought to the fore.

An ecological approach which looks at literacy in everyday life deals with culture, and research in this field needs conceptual tools to theorise culture. Williams understood culture as being a set of material practices, which in their performance construct meanings, values and subjectivities (Williams, 1981). Culture is 'made' within these practices. Street's concept of culture as being, 'an active process of meaning making' is a useful starting point for a discussion of the way literacy flows from and within everyday social practices (Street, 1993, p. 25). In an ecological view, literacy and language practices have to be seen

to be in a constant process of transformation and change. Street, in his work in Iran, identified the concept of ideological and autonomous models of literacy. The autonomous model was often used by institutions to describe a skills-focused functional view of literacy, while the ideological model describes the culturally situated, contested nature of literacy (Street, 1984). An ideological approach can be identified with an ecological approach, which takes in language as a cultural form, inextricably tied in with the active making of culture (Blackledge, *Language Ecology and Language Ideology*, this volume). Early developments focused on ways of conceptualising culture, and how culture and language were intertwined, with a focus on ways in which literacy practices changed across sites.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

In this section, the review considers theoretical developments and approaches used within the field of research into homes, schools and communities. As an ecological approach is necessarily broad, the review reflects this complex field. The review focuses on theoretical and epistemological approaches and then considers methodological developments. Hornberger's *Continua of Biliteracy* (see Hornberger, *Continua of Biliteracy*, this volume) is a notable heuristic which contributes to an ecological view of literacy, while also accounting for power imbalances across sites. Other approaches include the use of French social theory, including structural theory from Bourdieu and Foucault to illuminate connections between the wider social context and linguistic interactions. Methodological approaches include a focus on events and practices, instances, discourse analysis and ethnography, including linguistic ethnography. Finally, two ethnographic studies of literacy are discussed, looking at literacy practices in homes and communities.

A number of different theoretical and epistemological perspectives have illuminated studies of literacies and languages in homes, schools and communities. Hornberger's *Continua of Biliteracy* model offered an ecological account of biliteracy, as it describes complex and intersecting relationships across the fields of development, content, media and contexts, across a number of sites and domains (Hornberger 2003, this volume). Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester used the model in the context of public high schools in Philadelphia, and described ways in which there continued to be an implicit privileging of one end of the continua to another, and were able to show through this how certain practices, contextual features and instructional strategies have been tools for gaining power and others less so (Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester, 2003). The authors argue that researchers need to open up ideological spaces for multiple languages and literacies in

classroom, community and society. They can do this by focusing on instances of practice, but then linking these to multiple actors, identities, ideologies, and tracing the relationship between texts, discourses and practices in multiple sites and domains.

In order to provide a theoretical framework in which to see how literacy practices in specific sites connect up to wider social relations, many scholars in this field have drawn on theorists such as Bourdieu and Foucault. For example, Collins and Blot argued that their work enables literacy researchers to consider the relationship between structure and agency, understanding how literacies are shot through with power relations (Collins and Blot, 2003). Collins and Blot's contribution lies in carefully dismantling the arguments that keep literacy and its oral counterpart, language, separate. Instead, they argue for a socially situated view of literacies which also takes account of power (Collins and Blot, 2003). Many scholars argue that these power relations need scrutinizing, particularly in educational contexts. For example, Heller's work has outlined how within diverse institutional structures, educational programmes and practices are defined by dominant groups, and it is possible to trace and describe the struggles particular groups have in being heard, and their particular literacy or language practices in being recognised (Heller, 2002).

Bourdieu's habitus theory, describing everyday lived dispositions of people, their settled ways of being and inherited dispositions, has been a fruitful starting point for research on literacy within homes and communities (Bourdieu, 1990). Research by Pahl into home communicative practices has described, through ethnography, how the habitus can be observed sedimented into text making, recognising that families not only inherit culture, but are *makers* of culture, often improvising upon the habitus in the process of migration creating new kinds of texts (Pahl, 2002). People in lived worlds construct their texts and artefacts in different ways, and the shaping of everyday home experiences into texts is constructed through a complex relationship between home practices, and texts as traces of practice (Pahl, 2004).

An ecological view of literacy is about connecting up the way texts arise with wider social practice. By focusing on texts, and their connection to other social words, a fruitful theoretical space is unfolded. A number of scholars have worked from the entity of 'text' and examined relations of power within and beyond texts. For example, Smith describes how texts can be understood as going beyond the moment of reading and writing and connecting to larger discourses of power (Smith, 1999). This way of viewing texts in some way reifies literacy practice. Brandt and Clinton (2002), identified the 'thing-like' status of literacy, that it can become reified and divorced from its original context. Their article argued for an understanding of literacy as having

some kind of autonomous status when divorced from contexts that illuminate the practice. Street understood this process as one of embedding and disembedding, taking this terminology from Giddens (Street, 1993). By focusing on the embedding and disembedding mechanisms, the way in which literacy becomes used in contexts other than original context can be understood. Texts carry within them discourses which themselves can be identified with different institutions and practices (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999). Many scholars have traced the way in which different discourses are called upon in social interaction and in texts in the context of homes, schools and communities (Barton, Hamilton and Ivanic, 2000; Rogers, 2003). By focusing on how power relations construct and privilege certain discourses and texts, text-making can be traced across the domains of home, school and community, thus avoiding reification.

Another lens from which to view literacy and language in an ecological framework takes in a focus on identity within texts. Holland and colleagues, in their anthropological work studying cultures and practices described a practice view of identity, which saw identities as in practice, drawing on figured worlds, and using artefacts to open up figured worlds (Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, and Cain, 1998). Bartlett and Holland made a study of literacy and used this theoretical framework to see literacy as an artefact of identity, arguing that Bourdieu's practice theory has as its drawback insufficient attention to the way in which texts contribute to the improvisation of the habitus, its transformation (Bartlett and Holland, 2002).

Identity in texts has been studied in relation to digital literacy practices (see Tusting, *Ecologies of New Literacies: Implications for Education*, this volume). Increasingly on-line texts are being viewed in relation to understandings of on-line and off-line identities and relations of power. Gee uses the term 'affinity space' to delineate the spaces that can be found in on-line communities (Gee, 2005). Studies of on-line interactions have described how identities are reconfigured and transformed on-line, as settled notions of identity, for example, the adolescent, are reconfigured in the context of an on-line conversation about rap music (Alvermann, 2006).

Another configuration of identity in relation to texts is actor network theory. Clarke and others have explored how actor network theory is a way of tracing the way in which discourses and texts are transformed in the processes of interaction (Clarke, 2001).

In the process of analysing texts, the definition of text as an entity is shifting. An approach to texts needs to account for materiality. Literacy is part of a wider landscape of communication (Kress, 1997, 2003). Literacy can be linked to inscription, as alphabetic script, but it is also situated within a multimodal communicational landscape, and can be

understood as linked to language and gesture. Literacy practices in homes are often linked to wider semiotic systems (Kenner, 2004; Pahl, 2004).

An ecological account of literacy involves a range of possible methodological approaches to consider the relationship between sites, practices and texts. These have necessarily focused on practices within language and literacies. For example, Hornberger focuses on *instances*, a term which also encompasses events, but also actors, interactions, practices, activities, programs, situations, societies, sites, worlds (Hornberger, 2003). The notion of an instance of practice informs practice theory, but allows the researcher to freeze frame practice, to focus on the micro as well as the macro in research situations (Pahl and Rowsell, 2006). Street, *New Literacies, New Times: Developments in Literacy Studies (Volume 2)* has argued that a focus on literacy events and practices helps researchers to consider moments where a literacy event can be observed, as opposed to the observing over time of a literacy practice, which can take place within people's heads and be not observable (Street, 2000).

The ethnography of communication as developed by Hymes (1996) and Gee (1999) has generated methodological insights into ways of understanding language in context. Gee has described the way in which the terms big d and little D discourses can help interpret language in use. Big D Discourses include 'language and other stuff' and these can include dress, gesture, ways of behaving and doing (Gee, 1999, p. 7). These discourses are informed by cultural models that inform what meanings are attached to these discourses (Gee, 1999). Gee's work has described how certain practices and discourses can be found linked together, and he described the spaces where these linkages take places as affinity spaces.

In the UK, linguistic ethnography has developed as a methodological approach to an ecological study of language and literacy (UK Linguistic Ethnography: A discussion paper 2004). Drawing on the more established traditions of ethnography, which focus on the specificity of the local, on cultural ecologies, and the interactions between them, together with a view of language which acknowledges that language and culture can be taken together, linguistic ethnography aims to work at the interface of language and culture. The UK Linguistic Ethnography forum paper describes a number of different traditions, including the New Literacy Studies, Interactional Sociolinguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis bringing key elements to bear on the methodological approaches of linguistic ethnography.

Two studies of home and community literacies are described that have taken an ecological view of literacy. They have been chosen because they engage with the twin challenges of migration and globalisation with a focus on literacy practices across sites. Kell studied a

house-building project in South Africa. Her focus was on the movement of meanings across sites, and the ways in which texts were recontextualised in the process. In her study of a woman's struggles in building her house, and through tracking the meaning of the text she created which described the problem, as it traversed sites and contexts, Kell was able to show how the processes and practices accompanying these shifts are more complex than simply being movements from local to global literacies. She concluded that it is impossible to describe what is global, rather it is more appropriate to think about what is not local. Rather than move outside their domains text trajectories took uncertain and sometimes problematic routes across the different sites she observed (Kell, 2006).

Keating, in her study of Portuguese women who have migrated to London, looked at the role of language and literacy in their lives (Keating, 2005). She argued that by focusing on practice as a helpful analytic tool to establish the link between individual doings and understandings and cultural/social ways of using literacy, a way of understanding literacy in everyday life emerged which was dynamic and constantly reconfigured (Keating, 2005). By drawing on practice theory, but, through her ethnographic work, combining this with an understanding of literacy practices as focused on change and transformation, Keating could understand the role of literacy in these women's lives more precisely. She identified how their values and identifications were present in their literacy practices and yet also how their literacy practices transformed these values and identifications. By focusing on life as lived, and on practices, the role of literacy in everyday life was re-configured as something dynamic and subject to transformation (Keating, 2005, p. 114).

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

In this section, work that breaks new ground both methodologically and epistemologically is described. These studies focus on sites including homes, schools and communities. In each case, the work is unfolding as described in conference papers, as well as recent published work. Heller's work focuses on the role of language in the construction of social difference and social inequality in communities in the post-nationalist, globalising new economy. Her ethnographic, sociolinguistic research mainly examines these processes as they unfold in francophone Canada. Heller argued that while some social structures and processes are tightly bound to each other, in others there may be multiple centres and a more diffuse set of structures and processes (Martin-Jones and Heller, 1996, p. 3; Heller, 2002).

In Toronto, a collaborative project with educators from the whole of Canada, Cummins and colleagues are developing a project entitled 'From Literacy to Multiliteracies: Designing Learning Environments for Knowledge Generation within the new Economy' (Cummins et al., 2005). This project seeks to engage students from diverse backgrounds to focus on the kinds of interactions that will support student's literacy and language learning. These new pedagogies are derived from the multiliteracies pedagogies (Cope and Kalantzis, 2000) and draw on the students' linguistic resources and new technologies to engage them in learning.

Blommaert and colleagues have been working on a project called the Spaces of Multilingualism, from the Institute of Education, London and the University of Ghent, Belgium. This involved an ethnographic project in immigrant neighbourhoods in Ghent, focusing on the different patterns of multilingualism within and across the neighbourhoods. They have focused on an approach which both looked at the historical and spatial anchoring of patterns of language, but at the same time looking on micro-interactions. Space is seen as a semiotic resource, as well as a complex, layered set of trajectories, which is bound up with human interaction (Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck, 2004).

At the University of Birmingham Angela Creese and colleagues are involved in a project funded by the ESRC which aims to investigate how complementary schools open up spaces for the multilingual performance of young people's identities and to make visible the 'new multilingualisms' currently developing in complementary school communities. The ethno-linguistic groups concerned are Bangladeshi, Chinese, Gujarati and Turkish in Birmingham, Manchester, Leicester and London (Creese, Blackledge, Li Wei, Lytra and Martin, ESRC RES-000-23-1180).

A recent call from the Arts and Humanities Research Council in the UK, for new research on the subject of diasporas, migration and identities has yielded some interesting new research projects. (For more information see [www.diasporas.ac.uk](http://www.diasporas.ac.uk).) For example, a project based at the University of Sheffield is using linguistic ethnography to examine the identity narratives of families from the British Asian community of Ferham, Rotherham, and to develop an exhibition of narratives and artefacts in partnership with a local school and early years' centre (Pahl and Pollard, 2006).

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

In researching literacy across the sites of home, schools and communities there are imbalances of power, and the issue of whose literacies

count in what context, is urgent. Educators and researchers need to pay attention to issues of identity, culture, language and institutional forces when trying to answer this question. Researchers need to identify what language and literacies are recognised for whom and by whom. Hornberger has also observed that in some countries where institutional language policies are intentionally liberal, they are not supported by those who use them (Hornberger, 2003). Increasingly, research is focusing on the relationship between identities and migration and the need to support the linguistic resources of migrating communities. New work in post-colonial studies has looked at ways of researching issues like positionality and languages from the point of view of migrant communities. Out-of-classroom experiences and linguistic resources continue to be marginalised in mainstream classrooms. The way in which migration contributes to a re-combination and reconsideration of identity narratives remains under-theorised. In-depth ethnographies of home and community literacy practices, particularly in multilingual settings, continue to be rare. There is an urgent need for more researchers with linguistic minority backgrounds to do this work. A very clear problem is the rich and complex nature of working with an ecological lens; the work is multi-disciplinary, can be time-consuming as it often requires ethnography, necessitates working in non-institutional contexts, and across multiple domains.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The study of literacies and languages in homes, schools and communities has recently become more spatialised. Recent work by Leander and Sheehy has considered that literacy practices produce space, that they need to be seen as spatial as well as temporal (Leander and Sheehy, 2004). Migration has led to an increased focus on transformations and hybridity. The transformation of the habitus across diasporas is one such focus, as families follow economic pulls across the globe (Appadurai, 1996). Kenner's work in homes had documented the importance of satellite television in upholding home and community languages (Kenner, 2004). Digitised literacies cut across institutional boundaries and the growth of Internet cafes in multilingual areas has increased access to many other cultural groups and identities than previously. The tracking of these new digitised literacy and language practices needs to be done. Attention needs to be paid to the multiple linguistic and symbolic resources multilingual communities draw on when using web-based texts (Lankshear and Knobel, 2003). An ecology of language and literacy research focus means that attention has to be paid to ways in which changes in literacy and language practices take place. Models of these

forms of change have enabled researchers to identify how people take hold of these practices in new and improvisatory ways.

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ECOLOGIES OF NEW LITERACIES: IMPLICATIONS  
FOR EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

From e-mails and word processing to blogs, podcasting and wikis, the possibilities afforded by new technologies have transformed the way we work, learn and live. Such 'new literacies' have offered a fertile field for research in recent years, and much of this research draws out particular implications of such changes for education. This article outlines the major work in this field to date, and considers possible future developments.

Lankshear and Knobel (2003) distinguish between 'paradigmatic' and 'ontological' senses of the term 'new literacies'. By paradigmatic, they are referring to the 'New Literacy Studies' as a new paradigm in the approach to literacy, an approach which focuses on literacy practices in particular social, cultural and economic contexts (Barton, 1994; Gee, 2000; Street, 1984). By ontological, they refer to 'changes [that] have occurred in the character and substance of literacies associated with changes in technology, institutions, media, the economy' (p. 16), changes which have impacted on social practices throughout everyday life. The principal area of focus of this review is new literacies in the ontological sense. However, the majority of the works cited are situated within the paradigm of the New Literacy Studies. It is in this sense that this review describes an ecological perspective on new literacies, which studies how changing literacy practices are intimately associated with networks of changing social practices and technologies, from local to global levels.

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

With the introduction of information and communication technologies came a range of commentators exploring how these possibilities were going to change our literacy practices. One short, but particularly influential article was Lanham (1995), which argued that the term 'literacy' has extended its meaning in the digital age to encompass the understanding of information presented in many different ways. Increasingly, meaning is presented in multimedia forms, which in contrast to the

fixity of print have the potential to be endlessly reshaped, transformed and passed on. This foreshadows some of the themes to be addressed in this review.

Other early pieces included experimentations with the possibilities afforded by hypertext, such as Kaplan's (1995) piece on 'e-literacies', a hypertextualised version of a keynote address to a literacy conference. At this point, many claims were being made for the possibilities offered by hypertext of putting together arguments in new ways and making new kinds of reading possible. Kaplan's piece is interesting in that, unlike many of the technologically deterministic commentators of the time, she insists on the social origins and effects of electronic literacy development. Her punning title, 'e-literacies', refers both to the reading and writing resources specific to electronic texts, and to the socio-economic elites whose interests might be served by these electronic literacies. Her hypertext links include extended passages from the authors she cites, and it is therefore a particularly interesting essay for an overview of debates at that time.

An important early collection was the *Handbook of Literacy and Technology* (Reinking, McKenna, Labbo and Kiefer, 1998). The handbook explores key differences between printed and electronic texts, such as the interactivity, multimodality and non-linearity of digital forms, and the implications of these new textual forms for re-defining what it means to read and write, inside and outside classrooms. The effects of introducing new writing technologies into a range of schools and classrooms are examined. Case study examples show the importance of the social conditions which permit or encourage transformations of literacy learning. The broad societal implications of the shift to electronic forms of texts are addressed, examining linkages between changes in literacy practices and social and cultural change more generally. The book insists that technology, society, culture and literacy—both inside and outside classrooms—cannot adequately be understood separately. Instead, transformations which might initially appear isolated need to be understood as part of a sociocultural tapestry. All the chapters address the educational implications of a shift from a primarily print-based typographic mode to a more multimedia screen-based digital literacy world.

Another significant edited collection published in the 1990s is Snyder's *Page to Screen* (1998), which looks at the implications of a shift from the literacy practices of the page to those of the screen in a context of rapid change, and the implications of this for education and pedagogy. This collection foreshadows many of the themes picked up in later work, including the widening gulf between expert students and novice teachers, and the embeddedness of these new literacies in social and cultural contexts.

MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS: ECOLOGIES  
OF NEW LITERACIES

The ecological perspective insists on how new literacies are shaped by and shape their contexts, and significant contributions in this field have offered different ways of approaching this process. Kress' (2003) analysis of how the screen is replacing the book and the image displacing writing offers a framework for identifying four types of factors which interact in shaping new literacies: social, economic, communicational and technological ones. He claims that simultaneous, interplaying changes in these four areas are so profound that we can justifiably speak of a 'revolution' in the landscape of communication, which calls for changes in our theoretical perspectives on communication, and in our education systems.

However, despite his insistence on the essentially social nature of these changes, Kress' work can tend towards a certain utopianism, claiming that the shift to multimodal, interactive forms of communication carries with it intrinsically democratic potentials and effects. Other writers (e.g., Freebody, 2001) would challenge this position, claiming that existing structures of power and control are just as likely to be reinforced and continued through the use of new communications technologies—as can be seen for instance by the predominance of the English language on the Internet, and the dominance of a small number of US corporations such as Yahoo!, Microsoft and Google.

Contributors to Snyder (2002) take a critical approach, exploring the social, cultural and educational impact of electronic literacy practices, and looking particularly at how the notion of 'being literate' has changed with the advent of multimodality. The book shows how the new communication order is part of the technological revolution reshaping the material bases of society, embedded within a dominant political/ideological order of high tech and global capitalism. Chapters analyse a range of new online literacy practices, from the ratings system of eBay to the specialist complex literacies of role-playing computer games. They show how a complex interplay between the new communication order, new political order and new work order shapes and circumscribes the lives, identities and possibilities of teachers and students. Similarly, a collection describing Web practices from ten different countries (Hawisher and Selfe, 2000), from Hungary to Palau, Norway and Mexico, shows how culturally specific new literacies practices are shaped by concrete cultural contexts, challenging one dominant notion of the Internet as a 'culturally neutral' literacy environment.

Studies of new literacies from the ecological perspective have focused in particular on the changing nature of the multimodal communicative landscape, on youth practices, and on new understandings of learning.

Analyses of these three areas show that much of the education system is failing to prepare students adequately for the new literacies they will encounter, and are already dealing with, in their lives outside education.

### *Multimodal Communicative Landscape*

A key theme in this field is the way the communicative landscape is becoming increasingly multimodal, and the impact that this has on education. Work by Kress (Kress, 2000, 2003; Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2001) has been particularly significant here. He has identified how the possibilities for multimodal communication afforded by new technologies have altered our whole approach to communication, with for instance school textbooks now often looking more like a web page than a traditional written text. Similarly, Jewitt's (2005) exploration of the interaction of word and image in both home and class texts shows writing becoming increasingly visual in character, with the traditional domination of the word being unsettled by the predominance of the image. She calls for new understandings to be developed by educators, related to the specific affordances of different kinds of texts and the new ways school-age readers interpret such multimodal texts.

The forms and effects of multimodal communicative practices in a globalised networked world are explored in Snyder and Beavis (2004). Chapters in this collection show the uneven distribution of information and communication technologies across the world, and how new literacy practices can be understood only within their social, political, economic, cultural and historical contexts. They draw out questions that educators need to be asking: what it takes to become competent in a domain where words, symbols, images and artefacts combine to create complex situated meanings; how different skills and experiences in this area can transfer across domains, for instance between home and school; and where these processes are being blocked.

A pedagogical approach to the multimodal communicative landscape has been developed by the 'New London Group' in *Multiliteracies* (Cope and Kalantzis, 2000). This linked group of articles is framed by an analysis of the contemporary communicative and globalised situation as being characterised by multimodality, multilingualism, diversity and post-Fordism, which are transforming people's working, public and personal lives. On the basis of this analysis, they develop a detailed framework for a pedagogy of multiliteracies, combining four existing approaches to literacy pedagogy from different traditions: situated practice, overt instruction, critical framing, and transforming practice. The collection describes a range of projects, which implemented different aspects of this approach, including a community college course in

the USA for Mexican-American students, a Masters in English Education in South Africa, a South African management development programme, and a school in Alice Springs, Australia. This approach combines dealing with the multimodal nature of contemporary texts with the development of critical analyses on the part of teachers and students. The aim is to enable students both to engage in new literacy practices, producing and using multimodal texts, and to critique and challenge the nature of such texts in relation to their cultural contexts.

### *Youth Practices*

The distinctiveness of youth practices and their implications for education is a particular focus in this area, since it is often young people who lead the way in adopting and adapting new literacies. A range of studies of adolescents' practices (Alvermann, 2002) shows how for this group, these literacies are not particularly 'new', they are simply part and parcel of ordinary life. These practices are shaped by the 'portfolios' they bring with them, including their income, ethnicity, language, class and gender. This everydayness gives adolescents a very different experience of new literacies from that of their teachers or even researchers, and the parallels and disjunctures between the different generations are described.

Another international collection (Marsh, 2005) focuses on young children, exploring their engagement with popular culture, media and digital texts in home, community and early years' settings. The collection shows how global cultural artefacts—often across different media, such as the Pokémon television programme/computer games/magazines/cards—are adapted locally, with children creating their own multimodal meaning making practices combining local and global narratives. The work challenges a narrow, pen-and-paper notion of 'emergent literacy', showing children confidently moving across a range of media in their early years and actively re-making meaning rather than being passive consumers, and calls for early-years education settings to develop understandings of these media knowledge very young children are bringing with them.

A recent special issue of *Discourse* (Carrington and Marsh, 2005) also addresses childhood and youth engagement with new literacies, relating the production and use of digital texts to changing perceptions of childhood and youth more generally. The editors speak of a 'paradigm shift' in communicative practices with implications for literacy education, summarised in terms of the conjunction between technology, globalisation and social and cultural instabilities. Articles in the special issue give a range of examples of research on how literacy practices are changing, some of which will be returned to below.

Throughout, implications for curricula and pedagogy are drawn out, in relation to children and adolescents for whom these practices are not 'new', but 'normal'.

The key themes of work taking an ecological perspective on young people's practices in this area are therefore the 'naturalness' of such practices for them in comparison to the teachers and researchers of a different generation, and the ways these practices are shaped by their social and cultural settings. We also need to remember, while celebrating young people's abilities in this field, that this does not universally apply; many young people do not have access to such resources, because of the social and financial inequalities which characterise our social structures.

### *New Understandings of Learning*

Taking an ecological perspective on new literacies has helped to develop new understandings of learning, by examining the ways people learn to engage with new literacies, which are often very different from traditional ideas about how people learn. Gee's work is particularly significant in this area. His video games research (Gee, 2003) begins by observing that video games can be long, hard to master and frustrating. Yet many are very popular, with gamers devoting huge reserves of time to mastering them. This is in contrast to much of what goes on in schools, where gaining and keeping students' attention remains a challenge for many teachers. Gee claims that if we can understand the principles of learning game designers build in to their game design, we can understand better how people need to learn in the new technology world. He draws out 36 principles of learning, including active, critical learning, seeing interrelationships, being rewarded for achievement, incremental learning of tasks at an appropriate level of difficulty, discovering situated meanings, and being part of a learning community.

A similar argument is made by Cross (2005), who observed practiced video-gamers in primary school classrooms. She challenges accusations that playing video games leads to negative cognitive and social effects, showing how gamers develop particular ways of thinking and communicating that could be built on in classroom settings, such as the ability to develop and follow complex, multi-layered narratives which take account of varied contributions and audience needs.

Thomas' (2005) study of adolescents playing online role-playing games shows the extent of their learning as they engage in both playing their characters and in discussions on a web-based forum, including poetry recitals and storytelling, fan fiction and critique. She argues that the learning they exhibit can best be understood as learning from one

another in a 'community of practice' (Wenger, 1998), in contrast to much educational theory based on Vygotskian notions of scaffolding by experts. Thomas claims that the level these children reach in this arena may exceed the expectations of their teachers in schools, and that this participation fulfils needs for belonging and development which schools do not address.

### *Inadequate Preparation of Students*

This work on learning draws out clearly the differences between learning in schools and learning new literacies in the world outside. A constant theme of work in the ecology of new literacies is that educators, particularly in schools, are not preparing students adequately for the world they will move into. Gee (2004) draws out the implications of his research for education, suggesting that there are new ways with words and ways of learning in the world which are rewarding and important for success, different from school-based learning. He claims there is a particular problem with the language associated with academic content areas, often experienced as being complex, technical and alienating. Children's facility at learning complex specialist varieties of language related to popular culture shows that it is not the capacity for learning that is lacking, but the alienation associated with abstract academic language varieties that is the problem. In addition, the language of academic subject areas is usually divorced from concrete experiences; but the human mind works best when it can tie new knowledge to experiences. Video games work much better as simulations of experience, and can therefore (as described earlier) teach us a lot about learning.

Gee claims that learning in the high-tech global economy happens in new ways. To be successful, people need to be able to participate in shared social spaces, to learn and change quickly and to gain diverse experiences to adapt to fast-changing circumstances. Schools are very behind in preparing students for this. Children's learning experiences outside school may well be preparing them better for their future than their learning in school.

Similarly, in an interview (Bearne, 2005) Kress accuses schools of being locked into 'nineteenth century notions' of literacy and texts. Leu, Kinzer, Coiro and Cammack (2004) note that given the rapid pace of change in this field, we have found ourselves in a situation where it is essential to prepare students for using new literacies in life after school, but many teachers know far less about this area than (some of) their students.

Lankshear and Knobel (2003) distinguish between 'insider' and 'outsider' perspectives on new literacies. They claim most young people are

'insiders' to new literacies. But education is dominated by 'outsider' perspectives, which they describe as mystifying, bemusing, alienating and miseducating students. They analyse classroom activities and resources, such as Britain's (now defunct) 'National Grid for Learning', which they claim impose the stamp of the 'old' on what should be 'new'. Activities are developed which are teacher-directed and based on rigid curricula, whereas in the new world outside the classroom, it is more important to be prepared for ongoing change and constantly ready to explore and play.

There have been several research projects which have sought to find ways to use digital literacies differently in education. Bigum (2002) argues that schools have often 'domesticated' new technologies, adapting them to fit in with existing school culture and practice rather than using them as they are used in the world beyond schooling. He calls for a shift in focus, towards considering schools' relationships with local communities, and how information technologies can be used creatively to foster and develop these, giving students opportunities to use new technologies in real ways. Lankshear and Snyder (2000) report on school-based research identifying issues and barriers framing how new literacies have been taken on in different educational institutions, developing concrete suggestions, recommendations and guidelines for pedagogy, policies, programs and professional development. Hull (2003) reports on an out-of-school action research program giving young people the opportunity to produce multimedia digital stories about their lives. She shows the young people's mastery of sophisticated multimedia practices, producing complex re-contextualisations of their identity, highlighting the need to embrace multimodal, multimedia conceptions of literacy. Beach and Bruce (2002) give examples of how participation in digital technologies by adolescents gives them alternative ways of constructing identities through engaging in critical inquiry. Such pedagogical developments are an important application of new literacies research.

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

### *Insider/Outsider Perspectives*

One of the principal difficulties in researching this field is similar to the difficulties involved in teaching it. In a world of 'insider' and 'outsider' perspectives, many researchers as well as teachers are, to some extent, 'outsiders'. Of course, these are fuzzy categories. In a world where most researchers spend their days writing on computers, looking things up on Google and editing personal web pages, we cannot suggest that the gulf is absolute. Nevertheless, few academic researchers have the

sorts of vibrant multiple online identities described by Thomas (2005); few of us co-ordinate our relationships by text and instant message, work/playing in a virtual environment juggling simultaneous multi-modal streams of communication. While in the New Literacies field this can lead to a fascination with this area, rather than the suspicion described earlier often evinced in other institutional settings, such a fascination can carry its own dangers; for instance, romanticising and over-emphasising aspects of such practices which may appear unusual, novel or marked to the outsider, but to the insider are simply the norm.

### *Clashes with Dominant Discourses*

Research from this perspective clashes with some dominant discourses of education and policy. The research described earlier suggests that the way to prepare students for the new world is to facilitate playful, explorational communities of peers, moving from expert-novice relationships to a relationship of equals exploring together, with activities being realistically responsive to the broader social ecology, and teachers and students prepared to go in unexpected directions. However, this is difficult to achieve in a world in which increasingly centralised, prescriptive curricula are being introduced, assessed by skills testing at increasingly regular intervals. This is happening in both Britain and the USA, and leaves little space for unstructured, fluid explorations of ecologies of new literacies in the classroom, in the way people learn to engage with them outside school settings (Luke, 2002; Selfe, 1999).

Lankshear and Knobel (2005) identify what they call an 'it' perspective on new literacies, seeing them as skills to be obtained rather than as constellations of practices to engage in, which dominates in policy and educational discourses. They consider a range of conceptual definitions and 'standardised operationalisations' of digital literacy, concluding that such accounts portray only a very limited model. They show how standards in the digital field, such as the European Computer Driving Licence or the standards produced by the Global Digital Literacy Council, turn new literacies into a set of abstracted skills and techniques which are curricularised and certificated. They argue that digital literacies should be conceptualized as plural rather than singular, and to illustrate this sketch out a few of the wide range of different practices they have identified in their years of research, contrasting dominant 'it' perspectives with the perspectives of digitally literate young people taken from interview data.

One important aspect of dominant discourse is the various 'moral panics' (Cohen, 1972) which arise regularly in media and policy discourses around new technologies. Carrington (2005) analyses public

discourses about mobile phone texting, showing how texting and texters are positioned in a discursive chain linking texting, youth, declining standards, poor academic achievement and social breakdown. Research in new literacies from a social practice perspective can challenge the assumptions of such moral panics. We have already mentioned work by Cross (2005) and Gee (2003) challenging dominant notions that video games cause hyper-activity, violence and short attention spans. Beavis and Charles (2005) similarly challenge the notion that simulation games like *The Sims* encourage gendered patterns in game play, showing how teenagers playing the game in Australian schools used it to subvert traditional gendered practices. But within a social situation where the dominant discourse includes this level of fear and suspicion, it is hard for the positive messages of research to be taken up in constructive ways.

### *Pace of Change*

A final difficulty in researching this field is in the nature of the object. New literacies practices are changing faster than research can follow them, particularly given the insider/outsider tensions described earlier. The meanings of such practices are open and emergent, developing and changing unpredictably. It can be difficult to tell which practices will remain and develop, and which are short-lived trends.

## FUTURE DIRECTIONS

This constant development of new forms in the new literacies field leaves future directions of research open. One interesting focus, both as a field and a tool of research, is the practice of blogging—using a regularly updated personal website to record and reflect on one's life, ideas or experiences. Blogging and related developments such as podcasting (where people upload their own radio programmes onto the net) are challenging the dominance of mass media corporations in transmitting information, and the implications of this are still playing out.

This also has implications for how research is carried out. Julia Davies and Guy Merchant from Sheffield are using auto-ethnographic methods to research their own blogging (<http://drjoolzsnapshotz.blogspot.com/>, <http://myvedana.blogspot.com/>), with a jointly authored meta-blog (<http://blogtrax.blogsome.com/>) serving as a space to reflect and develop ideas. They are part of a group of New Literacies scholars keeping blogs which cross the boundaries between the personal and the professional, who co-reference each other to create an online new literacies research community, which includes Lankshear and Knobel (<http://everydayliteracies.blogspot.com/>), Thomas (<http://anya.blogsome.com/>)

and Carrington (<http://victoriacarrington.blogspot.com/>). Given the pace of change in this field which makes traditional rhythms of academic publishing inappropriate, research on new literacies which takes place online in the same timeframe as the phenomena under study seems an important future direction.

Another developing area is the study of how new literacies facilitate the building of new sorts of communities. Gee's (2005) work on affinity spaces and semiotic social spaces opened up this area for exploration in relation to online gaming, but it has a range of different manifestations which have yet to be fully investigated. For instance, Davies is researching the rise of communities of photo-sharers on [www.flickr.com](http://www.flickr.com) (Davies, 2005), arguing that this site enables reciprocal teaching and learning partnerships, generating new meanings and discourses, in a dynamic multimodal learning community. Communities are also central to some of the new online ways of doing business, with sites like eBay with its personal ratings system generating new understandings of concepts of trust and membership (Lankshear and Knobel, 2003, Chapter 6).

Even the nature of knowledge construction is changing, with implications both for future fields of research and for the way such research is represented. Wikipedia, an online encyclopedia which any reader can edit and add to, has become one of the most popular sites online—consistently in the top 25 sites accessed (according to the traffic ranking site [www.alexa.com](http://www.alexa.com)). An expert review of Wikipedia articles (Giles, 2005) found them to be comparable in accuracy to those in the Encyclopaedia Britannica. This is knowledge emergent from a community of peers, rather than handed down from above by a small group of knowledgeable experts. The implications of this and similar initiatives (e.g., developments of open source software by communities of peers) have yet to be fully explored.

The most significant future direction for research in this area is around the issue of insider/outsider perspectives, described earlier. New literacies and new technologies are already a normal part of many young people's lives. These are the teachers, researchers and policy-makers of the future, and may therefore be able to take a different perspective from the currently dominant outsider view. The distinctions between Lankshear and Knobel's 'it' perspectives and the 'constellations of practice' approach may dissipate as time goes on.

This is not a guarantee. There are established conservative discourses which will work to resist this change. As described earlier, policy changes to increasingly centralised curricula are reinforcing the 'it' perspective in classrooms. And if the new literacies field continues to change and develop just as rapidly as it does now, the 'insiders' of today might be the 'outsiders' of the future. Alternatively,

they may prove highly adaptable—Gee's (2004) 'shape-shifting portfolio people'—demonstrating a fluid responsiveness to the changes the future will bring. Time will tell.

**See Also:** *Brian V. Street: New Literacies, New Times: Developments in Literacy Studies (Volume 2)*; *Jabari Mahiri: Literacies in the Lives of Urban Youth (Volume 2)*; *Kwesi Kwaa Prah: Language, Literacy and Knowledge Production in Africa (Volume 2)*

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# **Section 1**

**Language, Society and Education**

## THEORETICAL AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON RESEARCHING THE SOCIOLOGY OF LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION

### INTRODUCTION: THE SOCIOLOGY OF LANGUAGE

The designation ‘sociology of language’ is often used in conscious distinction to the designation ‘sociolinguistics’. The intent of this distinction is commonly relevant both to personal disciplinary orientation as well as to the level of data-aggregation preferred by the researcher. From a disciplinary point of view, the designation ‘sociology of language’, rather than ‘sociolinguistics’, implies a greater concern with sociology than with linguistics, on the one hand; and a greater preference for higher levels of behavioral data collection (‘higher’ in the sense of more abstract, i.e., further removed from directly observed phenomena) and for higher levels of data-aggregation on the other hand.

This contribution will trace the development of sociology of language and its key research approaches. It will consider the challenges of different research approaches and the relevance of those that focus on *verstehende* (understanding) and those whose primary goal is *erklärende* (explanatory).

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF LANGUAGE

The sociology of language has developed alongside of sociolinguistics at least since the summer of 1964, when the modern study of language in social contexts was (re)constituted by a specially convened group of primarily U.S. scholars. The linguists (mostly, anthropological linguists) and sociologists (most of them macro-level oriented), spent an 8-week faculty seminar at the Summer Linguistic Institute, held that summer at Indiana University in Bloomington (Tucker and Paulston, 1997). Since linguists were already focused upon language behavior (whereas sociologists were not, by and large), the perspective of ‘sociolinguistics’ had greater momentum from the outset and could look forward to an academic home in departments of linguistics from the very first days onward. While a few of the Bloomington seminar sociologists immediately began to define themselves as ‘sociologists

of language' (indeed, some not present at the Bloomington seminar had already so defined themselves much earlier, viz. Herzler, 1965; Cohen, 1956), they did not form a cohesive interest-group, either then or afterwards, few sociology departments being interested in the new specialty area. Even the designation 'sociologists' was somewhat questionable for some of them, since it included the political scientists and the social psychologists among them. Accordingly, although the sociology of language began (and has largely remained) as a recognizable perspective of individual scholars, it never became a well-defined theoretical school nor developed a distinctive research methodology. It has remained a minority position within the total sociolinguistic enterprise, particularly in the U.S.

Like sociology itself, the sociology of language has neither well defined limits nor methods distinctly its own (see Fishman, 1965, 1968, 1970, 1972). As a result, whereas sociolinguistics has gravitated toward microanalyses of snippets of 'talk' and pre-selected conversations (Gumperz, 1982) or toward particular genres of pre-selected texts (Hymes, 1981), and therefore has no problem incorporating samples of actual speech or recitation in its presentations, the sociology of language has largely been 'social problems' oriented (e.g., bilingual education, language maintenance and language shift, reversing language shift, the spread of English, language death, etc.), often utilizing contrasted polities, population groupings and even the world at large as its universe of study and generalization for inquires into one macro-topic or another. As a result, the data of actual speech is no longer evident in its reports, such data being replaced by language or variety names or categories.

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

### *Contributions from Sociology*

'The sociology' of any topic involves the social structure or differentiation of its manifestations in society. A sociological analysis frequently compares individuals in different ethnic groups, racial groups, religious groups, professional groups, age groups, occupational groups or economic groups with respect to a particular social behavior (attendance at a Yankee game, participation in a general strike, armed forces service, participation in the elections, engaging in recreational reading, etc.). Some sub-groups (ethnic group 1, ethnic group 2, ... ethnic group  $n$ ) may well manifest more of this behavior than others. In that case, the investigator may conclude that ethnicity does play a role in the social behavior being studied (participation in the May Day parade in New York City) or may try to push the analysis further to try to relate

the ethnic differences that have been discovered to differences in family income, individual education, immigration status, etc. What may initially have seemed to be ethnic differences per se may, upon further inquiry, be more fully explainable in terms of economic or education differences between the groups involved. Sociologists will derive their hypotheses from the manifold previous studies that have been already been completed on the categorical groups that they are studying in a particular inquiry and on the social dimensions of concern to them (education, income, age, citizenship, etc.). Of course there will be a language variable involved too in the sociology of language and education (e.g., speaking a LOTE [language other than English] at home), but we will turn to such distinctly language variables below.

Sociological interpretations as to 'causal factors' typically stop at the societal or group-membership level. This leaves it to other investigators (sometimes from other disciplines, including sociolinguistics) to investigate the role of more individual or psychological factors prompting attendance at Yankee games or participation in May Day marches. Whether or not to extend one's research to the individual level too will also depend on the investigator's (inter)disciplinary training and particular focus of inquiry. Although personality factors may be involved in Yankee game attendance, neither the sociology of language nor the Yankees per se may be interested in sponsoring research on such variables because they would provide little valuable information to them that could easily be incorporated into their own prior *modus operandi*.

### *Connections to Education*

The sociology of language has been drawn to the study of language in education more by need than by prior intellectual interest. Each of the above-mentioned macro-topics has most often been researched within educational settings and institutions (school-systems, school-districts, school grades, school-rooms, etc.). School settings and situations are often selected for sociology of language inquiry because of various assets that they possess and prominently manifest. Schools have research budgets to expend, populations (including minority populations with language problems) that can easily be tapped as data-collection participants, qualified staffs that can be relied upon to keep order, provide background data and, in general, assist with the 'book-keeping' that all research entails, shielding investigators from interruptions, interference or other disturbances. Few of the aforementioned assets amount to theoretical or substantive preferences and, as a result, the outcomes of such investigations are often both less specifically relevant for education and

more relevant for larger scale societal institutions and social processes more generally than might otherwise have been anticipated.

Although 'education' is commonly defined as school-situated or school-related input or output, that need not necessarily always be the case. Education need not be conceptualized in a manner that limits it to either formal settings, curricular emphases, or stereotypic roles ('students', 'teachers', 'administrators', 'school board members', 'parent body', etc.). Language use during recess in the school yard (playground) is a perfectly reasonable example of simultaneously minimizing formal school influences on informal language use while still easily locating subjects of both sexes and various ages. More generally, therefore, education need not be limited to formal settings or scheduled curricular processes. 'Education' may be taken in its broadest generic sense of 'to lead, rear, bring up', whether by example, instruction or other influences, planned or unplanned and with or without extra-familial intervention.

In its most general terms then, education can be seen as a lifelong process of elicited responses, growth, development and change. The sociology of language and education, therefore, necessarily focuses on only part of the total educational process, that pertaining to language-in-society, but that is an important part indeed, language being both a major part of the input and a major part of the output of the entire process of education-in-society, regardless of its localizations. All in all, the sociology of language and education entails a triangulation between societal influences, educational processes and language input or output. The need to include data collection and theoretically guided interpretation on three different dimensions contributes both to the difficulty and to the stimulation encountered in research on the sociology of language and education.

### *Key Research Approaches*

The social sciences in general, and the sociology of language and education (SLE) among them, share a small array of research methods and techniques. This array extends from ethnography and observation, at one extreme, through to controlled experiments, at the other, with correlational studies based upon content analyses, questionnaires and other investigator-constructed 'tests' occupying a middle ground between the two extremes. Each of these methods possesses its very own and distinctive advantages and disadvantages.

*Ethnography*, the classical approach of anthropology, based upon the *in situ* fieldwork observations and recordings of trained and sensitized observers, has gained a considerable following during the past half century in conjunction with the study of language and education.

It typically pursues the formulation, disconfirmation or confirmation of hypotheses (e.g., 'Teachers in X-town public schools reinforce English only speaking students more often and more positively than they do speakers of LOTE's') by means of a large number of extensive observations in various school-settings. Ethnographic reports typically include many verbatim excerpts from teacher-pupil interaction, as well as holistic descriptions of persons, places and events that provide the reader (or viewer of filmed information) with a feel for the 'real thing', second only to being 'there' while ongoing life unfolds. This 'slice of life' realism is obtained at a price, as is the case with every research method bar none.

Ethnography finds it difficult to control certain factors (e.g., pupil social class, ethnicity, age, general attractiveness, etc.) while focusing on others, primarily because life does not present itself naturalistically in terms of neatly controlled but otherwise comparable packages. Of course, given sufficient experimenter time and funds, all of these secondary 'causes' or elicitors of teacher reinforcement can be observed in action and the differences between their rates can be noted and taken into consideration as indications of stronger or weaker co-causes than the major one (pupil's variable classroom usage) and their separate or combined effect upon or modification thereof. However, researchers seldom if ever have sufficient time and resources, and ethnography is, therefore, not an easy or precise method of unraveling complex interactions between the large number of possibly contributory ongoing aspects of any real-live interaction. An additional concern is that of observer reliability and validity. Wherever there is only a single personally invested observer for any data-set we are left with the problems of observer bias, observer consistency over time and the entire 'issue of degree' of any observed and counted 'teacher-reinforcement' versus those not counted because they are simply unnoticed or judged to be too weak or ephemeral to count. Investigators also obviously differ from one-another in their 'ethnographic sensitivity' or 'ethnographic aptitude' and, therefore, although the method provides much direct and immediate researcher gratification, it is so labor-intensive and so bound-up with the quirks of a single observer, that some researchers have concluded that other methods are needed (or needed in addition) for the sociology of language and education if its frequent confounding of method and researcher is soon to be overcome.

*Controlled experiments*, at the other end of the methodological continuum, are the characteristically preferred method of psychological research. Whereas ethnography sacrifices precision and complexity so that it can maximize 'holistic realism', exactly the opposite is true for controlled experiments. Thus, in a study of teacher-interpretations of English-Spanish code-switching by pupils, three different pre-filmed

scenarios (representing high, medium and low degrees of code-switching by the same group of student actor-confederates) were viewed by randomly assigned Black, White and Latino teachers in a large metropolitan high school, each of whom viewed only one scenario. After their viewing the scenario to which they had been assigned, teachers were debriefed as to their knowledge of Spanish, frequency and types of out-of-school interactions with Latinos, attitudes toward switching and their interpretations of the overt and the latent meanings of 20 switches that had been built into each scenario. Variables that were excluded from research-attention (e.g., teacher age, experience and attitudes toward race/ethnicity) were 'controlled out' of the study by means of random selection and random assignment of teachers to switching-groups, so that these variables could not effect any discovered 'between teacher-group' differences with respect to levels of switching at more than a 'chance' level. Unlike ethnographic researchers, experimental researchers never have the satisfaction of experiencing the reality of 'actually having been there'. On the other hand, the latter have the satisfaction of precise answers to precise questions (e.g., does intensity of switching behavior among students effect teacher understanding of latent meaning among teachers who are White and non-Latino?), with the probability of error (false negatives and false positives) being known in connection with answering each such question.

Somewhere near the middle of the continuum of naturalness and precision are the *questionnaire methods* (including most investigator-constructed data elicitation methods, even if they are not of the traditional questionnaire type, e.g., *guided interviews*, *observational check-offs*, certain *projective techniques*, etc.). Wherever total scores can be derived independently for each member of a studied sample from a summation of that member's item scores (Fishman and Galguerra, 2003), both fully structured and less-structured elicitation methods can be constructed by means of exacting item-analysis methods and can be tried out and improved, item by item, for both item and total instrument reliability and validity.

The only conditions or limitations on the latter claim are (i) that all item scores be independent of each other (i.e., 'non-iterative') and (ii) that a single criterion measurable in 'more vs. less' terms be applicable to them all. Thus, for a criterion such as amount of switching during a prior unstructured conversation on 'What I do after school', the predictors of switching can be true-false (or other dichotomized) items, attitudinal or behavioral degree items (fully agree, agree more than disagree, neutral, disagree more than agree, totally disagree), investigator observed check-off items, projective or other interpretation items with a choice among several enumerated replies, etc. Thus, although

formal and semi-formal measurements provide neither for the naturalness and holism of ethnographic methods, nor for the exact estimation of 'error variance' in responses (i.e., variation on factors that the investigator prefers to exclude from a given study) of experimental methods, they do possess several significant benefits of their own, particularly with respect to demonstrable reliability and validity or the lack thereof.

The major lesson from the brief methodological review in this section is that there is no fool-proof research method for the sociology of language and education. Nor are its researchers methodological factotums, each being most comfortable and productive at a certain point along the entire methodological range. There is no methodological orthodoxy that pervades the entire field, to which all funding agencies, research centers and journals pay allegiance. A greater or smaller degree of methodological heterodoxy is both the rule and is very much to be recommended as well. Only by increasing the methodological range of one's own competence and comfort can investigators really weigh all of the assets and debits of any choice among them in each particular study that is undertaken. Methods and researchers should never become fully redundant considerations. The trustworthiness of research findings are much enhanced by multi-method and multi-investigator replications, both within and between topical and sub-topical areas of the sociology of language and education.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES: REALITY AND COMPLEXITY

Every bit of research that is reported was conceived of as a means of tapping into both the reality and the richness of 'actual life'. However, reality is complexly multi-layered and it is very difficult (or perhaps even impossible) to be sure that one has captured enough of the subtle layering of any dimension being studied to be able to draw inferences pertaining to these dimension as a whole. Teacher acceptance of code-switching and code-switching per se both present many obvious and subtle examples of this difficulty.

In our discussion of factors contributing to teacher acceptance of switching we have recognized at least some of the complexity of common influences on both teachers and bilingual pupil behavior. We have not doubted that there may be other factors at play here, but we have decided to either treat them as 'error-variance' or to 'control them out' via random selection of subjects and random assignment of subjects to differing intensities of switching presentations. Both questionnaire data and experimental data can be subjected to a statistical analysis via a technique known as *analysis of variance (ANOVA)*. This technique essentially compares the variation associated with the

data related to any particular dimension of analysis with the total variation exhibited by the data as a whole. Only if the latter is sufficiently great relative to the former can that particular dimension be considered a significant one (i.e., one unlikely to be merely a chance finding due to random sampling factors alone).

While it is impossible in a single brief article to render this technique intuitively transparent, it becomes even more useful if an outside criterion is also available (e.g., the ratings of expert judges [speech therapists] of the switching frequency of each student during several months of interactive observation with a variety of 'others' and in a variety of 'settings') then this criterion can be used to gauge the extent to which any predictive dimension by itself (e.g., race of student or bilinguality of the teacher), or all of them taken together, account(s) for the variance on the criterion. In this manner the investigator can tell whether the criterion is adequately and significantly accounted for by the research instruments utilized. Obviously, the higher the correlation between the two, the more reliable and valid the explanatory capacity of the particular dimension or set of dimensions. But this crucial determination, available only for experimental and questionnaire data, does not convince ethnographers that these 'other' methodologies have studied 'the real thing' to any degree similar to that attained by their own studies. Similarly, the quantitative analysts are never convinced by the qualitative findings produced via ethnographic research. Why not?

Ethnography's implications that its method (and its alone?) can study 'the real thing' (and, therefore, 'discover the real truth' about it) raise an intricate set of fundamental issues for the sociology of language and education and for social research more generally. How do we know 'real' reality and recognize it when we have (or have not) found it? Is finding actual reality (and all of it) the *sine qua non* of research methodology and of the researcher's craft? This query touches upon an old and painful dispute that extends far beyond the boundary of the sociology of language and education.

### *Verstehende versus Erklärende Sciences and their Corresponding Methods*

The time has come, as it ultimately does in all social science that maintains a links with the most distinguished thinkers of its own past glories, for a few German words. More than 150 years ago, beginning even before the Bismarkian unification of Germany in mid-19th century and accelerating significantly thereafter, both the physical and the social sciences were essentially German preserves. It was not until the rise of Nazism, approximately 75 years ago, that this leadership

clearly passed to the Anglo-American orbit where it largely remains until this day. Accordingly, it is not merely a silly nuisance that the 'human', 'mental' or 'cultural' sciences retain a few particularly apt German terms to this very day. *Gestalt*, *zeitgeist*, *wissenschaft*, *volksprache*, *gemeinschaft/gesellschaft* and *ausbau/abstand* are among those that it would be a pity to give up, because for several generations many of our theories and findings have been formulated with them and through them, even if (as happens in all scientific fields) most of these have become substantially modified or even eliminated during this same period. These terms remind us of where we have been intellectually, and unless we know where we have been, we cannot really appreciate how we have gotten where we are (or think we are) today and where we would like to be tomorrow. Among these are the two terms that I will introduce here, *verstehende* and *erklaerende*, that represent two kinds of conceptual goals and methodological procedures for scientific research.

*SLE as an Erklaerende Science.* One school of German social science thought firmly believed that the rigorous methods and refined quantification of the exact sciences were not only proper and desirable but crucial models and methods for the social sciences to aspire and work toward. The goal of such sciences was *erklarung*: explanation. Today, when we think of the 'explanation' of any variable in human behavior it is exactly its variation or variability that challenges us. Why does it wax and wane in the same human subjects on different occasions and why do two different human groups differ with respect to the human behavior being examined such that Group A stands higher than Group B on some occasions while the opposite is true on others? Since this is not the case with respect to the measurement of properties of inanimate objects the discovery of constant and inescapable variation in human behavior was originally a matter of great anxiety (not to say consternation) among scholars in the latter area.

In the beginning the variation noted was attributed to errors of measurement, laxity in the training of measurers, or lack of consensus as to the proper units of measurement for research on human behavior. The psychophysicist Gustav T. Fechner (1801–1877) was so distraught by this phenomenon of inescapable human variation, individually or in groups, and by his obvious failures in trying to overcome or remedy it via utilizing different units of measurement, different methods of measurement or different methods of training measurers, that he ultimately went mad due to the aggravation and humiliation that he anticipated in that connection and that he understood to be a result of his own scientific shortcomings. It was almost a century later before the social and behavioral sciences fully understood that it was precisely the study and explanation of this variation that constituted their major

responsibility and analytic task. From then onward a large proportion of social scientists began to differentiate between true variance and error variance, between expected (and, therefore, insignificant) variance and unusual (and therefore significant) variance. The ‘standard error of measurement’ of any measure being employed enabled investigators to distinguish between normal variation and clearly unusual variation and to focus their explanatory efforts on the latter. Such clearly unusual variation from the expected might be attributable to ‘independent variables’ that the experimenter per se either manipulated or that the researcher discovered to exist to different degrees ‘in the field’, so that their impact on the ‘dependent variable’ could be studied both separately and together.

Briefly put, ‘explanatory (*erklärende*)’ research is so named because it attempts to *explain* the degree of variation in the dependent variable in terms of degrees of variation (whether experimenter manipulated or field encountered) in the independent variable(s) under study. Such research can also inform its practitioners and advocates of the extent to which the total variance in the dependent variable still remains unexplained (unaccounted for) by the independent variable(s) under study and by the measuring devices employed. This is important because it enables investigators to realize whether explanatory progress is being made, over time and study after study, when focusing upon the same independent variable. Even if this *is* the case, then in the future the recording, observing and stimulus conveying instruments can still be improved and honed. If it is *not* the case, then it might be appropriate to start all over again, not only with instrumentation but with the formulation of underlying hypotheses, predictive (‘independent’) variables and the ‘unitization’ (units of measurement) established for both.

Rigorous though the above sketched approach may seem, it still has its skeptics and non-believers, primarily because it has been over-promised and has, inevitably, underachieved in explanatory power. Therefore we now turn, in closing, to the *verstehende* approach to research in the sociology of language and education.

### *Verstehende Research to the Rescue*

Even its most adamant defenders must grant that the *erklärende* model in social research has not turned out to be as fruitful as originally expected while, at the same time, natural or physical science research utilizing this very approach has gone on from one success to another, in one substantive area after another. As a result, the social sciences have remained, in the eyes of many of its most prominent investigators,

singularly unreformed and un-enriched by the adoption of the rigorous *erklärende* research model. Accordingly, many researchers (particularly including many of the young and female among them) have returned to the previously much maligned *verstehende* model (carefully avoiding or sidestepping the Fechnerian error in connection with behavioral variance). The renewed *verstehende* model is anything but ‘apologetic’ concerning any possible errors of the past (certainly not for that part of the past for which its practitioners assume no responsibility whatsoever).

Why, its critics ask, has the *erklärende* model failed to produce satisfying results? Because the complexity of human behavior is so great and so manifold that *erklärung* in neutral and precise measurement terms is essentially impossible with respect to it. Instead of the false god of *erklärung* (explanation) it is claimed that the human sciences should pursue the more limited but also perhaps the more appropriate model of *verstehen* (understanding). *Verstehen* does not assume a physical/natural sciences model. Quite the contrary, it proceeds on the basis of seeking a disciplined and careful human understanding, that is, the understanding of human behavior that only another human being can achieve, derived from observation and empathy. *Verstehen* does not pursue the explanation of variance but, rather, the grasping of holistic and ‘undessicated’ behavioral phenomena, at the very level as do most adults who are native co-members of the same culture. Cultural understanding is and should be the proper goal of *verstehende* science, being the only goal that is distinctly appropriate for research on human subjects. Adult-child interaction that socializes infants into panhuman but also into distinctly Xian culture and teacher-pupil interaction also guides neophytes into pan-human but also into distinctly Xian school-learning culture. It also renders possible the recording and the analysis of the exact language use and behavior of any such interactions, something that *erklärende* research has well-nigh abandoned at the verbatim level.

This is a level of research involvement (problem definition, data collection and processing, and conclusion derivation) which is so different from that of *erklärende* research that the two often have very little to share with each other. When basic methods are very far apart from each other then research traditions unfortunately become soliloquies rather than confederates in a common venture. Regrettable though that may be for the pursuit of knowledge within the total enterprise of the SLE, most find it to be preferable to the constant skirmishing and mutually recriminating rejection that would and once did result from forcing incommensurables to interact and collaborate.

## FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The total research enterprise of SLE must be inclusive enough and supportive enough to provide room and recognition for both *erklaerende* and *verstehende* approaches to its subject matter. The rift between these different approaches is sufficiently recent that few researchers have thus far even had the opportunity to attempt to be trained so as to be equally at home and equally proficient in both approaches, so as to be able to choose between them (or to combine them) on substantive grounds rather than on personal, emotional ones. Perhaps that outcome will be a byproduct of the 21st century that stretches immediately ahead. *Ojalá!*

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SOCIOLOGY OF LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION:  
EMPIRICAL AND GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES

INTRODUCTION

The sociology of language and education (SLE) seeks to describe and explain the relationships between society and language in education. Major areas of inquiry in sociology of language include language contact (including language spread, shift, loss and revitalization); language conflict and language attitudes; and language planning (Cooper, 1989) in the public arena (Fishman, 1971). SLE then addresses these processes in relation to schooling and education. SLE research is increasingly concerned with understanding the role language plays—at both the micro and macro level—in post-colonial societies as ‘the vehicle for identifying, manipulating, and changing power relations between people’ particularly in educational institutions, viewed as sites where discourse practices can ‘repress, dominate, and disempower diverse groups whose practices differ from the norms that it establishes’ (Corson, 2001, p. 16).

Though many of the notable major trends in SLE research can be traced to the 1960s and 1970s and to scholars like Fishman, Ferguson, Bernstein, and Labov (see Fishman, *Theoretical and Historical Perspectives on Researching the Sociology of Language and Education*, Volume 10), current research in the area is greatly impacted by worldwide developments, in particular those associated with globalization. The waves of internal and international immigration in many parts of the world, together with the advent of technology and the resultant global networking, have posed new linguistic challenges for researchers and educators alike.

SLE research encompasses a complex and diverse array of methodologies set in both the positivist and constructivist traditions, utilizing both quantitative and qualitative approaches to investigate sociolinguistic phenomena in educational settings. While some research methodologies have been borrowed and adapted from the fields of sociology, anthropology, social psychology, or linguistics, others generate unique forms based in the amalgamation of several distinct approaches. This survey reviews early developments and research orientations in SLE, many of which remain prominent today. An account of some major current contributions follows, culminating in a brief discussion of the role of globalization in shaping major SLE research directions.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The pioneering work of Joshua Fishman in the sociology of language (1971) triggered great interest in investigating the social organization of language behaviour as well as the applications of findings to areas such as language teaching and educational policy decisions. Early research sought to describe speech (and writing) communities (see Gumperz, 1968) and to answer the question ‘who speaks (or writes) what language . . . to whom and when and to what end?’ (Fishman, 1971, p. 46). In comparing language usage norms, researchers conducted detailed case studies, based on descriptive accounts as well as data from census and surveys of language use and language attitudes. In this early work, scholars identified phenomena and concepts that have become part of the established vocabulary of SLE research. For example, Ferguson (1959) used the Greek-derived word *diglossia* (meaning two languages) for situations where two varieties of the same language were used in the same community but for different functions and with different status accorded to each. Fishman (1971) extended this concept to describe a condition where two different languages were in use in one community. This concept continues to be important and discussed in SLE research for different functions (see discussion of Rampton’s work later).

The driving force behind many SLE studies is to explain and redress social disadvantages that result from linguistic inequalities. On both sides of the Atlantic, scholars have questioned the notion of a ‘deficit model’ (that certain social or cultural groups may ‘suffer’ from a language deficiency which could be remedied by compensatory education). British and American educators and linguists were intrigued by the claims of Bernstein (1971) and his followers who revealed through empirical investigations (observation, interviews and discourse analysis) that while there was no direct correlation between code-choice and social class, there was sufficient evidence (of different levels of elaboration in parent-child discourse) to justify reorganizing of schooling to enable students to have broader exposure to different socio-linguistic codes. A similar area of investigation (though in contrast to Bernstein’s agenda) was pursued by Labov in his seminal work in the USA (1969), which shed light on the contentious topic of cultural and linguistic deficiency. He argued that speakers of ‘non-standard English’ were neither verbally deprived nor cognitively deficient.

Sociolinguists in SLE continue to follow many of the patterns of investigation led by Fishman, Ferguson, Bernstein and others since the mid-1970s, but the research questions and methodologies have expanded to address educational questions which are local (as in a school district, or even a cohort of student language teachers), national

(e.g. the language education policy of an emerging nation state) or international (as in policy decisions for a continental educational alliance).

An example of a prime community SLE concern is the maintenance of heritage or ancestral languages through education. Heritage language speakers can be defined as having achieved some degree of bilingual proficiency (Valdés, 2001), or more broadly (see Fishman, 2001a), whereby heritage language learners can be acknowledged as such even though they may hardly speak the heritage language. This issue has been brought to the forefront in recent decades regarding both indigenous and immigrant communities where heritage languages are no longer used in home contexts (Fishman, 2001a; Lie, 2003). Fishman, again, was the leader in the ‘reversing language shift’ movement (1991), raising awareness of linguistic rights, and language loyalty, with intense concern for the survival (and development) of heritage languages. Much of the work in this area relates to educational processes, whether at the level of medium-of-instruction in the classroom, or of state or government policy (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000), be they formal or informal (as in the case of intergenerational family transmission that is seen as the basis for reversing language shift).

As with the above mentioned studies, the employment of quantitative methodologies (based on surveys, questionnaires and the use of test data) is still predominant in SLE research on policy issues and decision-making at a national level (Lasagabaster, 2000). However, over the last 20 years, the field has witnessed increasing employment of the ethnographic research approach with its qualitative methods of data collection and analysis appealing to those who seek deep and rich meaning in local sites of inquiry by acquiring the ‘native’ point of view (Henry, 1998; Jo, 2002).

The advent of critical theories emerging from post-structural, post-modern and post colonial thought has generated studies that look into ‘the ways that social relationships are lived out in language and how issues of power . . . are centrally important in developing critical language education pedagogies’ (Norton and Toohey, 2004, p. 1). Hence, a growing number of research orientations, predominantly qualitative in nature, embrace an ‘emancipatory’ approach (Cameron, Fraser, Harvey, Rampton and Richardson, 1993). Features of such an approach include: (i) emic-oriented studies, where the researcher adopts the insider’s point of view (see McLaughlin, 1992), and is involved in the study both as an informant and an active participant (e.g. Skilton-Sylvester, 2002); (ii) the democratizing of research, whereby the research sample is involved in the study in pro-active ways like participatory action research (Muthwii, 2004); and (iii) more eclectic practices, which embrace both quantitative and qualitative data as

their samples or evidence for analysis (e.g. Clyne, Rossi Hunt and Isaakidis, 2004).

Though many SLE research methodologies have borrowed from other disciplines, unique approaches and research-based models have also been generated. One such example is the ecological approach. The concept of 'language ecology' was originally coined by Haugen (1972) to highlight how a language relates to other languages in the environment and the broader social context (Mühlhäusler, 2000). In the area of language policy and planning, the term has been used to discuss means for promoting multilingualism and linguistic diversity (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996) and the impact of macro-sociopolitical forces on individual linguistic choices (Ricento, 2000). The ecological perspective is used to explore 'the inter-relationships between an individual and her/his languages, and across individuals and their languages . . . negotiated through different types of interactions, underpinned by situated and ideological, cultural and political histories' (Creese and Martin, 2003, p. 1). Research studies which adopt an ecological approach thus explore language-related issues and phenomena keeping in mind learner diversity vis-a-vis political, social, economic, cultural and linguistic factors.

A notable ecological framework which allows for the research, analysis and subsequent setting and implementation of linguistic policy in multilingual educational settings is the continua of biliteracy (Hornberger, 2003). Through a matrix of 12 intersecting continua which characterize the 'contexts for biliteracy, the development of individual biliteracy, the content of biliteracy, and the media of biliteracy' (Hornberger, 2003, pp. 5, 35), the framework facilitates a multidimensional analysis of literacy events and practices in macro and micro contexts, across skill areas of language use, in varied text contents, and in the media through which the bilingual language user communicates. Since its conception in 1989, this framework has served to both stimulate and guide research and discussion in the areas of language learning and teaching, particularly with regard to language planning and choice and learners' identities, bilingual programmes and curriculum development in various contexts around the globe. The aforementioned ecological framework and the previously noted emancipatory approach exemplify today's broader scope for SLE concerns and research. Nevertheless, the basic issues of 'Who speaks what to whom; when, where, how and why?' still persist.

#### MAJOR CURRENT CONTRIBUTIONS

Current research reflects the complexities of current social life, including turbulence, change, and development. Globalization, the emergence of

newly dominant communities, local states reasserting their national rights, the aftermath of colonization, the development of multi-national unions, and the establishment of different power bases at local as well as at governmental levels, provide a major current area of investigation. This is particularly true where language status and language education are concerned. The focus, therefore, in the next section is on language spread and maintenance in relation to globalization and how they impact formal education.

The transnational mobility of individuals, goods and services, along with the diffusion of mass information via telecommunications, has reshaped the SLE research agenda in recent years. The spread of English, the emergence of post-colonial New Englishes (Jenkins, 2003), and the struggle for language maintenance in the face of English dominance have prompted research with far reaching consequences on macro linguistic and educational policy decisions, on micro classroom issues, and on the interaction between the two. An example is Dei and Asgharzadeh's ethnographic and critical examination (2003) of the ramifications of 'imposed languages' on schooling issues in two different sites: English dominance in post-colonized Ghana, and Farsi in Iran.

The threat of English hegemony has generated studies of trilingual and quadrilingual language programmes (especially in bilingual European contexts such as the Basque, Catalan, Sweden and Friesland), where English is studied as the third or additional language (Cenoz and Jessner, 2000; Cummins, 2001). A critical examination of the English as a European *Lingua Franca* research reveals that studies focus on macro-oriented policy issues using quantitative procedures (such as surveys and attitude questionnaires) with little emphasis on how individuals actually use the language, to what extent and for what purposes. James (2000), therefore, makes the case for the need to shift the research emphasis to include micro language transactions between language users using a variety of research designs and instruments to facilitate such investigations.

The increasing use of corpus research methodology has meaningful implications for language programmes and resources. Research on codification and standardization, such as the ELF (English as a *Lingua Franca*) corpus research conducted by Seidlhoffer (2004), will have consequences for educational settings in terms of criteria for ELF language use and standards for assessment. Corpus research is also utilized for the validation of hierarchical standards, such as the Granger and Thesissen study (2005), which looks at the links between error types and levels of proficiency in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages.

One of the outstanding global phenomena in language instruction and research is the evolution of new communication technologies, their

environments and pedagogies (Thorne and Payne, 2005), creating options in both the area of research method (data collection and analysis options), and communicative trait (media genres). Among the SLE research concerns are language contact and environment on the internet (Holmes, 2004), and intercultural communication. Kern, Ware and Warschauer (2004) note the shift in research from networked language learning in classrooms to collaboration projects conducted online allowing for broader social discourse and intercultural competence. Belz (2002), for example, using methodology grounded in social realism frameworks, examines the interaction between American students (learners of German) and university students in Germany.

Transmigration and language spread have drawn attention to native speaker concepts and privileges, with special focus on the resources afforded the native speaker of the Central versus Peripheral English varieties (Brutt-Griffler, 2002), hence giving rise to a new research focus in SLE: the relevance and respective merits of language teachers who are either native or non-native speakers of the language they teach. The search for insight into teachers' perceptions (on how they are perceived by others), their self-efficacy and effectiveness, draws on data collected via both quantitative and qualitative methodology (with often a mixture of both), thus allowing for a multi-angled representation of the examined phenomena (see e.g. the edited volume on non-native English teachers by Llurda, 2005).

Prevalent among recent studies are those concerned with the maintenance or reversal of indigenous languages, the maintenance of heritage languages, and language spread, as they relate to the medium and the content of instruction, and the power of education to effect change. Studies from Africa, Europe, Asia, North America and Australia, demonstrate the burgeoning nature of the SLE discipline. Many manifest the social activist attitude of SLE researchers who are not content to study a topic, without being involved in a pro-active manner (see, e.g. Cameron, Fraser, Harvey, Rampton and Richardson, 1993). Some of the cited work herein is avowedly interventionist (Cooper and Maloof, 1999; Muthwii, 2004), while others are participatory, being ethnographic (Adgebite, 2003) or action research studies (Nagai and Lister, 2003). The diverse methodologies employed to investigate, explain, or perhaps advocate, reflect the multilingual—and multidimensional—communities in the complex sociolinguistic and socioeducational situations that exist today.

We still, however, find studies which adhere to a single research method such as quantitative analysis of census data. For example, MacKinnon (2004), employed empirical analysis of census data regarding Celtic languages to demonstrate that reversal of a downward trajectory could be achieved through sustained instruction. Likewise Lasagabaster (2000)

analysed standardized test data to investigate the preferred and most efficacious type of multilingual education in secondary schooling in the Basque area. However, the majority of the studies incorporate a variety of data from a range of sources. Muthwii, for example, used official government records, questionnaires and interviews to compare a community's perceptions of mother-tongue use in schooling with that of official policy and the stated medium of instruction (2004). Ejieh's ethnographic work (2004) in Nigeria explored participants' perceptions of the indigenous tongue (as medium of instruction) as an instrument for social and economic advancement in light of the growing power of English as an international *Lingua Franca*.

In many post-colonial nations, the status of indigenous language(s) is threatened considerably by English. Adgebite (2003) engaged in participatory action research attempting to raise awareness of the importance of indigenous language maintenance by conducting a course of progressive 'enlightenment' on this topic for an elite group of students. Others have tried to redress a situation of threatened language loss (with a modicum of success) by introducing culturally relevant topics into modes of instruction (see Henry, 1998; Nagai and Lister, 2003).

Despite the rapid decline of many languages in this new millennium, linguistic diversity is still widespread, with many urban areas boasting a plethora of different home languages. Progressive educational authorities strive to meet the needs of diverse communities to accommodate the use and maintenance of home-tongues (or heritage languages) by incorporating some system of bi- or multilingual education. Pro-active efforts to this end are exemplified in the large-scale action research of Clyne, Rossi Hunt and Isaakidis (2004), a study which involved teachers, school students and curriculum organizers in promoting the study of community languages as second or third languages. An attempt to redress the loss of heritage tongue through medium of instruction is recounted by Cooper and Maloof (1999) who conducted participatory action research involving native-speaking parents in teaching elementary-level Chinese, Japanese and Korean in a US school. Jo's ethnography (2002) of diasporic cultural identity (of Korean American women in the USA) and maintenance of heritage language exemplifies a different, yet still significant aspect of the situation: investigating attitudes and identity with regard to heritage and other tongues.

#### PROBLEMS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Though the field employs diverse research methodologies, there remains an abiding perceived dichotomy between the value of quantitative and qualitative research paradigms (Lazaraton, 2005; see Fishman, Theoretical and Historical Perspectives on Researching the Sociology of Language

and Education, Volume 10). The debate as to the relative importance of each tradition was recently brought to the forefront by the No Child Left Behind Act (2001) in the USA, which called for 'scientifically-based' research, implying the prioritization of positivist research over constructivist paradigms (Eisenhart and Towne, 2003). This is especially crucial in areas pertaining to SLE research, where exclusive reliance on experimental research would exclude critical and interpretative social research on phenomena such as gender, identity, linguistic and cultural ethnicity. Clearly, it is the research purpose which ought to guide the choice of research methodology (rather than vice versa) in order to allow researchers to find the answers to 'burning critical questions about social life' rather than restrain them (Shohamy, 2004, p. 732).

Furthermore, concern over adherence to specific methodologies may divert attention from the primacy and robustness of the underlying theory for the research (Cummins, 1999). An approach which addresses this concern is that of Rampton, Harris, Leung and Roberts (2002), who have proposed a breaking down of assumptions that paradigms dictate in favour of an interdisciplinary collaborative approach to the examination of contemporary urban language, learning and interaction (see Creese, *Linguistic Ethnography*, Volume 10). An example of this approach is the ongoing ethnographic research on multilingual adolescents in various settings which has yielded data on social systems and attitudes regarding ethnicity and identity in relation to popular and media culture (Rampton, 2005). The gradual emergence and recognition of alternative research paradigms is also applicable to the role and required qualifications of the researchers: It is evident that practitioner research in the form of reflective action research is slowly being legitimized by the research community although it must be acknowledged that despite its promotion, educational stakeholders have yet to award it equal status with other research forms (Burns, 2005).

With regard to future orientations, SLE research will continue to respond to the impact of current developments on education. Issues that require greater attention include first language literacy and the role of language shift and language maintenance in second and third language early childhood education (Cenoz and Jessner, 2000). In-depth, qualitative research modes are appropriate for examining the implications and outcomes of different multilingual education alternatives for different communities (indigenous, immigrant or migrant, multi-generational or single family units). Other important areas of inquiry include the experiences of refugee and immigrant language users and learners in acquiring needed life skills and schooling, and the possibilities of adult education in their adopted language (Warriner, 2004; Weinstein, 2001). Also important is further attention to the levels of acceptance of non-standard varieties among second or third language learners.

Future research will likely see an increased utilization of communication technology which allows for massive worldwide data collection, instantaneous data analysis and direct public accessibility. However, communication technology may also have adverse effects on the research process due to the relative ease of placing accessible research tools in cyberspace for use by the wider public or for specific groups. Such practice needs to be treated with caution, for while opening new avenues for data collection on an immediate and large scale, it may also lead to research abuse if quality-control measures, for example in terms of sampling, are not maintained.

Another area which will be pursued further in SLE research is public advocacy related to bilingual education (Cummins, 2001; Varghese, 2004) or linguistic rights (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). There is a need for more participatory studies, where every stakeholder (researcher, native speaker informant or case study subject) has a voice, representing their identity and their values. As Corson (2001) asserted, the school should be the locus of language in education policy. Granting of agency to the less powerful is a central aim of the emancipatory approach. Such an approach can be applied to both pressing local and more global SLE issues which concern us today.

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## INVESTIGATING LANGUAGE EDUCATION POLICY

### INTRODUCTION: DEFINITIONS

Before we can discuss how to carry out or read<sup>1</sup> research in language education policy, we need to define the field. Language education policy is a significant part of language policy. In the model developed by Kloss (1966) and enriched by Cooper (1989), language policy deals with the status of languages and varieties (are they official or not?), their form (are they appropriately cultivated to perform the functions associated with their status?), and who (apart from people who grew up speaking them) else should learn them. Cooper called this last point ‘language acquisition policy’ and I call it language education policy. In practice, these three areas are closely intertwined. For instance, in a nation where a language is official (in status), it will generally be used as the medium of instruction in state schools and therefore will need a writing system and terminology for modern concepts and technologies and have to be taught to a lot of children.

Language policy has three main components: the practices of the members of the speech community (who actually uses what variety and for what purpose?), their beliefs (what do they think they should do?), and management, which is when someone with or claiming authority tries to modify the practices of someone else (Spolsky, 2004). From this, it follows that language *education* is language *management*. Management is modifying the language practice of someone by adding a language or changing the variety they use. However, it is still relevant to identify the actual practices. For example, teachers in Arabic-speaking countries say they want their pupils to learn Classical or Modern Standard Arabic, but most commonly they conduct their classes in the local vernacular (Amara and Mar’i, 2002); and certainly many teachers claiming to teach in English are actually speaking the local language while using English textbooks.

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<sup>1</sup> Among books on research methods in applied linguistics, Seliger and Shohamy (1989) set out to teach students how to do research; Perry (2005) assumes a more manageable task is to train them how to read research.

MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS AND WORKS  
IN PROGRESS: FOUR KEY QUESTIONS

*Research Question: What is the Policy?*

In research, the appropriate method depends on the question. In studying language education policy, there are two regular research questions. The first is: what is the policy of a particular social group or institution or region or nation? Elana Shohamy and I investigated this in Israel (Spolsky and Shohamy, 1999). I have also tried to do this for the USA (Spolsky, 2006). The second is: what is the effect of any particular policy? There have been a whole slew of studies of the effects of various kinds of bilingual and immersion education policies (see, e.g., Baker, 2001). A third question can be derived from these two: what is the most desirable policy for any particular group? The first important such case that I was involved in was the Navajo Reading Study, in which we were encouraged to investigate the effect of teaching young Navajo children to read in their own language first (Spolsky, 1974, 1975). I will derive a number of my examples from this experience.

None of these three questions is easy to answer, although as is common in difficult public policy issues, there are many people who hold strong opinions about the correct answer. For example, UNESCO experts believed (UNESCO, 1953) and still regularly proclaim that children would find it easier to learn to read a language or variety of language that they could speak. Most school systems however assume that their first responsibility is to teach children how to read the official national language. Walter (2003, p. 621) estimates that ‘Ninety-one countries have populations in which 40 percent or more of the national population consists of ethnic and linguistic minorities most of whom receive their schooling (if any) in a language other than their first language.’

If we wish to investigate the language education policy of a defined social unit (usually a nation, but one can ask the same question fruitfully of a region or a city or a church or even of a family), the easiest place to start is to look for explicit official documents. But there is a first important point to make. One of the traps we fall into with the word *policy* is that there is no obvious verb form. I prefer management because there is clearly an underlying sentence, ‘someone manages something.’ This should immediately set us to ask, who is the manager? Is it the constituent assembly, and if so, how was it elected? Language policy is one of the questions facing the constituent assemblies in Afghanistan and Iraq at the moment. Is it the Prime Minister or the government? In Malaysia two years ago, the prime minister surprised many people by proclaiming a change in medium of instruction at all

levels, from Bahasa Melayu to English. The Philippines parliament is currently debating a similar change from bilingual Pilipino and English to English only. In Japan, in 2006, a new minister of education is calling for teaching Japanese well before starting to teach English. For language education policy, is it the Ministry of Education, the Minister, the curriculum director, the school principal, or the teacher? Without clarity on these matters, it will be hard to know the standing of any policy document. Some scholars, following Phillipson (1992) seem to believe that all language policy is made by some hidden powerful elite, but more generally it turns out to be the result of complex dynamic interactions among a wide number of stakeholders. Identifying the nature of these interactions is a critical goal for research.

For a modern nation-state, overall language policy is commonly set out in a constitutional clause, in countries with a constitution (for a collection of national constitutions, see Jones (2001)) or in a law dealing specifically with language. In some cases, constitutions or laws will specify which languages are to be media of instruction or which languages are to be taught or otherwise encouraged. But it needs a lawyer to do the initial research on what the law is: see for instance the detailed study of US law (Del Valle, 2003), of Israeli law (Deutch, 2005, Saban and Amara, 2002), of Welsh laws (Huws, 2006), and of the early stages of the Maori Language Act (Benton, 1979). Once a written policy has been found and interpreted (e.g., deciding the meaning of such disputed terms as 'official' and 'national' and 'minority'), one next needs to look for evidence, for instance, in published regulations, or in institutional arrangements, or in budgetary allocations, that the stated policy is in fact being implemented.

In the case of language education policy, it often turns out to be quite difficult to find clear evidence. Even when there is a written policy, such as the Dutch National Programme (van Els, 1992), the definition of terms and the meaning attached to language names can be problematic. For example, most Arabic-speaking states have a constitutional clause stating that their religion is Islam and their language is Arabic. While this generally can be assumed to include the goal of teaching both Qur'anic Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic, it gives no indication of the language variety used in the classroom. Many countries with complex multilingual ecologies do not make clear which variety of language is normally chosen as medium of instruction at various educational levels and how that relates to the home language of the students. As an example, home language is often referred to as the 'mother tongue,' but that term is also rarely defined; what about children brought up in bilingual homes? Generally, though, a good place to look for evidence of the languages used or taught in school

is in a curriculum: if there is no other specification, it can be assumed that the unmarked medium of instruction is a variety of the national or official language, and that any other language taught would be listed officially.

Language education policy will sometimes be found in the reports of conferences or committees, or occasionally ex-cathedra pronouncements by prime ministers. Phillipson (1992) describes the various conferences at which proposals for language education policy in Africa were debated. The decision that Jewish and Arab schools should teach in Hebrew and Arabic, respectively was made by a committee set up just before the State was established. The Thelot committee in France shocked many by proposing that the status of English in schools should be raised (Thelot, 2004).

Ideally, an investigator will try to find the highest level explicit statement of language of instruction for the various levels of educational system and details of the use and teaching of other languages. He or she will also look for evidence of implementation in teacher selection and training, years and hours of instruction, provision of textbooks and other resources, inclusion of language proficiency in examinations, and any other evidence of evaluation.

All of this produces what we might loosely call the management plan, and the research approach followed is similar to the study of other aspects of educational policy.

### *Research Question: Why This Policy?*

There are two directions a researcher might next want to follow: to investigate the reasons for a policy or to see how it is implemented. Language education policy, like language policy in general, derives essentially from an understanding (often weak and imprecise and rarely accurate) of the current language practices and proficiencies of a society and from a set of beliefs (or ideology) of what should be an ideal situation (Spolsky, 2004). Language managers sometimes make their motivations explicit. They will commonly describe pragmatic goals, such as improving the economic prospects of the country, integrating new immigrants, or building a more skillful or educated citizenry, or they will set symbolic goals such as unifying the nation, preserving heritage values, providing access to the true faith, and building democracy. The investigator's goal may be to discover which of these motivations are relevant, or in their absence, to analyze the policy and determine who benefits from it.

In order to do this, the scholar studying language education policy will often find it necessary to move outside the educational realm to discover (in published material or through direct investigation) the

current sociolinguistic ecology of the relevant speech community: what languages or varieties of language are used by what members or sections of the community and for what functions.

In the Navajo Reading Study, our first task was a sociolinguistic study to see whether the Navajo language was still widely spoken. We found that 90% of the children coming to Bureau of Indian Affairs schools in 1969 encountered English for the first time upon arrival (Spolsky, 1970). Some of this material may be available in national censuses, but census results need careful use (de Vries, 1990; Thompson, 1974). Other information may have been published in sociolinguistic surveys, such as the Ford Foundation language surveys of East Africa (Bender, Bowen, Cooper, and Ferguson, 1976; Ladefoged, Glick, and Criper, 1972).<sup>2</sup> Not uncommonly, the investigator will need to conduct an original sociolinguistic survey, such for example, as our study of the situation of Navajo in 1969 (Spolsky, 1970), or the survey of the health of the Maori language (Statistics New Zealand, 2001).

Such a survey might also usefully include a study of the beliefs and attitudes of the community and its various sectors. Do they believe monolingualism is natural? Do they think a multilingual society is possible or desirable? What values do they attach to plurilingual proficiency? How do they value the languages potentially included in the policy? Questions like these need to be asked separately of the managers, of the teachers, and of the students in the education system and of parents and other community members. At this point, one can usefully look for conflicts in values and attitudes: does the school have the same goals as the national government on the one hand and as its pupils on the other? Are there significant sections of the community with different opinions?

### *Research Question: How is the Policy Implemented?*

Once the management plan is known and the beliefs or ideologies that underlie it, the next obvious task is to find out what happens in practice. One useful starting point is the linguistic proficiency of the teachers in the system. If the policy calls for a specific language of instruction to be used are there in fact enough teachers to do this? After a while, the Navajo Reading Study moved its emphasis to teacher training (see Varghese, *Language Teacher Research Methods*, Volume 10). When I revisit New Zealand from time to time, Maori educators often express regret that my recommendation to the Department of Education

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<sup>2</sup> SIL International has started to conduct and publish electronically detailed sociolinguistic studies; see <http://www.sil.org/silesr/>. These give clear and useful methodological information.

to put emphasis on teacher training (Spolsky, 1987) was never taken seriously enough. Another is the availability of resources: if a certain language is chosen, is written material available for school use in the language? One of our first products in the Navajo Reading Study was a list of materials in the language (Holm, Murphy, and Spolsky, 1970). Are there developed curricula that coincide with the language aims of the policy?

The approach so far has been descriptive rather than evaluative, although it is clear that a careful description will reveal major discrepancies between various parts of the policy and between the policy and its implementation. Examples are unfortunately very easy to come by: when I first visited Navajo schools in the late 1970s, I found that all the teaching was being done by monolingual English-speaking teachers using normal curricula for English-speaking US students while most of the pupils were Navajo speakers with very limited English ability. When I visited Thailand a little later, English was included in the elementary school curriculum although most teachers at that level had only a rudimentary knowledge of it. It is still the case in many schools throughout the world that the system does not take into account the fact that pupils come to school speaking a variety or language that is not the goal of the system. A complete description then will already reveal the problems in a language education policy. Other gaps and inconsistencies will emerge from comparing the goals of instruction of various sectors of the community (e.g., the Bahasa Melayu policy in Malaysian education and government and the English policy in the business world) or from comparing the language skills output by the system with the skills that appear to be needed in the workplace.

*Research Question: Can the Policy be Improved?*

This brings us to studies that wish to move beyond description to prediction; for instance, what change in policy will lead to a change in output? Or to evaluation? In other words, is this the best policy in the given situation, or to knowledge-based prescription, what changes in the policy are desirable? Here again, we seem to have plenty of opinions and comparatively little hard evidence.

There is a school of educational research that likes the agricultural model: in agriculture, one can compare the yield of a crop given regular water and fertilizer with one left alone. In education, including language education, the number of potential factors and the ethical implications of controlled experiments mean that this model is not usable. There are others that prefer the clinical model of matched populations and the double blind use of placebos ('Please forgive us if we give you a sugar pill rather than using one we believe will cure you.') This

too has practical and ethical problems. Rather, a long and expensive process of making minor approved changes and observing the effects of a whole range of results which are difficult to measure seems to be called for. In the Navajo case, it took 10 years to produce a longitudinal study of the effects of starting instruction in Navajo in the first grade (Rosier and Holm, 1980), but the authors drew attention to all the other changes that had taken place in the same time. In the 1970s, a committee recommended to the US Office of Education to start collecting baseline data to observe the effects of proposed bilingual programs. This was never implemented. However, political and other pressures on an educational system appear to militate against the possibility of this strategy too. This point is illustrated by the reluctance of the US Department of Education to permit publication of a study it funded to review the research literature on the development of literacy among language minority children and youth because its results did not support current policy.<sup>3</sup>

Lacking usually the resources to conduct the necessary long-term research with careful collection of a wide range of potentially relevant data, one research strategy is to undertake historical or comparative studies. When arguments are presented for the need to teach speaking a language before reading it, how do we account for the seemingly successful maintenance over centuries of knowledge of classical and sacred languages like Latin and Hebrew that were not spoken?

Some earlier studies that attempted to evaluate language education policy are worth noting. Scherer and Wertheimer (1964) made a valiant but failed effort to study the value of the audio-lingual method (ALM). First year German classes at the University of Wisconsin were divided into two groups, one set to receive 'traditional' teaching and the second to be given ALM teaching. The results of the first year suggested that the traditional group did a little better in reading and grammar and the ALM group did a little better in speaking. The experiment did not continue into its planned second year, as students declined to be assigned to the no-treatment condition.

Much more successful in its effect on language education policy was the study by Lambert and Tucker (1972) of the St. Lambert experiment in bilingual education. Reacting to their sense of the growing language consciousness of the Francophone majority in Quebec, a group of middle-class Anglophone parents in one part of Montreal persuaded the Protestant School Board, against its better judgment, to permit them to try early French immersion instruction for their English-speaking

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<sup>3</sup> See <http://www.nabe.org/press/press9.html>. An article by Michael Grunwald in the October 1 2006 in the *Washington Post* describes a report by the Inspector-General of the Department of Education on similar problems with Reading First.

children. Lambert and Tucker agreed to provide the evaluation, which produced two important conclusions—children in the program learned more French than in traditional French classes, and once they had moved to a balanced English and French instructional program, they reached the expected standards in the subjects taught and tested in English. It was only some time later that further studies (Swain and Lapkin, 1982) showed that their French remained less than native. The success of the program and of similar Canadian bilingual programs for English-speakers provided support for continued expansion of a politically supported effort to produce Canadian Anglophones with proficiency in French.

Two similar studies with minority groups had less effect, though their results were similar. An important study by Modiano (1973) in the Chiapas Highlands produced evidence that Indian children taught to read first in their own language were later more successful than others in learning to read Spanish. A study inspired by the Chiapas study which was conducted among Navajo Indians (Spolsky, 1974) was ultimately tested in a longitudinal study in one school; Rosier and Holm (1980) showed that Navajo children taught reading first in their own language ultimately reached much better than normal results in regular English tests. Other examples include a recent report by Little and McCarty (2006), which finds encouragement in recent studies of bilingual and immersion programs in some Native American communities; also, studies like King and Benson (2003) and Hornberger and King (2001) describe the effects of language revitalization projects in South America. For a variety of reasons (Spolsky, 2002), these and many other studies that show the effectiveness of well-designed and monitored bilingual programs (Walter, 2003) form a part of the ‘*connaissance inutile*’ (Revel, 1988) that fails to inform language education policy in the USA and elsewhere.

#### CURRENT AND FUTURE QUESTIONS: WHO SHOULD DO RESEARCH ON LANGUAGE EDUCATION POLICY?

I turn to a related—and increasingly pervasive—question, that of who should investigate language education policy. Apart from the obvious academic qualifications (adequate skills according to the research method in the languages involved, statistics, testing, history, discourse analysis, ethnographic observation, questionnaire writing, and interpreting, interviewing, for instance), one important question is the researcher’s own identity as an outsider or as a member of the group being studied. By definition, an academic researcher is an outsider, trained to look as dispassionately as possible at the people and phenomena he or she is studying.

But, scholars like Joshua Fishman have taught us how rigorous scientific methods can be combined with deep empathy for the group being studied. At the same time, in language education studies as in other sociolinguistic work, it is valuable to involve in the research members of the community being studied. In my work with Navajo, I depended largely on Navajo associates and colleagues and learned from them constantly. In our study of the Old City (Spolsky and Cooper, 1991), while we used research assistants with knowledge of local languages, the absence of a senior Arabic-speaking colleague probably biased our presentation; this was corrected in subsequent studies of an Israeli Palestinian village (Amara and Spolsky, 1996; Spolsky and Amara, 1997) and of a West Bank Arab town (Spolsky, Amara, Tushyeh, and Bot, 2000). More and more, the local informant is being transformed into the research associate or director.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES: SUPPORT FOR RESEARCH AND ITS POSSIBLE COST

Moving closer to the nitty-gritty, we turn to the selection of a topic and the often related question of finding support for research in language education policy. Here, there is an obvious distinction between independent and dependent researchers. By independent researcher, I mean someone who can and will carry out the research without any additional resources or funding. One such case may be a classroom teacher who decides to conduct a study in his or her classroom, requiring only the appropriate permissions from institutional authorities including committees on the rights of human subjects. I remember my son's fourth grade teacher who made a detailed study of what happened in his highly innovative classroom; the principal told me that the teacher spent several hours every day after school analyzing the extensive notes he took on each pupil's behavior during the day, and weekends writing up his results into a thesis that ultimately earned him a doctorate (and lost him a wife). Because the research was part of a degree program, it was of course partly shaped by his dissertation advisers, but all the resources of time were his own. Similarly, the choice of topic was influenced by his professors, but his research design and methods were simply an intelligent exploitation of readily available data. When research depends on published or archival material, and increasingly nowadays when such material is readily available on the web, the main concern of the researcher is to find time.

Moving a little from independence, the time is sometimes provided by a sabbatical or other leaves or by a grant or fellowship. In these cases, the research project is likely to need review and approval by some committee or foundation. When the research involves not just

one person collecting their own data (or two or more collaborating on this), the need to obtain funding to pay for assistance, equipment, statistical advice, payments to subjects, travel, and other costs usually involves the prospective researcher in applying to a government or private agency for the funds, a process which inevitably means that the project must conform to some degree in the agency's program of research. When I was starting out, I recall an aphorism that I continue to quote: theoretical research is what you want to do and applied research is what they will give you money to do. The happy researcher is of course the one who gets money to do what he or she wants to do. When we started the Navajo Reading study on the initiative of a senior educator in the Bureau of Indian Affairs who wanted us to repeat the Chiapas (Modiano, 1973) study with Navajos, we were exceptionally fortunate that he set no timetable and allowed us to proceed with the task in what seemed to us the most logical way. In practice, the initial grant only allowed for a number of preliminary projects, including the language survey which depended on access to the schools which we obtained through our semiofficial status. From then on, each stage of the study depended on obtaining new funding, usually from the US Office of Education under the Bilingual Education program. One unfortunate result of the limitation to 1-year grants was a damaging annual tempo: shortly after receiving a new grant (and commonly it did not arrive at the beginning of the school year), we had to start work immediately on a final report and new grant application. This left our research staff without financial support at the beginning of the school year. One year, my research assistant came back late in the summer with a check he had received from the family foundation of a stranger he talked to in a restaurant about the project; we were thus able to keep paying the Navajo students who played a significant role in our work. Fortunately, we were subsequently able to persuade the Ford Foundation of the value of the project, and their grant came without the time constraints of the US government.

In obtaining outside support, we regularly had to tailor our goals and methods to the programs that were supporting us. The potential ethical quandary is one that all researchers face when they seek outside support. In essence, the researcher must constantly balance his or her own research goals with those of the supporting institutions. For this reason, it is most useful to have a research program that can be adapted to changing circumstances and resources. I recall with admiration a doctoral student who developed a plan to study language and identity using as subjects a group of Latin American teachers who were due to spend a year at the university. When the project was cancelled, he got a job at a Bilingual Education Centre in a distant part of the country.

With appropriate modifications, he was able to carry out the study successfully with newly arrived Latin American pupils at high school.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Research in language education policy covers a wide range of significant topics and so requires, as I have tried to suggest, an equally wide range of methods, all of which are described in detail in this volume. With the growing recognition of the importance of the area, there is an expanding choice of academic journals in which to publish results and of publishers who will consider monographs on the topic. This provides the best test of the value of the research, as its publication permits other scholars to question it or to build on it.

With this increasing interest in the field, no doubt a great deal of research will continue to earn degrees or promotion rather than to add to knowledge, but there are signs that many scholars are now backing their beliefs with reasonably solid data rather than rhetoric. A study like King (2000) that bases hypotheses about language revitalization on a long-term ethnographic study, or like Walter (2003), which discusses the choice of medium of education on the basis of rigorous analysis of statistical data rather than by appeals to rights are examples of the best methods.

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RESEARCHING HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON  
LANGUAGE, EDUCATION AND IDEOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

This article considers research on language ideologies and the relevance of this work for educational contexts. To be sure, the amount of theorizing and empirical investigation on the topic of language ideologies published just over the past several decades is substantial; therefore, I will focus only on particular aspects of this topic which relate to education and the social processes, relations, and especially social hierarchies which are reflected in and produced through ideologies of language. In doing so, I will have to leave out much of the theoretical work from the literatures of anthropology, critical theory, philosophy, political science, sociolinguistics, cultural studies, among other areas that could be cited.

As Woolard and Schieffelin (1994, pp. 55–56) point out, ideologies of language ‘are not only about language. Rather, such ideologies envision and enact links of language to group and personal identity, to aesthetics, to morality, and to epistemology.’ Language (and languages) are not simply ‘conveyor belts’ for transmitting information between human interactants; rather, they are complex systems which perform a number of social functions, including signaling who we are (i.e., information about where we were born or raised, how much education we have had, our social skills, the group(s) we wish to be identified with, and so on). One of the primary socializing environments in most societies is formal schooling. Schools are places where young children are taught the ‘correct,’ usually dominant ‘standard,’ language, where they may come into contact with students from different cultural and/or linguistic backgrounds, and in multicultural and multilingual settings, they are likely to begin to develop identities which include an awareness of the relative social status of the language(s) they use (or do not use). If the child’s home language variety is the same as that spoken and written at school, the transition from home to school with regard to linguistic identity is not usually a problem; however, when the home variety is substantially different from the school variety, and the home variety is stigmatized as ‘non standard’ or deficient, the mismatch can lead to problems. The assumption that the ‘standard’ variety of the dominant (often national or regional) language is ‘better’ than, more ‘logical’ than,

and more ‘pure’ than the ‘non standard’ variety is an example of one of the most ubiquitous and powerful language ideologies around the world.

#### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Questions surrounding language are almost never exclusively about language, *per se*. They are very often concerned with identities, both ascribed and achieved, in particular sociohistorical contexts. Scholars have identified the rise of the modern nation state beginning in the eighteenth century in Europe as the primary factor in the association of a particular language with a particular ethnic group living within a geographically contiguous, politically defined area. Johann Gottlieb Fichte, the German metaphysician who championed the cultural and linguistic uniqueness of the German *Volk*, famously said: ‘Wherever a separate language is found, there is also a separate nation which has the right to manage its affairs . . . and to rule itself’ (cited in Inglehart and Woodward, 1992, p. 410). The roots of the language/nation nexus, of course, extend far back into antiquity; in the third century BC, Ashoka, India’s Buddhist Emperor, pursued political unification through linguistic toleration whereas Qin Shihuangdi, the first emperor of a united China, suppressed regional scripts and selected a single standardized writing variety and mandated its use (cited in Lo Bianco, 2004, p. 745). Dante Alighieri (1265–1321) chose to write his greatest work, *La Divina Commedia*, in his native Tuscan variety of Italian rather than in the customary Latin, and in so doing brought to the fore the *questione della lingua* (‘Language Question’), a debate that runs through the entire course of modern Italian history. The ‘Language Question’ continues to intrude in all aspects of social life in the contemporary world. Questions and conflicts about which language or language variety is valued (or not valued), taught (or not taught) in school, used (or not used) for different functions in different domains often are implicated in deadly conflicts between groups with historical reasons for not wanting to share territory, power and/or resources.

Some of the most important early research by sociolinguists with implications for language ideology in education was done by William Labov. In his now classic essay ‘The Logic of Nonstandard English’ (1972), Labov debunked the Verbal Deprivation theory promoted by psychologists (e.g., Bereiter and Engelmann, 1966) which claimed, among other things, that African American children in the USA come to school without sufficient verbal ability to succeed. Bereiter et al. (1966, pp. 112–113), based on a study of 4-year-old black children from Urbana, Illinois, claim that their communication was by gestures, ‘single words,’ and ‘a series of badly connected words or phrases.’ He describes their speech as ‘the language of culturally deprived

children . . . [that] is not merely an underdeveloped version of standard English, but is a basically nonlogical mode of expressive behavior.' Labov argued that the idea of verbal deprivation has no basis in social reality, that black children in the urban ghettos receive a lot of verbal stimulation, and participate in a highly verbal culture. He claimed that the psychologists' lack of understanding of linguistics along with poor experimental design and methodology resulted in a fundamental misreading and misinterpretation of the verbal abilities of black children.

Another early landmark study was conducted by Ray Rist (1970). In a two-and-one-half-year longitudinal study of a single group of African American kindergarten children, Rist found that the teacher developed expectations of the academic potential and abilities of each student based on her subjective evaluation of that student's oral language. Importantly, students judged by the teacher to be 'fast learners' (placed at the first of three tables) were quite verbal and displayed a greater use of Standard American English within the classroom compared to children at the other tables, who usually responded to the teacher in black dialect (p. 420). The children more adept at 'school language' were viewed by the teacher as more capable and more likely to succeed in school and life, despite the fact that IQ test scores indicated no statistically significant differences among the children at the three tables. Students labeled as 'slow learners' were unable to move up in their reading groups even if their performance in reading warranted such a change in classification. All the children in the class and the teacher were African American. Despite this shared cultural background, differences in socioeconomic class appeared to correlate with students' placement in reading groups. Rist concludes that 'the child's journey through the early grades of school at one reading level and in one social grouping appeared to be pre-ordained from the eighth day of kindergarten' (p. 435).

To summarize, research in the 1960s by some psychologists (e.g., Bereiter and Engelmann, 1966; Jensen, 1969) and sociologists (e.g., Basil Bernstein, 1966) placed the blame for school failure on minority children who were characterized as having a variety of cognitive deficits, especially with regard to their language abilities. Other researchers from linguistics and anthropology located the problem not in the children but in the relations between them and the school system. This position found that, for example, inner city children differ from the standard culture of the classroom, and that these differences (in language, family style, and ways of living) are not always understood by teachers and psychologists. This research lead scholars in the social sciences and education to examine the nature of ideologies about language, and how these ideologies impacted the school experiences of

different groups defined in terms of socioeconomic status, ethnicity, race, and/or language or language variety spoken. In the decades following the groundbreaking research described earlier, researchers used a variety of research methods (especially ethnographic and discourse analytic techniques) to better understand the impact of ideologies on educational practices and policies, from the classroom to the national policy-making level.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

As suggested by the studies described earlier, a major contribution in applied linguistics and educational research over the last 40 years or so has been the critical examination of the causes of social inequality and how language (often implicitly) plays a role in maintaining such inequalities. Scholars in the field of language policy (e.g., Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 1992; Tollefson, 1991) have relied on theories developed by thinkers such as Bourdieu (1991), Foucault (1972), Gramsci (1988), and Habermas (1975) among many others, to develop models to explain how language is imbricated in all aspects of social life, and how it plays a central role in the establishment and maintenance of social control by powerful elites. However, despite the critical turn in research in language policy, educational policies and practices in most parts of the world continue to be informed by ideologies about language, which can be detrimental to the achievement of greater educational access for many language minority groups.

Critical scholars, in analyzing the causes for the persistence of educational programs and practices which (in their view) are relatively ineffective in closing the educational and economic gaps between dominant (majority language) groups and marginalized (minority language) groups in many settings around the world, have identified ideologies which often inform such programs and practices. Methods of analysis used include discourse analysis of both spoken and written language in the communication and reproduction of racism (e.g., van Dijk, 1984), in gender bias (e.g., Corson, 1993), and in the marginalization of language minorities in various contexts (e.g., Tollefson, 1989, 1991). An example of a study which employs a historical analysis in the US context is Wiley and Lukes (1996), who describe three ideologies which, together, inform social and educational policies which tend to marginalize speakers of minority languages in US classrooms. The first is the 'ideology of individualism.' This ideology is evident in research in second language acquisition, which assumes that the variables which are involved in second language acquisition (or the acquisition of a standard variety of a language) are located entirely within the individual. An important effect of this view is that

motivation—and lack thereof—is viewed by practitioners and policy-makers as something an individual has or does not have. A person's class, racial, or linguistic characteristics (achieved or ascribed) are seen as largely irrelevant to his or her motivation or prospects for social mobility. Scholars in second language acquisition (e.g., Norton, 2000) have conducted ethnographic research among immigrant populations and found that learners' identities influence motivation and, ultimately, acquisition of a second language. Rather than viewed as a constant or fixed trait, researchers have shown that identity (and motivation) is a 'contingent process involving dialectic relations between learners and the various worlds and experiences they inhabit and which act on them' (Ricento, 2005, p. 895).

The second ideology described by Wiley and Lukes is the 'ideology of English monolingualism' (in the US context, but it applies to other languages in other polities as well). This ideology reflects the view that language diversity is essentially something imported as a result of immigration. The 'normal' situation in the USA, according to this ideology, is English monolingualism. Thus, a language such as Spanish, which existed within what is now the continental USA prior to and after the declaration of independence from England is characterized as a 'foreign' language rather than an 'American' language, which it demonstrably is. This ideology informs the 25-year-old movement to ban bilingual education programs (with many 'successes' along the way), and federal and state initiatives to declare English as the (only) official language of a state or the USA. Research by Veltman (1983) using US census data from 1940, 1960, and 1970 found a dramatic shift from minority languages to English as evidence that assimilation to virtual English monolingualism was beginning in the second generation and nearly complete by the third generation among immigrant populations in the USA. A number of critical scholars (e.g., Ricento, 2003; Wiley, 1998), using historical and discourse analytic research methods, have shown that the ideology of English monolingualism in the USA was largely achieved during the Americanization movement in the period prior to and immediately following US entry in World War I.

The third ideology is the 'standard language ideology,' which elevates a particular variety of a named language spoken by the dominant social group to a (H)igh status while diminishing other varieties to a (L)ow status (Ferguson, 1972). This variety is claimed (by its speakers) to be more 'logical,' 'efficient,' and 'correct' than most other varieties. The 'standard' variety tends to gain legitimacy through the publication of dictionaries, style sheets, and grammar books which provide usage guides, 'correct' spelling and pronunciation (however, reflecting the fact that no language can be completely standardized, variations for

both spelling and pronunciation are included, thousands of new words are not represented, the meaning of well-attested words often shift, and changes in spelling, grammar, and pronunciation render dictionaries less authoritative than language purists would care to admit). Those who speak other varieties, often referred to as 'bad [English/Spanish/French, etc.],' or 'vulgar,' 'uncivilized,' 'illogical,' and so on are often ascribed other defects in intelligence, behavior, and morality. Speakers of these 'non standard' varieties may suffer discrimination and obstacles in education and employment opportunities simply because they do not command the prestige (standard) variety. The 'cure' for speakers of 'non standard' varieties, according to mainstream educators, is to replace the 'bad' language variety with the 'good' ('standard') variety. While some individuals clearly do have opportunities and the desire to modify their language, those who do not are then blamed for their own failure to 'assimilate' or become acculturated to the mainstream language variety. As Lippi-Green (1997) points out, communication is (at least) a two-way process, requiring good will on the part of both parties in a two-way communication. If a teacher (as seen in the research by Rist earlier), for example, prejudges a person's intelligence and character based on the way they speak, the blame for 'miscommunication' typically resides with the speaker society deems to be deficient. Thus, language minorities are often blamed for their educational failures because of the 'shortcoming' of speaking a variety different from those of higher social and economic class. The claims made by Lippi-Green and many other scholars in recent years are based on findings from sociolinguistic research, including attitudinal measures such as Likert, Matched Guise, and the Semantic Differential techniques, and ethnographic studies in multilingual communities (see Baker, 2006, for discussion of methods used in assessing attitudes toward languages and those who speak them).

Another important contribution to research in language and ideology has come from scholars working in poststructuralist/postmodern paradigms (see Pennycook, 2006 for a discussion of these two terms). While scholars from critical paradigms have tended to invoke categories such as race, class, and ethnicity as crucial in understanding the nature and effects of language policies and practices in educational contexts, scholars working in postmodern paradigms have expressed great skepticism about such categories. Rather, as Pennycook (2006, p. 63) notes, such 'taken-for-granted categories . . . are seen as contingent, shifting, and produced in the particular, rather than having some prior ontological status.' This approach does not discount the fact that racialized and gendered categories are ascribed by others and even taken up by group members themselves, and that such ascribed characteristics are implicitly or explicitly invoked in policies involving

language status, use, or acquisition in educational and other contexts. Rather, postmodern research is concerned (among other things) primarily with the specific ways in which power is exercised and reflected in the discourses of powerful interests. Scholars working within a postmodern framework tend to be skeptical of research which posits particular pedagogical approaches (such as bilingual/mother tongue education) as inherently superior to other approaches, since such approaches can as easily be employed by some groups to maintain social control as can a policy of monolingual instruction (see, e.g., Pennycook, 2000). Postmodern scholars in applied linguistics tend to question the validity and utility of sweeping Grand Narratives (such as those associated with Linguistic Imperialism (Phillipson, 1992)) because such narratives often tend to perpetuate the same ideologies and modernist discourse (e.g., nation state, standard language, mother tongues, discrete ethnic/racial/gender categories, and so on) which have enabled the dominance and domination of European 'imperial' countries in the first place. For researchers, the most important implication of this shift in theory is that structural analyses which, for example, tended to localize the causes of social inequality within institutions, social structures, or ideologies are viewed as being too deterministic in explaining educational failure among language minority populations. Instead, researchers working within postmodern approaches have adopted methodologies, such as Critical Discourse Analysis (van Dijk, 1993), which investigate the ways in which social structures are mediated through discourse and how individuals (re)create and respond to these discourses in their lived (performed) experiences as members of diverse communities with complex identities.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

The critical turn in linguistics and applied linguistics has placed in doubt many of the foundational concepts that have guided research in the language sciences since at least the advent of modern linguistics in the mid-nineteenth century. Perhaps the most fundamental critique has been the questioning of the nature of language itself as a fixed, discrete code, with the corollary (within the Chomskyan framework) of the native speaker who possesses, in his or her brain, the 'rules' necessary to produce and interpret an infinite number of sentences. Critics of the 'autonomy of syntax' paradigm, such as Talbot Taylor (1997), have argued that rather than describing language as it is used, the Chomskyan model is actually a prescriptive model which reflects the more-or-less standard version of the written language. Thus, 'correct' grammar as determined by the intuitions of linguists, reflects the rules of usage and 'grammaticality' of the written standard language of the educated

classes, i.e., the language of the linguists and the language of social power and mobility. In second language contexts, the 'native speaker fallacy' promulgated by Chomsky and his adherents has dominated research in second language acquisition, learning, and teaching for the last 50 years. The ideology of the construct 'native speaker,' the possessor (owner) of the 'correct' language, has elevated the standard varieties of written languages as the only legitimate language in schooling and public life, generally, whereas indigenized varieties of 'world' languages (such as English and French) have often been viewed as inferior or inadequate in comparison. This ideology has helped to perpetuate the dominance of particular varieties of 'standard' languages (such as British and North American English) while casting into doubt the abilities and qualifications of teachers in EFL settings where such varieties of the language are not spoken.

Critical scholars in applied linguistics and related areas have investigated the effects of the ideology of the 'native speaker' along with several other ideologies, on research and practice in various educational contexts. Researchers working in postmodern paradigms, while not disputing the benefits of such critical research, have none the less questioned basic assumptions that have informed such research. That is, received categories such as language, mother tongue, native speaker, and so on, these scholars argue, may help perpetuate some of the very problems and inequalities such research seeks to correct. For example, scholars within a postmodern paradigm have claimed that the very positing of language as a discrete, rule-governed system by linguists and other social scientists is in itself an important result of the modernist project, which has privileged and help promote the hegemony of Western languages, thought and tools of inquiry throughout the world. Terms such as 'standard' and 'non standard' already imply a normative hierarchical framework with regard to language(s) and language varieties. The term 'native speaker' implies there are 'nonnative' speakers, and both terms are rooted in eighteenth century European conceptions of the 'nation,' a group of culturally similar people who speak a common language (whether or not this is actually the case as it very often is not). In this sense, the 'nonnative' speaker is almost by definition a 'foreigner,' an 'outsider,' someone who can never really fully belong to the 'nation.'

Another term of art, 'ethnicity,' needs to be critically examined as well. Glynn Williams (1992) argues that in American sociology, ethnicity became a dichotomized construct of the normative/standard group—a unitary citizenry speaking a common language (us)—and nonnormative/nonstandard groups—including those speaking other languages—(them). This naturalizing of a sociological construct (ethnicity) informs the widely held popular view promoted by Western

scholarship that ‘reasonable’ (modern) people should naturally become part of the culture of the state (or the transnational world) and speak its language, whereas irrational (traditional) people will tend to cling to their ethnic language and culture.

Interesting work has been done to counteract the hegemony of Western ways of ‘knowing’ the world. The articles in Canagarajah (2002) demonstrate how researchers can use local knowledge in diverse settings to understand other cultures in ways that avoid the pitfalls of normative ‘etic’ research. Makoni and Pennycook 2006 argue that Western-based and Western-imposed ideas about language—what it is, how it is represented—help perpetuate imperialist/colonized mentalities in South Africa and in other countries in the developing world. Borrowing from the work of Michel Foucault (1991), Makoni and Pennycook use the term *governmentality* defined as an ‘array of *technologies of government*,’ which can be analyzed in terms of the different strategies, techniques, and procedures by which programs of government are enacted (in Pennycook, 2006, p. 64). Pennycook (2006, p. 65) explains that language governmentality is best understood in terms of ‘how decisions about languages and language forms across a diverse range of institutions (law, education, medicine, printing) and through a diverse range of instruments (books, regulations, exams, articles, corrections) regulate the language use, thought, and action of different people, groups, and organizations.’ A consequence of a governmentality approach is the questioning of grand narratives, which offer totalizing views of the role and effects of languages, such as English, in killing other languages and in homogenizing world culture, and the related claim that languages need protection through regimes of language rights. Such totalizing views, labeled ‘preservationist’ and ‘romanticist’ often assume an ineluctable connection between language and ethnicity (Pennycook, 2006). Pennycook (2006, pp. 68–69) argues that while linguistic imperialism and language-rights discourses ‘operate from different epistemological and political assumptions . . . both operate from within theories of economy, the state, humanity, and politics that have their origins in the grand modernist project.’

Blommaert (2006, p. 249) provides a case study on the limitations of the state to enforce a particular totalizing ideology on a multilingual nation. The attempt by the Tanzanian socialist government to effectuate socialist ideological hegemony through the spread of Swahili failed because of the existence and role of English and local indigenous languages in social life, as well as the persistence of ‘impure’ varieties of Swahili. Blommaert argues that language policy should be seen as a *niched* activity in which, for example, the role of certain actors (such as the state) is limited to specific domains, activities, and relationships, not general ones.

The work of these and many other scholars does not seek to downplay the negative effects of linguistic imperialism nor diminish the possible benefits of a language-rights approach in contexts in which cultures and the languages that express them are threatened; rather, it seeks to problematize assumed causal relations between actors, groups, and language policies which may be empirically unsubstantiated and complicit with the very ideologies and constructs they wish to defeat.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

While the facts and effects of Western imperialism are debated by scholars in applied linguistics and other social sciences, conflicts involving language in education continue unabated in many parts of the world. For example, in the USA the movement to 'protect' English through the passage of official English declarations and constitutional amendments continues to thrive despite the continued global reach of English. In recent years, three states (California, Arizona, and Massachusetts) have passed laws essentially outlawing bilingual education, replacing it with Structured English Immersion. The ideology of English monolingualism has created both long- and short-term problems in the provision of fluent speakers of strategically important languages, such as Arabic, Urdu, Pashto, and Farsi. Despite modest increases in federal spending to promote the learning of strategic languages, the number of students studying these languages, in absolute terms, remains quite low. For example, based on the data on foreign language enrollments in US postsecondary institutions for Fall 2002, compiled by the Modern Language Association, only 10,584 students were reported to be enrolled in Arabic language classes, representing .8% of the total foreign language enrollments. Research on attitudes toward the study of languages in addition to English in schools in the USA, generally, has tended to focus on the perceived economic and social benefits associated with learning and using particular foreign/second languages in various contexts. Critical scholars, using techniques of discourse analysis and historical analysis (e.g., Ricento, 2005b) have argued that immigrant languages in countries such as the USA have generally not survived into the third generation due to many factors, including social pressure for immigrants to assimilate fully to English and American cultural norms. In the European context, Francois Grin (2003) provides a model for evaluating competing language plans for protecting and promoting minority languages relying, in large part, on cost-effectiveness as a criterion for policy selection and design. This approach takes into account a range of variables relevant to language planning and decision-making and can be applied to diverse demographic and sociolinguistic contexts and settings.

Decisions about which language(s) should be used as the medium of instruction or offered as subjects in schools are often contentious and in a state of flux, reflecting changes in local, regional, national, and/or global political conditions. All these factors play a role in Malaysia, where Chinese-medium schools have come under pressure and where a public controversy erupted over a government decision to start teaching mathematics and science in English after twenty years in which they had been taught in Malay.

Another case involving controversies about medium of instruction is in the Republic of Slovakia in which the minority Hungarian population has resisted attempts by the Slovak majority to replace Hungarian mother-tongue education with a Slovak-Hungarian bilingual program (Langman, 2002). Each group is guided by particular ideologies about how the Slovak state should be constructed and the role of language in this process. This is an example in which the histories of various ethnolinguistic groups continue to influence their current aspirations and fears about their status, both within the Republic of Slovakia and also within an expanding European Union. Long memories and fears about absorption and assimilation (by the Hungarians) or about the emergence and realignment of a 'Greater Hungary' in the region (by the Slovaks) has complicated prospects for a solution acceptable to all parties.

There have also been some notable successes in instantiating multilingual language ideologies, however. Egger and Lardschneider McLean (2001) report on a solution to the 'standard' language problem with regard to Ladin in South Tyrol, Italy. Ladin is used primarily as a spoken language (although it is written) and attempts to standardize the many dialects of Ladin into an artificial, common variety have been resisted and perceived as a danger to the survival and vitality of the language. This suggests one way that the ideology of 'standard language,' which privileges one particular variety of a language, while downgrading other varieties deemed to be 'non standard,' can be thwarted. Another example of how a minority language can be revitalized, despite lack of official governmental recognition, exists in the Basque region of France. The Basque language is not officially recognized or supported by the French state (although it does have co-official status with Spanish within the Autonomous Basque Community of Spain (Euskadi)). In the 1960s, a small group of Basque parents in France organized a Basque language preschool. Out of this effort an organization (called 'Seaka,' meaning seed) began coordinating a few community-based Basque-language primary schools, using a model developed in Spain during the Franco era (Paulston and Heidemann, 2006, p. 304). By the end of the 1970s, enrollment had grown from 8 to over 400 students. By 1990, over a dozen schools were operating,

serving 830 students. As the commitment of the Basque community became more widespread, by the year 2000, nearly 2,000 students were enrolled in two dozen Basque-medium schools from preschool to the high-school level.

Another relatively successful attempt to revitalize a threatened minority language concerns the Saami language in Norway. Since the early 1990s, the status of Saami in public schooling has improved dramatically, and it is recognized as a legitimate medium across the curriculum (Todal, 2003). The new attitude toward Saami has come about through a combination of regional political mobilization and the work of international indigenous rights organizations, which helped facilitate 'a new attitude towards conflict solving on the part of the [Norwegian] authorities' (p. 191).

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

One of the most promising areas of research on language, education, and ideology is critical discourse analysis (CDA). The central goal of CDA is to provide 'an account of intricate relationships between text, talk, social cognition, power, society and culture' (van Dijk, 1993, p. 253). Research in CDA is especially concerned with uncovering the implicit arguments and meanings in texts which tend to marginalize nondominant groups, in part by selectively asserting certain attributes, e.g., physical characteristics, cultural beliefs, and behavioral characteristics, among others. Examples of research in CDA relevant to language policies in education are Santa Ana (2002) and Ricento (2005b). More recently, quantitative studies using large text corpora have been conducted allowing researchers to investigate the relative frequency and distribution of words and phrases in large numbers of texts. CDA research has depended, largely, on linguistic analyses of written and spoken texts, uncovering the often implicit meanings which may be different from the explicit claims made by politicians in speeches and legislation on topics such as immigration and affirmative action. CDA, however, has been criticized for this focus on textual analysis at the expense of a deeper and theoretically motivated analysis of society. Another criticism is that not enough attention has been paid to ideas and models developed in cognitive and evolutionary psychology, which could help explain why certain types of exclusionary behavior persist and why the language forms associated with such behavior are so powerful (Chilton, 2005). Despite these (and other) criticisms, CDA offers great promise as a research approach in the analysis of the nature and effects of ideologies on language and education at all levels of society.

**See Also:** James W. Tollefson: *Language Planning in Education (Volume 1)*; Thomas Ricento and Wayne Wright: *Language Policy and Education in the United States (Volume 1)*; Terrence Wiley: *Language Policy and Teacher Education (Volume 1)*; Rebecca Rogers: *Critical Discourse Analysis in Education (Volume 3)*; Ann Williams: *Discourses about English: Class, Codes and Identities in Britain (Volume 3)*; Patricia Duff: *Language Socialization, Participation and Identity: Ethnographic Approaches (Volume 3)*

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## SURVEY METHODS IN RESEARCHING LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION

### INTRODUCTION

What are survey methods? A typical image of a survey is the use of a questionnaire with a large sample of people, and a resulting set of relatively basic statistical analyses. This is too simple. A survey can occur via different techniques: structured and in-depth interviews; structured, semi-structured or systematic observation; content analysis of documents as well as by questionnaires. In terms of sampling, a survey can occur with one classroom of students, on large and representative samples of teachers and students, and a country's population (e.g. a National Census).

Surveys are characterized by a structured and systematic collection of data in the form of variables. By nature, a survey is preordinate and reductionist in design, quantitative in analysis, but not always embedded in positivism. This chapter outlines, in practice, the main forms of surveys in language and education, highlighting methods of approach, but particularly surveys that have been influential in education policy-making, education provision and pedagogic practice.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Survey methods in language and education develop from particular historical traditions. Surveys are sometimes wrongly thought of as a product of the twentieth century and emanating from social science. To the contrary, ancient Egyptians, the Romans, the Chinese from the Ming dynasty onwards and the Norman conquerors of Britain conducted surveys. A bureaucratic society typically requires data gathering to administer efficiently, assess the characteristics of the population, and particularly to levy taxes. Hence, first, surveys in education typically derive from information gathering requirements of a bureaucracy.

National censuses are a particularly strong example of such bureaucratic needs. Although censuses have been carried out since Biblical times, regular decennial censuses began in the middle of the nineteenth century. The first language census in Belgium occurred in 1846. Other countries were soon to follow Belgium's lead: Switzerland in 1850, Ireland in 1851, Hungary in 1857, Italy in 1861, Canada in 1871, Austria and Finland in 1880, India and Scotland in 1881, the USA in

1890, Wales in 1891 and Russia in 1897 (Ó Gliasáin, 1996). Other countries have not included language questions in their census (e.g. France) often for political reasons (e.g. to avoid any emphasis on immigrant languages and to diminish debates on the rights of indigenous minorities).

Second, surveys in education derive from the investigation of social, health and economic inequities. The liberal and utilitarian ideology of the nineteenth century encouraged an investigation of social problems that a capitalist market and industrialism had exacerbated. Early surveys of poverty, health and the unemployed heralded in an era where surveys become part of conscience building and profile raising, particularly of forgotten minorities. Surveys of language minorities, including such minorities in education systems, are in this second tradition. This will be exemplified in later sections.

Third, an early development in the use of surveys in language and education derived from the widespread use of attitude scaling techniques. The unidimensional techniques produced by Thurstone and Chave and then by Likert were followed by Guttman's Scalogram analysis, the semantic differential technique and the Matched Guise technique (Garrett, Coupland and Williams, 2003). Once methodological tools for measuring attitudes were in vogue, their application to language surveys was quickly recognized. One influence on the style of language surveys relating to education has been the availability of a recognized social psychological methodology.

Early work in this fourth tradition concerned attitudes to language groups, attitudes to a language itself, attitudes to the features and uses of a language, attitudes to learning a language, attitudes to bilingual education and attitudes to language preference and policy (Baker, 1992; Garrett, Coupland and Williams, 2003). Such early work can be characterized as measuring attitudes to language with implicit rather than explicit theorization, unidimensional measurement, simple bivariate relationships, with more concern for internal reliability than validity (Baker, 1992). Small-scale, unrepresentative sampling and a lack of understanding of the complex relationship between attitudes and behaviour were also the weaknesses of this early work. Although there is plentiful advice on random, cluster and quota sampling (e.g. Fink, 2003; Fowler, 2001), there remains a tendency in local research to ignore sampling procedures and depend on convenience sampling with a consequent limited generalization of results.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

One major contribution in survey methods in researching language and education has been in the internationally widespread use of language

questions within national censuses. Language census analyses provide essential information in the politics, policy-making and provision of education. Knowledge of the location and size of language groups aids planning, particularly when there are local or regional analyses. Using census data, geographers map the proportion (density), numerical size and location of minority language speakers and communities (Williams, 2004).

Both language activists and education administrators may determine needs for educational provision based on such 'age by language' census tabulations. Language activists will use such language census results to demand more bilingual education (Scott and Ní Bhaóill, 2003). Administrators may decide, for example, on the supply of teachers for such language minority indigenous and immigrant populations (e.g. bilingual teachers and English language teachers).

Language information from a census is often conceptualized by central bureaucracy as a measure of outcome. A census provides a performance indicator of success as to whether policies with regard to language in schools have been effective or not. For example, in regions where there has been high immigration (e.g. USA), the stated degree of fluency in the majority language (e.g. English) is intended to provide a performance indicator of educational policies that may have aimed at assimilation, integration, or the maintenance of language minorities.

US census data is used by states and counties to benchmark and measure progress in meeting their objectives and legislatively mandated targets (e.g. in English language spread among immigrants). Given the role of education in fostering English among US immigrants, such census data become directly relevant to educational policy-making (for linguistic information from the United States 2000 Census, see: <http://www.census.gov/> and <http://www.usefoundation.org/foundation/research/lia/>).

In Wales, the decennial census is regarded as the key indicator of the relative success of government policy on bilingual education, even though the equation of language shift and revival is highly complex (<http://www.bwrdd-yr-iaith.org.uk/>).

The analysis of national census data impinging on education has become relatively sophisticated (e.g. in Canada, USA, Wales, Scotland, Ireland and Australia). For example, the mapping of language shift indicates change across censuses and not just a snapshot picture in one particular year. The use of statistical approaches, such as cluster analysis and multiple regression, can provide clarity in major trends to avoid a mass of descriptive statistical analyses. The linguistic detail and interpretation from censuses in Venezuela (Oficina Central de Estadística e Informática, 1993) and Bolivia (Riester et al., 1995) are particularly noteworthy.

However, with all language census data there are typically many limitations and weaknesses: e.g. ambiguous questions that do not differentiate between use and proficiency; no reference to language across different domains; oracy tending to be accented rather than literacy with infrequent specification of the four abilities of understanding, speaking, reading and writing; answers that reflect identity as well as language, positioning as well as practice (Baker, 2006).

A major breakthrough in describing the variety of languages and dialects in schools, revealing the strengths of community languages and cultures, was by the Linguistic Minorities Project (1985) in London and various urban areas of England. Through an attractive and innovative cartoon-like questionnaire, this project documented the hitherto unknown extent of bilingualism in schools in key urban areas of England. This project also surveyed the provision of minority language teaching in both mainstream and community-run schools and classes. More recently, a survey of 850,000 children in London schools revealed the presence of over 300 different languages (Baker and Eversley, 2000). Since no language questions are included in England in the decennial national census, such surveys provide important information and intelligence gathering that impacts on education provision and policy. At the least, such surveys raise the profile of low status, forgotten language minorities and their educational needs.

In the USA, a pioneering survey of public opinion was performed by Huddy and Sears (1990). They used a telephonic-interview survey of a US national sample of 1,170 people and found that the majority of the public in the mid-1980s tended to be favourable towards bilingual education, although a substantial minority opposed bilingual education. The amount of parental and public support that exists for different forms of bilingual education is important in participative democratic societies, as bilingual education is often both an educational and a political key topic (Crawford, 2004; Krashen, 1996).

Krashen (1999) provides a wide-ranging review of the US public opinion surveys regarding bilingual education. In polls that have attempted to ask a representative sample of people, approximately two-thirds of the public are in favour of bilingual education. However, considerable differences in public opinion polls occur because questions differ considerably (e.g. how bilingual education is defined). Leading questions that hint at the preferred or desirable answer, and the ambiguity of what respondents perceive as bilingual education, clearly have an effect on results. When questions are phrased so that bilingual education includes proficiency in the English language, then generally there is a consensus support for bilingual education.

The discussion in this section so far has concerned one major aspect of survey work, that of measuring public opinion, fact finding and

information provision. However, there is opposition to this approach. The harvesting of opinions and the description of the characteristics of the population has been anathema to some sociologists, psychologists, linguists and educationalists who are critical of a lack of theoretical foundation to such surveys (Garrett, Coupland and Williams, 2003). Such authors argue that the interpretation of survey data best avoids simplistic reporting and a superficial commentary on the findings. Rather, deeper and wider understandings come from interpretation that uses sociolinguistic, sociological and psychological theories.

Despite these criticisms, there is a place within a democracy, not for mob rule by opinion poll, but for the views of the majority being counted and represented. Such democratically surveyed public opinions can be balanced against the individual views of those elected and pressure groups and persuasionists (e.g. crusading academics, interest groups, language activists and educational campaigners). Factual and opinion surveys have moved from a nineteenth century idea of an informant to the psychological idea of a respondent, and recently to framing the person answering the questions as a citizen within a democracy. In this sense, the survey becomes a polling situation, a collection of votes, a raising of the profile of those who are neglected by the elected. Such surveys may aid the recognition of language minorities and their needs in education. However, within language and education, surveys can become an intelligence gathering for a centralized ruling class who use the information for manipulation and control. However, this is a criticism of government and not of surveys.

Language surveys from a different tradition to censuses do commence from an explicit theoretical basis (Garrett, Coupland and Williams, 2003). For example, using theoretical work on the relationship between attitudes and behaviour, or employing theories of attitude change, attitudes to language can be put in a multivariate, interactive and developmental theoretical framework. One example is research that seeks to establish a probabilistic and interactive, but not deterministic, set of relationships between individual characteristics, schooling, language background, forms of cultural activity, language ability and attitude to language (Baker, 1992). Though reductionist in approach, a statistical modelling of language attitude data attempts to uncover weaker and stronger relationships and, at its basis, a finer insight into what support systems are required within formal and informal education to maintain a minority language.

This more theoretically derived approach in language surveys originates particularly from the pioneering work of Robert Gardner and colleagues in Canada (Gardner, 1985). It culminated in his socio-educational model that interrelates social and cultural background,

intelligence, language aptitude, motivation and attitude, situational anxiety, formal and informal language learning and bilingual proficiency.

A second theoretical input into survey research is from language maintenance, language shift, social networks and language reproduction. A particularly fine example is Ó Riagáin's (1992) survey based on in-depth interviews with 150 adults in West Kerry, Ireland. His study relates bilingualism in Ireland to extensive socio-economic transformations that have occurred in Ireland this century, with the theoretical input of Pierre Bourdieu particularly influential in analysis and interpretation.

A third theoretical influence on language and education surveys derives from language planning (Baker, 2006). Given the foundational nature in language maintenance and language revitalization of language transmission in the family and language production via schooling, language use surveys examine the extent of language uptake across key domains. A European-wide example of this kind of survey research is the Euromosaic Project. Based on the research on 48 language minorities in Western Europe, the first Euromosaic Report (European Commission, 1996) provided a comprehensive and comparative study of the chances of language survival and reproduction among many European language minorities, with language acquisition and production theoretically and analytically prominent (Martí et al., 2005). In 1999, Austria, Finland and Sweden were added to Euromosaic II and ten new member states of the European Union were added in September 2004 as Euromosaic III (<http://www.uoc.edu/euromosaic/web/homean/index1.html>).

The Euromosaic research used a combination of national questionnaires, detailed observational reports from 'key language witnesses' and eight detailed language surveys. Included in the 40 language-planning dimensions were several relating to language education and illustrating variety in language domains:

Dimension 9.

- (a) Use of language in education in primary and secondary education
  - (i) As a medium of instruction
  - (ii) As a subject itself
  - (iii) The history and culture surrounding the language
  - (iv) Provision of teachers, schools and curriculum materials
- (b) Use of language in further, vocational, technical, adult, continuing and higher education.

Dimension 10. Literacy and biliteracy of the language group

Dimension 11. Provision of language learning classes for in-migrants.

The 40 dimensions were then collapsed into seven central language-planning themes: language reproduction in the family, language

production and reproduction in the community, language production and reproduction through education, the value of language for social mobility, relevance of language in cultural reproduction, legitimization (e.g. legal status, language rights) and institutionalization. European language minorities were then contrasted and compared on these themes, revealing different levels of language maintenance, revitalization or decay.

Another trend in recent decades has been in survey sampling. One of the early patterns of research was small-scale survey work. Not only were samples often small, but use of random selection and stratification in sampling was typically missing or inadequate. For example, Jones (1949, 1950) used small and unrepresentative samples (129 students and 211 students, respectively) allowing little generalization of findings. In comparison, the monumental 5-year study, the Committee on Irish Language Attitudes and Research (CILAR, 1975), drew-up a stratified random sample for interview in a ratio of 13 respondents per 10,000 members of the Irish population. Another comparison is the sampling technique used in language surveys by Von Gleich and Wölck (1994) in Peru. Entitled a 'community profile', Von Gleich and Wölck (1994) use local 'guides' to gain information on, for example, the occupational, political, educational, religious, communication and residential organization of a community. Such information enables the social structure of a community to be more fully represented in the sample to be interviewed.

Small-scale sample survey work is especially justified when there is an intensity of investigation. For example, a highly detailed, longitudinal consideration of changes in language use among children across domains may require continuous observation in just one school or community. Such small-scale research is also of value where no generalization beyond the sample is expected or required (e.g. in local policy-making).

This is where the margins of survey work merge with techniques such as systematic observation and ethnography. A similar borderline area, this time between surveys and experiments, is the use of the Matched Guise Technique (Garrett, Coupland and Williams, 2003) to infer attitudes to language varieties (e.g. evaluation of different accents among schoolchildren). Other areas that involve surveys, but also use a psychometric and experimental style, include research on language-learning preferences in school, reasons for learning a language, styles of language teaching, and parent's language attitudes. These are reviewed by Gardner (1985) and Baker (1992).

A further development in survey work in language and education has been the use of surveys to measure language performance and achievement in school. Language surveys in schools in the 1980s and 1990s

were predominantly focused on curriculum content and curriculum evaluation (e.g. Baker and Griffith, 1983; Baker and Williams, 1993; Johnson, 1987). Recently such surveys have particularly studied standards, performance monitoring, high-stakes testing, benchmarking, and target setting (Abedi, 2004). With a focus on quality assurance and quality enhancement, benchmarks and baselines enable comparisons and accent the need for an upward spiral in centralist-defined educational standards. Language performance surveys enable comparisons across time, across countries, states and counties, across types of school and language groups with the spotlight on performance enhancement, reaching standards of international comparability, raising the performance of individual schools and regions and locating the 'value-added' contribution that particularly effective schools display in first and second language achievement.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Language surveys have global and continuous usage. There are continued examples of language censuses on all continents, at national, regional and local levels. For example, In Asia, every 3 years the Japan Foundation conducts a questionnaire survey of overseas organizations offering Japanese-language courses to obtain an accurate picture of the current state of Japanese-language teaching around the world (e.g. Japan Foundation, 2003).

A sociolinguistic survey of Singapore is investigating language use to inform educational as well as language planning. Using qualitative and the quantitative approaches, the survey is collecting information on language use across major domains as well as data on code switching (Vaish, 2007).

The status of the many European majority and minority languages is regularly debated in Europe, particularly in attempted moves towards increased national co-operation and partnerships. The Eurobarometer surveys are symbolic of a drive to celebrate the diversity of European languages. For example, the European Union's (2001) Eurobarometer Survey of 15,900 people throughout Europe found that 93% of parents say it is important for their children to learn one or more European languages other than the mother tongue. Improving job opportunities is given as the main reason (by 74% of parents).

The Council of Europe (2005–2007) is funding a Europe-wide survey of community language learning (language minorities). In particular, this focuses on school-age children learning a minority language at school or in their community (e.g. Saturday schools, religious classes in the synagogue, temple and mosque). Such endeavours are either funded by educational authorities or derive from voluntary language

education. Across Europe, this is an innovative attempt to document the number of languages being transmitted through language education, the numbers and distribution of those children, the length and intensity of language learning, the curriculum approaches taken, availability of materials and resources, the training of language teachers, and the outcomes of such language education.

Attitudes to language and to language education are still prominent in research. Such attitude surveys in, for example, Brittany and Wales (Cole and Williams, 2004), Flanders (Belgium) (Dewaele, 2005) and the Basque Country (Spain) (Aiestaran and Baker, 2004; Echeverria, 2005) continue with a widening theoretical base. Thus, Aiestaran and Baker (2004) connect attitudes with a multidimensional model of language change and use latent variables and structural equation modelling in multivariate analyses. Different forms and experiences of language education are related to language attitudes. Dewaele (2005) explores the relationships between language attitudes in high-school students and personality, gender, language competence, political-cultural identity and communicative frequency of the use of French and English.

Attitude to trilingualism and multilingualism is a recent trend (Extra and Yagmur, 2004; Lasagabaster, 2004, 2005a, b; Turunen, 2001). Working in the Basque context, Lasagabaster (2004) has moved from attitudes to English as a third language to attitudes to three languages taken separately (Basque, Spanish and English), to attitudes to three languages as a holistic, multicompetent, integrated, additive entity (Lasagabaster, 2005a, b). This latter view is represented in an attitude item such as 'people can earn more money if they speak Basque, Spanish and English' (Lasagabaster, 2005a, p. 50).

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Surveys are generally surrounded by a series of criticisms and limitations. At one level, there are philosophically based criticisms such as surveys cannot establish causal connections between variables; they are incapable of uncovering meaningful aspects of social action; people's opinions are not socially or politically contextualized and therefore are capable of being misunderstood; surveys assume that human action is determined by external forces and neglect the role of human consciousness, intentions and understandings as important sources of action; surveys follow ritualistic methodological rules and lack of imagination or depth of penetration in understanding; theoretical input is implicit rather than explicit; only the trivial and superficial is measured, and the construction of surveys fails to penetrate the meanings and understandings of a people who are surveyed but rather arranges answers to fit a conceptualization that is essentially that of the researcher.

Pavlenko (2002) provides a critique of such socio-psychological studies of language. She argues that in a post-structuralist approach, language attitudes are replaced by language ideologies that are seen as more socially and culturally derived, ever-developing and not static, and capable of being criticized and changed. For example, saying that someone has an integrative attitude to Irish may imply a relatively stable trait that is individually derived and owned. Instead, it is possible to depict that person's language identity as related to political, cultural, social and economic ideologies surrounding Irish that are ever-changing and fluid, and open to challenge and conflict. Language attitudes thus become part of larger societal processes and ideologies that can be examined for bias, racism, discrimination and oppression. The psychological is merged with the political. A relatively stable and separate variable (attitude) is a part of a multiple and dynamic scenario (identity construction) that allows second language acquisition to have individual, group and societal dimensions.

In addition, Pavlenko (2002) suggests that language survey research tends not to offer insight into the social and political origins of attitudes. Such assumes that cause-effect is stable and in one direction whereas social contexts and attitudes/motivation constantly shape and influence each other. Individual differences are socially constructed with variations across communities and cultures, and there is a tendency in such research to relate to wholesome, agreeable contexts whereas: 'In reality, no amount of motivation can counteract racism and discrimination, just as no amount of positive attitude can substitute for access to linguistic resources such as educational establishments' (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 281).

There are many technique-based criticisms of surveys within language and education that overlap with the ideological critique. Among the criticisms are the following: surveys are inadequately designed and piloted; the questions are ambiguous, sometimes leading, have in-built social desirability or prestige biases in answers; the questions themselves can create artificial opinions; little evidence is given for reliability or validity; surveys are often unpiloted; there is an over-reliance on single item measurement; the data provide a quick snapshot but no film of interaction and language life; samples are often small and unrepresentative; surveys often lack clear aims with key concepts not being clarified; answer categories insufficiently discriminate between different sensitivities; the interviewer or researcher has an effect on responses; the physical setting of the research and the 'season' in which research is carried out affects responses; evidence is attenuated to simple categorization and a number system, and ahistorical accounts of issues are presented.

There are also criticisms of the way language is conceived in surveys. A full investigation of language use across a wide variety of domains is rarely presented, including the different domains in schooling. Instead, the many language domains are reduced to a few attenuated dimensions. Thus contextual use of language tends to be aggregated to a small number of categories, or in the case of a census, often to merely speaking that language or not. Language census questions sometimes fail to distinguish between use of language and ability in language, and fail to distinguish the various sub-skills of language ability (e.g. listening, speaking, reading and writing). In such local and national surveys, questions about home language, mother tongue, first language, second language and official language are often ambiguous and distant from the respondent.

### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Within language and education, the methodological pendulum has partly swung towards a preference for qualitative, ethnographic and phenomenological types of approach. Although quantitative approaches have been much criticized within the study of language and education, it is unlikely that they will disappear. As this chapter has presented, survey work in language education lends itself to two movements.

The first movement is the requirement of central government, local government, local education authorities and interest groups to acquire factual information about populations, as well as opinions. Thus, the use of national, local and small-scale census-type language surveys is likely to continue. Such surveys provide language group profiles, collect votes, as well as reveal facts about who speaks what language, where and to whom. Thus, as one part of the information collection procedure of a democracy, and as part of the current consumerism ideology, being responsive to public opinion is expected and respected.

The second movement, particularly concerned with surveying attitudes, has tended to become more theoretical, using more complex multivariate statistical techniques. On the other hand, the prominence of this approach as a major topic in language and education has decreased since the heyday of the 1980s. With major theoretical and research studies having been accepted, replicated, and mostly validated, the discernible movements in the future appear to be in methodology rather than theory (e.g. use of WWW for survey work; student surveys within universities and colleges being electronically generated, completed and analyzed).

One continuously important area appears to be language surveys that measure the performance of children in schools to allow comparisons

between institutions and over time (e.g. high-stakes testing). One perspective derives from those assimilationists who are concerned with the performance in the majority language (e.g. in USA and Britain, there is political concern about high standards of oracy and literacy in English). Another perspective comes from those concerned with the preservation, partly by bilingual education, of a minority language. Both assimilationist and maintenance policies seek information about language performance and language under-achievement to ensure politics and policies are effective. In an increasingly competitive economic world, there is also a need for 'foreign' language competence surveys to ensure strength in trading languages (e.g. attainment in Arabic, Spanish and Mandarin). Such 'foreign language competence surveys' could become the research focus of many future surveys in language and education.

**See Also:** *Kate Menken: High-Stakes Tests as de facto Language Education Policies (Volume 7); Tim McNamara: The Socio-political and Power Dimensions of Tests (Volume 7); Anne Lazaraton: Utilizing Qualitative Methods for Assessment (Volume 7); Bernard Spolsky: Investigating Language Education Policy (Volume 10)*

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## RESEARCHING LANGUAGE LOSS AND REVITALIZATION

### INTRODUCTION

Language loss refers to a societal or individual loss in use or in the ability to use a language, implying that another language is replacing it. It is a very common phenomenon world-wide wherever languages are in contact. Language loss may be the result of subtractive bilingualism where a new language is learnt at the cost of the mother tongue (Lambert, 1974), or it can be seen as the choice of a person who believes that ceasing to use a lower-status mother tongue will result in a better position in society or in higher prospects for the next generation. While this type of shift is often framed as “speaker’s choice,” we can question if this kind of choice is really “free” as it is strongly influenced by unequal power relations between languages and language groups (Dorian, 1993).

The issue of language loss on a large scale, ultimately leading to the extinction of entire languages, was brought to a wider audience by Krauss (1992) more than a decade ago. According to his estimates, only 600 languages, that is, fewer than 10% of the languages spoken today, have good chances of surviving until the year 2100. One of the factors counteracting this trend is the corresponding efforts at language revitalization. Efforts to bring back and strengthen small and threatened languages are being carried out today on all continents and under varying circumstances. This chapter provides a short description of previous and on-going research on these issues as well as special questions and problems connected to this kind of research.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS AND MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS: LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND LOSS

The field of language maintenance, loss, shift, and revitalization, on individual as well as societal levels, is highly interdisciplinary, drawing from linguistics, sociology, education, psychology, anthropology, political science, and other fields as well. During the first decades of study, until the 1950s and 1960s, a distinct emphasis was put on the language loss and shift aspect, largely neglecting its opposite: language

maintenance and revitalization. Explicit revitalization movements such as they manifest themselves today—and research on such movements—were rare at that time. Up through the 1970s, researchers generally expected that minority languages would disappear in due course. This was regarded as a natural development and people engaged in language maintenance efforts were often considered to be backward-looking romantics, political separatists, or unrealistic idealists (cf. Dorian, 1998; Fishman, 1992). Minority languages were seldom associated with economic or political power and therefore they were considered as having no future. In immigrant communities, individuals were mainly perceived to be concerned with learning the majority language of the host country, while the original language often lost importance or was taken for granted by its speakers.

In his classic 1953 work, Weinreich laid the foundation for the scholarly study of language contact. He defined language shift as “the change from the habitual use of one language to that of another” (p. 68) and went on to ask “whether interference ever goes so far as to result in a language shift?” While placing substantial focus on language contact and interference, Weinreich emphasized that language shift was rather motivated by language-external factors than by language-internal ones, and recommended that language shift be studied in terms of the functions of the languages in society (e.g., in communication with authorities, at school, in the home). He also recommended studies on the order in which languages shifted in their functions and whether shift in one function brings about shift in others. Weinreich also discussed the effects of what he called “language loyalty” in counteracting language shift and noted that many languages with low prestige had managed to resist threatening shifts for long periods.

An early study by Haugen (1953) focused on language loss and shift among Norwegian speakers in the USA. He described language use and linguistic attitudes prevailing among Norwegian-Americans in the homes and in religious life, and the impact of English on Norwegian dialects. He also noted a gradual emergence of an opposition towards the rapid language shift to English taking place within the community. Haugen described a typical process of language shift as a series of stages all the way from monolingualism in language A (the minority language) through three bilingual stages to monolingualism in language B (the majority language):

$$A > Ab > AB > aB > B$$

Bilingualism during this process is characterized as a gradual shift from minority language dominance (Ab) through equal competence in both languages (AB) to majority language dominance (aB) leading finally to the loss of the minority language (B).

A third scholar, Joshua Fishman, also had a strong impact in this field. His early work, *Language Loyalty in the United States* (1966), focused on the support among immigrant groups for language maintenance efforts. Ever since his early research, Fishman has strived to describe and analyze the feelings and positions of linguistically and culturally endangered groups and has stood in favor of language maintenance efforts in research and in practice.

In the 1970s, sociologically oriented studies were carried out in various language communities. For instance, in Sweden, sociologist Magdalena Jaakkola (1973) detailed the strictly diglossic situation in Tornedalen in the 1960s, which was gradually paving the way to a language shift from Finnish to Swedish. Finnish was widely used by parents and elders, while the stigma attached to Tornedalen Finnish during almost a century of overt assimilation policies contributed to the common pattern of parents and grandparents speaking Swedish to their children and grandchildren.

A well known study on language death in a community was carried out by anthropologist Susan Gal (1979), who showed how industrialization and urbanization contributed to language loss and shift among Hungarian-speakers in Oberwart, Austria. As in the Swedish context mentioned above, in Oberwart there was a long history of societal Hungarian-German bilingualism. When industrialization gained importance in Oberwart, the status of Hungarian declined as it was associated with peasant life. This led to a language shift from Hungarian to German, starting with the young generation.

Another very influential work on societal language loss and death was linguist Nancy Dorian's (1981) study of a Scots Gaelic community in East Sutherland. Although a stigmatized, lower prestige variety, Gaelic had a strong covert prestige among its speakers as the sign of group loyalty and fisherman identity. A large-scale language shift from Gaelic to English started when the importance of fishing declined and the segregation of the Gaelic-speaking population in society eased.

The studies by Jaakkola, Dorian, and Gal reflect the importance of the status of minority languages and the status of the groups speaking the language as perceived by the speakers themselves, as well as by the surrounding society. If maintaining a certain language is perceived as a sign of backwardness, poverty, or lack of formal education, shift to the dominant language is easily seen as the best option. For immigrant minorities, this kind of option, often resulting in the loss of the original language, may appear as the only way to go, especially in a situation where immigrant parents are not informed of the possibility of bilingualism. Wong Fillmore (1991) describes how young children in the USA speaking a minority language at home, rapidly lost

their first language when they started preschool in the USA. Learning the new language was seen as a first priority, and the younger the children were when coming into contact with English, the sooner they started losing their original language.

Through the 1980s and 1990s, language loss gained increased scholarly attention. Greater focus was given to the context in which language loss took place, and there was a shift to more detailed, descriptive, and anthropologically oriented studies. By interviewing groups of Saami about their language choices and attitudes in their lives decade by decade, Aikio (1988) described in detail a case of Saami language shift in Finland. Kulick (1992) studied the shift from the local language Taiap Mer to Tok Pisin in a New Guinea village where contact with Europeans changed local ideas about cultural identity and where parental language socialization patterns favored language shift. Norberg (1996) showed in her study on language choice and language attitudes in a Low Sorbian village in former Eastern Germany that a political change favoring cultural maintenance was not able to halt the continuing language shift to German. In these studies, as in several earlier ones, educational and employment opportunities, marriage patterns, or migration contributed to language shift, but views and attitudes towards one's own culture and their impact on language choice patterns in individual homes were given greater focus.

In spite of an increasing number of detailed studies on language shift and loss, the language itself was rarely focused on. An early and important work focusing more on linguistic analysis, for instance, stylistic flexibility, vocabulary, and grammatical structures was *Investigating Obsolescence* edited by Dorian (1989). In her introduction, Dorian observed that this area of research was still largely lacking consistent terminology and devices to measure progression in language obsolescence, contraction, and death. The volume contains a large variety of data, illustrating linguistic change in declining speech communities. This collection together with a growing number of other case studies in this field have shown that language obsolescence is, in Dorian's words, "what we look to now for clues to organizational principles in language and in cognition generally" (p. 2).

#### RECENT AND CURRENT WORK: LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION

Some of the contributions included in Dorian's (1989) volume on language obsolescence, and many other studies as well demonstrate the persistence of minority language speakers to maintain their languages against seemingly overwhelming odds. This kind of persistence, often

regarded with surprise and even suspicion by some nonmembers, is a common feature in the context of community-based language maintenance and revitalization. Studies on language shift typically address situations where subordinate languages give way to more powerful and prestigious ones in a minority/majority constellation, while in language revitalization the process is slowed down or halted, and former subordinate languages rise in status and prestige.

Many revitalization efforts are connected with ethnic revival movements present in many parts of Europe and elsewhere since the 1960s, but also with many nationalistic movements in the 19th and 20th centuries. In the earlier cases, subordinate languages were not necessarily endangered at all, as for instance in the case of Norwegian in Norway and Finnish in Finland in the 19th century, but they were lacking in prestige and political power. In both the Norwegian and Finnish movements, the goal was to enhance the status of subordinate languages, while earlier nationalist movements typically promoted monolingualism and monoculturalism. Modern ethnic revival movements most often promote multilingualism and the idea of several cultures living side by side.

Ethnic revival has meant a new pride in formerly stigmatized languages and identities. In many parts of the world, ethnic movements started when the indigenous and minority languages were already seriously endangered, and the revitalization of the language was often seen as a crucial part of the overall ethnic revival. For instance, Stordahl (1997) observes in the Norwegian Sámi movement in the 1970s, that part of the movement was transforming the image of the Sámi language from that of a “dying language” to a “mother tongue” (p. 146).

Revitalization is commonly understood as giving new life and vigor to a language which has been steadily decreasing in use. It can be seen as a reversal of an ongoing language shift (cf. Fishman, 1991), or it can be regarded as “positive language shift,” denoting the process of reclaiming an endangered language by its speakers. As King (2001) has observed, it is “possible to conceptualize language shift as positive or negative, referring to either the gain or loss of a group’s language, and thus encompassing all societal-level processes of language change” (p. 12). This view is especially useful when trying to describe the often contradictory tendencies present in many language contact situations. The revitalization process is hardly ever unidirectional; both assimilation and conscious revitalization within the minority group take place side by side (Lindgren, 2000, p. 43). [Table 1](#) illustrates this tension by using two columns: the left one consists of various stages of (negative) language shift and loss (taken from Baker and Prys Jones (1998, p. 151)), and the right one consists of corresponding hypothetical stages of language revitalization.

Table 1

| Language shift and loss   | Language revitalization   |
|---|---|
| ←   | ←   |
| Speakers of language A come into contact with language B.   | Bilingualism in language A and B is seen as a merit on the labor market and in society at large.  |
| Language B is spoken by a socially, economically, and/or politically dominant group.  | The status of language A continues to rise among its speakers and in society at large. Language A is introduced in local administration and the media.  |
| Over time speakers of language A become bilingual in language B.  | The need of strong models of bilingual education (immersion or minority language medium education) arises within the group.                             |
| Language B becomes the preferred means of communication for an increasing number of language functions.                       | Bilingualism in language A and B is seen as an obtainable and desirable goal within the group.  |
| Gradually, younger speakers of language A lose fluency in their native language.  | A growing number of adults use the language on various occasions and the language is taught as a subject in school.                                     |
| Language B becomes the preferred language of the younger child-bearing generation and most of them speak it to their parents. | Consciousness about the risk of losing language A altogether spreads within the population and some parents make efforts to use it with their children. |
| Eventually, no children are raised to speak language A.   | Some individuals make efforts to raise the status of language A and relearn it.   |
| By this time only a few adult native speakers of language A are left. As these grow older and die, language A dies out.       | An interest in language A and a will to save it is born among some of its speakers or those who have lost it.   |
| →   | →   |

Up in the left column we have a monolingual situation where only minority language A is used. A process of gradual language shift towards the dominant language B takes place and down in the left column language A is seriously weakened or lost. At the bottom of the right column some individuals or local groups however, have revalorized their original

language; a revitalization movement is born and eventually it gains acceptance. All group members are not of the same opinion, and phenomena belonging to the left column are present in some parts of the community. If the revitalization movement reaches the final stage up the right column, the crucial question is whether societal and individual support for language A has grown strong enough to counteract the assimilatory factors also present—otherwise there is a risk that left column tendencies take over again. As bilingualism (in the situation up in the right column) has become widespread and monolingual speakers of A are rare if not nonexistent, the process of language shift and loss might even turn out to be quicker and easier than earlier.

Since the 1990s, there has been more research on endangered languages and attention to the need to contribute to their survival, as well as discussion of critical issues. (Crystal, 2000; Grenoble and Whaley, 1998; Hinton and Hale, 2001; Nettle and Romaine, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). Researchers and practitioners have presented examples of what could be done and has been done in order to curb language decline. Across several areas of research, one of the driving questions has been why some languages survive and others do not. Also, what are the factors that are most relevant when explaining what affects language maintenance and loss. Many attempts have been made to pinpoint the most relevant factors and the ways in which they interact (e.g., Crawford, 2000; Crystal, 2000; Edwards, 1991; Fishman, 1991; Stiles, 1997), although no conclusive, predictive framework exists.

A major advance in this direction was Fishman's *Reversing Language Shift. Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages* (1991), the first large-scale attempt to construct a theory of language revitalization. He presented a Graded Intergenerational Dislocation Scale (GIDS), a model assigning languages stages from one to eight, with the larger figures implying a more intensive disruption of the normal situation, a "more severe or fundamental threat to the prospects for the language to be handed on intergenerationally" (Fishman, 1991, p. 87). Stage 8, the most threatened position, implies that the language is only used by some scattered, socially isolated old people, while at stage 1, cultural autonomy has been reached, with the language used in higher education and government as well as in the media nationwide. As can be seen in the name Fishman has given his typology, he regards intergenerational transmission as the crucial factor in language shift reversal without which all other efforts are futile in the long run.

While acknowledging the importance of intergenerational transmission of minority languages (as emphasized by Fishman and others), many researchers and practitioners engaged in grassroots revitalization

see education as a powerful agent of revitalization (e.g., McCarty, 2002; Stiles, 1997). The introduction of an endangered language in preschool and later education is expected to compensate for the typical lack of speakers among children and youth. Several recent studies around the world suggest, however, that revitalizing languages through schools is by no means an uncomplicated endeavor; even in circumstances where general attitudes towards the original language are becoming more and more favorable and the schools are officially expected to pay special attention to linguistic and cultural revitalization, the results often remain modest (Hornberger, 2007; Huss, Camilleri, and King, 2003; King, 2001; Todal, 2002). The schools might succeed in producing pupils with second language skills in the endangered language, but the problem remains how to go further and increase the number of pupils with high enough competence to maintain the language in the long run and, at best, to transmit it to their own children.

#### PROBLEMS, DIFFICULTIES AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

##### *From "Neutral Research" to Advocacy*

Since the early 1990s, there has been active debate on the role of the researcher in maintenance, loss, and revitalization research. The central question was whether the researcher should (or even could) maintain a "neutral" position, observing and describing the endangered language and accepting its imminent death as natural. Or whether it was legitimate (or even desirable) that researchers become engaged in actively assisting the community in their language maintenance efforts. The latter position is gaining ground and scholars today are moving towards advocacy, some of them seeing the extinction of the world's languages as serious a thing as the diminishing of biological diversity (Maffi, 2001; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). However, what has been described "responsible linguistics," "reformed linguistics," or "preventive linguistics" may still be subject to suspicion and negative labeling (e.g., Edwards, 2002; Mufwene, 2006; Newman, 2003).

In considering the changing role of researchers in language revitalization, it is important to stress the need of the endangered language communities to form and steer their own language revitalization movements in order to gain lasting results. Outside scholars and "experts," however, are often welcomed and needed by the groups concerned, but they should limit their role to that of additional contributors to already existing movements and efforts. The revitalization of a formerly underprivileged language is much more than the mere saving of the threatened language; in fact it aims at empowering the speakers

by giving them greater self-respect and self-sufficiency vis-à-vis the majority society. In this way, revitalization can be seen as the emancipation of the minority language as well as the identity attached to it, leading to the integration of the minority into the surrounding society on more equal terms than before. As in all emancipation efforts, the strength must come from inside the group, not outside.

### *Defining “Success” Versus “Failure” in Language Revitalization*

A special difficulty connected to research on language revitalization concerns defining when a revitalization movement has been successful and when not. Which criteria should be used to assess the outcome, and who should have the right to choose the criteria? Different revitalization movements may have very different goals and also different ways of defining their own success or failure. In the case of extremely endangered or even moribund languages, the goal of documenting the language and promoting conversational competence in it might well be sufficient, while in other cases, the promoters of a language might aim higher, for instance at promoting literacy in the language through school education (Reyhner, 1999).

Another question is whether we can really assess the outcome by studying the situation as it is at a certain point of time, without knowing, and wisely refraining from guessing, what will happen in the future? There are cases with a strong long-term tendency pointing towards language death when the situation suddenly alters and a new, opposite tendency appears. There are even cases where a language which has not been spoken by anybody in decades is revived and taken into use in some domains (Amery, 2000). Similarly, a linguistic revitalization movement might experience a backlash and die out, without ever attracting wider circles.

### *Collaboration Between Researchers and Revitalists*

Some conferences and workshops held during the last few decades in the field of language endangerment and revitalization have shown that close links have been established between researchers from various countries on one hand and between researchers and practitioners on the other hand. A striking example of the latter is a series of symposia titled *Stabilizing Indigenous Languages*, which started in 1994. The goal of the symposia series is to bring together indigenous language educators and to provide a forum for exchange of scholarly research on the teaching of indigenous languages (see <http://jan.ucc.nau.edu/~jar/History.html>)

Collections of papers from various other symposia and conferences (e.g., Grenoble and Whaley, 1998; Robins and Uhlenbeck, 1991; Shoji and Janhunen, 1997) also witness cooperation between researchers and practitioners in exchanging experiences and ideas and passing on information about successful revitalization efforts such as the language nests originally developed by the Maori in New Zealand, immersion education originating from Canada, and the Californian Master-Apprentice-programs (see e.g., Hinton and Hale, 2001, for these and other programs). The importance of this kind of researcher and practitioner collaboration will not diminish in the future; rather it is likely to grow in importance as more and more language communities discover and get access to these forums.

### *New Technologies and Language Revitalization*

Globalization is often regarded as a major threat to endangered languages, and one of its aspects, modern information and communication technologies, have also been viewed with suspicion by language revivalists. Recently, however, new possibilities offered by technology for documentation and mass circulation of linguistic material, online language education, and other activities on behalf of endangered languages have become a strong focus of interest among those who have access to modern technology—all groups do not have it. The privileged practitioners as well as researchers working in endangered language communities are now in the process of creating data bases, tools, and techniques for the advancement of their languages. On a larger scale, the *Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Project* (SOAS, University of London) recently launched an online library of documentation and revitalisation of endangered languages (see <http://www.hrelp.org/languages/resources/>). For endangered language communities and individuals interested in language revitalization, information and communication technologies also offer new ways of networking and communicating. Using the language digitally is expected to attract especially the younger generation and to help isolated individual language learners practice their skills with others. Computer-based mediation (as indeed radio and television broadcasting) in endangered languages is also seen as a means of generally raising the status of the language in question and associating it with prestige and modernity.

While the benefits of the new technologies in language maintenance are emphasized by many, critique has also been voiced. Eisenlohr (2004) discusses how practices of electronic mediation, and language ideologies are necessarily embedded in, and are related to, the sociocultural processes of language obsolescence and revitalization. The fact

that new technology not only mediates linguistic practice but also, adds new forms and social functions to the language concerned, mean in the context of cultural endangerment. The notion of minority language ownership is also actualized when electronic media are used for documenting and spreading knowledge of a language worldwide. The present scholarly discussion concerning the benefits versus drawbacks of modern technologies in language revitalization (e.g., Saxena and Borin, 2006) is likely to continue and intensify in the future as a growing number of endangered language communities gain access to electronic resources.

*Promotion of Multilingualism as a Means to Peaceful Coexistence between Languages and Groups*

Obviously, the emancipation of one group should not lead to the disempowerment of another; neither should an increase in the linguistic rights of one group be allowed to weaken the same rights of another group. If language revitalization leads to a hegemony of a former endangered language at the cost of other languages which through the process become oppressed, the ethics of revitalization can be questioned (Shohamy, 2006). Official promotion of linguistic diversity and multilingualism is a way of counteracting this kind of development. As Crystal (2000) has stated, multilingualism is a positive phenomenon in society as it offers a possibility of peaceful co-existence between dominant and nondominant languages as well as their speakers. The tradition of viewing individual monolingualism in a dominant language of a nation-state as it were the only normal or correct alternative, however, remains strong and it is a serious impediment to the revitalisation of many endangered languages around the world. How to definitely put an end to this tradition is a major challenge for future research.

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## **Section 2**

### **Language Variation, Acquisition and Education**

## VARIATIONIST APPROACHES TO LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION

### INTRODUCTION

For over four decades, variationists have investigated the social dilemmas of language and education. This effort is based on the study of language variation, with language variation being a cover term for both synchronic and diachronic variation (variation in space and over time). Since language variation is a daily presence in the classroom, many proactive efforts of variationists have focused on how educational policies and practitioners handle language variation.

Variationist sociolinguistics can be seen as both a subtype of sociolinguistics and linguistics: This work is exemplified by *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change* (Chambers, Trudgill, and Schilling-Estes, 2002). As linguists, variationists work from the findings of cognitive science to construct explanations for language variation both in the speech community and in the mind. The extraordinary trait of variationists-cum-linguists is the inclusion of social factors as well as linguistic factors in their explanations.

From their scholarship, variationists argue against two “common sense” beliefs about language: the concept of the homogenous correct form and the reification of language (e.g., English). Over recent decades, educational professionals<sup>1</sup> have begun to transition from an assumption of language having only one correct/incorrect form to an assumption of language having multiple, linguistically legitimate forms. Second, treating a “Standard English” as a single, coherent entity is an empirical mistake (Bex and Watts, 1999; Milroy and Milroy, 1999). Standard English is defined synchronically and diachronically by shifting social standards. There are standard Englishes throughout the world, but there is no one “Standard English.”

This article covers some early developments of language variation and education, some major contributions, prescriptivist views and

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<sup>1</sup> *Educational professionals* signifies anybody employed by a school system who influences children’s education, including teachers, teachers’ aides, librarians, principals, or system-wide administrators.

variationist approaches, and a conclusion of the challenges for researching this topic.

#### PRELIMINARY DEVELOPMENTS

The pervasive question across both public and scholarly debate concerns what role nonstandard language should play in institutional education: Should vernacular language be encouraged, allowed, or discouraged in the classroom? Through 1960s and 1970s, sociolinguists sided with two different approaches to language variation and education. The first is the dialect rights position (see Wolfram, Adger, and Christian, 1999, p. 115), which maintains that students have a right to their own language. The second approach involves the so-called additive dialect methods, where standard language features are supposedly taught to vernacular speakers (rarely are vernacular features taught to nonvernacular speakers).

The difficulty with this second approach is twofold: it often conflates a community's language variation patterns with written genre conventions of traditional prescriptive grammar (e.g., treating *need* + past participle in *The sentence needs fixed* on a par with semicolons or capitalization). In addition, it is assumed speakers can "pick up" a second dialect. Successful students in such programs should be able to control different registers and genres, primarily writing conventions. For variationists, *dialect* is a label for a set of language variation patterns associated with a social group, including everything from vowels to syntactic patterns. For educational professionals, the term *dialect* most often refers to only stigmatized features. From a variationist perspective, humans do not have the ability to develop two separate dialects (in the variationist sense) (Hazen, 2001; Labov, 1998), but certainly all humans have different styles which may reflect different ethnic and social sources (cf. Sledd, 1969).

A single source to begin exploring such variationist work would be Wolfram, Adger, and Christian (1999). A complimentary book with a variationist understanding is Adger, Snow, and Christian (2002), *What Teachers Need to Know About Language*. For a reference source, the Rickford, Sweetland, and Rickford (2004) bibliography should be a touchstone. For a general source on language stigmatization in English, readers should consult *English with an Accent* (Lippi-Green, 1997).

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Modern variationist methodologies (e.g., Chambers, Trudgill, and Schilling-Estes, 2002) were developed from dialectology (the study of the geographic distribution of language variation), and many variationists

also shared the dialectologists' interests in education. One prominent dialectologist, McDavid (1962), recognized the importance of knowledge of language variation for teachers and discusses how knowledge of dialect variation could assist the teacher and student in their educational goals.

### *Key Positions*

Numerous points of this early period have continued relevance. For example, Stewart (1964, p. 1) cited the "increase in realism" as the most fundamental change in language teaching, whereby he means "simply the view of language as it is rather than as it ought to be, and of the learner's need for it as a personally useful tool of social interaction rather than as a rottenly learned device of principally esthetic value." One technique also suggested by dialectologists and variationists was a second-language approach for African-American Vernacular English<sup>2</sup> (AAVE) speakers. This pedagogy was also being examined with creoles. Craig (1966), for instance, described the foreign-language-like teaching techniques used for speakers of Jamaican Creole.

At this time, the works of variationists were often in stark and contentious opposition to the educational researchers. Baratz (1969) is an important article summarizing three possible stances. The third approach, the one Baratz champions, is the modern approach of variationists since the late 1960s: AAVE is a dialect of English like any other dialect of English. Baratz (1969) found that African-American children in Washington, DC, did significantly better at accurately repeating AAVE sentences, and European-American children were significantly better at accurately repeating nonstigmatized sentences. The implications from this article affected both language variation study in speech pathology and in other educational fields: The dialect of the community has to be evaluated on its own terms. Other countries have gone through similar shifts in public opinion. Dalphinis (2001, p. 701) described how the UK went through stages of eradicationism, assimilation, tolerance, and acceptance in regard to Black English. These stages result from increased knowledge about language variation and its role in stigmatization.

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<sup>2</sup> Most variationists consider the terms African-American English (AAE) and African-American Vernacular English (AAVE) to designate different sets of language. AAE would be any language (from rhetorical styles through syntax all the way to intonation) used by African Americans. AAVE would be a subset of AAE which contains the stigmatized items (e.g., habitual "be", theta to "f" in the US North). However, AAVE features may be adopted by other ethnicities. It is not clear within the original documents cited in this article that all researchers adopt this distinction.

Continuing Baratz's momentum, Fasold and Shuy (1970) edited a volume still valuable for researchers today: Wolfram's (1970) contribution in that volume lays out the basics of variationist research for educational professionals and argues forcefully for granting priority to some teaching goals over others, such as focusing on the most stereotyped features and those which are sharply stratified between social classes. Complementarily, Shuy's (1970) contribution cites deprecating quotes from teachers about AAVE and suggests teachers learn about how English varieties work, especially the minority varieties.

Perhaps the most widely known text from this early period of variationist work is Labov's "The Logic of Nonstandard English" (Labov, 1969), which has both educational and social implications. Claiming that vernacular dialects are legitimate is often seen as ludicrous by the general public, but for variationist approaches to be effective, this argument must be faced directly.

### *Nonstandard Dialects and Literacy*

Beyond scholars' engagement with spoken language practice, some saw implications for literacy. Labov (1967) discusses the possible interference between students' development of literacy and their dialect, and in (2001) argues that textbook writers and many teachers do not understand enough about the target vernacular varieties to produce truly helpful exercises. For example, in Labov (1967, pp. 157–162), the regular past tense form <-ed> is noted to be absent often in AAVE, yet this language-variation pattern received little to no attention from publishers of educational materials.

As with Labov's work, most of the foundational work by variationists applied to urban US settings. Carrying these findings to new regions, Nichols (1977, p. 155) in turn focuses on the US Southern rural schools: "The reading teacher must be thoroughly familiar with the major phonological and syntactic patterns used by the children in order to determine when a child reading aloud is making the right associations between meaning and the printed symbol." Nichols also suggests that for some vernacular-speaking populations, employing the local vernacular in the classroom for both writing and reading yields results in developing literacy. In a different language context which also requires local modification to educational materials, that of Guyana and Barbados, Tyndall (2000) posits that rural speakers are practically acquiring a second language when learning to write as their varieties are more basilectal than more urban speakers.

Creoles have been a focus of several studies. For example, Carrington (1976) discusses the wide diversity of Creoles with different lexifier

languages and the subsequent effects on education in the Caribbean territories. He also discusses the proscription of vernacular varieties and prohibitive attitudes toward nonofficial languages, providing guidelines for determining relationships between vernacular varieties and school policies.

In 1979, a legal case involving variationists became widely publicized. This case centered on African-American elementary students in Ann Arbor, Michigan who were segregated into special education classes. Advocates for the students argued that their civil rights were being violated as their cultural and linguistic background was not accounted for in planning instruction. The ruling reaffirmed the school's obligation to accommodate their language variation (see Smitherman, 1981, 2000, p. 154). Relatedly, Stockman and Vaughn-Cooke (1982) review the deficit research of the 1960s and highlight its lasting influence. By the 1990s, the deficit approach was no longer an overt position for educators, and variationists had correspondingly shifted their focus away from proving minority varieties were not linguistically deficient. Following on this transition, Foster (1992) focuses on the effects of students having a different communicative competence than the one expected. Though Foster praises the researchers for overturning previous educational views, she criticizes the field for not thoroughly applying the findings to solid and transportable pedagogy for literacy.

At the end of 1996, the foundational issues of the difference/deficit debate roared back onto the international stage when the Oakland California School Board took steps to assist their African-American students, many of whom were performing poorly in school. Their approach was to bring students to full literacy by introducing the written word in the style and form of AAE (see Rickford and Rickford, 1995). For a full account of the firestorm surrounding the Oakland School Board's activities, readers should consult Rickford and Rickford's *Spoken Soul* (2000), Green (2002), and Rickford (1999).

Similarly, in response to the social furor that eliminated bilingual education in California in 1998, students and professors developed the anthology *Tongue Tied* (Santa Ana, 2004). Variationist approaches are found throughout the volume in application to numerous multilingual situations. For both the Ebonics debates and multilingualism, a safe prediction is that such media-sponsored uproars will occur in the future.

Although these situations are the most widely publicized, the status of the nonstandard variety is not always stigmatized. For instance, Norway has two written standards, *bokmål* and *nynorsk*, both based on Norwegian speech. Vikør (1989, p. 42) reports that, "forced speech standardization is forbidden by law." This institutional respect for

language variation has a long tradition dating back to a parliamentary motion in 1878. The underlying belief is that regional dialects reflect Norwegian cultural tradition uncontaminated by Danish rule. The import for the educational researcher is that stigmatization of nonstandard varieties does not have to be accepted or institutionalized.

As an introduction to variationist insights on literacy and education in European school systems, Cheshire, Edwards, Münstermann, and Weltens (1989) provides national perspectives, a review of the literature from 1970 to 1989, and classroom initiatives. For example, Weltens and Sonderen (1989) investigate nonstandard Dutch in school settings: Through examining language tests and both teacher and student questionnaires, they find that these speakers are at a disadvantage in comparison with their standard-speaking peers. Researchers in Europe have given clear descriptions of the attitudes surrounding more and less standard varieties. Van de Craen and Humblet (1989, p. 19) conclude that the standard Dutch in Belgium has “enormous prestige” which covers both the realms of friendliness and intelligence.

### *Arguments for Non-Intervention*

Complementary to these debates of vernacular dialect in schools, Cheshire (2005, p. 2346) argues from a survey of recent literature that nonstandard varieties are not as “detrimental to educational success as might be thought.” Several studies illustrate this point. Williams (1989) found that both standard and nonstandard speakers used colloquial forms in their writing. Williams illustrated the importance of analyzing written work and disambiguating which issues result from normal literacy development processes and which from vernacular interference. In St. Lucia, Winch and Gingell (1994) also argued that such developmental difficulties were being wrongly labeled as stigmatized variation interference from local creoles. Abd-Kadir, Hardman, and Blaize (2003) report the same findings in the commonwealth of Dominica for 55 students whose writing was sampled.

In analyzing three areas of England, Williamson and Hardman (1997a, p. 255) advise teachers not to concern themselves with problems of prescriptive grammar and lexical items, but to focus on punctuation and orthography. In their study, vernacular forms were rare compared with spelling and punctuation mistakes. This comparison is even true when the students’ spoken language contained more vernacular features (cf. Hudson and Holmes, 1995). For researchers intent on giving teachers some grammatical focus, Williamson and Hardman (1997b, p. 168) suggest nonstandard verb forms, as they constituted more than half of the nonstandard written forms in their samples.

*Classroom Solutions*

Although variationists have identified related problems in educational practice, they have received criticism for not producing solutions. This section discusses some of the potential solutions variationists have discussed.

Ranging from the study of names, regional variation, shibboleths such as *ain't*, and vernacular varieties in the composition classroom, Glowka and Lance (1993), like Fasold and Shuy (1970), provide opportunities for teachers to learn how to incorporate language variation into a classroom. Of special note, in "Bilingualism and language variation among Chicanos in the Southwest," Galindo emphasizes that Chicano English is an increasingly important part of North American English and should be addressed throughout the nation (see Fought, 2002 for further discussion of Chicano English).

Rickford and Rickford (1995) is a modern discussion of the role dialect readers can play and the benefits they provide. The other important text from this period is Labov (1995), where he proposes five principles which require educational professionals to understand the language variation patterns of AAVE. Perhaps the two most important principles are (1) *Teachers should distinguish between mistakes in reading and differences in pronunciation* and (2) *Give more attention to the ends of words*. All of Labov's principles are based on both classroom research and extensive linguistic study of vernacular varieties.

Shifting the focus to an understudied spectrum of language, Hoyle and Adger (1998) emphasize discourse analysis for older children. For this reason, understanding the communicative competence of different students should bolster their opportunities to be active agents in their education. Three complementary works are Denham and Lobeck (2005), Wheeler (1999), and Wheeler and Swords (2006). These works justify modern grammar study and encompass several different linguistic approaches. They include sections on classroom methodology and linguistic influences on writing. Similarly, Baugh (1999) investigates what has not worked, "educational malpractice," and motivational strategies for literacy. One strategy is the Lyric Shuffle set of literacy games which tie oral skills to emerging literacy skills such as phonological awareness.

Focusing on pidgins and creoles, Siegel (2001) develops categories of programs and evaluates their qualities. His categories of programs—instrumental, accommodation, awareness—incorporate pidgins and creoles to different extents. He further notes that research on instrumental programs, where the home variety is used as the main medium of instruction, in Australia and the Seychelles "has shown that students

educated bilingually in their creole mother tongue and the standard outperformed students educated in only the standard language” (2001, p. 748). Siegel attributes the positive benefits of these and other studies to both educational logistics (e.g., students find it easier to develop literacy in familiar varieties first) and to the more positive attitudes such programs engender.

Educational researchers have also adopted variationist approaches to develop solutions to pedagogical problems. For example, Craig and Washington (2004, p. 228) address long-standing variationist questions: The general consensus of researchers is that AAE speakers do not have reading comprehension troubles related to their dialect (2004, p. 237) and that no single language variation pattern will explain the black-white achievement gap, especially in terms of literacy (2004, p. 240).

A caveat to such research is that variationists may find educational analysis of language variation differently minded in its linguistic description. For example, Craig and Washington (2004, Table 11.1) include several phonologically influenced language variation patterns in their morphosyntactic characteristics of child AAE (e.g., *a*, *an* indefinite article variation/absence; copula absence; auxiliary verb absence; past tense *-ed* absence). Some traits listed as phonologically AAVE are normal for almost all US English speakers, such as unstressed syllable deletion (e.g., *'cause* for *because*).

### *Teachers and Teachers' Attitudes*

Several variationist researchers have evaluated teachers' attitudes toward vernacular speakers, including Winford's (1976) investigation of teacher attitudes toward a creole community. Blake and Cutler (2003) report findings from a survey of New York City teachers from five high schools. Part of their findings (2003, Figure 6) are that positive responses to the statement that AAVE has its own rules range from 78% to 30%. From surveys in the 1970s, Blake and Cutler surmise that teachers have a generally more positive attitude about AAVE and minority dialects. Student attitudes were also studied by Horner (2001): A strong correlation existed between students' academic success and their Caribbean-American identity. In addition, Haig and Oliver (2003) report for Australia that teachers' assessments of educational problems and their causes varies by the socioeconomic status and grade level of the students.

Teacher and student attitudes are considered the fulcrum of disadvantages for vernacular speakers by Barbour and Stevenson in their study of German variation. They (1990, p. 191) find that German-speaking Swiss schools, where traditional dialects are normal, do not note educational dialect problems; only those German schools where

vernacular and nonvernacular speakers interact report such issues: "... this strongly suggests that the problem is overwhelmingly one of social attitudes, rather than of the linguistic characteristics of non-standard German." Correspondingly, Cheshire and Trudgill (1989, p. 106) write: "The greatest dialect-related problems in the United Kingdom ... continue to be the attitudes and prejudices that many people hold towards non-standard dialects and accents of English, combined with the lack of understanding about the nature of dialect differences and of their social significance." As a complement to this view, Cameron (1995) provides a reexamination of linguists' descriptivist stance in relation to education and details educational reforms in the UK.

Rampton (2006) presents a contrastive scene in English schools. In responding to the work of Trudgill in the 1970s which propagated the idea of respecting nonstandard dialects, Rampton argues (2006, p. 318) that the same dialect prejudices do not persist in the new century and that the nonstandard-speaking students may not be as linguistically insecure as previously thought.

In a study of similarly potential conflict, Pauwels and Winter (2006) explore one dilemma for teachers: They must both persist as "guardians of grammar" and as "agents of social language reform" and may run up against thorny issues such as third person singular generic pronouns in English. They find that younger teachers implement nonsexist pronouns rather than perpetuating the grammatical tradition of "generic" *he*. Importantly, attitudes for students and teachers have to be a recognized part of the curriculum. Cheshire (2005, p. 2349) writes: "The research indicates, then, that educational programmes that recognise the associations that standard and nonstandard English have for speakers, and that build on these, are more likely to result in children becoming proficient in using standard English than are policies which assume that acquiring the standard language is simply a matter of substituting one variant for another."

Beyond attitudes, the current research methodology now includes a direct assessment of students' language abilities. Charity, Scarborough, and Griffin (2004) quantitatively assess the frequency of standard variants in specified tasks. They distinguish AAVE and school English by degree of features, not categorical presence or absence. Their scholarly stance includes the position that the level of AAVE language variation patterns is not the important factor in predicting reading failure, but that the familiarity with school English (SE) is the crucial factor. They write: "... how often the SE forms are reproduced, was thus chosen as our measure of children's familiarity with SE." Charity, Scarborough, and Griffin (2004, p. 1354) find that "individual differences in familiarity with [school English] are strongly related to reading achievement in

young, African-American students.” Their study inverts the reading conundrum by focusing on knowledge of school English.

Around the world and in the USA, the future of variationist research into language and education is bright. Although educational concerns were secondary to variationists in the past, the newest generation of variationists is making them a primary focus. Three dissertations focusing on different components are recently completed. Charity (2005) reports findings from the study of dialect variation of African-American children in school settings. Sweetland (2006) discusses the study of the development and implementation of language variation teacher training programs. Reaser (2006) examines dialect awareness programs and their effects on teachers’ and students’ attitudes about language variation. All three of these dissertations should provide substantial benefits for educational professionals.

#### WORKS IN PROGRESS: VARIATIONIST VIEWS AND PRESCRIPTIVIST TRADITIONS

For educational professionals to confidently adopt a modern view of language variation, they should understand how it contrasts with traditional prescriptivism and how it can further their own pedagogical goals.

Common beliefs about language are undergirded by several modern myths: the primary myth is that a supremely correct form exists for all contexts and times; in previous centuries, this belief extended to the superiority of some languages, for example Latin, over other languages. Today, Western societies are currently in transition from a traditional belief to a scientific belief.

Two signs of this transformation have become obvious to linguists who deal with public opinion: People more readily accept that no one language is inherently superior and that language change is not decay. Were the other tenets of variationists’ findings to be taken up, such as the legitimacy of language variation, then the educational goals of literacy and writing would be accomplished more completely and efficiently.

The traditional prescriptivist view does not allow any kind of legitimate language variation, even though its current social rules for English were formulated mostly in the eighteenth century. Many prescriptivist doctrines of today were established in that early period, often in erroneous but well-intentioned comparisons between English and Latin: Do not split infinitives (e.g., *to boldly go*); Do not strand prepositions (e.g., *We have much to be thankful for*).

The challenge for educational researchers is to demonstrate that traditional prescriptivist approaches are less effective and efficient at achieving institutional goals. Fine-grained, quantitative examinations

of pedagogy would provide evidence for which basic assumptions about language produce the best results. Within students' written and spoken language variation is a wealth of learning opportunities (Hazen, 2005); if educational researchers can construct an accurate model of what students do when they complete institutional goals, the modern view of language variation would be seen as an integral part of that process.

The variationist educational goals are to help people understand the natural linguistic equality of all languages and help them establish teaching tactics that incorporate a scientifically sound view of language. The new assumption for educational purposes must eschew several components of traditional prescriptivism. This scientifically informed prescriptivism allows teachers to encourage literacy at all levels while accurately portraying language. Prescriptivism with an assumption of rhetorically focused language will be more successful for students and teachers alike because of its harmony with the true nature of language.

#### CONCLUSION: CHALLENGES AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

For over 40 years, variationists have contributed to language education research and practice. Variationists will likely continue to play an important role in the development of language education policies and programs surrounding non-standard dialects in education. Variationist researchers have learned over this time about attitudes and stigmatized varieties. In the next 40 years, they should inquire about the best methods for shifting attitudes to a proper understanding of language variation. The most general results of the variationist approach to language and education should be a better understanding of language use in society and thus students' increased awareness of their own language variation.

One crucial component is to work with teachers to develop materials which reflect a modern, scientific view of language. Understanding of how language works, including its social intricacies, makes the teaching of standard codes less of a social hand grenade, increasing both the efficiency and effectiveness of the teaching. When language variation is properly respected, students are less opposed to institutional language and the social connotations of it.

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## SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION RESEARCH METHODS

### INTRODUCTION

The field of second language acquisition (SLA) has grown significantly in recent years. Of the 20 plus journals (in English) concerned with topics of second and foreign language (L2) learning, for example, nearly a third were established in the past 15 years. The vast majority of these journals are devoted to empirical research, providing a forum for SLA researchers to present their findings on the linguistic, cognitive, social, contextual, psychological, and neurobiological characteristics of L2 learning and processing. Concomitantly, SLA research methods have been developed, expanded, and refined in an ongoing process as researchers investigate increasingly complex questions.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Since SLA first emerged as a serious field of inquiry in the 1960s, a wide variety of approaches have been used to investigate the process of learning a nonnative language. Early studies focused on *differences*, namely, areas of divergence between the first language (L1) and the L2 to predict areas of difficulty for L2 learners (e.g., contrastive analyses, and the work of Lado, 1964). Later, researchers focused more on purported *universals* of SLA, or those processes or capacities that were believed to underlie all L2 learning, regardless of the particular L2 being learned or the L1 background of the learner. Investigations in this area focused, for example, on the role of an innate language capacity (e.g., universal grammar and the work of Schachter, 1989) and on the fixed orders in which particular morphemes were acquired, irrespective of the L1 of the learner (e.g., the morpheme order studies, and the work of Dulay and Burt, 1974). Subsequently, the focus on language universals expanded to include cognitive mechanisms such as attention and awareness, working memory, and input processing strategies. At the same time, increased attention has been devoted to areas of *individual differences*—including personality, motivation, age, preferred language learning strategies, anxiety, gender, and even back to the role of the L1 in L2 learning. The vast majority of these studies have employed quantitative designs (as discussed by Lazaraton, 2005; Mackey and Gass,

2005), and it is to this form of empirical research that we turn in the next section. However, in recent years, alternative research designs, qualitative approaches, and even mixed method approaches have gained increased currency. These forms of research will also be addressed after our discussion of quantitative research.

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

### *Quantitative Research*

Quantitative research, traditionally defined, refers to research that stresses the importance of large groups of randomly selected participants, manipulating variables within the participants' immediate environment, and determining whether there is a relationship between the manipulated (independent) variable and some characteristic or behavior of the participants (the dependent variable). Statistical procedures are used to determine whether the relationship is significant—and when it is significant, the results are typically generalized to a larger population beyond the immediate group of participants.

One of the simplest quantitative designs employed, the one-shot design, involves examining the language of learners at a single point in time. No pretest or posttest is used to measure learning, and there is no treatment involved. Although not usually considered true experiments, one-shot designs have been employed fruitfully in several SLA studies. More commonly, however, SLA researchers have used comparison group designs, where participants are randomly assigned to different groups—for example, one group which receives treatment (e.g., a type of instruction) and another group which does not (i.e., a control group). This approach is commonly employed with a pretest-to-posttest design, allowing researchers to assess the L2 learners' knowledge before and after the treatment (and hence the effectiveness of the treatment), and occasionally with delayed posttests as well, enabling researchers to assess the long-term retention of learning (see Long, 2006 for a discussion on the importance of delayed posttests). Typical examples of the comparison group design include Loschky's (1994) examination of the effect of negotiated interaction on the comprehension and acquisition of Japanese vocabulary and locative constructions, as well as Long, Inagaki, and Ortega's (1998) investigation into the effect of recasts and models in the acquisition of Japanese and Spanish as foreign languages.

It is also interesting to note the different ways in which development or change in the learners' interlanguage, or knowledge of the L2, is measured in quantitative studies. In some studies, development is assessed by comparing pretest and posttest proficiency scores, or scores for suppliance in obligatory contexts or target-like use (e.g., Dulay and

Burt, 1973, 1974; Pica, 1983). In another approach, frequency data are used to determine the number of learners who change in terms of developmental sequences. An example of the latter type of study was carried out by Mackey and Philp (1998), who made use of Pienemann and Johnston's (1986) six-stage sequence of question formation to examine the impact of recasts on the learning of questions by L2 learners at different development levels. Some researchers have also measured change in terms of fluency, accuracy, and complexity (e.g., Foster and Skehan, 1996).

Researchers have also pointed out that, when measuring second language development, it is important that tests should match treatment types where possible. It would be problematic, for example, to give a written posttest when the treatment had consisted of oral language use. Finally, attention should be paid to issues of implicit and explicit knowledge (N.C. Ellis, 2005; R. Ellis, 2005). A number of researchers have argued that implicit and explicit knowledge need to be distinguished, and that failure to do so can result in underestimating a learner's development in the L2. For example, if development is operationalized solely as the learners' ability to explicitly formulate a rule, this would only tap into one aspect of their knowledge of the L2 (the explicit aspect). However, learners may very well be able to correct sentences even if they are unable to explain the rule (evidence that implicit learning has occurred). Thus, if a researcher only looked at the learners' ability to formulate a rule, s/he may overlook the implicit learning that has occurred.

In addition to experimental designs, second language researchers have also made extensive use of quasi-experimental designs, or designs which do not involve the random assignment of subjects to control and experimental groups. One type of quasi-experimental design is to give tasks or treatments to individuals in different orders. This approach, which involves repeated measures, entails assessing each participant at multiple points. Gass' (1994) investigation into the reliability of acceptability judgments is an example. Another popular type of research is correlational—this is research that seeks to examine whether there is a relationship between variables (e.g., age of arrival and the learner's proficiency in the L2). Correlational designs have been used to investigate, for instance, learner motivation (Dörnyei and Clément, 2001) and the role of personality in L2 speech production (Dewaele and Furnham, 2000).

The time-series design is also considered quasi-experimental. Although this design is not very common in the field, there are some indications that SLA researchers are beginning to include this method in their research repertoire. This design, which involves neither randomization nor control groups, calls for conducting repeated observations

both before treatment (to establish a baseline) and after treatment (to measure the effects of the treatment)—making it ideal for use in SLA where questions concerning change over time are often asked. Typically used in instances where there is a small participant population or when a single intact group of learners are being investigated, time-series designs have been used to investigate such issues as the effect of dyadic grouping on discourse (Mellow, Reeder, and Forster, 1996) and the effect of recasts on the acquisition of Japanese grammar (Ishida, 2004).

Likewise, factorial designs, which involve more than one independent variable, can be implemented with or without randomization and thus may be considered quasi-experimental. Occasionally employed in L2 research, factorial designs have been used by researchers to measure foreign language aptitude (Grigornko, Sternberg, and Ehrman, 2000) and to investigate the effect of the instructional approach and language of communication in L2 writing tutoring sessions (Cumming and So, 1996) among others. Multifactorial designs have also been used extensively in work on the effect of planning on L2 oral production. Foster and Skehan (1996), for example, used a multifactorial design to examine the effects of task choice (personal information exchange, narrative, and decision making) and implementation conditions (no time for planning, time for planning, and time for detailed planning).

As the field of SLA matures and makes increasing use of more and varied types of research methods, there has come a greater concern for replicability, validity, and reliability. The first, replicability, refers to the ability to repeat a study in the same or different contexts and to obtain the same results. If the results of a study cannot be replicated, this would suggest that the results may have been spurious and would curtail the generalizability of the original study. The fact that few replication studies have been conducted in the field of SLA has led researchers to call not only for more replications, but also for more detailed information in research reports (such as the participants' proficiency levels and how proficiency was assessed)—something which would better enable other researchers to conduct these vital replication studies (e.g., Polio and Gass, 1997).

Validity, or the extent to which one can make correct generalizations based on the result of a particular measure used, is also a concern (e.g., Tarone, 1994). Researchers typically distinguish between two major types of validity: internal validity (the degree to which confounding variables are eliminated) and external validity (the degree to which findings can be generalized to a wider population of learners). Researchers should be aware of various factors which can compromise validity—including participant attrition and maturation, instrument and

test effects, and the nonrepresentativeness of the particular sample of learners at hand—and take adequate steps to minimize the impact of these factors (Mackey and Gass, 2005; Porte, 2002).

The third concern, reliability, is the degree to which results are dependable, and relates to the consistency of scores by different raters (interrater reliability), as well as the consistency of measurements by different instruments (instrument reliability). In recent years, there have been increasing calls for SLA researchers to focus more on reliability, and in particular, to report interrater reliability statistics (e.g., Polio, 1997). If researchers do not provide sufficiently detailed information about how judgments are made (e.g., how an L2 learner's proficiency is assessed) and on the extent of agreement or disagreement between raters with respect to those judgments, this can again compromise the replicability of the study.

Along with expressing a greater concern for these important issues, researchers have sought to continually expand the research horizons of SLA, for example, by making greater use of what is known as split, mixed, or combination methods research, which combines characteristics of both quantitative and qualitative research. Although increasingly common in both the field of SLA and elsewhere, it should be noted that mixed methods have not been without controversy. Some researchers claim that the two approaches are epistemologically and ontologically incompatible, making split methods little more than unprincipled methodological opportunism. However, while the debate is ongoing, there is increasing consensus in various fields that qualitative and quantitative research methods are in fact compatible (Howe, 1988) and that the judicious use of both methods can allow the researcher to examine different aspects of the same problem (e.g., Mackey and Gass, 2005).

While quantitative research can shed light on many aspects of learning and development, qualitative research can offer a different perspective, one that is often grounded in teachers' and learners' experiences and involves taking a more holistic and contextualized perspective on the many factors that interact in second language learning. Used in tandem with quantitative research in a split methods approach, or on its own, qualitative research can yield a clearer understanding of SLA. We turn next to examining qualitative research in more depth.

### *Qualitative Research*

Qualitative research generally refers to research that places primary importance on studying small samples of purposely chosen individuals; *not* attempting to control contextual factors, but rather seeking, through a variety of methods, to understand things from the informants' points of view; and creating a rich, holistic, and in-depth picture of the

phenomena under investigation. There is less of an emphasis on statistics (and concomitant attempts to generalize the results to wider populations) and more of an interest in the individual and his/her immediate context. An additional characteristic that is often mentioned when describing qualitative research is that it is inductive—that is, that it does not begin with hypotheses to be tested or models to be supported, but rather seeks to develop insights from the patterns seen in the data.

While this description stands in contrast with that presented for quantitative research (with its emphasis on randomization, statistics, and generalizability), it should be understood that quantitative and qualitative approaches are not polar opposites (as the traditional labels of “positivistic” and “interpretivist” for quantitative and qualitative research, respectively, sometimes imply; see Fishman, *Theoretical and Historical Perspectives on Researching the Sociology of Language and Education*, Volume 10). It should also be kept in mind that, as will be discussed in more detail later, it is not the case that certain methods (e.g., questionnaires, interviews, tests) are inherently either qualitative or quantitative. Questionnaire results, for example, can be analyzed quantitatively by determining what percentage of respondents answered in a particular manner, or qualitatively, by examining in detail the exact responses individuals provided and using them to triangulate other data from those same participants. It is the researcher’s approach to the data collection and analysis task that may be considered qualitative or quantitative—not the methods themselves.

Keeping in mind the caveat that data collected from various methods can be analyzed either quantitatively or qualitatively, it is nevertheless useful to discuss certain methods that are commonly (but not exclusively) associated with qualitative research in SLA. These include classroom observations, case studies and ethnographies, verbal protocols, diaries and journals, as well as techniques associated with survey-based research such as interviews and questionnaires. Some of these methods may be considered more “etic” in the sense that they focus on the insights of an outside observer, while others are more “emic” in that they seek to gather data about the learners’ perspective.

One commonly used method is the observation. Observational data can be collected through a combination of audio or visual recordings and field notes. Field notes record the researchers’ impressions or questions during the observation. Audio or visual recordings allow researchers to revise and refine their original thoughts, to analyze language use in greater depth, and to make the research available to other researchers who may want to examine or analyze the data. Researchers often choose to use observations to supplement data obtained from interviews, questionnaires, and classroom data, including homework and grading. For example, Bailey (1996) used classroom observations

in her study of teachers' decision-making processes as an important part of data on teachers' behaviors. Her observations, along with written lesson plans, formed the basis of subsequent, in-depth interviews with the teachers.

Another common form of qualitative research in SLA is the case study, a longitudinal, in-depth examination of a single learner or a small group of learners. In case study research, as in most forms of qualitative research, multiple data collection techniques are used together to create an account that is as complete and accurate as possible of learner behaviors, interactions, or development in the research context. This is commonly known as triangulation. Normally, researchers identify the individual or group to study and perform observations in the learning context, conduct interviews with the research participants and others connected to them and to the setting, and gather evidence of second language performance. For example, Watson-Gegeo's (2001) ethnographic work in Hawaiian immersion classrooms involved observing classes and learner behavior outside of class, interviews with students, teachers, parents, and administrators, and the collection of learner language production, homework, tests, grades, and writing samples.

Another method that has received increased attention in recent years is the verbal protocol. This is a method for probing learners' thought processes either during an activity, as in think-aloud protocols, or immediately later, as in retrospective protocols (also known as stimulated recalls) (see Gass and Mackey, 2000). Think-aloud protocols have also been used to investigate processes or strategies related to writing (e.g., Roca de Larios, Manchón, and Murphy, 2006) as well as the role of attention or awareness (e.g., Leow, 1998).

In addition to verbal protocols, SLA researchers have also made extensive use of learner diaries (also referred to as L2 journals or learner autobiographies) to gain a better understanding of the learners' language learning experiences. If a diary task is set up so that learners are able to record any of their impressions or perceptions about learning, they are not constrained by predetermined areas of interest. This allows researchers to uncover new ideas or trends related to learners' internal processes such as attention and memory, as well as learners' uncoached reactions to instructional methods or classroom processes. The influential *noticing hypothesis* of SLA (Schmidt and Frota, 1986), for example, emerged following a diary study. Based on Schmidt's introspective descriptions of his learning opportunities and success at learning abroad, Schmidt and Frota were able to determine that he had noticed forms shortly before beginning to use them. They concluded from this that conscious noticing played a role in language learning. Since diaries represent holistic accounts of language learning from a learner's viewpoint, careful analysis of diaries can yield insights

into the learning process inaccessible from a researcher's perspective or observational data alone.

Questionnaire data, usually considered to be a survey research tool, have also been used to gather more information on learner perspectives, including such aspects as their level of motivation (e.g., Dörnyei and Clément, 2001) and attitudes toward feedback received on L2 written compositions (Hedgcock and Lefkowitz, 1994). Questionnaires can allow researchers to investigate phenomena such as perceptions or motivation that are not observable, as well as allowing them to investigate sufficient quantities of observable phenomenon in a restricted time frame.

Like questionnaire data, interviews can allow researchers to investigate cognitive processes such as awareness, or constructs such as perceptions or attitudes that are not directly observable. There are many reasons why classroom researchers might choose to employ both questionnaire and interview data. For example, some L2 learners are less at ease with writing and are more likely to feel comfortable answering questions and providing informative details in a conversational setting. Conversely, there are learners who find it easier to write than to speak and may benefit from the extra time typically provided in responding to a questionnaire. In addition to learner characteristics, the social dynamics of the two methods should also be considered. Some respondents may be emboldened by the relative anonymity of the questionnaire and provide fuller responses, while others may only give complete details after researcher's probes in an interview setting. Thus, including multiple methods of data collection (e.g., both questionnaires and interviews) can help the researcher obtain richer data.

As with quantitative research, there are practical considerations associated with qualitative research as well, including the need for the research to have credibility, transferability, and dependability. Credibility means that the findings are believable to the research population being studied. Suggestions for enhancing credibility include continuing the data collection procedure with enough intensity over a sufficient length of time to accustom the participants to the research (and thus ensure that they are behaving naturally) and collecting the data in as many contexts and situations as possible (e.g., Fraenkel and Wallen, 2003; Mackey and Gass, 2005). Transferability refers to whether the findings from the study can be applied (or transferred) to other contexts. Although transfer is not the goal of all research, this helps make it possible to draw comparisons across studies. In order to do this, providing a "thick" description—that is, a description which reports in sufficient detail the particulars of the study and its participants—is necessary. Similarly, when the research context and relationships among the participants have been reliably characterized, the research

may be said to be dependable. One way for this to be accomplished is by asking the participants themselves to review the patterns in the data—ideally, data that are electronically recorded so as to help recreate the original context in which the data were gathered.

### WORK IN PROGRESS

Various works in progress today are following the influential meta-analysis carried out by Norris and Ortega (2000) and seeking to synthesize previous research (e.g., Mackey and Goo, *in press*). Mackey and Goo synthesized the findings of interaction research published up until 2006 to investigate the link between interaction and the acquisition of specific grammatical and lexical features. Results provided evidence that groups that were given the opportunity to interact with other speakers of the L2 substantially outperformed control and comparison groups on posttests.

Other new techniques, such as confederate scripting (e.g., McDonough, 2006), also represent promising directions for future research to investigate how speakers coordinate syntactic structures during conversation. In confederate scripting, a participant carries out a task with an interlocutor who, unbeknownst to the participant, is a confederate of the researcher. In interaction research, this has included being given a script containing primes, which are exemplars of the target linguistic structure. Their interaction is structured so that the confederate's prime always immediately precedes the participant's utterance, and syntactic priming is demonstrated when the participants produce the same structure provided by the confederate's prime.

### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

As a relatively young field, SLA has many promising directions to take. These include a greater number of longitudinal studies (e.g., Lardiere, 1998), increased explorations of various language acquisition theories (including frequency-based approaches and connectionist models, e.g., MacWhinney, 2001), more explorations of the social context within which learning occurs (Block, 2003), and more investigations into the neurobiology of acquiring a nonnative language (Schumann, 1998), as well as more studies that investigate the acquisition of a greater variety of languages (beyond English as a second and foreign language).

In addition, as Mackey (2006) points out, the field of SLA would be enriched by greater collaboration with researchers from other disciplines, such as cognitive neuroscience and psycholinguistics. For example, making more extensive use of techniques such as electroencephalography (EEG) and functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) would

provide more information about the neural regions involved in different types of language processing; similarly, more widespread use of techniques such as eye tracking and keystroke tracking may provide richer stimuli for stimulated recalls (Marinis, 2003). Other promising psycholinguistically oriented techniques include using reaction times as measures of processing difficulty and thus as means for determining whether L2 learners and native speakers employ the same processing strategies (e.g., White and Juffs, 1998), as well as the moving window technique (also known as self-paced reading or listening) in which subjects read a sentence word-by-word and then press a button to receive the next word—also to gain more information about the processing of the L2 (e.g., Juffs and Harrington, 1996).

In terms of refining research methodology, there is a need for clearer and more consistent definitions of key constructs (e.g., recasts) across studies (Long, 2006). Researchers have also discussed the importance of greater reliability in elicitation and scoring, pointing out several procedural concerns for how acquisition should be measured in SLA (Norris and Ortega, 2003). Similarly, Chaudron (2003) provides a very comprehensive analysis of methods in use for collecting second language data, pointing out that a variety of procedures are available and using a wide range of measures is desirable for use in order for researchers to obtain the most representative samples of learners' language.

By expanding our research repertoire to make use not only of methods from other disciplines but also of qualitative and split-method approaches; by refining our definitions and measurements of key constructs in SLA; and by seeking to gain a deeper and more holistic understanding of the complex endeavor that is learning a second language, the field of SLA will continue its growth and its ability to enrich our understanding of the human mind, social interactions, and second and foreign language pedagogy.

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## THIRD LANGUAGE ACQUISITION RESEARCH METHODS

### INTRODUCTION

Research methods in third language (L3) acquisition are used to address questions about acquisition processes and products, their educational and social contexts, as well as the individual variables involved. The field only started in the late 1980s. Consequently, the methodology is innovative and highly eclectic, with designs borrowed both from linguistics and psychology by way of second language acquisition (SLA) research. Surprisingly for a young field, quantitative, hypothesis-testing studies outnumber qualitative, question-generating designs. Not uncommon are mixed designs combining description and interpretation with descriptive and even inferential statistics. Data are collected both longitudinally and cross-sectionally, often from large samples in tutored contexts, only occasionally following experimental intervention and most often elicited by means of questionnaires, tests, and interviews. The most popular quantitative procedures include analyses of variance (ANOVA), correlations, and regressions.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

In an age of migration and supranational entities it has become widely recognized that multilingualism is the norm rather than the exception. Changes in general attitudes toward minorities have led to greater recognition of language rights and needs of minority populations, sometimes resulting in the development of educational policies that address such rights. Increased communication between European and American researchers is also responsible for the growing interest in trilingualism and L3 acquisition.

In the context of these shifts, a new focus on the relationship between bilingualism and cognition led to laboratory research investigating the role of prior experience on the acquisition of an L3 (McLaughlin and Nayak, 1989; Nation and McLaughlin, 1986; Nayak, Hansen, Krueger, and McLaughlin, 1990). Multilingual subjects (i) were found to habitually exert more effort when processing verbal stimuli; (ii) were better able to shift strategies to restructure their language systems; and (iii) used cognitive processing strategies that facilitated the construction of formal

rules. The designs of these studies are characteristic of the cognitive framework to which they belong. For example, they are experimental and compare the effects of highly controlled, computer-generated treatments on the acquisition of an artificial grammar. Conclusions are based on results from ANOVAs and post-hocs on accuracy and latency data.

From a Chomskyan approach, but also process-oriented in nature, Klein's investigation (1995) of the acquisition of the preposition-stranding parameter by ESL learners shows that multilinguals and monolinguals produce the same type of errors but multilinguals learn faster because they more efficiently identify the key verbs that trigger the parameter. This result indicates that prior language experience promotes noticing of key elements in the input.

The establishment of immersion programs in Canada and later in Europe led to a series of product-oriented studies. This work aimed to provide insight into appropriate timing and procedures for the incorporation of foreign languages (L3s) into bilingual curriculum; to properly document the development of different types of immersion programs, and to investigate the underlying psychosocial variables involved. Cenoz and Valencia's (1994) comparison of English proficiency among students instructed in the minority (Basque) or majority language (Spanish) yielded evidence in favor of bilingualism and bilingual education as contributors to L3 learning, independent of cognitive, sociostructural, sociopsychological, and educational variables, as well as independent of the first language (L1). Sanz (2000) compared L3 (English) acquisition of bilingual Catalan/Spanish in a Catalan immersion program with monolinguals from a Spanish region with parallel results. In turn, Swain, Lapkin, Rowen, and Hart (1990) investigated the effect of L1 literacy on L3 (French) learning in Toronto and found that knowledge of a heritage language had little facilitative effect on L3 acquisition without L1 literacy. Their conclusions support Cummins' (1981) linguistic interdependence hypothesis, according to which children learn to use language as a symbolic system while acquiring literacy skills in their first language (see Cummins, Vol. X). As a result, learners are able to generalize linguistic information in a way that can be transferred to subsequent language learning contexts. However, counter-evidence for this relationship also exists: Wagner, Spratt, and Ezzaki's (1989) study of Berber and Arab children in Morocco concludes that L1 literacy is not necessary to achieve native-like literacy norms in Arabic or French.

A possible explanation for the difference is the status of the languages involved; indeed, socioeducational variables are likely an important component of L3 acquisition. For this reason, more research within different sociolinguistic contexts (Lambert, 1981) is important. One

challenge in making cross-context comparisons, however, is the striking methodological differences across L3 research. For instance, Wagner and group (1989) is a 6-year longitudinal study of primary school literacy in three languages, whereas Swain and group (1990), Cenoz and Valencia (1994), and Sanz (2000) are cross-sectional designs focused on general linguistic ability, and include older participants. Despite their differences, these designs are characterized by their product-oriented nature; large sample sizes; complex batteries of attitudinal, motivational, and background questionnaires; nonlanguage-based IQ tests, attention to language knowledge and use patterns; and a preference for correlations and regressions. Importantly, they overcome the methodological limitations that plagued research prior to the 1960s, when socioeconomic status, intelligence, and bilingualism were usually confounded (see Wei, *Research Perspectives on Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*, Volume 10).

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

*The International Conference on Multilingualism*, which takes place annually, focuses exclusively on L3. In addition, research on L3 acquisition is presented at the *International Conference on Child Language*, *American Association for Applied Linguistics Conference*, and *EuroSLA*. As for publications, articles have appeared in *Applied Psycholinguistics*, *ITL of Applied Linguistics*, *EUROSLA Yearbooks*, *Spanish Applied Linguistics*, *TESOL Quarterly*, *International Journal of Bilingualism*, *Language Learning*, and *Canadian Modern Language Review*. *Multilingual Matters* is the main outlet for books on trilingualism and L3 acquisition. Although some of these volumes include reviews or descriptions of the role of language in education, the majority of chapters report on case or experimental studies. The remainder of this section presents a summary of each of these volumes. Methodological details—including sample, languages, materials, analysis and conclusions—are provided in [Tables 1](#) (quantitative studies) and [2](#) (qualitative studies).

The volumes by Cenoz and Jessner (2000) (code 1 in [Tables 1](#) and [2](#)) and Cenoz, Hufesein, and Jessner (2001b) (code 2) provide an up-to-date overview of the sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic, and educational aspects of L3 learning. Even though Cenoz and Jessner (2000) focus on the acquisition of English in Europe, both volumes contain papers from differing theoretical perspectives and cover many issues that are relevant for researchers and educators from other parts of the world.

The publication of these two volumes introduced general issues in L3 learning. They lead to the publication of others focusing on more specific, key issues in the field, such as transfer and age. In 2001, Cenoz, Hufesein, and Jessner also published *Cross-Linguistic Influence*

Table 1 Quantitative table

| Study   | Dependent variable  | Independent variable  | Participants                    | Languages involved  | Tests/MATS  | Analysis  | Conclusions  |
|---|---------------------|---|---------------------------------|---|---|---|--|
| Cohen, S.P., Tucker, R., and Lambert, W.E. (1967) | Perceptual accuracy | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Group (2 monolinguals and 3 bilinguals)</li> <li>Condition</li> </ul>  | $N = 92$ , university students  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>English (L1/L2)</li> <li>French (L1/L2)</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Lg. proficiency (self-rated)</li> <li>Phoneme sequences in onset (4 conditions)</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>ANOVA</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Monolingual groups are more accurate in perceiving initial sound sequences occurring in their L1</li> <li>Bilinguals are generally more accurate than monolinguals perceiving sequences not occurring in their L1.</li> </ul> |
| Davine, M., Tucker, R., and Lambert, W.E. (1971)  | Perceptual accuracy | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Group (4 monolinguals vs. 2 bilinguals)</li> <li>Grade level</li> <li>Method of instruction</li> <li>Type of sound sequence</li> </ul> | $N = 121$ , 3rd and 4th graders | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>English (L1/L2)</li> <li>French (L1/L2)</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Phoneme sequences in onset (4 conditions)</li> </ul>                                       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>ANOVA</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No differences for grade or method of instruction.</li> <li>Bilingually instructed students developed sensibility for second language sound sequences</li> </ul>  |

|                       |  |   |                                |   |  |            |   |
|-----------------------|--|---|--------------------------------|---|--|------------|---|
| Eisenstein, M. (1980) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Language aptitude</li> <li>• High school grades</li> <li>• College grades</li> <li>• Self rate</li> </ul> | Group (monolinguals and different levels of bi/multilinguals)   | $N = 93$ , university students | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• English (L1)</li> <li>• Different L1s/English L2</li> <li>• Different L3s</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• MLAT</li> <li>• Self-rating scale</li> <li>• High school and college grades</li> </ul>              | $t$ -tests | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bilingualism in childhood enhances adult's second language learning aptitude</li> <li>• Cumulative positive effect of learning different languages in childhood</li> </ul> |
| Magiste, E. (1985)    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Response times on Stroop tasks</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Length of residence in Sweden</li> <li>• Intelligence</li> <li>• Group (bilinguals and trilinguals)</li> </ul> | $N = 89$ , adolescents         | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• German (L1)</li> <li>• Swedish (L2)</li> <li>• Different L3s</li> </ul>              | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stroop color and Picture-word interference tasks</li> <li>• Raven's progressive matrices</li> </ul> | ANOVA      | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Words in the dominant language produce greater interference than words in the weaker language</li> <li>• Trilinguals have prolonged response times</li> </ul>              |
| Thomas, J. (1988)     | French proficiency   | Group (monolinguals, bilinguals, and biliterates)   | $N = 26$ , college students    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• English (L1)</li> <li>• Spanish (L2)</li> <li>• French (L3)</li> </ul>               | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Vocabulary test</li> <li>• Grammar test</li> </ul>  | $t$ -test  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bilinguals outperformed monolinguals</li> <li>• Biliterates outperformed bilinguals on grammar, not on vocabulary tests</li> </ul>   |

Table 1 (Continued)

| Study                                | Dependent variable | Independent variable                   | Participants   | Languages involved  | Tests/MATS  | Analysis  | Conclusions   |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------|--|--|---|---|---|---|
| Bild, E. and Swain, M. (1989)        | French proficiency | Group (1 monolingual and 2 bilinguals) | $N = 47$ , 8th graders   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Italian (L1)</li> <li>• Non-romance (L1)</li> <li>• English (L1/L2)</li> <li>• French (L2/L3)</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Two oral cloze tests</li> <li>• Two written story telling tasks</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ANOVA</li> <li>• MANOVA</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bilinguals outperformed monolinguals.</li> <li>• No differences for type of L1 (Romance vs. non-Romance)</li> </ul>                                    |
| Jaspaert, K., and Lemmens, G. (1990) | Dutch proficiency  | Group (Italian vs. Belgian)            | $N$ varies depending on test taken (min $N = 6$ , max $N = 83$ per group) and group (children) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Italian (L1)</li> <li>• French (L2)</li> <li>• Dutch (L3)</li> </ul>                                     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• UTANT (language proficiency test)</li> <li>• GAT (grammatical analysis test)</li> <li>• IA (Test for pupils with mother tongue other than Dutch)</li> <li>• BRUS (1-min test): measures technical reading proficiency</li> <li>• Dictation</li> <li>• Reading comprehension</li> <li>• Cloze and editing test</li> </ul> | ANOVA   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Experimental group (children of Italian immigrants immersed in bicultural program) succeeded in catching up in the course of primary school</li> </ul> |

|                          |                     |  |  |  |   |  |  |
|--------------------------|---------------------|--|--|--|---|--|--|
| Cenoz, J. (1996)         | English proficiency | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● School model</li> <li>● Intelligence</li> <li>● SES</li> <li>● Attitudes toward learning English</li> <li>● Motivation</li> <li>● Exposure to the English language</li> </ul>               | <p><math>N = 300</math>, monolingual and bilingual secondary school students</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Spanish (L1)</li> <li>● Spanish and Basque (L1/L2)</li> <li>● English (L3)</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Spanish version of the Otis-Lennon mental ability test (1967)</li> <li>● Attitude: Likert format questionnaire (Gardner, 1985)</li> <li>● English language proficiency tests (four skills and vocabulary)</li> </ul> | ANOVA  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Bilingualism enhances third language learning (for four of the five measures of English)</li> </ul>   |
| Lasagabaster, D. (1998a) | English proficiency | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Intelligence</li> <li>● Gender</li> <li>● Attitudes and motivation</li> <li>● Socioeconomic and sociocultural status</li> <li>● External exposure</li> <li>● Parental motivation</li> </ul> | <p><math>N = 252</math>, bilinguals in grades 5 and 8</p>                        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Spanish and Basque (L1/L2)</li> <li>● English (L3)</li> </ul>                         | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Questionnaires</li> <li>● Raven's progressive matrices test</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● <i>t</i>-test</li> <li>● ANOVA</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● English performance influenced by intelligence, SES and cultural status, after school classes, and parents' knowledge of English</li> <li>● Motivation less significant than expected, gender not significant.</li> </ul> |

Table 1 (Continued)

| Study                       | Dependent variable                 | Independent variable   | Participants                             | Languages involved   | Tests/MATS   | Analysis  | Conclusions   |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|--|--|--|--|---|---|
| Lasagabaster, D. (1998b)    | Metalinguistic awareness           | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Intelligence</li> <li>● Background information</li> <li>● Basque,</li> <li>● Spanish and English proficiency</li> </ul> | $N = 252$ , bilinguals in grades 5 and 8 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Spanish and Basque (L1/L2)</li> <li>● English (L3)</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Raven's progressive matrices test</li> <li>● Background questionnaire</li> <li>● Basque and Spanish written proficiency test</li> <li>● English vocab and grammar English proficiency tests</li> <li>● Test of metalinguistic abilities (Pinto and Titone, 1995)</li> </ul> | Student-Newman-Keuls test   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Relationship between degree of proficiency in three languages and metalinguistic awareness</li> <li>● Original two thresholds are maintained.</li> </ul> |
| Lasagabaster, D. (2000) (1) | L1, L2, and L3 language competence | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Intelligence</li> <li>● Background information</li> </ul>   | $N = 252$ , bilinguals in grades 5 and 8 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Spanish and Basque (L1/L2)</li> <li>● English (L3)</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Raven's progressive matrices test</li> <li>● Background questionnaire</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● <math>t</math>-test</li> <li>● ANOVA</li> <li>● Multiple regression</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Students immersed in the minority language program obtained best scores in minority language and L3</li> </ul>   |

|                           |  |  |   |  |  |  |   |
|---------------------------|--|--|---|--|--|--|---|
| Muñoz, C. (2000) (1)      | L1, L2, and L3 language competence   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Grade</li> <li>Home language</li> </ul>   | $N = 866$ , bilinguals in grades 5, 7, and 12 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Catalan and Spanish (L1/L2)</li> <li>English (L3)</li> </ul>        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Basque and Spanish written proficiency test</li> <li>English vocab and grammar English tests</li> <li>Dictation and cloze test in three languages</li> <li>English grammar tests and listening comprehension test</li> <li>Background/exposure/motivation/attitude questionnaires.</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Correlation</li> <li>ANOVA</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Support for the hypothesis of interdependence between languages (Cummins, 1981)</li> <li>High levels of competence in L3 are related to high levels of competence in L1 and L2.</li> </ul> |
| Schönpflug, U. (2000) (1) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Uniqueness</li> <li>Errors</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Concreteness</li> <li>Number of translation equivalents</li> <li>Language</li> <li>Length of words</li> </ul> | $N = 29$ , bilingual university students      | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Different L1s</li> <li>German (L2)</li> <li>English (L3)</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Personal questionnaire</li> <li>Word-fragment completion test</li> </ul>  | ANOVA  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Concreteness of words represented at the conceptual level</li> <li>Lexical access in second language slower than in the third</li> </ul>   |

Table 1 (Continued)

| Study   | Dependent variable   | Independent variable   | Participants  | Languages involved  | Tests/MATS   | Analysis  | Conclusions   |
|---|--|--|---|---|--|---|---|
| Brohy, C. (2001)                                    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Overall French proficiency</li> <li>Productive competence in French</li> <li>Attitudes</li> </ul> | Group (2 bilinguals, 1 monolingual)  | $N = 61$ , 8th graders                                    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Rumansch (L1/L2)</li> <li>German (L1/L2)</li> <li>French (L3)</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>French language tests</li> <li>Questionnaires for self-evaluation and teacher evaluation</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><math>t</math>-test</li> <li>ANOVA</li> </ul>                      | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bilinguals showed higher L3 proficiency than monolinguals but not better attitudes</li> </ul>  |
| Dewaele, J. (2001) (3)                              | Several measures of lexical, syntactic and morphological complexity, accuracy, and fluency in formal and informal speech                 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Order: French as L2 vs. French as L3</li> <li>Frequency of use of French</li> </ul> | $N = 25$ , trilingual university students                 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>French (L2/L3)</li> <li>English (L2/L3)</li> <li>Dutch (L1)</li> </ul>   | Sociobiographical questionnaire  | $t$ -tests  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Formality of the situation determines speaker's position on the language mode continuum</li> <li>Frequency of use has a more profound impact than status on the IL.</li> </ul> |
| Gibson, M., Hufeisen, B., and Libben, G. (2001) (3) | Accuracy in use of German prepositional verbs  | Type of L1, L2 and L3/L4   | $N = 64$ , adult monolinguals, bilinguals and trilinguals | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>German as L2/L3 or L4</li> <li>L1s (languages with verb-prep constructions like German)</li> <li>L1s (languages with verb-prep constructions not like German)</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Fill-in-the-blanks task</li> <li>Post-task questionnaire</li> </ul>                                 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><math>t</math>-test</li> <li>ANOVA</li> <li>Percentages</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Having a language similar to German as L1 or L2 does not lead to higher achievement</li> </ul>   |

|                                       |  |   |  |   |  |   |   |
|---------------------------------------|--|---|--|---|--|---|---|
| González-Ardeó, J. (2001) (2)         | English proficiency                    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Socioeconomic level</li> <li>• Attitude toward ESP-EST</li> <li>• Motivation</li> <li>• Motivation intensity</li> <li>• Previous academic performance</li> <li>• Phonetic codification aptitude</li> </ul> | $N = 48$ , monolingual and bilingual university students | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Spanish (L1/L2)</li> <li>• Basque and Spanish (L1/L2)</li> <li>• English (L3)</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Two fill-in-gap tests</li> <li>• One reading oral test</li> </ul> | $t$ -tests  | Overall positive effect of bilingual education (immersion in Basque)  |
| Lasagabaster, D. (2001) (2)           | Attitudes toward L1, L2, and L3        | L1  | $N = 133$ , bilingual university students                | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Spanish and Basque (L1/L2)</li> <li>• English (L3)</li> </ul>                            | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Adaptation of questionnaire from Baker (1992)</li> </ul>          | $t$ -test   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dominant attitude favorable toward L3</li> <li>• L1 Basque participants have less favorable attitudes toward L3 than L1 Spanish</li> </ul> |
| Okita, Y., and Jun Hai, G. (2001) (2) | Competence on Japanese kanji character | Group (monolinguals and bilinguals)   | $N = 186$ , adults                                       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Chinese and English (L1/L2)</li> <li>• Japanese (L2/L3)</li> </ul>                       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stroke order test</li> <li>• Kanji writing test</li> </ul>        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ANOVA</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bilingual competence in writing is poorer than monolingual competence</li> </ul>   |

Table 1 (Continued)

| Study  | Dependent variable   | Independent variable   | Participants   | Languages involved  | Tests/MATS   | Analysis   | Conclusions   |
|--|--|--|--|---|--|--|---|
| García Lecumberri, M., and Gallardo, F. (2003) (4) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Vowel and consonant discrimination</li> <li>• Degree of foreign accent (DFA) and intelligibility</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Age of first exposure</li> <li>• Age at time of testing</li> </ul>  | $N = 60$ , bilingual children  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Basque and Spanish (L1/L2)</li> <li>• English (L3)</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Frog Story (Mayer, 1969)</li> <li>• Sound perception tests</li> </ul>                             | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ANOVAS</li> <li>• Correlations</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No support for CPH nor early starting age as favorable factor</li> <li>• DFA is stronger with younger students</li> <li>• Few age-related differences between vowel and consonant discrimination</li> <li>• Powerful interference of L1 in all groups</li> </ul> |
| Muñoz, C. (2003) (4)                               | English proficiency  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Age at start of exposure</li> <li>• Hours of instruction</li> </ul> | $N$ varies depending on test taken (min $N = 28$ , max $N = 163$ ). (children) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Spanish and Catalan (L1/L2)</li> <li>• English (L3)</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Personal questionnaires</li> <li>• Oral interview</li> <li>• Listening comprehension tests</li> </ul> | $t$ -test  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Late starters performed better than early starters in productive and receptive skills during the oral interview with same number of hours of instruction</li> </ul>  |

|                               |  |   |  |   |  |  |  |
|-------------------------------|--|---|--|---|--|--|--|
| Cenoz, J.<br>(2003) (4)       | English proficiency                                      | Age at start of Exposure  | $N = 135$ , bilingual children                 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Basque and Spanish (L1/L2)</li> <li>English (L3)</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Background questionnaire</li> <li>Battery of English proficiency tests.</li> <li>Attitudes and motivation questionnaires</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>ANOVA</li> <li><math>t</math>-test</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Older learners obtain better results than younger learners</li> <li>Younger learners tend to present more positive attitudes and are more motivated.</li> <li>Early introduction of an L3 is not associated with higher level of language mixing</li> </ul> |
| Garcia Mayo, M.<br>(2003) (4) | Scores in a grammaticality judgment task (English as L3) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Length of exposure in a foreign language setting</li> <li>Age of first exposure</li> </ul> | $N = 114$ , children and adolescent bilinguals | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Basque and Spanish as L1/L2</li> <li>English (L3)</li> </ul> | Grammaticality judgement (GJ) task   | Two sample binomial test   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Length of exposure to the foreign language seems to have a positive effect</li> <li>Earlier exposure does not lead to higher achievement</li> </ul>   |
| Sagasta, M.<br>(2003)         | Writing skills in English, Basque, and Spanish           | Bilingual program (immersion vs. maintenance)   | $N = 155$ , bilingual adolescents              | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Basque and Spanish (L1/L2)</li> <li>English (L3)</li> </ul>  | Writing an informal letter and recipe  | $t$ -tests   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Accuracy in Basque, Spanish and English writing is highly correlated in maintenance group</li> </ul>  |

Table 1 (Continued)

| Study                                   | Dependent variable            | Independent variable                          | Participants           | Languages involved  | Tests/MATS   | Analysis                 | Conclusions   |
|---|-------------------------------|---|------------------------|---|--|--------------------------|---|
| Keshavarz, H. M. and Astaneh, H. (2004) | English vocabulary competence | Group (monolinguals, bilinguals, biliterates) | $N = 90$ , adolescents | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Turkish (L1)</li> <li>• Armenian (L1)</li> <li>• Persian (L1/L2)</li> <li>• English (L2/L3)</li> </ul> | CPAT (Controlled productive ability test at 2000 and 3000 word levels) | Multiple <i>t</i> -tests | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Choice of Spanish or Basque as home language has no effect on English performance</li> <li>• The two bilingual groups outperformed the monolingual group</li> <li>• The biliterate outperformed the bilingual group</li> </ul> |

Table 2 Qualitative studies

| Study                                      | Participants  | Languages Involved   | Tests/Materials  | Analysis  | Conclusions  |
|--|---|--|--|---|--|
| Hoffman, C. (1985)                         | N = 2, an 8-year old girl and sibling, a 5-year old boy.  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Spanish and German (L1/L2)</li> <li>English (L3)</li> </ul>   | Extracts from children's speech at different stages of their development in three languages                      | Descriptive analysis  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bilingual proficiency depends on factors such as:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Presence of siblings</li> <li>Type of bilingualism</li> <li>Consistency of parents</li> </ul> </li> <li>Age factor plays an important role for students' own perception of their bi/multilingualism</li> </ul> |
| Björklund, S. and Sumi, I. (2000) (1)      | N=119, Students from grades 3, 4, 5, and 6.   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Finnish (L1)</li> <li>Swedish (L2)</li> <li>English (L3)</li> </ul>   | Questionnaires   | Descriptive stats (%)   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Linguistic distance is a stronger predictor of cross-linguistic influence than L2 status.</li> <li>Language proficiency and metalinguistic development affect cross-linguistic influence.</li> </ul>  |
| Cenoz, J. (2001) (3)                       | N = 90, elementary and secondary school students divided in groups depending on L1 (Basque, Spanish, or both) and grade                 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Basque (language of instruction (L1/L2))</li> <li>Spanish (L1/L2), English (L3) (school subjects).</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The Frog Story (Mayer, 1969)</li> <li>Background questionnaire</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Descriptive stats (%)</li> <li>Number of transfers and foreignisms between groups are compared.</li> </ul> | Evidence of lexical and morphological transfer, restricted to transfer of form   |
| De Angelis, G. and Selinker, L. (2001) (3) | N = 2, a 50-year-old French-Canadian woman (English, Spanish, and Italian ILs), and a 45-year-old British man (Spanish and Italian ILs) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>English (L1/L2)</li> <li>French (L1)</li> <li>Spanish (L2/L3)</li> <li>Italian (L3/L4)</li> </ul>             | Recorded interviews  | Descriptive analysis  |  |

Table 2 (Continued)

| Study                    | Participants  | Languages Involved  | Tests/Materials  | Analysis   | Conclusions  |
|--------------------------|---|---|--|--|--|
| Ecke, P.<br>(2001) (3)   | N = 24, adult learners of German as L3  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Spanish (L1)</li> <li>English (L2)</li> <li>German (L3)</li> </ul>     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>23 semistructured answer sheets, fragmentary target word knowledge and word associations.</li> </ul>  | Information from answer sheets coded   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>L1, L2 and L3 influence varies according to processing tasks and conditions.</li> <li>Errors mainly reflect unintended automatic retrieval failures (source tends to be L2)</li> <li>Tip-of-the-Tongue states primarily involve extensive, conscious word search within the L3</li> </ul> |
| Fouser, R.<br>(2001) (3) | N = 2, an L3 Korean learner (L2 Japanese), and an L5 Korean learner (L2 Japanese) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>English (L1)</li> <li>Japanese (L2)</li> <li>Korean (L3/L5)</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Questionnaire on language learning experience</li> <li>Measure of proficiency: C-test</li> <li>Discourse completion task</li> <li>Language choice</li> <li>Speech act production</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Number and type of speech acts</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Learners drew actively on their knowledge of Japanese to achieve proficiency in Korean</li> <li>Participants showed awareness of language learning processes and the relationship between Korean and Japanese.</li> </ul>   |

|                              |   |   |  |   |  |
|------------------------------|---|---|--|---|--|
| Griesler, M.<br>(2001)       | N = 75, children grouped according to type of school (immersion, late immersion, regular) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• German (L1)</li> <li>• English (L2)</li> <li>• French (L3)</li> </ul>  | The Frog Story (Mayer, 1969)   | Descriptive statistics (number of motion verbs and % of errors in verb forms) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Immersion students outperformed 2nd group (late immersion)</li> <li>• 2nd group outperformed the group from a regular high school in Austria</li> </ul>                                 |
| Hammarberg, H.<br>(2001) (3) | N = 1, an adult polyglot learner of Swedish   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• English (L1)</li> <li>• German (L2)</li> <li>• Italian and French (L3/L4)</li> <li>• Swedish (L5)</li> </ul> | Interviews   | Descriptive analysis  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• L1 functioned as external instrumental language and had long-term influence on phonetics and phonology</li> <li>• L2 has favoring role as initial supplier on L3 acquisition</li> </ul> |
| Herwig, A.<br>(2001) (3)     | N = 4, university students of Germanic languages  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• English (L1)</li> <li>• Germanic languages (L2/L3)</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Composition of a story from pictures in L1</li> <li>• Translation of story into L2</li> <li>• Think alouds</li> <li>• Background questionnaire</li> </ul> | Descriptive analysis  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lexical selection involves automatic and deliberate consultation of several languages</li> <li>• Influence from languages other than the mother tongue</li> </ul>                       |

in *Third Language Acquisition: Psycholinguistic Perspectives* (code 3), a collection of nine studies on transfer among nonprimary languages. They identify intervening psycholinguistic factors such as linguistic distance, competence, age of acquisition, recency, degree of pragmatic formality, amount of formal instruction, and frequency and contextual use of both languages. The studies further examine how these factors interact to predict and explain the frequency and direction of cross-linguistic transfers. The role of psychotypology [e.g., language is psychologically perceived as closer or further in terms of language distance (Kellerman, 1983)] appears repeatedly in this volume. Except for Fouser's chapter, which examines the acquisition and use of Korean honorific expressions, this volume largely focuses on lexical production.

The age factor in foreign language learning is the topic of the edited volume by García Mayo and García Lecumberri (2003) (code 4) that provides an overview of current research on the age factor in foreign language learning, addressing issues which are critical for language planning. This line of research has been followed mainly by the BCN-SLA group (Barcelona-Second Language Acquisition, <http://www.ub.es/filoan/BCN-SLA/BCN-SLA.html>) and the Research in English Applied Linguistics group at the University of the Basque Country (REAL, <http://www.vc.ehu.es/depfi/real>). The studies have investigated the role of age of first exposure to L3 learning, not only in terms of general language proficiency (e.g., grammar, vocabulary, fluency) but also in terms of specific aspects of L3 acquisition such as the pro-drop parameter. Both groups show that 11-year-olds learn faster than 8-year-olds, which compensates for any advantage provided by longer exposure that younger students may have. The similarity in results obtained by both lines of research despite differences in language distance and samples strengthen the conclusions, also reinforced by the high quality of the design: longitudinal, with a large sample.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

The BCN/SLA and the REAL groups continue to investigate the role of motivation and attitudes towards the L3 and its speakers and the impact of socioeconomic status, age, gender and intelligence on general L3 (English) proficiency, with a focus on the following three variables: age of first exposure to L3, educational context (in the Basque Country where different educational models coexist), and level of oral and written L1 and L2 knowledge. Work in progress continues to suggest that increasing the number of hours of exposure to the L3 by implementing L3 teaching early in the academic program does not lead to higher language proficiency. Also, Sanz's (forthcoming) work likewise supports Swain and group's results (1990): self-perceived balanced bilingualism

at the written level in terms of literacy skills explains successful L3 learning in terms of efficiency as shown by speed and level of attainment. In Catalonia and the Basque Country, balanced bilingualism is the outcome of minority immersion programs (Sanz, forthcoming). Said studies that focus on general and specific aspects of L3 proficiency, are cross-sectional and longitudinal, and most of them include large samples of child and adolescent learners. Analysis of variance, correlations and regressions are the preferred procedures.

This and previous research concludes that there is an advantage in favor of bilinguals over monolinguals when it comes to L3 acquisition. However, why do bilinguals pick up other languages faster? Bialystok (2001) proposes that the bilingual advantage emerges under ambiguous conditions, which suggests that the advantage is related to the ability to control attention when processing information. Research now in progress at Georgetown University is picking up where McLaughlin's group (see Sanz, forthcoming) left off in the 1980s. Sanz's Latin Project is an investigation of the interaction between prior linguistic knowledge (level of bilingualism), and the type of input (varying in degrees of explicitness) that includes cognitive variables (working memory and awareness) as moderating variables.

The design of all these studies is experimental, with treatments and tests (pre, post and delayed) delivered through computer. Eight different conditions combine explicit input (before and during practice as part of feedback), input-based practice, implicit input, and exposure. The effects are measured by oral and written interpretation tests, grammaticality judgement tests, and production tests, which include old (items present in the treatment) and new items. Both accuracy and latency data are recorded. Computers also administer a battery of working memory tests (one language based, two digit span tests), debriefing questionnaires, and gather think aloud data, to study the role of awareness during online processing. Recent implementations also include the MLAT and phonological short-term memory tests. The focus is on processing strategies, specifically the use of word order, case, and number morphology to assign semantic functions (who does what to whom) in L3 Latin by native speakers of English (L2 Spanish), Spanish (L2 English), and Chinese (L2 English). Latin is a natural language, which strengthens the study's validity while simultaneously allowing control for prior knowledge. The studies identified critical differences between levels that emerge under more demanding conditions, specifically, in treatment 2, which provided less grammatical information, and for items that were present in the tests but not the treatment (Bialystok, 1988; Bialystok, Craik, Klein, and Viswanathan, 2004; Nation and McLaughlin, 1986). Evidence that experienced bilinguals outperform less experienced bilinguals under more difficult external

conditions has implications for language policy and bilingual education, as this work illustrates that a certain level of bilingualism needs to be reached before learners can reap the benefits of their bilingual experience. The study also finds evidence that greater cognitive capacity is related to higher rate and achievement level. This evidence emerges depending on the nature of the treatment and the measurements. Specifically, the more explicit treatment (i.e., the one with more grammatical information), levels the field for all learners (Sanz, 2005; a description is available at <http://www.georgetown.edu/faculty/sanzc/>).

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

L3 acquisition and use are complex phenomena and researching them requires sophisticated designs. The challenges are many, stemming from four basic components of the design: sample, constructs, measurements, and analyses.

In order to answer some of the questions, especially those that require multifactorial, correlational types of analyses, researchers need to identify large, homogeneous samples. This is no easy task because such participants are not always available or willing. In addition, institutional review boards make it difficult to include certain items in questionnaires or certain treatments in the design, citing the potential for lawsuits concerning discrimination based on gender, race, or place of origin, all of which provides another reason to establish limits to the proportion of minorities in the sample. Obtaining a homogeneous sample, especially in terms of knowledge, frequency of use, and age of acquisition of the three languages involved is a major achievement in and of itself.

Most constructs, including motivation, aptitude, and awareness, are elusive, difficult to define, operationalize and measure. It is often necessary to reformulate the tests, recode, and revise the procedures after a discussion among raters to avoid inter-rater reliability problems. The inclusion of certain procedures, for example, requiring learners to think aloud while completing a treatment in order to measure awareness, might turn against the researcher by altering the very same processes under investigation (i.e., reactivity). The construct L3 *proficiency* is especially problematic both because it assumes a standard variety and because it includes a multiplicity of elements (e.g., oral and written productive and receptive skills). Furthermore: Is the multilingual's proficiency in any of their languages the same as that of monolinguals? While there are a number of proficiency tests available, they are not sufficiently fine grained to evaluate highly skilled multilinguals.

Naturally, because constructs are hard to define, measurements also suffer. A classic example is the MLAT, a measure of aptitude to learn

nonnative languages. Aptitude is actually a macro concept made up of four smaller constructs (phonetic coding ability, rote learning ability, grammatical sensibility, and inductive language learning). Due to its multicomponential nature, any results associated with higher or lower aptitude do not actually inform us about the specific microconstruct which ultimately accounts for the results. Recent operationalizations of aptitude also include working memory and phonological short-term memory.

Regressions and correlations are the preferred procedures in quantitative studies because L3 acquisition and use is multifactorial and demands an interactive approach, which leads to several problems. First, it demands large samples. Also, while these analyses clearly establish relationships among the factors, the direction of the relationship is left to interpretation. Moreover, a relationship does not imply cause and effect. Finally, the variety of methods implemented and the lack of replication are a challenge for any scholar trying to draw general conclusions for the research (Sanz, 1997).

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

L3 research is such a new field that it can only expand and deepen its methodology to both isolate the internal and external variables involved in L3 learning and to account for their multiple interactions. Scholars will continue to not only borrow and refine methods from linguistic and cognitive approaches to SLA, but also to create their own. Methods will expand to include research on the acquisition of nonprimary languages in formal contexts, case studies, and laboratory research.

Research on the acquisition of nonprimary languages in formal contexts with an emphasis on the outcomes (as influenced by type of bilingual program, language status, and language typology) will extend to include different sociolinguistic contexts, especially in developing countries. As Eastern European states join the European Union and new common markets are created—take Brazil, Argentina, and Chile as example—a growing need for new measurement techniques of factors such as, for example, socioeconomic status and language proficiency, will emerge. Language proficiency tests will be developed for highly skilled bilinguals.

Question-generating case studies will continue, as they are necessary in a young field in which homogeneity in the sample is extremely difficult to achieve. For certain types of questions, especially those related to transfer, case studies will continue to be the best way to proceed. Another advantage of case studies is that they allow the learner's voice to be heard. To include the learners' reactions is a growing trend in language research in general, including laboratory research, resulting in

mixed designs that combine highly controlled procedures with debriefing questionnaires and stimulated recalls, for example. As a result, a combination of micro, macro, and learner-centered designs will develop. Take for example the study of motivation. Gardner's macro model (Masgoret and Gardner, 2003) for bilingual contexts and immersion programs and Dörnyei's (2002) task-based micromodel for the foreign language classroom will certainly need to be adapted to new populations. Rather than an exclusive top-down approach, which imposes theoretical models on a population, a bottom-up model, i.e., an investigation, through interviews of motivational underpinnings of L3 language acquisition for the specific sample, will triangulate the process.

Finally, laboratory research within the cognitive framework will continue to increasingly implement computers in the design as more and larger laboratories become available, research institutions hire technicians, and software becomes more affordable. Computers allow for highly controlled treatments and data gathering procedures. Moreover, they let researchers track learners' performance, manipulate the amount and type of input presented, and even individually adapt it based on performance. They also facilitate the inclusion of reaction time—not just accuracy—data in the design, expanding our view of learners' performance. Theoretical developments in neurolinguistics, closely tied to advances in neuroimaging techniques, although still rare in SLA, will certainly reach L3 research soon. This new line of research will contribute to our knowledge of internal factors, including individual differences, and their interaction with external factors, which is necessary to explain such a complex phenomenon as L3 acquisition.

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## RESEARCH PERSPECTIVES ON BILINGUALISM AND BILINGUAL EDUCATION

### INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines various research perspectives on bilingualism and bilingual education. Three broad perspectives within this interdisciplinary area are identified: linguistic, psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic. The chapter focuses on theoretical questions and methodological approaches within each of the three broad perspectives, highlighting the differences and links across each.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Bilingualism and bilingual education became a major focus of scientific research only in the last century, especially since the 1970s. Two disciplines that have influenced much of the research on bilingualism and bilingual education are linguistics and psychology. The research agenda of much of modern linguistics was defined by Chomsky (1986) as consisting of three basic questions:

1. What constitutes knowledge of language?
2. How is knowledge of language acquired?
3. How is knowledge of language put to use?

For bilingualism research, these questions can be rephrased to take into account knowledge of more than one language:

1. What is the nature of language or grammar in a bilingual person's mind and how do two systems of language knowledge co-exist and interact?
2. How is more than one grammatical system acquired, either simultaneously or sequentially? In what respects does bilingual acquisition differ from monolingual acquisition?
3. How is the knowledge of two or more languages used by the same speaker in bilingual interaction?

Linguists and psychologists working on bilingualism have addressed these questions with a variety of methods and types of data.

Concerning bilingual knowledge, for example, Weinreich (1953) proposed three types of bilinguals (see [Figure 1](#)) representing three types of relationships between the linguistic sign (or signifier) and the semantic content (signified). In Type A, the individual combines a

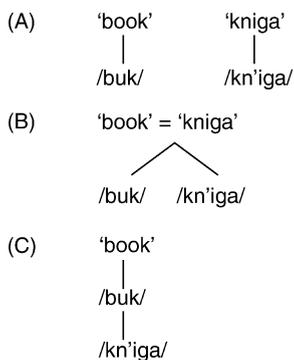


Figure 1 Three types of bilinguals.

signifier from each language with a separate unit of signified. Weinreich called such individuals 'coordinative' (later often called 'coordinate') bilinguals. In Type B, the individual identifies two signifiers, but regards them as a single compound, or composite, unit of signified; hence 'compound' bilinguals. Type C refers to people who learn a new language with the help of a previously acquired one. They are called 'subordinative' (or 'subordinate') bilinguals. His examples for each type were from English and Russian.

Weinreich's typology is often misinterpreted in the literature as referring to differences in proficiency in each language. But in fact the relationship between language proficiency and cognitive organisation of the bilingual individual is far from clear in Weinreich's model. Weinreich argued that some 'subordinate' bilinguals demonstrated a very high level of proficiency in processing both languages, as evidenced in grammaticality and fluency of speech, while some 'coordinative' bilinguals showed difficulties in processing two languages simultaneously (i.e. in code-switching or in 'foreign' words identification tasks). Using Weinreich's distinctions, bilinguals are distributed along a continuum from a subordinate or compound end to a coordinate end, and can at the same time be more subordinate or compound for certain concepts and more coordinate for others, depending on, for instance, the age and context of acquisition.

On the acquisition of bilingual knowledge, both linguists and psychologists have intensively studied language development of bilingual children. For instance, in an early study, Volterra and Taeschner (1978) suggested three key stages of lexical and syntactic development among children exposed to two languages:

Stage I: The child has one lexical system comprising words from both languages.

Stage II: The child distinguishes two different lexicons, but applies the same syntactic rules to both languages.

Stage III: The child speaks two languages differentiated both in lexicon and syntax, but each language is associated with the person who uses that language.

Although there is some research support for Volterra and Taeschner's model, it has also been heavily critiqued, especially with respect to the first two stages (e.g. De Houwer, 1990; Genesee, 1989; Meisel, 1989). This is generally known as the 'one-system-or-two' debate, i.e. do bilingual children begin with a fused linguistic system and gradually differentiate the two languages or do they start with a differentiated system? Part of that debate centres around the question: what counts as evidence for differentiation or fusion? Volterra and Taeschner (1978), for instance, based their decision on whether the child made appropriate sociolinguistic choices, i.e. whether the child spoke the 'right' language to the 'right' person. They argued that awareness of the two languages as distinct plays a crucial role in deciding the issue of differentiation, and a child's ability to make appropriate language choices reflects that awareness. However, as McLaughlin (1984) points out, this is a circular argument unless some criterion is provided for assessing what is meant by awareness other than that children separate the languages. A child's apparent (in)ability to choose the right language for the right addressee is a rather different issue from whether the child has one or two linguistic systems. There now exists a large body of literature rebutting the 'fused' system hypothesis, suggesting instead that bilinguals have two distinct but interdependent systems from the very start (see Genesee, 2002; Meisel, 2004).

Research on bilingual language use began with broad descriptions of language choice patterns. Fishman's domain analysis (1965), for example, outlined the ways in which speakers make their language choices according to topic, setting and participant. Gumperz (1982) identified a range of discourse functions of bilingual code-switching, which he defined as alternation of language within an interactional episode. Such functions include for instance quotation, addressee specification, interjections and reiteration (Gumperz, 1982). In the meantime, linguists proposed various grammatical constraints on code-switching (e.g. Myers-Scotton, 1993; Poplack, 1980). Such descriptive accounts laid the foundation for subsequent research on bilingual interaction.

The earliest work on bilingual education in turn was heavily influenced by the widespread view in the field of psychology that bilingualism had a detrimental effect on a human being's intellectual and spiritual growth. The following is a quote from a professor at Cambridge University, which illustrates the dominant belief of the time, even among academics and intellectuals:

If it were possible for a child to live in two languages at once equally well, so much the worse. His intellectual and spiritual growth would not thereby be doubled, but halved. Unity of mind and character would have great difficulty in asserting itself in such circumstances. (Laurie, 1890, p. 15)

Laurie's quote represents a commonly held belief through the twentieth century that bilingualism disadvantages rather than advantages one's intellectual development. The early research on bilingualism and cognition tended to confirm this negative view point, finding that monolinguals were superior to bilinguals on intelligence tests. One of the most widely cited studies was done by Saer (1923), who studied 1,400 Welsh-English bilingual children between the ages of seven and 14 in five rural and two urban areas of Wales. A 10-point difference in IQ was found between the bilinguals and the monolingual English speakers from rural backgrounds. Saer concluded that bilinguals were mentally confused and at an intellectual disadvantage compared with monolinguals. It was further suggested, with a follow-up study of university students, that 'the difference in mental ability as revealed by intelligence tests is of a permanent nature since it persists in students throughout their university career' (1924, p. 53).

A later version of this deficient view of bilingual children manifested in the term 'semilingual'. Semilinguals were believed to have linguistic deficits in six areas of language (see Hansegard, 1975; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981):

1. Size of vocabulary
2. Correctness of language
3. Unconscious processing of language
4. Language creation
5. Mastery of the functions of language
6. Meanings and imagery

It is significant that the term 'semilingualism' emerged in connection with the study of language skills of people belonging to immigrant and ethnic minority groups. Supporting research was conducted in Scandinavia and North America and was concerned with accounting for the educational outcomes of submersion programmes, where minority children were taught through the medium of the majority language. However, these studies, like the ones conducted by Saer, had at least four methodological flaws (MacSwan, 2000). First, the tests which were used to measure language proficiencies were insensitive to the qualitative aspects of language use. Language may be specific to a context; a person may be competent in some contexts but not in others. Second, as bilingual children are still in the process of developing their languages, it is not valid to compare them to some idealised adults.

Third, the comparison with monolinguals is also unfair. It is important to recognise that bilinguals are ‘naturally’ qualitatively and quantitatively different from monolinguals in their use of the two languages, i.e. as a function of being bilingual. Fourth, if participants’ languages are relatively underdeveloped, the origins may not be in bilingualism per se, but in the economic, political and social conditions that evoke under-development. Monolingual and bilinguals in these studies were not comparable in other respects (e.g., SES), so results were confounded.

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

### *Psycholinguistic Approaches to Bilingualism*

Many of the questions first raised in these earlier studies were challenged by subsequent research, using better methodologies and technologies. For example, current psycholinguistic models of the bilingual lexicon [e.g., Potter, So, Von Echaradt and Feldman’s (1984) Concept Mediation Model and the Word Association model, and Kroll and Stewart’s (1994) Revised Hierarchical Model] take into consideration proficiency level, age and context of acquisition and have much great explanatory power.

Psycholinguists also have used the latest functional neuroimaging technologies to investigate the cognitive organisation of languages in the bilingual brain (see Abutalebi, Cappa and Perani, 2005). The key research question here is the relationship between the neurobiological substrate for multiple languages and environmental influences such as age of acquisition, exposure and proficiency. Whilst the patterns of brain activation associated with tasks that engage specific aspects of linguistic processing are remarkably consistent across different languages and different speakers, factors such as proficiency seem to have a major modulating effect on brain activity: more extensive cerebral activations associated with production in the less-proficient language and smaller activations with comprehending the less proficient language.

In terms of acquisition of bilingual knowledge, a more interesting question than the one-or-two-systems debate has emerged. Specifically, is bilingual acquisition the same as monolingual acquisition? Theoretically, separate development is possible without there being any similarity with monolingual acquisition. Most researchers argue that bilingual children’s language development is by and large the same as that of monolingual children (Meisel, 2004). In general terms, both bilingual and monolingual children go through an initial babbling stage, followed by the one-word stage, the two-word stage, the multi-word stage

and the multi-clause stage. At the morphosyntactic level, a number of studies have reported similarities rather than differences between bilingual and monolingual acquisition. Nevertheless, one needs to be careful in the kinds of conclusions one draws from such evidence. Similarities between bilingual and monolingual acquisition do not mean that (i) the two languages a bilingual child is acquiring develops in the same way or at the same speed; (ii) the two languages a bilingual child is acquiring do not influence and interact with each other.

There is one area in which bilingual children clearly differ from monolingual children, namely, code-mixing. Studies show that bilingual children mix elements from both languages in the same utterance as soon as they can produce two-word utterances (e.g. De Houwer, 1990; Deuchar and Quay, 2000; Lanza, 1997). As with adult code-switching, bilingual children's language mixing is highly structured. The operation of constraints based on surface features of grammar, such as word order is evident from the two-word/-morpheme stage onward, and the operation of constraints based on abstract notions of grammatical knowledge is most evident in bilingual children once they demonstrate such knowledge overtly (e.g. verb tense and agreement markings), usually around 2.6 years of age and older (Koppe and Meisel, 1995; Meisel, 1994). As Genesee (2002) points out, these findings suggest that in addition to the linguistic competence to formulate correct monolingual strings, bilingual children have the added capacity to co-ordinate their two languages on-line in accordance with the grammatical constraints of both languages during mixing. While these studies provide further evidence for the separate development, or two systems, argument, they also suggest that there are both quantitative and qualitative differences between bilingual acquisition and monolingual acquisition.

Psycholinguistic approaches to bilingualism have offered insights into how multiple languages are simultaneously acquired and represented by the bilingual individual. The typical methods psycholinguists use tend to be laboratory based, using carefully designed experiments or standard assessments. These methods, together with the theoretical models that psycholinguists have developed, have enhanced the status of bilingualism research in the scientific community. Nevertheless, the transfer of the scientific knowledge of bilingualism to real-world issues, such as the education of bilingual and multilingual children in schools and communities, remains a challenge.

### *Sociolinguistic Approaches to Bilingualism*

In contrast to linguistic and psycholinguistic researchers, sociolinguists see bilingualism and multilingualism as socially constructed

phenomena and the bilingual and multilingual person as a social actor. For the multilingual speaker, language choice is not only an effective means of communication but also an act of identity (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985). Every time we say something in one language instead of another we are reconnecting with people, situations and power configurations from our history of past interactions and imprinting on that history our attitudes towards the people and languages concerned. Through language choice, we maintain and change ethnic group boundaries and personal relationships, and construct and define 'self' and 'other' within a broader political economy and historical context. Issues of identity and identification are paramount for the sociolinguist.

In early variationist sociolinguistic work (e.g. Labov, 1972), identity was taken to mean the speaker's social economic class, gender, age or place of origin. It was assumed that speakers expressed identities through their language use. Scholars such as Cameron (1990) and Johnstone (1996) strongly criticised such assumption, arguing that identities are negotiated through social interaction. Further, linguistic forms and strategies have multiple functions and cannot be directly linked to particular identities outside of interactional contexts. Work by Rampton (1995, 1999) and Lo (1999), for example, demonstrated how identities are locally constructed. More recent work by Pavlenko and Blackledge (e.g. Blackledge and Pavlenko, 2001; Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004), using critical discourse analysis, emphasises the negotiation of identities.

The idea that identity is negotiable can be traced back to the work of social psychologists, who were interested in group processes and inter-group relations (e.g. Tajfel, 1974, 1981). Identity, from this particular perspective, is reflective self-image, constructed, experienced and communicated by the individual within a group. Negotiation is seen as a transactional process, in which individuals attempt to evoke, assert, define, modify, challenge and/or support their own and others' desired self-images (Ting-Toomey, 1999). Identity domains such as ethnic, gender, relational, facework are seen as crucial for everyday interaction. Speakers feel a sense of identity security in a culturally familiar environment, but insecurity in a culturally unfamiliar environment. Satisfactory identity negotiation outcomes would include the feelings of being understood, valued, supported and respected.

There are two major problems with such an approach. First, the categories used in the analysis are often rigid and ill-defined and have a monolingual and unicultural bias. The world is often seen as consisting of 'them' and 'us', 'in-group' and 'out-group', or 'we code' and 'they code'. The so-called negotiation, in this particular perspective, is unidirectional—the native speaker abandoning (or at least modifying) his or her first language and culture in order to learn the language of the host culture. This process is often known as 'convergence' or

'acculturation'. The second major problem concerns the approach's static and homogeneous view of culture and society. It does not take into account the historical, ideological, economic processes that led to the present social grouping or stratification (see Heller, 1999).

Adopting a post-structuralist approach to the notion of identity, Pavlenko and Blackledge (e.g. Blackledge and Pavlenko, 2001; Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004) argue that the relationship between language and identity is mutually constitutive and that identities are multiple, dynamic and subject to change. For them, negotiation of identities is the interplay between reflective positioning (after Davies and Harre, 1990), that is, self-representation and interactive positioning, whereby others attempt to reposition particular individuals or groups. Their analyses of multilingualism and identities in a variety of social contexts demonstrate that languages are appropriated to legitimise, challenge and negotiate particular identities, and to open new identity options. Identity options as constructed, validated and performed through discourses available to individuals at particular times and places—that is, certain linguistic resources may be available to certain groups of speakers, while others may not (Tabouret-Keller, 1997).

Parallel to the work on multilingualism and negotiation of identities, sociolinguists critically examine some of the concepts and notions commonly used by other researchers in the field of bilingualism and multilingualism. For example, the very idea of code-switching raises questions as to what a language is. Instead of thinking of languages as discrete systems, sociolinguists tend to see multilingual speakers as actors of social life who draw on complex sets of communicative resources which are unevenly distributed and unevenly valued (Heller, 1999). The linguistic systematicity therefore appears to be at least as much a function of historically rooted ideologies (of nation and ethnicity) and of the ordering practices of social life as of language per se (Gal and Irvine, 1995). This perspective goes beyond a focus on mental representation of linguistic knowledge and opens up the possibility of looking at bilingualism and multilingualism as a matter of ideology, communicative practice and social process.

This particular sociolinguistic perspective has important implications for the way researchers collect, analyse and interpret data. Informed by developments in anthropology, sociology and cultural studies, sociolinguists have examined communicative practices within and across sites that can be ethnographically demonstrated to be linked. Working with the ideas of *trajectories* (of speakers, linguistic resources, discourses, institutions) across time and space and of *discursive spaces* which allow for, and also constrain, the production and circulation of discourses, Heller (e.g. 1995, 1999) has examined multilingual practices

in a number of communities and argued that multilingual practices contribute to the construction of social boundaries and of the resources those boundaries regulate. They therefore also raise the question of the social and historical conditions which allow for the development of particular regimes of language, for their reproduction, their contestation, and eventually, their modification or transformation.

A further, closely related area in which sociolinguists have extended the work by linguists and psycholinguists on bilingualism is that of the acquisition of linguistic knowledge. Building on earlier research on language socialisation, which focused on young children acquiring their first language in culturally specific ways, scholars such as Crago (Crago, Annahatak and Ningiuruvik, 1993), Kulick (1992), Schecter and Bayley (2002) and Zentella (1997) examine bilingual and multilingual children's developing competence in various speech and literacy events. Particular attention is given to the range of linguistic resources available, or not, in bilingual and multilingual communities and the ways in which children, as well as adolescents and adults, learn to choose among these resources for their symbolic value. The researchers emphasised language socialization as an interactive process, in which those being socialised also act as agents rather than as mere passive initiates. This line of inquiry also demonstrates how domains of knowledge are constructed through language and cultural practices, and how the individual's positioning affects the process of knowledge acquisition and construction (Bayley and Schecter, 2003).

### *Current Work on Bilingual Education*

Whilst traditional research questions (e.g. cognitive advantages and disadvantages of bilingualism for children, bilingual assessment, bilingual classroom interaction and language-in-education policy) continue to influence research on bilingual education, an important strand in the current bilingual education research examines how new minority communities respond to the lack of status accorded to them and their languages. Mainstream education in many contexts neglects the real-life social experiences of cultural and linguistic diversity (e.g. Hornberger, 1991). As a result, new minority communities often set up schools themselves in order to promote their cultures and languages. Indeed, in the UK, the government has put the issue of language and cultural maintenance in the hands of the new minorities themselves, and such educational provision has been set up in addition to the education provided by the state (Martin, Bhatt, Bhojani and Creese, 2004).

This form of community language education has provided a 'safe' but largely hidden space in which specific communities can learn about

their own cultures and languages. Although there has been a large amount of work in Britain, North America and Australia which points to crucial connections between minority communities and their languages, cultures, religions, literacy practices and identities (e.g. Clyne, 1991; Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001), there is a dearth of studies which focus specifically on community language education initiatives. Much of the work which is available demonstrates how ethnic minority children benefit from their multilingualism and the bilingual opportunities which the schools provide. For example, Hall, Kamil, Mohsin and Jon (2002) note how attendance at supplementary schools provides 'a way of reclaiming the specificity of cultural and social identity . . . missing from mainstream schooling'. In their comparative study of provision, purposes and pedagogy of supplementary schooling in Leeds (UK) and Oslo (Norway), they found that supplementary education 'imbues its participants with a sense of belonging to a community that supports them practically, culturally, socially, emotionally and spiritually' (Hall, Kamil, Mohsin and Jon, 2002, p. 410). These important issues can be linked back to the social experiences of using languages, rather than simply the celebration of linguistic diversity. Such educational opportunities provide a safe haven for young people from the new minorities to use their bilingualism in creative and flexible ways (cf. Martin, Bhatt, Bhojani and Creese, 2006). Critically, little is still known about the educational pedagogies of such schooling as well as the relationship between mainstream and supplementary education.

#### CHALLENGES AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The highly politicised nature of bilingual education, especially the education of children from immigrant and minority ethnic backgrounds, poses an important challenge to both policy and research in this area. Important questions need to be addressed, such as: Why are there different viewpoints about linguistic minorities and bilingual education? Why do some people prefer the assimilation of linguistic minorities and others prefer linguistic diversity? What role can schools play in a more multicultural and less racist society? Ideally, a bilingual educational programme should aim to produce bilingual products in the form of bilingual speakers; though in practice it is often the case only one language is taught or used in the actual classroom. Many of the so-called bilingual education programmes in the UK and Europe, for example, are in fact English or other European languages programmes for children whose first languages are different. In the meantime, the heritage/community language schools often insist on teaching or using their heritage/community language only. The official discourse does

not encourage students and teachers to practice bilingualism in the heritage/community education context.

Yet the most important feature of a bilingual being is bilingual practice, and the form of practice that is most distinctly bilingual is code-switching. In the last four decades, code-switching has attracted a considerable amount of interest in various branches of linguistics, including sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics. The vast majority of this work, however, focuses on non-institutional contexts. There is an urgent need to extend our knowledge of code-switching in specific institutional contexts, for example, the classroom. Real tensions are often found in such educational contexts. Whereas code-switching in the community is regarded as acceptable bilingual talk, the same cannot be said to be the case for many classroom contexts (Canagarajah, 2005; Lin and Martin, 2005). Indeed, the literature on classroom code-switching is littered with metaphors which underpin such conflict. For example, the notions of 'collusion' (Arthur, 1996), 'safe talk' (Chick, 1996), 'sabotage' (Martin, 2005) and 'incomplete journeys' (Setati, Adler, Reed and Bapoo, 2002). Further research on the use, conflict and tensions of code-switching in the classroom will not only help to focus on what really matters to bilingual individuals in real life but also extend and link the fields of education, linguistics, psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics (see also Lin, *Code-switching in the Classroom: Research Paradigms and Approaches*, Volume 10).

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RESEARCH APPROACHES TO NARRATIVE,  
LITERACY, AND EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

Narratives rest at the core of human activity and relationships. Since ancient times, scholars and thinkers have conceptualized and analyzed narratives from diverse disciplinary perspectives. In this chapter, we define narrative as a genre of oral discourse that characterizes and facilitates culturally determined ways of communicating lived or imaginary events to others. We see narrative as a linguistic tool that represents ideas and past actions in memory, structures and evaluates present experiences, and helps humans make sense of the world around them. Loyal to this definition, narrative, literacy, and education are intimately intertwined, as early narratives lay the foundation for literacy development, and literacy, in turn, is the cornerstone of a successful formal education. Here we review past and current work addressing children's narrative development and the connections between their oral narrative abilities and the skills necessary for their ultimate educational success.

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The study of oral narrative has its roots in structuralist investigations of written narrative. In one of the earliest works, *Morphology of the Folk Tale*, Propp (1928), a Russian scholar, analyzed the basic plot components of fairy tales to derive their simplest irreducible narrative elements. Nonetheless, the most influential study for the contemporary narrative orientation used in the present review is the one conducted by Labov and Waletzky (1967). Their seminal work was first presented in the spring of 1966 as a conference paper in the meeting of the American Ethnological Society. Breaking from the long-standing tradition of studying written narratives, Labov and Waletzky paved the way for the investigation of oral stories of personal experience, that is, of narratives in their everyday context. Their work focused mostly, as had Propp's (1927), on the structural aspects of narratives. They outlined the basic units of narrative analyses (e.g., clauses) and formulated their basic structure and organization (i.e., high point analysis).

Although Labov and Waletzky's investigation was conducted with adults, it became a springboard for study of children's conversational

narratives. As with adults, main questions of this early work focused on both the basic structural elements of children's narratives and how these were organized into a cohesive story. Within this field of research, two main perspectives emerged. In one view, scholars grounded in cognitive psychology conceptualized narratives as part of a larger cognitive domain and, as such, they considered children's narrative abilities to be linked to the development of specific cognitive skills (e.g., Stein and Glenn, 1979). In the second, scholars adopted a linguistic approach and viewed narratives as part of children's development of discourse abilities and, thus, linked to children's linguistic and conversational gains. Working from this latter perspective, Peterson and McCabe (1983) documented the developmental progression of children's narrative organization. Their work was instrumental in translating Labov and Waletzky's narrative analyses to children's oral stories and in examining the development of narrative organization as it approximates the canonical form of adult stories. Moreover, by developing a specific method of elicitation—the *conversational map*—their work opened the door for developmental narrative studies of children from different cultures.

Almost parallel to the interest in the organization and development of children's narrative skills, the emergence of the ethnography of communication approach (Gumperz and Hymes, 1972; see also Creese, *Linguistic Ethnography*, Volume 10) led to various naturalistic studies on children's language uses, practices, and development in diverse communities around the world (see also Duff, *Language Socialization, Higher Education, and Work*, Volume 8 and review by Garret, *Researching Language Socialization*, Volume 10, for cultural perspectives on language learning). In most of these ethnographic studies, oral storytelling or sharing stories about the past emerged as a form of discourse used frequently with, around, or by children across societies. Yet, this early work also highlighted cultural variations in narrative realms (e.g., Heath, 1983; Miller, 1982). For example, communities differ with regard to the frequency with which stories are shared, the socialization functions narratives play, and the roles adults and children play in the creation of stories. Heath's (1983) study on language and literacy development in three different sociocultural communities in the USA became a pivotal contribution to the field of education, namely to the area focusing on the intersection between oral language and literacy. Her study highlighted how purposes and practices of narrative differ in diverse sociocultural communities, and more importantly, how narratives in classrooms differ from those in the home. All children entering school must, therefore, adjust to the culture of the school if they are to become successful achievers in that milieu.

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The last two decades of the twentieth century witnessed a surge in child narrative research. Most of the work was geared at understanding various aspects of children's narrative development, individual and social-cultural variations in narrative processes and outcomes, and the predictive relation between oral narrative skills and children's literacy development.

*Narrative Development*

A major line of inquiry within the area of children's narratives concerns the progression of narrative development. This work, conducted primarily by developmental psychologists, has been grounded in Vygotskian theory that highlights early social interaction between parents and children as a primary means by which children gain mastery of linguistic and higher-order cognitive skills. Using traditional developmental methods, such as cross-sectional and longitudinal designs, these studies have documented change in children's narrative abilities over time in conversations with experimenters or primary caregivers.

Through this work, we have learned that children begin to tell narratives around the age of two. These early narratives are constructed in the context of everyday conversations with key adults such as parents, siblings, and other family members. During these conversations, the more skilled conversational partner asks questions and provides statements about the experience that guides the child's construction of a meaningful personal narrative. At the early stages, most child-directed questions are "yes-no" (e.g., Did Graham go to the park with mama?). As children gain greater narrative competence, conversational partners request from them more complex information using open-ended questions (e.g., What did you do at the park?). Therefore, the input and contributions of others act as a scaffold for children's narratives by providing the information and the organization to construct a meaningful story that will be understood and valued by the larger society. As children develop, they internalize the structure modeled by adults, thereby gaining the ability to construct personal narratives independently.

By age five, children are able to construct a basic narrative that approximates the canonical form of oral stories valued in their community. To tell such a narrative, four basic skills need to be in place: (a) knowledge of the event to be discussed, (b) ways of weaving the events in a coherent manner, (c) language skills to represent the events in a cohesive manner, and (d) the ability to tailor the narrative to the specified audience. Numerous studies, most of which were conducted

in the late 1980s and early 1990s, focused on how children developed these four basic skills and incorporated them into their oral narratives (for a review, see Bamberg, 1997; Hudson and Shapiro, 1991).

### *Individual and Sociocultural Variations*

A second major line of research investigates individual and cultural variations in children's narrative styles, as well as variations in the context of narrative development.

Studies on children's independent storytelling have focused mostly on variations in their narrative discourse, either as a function of culture-specific conventions of a good story (e.g., Gee, 1989) or as a function of language typology and grammar (e.g., Berman and Slobin, 1994). The majority of these studies prompt children to narrate wordless books or to talk about past experiences.

Studies on the context of narrative development have focused mostly on the discourse used by English-speaking, middle-class, European-American parents and children during conversations about past experiences. These studies have noted individual differences in the amount and type of support parents provide their children, identifying two broad elicitation styles (Fivush and Fromhoff, 1988; McCabe and Peterson, 1991; Reese and Fivush, 1993). Some parents adopt a high-elaborative style, engaging in lengthy conversations and asking numerous and varied questions. Other parents adopt a repetitive (or low-elaborative) style, talking less about past experiences, asking fewer and more redundant questions, and providing less information to the child.

Although to a lesser extent, parental narrative support has also been examined with families from other social, cultural, linguistic, and ethnic backgrounds. Researchers have either conducted comparative studies between two different groups or have performed rich ethnographic discourse analyses in one particular community. Taken together, this body of work has shown variations in narrative topics discussed by parents and children, types of parental prompts used, functions of the prompts used, and the socialization functions of the narrative conversations. Miller and colleagues (e.g., Wiley, Rose, Burger, and Miller, 1998), for example, found that parents and children from working-class European-American backgrounds engaged in more co-narrations about past experiences than did European-American dyads from middle-class backgrounds. However, the children from working-class backgrounds were expected to provide factual accounts of the past experience, whereas the children from middle-class families were allowed to express their own views whether these were factual or not. Research conducted with different ethnic/cultural communities has incorporated

various immigrant and nonimmigrant groups around the world, including Korean (e.g., Choi, 1992), Chinese (e.g., Han, Leichtman, and Wang, 1998; Miller, Wiley, Fung, and Liang, 1997), Japanese (e.g., Minami and McCabe, 1995), African-American (e.g., Champion, 1998), and various Latin American groups (Eisenberg, 1985; Melzi, 2000). Overall, researchers conclude that societal values and ideological orientations (e.g., highlighting the self or others), as well as communicative patterns (e.g., communicating in subtle ways or direct ways) are responsible for the discourse parents use to support children's developing narrative abilities.

### *Narratives and Literacy Development*

A third major line of research extends narrative research beyond the descriptive level to predict future educational outcomes. Most of this work has examined the connection between narrative skills and later literacy and reading ability. This work rests on the premise that narrative is a type of *decontextualized* language. That is, narrative is a form of extended discourse that requires children to move beyond the observable and create meaning solely through language. Children's early use of language in such a decontextualized manner as part of their daily routines (e.g., dinner time conversations or during play) is a powerful predictor of their future use of school-related literacy because texts presented for comprehension in the school setting typically demand children to interpret complex messages without the support of a conversational partner or shared knowledge with an audience (Reese, 1995; Snow, 1991).

Recent research has shown that at kindergarten entry, children with relatively better-developed narrative skills have an advantage educationally over children who enter kindergarten with relatively less well-developed narrative abilities. For example, children's oral narrative abilities during the kindergarten years predict reading comprehension skills and receptive vocabulary during middle childhood (e.g., Dickinson and Tabors, 2001; Griffin, Hemphill, Camp, and Palmer, 2004).

The importance of narratives for children's ultimate academic success also resides in the fact that the school context is an environment in which children must listen and exchange their own stories as part of interactions with both teachers and peers. Difficulty with storytelling, therefore, might ultimately manifest itself in the classroom environment in terms of poorer language and cognitive skills, as well as poorer social interactions. Yet, the seminal work of Cazden (1988) underscores that classroom discourse privileges a culture-specific narrative style. Children whose home literacy and narrative interactions resemble more closely what occurs in the classroom tend to enjoy

greater success in school than those whose prior conceptualization of the role of narrative has been attained through everyday experiences that differ from school-like interactions. Teachers might fail to acknowledge the narrative and literacy style children bring to bear on their education and, in turn, dismantle their ability to achieve (e.g., Michaels, 1991).

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

As educators focus on school readiness and the concept of literacy more broadly, narratives emerge as a compelling and powerful tool through which to understand not only children's language and reading abilities, but also their cognitive and social-emotional development. Three main lines of research have steered narrative work in recent years: narrative and culture, narrative and the development of self, and narrative and social-cognitive development.

The first line of current research expands on previous cultural and cross-linguistic work continuing to build a knowledge base to broaden the scope of our current understanding of narrative development (e.g., Champion, 2003; Leichtman, Wang, and Pillemer, 2003; Melzi and Caspe, 2005). The majority of this work has combined the strengths of quantitative (i.e., larger sample sizes and advanced statistical analyses) and ethnographic methods to continue documenting that different communities value distinct types of stories and that older members of the community guide children's construction of stories in the manner valued by their community. However, unlike previous work, this research begins to unpack the cultural influences that dictate distinct narrative practices. For instance, do narrative practices correspond to general communicative patterns, language, and storytelling practices with children? Or, do narrative variations stem from ideological cultural orientation and child-rearing goals? Moreover, how do these cultural styles relate to children's narrative development and later academic success? Answering these questions is crucial not only to build a more comprehensive understanding of the intersection between narrative, language, and culture, but also because of the importance narratives have for literacy development—thus helping educators understand what emergent literacy skills children from different socio-cultural backgrounds are bringing from home to school.

A second line of work explores the connections between narrative, cognition, and social-emotional development. Related to cognition, narrative is associated with skills such as abstract thought processes, representational development, the construction of knowledge bases, and problem-solving strategies. Narrative is also related to the

organization of memories, in particular, autobiographical memory (Fivush and Haden, 2003). Autobiographical memory is defined as the component of memory that holds all key experiences related to building a concept of self. Therefore, personal narratives are not only theorized to be a critical aspect of memory, but also the link between memory and the development of self. In narrating stories about past experiences, children are learning to organize their life history into a coherent narrative of self, weaving factual information with their subjective interpretation of personal account of events. Fivush and Nelson (2006), for example, argue that the subjective or evaluative aspect of narratives links personal memories and the development of a self-concept. Recent studies explore the relation between memory, narrative, and construction of self across diverse age groups and in various cultures. Taken together, this work suggests that “each of us creates a life narrative embedded in sociocultural frameworks that define what is appropriate to remember, how to remember it, and what it means to be a self with an autobiographical past” (Fivush and Haden, 2003, p. viii).

A third line of contemporary research explores the relation between narratives and children’s social-cognitive skills, in particular theory-of-mind development (Nelson, Plesa, Henseler, Presler, and Walkenfeld, 2003). Theory-of-mind is a milestone in children’s social-cognitive development usually emerging around the age of four. Theory-of-mind encompasses a range of abilities, including the ability to see another’s point of view, to ascribe mental states (e.g., desires, beliefs, intentions, and emotions) to others, and to use this information to predict others’ behavior. Findings from developmental studies suggest that individual differences in children’s theory-of-mind are related to several aspects of social functioning, including prosocial behaviors, peer acceptance, and successful communication with friends (Cutting and Dunn, 1999; Slomkowski and Dunn, 1996), which in turn have been found to be powerful predictors of academic outcomes (Wentzel, 1993). Given the dialogic nature of narrative construction, children’s ability to narrate has been posited as promoting theory-of-mind development. A number of studies have been conducted on the relation between children’s narrative skill and theory-of-mind (e.g., Guajardo and Watson, 2002). Findings suggest that opportunities for sharing stories promote children’s understanding of others’ intentions, beliefs, desires, and emotions. In turn, children’s understanding of others’ internal states influences their ability to engage in effective social transactions in a variety of contexts. However, more research is still needed to understand the ways in which social-cognitive skills and narrative abilities jointly influence children’s readiness to meet the social demands inherent in formal schooling.

PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES:  
FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Two major problems in the narrative literature include defining and assessing narrative skills in children and translating the knowledge gained in research studies into successful practices and interventions. These two problems rest on the importance oral narrative skills play on children's literacy development, and therefore, their ultimate educational success. In addition, they originate on the interdisciplinary nature of both theory and methods used to carry out narrative research. In addressing these two main problems, basic research in narrative development can be applied in a manner that might lead to the improvement of educational prospects for all children.

*Defining and Assessing Narratives*

A major problem in narrative inquiry is that of definition and assessment. Numerous factors need to be considered in obtaining narrative data, such as the type of narrative to elicit, the degree to which supports (e.g., books, pictures, conversational partner) will be included in the assessment, who will listen to the stories that are produced (e.g., experimenter, familiar adult, peer), and how the collected narratives relate to demands of the children's home culture as well as those of the mainstream community. A variety of narrative assessment procedures have been used in research over the past 30 years. These include, but are not limited to: production of fictional stories in response to open-ended prompts; recounting of story whereby children are told a story and asked to retell it while looking at the pages; personal narrative production in which children are prompted by a parent or another adult about an experience that might have happened to them and asked to elaborate about it; response to structured prompts in which children reply to questions about a picture or story; storytelling with wordless books either with or without adult scaffolding; adult-child conversations; response to picture tasks whereby children spontaneously talk about the pictures they see (e.g., TAT); and play narration where children are provided a set of play animals and introduced to a verbal conflict and asked to tell the rest of the story.

Likewise, throughout the last 30 years, multiple methods for narrative analyses have been used depending on investigators method of elicitation, definition of narrative, theoretical stance, and focus of study. Recently, narrative scholars have attempted to provide an integrative framework for analyzing narratives. For example, McCabe and Bliss (2003) suggest four main types of analyses that surface different narrative abilities and features: high-point microanalysis, story grammar

analysis, stanza analysis, and narrative assessment profile. High-point microanalysis assesses specific aspects of narrative (e.g., the presence of an opening, complicating actions, evaluation) to provide a window into a child's overall narrative structure. Story grammar analysis is used in evaluation of fictional stories by examining explicit goals of a protagonist. Stanza analysis involves breaking narratives into sentences or phrases and grouping these phrases into stanzas to understand subtopics of a larger discourse. Finally, narrative assessment profile evaluates discourse coherence including topic maintenance, event sequencing, informativeness, referencing, cohesion, and fluency.

Although narrative tasks are easy to administer, a major drawback of narrative research is that it involves labor-intensive procedures for collecting, coding, scoring, and analyzing data. In recent years, researchers, educators, psychologists, and policy makers in the field of early childhood have become interested in translating approaches to narrative analysis into standard assessments for large-scale research and intervention projects. This interest is due, in part, to the unique ability of a narrative to tap into multiple dimensions of children's developing capacities at once. For example, narrative highlights vocabulary, grammar, pragmatics, the ability to stay on task, the use of goals, statement of conflict, and resolution and attribution of social skills including feelings and mental states. Both educators and researchers argue that although many approaches exist for collecting and analyzing data, a more standard approach for administration, coding, and analysis is needed to alleviate the burdens of time, cost, and training, as well as to ensure the collection of reliable and valid data across a range of settings (e.g., preschools, center-based and home-based programs, family day care). That is, narrative is still mostly a psychologist's or a language researcher's tool, with little cross-over to educational practice.

Standardized assessments to assess narrative ability do however exist. Hirsh-Pasek, Kochanoff, Newcombe, and de Villiers (2005), for example, include the task of narrative language (TNL) (Gillam and Pearson, 2004) and a subtest of the diagnostic evaluation of language variation (DELV) (Seymour, Roeper, and de Villiers, 2003) in their review of promising narrative measures. Culturally appropriate standardized tests are also needed to allow teachers and large-scale researchers to include narrative analysis in their work more readily.

### *Implementation of Research: Intervention*

Because of the importance of narrative for different domains of children's development, researchers have recently begun to design interventions to improve children's narrative ability. This work has been conducted mainly with low-income children, disproportionately at risk

for reading failure in the later years. By targeting families and early childhood programs, these interventions hope to improve children's narrative skills before they enter kindergarten. Two interventions, evaluated with randomized control experiments, have been particularly effective in producing improved narrative outcomes for young children. First, "dialogic reading," a book reading intervention developed by Whitehurst, Arnold, Epstein, and Angell (1994), consists of two elements: a 30-week shared-reading program conducted at school and at home and a 16-week phonemic awareness program conducted at school. Teachers and parents of children in the intervention condition are taught how to read to their children using an interactive reading technique called dialogic reading. In a study of over 100 low-income children living in the Northeast of the USA, children in the intervention group included significantly more evaluative devices (references to internal states of characters and dialog) in their narratives at the end of the intervention than the control group (Zevenbergen, Whitehurst, and Zevenbergen, 2003). That is, the children who participated in the intervention program appear to have gained specific narrative skills through their shared-reading experiences.

A different intervention developed by Peterson, Jesso, and McCabe (1999) centers on visiting mothers in the home to support parent interaction styles that foster the narrative skills that help children in school. The intervention emphasized talking to children frequently about past experiences; spending a lot of time talking about each topic; asking "wh" questions and few "yes/no" questions; listening carefully; encouraging children to say more; and following children's lead. In home visits, mothers were provided transcripts and tapes to model and illustrate the types of interaction style they wanted parents to employ. Mothers were visited frequently in the first month, and then every other month for a year. Children whose mothers had participated in the intervention program substantially increased their scores on tests of language by the end of the intervention, relative to what they had been during the pretest (Peterson, McCabe, and Jesso, 2003). In contrast, the control group children had language scores almost identical to those at the pretest. These findings maintained over time. The children in the intervention group were telling more narratives than the children in the control group 1 year later, and these narratives were longer than those of their control peers (Peterson, Jesso, and McCabe, 1999).

Together, these two interventions suggest that effective practice to improve children's narrative abilities targets families as a primary context in which children develop narrative skills. However, parenting interventions, especially for low-income families, are difficult to implement and evaluate for various logistical reasons such as parents' work schedules and the ability of intervention staff to implement curriculum

consistently. In addition, future narrative work must investigate whether these styles of interaction adopted are appropriate for different cultural groups. For example, there is a mounting body of evidence to suggest that while asking a predetermined and structured set of questions might be culturally appropriate for one population, it might not be relevant to others (Heath, 1983; Eisenberg, 2002). Moreover, intervention programs such as these have been often criticized as adopting a deficit-based approach and thus not building on the cultural assets of families. Some notable exceptions to this general trend however, include the work of González, Moll, and Amanti (2005) with Latino families in the southwestern region of the USA and Au (2005) in multicultural classrooms of Hawaii. Both projects have used a strengths-based approach to build curricula using as a foundation the cultural assets of the home and community.

### CONCLUSION

In this brief review, we synthesized past and current research on children's narrative development and the possible connections between children's oral narrative abilities and other skills necessary for academic success. Storytelling is a complex ability combining various linguistic, cognitive, and social skills. Consequently, narrative is associated with various areas of academic achievement, such as literacy and social competence. The study of narrative has a long history that has built on the successes of investigations in various disciplines, including linguistics, literary studies, anthropology, and psychology. Throughout the progression of this scholarly work, narratives emerge as a window into individuals' selves and their communities.

**See Also:** *Angela Creese: Linguistic Ethnography (Volume 10); Paul Garrett: Researching Language Socialization (Volume 10)*

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## RESEARCH METHODS IN THE STUDY OF GENDER IN SECOND/FOREIGN LANGUAGE EDUCATION

### INTRODUCTION

Over the past three decades, the relationship between language and gender has attracted significant attention from researchers in a variety of fields, including education. Several recent monographs, volumes, special issues, and state-of-the-art reviews have specifically addressed the role of gender in second and foreign language learning and education (Chavez, 2001; Davis and Skilton-Sylvester, 2004; Langman, 2004; Norton, 2000; Norton and Pavlenko, 2004; Pavlenko, Blackledge, Piller, and Teutsch-Dwyer, 2001; Sunderland, 2000; see also Pavlenko and Piller, *Language Education and Gender*, Volume 1). What remained relatively obscured in this literature, however, is the relationship between the theoretical framework and methods selected to address one's research questions. The present chapter aims to bridge this gap, identifying methodological strengths and weaknesses of the current studies and pointing out methodological and conceptual issues that need to be addressed in future work.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Early sociolinguistic and educational research sparked by Lakoff's (1975) *Language and Woman's Place* conceptualized the relationship between language and gender through the notions of difference and dominance. In the *dominance* framework, theorized in Lakoff (1975), "women-as-a-group" were seen as linguistically oppressed and dominated by "men-as-a-group." In the study of second and foreign language education, this paradigm translated into two methodological approaches. Text and content analyses were used to examine gender representation and sexism in foreign and second language textbooks. These analyses focused on frequency counts of male versus female names, pronouns, and appearances in illustrations, on comparison of social roles and occupations assigned to men and women, and on the uses of masculine generics. Interaction analysis was used to determine who speaks how much and when in the language classroom. This analysis also focused on frequency counts, this time of turns taken by male and female students and on the mean length of all turns taken by each group.

In the *differences* framework, introduced by Maltz and Borker (1982) and developed and popularized by Tannen (1990), “women-as-a-group” and “men-as-a-group” were seen as speakers of different genderlects, developed through socialization in same-gender peer-groups. Second language acquisition researchers adopted this framework to look at classroom interaction and at language learning outcomes. Interaction analysis was conducted to see whether men and women have different goals in classroom interaction and concluded that men interact to produce output and women interact to receive input. In turn, studies of language learning strategies correlated reports of strategy use with language learning outcomes to conclude that female learners outperform male ones due to their positive attitudes and superior use of language learning strategies; these results in turn were explained through brain and socialization differences.

Both frameworks still inform some of the current work (cf., Chavez, 2001; Julé, 2004). However, since the early 1990s, they have been repeatedly criticized by feminist linguists for their essentialist assumptions about “men” and “women” as homogeneous categories, for insensitivity to diversity, and for lack of attention to the role of context and power relations (Cameron, 1992; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992). Feminist linguists also criticized the methodology of the studies of difference and dominance and in particular the unfounded causal assumptions about gender and learning outcomes. They argued that in the case of textbooks, the focus on numeric representation overshadowed the subtler ways in which stereotypes are created and reproduced, such as discursive roles assigned in dialogs (Poulou, 1997), and showed that teacher discourse around the text cannot be predicted from the text itself (Sunderland, Cowley, Abdul Rahim, Leontzakou, and Shattuck, 2002). They also argued that higher quantities of specific strategies or interaction in general do not necessarily lead to higher achievement. In effect, it is quite possible that excessive attention to boys may be prompted by their misbehavior and that students who speak most in the classroom are not necessarily the same that do best (Sunderland, 2000). Most importantly, it was argued that in their relentless focus on men-as-a-group and women-as-a-group difference and dominance frameworks ignore ethnic, racial, social, and cultural diversity that mediates gendered behaviors, performances, and outcomes.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS AND WORKS IN PROGRESS

In the “postmodern turn” of the early 1990s, research organized around binary paradigms was superseded by the framework that focused on *diversity* of gender identities and gendered practices (Cameron, 1992,

2005a; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992, 2003). Studies conducted in this framework are predicated on the following assumptions, all of which have consequences for research design:

1. Gender is discursively, culturally, and socially constructed and inseparable from other facets of social identity. In this view, men-as-a-group and women-as-a-group are no longer meaningful comparison categories, because certain members of one category (e.g., middle-aged low-income heterosexual immigrant women from Southeast Asia) may have little in common with other members of the “same” category (e.g., young white middle-class Canadian lesbians) and a lot in common with some members of the “opposite” category (e.g., middle-aged low-income heterosexual immigrant men from Southeast Asia). Generic gender groupings are also problematic because they obscure oppression in terms of class and race and thus the fact that it is low-income and immigrant women who do not have access to educational resources, working-class boys who are silenced in the classroom, or young black men who do not have powerful role models in the school hierarchy. The diversity framework urges researchers to replace simplistic questions such as “Are women more likely to do X than men?” or “How do men and women differ in Y?” with more open-ended questions such as “Who is most affected by Z?” and to consider how gender functions at the intersection with race, class, age, ethnicity, sexuality, and (dis)ability. In many cases, instead of contrasting two genders, this framework encourages a comparison of different versions of the same gender to understand, for instance, how foreign language learning outcomes of upper-middle-class suburban girls with access to private schools and study abroad options may differ from outcomes of their female counterparts in low-income urban areas.
2. Linguistic strategies are relative—there is no one-to-one mapping between linguistic forms and interactional functions or social identities. Consequently, it is futile to try to associate particular linguistic features with men’s or women’s speech, as the same features and strategies are invariably used by different men and women in different contexts for different purposes. Instead the diversity framework encourages researchers to examine how normative femininities and masculinities are produced and validated by dominant discourses, what consequences the process has for various members of a particular community, and how these members use language to reproduce, challenge, and resist existing gendered practices.
3. The relationship between language and gender is mutually constitutive; in other words, with the exception of pitch, it is not the

case that individual men and women speak or learn in a particular way because they belong to a particular biological (sex) or social (gender) category. Rather, the acts of speaking and learning are constitutive of their membership in a particular gender category, it is through learning and speaking that they construct themselves as particular men and women. Consequently, the pursuit of male and female genderlects or learning strategies is by definition misguided, and so are generic explanations of particular linguistic outcomes as conditioned by nature or nurture. Instead, we can view the relationship between gender and second and foreign language learning as mutually constitutive: on the one hand, learners' motivations, investments, choices, and options may be influenced by gender as a system of social relations and discursive practices. On the other, additional languages may offer second language learners access to symbolic and material capital and resources to perform gender and sexuality differently than they would in their native language (cf. Pavlenko, 2001a). The diversity framework encourages researchers to examine how gendered power relations shape speakers' linguistic choices and how speakers use language to cross and transgress gender boundaries previously believed infallible.

4. The basic unit of analysis in the diversity framework is activity. In this view, analyses that focus on the use of a particular linguistic feature by men-as-a-group or women-as-a-group produce epiphenomena, that is, results that are easily challenged when sufficient attention is paid to additional characteristics of each group. The diversity framework encourages researchers to move away from reliance on unexplained links between linguistic features and generic gender groupings and instead consider how a particular linguistic form or feature functions in the context of discursive activities and gendered practices.

The theoretical shift that prompted increased attention to context and activity led to a methodological shift to qualitative research methods, reflected in current scholarship in the field of second and foreign language learning and education. Many current studies in the field use *ethnographic* methods of data collection, such as participant observation, audio- or videotaping, tape-recorded interviews, and collection of documents and media texts, to examine gendered language practices in particular educational contexts (cf., Davis and Skilton-Sylvester, 2004; on Toohey, *Ethnography and Language Education*, Volume 10).

Some of the same data collection methods, in particular interviews, are used to conduct *case studies* of individual learners or contexts (Kingingier and Farrell Whitworth, 2005; Norton, 2000; Teutsch-Dwyer, 2001; Vitanova, 2004). A subgroup of such studies is *teacher-research case*

*studies* that discusses implementation of curricular changes and new pedagogical approaches to promote gender equity in particular contexts (cf., Norton and Pavlenko, 2004).

In terms of analytical methods, an important new development, prompted by increased attention to discourse, is reliance on *discourse analytic approaches*, and in particular on critical discourse analysis, to either replace or at least supplement thematic and content analyses. This trend is particularly visible in the new wave of textbook studies that examine gender ideologies displayed through particular textual choices and omissions (Poulou, 1997; Shardakova and Pavlenko, 2004; Siegal and Okamoto, 1996), as well as classroom talk around the texts (Sunderland, Cowley, Abdul Rahim, Leontzakou, and Shattuck, 2002). Discourse analytic approaches have also been used to analyze gendered aspects of second language learners' oral and written narratives (Pavlenko, 2001a, b; Vitanova, 2004) and gendered ideologies and practices in classroom interaction (McMahill, 2001).

Finally, some scholars also found ways to creatively combine quantitative (phonetic analysis, analysis of temporality, analysis of test scores) and qualitative approaches (discourse analysis of ethnographic interviews) to understand language learning processes and outcomes (Kinging and Farrell Whitworth, 2005; Ohara, 2001; Teutsch-Dwyer, 2001), whereas others combined discourse analytic and historiographic methods to examine gender in language education from a historic perspective (Pavlenko, 2005; Robinson, 2004).

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

An overview of recent studies in the field of second and foreign language education shows that acknowledging that gender is socially constructed is not paramount to accepting the implications of this notion for research purposes. Some recent studies claim the diversity framework as a theoretical paradigm, only to revert to either difference or dominance framework in conceptual assumptions and methodological choices. This trend is particularly visible in studies of classroom interaction that continue to focus on distribution of talking time between boys and girls or men and women (Chavez, 2001; Julé, 2004; Shehadeh, 1999). Six conceptual errors lie at the heart of the theoretical and methodological discontinuity:

1. *Lack of clear conceptualization of 'gender'*, seen in cases where researchers pay the obligatory lip service to the social and constructed nature of gender and then proceed to talk about men-as-a-group and women-as-a-group without explaining clearly what precisely is socially constructed in the case of their study participants, what aspect of gender relations or construction they are

interested in, how the categories of men and women fit in with their conceptualization, and, more generally, how their view of gender informs their research design. Alternatively, novice researchers assume that a study conducted with men or women is by definition about gender, or that gender is always a relevant analytical category, although in reality their results may be best understood in terms of other social identities and contextual features.

2. *Lack of clear conceptualization of 'language'*, seen in cases where researchers proffer tired diatribes about important links between language and social identity and then proceed to the study that may or may not illustrate any such links, offering no explanation or justification as to why particular linguistic features were singled out in the study.
3. *Lack of clear conceptualization of the language and gender interface*, seen in cases where researchers cannot offer a specific explanation for their findings and rely instead on the nature (brain) or nurture (socialization) assumptions made in the differences framework, or on the "men, by definition, are more powerful than women" assumption made in the dominance framework.
4. *Lack of clear links between theory and methodology and consequently of a clear rationale for using particular methods*, seen in cases where researchers first pay tribute to current theories of language and gender and then adopt traditional research designs that do not fit their theoretical assumptions. It is often mistakenly assumed that because the contemporary theory is "on the record," one does not need to bother with linking theory and methodology. Cameron (2005b) also points to another temptation novice researchers succumb to these days: theoretical and methodological eclecticism. She argues that such eclecticism is not self-evidently a good thing and should not be unproblematically equated with interdisciplinarity and reflexivity. While one might combine several approaches successfully for a particular purpose, in small-scale case studies such a combination may lead to theoretical incoherence. Cameron (2005b) advises that to pull such a combination off one needs "a clear rationale for putting approaches together, a sophisticated understanding of each approach, and an account of how the tensions between approaches will be handled in your study" (pp. 125–126).
5. *Lack of attention to data analysis*, seen in research design descriptions that privilege data collection methods and spend little if any time on discussion of analytic approaches. An additional problem here is the reliance of many recent case studies and ethnographies on pseudoanalytic approaches such as content or thematic analyses of "emerging themes." These approaches display

numerous weaknesses, including the lack of a systematic procedure for matching instances to categories and overemphasis on recurring patterns that may lead analysts to overlook important events or phenomena that do not occur repeatedly (for detailed discussion, see Pavlenko, in press).

6. *Overreliance on narratives and interviews* that replace, rather than supplement, language data from natural contexts; it is particularly disconcerting when researchers confuse the two and analyze language use reports from narratives or interviews as actual interaction instances. Cameron (2005b) also comments on the disturbing “trend towards case study research in which presenting the particular instance becomes an end in itself” (p. 128).

These problems and weaknesses undoubtedly have multiple sources, but the key one is graduate student training in the field of education that—at least in North American academia—often divorces theory from methodology and data collection from data analysis. Theory classes expose students to a variety of theories but do not focus on implications of particular theories for research design. Similarly, research design classes focus on issues of validity and generalizability but do not often discuss theories informing particular approaches. The only theoretical and methodological divide students are trained to think about is the patently false qualitative/quantitative dichotomy, which misleads students to think that one can be a competent researcher using only one paradigm and avoiding the other.

Two more problems of disconnect plague research design courses in education. The first is the preference for data collection methods over data analysis. Students engaged in ethnographic research may spend years collecting data and at the end not know what to do with the amassed amount of field notes and transcriptions. Their favorite approach is the laborious and ultimately meaningless color-coding of words and segments that oftentimes passes for analysis. Students taking statistical analyses courses do not necessarily fare better. In many programs, these courses teach students the ‘how to’ without necessarily linking the approaches to the actual designs and studies. As a result, students may know how to construct a proper experimental study and how to carry out a multivariate analysis but have no idea how to select the most appropriate statistical approach for their particular study, nor are they able to analyze why certain factors appear to influence learning processes and outcomes.

To address problems that plague some of the research in education, including but not limited to second and foreign language education, we need to begin by addressing weaknesses in graduate education and by implementing curricula that offer students meaningful links between theory and methods of data collection and analysis.

## FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Some, if not all, of the pitfalls outlined earlier could be avoided if researchers began by asking the following questions in the studies of language and gender in education:

1. *Gender*: How do I conceptualize gender? What aspects of gendered identities, practices, and relations are particularly important for my study? What are the implications of my conceptualization for research design and the choice of study participants? Am I sure that mine is not a convenience sample but a well-selected group?
2. *Language*: How do I conceptualize language? What linguistic features, forms, and strategies are of particular interest to me and why? Am I interested in language learning, language use, learning outcomes, or perhaps in dominant discourses and narratives that normalize particular masculinities and femininities while devaluing others? What are the implications of my choices for research design and methods of data analysis? Am I familiar with all of the languages spoken by my participants and if not, what choices do I have at my disposal to overcome this weakness?
3. *Language and gender interface*: How might linguistic features or language learning processes I am interested in be connected to gendered practices and identities?

And, last but not least: Is gender truly relevant to the issues I am interested in or would my results be better explained through other factors? Asking this question is not paramount to saying that gender inequities are no longer an issue. The new economic order of the globalization era brought with it new opportunities but also new forms of oppression and exploitation, seen, for instance, in the emergence of a heavily feminized and underpaid language workforce in the tourist industry and call centers (Piller and Pavlenko, in press). The focus on gender, however, should not blind researchers to the fact that in many contexts, including education, gender inequities are exacerbated and sometimes even eclipsed by disparities created by class and race.

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## **Section 3**

**Language, Culture, Discourse and Education**

## ETHNOGRAPHY AND LANGUAGE EDUCATION

## INTRODUCTION

The term ethnography refers both to a set of research methods and to the written report of information obtained by these methods. Originating in the discipline of anthropology, ethnographic methods include participant observation, face-to-face interviewing, researcher reflection/journaling, and analysis of archival records (Eisenhart, 2001). Ethnography as a written genre is aimed at describing and understanding the cultural practices and perspectives of groups of people. Appropriating ethnography from anthropology in the 1970s or thereabouts, educational ethnographers were hopeful that ethnographic research methods might illuminate aspects of educational practice that were difficult to see in quantitative descriptions of learning and teaching activities. They were (and are) further hopeful that specific situated descriptions of the varieties of ways people organize their cultural and educational practices would prove helpful in improving schooling at all levels. Ethnographic language education researchers attempt to understand learners' and teachers' perspectives on how languages are taught and learned in local as well as larger societal contexts. After briefly examining the disciplinary history of the approach, focus in this chapter is on contemporary (1995–2005) ethnographic contributions to our understandings of language education. The chapter concludes with a discussion of problems with the research method and of future potential directions for research.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Franz Boas, one of the pioneers of North American anthropology and an eloquent advocate for anthropological fieldwork, argued at the end of the 1800s that understanding human culture and development could only be approached after systematic descriptions and analyses of the diverse means people used to organize their cultures. The necessity to produce descriptions and explanations of cultures, that is, to do and to produce ethnographies, began to be seen as urgent in the late nineteenth

century with increasing worldwide recognition of the physical and social prices to be paid for technological “progress,” and increasing awareness of the destructive impact of European colonization of native peoples. Clifford (1983) noted that by the 1930s there was international agreement that theory in anthropology was to be generated on the basis of intensive descriptions (ethnographies) by qualified anthropologists who were physically present with “their people” for extended periods of time, participating in community activities, learning what they could of those people’s language, customs, practices, beliefs, and so on.

Ethnographies of schooling became increasingly common in the 1970s at the same time that there was increasing concern about the failure of educational institutions to serve ethnic and linguistic minority children well. Perhaps because anthropologists were typically seen as most knowledgeable about nonmainstream, minority communities, the use of anthropological research methods (ethnography) in schools in such sites was not surprising as efforts were being made to increase educational opportunities for children from such communities. Paradigms of explanation for the failure of educational institutions shifted from a focus on the perceived deficits in the minority children to a focus on the cultural differences between homes and schools.

Ethnographic language education research might be seen as originating in the late 1960s and early 1970s calls of anthropologist Dell Hymes (1972) for building a body of knowledge (for, as he termed it, an ethnography of communication) (see Creese, *Linguistic Ethnography*, Volume 10) about the variety of ways people organized their speaking. In addition, the emergence of discourse analysis within linguistics and conversational analysis within sociology provided important methodologies for study of language use “close-up”. Two early and influential ethnographies of communication were Philips’ (1972) examination of “participant structures” in activities on an American Indian reservation in Oregon, compared with participation structures in school, and Heath’s (1983) ethnography of communication in homes and schools of three different southern US communities. Studies like these investigated aspects of home and/or classroom means of learning, communicating and making sense of the world, of various groups of students, in the hope that with better understanding of the sociolinguistic means and practices of diverse communities, schools could better organize instruction for the children they served. As well, such studies sometimes tried to show how educational practices reproduced economic and political practices in the wider society, and thus attempted to establish links between local practices and larger social processes.

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS FROM 1995 TO 2005

In a special issue of *TESOL Quarterly* devoted to qualitative research, Lazaraton (1995, p. 467) observed that qualitative research (including ethnography) was not widely published in applied linguistics research, and she wondered if “10 years hence qualitative research will be on an equal footing with quantitative research.” It is now 10 years since Lazaraton’s query, and the number of ethnographic language education studies available has dramatically increased. I focus here on reviewing studies published after 1995, but there are, of course, earlier studies that are of lasting importance, and interested readers can find helpful discussions of such work in Watson-Gegeo (1997), Hornberger (1994), and the *TESOL Quarterly* referred to earlier. Taken as a whole, much of the work of the last decade examines specific linkages among negotiations of identities, practices, and resources, and language learning. In addition, some ethnographic work examines how those local negotiations are constrained/enabled by wider societal processes. Although there is certainly overlap among these categories, for sake of simplicity, I use identity, practices and resources to organize the following descriptions of recent ethnographic work on language education. Readers will note that this review is limited to materials published in English and I acknowledge its partiality therefore.

*Identities*

Many language education researchers have been interested lately in how learners negotiate their identities in the various communities in which they participate. Beginning with Norton’s (2000) groundbreaking ethnographic study of how five immigrant women in Canada negotiated their identities as second language learners in particular class, ethnic and gendered social contexts, a number of other studies of identity and language learning in a variety of global contexts (e.g., Maguire and Graves, 2001; Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2003) have been published. Many of these studies of identity and language learning draw on feminist and/or poststructuralist theories of identity and subjectivity, and draw attention to effects of the negotiations of those identities on possibilities for language learning. In Hong Kong, for example, Lin (1999) examined four classrooms in which Cantonese-speaking students were more or less comfortable in learning English. Lin found French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu’s (1977, 1991) notion of the transmission of cultural and social “capital” through familial socialization is helpful in understanding what kinds of diverse capital children bring to their English language learning, and what kinds of

identities are therefore available to them (see Garcez, *Microethnography in the Classroom*, Volume 10). Lin argued that some learners in her study were able to creatively claim agentive identities in resisting the reproduction of their social status in learning English, but that teacher support was important in developing such agency. In a study of primary school English language learners (ELLs) in Canada, I also saw affiliation with teachers as important in children being able to claim desirable classroom identities (Toohey, 2000). As well, I found that affiliation with peers and access to certain classroom practices were important in determining children's rights to desirable classroom identities and thus, learning. Harklau (2000) showed how older ELLs were positioned as "good kids" in their high school by teachers, but as the "worst students" at the post secondary institutions they attended, and she also found that particular school practices made available certain identities for students. Many other ethnographic studies that focus on learners' identities are available in the new *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*.

### *Practices*

Teaching and learning are accomplished through participation in sets of culturally and socially organized practices. Examining language practices ethnographically in diverse contexts with respect to the opportunities they provide for language learning has been a popular interest currently. Rampton's (1995) study of language "crossing" in Britain showed youth creatively engaging in "hybrid" language practices with peers in outside-of-school contexts so that Afro-Caribbean youth used and learned Punjabi in their interactions. Also interested in hybridity, Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, and Tejeda (1999, p. 127) described students learning, in what they termed the "Third Space"—one that "honor[s] alternate and competing discourses that transform conflict and differences into collaborative learning." Their endorsement of the hybrid linguistic practices of particular communities has been echoed in other ethnographic work by Vasquez (2002) and the Santa Barbara Discourse Group (see <http://www.education.ucsb.edu/socialjustice/bibliography.pdf>) and in on-line articles in the Bilingual Research Journal (<http://brj.asu.edu>).

Other ethnographic work also focuses on classroom practices. Moll, Saez, and Dworin (2001), for example, showed bilingual kindergarten children engaged in the activity of producing bilingual "texts," even before they controlled conventions of alphabetic literacy in either Spanish or English. This classroom practice, they argued, had the potential to act as a counter-discourse to internalized negative societal attitudes toward bilingualism.

Still other ethnographic work looks more explicitly at the connections between local and societal practices. Ramanathan (2005), for example, examined how state-mandated educational practices in schools in India were enacted in two colleges. Similarly, Gebhard (2002) examined how educational reforms at the state level impacted the classroom experiences of three English language learners such that they were constrained in their efforts to acquire academic literacy and thus were placed in highly vulnerable positions.

### *Resources*

A common thread in some North American research has been to emphasize the importance of resources offered by first language communities and the effects of using such knowledge for literacy learning. Moll (2000), for example, argued for recognition of the educational possibilities of using the “funds of knowledge” of minority communities. Although Moll’s work shows the benefits of using community resources, Duff (2002) found ELLs precluded from some classroom activities because of their unfamiliarity with the resource of North American popular culture. Her study, done with secondary students, showed that classroom discourse was permeated with popular culture references and that ELLs could not enter this discourse, and the popular cultures with which they were familiar were not seen as classroom resources.

Many qualitative researchers have used Bourdieu’s (ibid) ideas about the political and economic conditions that underlie language use, and the kinds of “capital” that learners bring to educational settings. Dagenais (2003), through analysis of interviews with parents of children of diverse language origins enrolled in Canadian French immersion school programs, argued that such parents see multilingualism as a form of transnational capital, and these parents pose challenges to traditional objectives of French immersion education (see de Mejía, *Researching Developing Discourses and Competences in Immersion Classrooms*, Volume 10). Similarly, Heller’s (1999) study of language practices in a Francophone school in Toronto showed that students were aware of this globalized “market” and that they saw their maintenance of French as positioning them advantageously in it.

These studies focus on the accessibility of resources to language learners. They demonstrate that access to the resources of educational activities crucially defines learners’ opportunities for participating in the activities necessary for acquiring English and achieving academic success. Additionally, the research reveals that for many language learners such access is often uncertain.

## DIFFICULTIES AND COMPLEXITIES

Eisenhart (2001) recently reflected on her own experiences as an educational ethnographer and the “muddles” that have characterized both the method and the product in her and others’ work. She argued that the political, economic, social, and cultural conditions of the postmodern world (globalized economies, hybrid identities, late capitalistic political systems, and so on) as well as destabilizing “postmodernist ideas about truth, knowledge, values, and ethics” (p. 17) have had enormous effect on the ways ethnographic educational research is conducted and regarded. Here, I examine four difficulties/complexities in doing ethnographic language education research, and point out in the next section how some contemporary researchers are attempting to deal with them. The four difficulties I summarize here are: ethnographic representations, the ethics of ethnographic research, ethnographic methods, and ethnography in postmodern conditions.

Eisenhart and many others (e.g., Rosaldo, 1993) have pointed out that ethnographies, no less than any quantitative methodologies, sometimes assume that “one true account” or representation of a research situation is available for discovery by the careful researcher. Clifford (1983, p. 120) outlined the difficulties:

How is unruly experience transformed into an authoritative written account? How, precisely, is a garrulous, overdetermined, cross-cultural encounter shot through with power relations and personal cross purposes circumscribed as an adequate version of a more-or-less discrete “other world”, composed by an individual author?

The problem of one writer taming “unruly experience” was graphically illustrated in anthropology with the publication in the 1950s of an ethnography of a small Mexican town, an account which was widely divergent from that published by another anthropologist earlier (see discussion in Murphy, 1971). The forms of ethnographic accounts have also come under scrutiny, as many have observed that the social construction of many ethnographies is not made apparent to readers, and the authority of the text derives from its unproblematic presentation of “what really happened.” Rosaldo (1993, p. 128) pointed out that ethnographers, “in their zeal to become members of a “science,” attempted to produce distanced accounts that not only presented the ethnographer as an omniscient impartial observer, but also tended to underestimate the agency of human actors and to situate them as culturally determined. Recognizing that power relations in most ethnographic representations were complex but often ignored, ethnographers have also become concerned about the privileged position of the observer in providing authoritative (but highly problematic) accounts.

Recognition of the “politics of representation” leads to a second issue ethnographers have faced: the ethical ambiguities involved in these research practices. Although traditionally ethnographers have sought to have as little impact on their research sites as possible, many ethnographers recently have felt compelled to intervene on behalf of their informants, or to use their “expert” knowledge to attempt to improve conditions in their informants’ lives. However, at the same time that many ethnographers have assumed increasing responsibility for informants, postmodern theory has troubled truth claims, such that: who is to say if the ethnographer’s judgment of particular situations are any more “true” than anyone else’s? For ethnographers of language education, such a question might involve the dilemma of observing what one considers inadequate or even “bad” practice in classrooms. Is the ethnographer’s judgment any more accurate, helpful or ethical than anyone else’s? Can (or *must*) ethnographers intervene at times, and if they can and should, how should their intervention be framed?

Third, although ethnographers have typically justified their methodological approach on the grounds that it more clearly (than other methods) “reveals” the complex social situations it tries to describe and explain, there is debate within the field about the adequacy of traditional ethnographic research methods to examine and describe the lives and experiences of “Others.” Block (2000), for example, argues that interviews, a common ethnographic method, should be understood not merely (or even mostly) as giving “true” descriptions of what informants do or think or feel in certain circumstances. Rather, he argues that they provide researchers with evidence about what informants think “is intelligible or plausible to say in a given discourse community and how members of that community use shared resources to construct a position in an interview” (p. 762). Leung Harris, and Rampton (2004) discuss the “messiness” of audio or videotaped classroom data and the reductionism inherent in transcribing, selecting, and presenting coherent arguments about data.

A final area of complexity/difficulty that ethnographic researchers face is that identified by Eisenhart (2001): the political, economic, social, and cultural conditions of the postmodern world. Ethnography’s traditional assumption of distinct cultural and geographical boundaries, as well as the notion of transmission of cultural practices over time to newcomers, may be less relevant in a world with global economies, constant shifting and hybridizing of cultural and geographical/political boundaries, the global reach of mass communication media, and so on. As we have seen from some of the ethnographic work discussed earlier, immigration and “culture contact” are much more complicated than they may have been when transportation/communications means were

less sophisticated than they are currently. For ethnographic language education research, such complexity may require new conceptions of culture that take global hybridity as a new norm, and new methods of investigating those cultures—with access to learners' intricately inter-related realities. Focus too may need to shift from local to broader contexts and back again, as the effects of practices in other contexts are keenly felt at the local level.

#### WORKS IN PROGRESS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Much of the most recently published ethnographic work in language education aligns with critical ethnographic perspectives, with focus on how identities, resources, and institutional practices might be supportive of enhanced and increased participation in institutional and community life on the part of language learners. Broadly characterized, critical ethnographic language education research engages with the experiences of learners to understand how power operates locally and at more macro levels, so as to investigate how social change might support minoritized peoples' experiences in learning. In order to address some of the complexities and issues raised in the previous section, the commitment of many language education ethnographers to critical perspectives is perhaps to be expected.

With respect to identity, many language education researchers argue that we must be concerned with the interlocking questions of identification and desire in education (Ibrahim, 1999; Day, 2002), as learners negotiate their complicated lives. These studies challenge us to ask questions that have not typically been raised in applied linguistics research: Who/what do ELLs want to be/do in their new communities? How do they see their futures and how can they move in those directions? What enables such movement and what constrains? Such questions assume that learners' identities are complex and shifting and that postmodern conditions of flux and hybridity obtain. Grappling with such questions should constitute an important part of future research investigating language learning and education.

Future research must also be concerned with documenting the language and literacy practices that individuals and communities engage in and their congruence (or not) with institutionalized language and literacy instruction. Hawkins (2004, p. 14) argued in a review of schooling for immigrant children in the USA: "There has not been, to date, a comprehensive look at how ELLs do and/or do not engage in [classroom language and literacy] practices, what strategies they have available to them . . . to enable participation and what scaffolding and supportive environments might look like." As well, at a time when educational reform is high on international agendas, researchers also

need to document the influence of new educational policies on the kinds of classroom literacy activities available to language learners. Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, and Asato (2001, p. 4) showed linkages between classroom level practices and macrosocietal politics (i.e., the passing of legislation in California that limited opportunities for ELLs to receive instructional support in their home language), showing how educational policies fundamentally “institutionalize practices that help ensure failure for an extremely vulnerable population: the English language learner.”

The resources learners bring to language education sites and those made available to them in these sites will also be a matter for future research. The Santa Barbara Discourse Group’s already mentioned work with children showed ways that teachers and language researchers have to investigate the resources children bring. Analyzing how classrooms and other learning sites might more equitably distribute resources for powerful language use should also be a major focus in future research.

There are, however, promising developments in ethnographic research. Goldstein (2004) attempted to make explicit the social construction of information she collected ethnographically in a secondary school by presenting it as a dramatic script. She described means of using such a script in a “theatre of the oppressed” manner, such that viewers of the play could participate in constructing alternate events and outcomes. Increasingly, the work of scholars who have insider knowledge of the communities with whom they engage in research is becoming well known (Grant and Wong, 2003; Lee, 2000). Other researchers have examined the transnational literacy of language learners using electronic communication (Lam, 2000; Warschauer, 2002) (see Snyder, *Research Approaches to the Study of Literacy, Technology and Learning*, Volume 10). As well, ethnographic language education research in postcolonial societies is becoming increasingly available (Appleby, Copley, Sithrajvongsa, and Pennycook, 2002; Stein and Mamabolo, 2005).

Ethnographic studies of language education have become increasingly popular and well known over the past 10 years and there is every reason to expect that they will become even richer and more textured as time goes on. The move toward investigating means of creating less authoritative and more “porous” descriptions of ethnographic research, which will allow multiple interpretations and dialogicality about others’ realities, is much to be celebrated.

**See Also:** *Angela Creese: Linguistic Ethnography (Volume 10); Pedro M. Garcez: Microethnography in the Classroom (Volume 10); Anne-Marie de Mejía: Researching Developing Discourses and Competences in*

*Immersion Classrooms (Volume 10); Ilana Snyder: Research Approaches to the Study of Literacy, Technology and Learning (Volume 10)*

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## RESEARCHING LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION

### INTRODUCTION

Language socialization is the human developmental process whereby a child or other novice (of any age) acquires the knowledge, skills, orientations, and practices that enable him or her to participate in the social life of a particular community. A key aspect of language socialization is the development of communicative competence, which involves acquiring proficiency in the use of a given language (or languages) as well as the culturally based knowledge that one needs in order to use language in culturally intelligible, socially appropriate ways (Garrett and Baquedano-López, 2002; Ochs and Schieffelin, 1984; Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986a).

Language socialization occurs primarily through the child or novice's interactions with older or otherwise more experienced persons, although in most cases it involves interactions with peers as well. Socializing interactions may be highly formalized and regimented, designed explicitly to promote a particular kind of learning: a classroom lecture or a job training workshop, for example. But to a great extent, language socialization is the stuff of everyday social life: mundane interactions and activities ranging from the game of "peek-a-boo" played between a mother and her infant to the pointed but good-natured teasing that goes on among professional colleagues as they collaborate on a project, bringing their differing skills and varied levels of experience to the task at hand. This being the case, language socialization researchers who focus on formal education must venture outside the classroom and other institutional settings to gain understanding of how formal education relates to, and articulates with, their subjects' home and community lives. As will be explained further, this holistic ethnographic perspective and the methodological framework out of which it emerges are among the key contributions of language socialization studies to research on language and education.

Although many kinds of social interactions can be regarded as sites of socialization, language socialization research is not just the study of such interactions for their own sake. Language socialization researchers seek to understand how such interactions—taken collectively, not as isolated instances—shape the developmental trajectories of individuals, how they fit into larger systems of cultural meaning and practice,

and how they are reproduced and transformed over the course of time. Such understandings are made possible by another hallmark of language socialization research: its longitudinal perspective, which involves close tracking of individual developmental processes over extended periods of time and investigation of the sociocultural and historical contexts within which those processes unfold.

Since its initial formulation in the early 1980s, the language socialization research paradigm has been resolutely interdisciplinary, combining the perspectives and insights of scholars in anthropology (particularly linguistic anthropology), linguistics (particularly applied linguistics), education, and other fields united by their commitment to investigating the relationships among language, culture, and society. A basic assumption of language socialization researchers is that the acquisition of language is inseparable from the acquisition of other kinds of social and cultural knowledge. As an individual comes to know a language, she or he also comes to understand the workings of everyday life in the community in which that language is spoken. This is perhaps nowhere more clearly seen than in interactions between young children and their primary caregivers, which were the main focus of the earliest language socialization studies (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986a, b). These studies showed that in learning how to use the language(s) of their community, even at the earliest stages, children are also learning how to think, how to make sense of happenings in the world around them, how to relate to others, how to comport themselves, even how to feel in particular situations and how to express (or otherwise manage) those feelings. As a developmental process, then, language socialization is much more than a matter of learning to produce grammatically well-formed utterances. It is also a matter of learning to use language in socially and pragmatically appropriate, locally meaningful ways, and as a means of engaging with others in the course of—indeed, in the constitution of—everyday interactions and activities.

Language socialization research is thus concerned with the “microgenesis” of communicative competence (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1996), which comprises but also goes well beyond linguistic competence in the narrower generativist sense. Communicative competence also comprises the practical knowledge, much of it prediscursive if not preconscious, that one must have to use language as a social tool, to engage in talk as a social activity, and to coconstruct meaningful interactive contexts with others. Language socialization researchers strive to take into account all of the varied forms of knowledge and practice that make it possible for an individual to function as (and just as important, to be regarded by others as) a competent member of, or participant in, a particular community, however broadly or narrowly defined.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The language socialization research paradigm was initially formulated in the early 1980s by Elinor Ochs and Bambi Schieffelin (Ochs and Schieffelin, 1984; Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986a, b). At that time, a significant body of research on language acquisition already existed, as did another on socialization, sometimes referred to as “enculturation.” But the two had developed quite separately from one another. Language acquisition research, rooted in developmental psychology and psycholinguistics, tended to treat language acquisition as a rather self-contained individual developmental process, largely ignoring the sociocultural contexts within which it occurs; conclusions drawn from studies conducted in mainstream North American and European settings were assumed to be universally valid. Meanwhile socialization research, rooted in anthropology and sociology, was conducted in a variety of ethnographic settings worldwide, but gave little attention to the central role of language as the primary medium through which socialization occurs. Working in collaboration with researchers from several disciplinary backgrounds, including linguistic anthropology, developmental psychology, sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, and education, Schieffelin and Ochs sought to combine the strengths of both of these established bodies of research and to bridge the gap between them.

One of the most important ways in which they did so was by integrating the methods of each, particularly the longitudinal approach characteristic of psycholinguistic research on child language acquisition and the ethnographic approach characteristic of anthropological research on socialization. Schieffelin (1990) carried out her pioneering study among the Kaluli of Papua New Guinea and Ochs (1988) conducted hers in Western Samoa. Another pioneering study was that of Shirley Brice Heath (1983), who examined language practices in two neighboring working-class communities, one black and one white, in the USA—and in so doing, set an important precedent for all subsequent ethnographically oriented studies of schools and the communities in which they are situated. A signal event in the formulation of the language socialization research paradigm was the publication of a volume edited by Schieffelin and Ochs (1986b), to which Heath and several other researchers of varied disciplinary backgrounds contributed chapters based on studies conducted in a broad range of sociocultural settings. Of the eleven studies represented, only Heath’s dealt directly with the relationship between language socialization and formal education or schooling; the rest focused primarily on household and community settings, and on interactions between young (preschool-age) children and their primary caregivers.

Numerous education-related studies carried out in following years were influenced, to varying degrees, by the language socialization paradigm. Vasquez, Pease-Alvarez, and Shannon's (1994) examination of a bilingual (Spanish–English) working-class community in northern California focuses on continuities and discontinuities between home and school contexts, demonstrating that the relationship is a considerably more fluid (and potentially complementary) one than has generally been assumed—especially by researchers who have not ventured outside classroom settings. In other studies, classroom-based interaction in institutional settings is the primary focus. Baquedano-López (2001) examines narrative practices as a resource for the socialization of ethnic identity in another Spanish–English bilingual setting: a Catholic parish in Los Angeles where a particular narrative, the story of the Virgin of Guadalupe, figures prominently in constituting a transnational, transgenerational Mexican–American community. He's (2001) work on Chinese heritage language classes in the USA shows that by combining elements of school, home, and community settings, they constitute important sites for the socialization of “traditional” Chinese cultural values and social roles. Most of this work has been conducted in the USA, but there are exceptions. Duff's (1995) study of English-language history lessons in Hungarian secondary schools, for example, examines significant changes in classroom discourse practices that have been fostered by political and educational reforms of the post-Soviet era. Cook (1999) focuses on Japanese classrooms, demonstrating important culturally based differences between Japanese and Western pedagogical practices, particularly with regard to participant structures. In Japanese classrooms there is considerably greater emphasis on learning through interactions with peers; knowledge and opinions are formulated and negotiated with relatively little direct intervention from the teacher. Particular emphasis is placed on the cultivation of attentive listening skills, which are considered crucial to successful interaction.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

In whatever setting a language socialization study is conducted, and whatever specific linguistic and sociocultural phenomena constitute the main focus of investigation, four key methodological features are essential. These four features, which reflect the paradigm's interdisciplinary origins and are also the basis of its major contributions to the methodology of education research, are outlined below.

1. *Longitudinal study design.* Language socialization researchers closely track developmental changes in individual subjects by periodically observing and recording their participation in multiple

kinds of interactions and activities, ideally in a variety of social settings, over a developmentally significant span of time. In order for such tracking to be feasible, a language socialization study usually focuses on a relatively small number of children or novices—typically four to six, or a single small cohort, if the study is conducted in a school or other institutional setting. Qualitative depth of analysis is thus emphasized over quantitative breadth. Data in the form of naturalistic audio and audio–video recordings of the focal children or novices interacting with peers, caregivers, teachers, and other community members are collected at regular intervals (e.g., weekly or monthly), often over the course of a year or more of sustained fieldwork.

2. *Field-based collection and analysis of a substantial corpus of naturalistic audio or audio–video data.* Regular, periodic data collection as described earlier give rise to a large corpus of recordings, typically 75–100 hours. A corpus of this size strikes a balance between ethnographic and longitudinal adequacy and practical manageability. But collection of the recordings is only a first step; in order for them to serve as a meaningful data set, the researcher must transcribe and annotate them. In most cases, this is accomplished with the aid of local consultants, normally members of the community in which the research is being conducted. For language socialization researchers, particularly those working outside their own communities (as is typically the case), this one-to-one collaboration with native-speaking local consultants is indispensable. In addition to assisting with the most basic aspects of transcription, such as clarifying specific words and phrases captured in the recordings, consultants can bring to the researcher's attention layers of meaning that would otherwise escape his or her notice or understanding. Collaborative transcription also provides ongoing opportunities for the researcher to benefit from consultants' native-speaker intuitions about the use of particular linguistic forms and variants, and their perspectives on many other aspects of social life within the local community.
3. *A holistic, theoretically informed ethnographic perspective.* This is achieved in part through sustained fieldwork and a commitment to ethnographic methods (including participant observation), and in part through familiarity with current theoretical issues and debates concerning such methods. Both depth and breadth of ethnographic observation are important in language socialization research. In addition to tracking individuals over the course of time (as described earlier), the researcher must observe and record in a broad variety of contexts in order to understand how different social settings may influence those

individuals' language usage and modes of participation. Doing so allows the researcher to observe and record a broad range of persons as well; in effect, tracking a particular focal subject across contexts provides access to an entire social network, and often to a broad cross-section of the community that includes fictive kin, peers, neighbors, etc. Although most recorded data are collected during everyday activities, the researcher must be attentive as well to exceptional events (i.e., those that occur rarely or unpredictably) and to periodic activities such as those associated with seasonal or ritual cycles. The systematic collection of recorded data that is central to any language socialization study may be supplemented by surveys, interviews, elicitation sessions, or other methods, depending on the kinds of data that are needed to address the study's central research questions. Whatever complementary methods are chosen, the researcher should have a thorough understanding of the theoretical issues in which they are based.

4. *Attention to both micro and macro levels of analysis, and to linkages between them.* This can be considered part of the ethnographic perspective outlined earlier, but is important enough to merit consideration in its own right. Language socialization research is not just a matter of producing detailed ethnographic accounts of individual developmental processes and the local contexts in which they occur. An overarching goal is to understand how such individual developmental processes relate to larger sociocultural and historical processes. As they analyze their recordings and other microethnographic data, language socialization researchers are constantly on the lookout for patterns and principles that may also be discernible at macro levels of analysis. Likewise, when they make broader, macroethnographic observations, they consider various ways in which the patterns and principles thus identified may be in evidence, writ small, in their recorded data. Ultimately, the language socialization paradigm is comparative in perspective, recognizing that while some aspects of language socialization are universal, others vary considerably from one sociocultural setting (or historical period) to another. Attention to micro–macro connections is an important means by which researchers are able to distinguish between the universal and the culturally specific, and to consider the relationships between them.

Many education-related studies make excellent use of one or two of these four features, but outside those that explicitly take the language socialization paradigm as their framework, relatively few studies systematically integrate all four and take advantage of their complementarity. It is this specific configuration of features that distinguishes language socialization

studies from, for example, longitudinal studies that are confined to classroom settings, and ethnographically oriented studies that do not involve systematic collection and close analysis of naturalistic data.

#### WORKS IN PROGRESS

In recent years, prominent themes that were raised in the earliest language socialization studies have been carried forward and taken in productive new directions. Among researchers who work in schools and other educational settings, Heath's (1983) work has had enduring influence; in particular, it continues to inform recent studies that examine various kinds of continuities and discontinuities between children's home and community environments and those of the school and classroom. The dinner table conversations of white middle-class American families, for example, have been shown to foster specific types of problem-solving orientations and to encourage children to display verbal skills that are expected and rewarded in the classroom (Ochs, Smith, and Taylor, 1989; Ochs, Taylor, Rudolph, and Smith, 1992), and to orient them, from an early age, to the world of work (Paugh, 2005). Meanwhile, research focusing on children from immigrant and ethnic minority communities in the USA suggests that when classroom activities and modes of interaction draw on communicative practices and participant structures that are familiar to these children, their levels of participation and academic achievement improve significantly (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, and Alvarez, 2001).

Fader's (2001) study of a Hasidic community in New York City focuses on the interplay of home and school socialization practices, particularly those concerning school-age girls' use of Yiddish and English. Yiddish functions as a language of ethnically and religiously based aspects of identity, and is also implicated in the maintenance of community boundaries that separate the Hasidim from non-Hasidim, including other Jewish groups; whereas English is the language of boundary crossing, that is, communication with non-Hasidim, a duty that fall primarily on adult women. It is therefore important for Hasidic girls to be proficient speakers of both languages. Fader's work examines how girls are socialized to use these two codes in both home and school contexts, revealing that the girls develop among themselves patterns of bilingual language use that in some respects run counter to the wishes of their elders and the conventional expectations of the community as a whole. Fader's study, like a few others conducted in recent years (Duranti, Ochs, and Ta'ase, 1995; Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, and Alvarez, 2001), also considers the differing meanings of literacy and literate practices across home, community, and school contexts and examines the complex interplay among them.

In addition to the aforementioned studies that explore the interface between home and school in various communities within the USA, several have been conducted in other societies worldwide. Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo's work in the Solomon Islands examines disjunctures between home and school settings that tend to be a source of poor educational outcomes (Watson-Gegeo, 1992; Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo, 1992). Here as in many other postcolonial societies, teachers tend to rely heavily on highly formalized, rigidly formulaic modes of language use (e.g., modeling by the teacher followed by rote repetition, in chorus, by the students) that tend to perpetuate the gulf between the local vernacular and the language of instruction. Moore (2004), however, finds that such situations can give rise to syncretic activities that effectively and productively meld home-based and school-based practices, thus transforming apparent discontinuities into new kinds of continuities. Moore observes that in some Cameroonian communities, school-based practices such as "guided repetition," used in Islamic religious instruction as well as in secular classroom pedagogy based on French colonial models, have been taken up in home and community settings and have become the preferred method for socializing knowledge of traditional folktales. Howard (2004) likewise examines a complex blend of disjunctures and continuities between home and school settings, focusing on the socialization of respect in a Northern Thai community. Studies such as these problematize the notion that differences between home and school inevitably lead to educational failure and call for special pedagogical interventions, if not major institutional reforms.

Related themes come to the fore in language socialization studies of older students as they prepare to take on adult roles. Dunn (1999b) examines Japanese college students' self-initiated efforts to develop proficiency in the use of high honorifics and other aspects of formal-register speech as they prepare to enter the job market and otherwise broaden their social horizons after graduation. Use of formal speech registers is a social skill that they have had only limited opportunities to develop in both home and school contexts during their youth. Therefore, during their college years, they attempt to rectify this perceived deficiency in their own communicative competence by inviting distinguished guest speakers to campus, thereby creating social events in which the use of formal, honorific speech is necessary.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Over the past three decades, the language socialization paradigm has proven to be both durable and flexible. As new generations of researchers have taken it up, they have updated it as necessary to keep pace with

ongoing developments in the social sciences, such as new ways of conceptualizing communities in a “globalizing” world (Baquedano-López, 2001; Duranti, Ochs, and Ta’ase, 1995). Perhaps the greatest challenge that remains is to realize the full potential of the paradigm as it was originally formulated; indeed, recent critiques of language socialization research typically do little more than to reiterate issues that were explicitly raised in the paradigm’s very earliest formulations, but have not yet been fully elaborated in field-based research. Such critiques are salutary, however, insofar as they remind those currently engaged in language socialization research that these issues remain to be dealt with.

The oldest and still most commonly raised criticism of language socialization research is that it focuses primarily on sociocultural reproduction—that it does not sufficiently address anomalous or unusual developmental outcomes, and does not acknowledge the potential for innovation and change. It is true that language socialization studies have rarely dealt with abnormal, pathological, or otherwise atypical developmental trajectories; important exceptions include Ochs (2002) on autism and Capps and Ochs (1995) on agoraphobia. As for innovation and change, a considerable amount of recent work has taken as its central concern the role of language socialization in language shift, language obsolescence, and other socially and culturally transformative processes (e.g., Field, 2001; Garrett, 2005). A potential weakness of some studies in this vein, however, is that language socialization tends to be regarded primarily as a mechanism or conduit of changes that originate elsewhere, and not as a locus and source of change in its own right. In many cases, language socialization can fairly readily be shown to be a domain of activity in which large-scale social, political, and economic transformations are manifested locally through the dynamics of face-to-face interactions and specific kinds of communicative practices, such as code-switching. However, it is always necessary, and often more challenging, to reverse this perspective and to consider as well that subtle changes in the most mundane of practices at local, micro levels may have surprisingly consequential ramifications that ultimately manifest themselves at macro levels, as Kulick (1992) demonstrates in his study of a case of rapid language shift. The language socialization paradigm’s linking of ethnographic and longitudinal perspectives facilitates this latter mode of analysis, as the kinds of change in question may be discernible only by means of close observation over extended periods of time. However, the paradigm’s methodological emphasis on qualitative depth over quantitative breadth may pose certain challenges in this same regard, and in some cases may make it necessary for language socialization researchers either to partner with researchers of a more quantitative orientation or to find ways of integrating some such methods (e.g., large-scale surveys) into their own studies.

Another early insight that has been foundational to language socialization research, but remains to be further developed, is the idea that socialization is always a reciprocal process in which the child or novice's agency must be recognized and taken fully into account. Although virtually all language socialization studies acknowledge this basic fact, few have made it an explicit focus of inquiry. It may be that it is especially easy to lose sight of this issue in classroom-based research and in formal education settings more generally, where the environment tends to be configured and regimented in accordance with conventional "top-down" models of learning. Language socialization frameworks that take the activity as a key unit of analysis, and that stress the situated, emergent, coconstructed nature of learning processes, lend themselves to just these kinds of settings, however, so there is good reason to expect that this gap in the literature will soon be filled.

A final consideration is that as the language socialization research paradigm has become more widely influential, it has become somewhat more diffuse. This is in many respects indicative of the paradigm's vitality and relevance; numerous researchers have taken it up, taking it in multiple directions in the process. However, a negative consequence is that it has become increasingly difficult for all those engaged in language socialization research to find venues in which to come together, to exchange findings and insights, and to forge shared goals and objectives. The kind of strongly integrative comparative framework that characterized the first generation of language socialization studies, and that gave researchers a basis for sorting out the universal and culturally specific aspects of socialization, is now lacking. One consequence of this is that contemporary studies tend to be more narrowly ethnographic, and more preoccupied with the specific theoretical concerns of the various disciplines; on the whole, today's researchers seem to be less inclined than their predecessors to consider the potential for their work to yield insights into the universal aspects of language socialization, and of communicative practice more generally. The paradigm's founders, meanwhile, have upheld their commitment to this important line of inquiry (Ochs and Schieffelin, 1995; Schieffelin and Ochs, 1996), offering hope that this and other unifying themes and integrative frameworks will receive greater attention in coming years.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The challenges and problem areas that have been outlined here overlap with some of the most promising areas for future development. Kulick and Schieffelin (2004) have recently written of the need to be attentive to "bad" subjects—those individuals found in every community who persistently display culturally dispreferred traits and engage in nonnormative,

“deviant” behaviors. Kulick and Schieffelin (2004, p. 355) point out, “the focus on expected and predictable outcomes is a weakness if there is not also an examination of cases in which socialization does not occur, or where it occurs in ways that are not expected or desired.” Language socialization research must account for reproduction as well as “why socializing messages to behave and feel in particular ways may also produce their own inversion” (ibid. p. 356). Certainly unanticipated and undesired outcomes are frequently encountered in educational settings, but thus far they have received relatively little attention from language socialization researchers. As suggested previously, this generalized preference for dealing with normal or typical developmental trajectories, and with instances of “successful” socialization, also seems to have inhibited researchers from examining other atypical or less commonly encountered forms of language socialization that have been identified (though not necessarily regarded as such) by researchers in closely allied fields; Goodwin’s (2004) study of an aphasic man’s interactions with members of his family offers a striking example.

Another likely direction for future research is language socialization as it occurs later in the lifespan, i.e., beyond childhood. The end of childhood, however defined in a given sociocultural context, is by no means the end of language socialization. Adults continue to be socialized into new roles, statuses, identities, and practices, many of which involve new ways of using language (Dunn, 1999a). Adults may find it necessary or desirable to master new registers or styles associated with changes in their vocational or professional lives, or with new avocations or other activities that broaden their social horizons and involve participation in new communities of practice. Similarly, emigration, religious conversion, and other significant life changes may make it necessary or desirable for adults to master new codes and/or new discursive genres, which may involve either spoken or written forms of language. A few studies have already marked this path, such as Schieffelin’s (1996) work on the missionization of the Kaluli, Duff, Wong, and Early’s (2000) study of job-seeking immigrants in Canada, and Ochs and Jacoby’s (1998) study of physicists in laboratory settings. Thus far there have been relatively few studies of adult learning in classroom settings, despite the fact that in the USA and other societies, formal education is increasingly regarded as a potentially lifelong enterprise (Ohta, 1999).

Studies of language socialization of children and adults alike in educational settings underline the need for researchers to avoid conceptualizing human development as a matter of individuals acquiring static, predetermined bodies of cultural knowledge and linguistic forms. Both language and culture must be conceptualized in relational terms that capture their symbolically mediated, coconstructed, dynamically emergent

qualities (Kramsch, 2002). Similar concerns inform language socialization researchers' nonteleological perspectives on the outcomes of socialization. Individual development must be recognized to be variable, contingent, nonlinear, and ultimately open-ended. Differing degrees and types of developmental progress and multiple kinds of "successful" outcomes must be recognized and accounted for—even when the arena of investigation is a classroom or other institutional context in which the participants themselves may differentiate "success" and "failure" in much starker terms.

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## DISCOURSE ANALYSIS IN EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

### INTRODUCTION

One might argue that discourse analysis is nothing new in educational research. For decades, educational researchers have drawn on key concepts from anthropology, linguistics, linguistic anthropology, sociology, and sociolinguistics to analyze discourse. At the same time, recent work has contributed new perspectives, insights, and methods to the analysis of discourse—whether we define that as language in use; the relationship between text and context; or the ideological effects of discourse. The different types of discourse analysis utilized by educational researchers over the years have enhanced our collective understanding of teaching and learning processes, both in and out of school settings, as well as the historical, social or political factors that influence those processes. Drawing on theories and analytic tools from a variety of disciplinary traditions, educational researchers have examined a range of topics and questions, including: how underlying systems regulate interaction; how different discourse communities accomplish things with words; how identities are constructed in and through talk; the relationship between interaction and learning in both formal and informal educational contexts; and—more recently—how the presentation of self in texts (written and oral, in one modality or in multiple modalities, individually or collectively) might be influenced by a number of factors including race, ethnicity, gender, class, and sexuality as well as context, situation, audience, purpose, power, and politics.

The present chapter offers a glimpse at this burgeoning field in order to highlight both the historical influences on current approaches to discourse analysis in educational research and the ways that educational researchers continue to draw on different theoretical and methodological traditions to analyze discourse. Although discourse analysis has been widely utilized in bilingual education and second language learning research, constraints of space require that I narrow my focus to discourse analysis that is centrally relevant to first language research. This brief overview of “discourse analysis in educational research” is not meant to be taken as comprehensive but, instead, to spark interest in one of more of the approaches mentioned and promote further intellectual inquiry.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

As early as 1959, the sociologist Erving Goffman emphasized the importance of studying face-to-face interaction for understanding how individuals construct identities in and through talk, how speakers and listeners mutually negotiate meaning, and how everyday interactions come to constitute a particular “presentation of self” over time. More than a decade later, in *Functions of Language in the Classroom* (Cazden, John, and Hymes 1972), key scholars extended those insights by paying close attention to language and to the cross-cultural aspects of communication. Contributors to this edited volume illustrated how theories and methods from linguistic and cultural anthropology might be fruitfully applied to questions of educational equity, opportunity and access; they also brought into sharp relief the importance of looking at communicative competence *in relation to* questions of culture and context. Focusing on how assumptions and expectations regarding what constitutes the right way to talk (or write) might impact the educational experiences of children from traditionally marginalized groups across a range of educational contexts in US society, this work fundamentally reshaped how many educational researchers viewed the role of language in education, discourse in learning, and culture in communication.

Meanwhile, Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) were examining the organization of turn-taking in conversation, while Sinclair and Coulter (1975) were investigating how teachers and students interacted with a focus on the very common initiation-response-evaluation (IRE) sequence present in most classroom discourse. Such insights became the conceptual pillars of what would later be called conversation analysis (CA), a field that contributed a great deal to our understanding of discourse and interaction as co-constructed in and through talk in a minute-by-minute fashion unfolding over time. Such insights inspired Michaels’ (1981) investigation of the distinct ways that children from different class and race backgrounds told stories during “sharing time” activities in a first-grade classroom (and different teachers’ reactions to the structure and content of those stories). Cazden (1988) too observed that “differences in how something is said, and even when, can be matters of only temporary adjustment, or they can seriously impair effective teaching and accurate evaluation” (p. 3). Implicit in the theory and methods of such approaches is the assumption that all the information necessary to analyze (and understand) an interaction can be found in the interaction itself (or in the transcript).

The ethnography of communication, on the other hand, was founded on the premise that the analyst cannot fully understand individual speech events or speech acts without attending to questions of culture and context. In line with Hymes’ (1974) call for an ethnographically

grounded approach to the study of language in use, educational anthropologists conducted ethnographies of communication in order to investigate the gap between the different “ways with words” (Heath, 1983) that children from different race, class, and cultural backgrounds learn in their communities, the kinds of communicative practices and participation structures that are valued in most classroom contexts, and the consequences of such “mismatches” for youth who are not from “mainstream” backgrounds. In this work, the close analysis of linguistic data was supplemented with extensive participant observation, with questions of surrounding context and culture highlighted and prioritized. Early ethnographies of communication (e.g., Heath, 1983; Philips, 1983) demonstrated both a continuation of and a departure from *Functions of Language in the Classroom*, primarily in the ways they looked *outside of classroom contexts* in order to expand notions of what’s possible and desirable *in the classroom*. This approach has influenced a number of ethnographic studies of talk and interaction across a range of educational (formal and informal) settings over the past three and a half decades, particularly in the field of educational anthropology.

Another complementary line of work emerging from the ethnography of communication was that developed by Gumperz (1982), who sought specifically to understand the day-to-day communication of speakers from different cultural, national or linguistic backgrounds and the contextual factors that contributed to intercultural miscommunication. His examination of context provided insights into the use of different “discourse strategies” in interaction as well as the notion of “contextualization cues” (defined as the contextual information, conveyed for example in speaker’s intonation or tone, or a particular gesture which accompanies a bit of interaction or talk). By enhancing our theoretical understanding of the different ways that particular verbal utterances gained meaning from nonverbal cues, Gumperz advanced a complicated and highly influential theory of how identities are displayed, constructed, and performed in and through talk in a minute-by-minute fashion, unfolding over time.

Gumperz’s theories of contextualization have significantly influenced the pursuits of interactional sociolinguists (IS), a group of scholars that draw from theories and methods in both sociology and linguistics to examine the discourse strategies used by people from different cultural, ethnic, racial or gender backgrounds. Although sociolinguists such as Erickson, Tannen and Schifffrin also rely on Goffman’s interest in the minute-by-minute construction of identity (and meaning) in face-to-face interaction, they are profoundly influenced by Gumperz and his theory of contextualization. Erickson’s (1982) analysis of co-membership and gatekeeping in counseling sessions; Tannen’s (1984) analysis of conversational styles of women

and men; and Schiffrin's (1987) examination of discourse markers in interaction are all examples of the importance of looking beyond *what* was said to consider *how* things were said (including tone, gesture, etc.) and with what effect.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Building on these early works and the questions of context that emerged, the study of language and discourse in education has blossomed into a dynamic and interdisciplinary endeavor, resulting in a number of ethnographies, published in both edited volumes and book-length monographs, up to the present. Two early and highly influential volumes were *The Acquisition of Literacy* (Schieffelin and Gilmore, 1986), in which ethnographic and interactional studies of literacy in and out of school were combined to better understand the relationship between literacy, learning, and culture across contexts; and *The Social Construction of Literacy* (Cook-Gumperz, 1986), which considers teaching and learning as interactional processes that are informed by institutional ideologies. In *Discourse, Learning and Schooling* (Hicks, 1996), authors explored how discourse mediates (culturally and cognitively) learning in social contexts, the impact of sociocognitive theories of learning and sociocultural theories of language, and the social dimensions of knowledge construction; and contributors to *Kids Talk: Strategic Use in Later Childhood* (Hoyle and Adger, 1998) examined the "strategic language use" of youth (with friends, in school, and at work) in ways that complicate theories of situated learning and "developmental progress" (p. 4). In each of these edited volumes, it is the systematic analysis of linguistic data that provides insights into language, literacy, and learning as practices situated within cultural processes and institutional structures.

#### *Anthropological Investigations of Discourse*

A number of book-length ethnographies are also noteworthy for their careful examination of the relationship between talk (or text) and surrounding context. For instance, in *He-Said-She-Said*, Goodwin (1990) analyzed the specific ways that African American children achieved both cooperation and conflict in their locally situated interactions. Rampton's (1995) *Crossing: Language and Ethnicity among Adolescents* highlighted the specific ways that British-born adolescents "recognize and even exaggerate the differences in their communicative repertoires in a set of stylized and often playful interactions that up to a point at least constitute a form of antiracism" (p. 21). More recently, in *Learning Identity: The Joint Emergence of Social Identification and*

*Academic Learning*, Wortham (2006) examined how two students developed unexpected identities over the course of an academic year and how imposed categories might influence developing identities such that the two students come to see themselves as low-achieving students with less potential (and less “promise”) for academically succeeding in the future. In each of these ethnographic explorations, the authors analyze discourse closely—albeit drawing on different methodological approaches—in ways that illuminate the complicated, often contradictory, aspects of identity performance in and through language as well as the contested nature of the relationship between individual identity construction and institutional constraints.

Linguistic anthropologists have demonstrated the value of conducting close analysis of language as part of and informed by a larger ethnographic research project, with a particular focus on the fluid, situated, changing nature of individual identity performances among youth from a range of race, class and cultural backgrounds. Morgan (1999), for instance, has closely analyzed the interaction of African American girls and found that their identity was “tied to the construction of a cool social face” within peer–group interaction (p. 41); while Goodwin (1999) has re-examined the talk among African American girls in her original (1990) study in order to problematize the (assumed) relationship between language, ethnicity, and identity and “seek a more contextualized understanding of how people mobilize linguistic resources for their interactive projects” p. 389); and Mendoza-Denton (1999) has described how Latina adolescents “align or disalign with one another” in their talk and thereby take on stances that create “conflictive corroboration” (p. 288). Foregrounding social class in her analysis, Eckert (2000) investigates the intricate ways that linguistic variation among adolescents influences and is influenced by other social practices, social networks, and social categories.

In an edited volume that explicitly attempts to bridge the fields of linguistic anthropology and education, *Linguistic Anthropology of Education* (Wortham and Rymes, 2003), the contributors demonstrate how conducting ethnographically grounded analyses of interactional processes illuminate key questions and processes in educational research (e.g., situated learning, language socialization, the acquisition of “competence,” and language and literacy ideologies). More recently, Rampton, in *Language in Late Modernity: Interaction in an Urban School* (2006), demonstrates how combining a close analysis of interaction with long-term participant observation and document collection provides valuable insights into learning processes. Through his vivid analysis of classroom talk in relation to questions of context, he addresses important questions about the role of social class, traditional authority relationships in schools, popular media culture, and the experiences of learning at school. Examining numerous transcripts as part of three

extensive case studies, Rampton explores the intersections between identity, insecurity, and the organization of talk for marginalized youth in school contexts.

In each of these edited volumes, book-length ethnographies, and chapters, researchers take an anthropological approach to the study of language and discourse and demonstrate the value of combining ethnographic methods of data collection (e.g. long-term participant observation, document collection, and individual interviews) with a close analysis of discourse in order to provide a grounded and nuanced account of the specific, local, and complicated ways that institutional and social processes (bureaucratic, social, economic and political) are related to individual identity construction or performance. With an assumption that discourse and interaction serve as local practices that mediate the relationship between institutional ideologies and individual identities, this work provide important insights into the relationship between discourse, learning, and identity.

### *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis*

By the early 1990s, explicitly “critical” approaches to discourse analysis were emerging, initially out of the U.K. (Fairclough, 1989) and then, later, out of Australia (Luke, 1996) and the USA (e.g., Gee and Green, 1997; Gee, 1999; Rogers, 2004, 2005). Drawing on systemic-functional-linguistics, critical linguistics, and Foucault’s (1971) notions of power in discourse, most critical discourse analysts are primarily concerned with illustrating how the close analysis of discourse is informed by a critical analysis of social (and power) relations. In *Language and Power* (1989), Fairclough articulated the importance of critically and systematically analyzing texts in order to critically analyze social relations (and vice versa). Since then, Fairclough has written a great deal about the theory and the method of critical language awareness, analyzing discourse, and “textual analysis for social research.” Gee (1999), in *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method*—a text widely recognized and utilized in educational research—provides an accessible yet nuanced description of the theoretical underpinnings, analytic tools, and potential contributions of a critical approach to the analysis of discourse.

In recent years, an increasing number of educational researchers have become interested in applying a critical lens to the analysis of discourse, in large part because it explicitly prioritizes questions of power, hegemony, subjectivity, and intertextuality in its analysis of texts (and the relations between texts). According to Luke (1996), the value of this approach to educational research is “to disarticulate and to critique texts as a way of disrupting common sense. Part of the disarticulation

can involve the analysis of whose material interests particular texts and discourse might serve, how that articulation works on readers and listeners, and strategies for reinfecting these discourses in everyday life. This is a viable, practical agenda for critical literacy in the classroom” (p. 20). For a thorough and nuanced discussion of critical discourse analysis in educational research see Rogers 2004 and Rogers 2005 and (Rogers, *Critical Discourse Analysis in Education*, Volume 3).

### *Narrative Inquiry*

Another approach that has captured the interest of an increasing number of educational researchers is narrative analysis or narrative inquiry. This approach permits an examination of the complicated ways that narrators position themselves in and through talk by creating certain voices (and thus identities) for the characters in their story, by constructing and enacting particular identities as the narrator, and by providing critical commentary on the institutional or societal constraints on their individual situations. To conduct narrative analysis, educational researchers have relied on a large body of work that comes from outside educational research (e.g., Ochs and Capps, 1996; Schiffrin, 1996). They also draw on notions of positioning in and through discourse as described by Davies and Harre (1990), where the term “positioning” is used to capture not only how an individual might be positioned *by* others but also how one might position oneself, through storytelling or narrative, in relation *to* others. For a discussion of the potential utility of this analytic approach for educational research, see Wortham (2001).

Researchers who are interested in the particular ways that identities are taken up, constructed, enacted or performed in and through narrative or storytelling in particular educational contexts (e.g., Menard-Warwick, 2004; Ochs and Capps, 1996; Orellana, 1999; Schiffrin, 1996; Warriner, 2004; Wortham, 2001) have contributed to our collective understanding of the power of narrative to accomplish certain presentations of self, academic learning, and interactional agendas. Menard-Warwick (2004), for instance, closely examines storytelling practices among two adult immigrant English as a Second Language speakers in order to better understand the “learners’ perspectives on the connection between gender identities and second language learning” (p. 295). Warriner (2004) analyzes the narrative accounts of recently arrived women refugees from the Sudan in order to expose “the multiple and complicated ways that identities are constructed, negotiated, and deployed within specific situations and circumstances” (p. 279). Orellana (1999), in looking at the written narratives of her Latina and Latino student writers in Grades 1, 2, and 3, also demonstrates

how storytelling “provides a space in which identities can be constructed” and narrators can “position [them]selves in relation to others” (p. 65).

*Natural Histories of Discourse*

Coming directly out of anthropological investigations of language, discourse and power, the “Natural Histories of Discourse” approach (Silverstein and Urban, 1996) combines the ethnographically oriented focus of linguistic anthropologists with an explicit investigation of power and positionality as accomplished in and through discourse. Scholars utilizing this approach rely on information gleaned from long-term participant observation to interpret the meaning of a text or an excerpt of discourse. Additionally, they bring a “contextual perspective”—or an interest in the relationship between text and context—to the investigation of questions of power. In these ways, this scholarship distinguishes itself from earlier anthropological investigations (e.g., the *Ethnography of Communication*).

While there is substantial work developing from this tradition, I focus only on selected research that has clear educational implications here. One example can be found in Collins (1996, 2001), where he applies a “natural histories of discourse” lens to a multilayered analysis of the relationship between actual written texts (and the verbal practices surrounding them) from a school context. Focusing on how ideologies broadly circulating inform how one might interpret both texts and practices, Collins (1996) observes that orientations toward reading, literacy and learning are “effects and constituents of a system of stratified literacy” such that “poor readers” have very different experiences with (and opinions about) the purposes of decoding texts than the “good readers” do. Further, he notes that, despite their more realistic insights into the mechanisms of control and power in their classroom, the “poor readers” remain ill-equipped to act upon their increased knowledge. In these ways, Collins’ analysis of the relationship between “large-scale ideological formations and institutional practices” and “the reciprocity of the social and the textual” (p. 225) demonstrates how the natural histories of discourse approach might be effectively applied to important questions and concerns in educational research.

WORK IN PROGRESS

Current works in progress reflect the ways that educational researchers draw upon different theoretical and methodological approaches to discourse analysis as well as the ways that once seemingly distinct approaches might be combined to very good ends. For instance, Cole

and Zuengler have compiled an edited volume entitled *The Research Process in Classroom Discourse Analysis: Current Perspectives* (to be published in 2007) which aims to make explicit the ways in which different theories and methods of discourse analysis might be applied to the examination of the same data. With the goal of bringing different approaches into conversation with each other in order to promote dialogue about what “doing” discourse analysis means to different researchers, the volume centrally focuses on the *process* of analyzing discourse rather than on any final product of the analysis.

In other recent work, researchers examine the role of positioning in and through discourse among learners (adult and youth) in various educational settings. Blackburn (forthcoming), for example, draws upon the notion of multiple subject positions to examine the discourses that students use as they tell stories about school and illustrates the ways that queer youth “shift from one to another way of thinking about themselves as discourse shifts and as their positions within varying story lines are taken up” (Davies and Harre, 1990 cited in Blackburn, forthcoming, p. 7). In all these lines of inquiry, researchers are self-consciously drawing on multiple approaches to the analysis of discourse in order to address questions of context, agency, and power, as well as “the analytic stance of the researcher” (p. 63).

As Bucholtz (2003) argues, recent and emerging work in language and gender scholarship explicitly wrestles with the relationship between method and theory as well as the value of intellectual cross-fertilization in emerging language and gender scholarship, asking “is gender, as many conversation analysts would have it, an achievement of discourse, or is it an ideological system with broad contextual parameters, as suggested in different ways by critical textual analysts and by those who study language ideologies?” (p. 63). For a comprehensive discussion of promising future directions in language and gender research see Bucholtz (2003).

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Because there are so many different theoretical and methodological approaches to analyzing discourse available to new researchers in the field, one challenge facing educational researchers interested in analyzing “discourse” is the difficulty of choosing from among the different approaches available. Because it is important for educational researchers to recognize that the terms “discourse” and “discourse analysis” have been used by researchers to mean a variety of things (with some emphasizing linguistic definitions and others explicitly rejecting linguistic definitions), “discourse analysis in educational research” must be understood as an eclectic set of theoretical and methodological

approaches to the systematic study of discourse, language in use, notions of context and contextualization, and questions of power.

Contributing to this ongoing challenge is the unavoidable fact that, during the analysis of discourse, context is not only a theoretical construct, it is also something to be “discovered,” analyzed, or created by the researcher. Similarly, even while things “outside” the text do indeed influence it, the text also simultaneously influences—indeed “creates”—context. As Blommaert (2001) cautioned, “one of the most important methodological problems in discourse analysis in general is the *framing* of discourse in particular *selections of context*, the relevance of which is established by the researcher but is not made into an object of investigation” (p. 15). This tension between situated language and the reality that both influences and is influenced by that situated language use remains a central challenge for discourse analysts, regardless of their intellectual “leanings,” in the analysis and representation of data; questions of authority and voice also remain unresolved. For an extensive discussion of the treatment of context in discourse analysis (in both CDA and linguistic anthropology), see Volume 21, Issue 2 of *Critique of Anthropology* (2001).

Meanwhile, in literacy and teacher education research, new methodological challenges have contributed to the call for increased attention to the role of silence (and silencing) in interaction, discourse, and power (e.g., Leander, 2002; Schultz, 2003). Additionally, while some scholars are paying increased attention to the temporal and spatial dimensions of context and contextualization (e.g., Leander, 2002; Wortham, 2006), the methodological implications of these theoretical advancements remain undertheorized in educational research. This highlights the fact that it is important to examine not only dimensions of context and contextualization but also the ways that conceptions of time and space influence data collection, methods of analysis, and representation of findings.

For educational scholars interested in utilizing discourse analysis in their research, it is important to recognize that there are multiple ways of defining the term discourse as well as multiple intellectual histories associated with the term. Additionally, it is necessary to think critically about questions of context and contextualization, the role of silence (and silencing), and the methodological implications for theoretically nuanced notions of space and time. What is the unit of analysis? How is context defined? What historical moments have influenced a particular literacy event, narrative account, researcher’s gaze, or location of the subject? The answer to such questions will influence decisions regarding the unit of analysis, how text and context are defined, and what “methods” are utilized in the collection and analysis of that text.

## FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Educational researchers are attracted to the systematic analysis of discourse for a variety of reasons. Some see value in the close analysis of the minute-by-minute construction of talk, identity, positioning and meaning when two or more people interact. Others like to connect individual practices with historical “structuring” influences, focusing on the ways that language mediates the two. Still others want to find textual evidence for the claim that all relations are relations of power and argue that we must therefore explicitly foreground power in our analysis. Combining elements from different theories and methods of discourse analysis has become more common than rare, as the thoughtful combination of multiple approaches to the study of discourse allows researchers to “[bring] new models to bear on one’s data, as well as [interrogate] familiar frameworks with novel research questions.” (Bucholtz, 2003, p. 64)

Increasingly, too, we have become aware of the need to find new methods and new modes of representation for analyzing the texts, talk and discourses that are made possible by new communication technologies. Issues of multimodality and representation addressed in recent research (e.g., Gee, 2004; Hull and Nelson, 2004; Leander and Sheehy, 2004) raise important questions about what new modes of communication imply for new methods of research and representation. These new directions in educational research will undoubtedly influence questions of context, definitions of “text,” and notions of discourse. Moving forward both theoretically and methodologically in this arena requires a continued re-examination of the relationship between “text” and “context” as well as the ever-present dimensions of power that influence not only the researcher’s gaze but also the voices represented in the analysis and interpretation of data. Such a re-examination has profound implications for the ways we theorize and understand connections between modes of communication, modes of engagement, and learning processes for learners (adults and children) in and out of school settings.

**See Also:** *Rebecca Rogers: Critical Discourse Analysis in Education (Volume 3); Betsy Rymes: Language Socialization and the Linguistic Anthropology of Education (Volume 8); Stanton Wortham: Linguistic Anthropology of Education (Volume 3)*

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## RESEARCHING DEVELOPING DISCOURSES AND COMPETENCES IN IMMERSION CLASSROOMS

### INTRODUCTION

It has been more than 40 years since the beginning of the first experimental Canadian French Immersion programme in St Lambert, Montreal in 1965 and the initiation of research into this educational phenomenon. Today, there is a well established and well regarded research literature on immersion programmes, both in Canada and in other parts of the world. Indeed, as Stern acknowledged as long ago as 1984, immersion is probably one of the most thoroughly investigated educational innovations of all times. According to Baker (2001), there are now over 1,000 research studies on this type of educational provision. Although the term ‘immersion’ is frequently used in relation to the ‘dual’ or ‘two-way immersion’ modality which has become popular recently in the United States, in the context of this article, the term will be used to refer only to the type of (one-way) bilingual programmes which originated in Canada in the 1960s.

Over the past four decades, the type of research carried out in this field has changed direction considerably, both in relation to focus and methodological orientation. The growing internationalisation of the immersion movement in many European nations, in certain Asian countries such as Hong Kong and Japan, and in Australia has led to the recognition of immersion as a world-wide phenomenon. Furthermore, the differing conceptualisations of immersion programmes as foreign language development, as minority language provision for majority language students, as language revival, as language support, and as contact with a language of power (Swain and Johnson, 1997) have meant that increasingly diverse research interests and concerns are being addressed in this field.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The early Canadian immersion programmes were conceived right from the start as integrally bound up with a process of systematic evaluation and research. The focus was on assessment of their impact on the linguistic, intellectual, and attitudinal development of the children

involved (Lambert and Tucker, 1972). This type of extensively funded, policy-driven research was situated in a psychometric tradition, and designed to have immediate educational impact on school planning (Tosi, 1989). Thus, the actual lines of enquiry involved were largely restricted initially to a focus on educational outcomes, comparing immersion students with non-immersion students (de Courcy, 1997). This was explicitly recognised by Lapkin and Swain (1984) and justified by the perceived need to demonstrate to policy makers that immersion was indeed a viable educational alternative, and to reassure Anglophone parents that their children would not suffer either academically or in respect to their English language proficiency.

The performance of immersion and non-immersion students was compared initially in three main areas: the maintenance and development of students' L1 and L2; students' academic achievement; and the attitudes of both learners and their parents towards Canadian Francophones.

Overall, the results of these assessments were positive in linguistic and in academic terms. The students' L1 did not suffer. Student proficiency in their comprehension of French (listening and reading) was seen to be approaching 'native speaker standard' (Cummins and Swain, 1986, p. 41) and there were no negative reports on academic achievement levels. However, while immersion students' production levels of spoken and written French were found to be higher than results from the regular programme, these were judged to be considerably lower than their comprehension skills. These early findings have also been replicated in later studies carried out in different immersion contexts (see Genesee, 2004).

The early research on change in participants' attitudes was less conclusive. Lambert and Tucker (1972) found little difference in students' perceptions towards Canadian francophones as a result of the St Lambert programme, while Lapkin and Swain (1984) found some evidence of broader perspectives towards cultural and linguistic diversity among immersion students in comparison to their non-immersion counterparts. In this respect, Heller (1990) maintains that the general lack of opportunity for the development of intergroup relationships between francophones and anglophones outside the school context is an important factor in accounting for the maintenance of stereotyped ethnic group images.

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

### *Changing Perspectives: Calls for the Use of Ethnography*

From the middle 1980s onwards, the early, almost exclusive focus of immersion research on educational outcomes was modified. Stern

(1990) situates this change of emphasis within the general debate on communicative language teaching which began in the late 1970s. He charts the concern of immersion researchers, such as Harley and Swain (1984), to identify positive and negative aspects of proficiency development in immersion students and to identify problem areas in the development of the proficiency of immersion classes. Thus, a significant strand of immersion research began to concentrate on aspects of classroom practice which were seen to be associated with the development of L2 proficiency.

There were also calls for immersion research to investigate the nature of classroom processes. In an influential article, Tardif and Weber (1987) suggested that attention to processes of classroom interaction and to the ethnography of communication in the immersion classroom might illuminate some of the language acquisition processes at work.

This emphasis on ethnography as a fruitful methodological stance for immersion research was further endorsed by Heller in 1990 (qv Toohey, *Ethnography and Language Education*, Volume 10). She advocated conducting ethnographic studies into the realities of the learners' communicative needs and the issues of intergroup relations within the wider Canadian socio-political context in order to solve such dilemmas as the 'plateau' effect in L2 learning. She argued that,

since so few ethnographic studies of immersion (whether of the classroom or its school and community environment) are available, it is difficult to pinpoint further the communicative constraints of the French immersion classroom which may be blocking further development, or whether it is possible in fact to do anything further in an instructional context of any kind. (Heller, 1990, p. 76).

Responses to these calls for a change in research perspectives may be classified into four main currents or directions: research into immersion pedagogy; research into teacher beliefs and practices; research into language learning processes; and research into sociocultural and political factors. All of these will be examined briefly below.

### *Researching Immersion Pedagogy*

In Finland, researchers at the University of Vaasa were particularly interested in examining some of the methodological assumptions underlying the newly established Swedish immersion programmes, claiming that the adoption of immersion principles facilitated 'a pedagogic-didactic renewal' (Laurén, 1992, p. 21). As a result of his observation of teaching in the Swedish immersion programme, Laurén proposed what he called, 'a two-phase-didactics for school' (1992, p. 71) to create a basic level of linguistic fluency at an early stage of language

learning when prerequisites are optimal, which can later be expanded on and extended.

Another member of the Vaasa Immersion research team, Vesterbacka (1991), was interested in the development of meaningful, ritualised routines in context-bound situations in immersion programmes. The researcher examined young children's language use in Swedish in relation to unchanging 'routines' and partially changing 'patterns'. Vesterbacka argued that these ritualised routines and patterns should be recognised as an important teaching and learning strategy at this level in immersion programmes. She saw them as key means of providing confidence for young children to express themselves at an early stage in their bilingual development and to communicate with others in meaningful contexts in an effort to fulfil their basic needs as efficiently as possible.

### *Investigating Teacher Beliefs and Practices*

In the 1990s, increasing emphasis was given to process orientated work in immersion research in the US, as evidenced by an in-depth study of teachers and teaching in two immersion programmes, one French immersion and the other Spanish immersion, in the midwestern US (Bernhardt, 1992). This two-year ethnographic research project focused on examining immersion teachers' beliefs and experiences as a way to understand how they approached their classroom practice. The researchers were also interested in examining 'immersion teaching' as 'a particular kind of teaching . . . not just language teaching' (Bernhardt, 1992, p. 3). There was thus, a new emphasis on pedagogical concerns rather than on the hitherto more widely discussed topics of the development and maintenance of student language proficiency independent of teaching and learning processes. The focus on teachers and classroom interaction, as seen through the eyes of principals, supervisors, and teacher trainers and the detailed discussions of classroom routines and aspects of contextualised student-teacher interactions provided a fascinating glimpse of how teaching and learning is accomplished moment by moment in different foreign language immersion contexts.

More recent work in Hong Kong, carried out by Hoare (2001) and Hoare and Kong (2001) has continued this emphasis on interaction in immersion classrooms, focusing particularly on different teacher strategies used in the teaching of Science in English by 'language aware' teachers and their 'non language aware' counterparts (qv Knowledge about Language, Volume 6). According to the results of their study, there is evidence to suggest that a teacher who is aware of the role of language in the curriculum can provide richer language environments which help to broaden students' thinking.

The issue of how teachers view their classroom practice has been another new development in immersion research in Catalonia. Arnau (2000) situates this type of analysis within a ‘teacher thinking’ approach, involving teachers reflecting on how they teach, either through narratives based on personal experience or collaborative reflection between teachers and researchers. A preliminary study, based on this approach, carried out in 2000 confirmed that the L2 principles that appear to guide teacher decisions are notions such as planned language, contextual contrast, comprehension, verbalisation, access to interaction, and individualisation. There is recognition that this type of reflection could result in curricular improvements in immersion settings.

The importance of pedagogical considerations in discussing classic issues in immersion literature relating to amount and intensity of student L2 language exposure on acquisition has been highlighted recently by Genesee (2004). He makes reference to ‘the nature and quality of classroom instruction’ (p. 562) as a key variable in accounting for the level of student L2 achievement. He also foregrounds the need for future research into the effect of different pedagogical approaches in the promotion of L2 development, thus firmly linking the importance of differing approach to teaching and learning with language acquisition (qv *Bilingual Education*, Volume 5).

### *Emphasizing Learner Perspectives on Learning*

There have also been studies carried out on language learning from a student’s perspective. A recent qualitative study into the experiences of immersion learning of a group of second year students in a late Chinese immersion programme at a university in Queensland (Australia) carried out by de Courcy in 2002 provides interesting insights into how learners view the ongoing process of learning a typologically and orthographically different language.

De Courcy found that the group of immersion students seemed to pass through four distinct phases in trying to make sense of classroom interaction with the first stage involving a heavy reliance on translation as a receptive strategy. This seems to be at odds with official immersion policy of a separation approach to language use based on Swain’s (1983) principle of ‘bilingualism through monolingualism’. Nevertheless, according to the empirical data analysed, this seemed to be a common initial strategy used by members of the Queensland Chinese immersion programme in order to try to make sense of classroom interaction in Chinese. This finding foregrounds the importance of empirical research in providing informed criteria to modify or confirm established classroom policies and practices.

*Examining Sociocultural and Political Factors*

Another important strand of research has focused on sociocultural and political factors involved in immersion teaching and learning, particularly as a result of the internationalisation of this type of educational provision. Genesee (2004, p. 560) has recognised the influence of contextual variables in making predictions about the effectiveness of specific programmes, stating,

the question of when to begin bilingual education cannot be answered by theoretical arguments and empirical evidence alone. Sociocultural and political factors must also be considered. The 'best' starting grade for bilingual education can depend on the goals, needs, and resources of the community.

This statement by one of the leading researchers in the field constitutes an important milestone in the change of direction towards a more socially informed perspective in immersion research.

There is evidence of interesting work being carried out on sociocultural aspects of learners and the language learning in various parts of the world. I will cite a few examples. Caldas and Caron-Caldas (1999) have focused on the developing cultural and linguistic identities of French/English immersion students with respect to aspects of both Québécois and US culture. The results of their study indicate that although there is evidence that bilingualism is valued among adolescent immersion students, there are also unmistakable signs of 'the enormous power of the predominant peer group to negatively influence individual views on bilingualism—whether in French Canada or the US' (Caldas and Caron-Caldas, 1999, p. 54).

In Japan, Downes (2001) has investigated changes towards a sense of Japanese cultural identity among elementary school children in an English immersion programme. Mindful of Swain and Johnson's (1997) contention that immersion does not aim at membership in the target language community, the researcher found that the learners' exposure to Western (English) culture provided a positive educational environment and that participation in the programme seemed to lead to more flexible cross-cultural attitudes and a stronger sense of Japanese cultural identity than noted in non-immersion students.

In Australia, de Courcy's (1997) work on classroom language learning in a Chinese late immersion programme has led to insights on how cross-cultural conflict is dealt with by students and teachers from different academic cultures and with different, culturally based learning scripts. Points of conflict identified in the study had to do with differing expectations of student interactional patterns in classroom settings, levels of politeness, and teacher responsiveness to learners' needs. De Courcy concludes that 'teachers need to help students to interpret

not just the literal meaning of the language, but the cultural meanings expressed through it' (ibid, p. 256) and echoes Tardif's (1994) support for more longitudinal classroom-based studies highlighting communicative processes.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

##### *Language Acquisition and Development with L1 and L2 Student Populations*

In a recent review of bilingual education, Baker (2003) states, 'if a count were made of research on bilingual education in the last three or four years, it is qualitative investigations that have become relatively voluminous' (p. 103). In immersion settings this is certainly the case, if we take into account recent work on literacy development, classroom code-switching, and learners' perspectives on language learning. However, there is still a strong continuing strand of research based mainly on quantitative criteria focusing on second language acquisition and on programme effectiveness from a comparative perspective.

This does not mean, however, that research concerns have not moved on, as can be seen by the work currently being carried out by Merrill Swain, one of the most well known of the immersion researchers, who has been associated with developments in the field since the 1960s. As Block (2003, p. 107) notes, 'Swain . . . is in the unique position of being perhaps the only prominent IIO (Input-Interaction-Output) insider to engage with Sociocultural/Activity Theory in her research'. Block also refers to Swain's (2000) move to incorporate a process orientation towards her work on comprehensible output, postulating that this contributes to interactive problem solving and knowledge building, or 'collaborative dialogue' among learners, which, in turn, may lead to better levels of target language comprehension (qv *Foreign and Second Language Education*, Volume 4).

Comparative research on the performance of immersion and non-immersion students is continuing (see Genesee, 2004), in spite of Carey's (1991) critique of the validity of such comparisons, based on the contention that variables such as student motivation, teaching methodology, and parental attitudes are difficult to control in this type of study. As an example, Rivard (2001) compared summary writing by a group of French immersion students and a group of francophone students. He found that although at the beginning of secondary school immersion students were linguistically weaker than their francophone counterparts, by the end of the final school year significant differences between the two groups were only evident in stylistic concerns.

Hickey (2001), comparing L1 speakers and L2 learners of a target minority language in mixed early immersion programmes in Ireland, has provided evidence that the linguistic composition of the groups significantly affects the frequency of target language use by both L1 speakers of Irish and Irish/English bilinguals, though not L2 learners of Irish. The investigation into the effects of mixing of L1 and L2 learners in the same class shows an important change of orientation from the original Canadian immersion programmes, where separation of immersion students from L1 speakers of the target language was part of official immersion policy (Swain, 1982). It also bears witness to the increasing diversification of programmes and research interests in immersion education.

### *Language Learning in Relation to Literacy Development*

An interesting recent development over the last four or five years has been research into the phenomenon of literacy per se, rather than as part of a general discussion of the relationship between language and content teaching and learning (qv Literacy, Volume 2). In a qualitative study carried out by Ewart and Straw (2001) on literacy development in two Canadian immersion classrooms, the researchers looked at the effect of differing teacher linguistic and pedagogical practices on young children's literacy development. The results of the study revealed the complexities underlying the debate around the issue of language and initial literacy and indicated that teacher pedagogical practices were probably more important than language of instruction in students' biliterate development.

A second study, also conducted in Canada, focused on immersion students' perceptions of their developing biliteracy in Grade 5 and in Grade 7. This was part of a wider longitudinal study to evaluate the effect of increased intensity of exposure to the target language as a means of overcoming the plateau effect in L2 learning. Using interview and questionnaire data, Bournot-Trites and Reeder (2005) found a great variety in student perspectives on their process of literacy development and advocated that more attention should be paid to the voices of students in improving learning opportunities.

### *Codeswitching and Classroom Language Use*

In line with the focus on sociocultural concerns and the increasing recognition of the situated nature of immersion classroom practices, there is a further strand of research which has begun to concentrate on school and classroom language use, in particular, teacher and pupil use of language choice and codeswitching (qv Lin, Code-switching in

the Classroom: Research Paradigms and Approaches, Volume 10). Thus, the strong separation view of languages which characterised the early work on immersion has now given way to a more integrated, 'bilingual' vision of classroom talk (qv *Discourse and Education*, Volume 3). Researchers have turned their attention to the recurrent bilingual routines and communicative practices evident in classroom participants' interaction. As examples of this, I will cite two instances of work carried out in South America.

The first study is based on qualitative study of storytelling events with young children in immersion classrooms in Colombia (de Mejía, 1998, 2002). Far from being a deficit strategy used to supplement imperfect linguistic proficiency on the part of the teachers, the use of two languages in teaching and learning revealed a sophistication and complexity of language development often ignored by educationalists. Recently, Spezzini (2005) has been doing work on sociocultural dimensions of language learning and use in English immersion classrooms in Paraguay, within a wider study of language learning variability. She notes that some immersion students are conscious that their codeswitched discourse is significantly different from standard usage, and see this as a reflection of their unique identity as students of a particular bilingual school.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Since the change in emphasis in immersion research in the mid 1980s, towards a more process-oriented, classroom-based stance, there have been significant changes in ways in which researchers have chosen to investigate different aspects of immersion students' developing discourses and competences. As the need to make the case for immersion as a viable educational alternative to traditional foreign or second language programmes is no longer a priority, there has been an increase in longitudinal studies, designed to examine developmental aspects of language learning, academic progress and sociocultural consciousness of students in immersion programmes in many different parts of the world. There has been a recognition of the complexity of the processes involved, as well as of the increasing diversity of student and teacher linguistic and cultural backgrounds. There is also a heightened awareness of the role of codeswitching and language choice as a communicative resource and as an indicator of identity.

In a recent review of immersion programmes, Genesee (2004, p. 574) stated that he considered bilingual classroom discourse as a fruitful avenue for research in the future, asking, 'Is there a role for bilingual usage—that is, the use of both languages in the same lessons, in bilingual education? In other words, should the languages always be

kept separate and if not, how can they be used coextensively to promote language learning?' There, thus, seems to be interest in examining bilingual classroom discourse in immersion settings to see how this is related to the teaching-learning process.

Another area of future research interest has to do with the phenomenon of increasing multilingualism within immersion programmes. Although Canadian researchers, such as Genesee, discuss 'bilingualism', immersion programmes in Finland, Israel, and Australia are having to come to grips with an increasingly multilingual programme, designed to prepare students for engagement in a globalised universe. This is increasingly becoming an issue for Canada as well, as the immigrant population is expanding and must learn two languages, French and English, as well as maintaining their home language. In addition, the introduction of immersion programmes involving typologically and orthographically different languages such as Japanese and Chinese has opened up new possibilities for future research, as there is, as yet, little data on students' level of achievement in the written forms of this type of target language (Genesee, 2004).

There is, thus, evidence to suggest that research on immersion programmes is moving forward in important ways. Increasing numbers of longitudinal and ethnographic studies are focusing on aspects of classroom interaction, bilingual/multilingual language use, and socio-cultural issues. There is also continuing concern with carrying out comparative research on student achievement in different national contexts throughout the world. In short, it can be seen that since its beginnings in the late 1960s, immersion research has broadened both its methodological outlook as well as its sphere of interest in line with the spread of immersion programmes worldwide.

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## LINGUISTIC ETHNOGRAPHY

### INTRODUCTION

As a term designating a particular configuration of interests within the broader field of socio- and applied linguistics, ‘linguistic ethnography’ (LE) is a theoretical and methodological development orientating towards particular, established traditions but defining itself in the new intellectual climate of late modernity and post-structuralism.

The debate about ‘what is’ and ‘what is not’ distinctive to an understanding of linguistic ethnography is current and the term linguistic ethnography itself is in its infancy. On the one hand it positions itself very much alongside anthropological traditions to the study of language, such as the ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1968, 1972) and interactional sociolinguistics (IS) (Gumperz, 1972, 1982), while on the other hand, it claims a distinctiveness by keeping the door open to wider interpretive approaches from within anthropology, applied linguistics and sociology. Linguistic ethnography typically takes a post-structuralist orientation by critiquing essentialist accounts of social life. In conjoining the two terms ‘linguistic’ and ‘ethnography’ it aligns itself with a particular epistemological view of language in social context. In a recently published discussion paper on linguistic ethnography, its general orientation is described as follows:

Linguistic ethnography generally holds that language and social life are mutually shaping, and that close analysis of situated language use can provide both fundamental and distinctive insights into the mechanisms and dynamics of social and cultural production in everyday activity. (Rampton et al., 2004, p. 2)

The discussion sets out an epistemological position which has much in common with contemporary sociolinguistics more generally—an interest in the interplay between language and the social, the patterned and dynamic nature of this interplay and the processual nature of meaning-creation in the making of context.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS AND MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Linguistic ethnography (LE) has been shaped by major developments in linguistic anthropology (LA) in the mid-twentieth century in the

USA. Particular strands of LA which have influenced linguistic ethnography are the ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1968, 1974, 1980), interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz, 1982, 1999) and micro-ethnography (Erickson, 1990, 1996). These traditions have of course been shaped themselves by a *mélange* of theoretical and methodological traditions. However, they also share a genealogy in seminal publications appearing in shared volumes and in sharing a critical mass of scholars working in particular locations (see Hornberger, 1995, 2003 for a fuller account).

In the following section, I outline these traditions in brief and show their relevance to researchers in the UK, where much of this work has been done. I end this section by looking at more recent developments in the USA in Linguistic Anthropology of Education (LAE) (Wortham, *Linguistic Anthropology of Education*, Volume 3) and consider the need that both LE and LAE express to extend beyond the earlier generations of linguistic anthropological research mentioned earlier to create new approaches to analysing the social and the linguistic.

### *Ethnography of Communication*

This approach from within LA has typically been concerned with challenging assumptions about cultural homogeneity through a focus on language use in interaction. Hymes is well known for criticizing both linguistics, for not making ethnography the starting point for the analysis of language use, and anthropology, for insufficiently drawing upon linguistics to understand and describe culture and context.

... it is not linguistics, but ethnography, not language, but communication, which must provide the frame of reference within which the place of language in culture and society is to be assessed ... (Hymes, 1974, p. 4)

Even the ethnographies that we have, though almost never focused on speaking, show us that communities differ significantly in ways of speaking, in patterns of repertoire and switching, in the roles and meanings of speech. (Hymes, 1974, p. 33)

For Hymes, what was needed was a general theory and body of knowledge within which diversity of speech, repertoires, and ways of speaking take primacy as the unit of analysis. Hymes' argument was that the analysis of speech over language would enable social scientists to articulate how social behaviour and speech interact in a systematic, ruled and principled way. This view became articulated in the ethnography of speaking (Hymes, 1968) and later the ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1974).

*Interactional Sociolinguistics*

Another tradition within LA is interactional sociolinguistics (IS), which focuses on discursive practice in social contexts and considers how societal and interactive forces merge. The goal of IS is to analyse how interactants read off and create meanings in interaction. Because language indexes social life and its structures and rituals, language use can be analysed to understand how presuppositions operate in interactions. Moreover, IS has looked at how interactants use language to create contexts. An important concept emerging from IS is 'contextualization cue', which according to Gumperz describes how a 'sign serves to construct the contextual ground for situated interpretation and thereby affects how constituent messages are understood' (1999, p. 461).

IS is often concerned with intercultural encounters and the systematic differences in the cultural assumptions and patterns of linguistic behaviour which are considered normal by those involved. Gumperz and others (Ochs, 1993) in their empirical work show how when we speak, we have ways of conveying to the listener complex information about how we intend them to treat the message. Ochs argues,

... in any given actual situation, at any given actual moment, people in those situations are actively constructing their social identities rather than passively living out some cultural prescription for social identity ... (Ochs, 1993, p. 296, 298)

In Gumperz's 'crosstalk' studies the focus is on how people of differing cultural backgrounds make assumptions about the kind of speech event they are participating in.

The aim is to show how individuals participating in such exchanges use talk to achieve their communicative goals in real life situations by concentrating on the meaning making processes and the taken-for-granted background assumptions that underlie the negotiation of shared interpretations. (Gumperz, 1999, p. 454).

A main purpose of IS analysis is to show how diversity affects interpretation and in this respect, it has much in common with micro-ethnography and the work of Erickson (1990, 1996).

*Micro-Ethnography*

Erickson's work has used video technology to look carefully at interactions for the importance of local framing. The focus here is on how interaction is constructed locally. Micro-ethnography has shown that people do not just follow cultural rules but actively and non-deterministically

construct what they do. Erickson shows us that listening is just as important as speaking in creating these environments and that speakers are in an ecological relationship with auditors (2004). Erickson's work has been influenced by Erving Goffman (1959), whose concern with the presentation of self in daily life has done much to show us that in any encounter we give off signals revealing aspects of our identities. Erickson, like Goffman, has emphasized close detailed observation of situated interaction.

The approaches described earlier, with their emphasis on close observational and textual analysis interpreted through an ethnographic understanding of the context, have all in some way shaped the work of scholars aligning with LE. Like the early work in the ethnography of communication which argued that linguistics had wrongly occupied itself wholly with the structure of the referential code at the expense of the social (Hymes, 1974, 1980), LE's argument is also for a socially constituted linguistics.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

As indicated above, LE shares much in common with other approaches to research in sociolinguistics in making linkages between language, culture, society and cognition in complex ways which are not easily amenable to the application of strictly controlled a priori analytic categories. In terms of current research LE is shaped by a disciplinary eclecticism some of which is described below.

##### *Linguistic Ethnography*

It is the consideration of what is to be gained by conjoining the two terms 'linguistics' and 'ethnography' which begins to define linguistic ethnography. Linguistic ethnography is an orientation towards particular epistemological and methodological traditions in the study of social life.

Linguistic ethnography argues that ethnography can benefit from the analytical frameworks provided by linguistics, while linguistics can benefit from the processes of reflexive sensitivity required in ethnography. In a recent discussion paper, Rampton et al. (2004) argue for '*tying ethnography down and opening linguistics up*' (p. 4) and for an enhanced sense of the strategic value of discourse analysis in ethnography. Ethnography provides linguistics with a close reading of context not necessarily represented in some kinds of interactional analysis, while linguistics provides an authoritative analysis of language use not typically available through participant observation and the taking of fieldnotes (p. 6).

In LE, linguistics is said to offer an ethnographic analysis of a wide range of established procedures for isolating and identifying linguistic and discursive structures (p. 3). In contrast, in ethnographic analysis is said to offer linguistic analysis a non-deterministic perspective on the data. Because ethnography looks for uniqueness as well as patterns in interaction, it 'warns against making hasty comparisons which can blind one to the contingent moments and the complex cultural and semiotic ecologies that give any phenomenon its meaning' (p. 2).

An LE analysis then attempts to combine close detail of local action and interaction as embedded in a wider social world. It draws on the 'relatively technical vocabularies' of linguistics to do this. Rampton et al. (2004) suggest that although 'there is certainly much more involved in human communication' than the issues that these technical vocabularies can reveal they 'can make a valuable contribution to our understanding of the highly intricate processes involved when people talk, sign, read, write or otherwise communicate' (p. 3).

In addition to the study of interaction, the study of situated literacy practices is also well represented in LE where the focus is on community-based literacy research (Barton and Hamilton, 1998; Barton et al., 2000; Gregory, 1996; Gregory and Williams, 2000), multilingual literacy (Bhatt et al., 1996; Martin-Jones and Jones, 2000), and cross-cultural perspectives on literacy (Street, 1984). As with interactional studies in LE, such research starts from an understanding of literacy as social practice. In such studies, researchers made a distinct break from viewing literacy as a measurable cognitive achievement concerned predominantly with educational success and instead began to look at how people actually use literacy in their lifeworlds and everyday routines.

Linguistic traditions which construct language and literacy as social and communicative action in the organization of culture(s) have therefore been heavily represented in LE and some of these have been described in the previous section as characteristically linguistic anthropology. However, LE attempts to distinguish itself from the antecedents of linguistic anthropology, namely the ethnography of communication, IS and micro-ethnography in several ways. First, it brings a UK research perspective to historical developments in LA and makes explicit the importance of this work. Of particular mention here is literacy research which steps outside the classroom and looks at literacy within the broader setting of the communities in which people live out their lives (see Tusting and Barton, 2005 for a summary of Community-Based Local Literacies Research). Second, it draws on different approaches to the analysis of discourse such as conversation analysis (CA) and thus moves beyond those typically associated with early work in linguistic anthropology. Moreover, it draws heavily on literatures associated with

the general movement of post-structuralism in the social sciences and therefore combines fields of study not typical in earlier linguistic anthropology, such as media studies, feminist post-structuralism and sociology. Third, much LE has emerged from traditions within UK applied linguistics (see later) rather than anthropology and for this reason typically takes language rather than culture as its principal point of analytic entry into the problems it seeks to address. Rampton et al. (2004) argues that the influence of applied linguistics in the UK, has resulted in a particular kind of response from researchers in this vein or work

So in fact, even if they had wanted to produce “comprehensive ethnography. . . documenting a wide range of a way of life” (Hymes, 1996, p. 4), they didn’t really have the accredited expertise to do so. Instead, UK researchers tended to develop their commitment to ethnography in the process of working from language, literacy and discourse outwards, and so even though they have varied in just how far ‘outwards’ they reached, for the most part the ethnography has taken the narrower focus that Hymes calls “topic-oriented” (Hymes, 1996, p. 5) (Rampton et al., 2004, p. 6).

LE has therefore been shaped by major North American research as well as constituted through research past and present emerging from British universities. With regard to the latter, Rampton et al. (2004) describe linguistic ethnography as shaped by five ongoing and recent fields of socio and applied linguistic research. These are

- A focus on local literacies described in the work of New Literacy Studies (NLS) (Barton, 1994; Barton, Hamilton and Ivanic, 2000; Gregory and Williams, 2000; Martin-Jones and Jones, 2000; Street, 1984, 1993; see Tusting, *Ecologies of New Literacies and their Implications for Education*, Volume 9) in which texts are viewed as processual and constructed in social discourse and action. Street and the NLS played a major part in introducing the post-structuralist ‘turn’ to applied linguistics in the UK, and they influenced a wider shift of interest beyond texts-as-products to texts-in-culture-as-a-process (Street, 1993; see *Literacy*, Volume 2).
- A focus on ethnicity, language and inequality in education and in the workplace (Barwell, in press; Lytra, 2003; Martin-Jones, 1995; Rampton, 1995; Roberts, Davies and Jupp, 1992). Rampton’s work on linguistic crossing and urban heteroglossia is important in this group in having shaped LE. Rampton’s work deals with the agentive and creative nature of adolescent talk in creating new identities around ethnicity and shows how ‘adolescents attempt to escape, resist or affirm the racial orderings that threaten to dominate their everyday experience’ (1995, p. 20) (see also *Language Policy and Political Issues in Education*, Volume 1).

- A focus on ideology and the cultural dynamics of globalization represented in those working in critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1990, 1993, 1996; Kress, 1993). This area of work in the UK opened linguistics up to a wider range of sociologists and social theorists.
- A focus on the classroom as a site of interaction. There are two strands represented in this area. The first is the neo-Vygotskian research on language and cognitive development. Scholars working in this field have typically used Vygotsky's concept of the zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1962), as well as the neo-Vygotskian notion of scaffolding (Bruner, 1985), to investigate teaching and learning interactions between adults and children (Mercer, 1995). The second strand of classroom work is more focused on the classroom as a cultural context with its own sites of struggle and its own local institutional imperatives and affordances for particular kinds of learning and interaction (Creese, 2005; Maybin, 2003, 2006). This work shows how interaction is multi-layered and contested within the classroom with certain discourses neglected and others privileged.
- A focus on applied linguistics for language teaching. Work in this area is associated with scholars such as Widdowson (1984), Brumfit (1984) and Strevens (1977). In the UK this work has been important in shaping applied linguistics agendas through its attention to communicative competence in EFL teaching and teacher education.

LE, therefore, has been particularly influenced by research on literacy, ethnicity and identity, ideology, classroom discourse and language teaching. It aims to use discourse analytic tools in creative ways to extend our understanding of the role language plays in social life. It combines a number of research literatures from conversational analysis (CA), post-structuralism, urban sociology and US linguistic anthropology. It also has much in common with the North American perspective of LAE. It is worth summarizing the particularly influential elements of more recent US LAE work on LE.

Wortham describes 'contemporary linguistic anthropology of education as prioritizing educational institutions as research sites to explore how language ideologies get created and implemented' (Wortham, 2003, p. 2). Wortham, goes on to explain that,

Instead of imposing outsider categories, linguistic anthropology induces analytic categories that participants either articulate or presuppose in their action, and it insists on evidence that participants themselves are presupposing categories central to the analysis. (Wortham, 2003, p. 18)

Wortham (2003) describes major influences on LAE. In addition to the work of Hymes and Goffman (which also informed LE), research in

LAE has been influenced by the work of Michael Silverstein (1976, 2003) and others (Hanks, 1996; Lucy, 1993). Silverstein's interests in language ideology and metapragmatics has shown the unavoidable referentiality of language. He describes his work on indexicality as composed of two aspects. The first is 'appropriateness-to' contextual parameters already established and the second is, 'effectiveness-in' brining contextual parameters into being. Within LAE, this work is used to look at the interactional in relation to the macro-sociological and in considering the role schools play in cultural reproduction.

LAE has used Silverstein's work on metapragmatics and ideology (Silverstein, 2003; Silverstein and Urban, 1996) to describe how institutional social identities are interactionally accomplished and shifted in schools. In an overview chapter in the LAE volume (Wortham and Rymes, 2003), Hornberger brings a critical historical perspective to the formation of LAE:

Linguistic anthropology of education is, perhaps fundamentally, a field that seeks to understand macro-level societal phenomena, and in particular societal inequities, in terms of micro-level person-to-person interaction, in the hopes of enabling work for change from both the bottom up and the top down (Hornberger, 2003, p. 266).

LAE therefore, like LE, stresses the complementarity of anthropology and ethnography with linguistics.

From this short description of LAE we can see that both LE and LAE have their traditions in similar strands of US literature but with notable differences, the most salient of which is the influence of applied linguistics on LE. Perhaps LE can be described as more 'disciplinary eclectic' with less evidence of the strong genealogy in cultural anthropology which characterizes LAE. However, both aim to bring new analytical tools and different literatures to the study of discourse in social life. Both make education one of their core sites for research.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

At several points in this paper, it has been acknowledged that the term LE is new and under debate and we might say its future security is not certain. It faces several challenges and four of these are described below. First, certain 'linguistics' traditions when put alongside 'ethnography' do not necessarily sit comfortably together. Although as described earlier, there are established traditions of research which have addressed language and culture together, there are other traditions within linguistics which have not. The epistemological assumptions in

the two fields of study are not necessarily shared and therefore need consideration in defining what the unit of analysis is. For example, how might ethnography combine with particular approaches from within linguistics that do not take context as fundamental to analysis? As Rampton et al. (2004) suggest,

Linguistics is a massively contested field. There are a number of very robust linguistic sub-disciplines which treat language as an autonomous system (separating it from the contexts in which it is used) . . . (p. 3)

Such differing epistemological starting points can lead to different notions of what the principal object of study is. Defining an object of study requires finding a common language which can both describe and capture the dynamic nature of social life and its interactions. Debates within LE serve to consider some of these methodological and epistemological issues and look for a language of description which would enable researchers with opportunities to move beyond where we currently are.

A second challenge with LE is the danger of not keeping up with major developments either in linguistics or in ethnography and therefore taking a too narrowly defined position on both. To counter this argument, there already exists a range of traditions in linguistics and in ethnography which have an established history of working together, e.g. in linguistic anthropology as described earlier. However, there are also examples where relations between the two fields are more strained. Hymes (1983) shows how over the last 100 years, there have been moments/projects where linguistics and ethnography have been working in tension and moments when they have operated fairly smoothly.

A third challenge is germane to many areas of the social science and concerns the difficulty of relating micro-level phenomena and broader social trends and theories. In articulating linguistic ethnography a concern has been expressed that LE does not fully engage with its social responsibility in making the connection between small scale findings and wider social implications. That is, rather than simply raising issues of power and inequality and offering a balanced perspective, a question remains about what LE offers in addressing these inequalities.

A fourth challenge is concerned with this institutional pressures that researchers in micro-interpretive methods face. A potential problem with the micro-focus of linguistic ethnography described above is that it is out of step with research councils and their agendas for funding research, which is generalizable and large scale, generating statistical findings of significance and validity to a number of different contexts.

## FUTURE DIRECTIONS

It is not yet clear what the future of linguistic ethnography is. In some ways, as this chapter has argued, it already has a long and established history through its connection to LA and other socio and applied linguistic traditions. However, in others, its newness is in the attempt to negotiate and articulate a distinctiveness. As this chapter is written, LE is in the process of negotiating itself into being and its career length and trajectory is not known. The debate about ‘what is’ and ‘what is not’ distinctive to linguistic ethnography is of course, like any field of study, an ideologically and interactionally negotiated process. As Silverstein argues,

the macro-sociological is really a projective order from within a complex, and ever changing, configuration of interdiscursivities in micro-contextual orders, some of which, it turns out, at any given moment of macro-order diachrony asymmetrically determine others (Silverstein, 2003, p. 202)

Whether LE will emerge in the macro-socio and applied linguistic ‘order’ as determinant will depend on the interdiscursive possibilities of micro-interactions and their reconfiguration, ‘entextualization and regimentation’ (see Silverstein, 2003; Wortham, 2003). Following Silverstein further, LE’s future will depend on its ability to reflect ‘appropriateness to’ already well established sociolinguistic parameters and ‘effectiveness-in’ bringing about new conversations and analytical frameworks.

Rampton argues for leaving the intellectual space open in terms of the kind of work which might emerge and sees the endeavour as an ‘enabling mechanism’ rather than setting goals and purposes to pursue.

LE in the UK isn’t a large, rich and well-oiled machine. Instead, there are scholars and research students scattered around lots of different institutions, a few with quite a few other LE researchers but a lot of people working more or less solo, and all of us operating in a highly competitive audit culture (Rampton, February, 2005, email correspondence).

A continuing aim in linguistic ethnography is to build a community and extend dialogue to develop theory and methodology.

In recent years, there has been a recognition of the emergence of ‘linguistic ethnography’ as an umbrella term bringing together these areas of work, and the need for scholars in these areas to engage in informed dialogue to develop the field methodologically and theoretically. In 2001, a group of UK-based researchers therefore came together to set up the *UK Linguistic Ethnography Forum* ([www.ling-ethnog.org.uk](http://www.ling-ethnog.org.uk)), a group which holds regular seminars and colloquia to explore these issues. Such events have covered a range of thematic areas including

asymmetrical discourses, the interface of linguistic ethnography with other fields of study (e.g., education, feminist post-structuralism and US linguistic anthropology) linguistic diversity and multilingualism, NLS, reflexivity, representation and translation, and urban heteroglossia. This group serves as one important site for dialogue around and development of work in linguistic ethnography in the UK. The linguistic ethnography forum attempts to raise questions, provoke discussion and formulate some answers about whether and how reasonable it is to speak of 'linguistic ethnography' in social science research (Rampton et al., 2004, p. 1).

Although heavily indebted to early work in the ethnography of communication, LE also sees itself as offering a new perspective relevant to researchers working in the social sciences in post-modernity (Rampton, Maybin and Tusting, in preparation). Substantial developments in US linguistic anthropology and the turn to post-structuralist accounts of discourse and meaning making in the research literature in the UK and Europe, have allowed LE to draw on more hybrid literatures in its analytical frameworks than those traditionally associated with the ethnography of communication.

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*See Also:* Karin Tusting: *Ecologies of New Literacies and their Implications for Education (Volume 9)*

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## ARTS-BASED APPROACHES TO INQUIRY IN LANGUAGE EDUCATION

### INTRODUCTION

With the acceptance of postmodern approaches to language research in the last few decades including feminism, poststructuralism, critical theory, and semiotics, assumptions about what counts as knowledge and the nature of research, have dramatically changed (see Fishman, *Theoretical and Historical Perspectives on Researching the Sociology of Language and Education*, Volume 10). The tools we use to collect data and display findings have diversified to include artistic as well as scientific methods. Arts-based approaches to inquiry refer to the use of the literary, visual, and performing arts through all stages of research. For example, there has been recent interest and support for including poetry, story, theater, and visual image as methods during data collection and analysis to increase researchers' attention to complexity, feeling, and new ways of seeing. Researchers increasingly turn to artistic forms of representation to communicate findings in multidimensional, penetrating, and more accessible ways to larger and more diverse audiences.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Artistry has often been as much a part of what language researchers have drawn upon in their research process as science. This ranges from the visual clarity and originality of graphic organizers to represent findings to hybrid writing styles that include rich, evocative language to describe the research field and share quoted speech from interviews. However, early developments of language education research methodology were rarely explicit about the place of art in scholarship.

Since the beginning of the study of language in anthropology, linguistics, and education, researchers have been particularly close to what Dewey (1934) described as the *aesthetic experience* involved in teaching, learning, researching, and communicating within and across different speech communities. For example, the Sapir-Whorf (1956) theory of linguistic relativity, although largely discredited, had tremendous influence on early studies of language and culture, influencing the emergence of *ethnopoetics* as a field of study. Ethnopoetics, a field

coined by poet-ethnographer Jerome Rothenberg in 1968 (Brady, 2000) focused largely on differences in aesthetics between indigenous verbal artists and Western literary traditions. Ethnopoetics was of central concern to linguistic anthropologist, Dell Hymes, in his research among Native American communities. Hymes (1964), the first to propose the “ethnography of communication” as a merged field between linguistics and anthropology, is himself a poet, who for years has been judging an annual poetry contest for the Society for Humanistic Anthropology.

Despite the implicit connections between early language education research and the arts, there were few, if any, explicit references to the arts in research before 1980. As to artistic products, there were fewer still. In fact, one of the first female anthropologists, Ruth Benedict (1934), whose book, *Patterns of Culture*, was one of the first to introduce the public at large to cultural diversity, published her poetry under pseudonyms to keep them hidden from her mentor, Franz Boas, and other academic colleagues (Behar, in press, pp. 5–6). By mentioning the arts in academic study, one risked leaving the impression that one’s research was less a piece of scholarship than a fictive invention. For some researchers, these fears gave way to a postmodernist turn in research, one that became disenchanting with absolute knowledge and objectivity in favor of “an epistemology of ambiguity . . . [celebrating] meanings that are partial, tentative, incomplete, and sometimes even contradictory and originating from multiple vantage points” (Barone, 2001, pp. 152–153). It was not until the 1980s that language education researchers and others in the social sciences began to embrace this postmodern turn, leading to the origins of what later came to be called “blurred genres,” “arts-based inquiry,” “scholARTistry,” and “a/r/tography.”

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS, “BLURRED GENRES”

Whether in the study of linguistic anthropology, language policy, discourse studies, or multicultural education, in the last few decades researchers and theorists have drawn explicitly upon blurred genres of the arts and sciences to analyze data and present their findings. In the 1980s, these front-runners in arts-based inquiry—though not called as such—paved the way for present-day arts-based researchers to take even further risks, crossing entirely into artistic genres of fiction, poetry, painting, and drama. As writing is a vital element of research inquiry, most of the initial contributions concentrated on the use and analysis of literary art forms in the human sciences with nods to music and the visual arts.

Heath’s (1983) classic ethnography of children learning to use language in two different communities was one of the first studies in education to use a literary approach to ethnography, drawing upon

narrative structures and metaphor (see also Toohey, *Ethnography and Language Education*, Volume 10). Lawrence-Lightfoot (1983) was the first to use the visual arts' term "portraiture" to describe her method of combining systematic, empirical description with aesthetic expression to describe the qualities of "goodness" in high school-learning communities. Clifford and Marcus (1986) book *Writing Culture* collected the first group of essays to address the poetic and political nature of cultural representation, drawing attention to the literary and rhetorical dimensions of ethnography.

Music theory and technique have also influenced some of the most noteworthy discourse studies in education, analyzing speech for its rhythm, meter, pitch, and tone. For example, Erickson and Shultz's (1982) study of counselor and student interactions used musical notation in analysis to discover that distorted rhythms in communication were heavily associated with cultural and perceived racial differences. Erickson, who has experience in music composition and theory, used his creativity and training to enhance his ability to hear and make sense of discordance and harmony in everyday talk. Similarly, Foster's (1989) study analyzed the musical qualities of an African American teacher's classroom discourse to shed light on the qualities of her success in an urban community college classroom. In particular, Foster focused on the teacher's use of church-influenced discourse patterns such as vowel elongation, cadence manipulation, and repetition.

Finally, the visual arts have been extremely influential in the study of language and education. Eisner's (1991) work in educational connoisseurship and criticism was foremost in this regard, using examples from the visual arts to describe, interpret, evaluate, and identify explicit educational themes. Edelsky (1981) addressed the visual as well as aural aspects of transcription, identifying areas of concern as to how to best represent the authenticity and dimensionality of an observed interaction for conversational analysis.

#### WORKS IN PROGRESS, "ARTS-BASED INQUIRY" IS BORN

The expansive directions of inquiry in the 1980s and early 1990s set the stage for the diversity and visibility of arts-based inquiry in the new millennium. However, arts-based research methodologies are still in conflict with established research paradigms and current political climates that emphasize and financially support traditional, scientific definitions of research. For example, in a report from the U.S. National Research Council (Shavelson and Towne, 2002), Eisner's (1991) "connoisseurship" and Lawrence-Lightfoot's (1983) "portraiture" were explicitly identified in opposition to sanctioned research methods that

are reliable, replicable, and generalizable in rigorously scientific ways. Despite increasing publication of arts-based research in a wide range of top tier scholarly journals, this scholarship is rarely eligible for financial support or the basis for academic promotion. Thus, modern-day Ruth Benedicts may still exist: researchers may produce poems using authentic names, but they can expect little professional support for doing so.

Despite plentiful deterrents, qualitative researchers in education such as Behar (1993), Ellis (1999), Barone (2001), Saldaña (2002) among others, too numerous to mention—confident that alternative arts-based methods are rigorous, relevant, and insightful—continue to take even greater risks, exploring new dimensions of arts-based methods that experiment at the scientific perimeter to push research questions and methodologies outward and enhance the field. There are two strands to contemporary arts-based research methodology today: those that embrace *hybrid forms* of artistic and scientific scholarship and those that produce *art for scholarship's sake*.

### *Hybrid Forms*

The hybrid arts-based research text was described by Barone and Eisner (1997) when they first introduced the concept of “arts-based inquiry” in Richard M. Jaeger’s edited book *Complementary Methods for Research in Education*. Barone and Eisner focused largely on contributions of the literary arts in educational research producing blurred genres between the arts and sciences. They laid out a theoretical framework for arts-based research, describing the qualities of arts-based texts: the creation of a virtual reality and a degree of textual ambiguity; the presence of expressive, contextualized, and vernacular forms of language; the promotion of empathetic participation in the lives of a study’s participants; and the presence of an aesthetic form through the unique, personal signature of the researcher.

In the spirit of hybrid genres of arts-based inquiry, one of the best-known book-length examples is Tom Barone’s (2001) merger of fiction and scholarship in *Touching Eternity*. The hybrid form allowed Barone “to play two games at once” in his study of a high school art teacher and his former students:

On the one hand, I assuaged a felt need to speak in an analytical voice about motifs confronted within my conversation with former students. On the other, I wanted to honor the life stories of participants before transforming them into life histories. So I experimented with a format in which life stories were presented extensively and physically distanced from the commentary of the researcher (p. 171).

Similarly well known, Ruth Behar's (1993) feminist ethnography, *Translated Woman*, is a blurred genre that integrates artistry and anthropology. Behar shares long, uninterrupted stretches of discourse from her informant Esperanza's *testimonio* about life experience as a single mother and peddler in Mexico. In addition, Behar shares her own reflections as an anthropologist *del otro lado*—literally from the other side of the border and figuratively from the other side of life in terms of race and class status. Behar's work, as well as that of Carolyn Ellis (1999), has opened the territory of "autoethnography," a merger between autobiography and ethnography, highlighting the extent to which the researcher foregrounds his or her own reflections and experiences in a given study.

Blurred genres of arts-based inquiry contextualize the creation of art—story, poetry, printmaking, sculpture, autobiography, ethnodrama—within their experimental science, perhaps, as Barone (2001) suggests, "because many postmodernist innovators began their careers as ethnographers and sociologists (rather than as artists, literary critics, or art theorists)" (p. 153). Nielsen (2005) identified blurred genre work as "scholARTistry," a hybrid practice which combines tools used by the literary, visual, and performing arts with tools used by educators and other social scientists to explore the human condition. Nielsen (2005) addresses three goals of scholARTistry on her web site, "to make academic writing an area where virtuosity and clarity are valued, to make educational research an area where the arts are legitimate inquiry, and to infuse scholarship with the spirit of creative connection." Varieties of teacher research and action research also constitute forms of scholARTistry where an educator uses narrative portraits to document her own literacy classroom (e.g., Hankins, 2003) or where an administrator autoethnographically documents her process to begin the first dual-immersion charter school in Georgia (e.g., Perry, 2005). In visual arts, Irwin and de Cossen (2004) published *A/r/tography* a collection of work that explores curriculum as aesthetic text through visual renderings as well as prose interpretations.

ScholARTists working with blurred genres share many of the same goals in their work. First, they incorporate tools from the sciences and the arts to make new, insightful sense of data during and beyond the research project. New insights and questions take precedence over a desire for absolute answers to educational and linguistic questions. Second, these blurred genre scholARTists share an explicit recognition of the self-other continuum, where the researcher is explicitly recognized as the primary instrument for documenting and interpreting knowledge from participants or from a specific context that ultimately informs the researcher about himself or herself as well. Thirdly, blurred

genre writers tend to have the goal to speak to diverse audiences both within and outside the academy. The use of accessible, vernacular, and aesthetic language and image, are used explicitly to reach beyond the academy to larger, more diverse audiences and to engage in what Barone (in press) called “truly dialogical conversation[s] about educational possibilities” (p. 23).

### *Art for Scholarship's Sake*

If hybrid art forms exist between two ideal forms of “art” and “science” then *art for scholarship's sake*, as I define it, exists just beyond hybridity and plants itself more squarely in the realm of stand-alone artistry—poems, short stories, paintings, dance, and drama among other forms of artistic expression. Unlike those creating hybrid forms, most creators of art for scholarship's sake have years of advanced training in their art form in addition to their studies in the social sciences. These scholARTists use their experiences during language education fieldwork to create pieces of art that capture the essence of their findings in emotionally penetrating ways. What distinguishes this work from art for *art's* sake is often the context in which this type of scholARTistry is found and that the scholARTistry's content is typically grounded in the experience of data collection and analysis.

Johnny Saldaña has used his 25 years of experience as a theater artist to produce what he calls “ethnodrama,” transforming fieldwork data into scripts for live theater. One of Saldaña's best-known ethnodramas is his adaptation of educational anthropologist, Henry Wolcott's research into a play called *Finding My Place: The Brad Trilogy* (Saldaña, in Wolcott, 2002). In this ethnodrama Wolcott, the researcher, and Brad, his research participant, become characters in a script that dramatizes the research findings as well as the complicated and, at times, controversial nature of the research process when the researcher becomes intimately involved with a participant.

Adrie Kusserow and Kent Maynard are two cultural anthropologists who have extensive backgrounds as poets. Both use poetry and ethnographic writing separately to share findings from their studies in different ways with different audiences. Kusserow has published her research in traditional ethnographic books and journals, regularly publishes ethnographically inspired poetry in a blurred-genre journal, *Anthropology and Humanism*, and has also published an acclaimed book of poetry, *Hunting Down the Monk* (Kusserow, 2002), which illuminates themes from her fieldwork in Nepal and Northern India. Likewise, Maynard has placed his work in a range of venues from conventional ethnographic writing to his published poetry in the Wick Poetry Chapbook Series (Maynard, 2001). Through poetry Maynard's

research on indigenous medicine among the Kedjom peoples of the Republic of Cameroon comes alive through scintillating and unexpected language.

Stephanie Springgay is a visual artist working on projects that explore women's subjective experiences of bodied space through community-engaged art. Springgay (in press) describes her academic curriculum vitae which includes international art shows of her work alongside published papers and conference presentations. Springgay's two recent bodies of work are titled *Nurse-in* and *Spillage*. These sculptures created from felted human hair, glycerin soap, and parts of a breast pump are designed to illuminate the contemporary feminist negotiations between motherhood, breastfeeding, and work.

In sum, art for scholarship's sake is grounded in extensive artistic training and aims to imbue art with socially engaged meaning from research and imbue socially engaged research with art. Increasingly, language and education research journals such as the *Journal for Latinos and Education* and *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* formally exhibit creative reflections on fieldwork in nontraditional forms such as poetry and autobiographical prose. Other journals such as the *International Journal of Education and the Arts* and the *Journal of Curriculum and Pedagogy* feature an even wider array of representational forms and formats including musical, pictorial, and videographic, as well as verbal and print and multimedia. There are poetry readings, performances, and arts exhibitions at major research meetings such as the American Education Research Association (through the arts-based educational research special interest group) and the American Anthropology Association (through the society for humanistic anthropology). Examples of art for scholarship's sake in language education research share renderings of inquiry in ways that are unexpectedly memorable due to their emotive and visceral impact.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Due to degrees of risk—professional and personal—involved, the artistic aspects of language education research have often been implicit, seldom acknowledged as such, and have often been achieved through luck rather than purposeful development. Consequently, there is very little explicit training for current and future language researchers to practice research methods that embrace tools and techniques from the arts as well as the sciences. Without explicit training, there can be no critical community to establish what constitutes quality in arts-based research.

The problem that arises by not creating a critical community is that there are few measurements of quality in arts-based inquiry. Without a critical community, arts-based inquiry is at risk of “anything goes”

criteria, making it impossible to distinguish what is excellent from what is amateur. Accompanying the demand for arts-based approaches to inquiry must also be a call for tough critics, those who advocate alternatives but will not substitute “novelty and cleverness for substance” (Eisner, 1997, p. 9). To foster a tough critical community, more arts-based educational researchers need to share the techniques and aesthetic sensibilities they use to prepare other researchers to understand, sensibly critique, and further develop arts-based approaches to scholarship.

Jane Piirto (2002) has been especially critical in regards to the question of quality in arts-based inquiry. She distinguishes arts-based exercises for personal creativity enhancement versus a higher level of scholARTistry that requires extensive and disciplined training. Piirto prescribes a minimum of an undergraduate minor, preferably a major, and evidence of peer-reviewed success for those who wish to make art for “high-stakes” research purposes such as dissertations, theses, or publications (p. 443).

Critical of anthropologist Ruth Benedict’s “cloying” attempts at verse, contemporary anthropologist, Ruth Behar (in press), advocates that scholars stick to genres they know well, enhancing them with what she describes as a “poetic anthropology”:

“The more important work I’m doing right now is the effort I’m making to craft a poetic anthropology. After all, we have a lot of poetic poets out there, but tell me, how many poetic anthropologists do you know? Anthropology needs poetic anthropologists. And the funny thing is that most anthropologists don’t know that. Or don’t want to know that (p. 95)”.

Aside from quality, another tension in arts-based research concerns the metaphoric novelty of the work versus its literal utility in a climate where our audiences require answers for practice rather than an additional set of ambiguous, beautifully stated questions (Eisner, in press). Eisner (in press) contends: “Novelty is a part of creativity and creativity is important to have, but when it trumps instrumental utility . . . namely that it contribute to the enrichment of the student’s educational experience, it loses its utility as a form of educational research” (pp. 16–17). Thus, an important concern for arts-based researchers in language education is how to make the process and products of scholARTistry valid and useful to other researchers, educators, politicians, and others wishing to benefit from the outcomes of inquiry.

The challenges of distinguishing quality in arts-based research and creating arts-based forms of inquiry that matter, especially in a political climate insistent upon definitive, unambiguous, generalizable answers, are not to be taken lightly. There are still more researchers writing *about* arts-based research criteria than those providing examples of what it looks like in each area of the literary, visual, and performing

arts. Thus, increased numbers of researchers need to experiment with hybrid forms and art for scholarship's sake to continually refine our critical sensibilities. Increased numbers of scholARTists working with an established criteria for excellence help others in the field of language research discover aesthetic forms that are useful to language inquiry as well as to diverse audiences of scholars and lay people outside the academy including teachers, administrators, politicians, and others involved in pedagogical practices and high-stakes decision making in educational contexts.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS AND POSSIBILITIES

Arts-based approaches to inquiry are not an either-or proposition to traditional research paradigms. Arts-based researchers in language education do no service to themselves to define their methods in opposition to more traditional approaches to inquiry. Rather, the literary, visual, and performing arts offer ways to stretch a researcher's capacities for creativity and knowing, creating a healthy synthesis of approaches to collect, analyze, and represent data in ways that paint a full picture of a heterogeneous movement to improve language education.

Among the value arts-based inquiry provides to a researcher's own imaginative thinking is also the value of sharing the process and products of arts-based research with a much larger readership than that of a typical language education study with more immediate and lasting impact. For example, sharing a poem may be a much more effective way to bring a discussion of research findings back to a group of students or teachers, than sharing a lengthy research article or book-length manuscript. Sharing a series of photographic images in the hallways of a college of education may disperse research findings to pre- and in-service teachers in more penetrating and immediate ways than any traditional text. Finally, hybrid forms and art for scholarship's sake may be more likely to find venues outside the immediate academy. For example, Jonathan Kozol's (2005) hybrid piece of journalistic ethnography found a large, influential home in *Harper's Magazine*, potentially reaching tens of thousands of readers about the conditions of under-resourced schooling in low-income areas of the urban USA.

Based on interviews with US Latino youth about their language abilities and attitudes toward Spanish, English, and code-switching I wrote the following poem, "What You Are" (Cahnmann, 2000, 2006). The poem captures the combined voices of these youth to dramatize the mistrust that can occur when Latino students are forced to choose between the languages of school and languages of home. Persona poems are opportunities to articulate another point of view, a means of exploring both the inner and outer worlds of lived experience. The

metaphor of the “plantain stain” emerged from an interview with a Puerto Rican principal who described his school’s success as indebted to his own “mancha de plátano”—literally “plantain stain” and figuratively an idiom used to describe Puerto Rican identity. I learned through this exchange and the crafting of this poem that the Caribbean diet is based on plantains, and the process of peeling a lot of plantains leaves the peeler’s fingers, the “real” Puerto Rican, with a lasting purple stain.

#### WHAT YOU ARE

Between Halloween and Martin Luther King Day,  
 Ramona forgot her language, started to leave it at home  
 the day her classmates laughed, the day she picked up  
 a dirty piece of paper when the teacher really said,  
 “RuhMOhnuh, you dropped your glove.”

That’s how it starts, the *señoras* say.  
 When a piece of you drops off,  
 and you pick up something else instead.  
 Nobody gives you that other piece back.

You have to fight for it. Like Ramona’s cousin Gloria  
 who flew back to the island when she was nineteen  
 because she was all-English, and the family said  
 she wasn’t Puerto Rican anymore.  
 She was *cool* and *what the fuck man*  
 She even thought you made *sancocho* from a can!

No way, Gloria says to Ramona when she returns.  
 Ain’t nobody gonna give you back your culture  
 once you leave it lying there like a wrinkled  
 piece of paper. You have to put your name on it.  
 Purple with plantain stains on your fingers.  
 Puerto Rican. *Puerto Riqueño*. If they ask you,  
 that’s what you are.

This poem appeared in a literary journal (Cahnmann, 2000) and in *Language Arts*, a US language education journal (Cahnmann, 2006). Not only am I able to share this piece of scholARTistry with audiences of poets, scholars, and teachers, but I am also able to share this poem and others directly with young people (often with the profanity deleted)—those who participated in my study and those with whom I work in ongoing projects concerning bilingual youth. The poem helps me engage conversations about language acquisition and language shift, opening up space for bilingual youth to share their fears about

language learning and cultural identity. As a language education researcher and poet, it has been important for me to develop my interests, skills, and identity as a scholARTist, rather than feel traitorous to art or science. I aim for the art and science to live together and breathe.

Researchers in language education cannot lose by acquiring and applying techniques employed by arts-based researchers. We must assume an audience for our work; one that longs for fresh language and imagery to describe the indescribable emotional and intellectual experiences in and beyond language education contexts. We may not all be poets, dancers, or painters, but we can all draw on the arts to craft poetic discourse analysis or artful case studies—renderings that realize the heights of artistic as well as scholarly potential, challenging the academic marginality of our work.

We might decide to read more poetry, take a dance class, and thus find ourselves taking more risks in the ways we approach our research methodology—whether this means incorporating sketches of a field site in our notebooks, writing “data-poems” from interview transcripts, or creating a scripted dialogue between the “characters” of influential theorists such as Bakhtin and Vygotsky wrestling with theory and data. My hope is for language education researchers to explore arts-based research methodologies mentioned here as well as others as a means to add more joy, meaning, and impact to our work.

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# **Section 4**

## **Language, Interaction and Education**

## MICROETHNOGRAPHY IN THE CLASSROOM

Microethnography is concerned with the local and situated ecology among participants in face-to-face interactional engagements constituting societal and historical experience. *Ethnographic microanalysis of interaction*, as microethnography is also known, aims at describing how interaction is socially and culturally organized in particular situational settings such as classrooms. Microethnographers typically work with audiovisual machine recordings of naturally occurring social encounters to investigate in minute detail what interactants do in real time as they co-construct talk-in-interaction in everyday life. As such, microethnography offers a methodology for the investigation of face-to-face interaction and a particular point of view on language use in multiparty arrangements in complex modern societies (Erickson, 1992, 2004; McDermott, Gospodinoff, and Aron, 1978). This view stresses that the social and cultural organization of human communicative action (Erickson and Shultz, 1982) involves conversationalists contained in physical bodies, occupying space in simultaneously constraining and enabling social situations, who must reflexively make sense of each others' actions as they act, without the benefit of an interpretive system that is shared completely among interlocutors.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

As an interdisciplinary research approach, microethnography has intellectual origins in distinct research traditions that converge in their interest in aspects of the organization of human social interaction. Among early influences is *context analysis*, the collaborative work of a multidisciplinary research group, including Gregory Bateson and Ray Birdwhistell, which pioneered the use of audiovisual records as primary sources of research data to study communicative interaction (see Kendon, 1990). Their work fundamentally shaped microethnography's commitment to the examination of nonverbal behavior and the unspoken activities of listenership in the study of face-to-face interaction (e.g., Erickson and Shultz, 1977/1981; McDermott and Gospodinoff, 1979/1981; Streeck, 1983). A second intellectual root is the *ethnography of communication*, from which microethnography inherited a linguistic anthropological concern with culturally appropriate forms of

talk and with variation in the function-form relationship in language use within and across speech communities (e.g., Michaels, 1981; Shultz, Florio, and Erickson, 1982; see Wortham, *Linguistic Anthropology of Education*, Volume 3). Yet a third source of insight is Goffman's studies on the "situational" (Goffman, 1981, p. 84) character of *the interactional order*. Based on the view that social interaction occurs within constraints of what participants agree is the situation they are currently in, microethnographies aim to demonstrate empirically the subtle ways in which participants (re-)arrange their alignments toward one another and (re-)frame their communicative actions accordingly. In addition to their significance for the analysis of the organization of communicative actions in face-to-face encounters (e.g., Shultz and Florio, 1979; Streeck, 1983), these observations also help explain key interactional mechanisms in phenomena such as interethnic miscommunication in the classroom and beyond (e.g., Erickson and Shultz, 1982; McDermott and Gospodinoff, 1979/1981).

Ethnographic microanalysis of interaction has also profited from contemporary studies in *conversation analysis* about the real-time sequential organization of conversation (see Mori and Zuengler, *Conversation Analysis and Talk-in-interaction in Classrooms*, Volume 3). Given the shared methodological stance of privileging the participants' recognizable sense-making perspectives in the analysis of talk and social interaction, the conversation analytic and microethnographic perspectives often display close affinity (cf. Goodwin, 1981; Hellermann, 2006; Mehan, 1979).

Similar influences have also marked research in *interactional sociolinguistics* (Gumperz, 1982), with which microethnography shares most concerns and assumptions. Considerable overlap and cross-fertilization therefore exist between the two approaches (cf. Tannen, 1992) to the extent that they are often not differentiated (see Wortham, *Linguistic Anthropology of Education*, Volume 3; McKay, *Sociolinguistics and Language Education*, Volume 4; Tsui, *Classroom Discourse: Approaches and Perspectives*, Volume 6; Toohey, *Ethnography and Language Education*, Creese, *Linguistic Ethnography*, Warriner, *Methods of Discourse Analysis in Educational Research*, Volume 10).

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Initial microethnographic work began in the 1970s through an interest in examining processes of mutual social influence among face-to-face interactants, particularly in terms of how participants create context and *make sense* during their activities together in educational environments. This early work, led by Frederick Erickson and Ray McDermott, carried the hallmarks of the microethnographic contribution to the study of language and social interaction in educational settings, especially in

the classroom (cf. Trueba and Wright, 1981). Among its features are, first, methodical attention to nonverbal and listener behaviors *simultaneously* with the (traditionally studied) verbal behaviors of speakers, including the noting of interactional rhythm and cadence; and, second, a thematic focus on mutual, simultaneous and successive influences among participants in interaction, the construction of labile situated social identities, and the management of culture difference.

Mehan (1998) identifies four major themes as the highlights of ethnographic microanalysis of interaction in education. First, in their demonstration “that face-to-face interaction is a productive site for the study of cultural production and reproduction,” microethnographies have also shown that “significant cognitive structures, such as intelligence, ability and disability, such social structures as identities and steps in educational career ladders are socially constructed in locally organized social situations” (p. 248), with classrooms as one key setting for such work (see Duff, *Language Socialization, Participation and Identity: Ethnographic Approaches*, Volume 3; Valencia Giraldo, *Talk, Texts and Meaning-making in Classroom Contexts*, Volume 3; McKay, *Sociolinguistics and Language Education*, Volume 4; Toohey, *Ethnography and Language Education*, Volume 10). Second, in doing this, microethnographers have produced not only a methodology, they have also helped underscore the “context-specific nature of human behavior” (p. 247), of which the educational community and public political discourse seem to need constant reminding lest judgments are made on the basis of ungrounded overextension of theoretical or personal presuppositions that often expose the behavior of participants in classroom interaction as incompetent, disorganized, senseless or inferior (see Green and Dixon, *Classroom Interaction, Situated Learning*, Volume 3). A third major contribution has been the research work contrasting the social organization of classroom lessons with that of the children’s home, especially of low-income and ethnic minority backgrounds, which has produced the “cultural discontinuity account of school difficulty” (p. 249) for children who may need to make major adjustments to the interactional etiquette they bring from home if they are to be seen as socially competent in the classroom, and thus deserving of access to the social opportunities made available by the educational system (see Ching Man, *Classroom Discourse and the Construction of Learner and Teacher Identities*, Volume 3; Haglund, *Ethnicity at Work in Peer-group Interactions at School*, Volume 3; Fenner, *Cultural Awareness in the Foreign Language Classroom*, Volume 6; Blum-Kulka, *Language Socialization and Family Dinnertime Discourse*, Volume 8; Howard, *Language Socialization and Language Shift among School-aged Children*, Volume 8; Pahl, *The Ecology of Literacy and Language: Discourses, Identities and Practices in Homes, Schools and Communities*, Volume 9). A fourth contribution

has been the empirical evidence provided for the characterization of the social nature of human learning which has in turn quite unwittingly supported the view that learning is constructed through guided assistance, a view that is widely held today by sociocultural theorists of education of various persuasions (see Green and Dixon, *Classroom Interaction, Situated Learning*, Volume 3; Lyle, *Learners' Collaborative Talk*, Volume 3; Maybin, *Revoicing across Learning Spaces*, Volume 3; Valencia Giraldo, *Talk, Texts and Meaning-making in Classroom Contexts*, Volume 3; and Hardman, *The Guided Co-construction of Knowledge*, Volume 3; van Lier, *The Ecology of Language Learning and Sociocultural Theory*, Volume 9).

In a seminal contribution, Erickson and Shultz (1977/1981) ask the crucial microethnographic question: "when is a context?" In their search for a methodological approach that would incorporate contemporary advances in the understanding of human social interaction to the analysis of social competence in naturally occurring scenes in everyday life, Erickson and Shultz draw attention to aspects of interactional behavior whose meaning may be redundant across the different communicative channels. They show that this redundancy—easily mistaken for interactional noise—is in fact essential for face-to-face interactants to be able to gauge what and "when" the context is in order to act in socially appropriate ways. Moreover, they argue, appropriate displays of this ability can be a determining factor in judgments made about social competence, an issue of paramount importance in educational encounters. This work also outlines the analytical steps for microethnographic research and has thus become a key reference for the research methodology of ethnography microanalysis of interaction.

In a series of classroom studies investigating how teacher and minority children learning to read organized their activities and time together, McDermott (e.g., McDermott, Gospodinoff, and Aron, 1978) builds a solid case for the microethnographic notion that "people constitute environments for each other" (McDermott, 1976, p. 27, cited in Erickson and Shultz, 1982, p. 7). In the situational ecologies where discourse is produced in face-to-face interaction, it is through the monitoring of the effects of his/her performance on the listener that the speaker can see how effectively he/she is interacting, and where he/she must change according to the continuously emerging context. McDermott (1977), for example, focuses on systematic postural shifts in relation to bids for the floor in a reading group ecology to show how the participants' actions made sense in the local environment they created together—even if that meant more time working on "relational struggles" and less on learning to read, which in and of itself may not make good educational sense.

In another study, McDermott and Gospodinoff (1979/1981) puzzle over the conflicting interaction between a white teacher and her Puerto Rican

kindergarten student. The boy conspicuously flouted culture-specific social etiquette norms for address, bodily touch, and interactional space in the classroom until the teacher joined him in creating an incident which disrupted her work session with the bottom reading group. Combining careful scrutiny of the participants' verbal and nonverbal behaviors with attention to the micropolitics of the interaction, McDermott and Gospodinoff show that student and teacher are engaged in *border work*, that is, they are adding a sociopolitical layer onto cultural identity markers. McDermott and Gospodinoff posit that participants often exploit cultural differences—simple *boundaries* of identity which can be crossed over and do not intrinsically constitute impediments to optimal communication, such as norms for bodily touch in interaction—as convenient tools to deal with immediate interactional pressures or to communicate conflicting interests over resources. In the short run, the researchers point out, the classroom incident they described was “to everyone’s advantage” (1981, p. 224). The boy secured the teacher’s attention to what he had bothered her about, while “the teacher and the children in the bottom group [got] a brief rest from their intense organizational negotiations” (p. 224). In the long run, however, occurrences of interactional conflict due to the micropolitical exploitation of small cultural differences sediment what would otherwise be passable *boundaries* of identity into insurmountable interactional *borders*, with lifetime consequences for those like the student mentioned above, as these borders serve as cultural trenches for societal struggle among individuals in competing identity groups.

Erickson and Shultz’s (1982) detailed microanalysis of interethnic counseling interviews in junior colleges is a classic microethnographic investigation of participation structure, interactional rhythm, and listening behavior in relation to speaking. It shows how the local interdigitation of concerted action—the interlocking of interactional gears—enters into the achievement of critical gatekeeping decisions which are consequential in terms of access to social opportunity. Highly significant to the study of cross-cultural communication is Erickson and Shultz’s (1982) empirical finding that, despite the clear relation between culture difference and interactional trouble, when culturally dissimilar student and counselor managed to activate particular “attributes of shared status” (p. 35), or *comembership* (e.g., common interest in Catholic high school sports), their interactions were observed to be significantly less uncomfortable. In addition to providing evidence of the dynamically emergent nature of context in everyday interaction, Erickson and Shultz (1982) bring forth the social-scientific relevance of examining the real-time organization of verbal and nonverbal activities of speakers and listeners. They discuss these issues in terms of *reciprocity* (i.e., “the interdependence of actions taken successively across moments in time,” p. 71) and *complementarity* (i.e., “interdependence

of actions taken simultaneously in the same moment,” p. 71), thus emphasizing the microethnographic view that face-to-face interaction is built on actions in physical time and space, rather than simply on the exchange of meaningful utterances.

A concern with real-time, locally appropriate ways of making sense in embodied interaction is also the focus of Shultz and Florio (1979). They show how a teacher’s routine verbal and nonverbal behaviors—outside her own or the students’ conscious awareness—are critical to the organization of classroom life, regulating the timing and social space for appropriate student contributions. Learning how to make sense of these contextualization cues (Dorr-Bremme, 1990; Gumperz, 1982), they show, enables students to navigate across the classroom environment appropriately and ultimately reflects on their perceived interactional competence.

Concerned with child-child interaction, Streeck (1983) examines linguistic and kinesic features composing the ecology of communicative processes in “peer teaching” events in a group of five minority schoolchildren. He describes in concise detail the procedures by which the children organize their interaction frame by frame to achieve and sustain a consensus of what their activity is, and to seal off their interactional space from the surrounding world, a process in which they “thereby contextualize the linguistic process of giving and receiving instructions” (p. 2).

Shultz, Florio, and Erickson, (1982) investigate the contrastive social organization of different participation structures for conversation that Italian-American students encountered at home and at school. While some social participation structures found in the classroom resemble the structure and timing for appropriateness of those in the children’s homes, mismatches were observed. Participation structures in which the speaker-audience relationships allow for the simultaneous occurrence of more than one *floor* (i.e., access to a turn at speaking that is attended to by others) were routinely found to be sanctioned at home. However, when students produced them at school, the same participation structures constituted reason for reproach by the teacher. This analysis suggests that floor, as an aspect of the ecology of interaction, is not necessarily a unitary phenomenon, as previous work had proposed. In addition, it shows how small children may find it difficult to know what constitutes appropriate communicative behavior at school.

A number of microethnographic studies focus closely on such mismatches between home and school cultural norms for communicative behavior. Among them, Au (1980) and Au and Mason (1983) argue that cultural congruence in the rules governing participation in classroom activities may facilitate academic learning. These studies show how native Hawaiian children were more comfortable in a classroom

ecology where participation structures similar to the ones they were familiar with at home were used in reading lessons, resulting in improved reading scores in the long run. Michaels (1981) analyzes “sharing time” in an ethnically mixed first-grade classroom and argues that the observed mismatches in teacher/student culturally based discourse strategies and prosodic conventions for giving narrative accounts have potentially adverse effects on the minority students’ access to key literacy-related experiences.

In sum, microethnographers have provided, according to Mehan (1998) “a new paradigm for understanding inequality” (p. 254) as they “removed social structures from a disembodied external world and relocated them in social interaction” while they also “took cognitive structures out of the mind and related them in interaction” (p. 254). In addition to this theoretical contribution, microethnography has also had pedagogical implications in that it called attention to the need to bridge cultural discontinuities in the classroom while exposing the benefits of variety and flexibility in the social organization of classroom talk-in-interaction as a resource in classroom instruction. But it has been perhaps in the methodological arena that microethnography’s contributions have been disseminated most widely. Its firm commitment to a fully accountable interpretive approach made it develop firm and consistent roots in empirical investigation built on the grounding of claims in the interaction as can demonstrably be seen in the participants’ actions.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Microethnographic studies are deeply concerned with the elusive nature of context in social interaction (Erickson and Shultz, 1977/1981), and the role it may play in the interpretation of utterances and other communicative behavior. Having offered early evidence for the understanding of context as the online and embodied creation of co-present interactants, microethnographers have also provided useful heuristics for the analysis of context in face-to-face interaction (Erickson, 1992; Erickson and Shultz, 1977/1981; McDermott, Gospodinoff, and Aron, 1978). Theirs has been a significant contribution to unravel what constitutes social and communicative competence—especially in interaction in institutional settings and among socioculturally dissimilar interactants—and to connect these interactional processes to societal issues such as social opportunity and cultural politics.

The main empirical concerns of early microethnographic work—the relationship of listening behavior in relation to speaking, the nature of contextualization processes in interaction, the construction of situated social identities and the lability in the foregrounding of aspects of social

identity in everyday face-to-face interaction—continue to be the focus of later work (Dorr-Bremme, 1990; Erickson, 1996; Fiksdal, 1990; O'Connor and Michaels, 1996). In addition, insights from that early work have also been taken in new directions.

One such direction is research on *the language and culture of classrooms* conducted by the Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, which congregates researchers with special interest in issues of classroom interaction and reading and writing instruction, learning and practice (see contributions in Green and Dixon, 1993; Jennings and Green, 1999). An example of such focus can be seen in Castanheira, Crawford, Dixon, and Green's (2001) interest in "what counted as literacy" in the practices of teacher and students across five classes in a vocationally oriented secondary school in Australia. Through analysis of what counted as text, as literate practices, and as participation in each class, they illustrate the research approach they term "Interactional Ethnography", and provide relevant theoretical discussion of the relationships between theory and method (see chapters on Bloome, *Literacies in the Classroom*, Volume 2; Valencia Giraldo, *Talk, Texts and Meaning-making in Classroom Contexts*, Volume 3; Pahl, *The Ecology of Literacy and Language: Discourses, Identities and Practices in Homes, Schools and Communities*, Volume 9; Melzi and Caspe, *Research Approaches to Narrative, Literacy, and Education*, Volume 10).

Similar research concerns are also present in the work of David Bloome and his associates on *literacy practices*. Bloome and Egan-Robertson (1993), for example, microanalyze a first-grade classroom reading event to show the moment by moment emergence of intertextuality as a social construction that can be "located in the material of people's social interaction" (p. 330). In demonstrating this, moreover, the authors interpret an event in which two students resisted full participation in a reading lesson and seemed off-task, when in fact they were making relevant intertextual links, though using intertextuality differently from the rest of the class to "define themselves as readers outside the definition of being students" (p. 330). Contemporary work on face-to-face interaction and literacy thus takes the initial microethnographic methods and point of view to the specific understanding of how reading and writing are constructed as integrally social processes.

Bloome, Caster, Christian, Otto, and Shuart-Faris (2005) bring that line of microethnographic research to date by dealing with classroom literacy events now in the light of increasingly explicit concerns with gender, race, identity and power relations within and beyond classrooms. In the tradition of microethnographers, they keep methodological, theoretical, and epistemological issues well united, as they deal with broad social and cultural processes, always stressing the conception of people as complex, multi-identity actors working together with

the tools given by culture, language, social, and economic capital to create new meanings, social relationships and possibilities within the affordances of interaction in all of its complexity, ambiguity, and indeterminacy (see Moss, *Gender and Literacy*, Volume 2; Bloome, *Literacies in the Classroom*, Volume 2; and Edwards, *Reading: Attitudes, Interests, Practices*, Volume 2).

Microethnography has also been introduced to new academic environments, where it is shedding light on complex issues of social identities, schooling, and opportunities to learn crucial literacy skills. By examining how some students were able to participate in classroom literacy events more centrally than others, Jung and Garcez (forthcoming) show how students and teacher in a first-grade classroom in a semiliterate multilingual rural community in Brazil reproduce and recreate complex social identities which may be evident in various settings throughout the local community. The students' deployment, as they participate in classroom interaction, of various traits related to urban versus rural, pan-Brazilian versus German-ethnic, Brazilian Portuguese versus dialectal German-speaking are set against the illuminating background of gender identities. The resulting view shows that the same classroom literacy event may afford different opportunities to participate and learn the literacy practices which are hard to come by outside the school environment. Thus a "good learner" is often expected to emulate the practices usually associated with the female, Catholic, German-ethnic and non-German-speaking local semiliterate, and students unwilling to participate as such may be especially challenged (see Luk Ching Man, *Classroom Discourse and the Construction of Learner and Teacher Identities*, Volume 3; Nielsen and Davies, *Discourse and the Construction of Gendered Identities in Education*, Volume 3; Heller, *Language Choice and Symbolic Domination*, Volume 3; Duff, *Language Socialization, Participation and Identity: Ethnographic Approaches*, Volume 3; McKay, *Sociolinguistics and Language Education*, Volume 4; Freeman Field, *Identity, Community and Power in Bilingual Education*, Volume 5; Tsui, *Classroom Discourse: Approaches and Perspectives*, Volume 6; Howard, *Language Socialization and Language Shift among School-aged Children*, Volume 8; Hornberger, *Continua of Biliteracy*, Volume 9; Pahl, *The Ecology of Literacy and Language: Discourses, Identities and Practices in Homes, Schools and Communities*, Volume 9).

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

The insights and contributions of ethnographic microanalysis of interaction to the fields of education, cross-cultural communication and the organization of face-to-face interaction have long been recognized

(Trueba and Wright, 1981), and microethnography remains a productive research approach. Yet the relatively limited additional microanalytic work with “the same sort of intensive videotape analysis that was the hallmark of the early research” (Shultz, 1996, personal communication) bespeaks of difficulties in its wider application as a research method.

As Erickson (1992) points out, ethnographic microanalysis of interaction is labor intensive, and “should not be used unless it is really needed” (p. 204). It is especially appropriate when one is interested in investigating social interaction in face-to-face events that are “rare or fleeting in duration or when the distinctive shape and character of such events unfolds moment by moment, during which it is important to have accurate information on the speech and nonverbal behavior of particular participants in the scene” (pp. 204–205).

The very strengths of microethnography—a research method which permits investigation of the full range of variation and the determination of the typicality or atypicality of event types, modes and interactional organization—are indicative of how onerous it is. Improvements in technology have greatly facilitated the collection and handling of video records of interaction, such as digital audio and video, which now allow computer-aided management of recordings. Yet the benefits of microethnographic research can only be fully achieved through careful and continued revisitation of these records in a long process of reviewing the whole event numerous times, identifying its major constituent parts and the aspects of organization within them, then focusing on the actions of individuals and finally comparing instances of the phenomenon of interest across the research corpus. This process of “considering whole events, . . . analytically decomposing them into smaller fragments, and then . . . recomposing them into wholes” (Erickson, 1992, p. 217) demands great attention and time, inevitably limiting the amount of data that can be processed (thus the case-study nature of microethnographies). Nonetheless, it remains a distinctive strength of microethnography that it can produce deep analysis of phenomena which may be impossible to perceive in real time observation and which may be too heavily laden with common-sense perceptions for participant-observers to even notice.

Moreover, in its focus on complete analysis of audiovisual records of naturally occurring interaction, ethnographic microanalysis has the potential to reduce the analyst’s limitation to the investigation of frequently occurring events and his/her dependence on premature interpretation of interactional phenomena. It thus offers tools “to identify subtle nuances of meaning that occur in speech and nonverbal action—subtleties that may be shifting over the course of activity that takes place” and whose verification may enable us to see “*experience in practice*” more clearly (Erickson, 1992, p. 205). Recent technological

tools to support video analysis have played a role in facilitating and enhancing this process, but they have also made it more complex in the sense that analysts must become familiar with equipment and procedures which often impose demands of their own.

The laborious quality of microethnography—as the methodological pursuit of a comprehensive point of view on social interaction—makes it an especially apt qualitative method for examining micro social processes and establishing their connection to more encompassing processes that ultimately constitute society and history (Giddens, Duneier, and Appelbaum, 2007). It is in this light that microethnographers refer to the inadequacy of “micro” as the label for their research work, which can in fact be quite macro (cf. Bloome and Egan-Robertson, 1993, p. 331; Bloome, Caster, Christian, Otto, and Shuart-Faris, 2005; Erickson, 1992, pp. 222–223). Since the microethnographic approach to data analysis is largely inductive, *a priori* concerns with macrostructural formations do not drive the analytic process (cf. Erickson, 1992; Gumperz, 1982). Though such issues often do emerge from the participants’ observable behavior, it is only when substantial emic evidence warrants their treatment, in later stages of the research process, that they become analytically foregrounded. As a result, microethnographers may be seen as ignoring the wider social contexts that shape the interactants’ displayed stances, in what Mehan (1998) refers to as “radical contextualism” (p. 259). However, in showing the subtle ecologies that participants create in face-to-face interaction, as social actors who are both reproducing and altering their macro social structures in situated talk-in-interaction, microethnographies in fact describe the co-construction, in and through discourse, of joint social realities which are intimately connected to wider societal processes such as, for example, interethnic struggle and social opportunity (e.g., Erickson and Shultz, 1982).

Erickson (2004) is directly concerned with bridging the gap between microethnographic analytic perspectives and wider concerns which have more typically been addressed by social theorists who favor the view “that the conduct of talk in local social interaction is profoundly influenced by processes that occur beyond the temporal and spatial horizon of the immediate occasion of interaction” (p. viii). In his synthesis of much of his own previous work, some of which was referred to above, Erickson shows how what happens in the here and now of people living their lives in particular situations sediments in larger social phenomena observable with the passing of time and across different settings. A constant interest is in tracking how inequality is constructed across situations, and how the inequality which can be spotted more widely in society is actually made to exist in face-to-face encounters.

Bloome, Caster, Christian, Otto, and Shuart-Faris (2005) also address the connections between local interactional issues and the wider social contexts that shape the interactants' displayed stances. In a book with heavy emphasis on metaresearch issues, their Chapter 4 "Microethnographic Discourse Analysis and the Exploration of Power Relations in Classroom Language and Literacy Events" provides an especially telling analysis of two elementary education classrooms (7th grade Language Arts/6th grade Social Studies) in the US as the authors contrast them to show "different formulations of how literacy is implicated in power relations and, more specifically, how literacy events may be implicated in transforming power relations" (see chapter on Janks, *Teaching Language and Power*, Volume 1). "In both classrooms, students had to address written texts associated with academic knowledge (a poem and library books), and those written texts became props for examining knowledge and power relations" (p. 220).

Both Erickson (2004) and Bloome, Caster, Christian, Otto, and Shuart-Faris (2005) show contemporary microethnographers' commitment to keep bringing about insight into what is happening in classrooms that has emic validity and "the potential to reveal systems of power and control (and resistance to them) that are grounded in the realities of people's everyday lives, the ways or possibilities through which people create meaningful lives and caring relationships for themselves and others" (Bloome, Caster, Christian, Otto, and Shuart-Faris, p. 56).

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Contemporary social theory has restored the notion that the situated communicative activities of flesh and blood interactants are critical to the constitution of society and historical experience (Giddens, Duneier, and Appelbaum, 2007). In that it offers a consistent methodological framework for the investigation of video records of everyday face-to-face interaction as well as a broad theoretical basis guiding its practice (Bloome, Caster, Christian, Otto, and Shuart-Faris, 2005; Erickson, 1992, 2004; Erickson and Shultz, 1977/1981; McDermott, Gospodinoff, and Aron, 1978), microethnography stands as a discourse-and-interaction analytic research method that can in fact support the empirical characterization of what people do when they interact face to face in everyday life. With video now a common and accessible data collection resource, and with the increasing realization that verbal/speaker discourse is but one aspect of what needs to be attended to for the comprehensive understanding of the embodied and situated activities of human communicative behavior, we should therefore expect microethnography to offer increasingly significant contributions to the description of societal-historical processes constituted in the situated reflexive practice of social agents.

Following the criticisms of their radical contextualism that may jeopardize its capacity to illuminate what is going on in educational encounters such as those that happen in classrooms—which are always fraught with echoes from beyond its walls, microethnographers’ head-on attempt to improve the field’s grasp of the complex “interconnections between social structure, culture and social interaction” while also attending to the need “to reconcile the conflictual and consensual dimensions of learning” (Mehan, 1998, p. 264) is proof of the vitality of microethnographic analysis of interaction in educational settings.

**See Also:** Hilary Janks: *Teaching Language and Power (Volume 1)*; Gemma Moss: *Gender and Literacy (Volume 2)*; David Bloome: *Literacies in the Classroom (Volume 2)*; John Edwards: *Reading: Attitudes, Interests, Practices (Volume 2)*; Jasmine Luk Ching Man: *Classroom Discourse and the Construction of Learner and Teacher Identities (Volume 3)*; Judith Green and Carol Dixon: *Classroom Interaction, Situated Learning (Volume 3)*; Junko Mori and Jane Zuengler: *Conversation Analysis and Talk-in-interaction in Classrooms (Volume 3)*; Harriet Bjerrum Nielsen and Bronwyn Davies: *Discourse and the Construction of Gendered Identities in Education (Volume 3)*; Charlotte Haglund: *Ethnicity at Work in Peer-group Interactions at School (Volume 3)*; Monica Heller: *Language Choice and Symbolic Domination (Volume 3)*; Rani Rubdy: *Language Planning Ideologies, Communication Practices and their Consequences (Volume 3)*; Patricia Duff: *Language Socialization, Participation and Identity: Ethnographic Approaches (Volume 3)*; Susan Lyle: *Learners’ Collaborative Talk (Volume 3)*; Stanton Wortham: *Linguistic Anthropology of Education (Volume 3)*; Janet Maybin: *Revoicing across Learning Spaces (Volume 3)*; Silvia Valencia Giraldo: *Talk, Texts and Meaning-making in Classroom Contexts (Volume 3)*; Frank Hardman: *The Guided Co-construction of Knowledge (Volume 3)*; Sandra Lee McKay: *Sociolinguistics and Language Education (Volume 4)*; Rebecca Freeman Field: *Identity, Community and Power in Bilingual Education (Volume 5)*; Amy B.M. Tsui: *Classroom Discourse: Approaches and Perspectives (Volume 6)*; Anne-Brit Fenner: *Cultural Awareness in the Foreign Language Classroom (Volume 6)*; Hilary Janks and Terry Locke: *Discourse Awareness in Education: A Critical Perspective (Volume 6)*; Colin Baker: *Knowledge about Bilingualism and Multilingualism (Volume 6)*; Pádraig Ó Riagáin: *Language Attitudes and Minority Languages (Volume 6)*; Shoshana Blum-Kulka: *Language Socialization and Family Dinnertime Discourse (Volume 8)*; Kathryn Howard: *Language Socialization and Language Shift among School-aged Children (Volume 8)*; Nancy H. Hornberger: *Continua of Biliteracy (Volume 9)*; Leo van Lier: *The Ecology of Language Learning and Sociocultural*

*Theory (Volume 9); Kate Pahl: The Ecology of Literacy and Language: Discourses, Identities and Practices in Homes, Schools and Communities (Volume 9); Kelleen Toohey: Ethnography and Language Education (Volume 10); Angela Creese: Linguistic Ethnography (Volume 10); Doris Warriner: Discourse Analysis in Educational Research (Volume 10); Gigliana Melzi and Margaret Caspe: Research Approaches to Narrative, Literacy, and Education (Volume 10); Ilana Snyder: Research Approaches to the Study of Literacy, Technology and Learning (Volume 10); Paul Garrett: Researching Language Socialization (Volume 10)*

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## CODE-SWITCHING IN THE CLASSROOM: RESEARCH PARADIGMS AND APPROACHES

### INTRODUCTION

Classroom code-switching refers to the alternating use of more than one linguistic code in the classroom by any of the classroom participants (e.g. teacher, students, teacher aide). In this discussion, both code-mixing (intra-clausal/sentential alternation) and code-switching (alternation at the inter-clausal/sentential level) will be referred to by the umbrella term, code-switching, as this is also the general practice in many classroom code-switching studies. The aim of this contribution is to provide an overview of the research literature and to point towards future research directions.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

While classroom code-switching studies have been diverse, the often-quoted early studies chiefly have been conducted in North American settings in two main kinds of contexts: (1) second language contexts (e.g. ESL classrooms) and (2) bilingual education classrooms. The research methods largely drew on quantitative and functional coding analysis. Research interest has mainly been directed at two aspects: the relative quantities of first language (L1) and second language (L2) use in different activity settings, and the functional distribution of L1 and L2. Below is a review of the research methods used in some early studies.

#### *Early Studies on Relative Amounts of L1/L2 Use Across Activity Types and Settings*

This type of research has largely been conducted in North American settings with children in bilingual education programmes (e.g. Wong-Fillmore, 1980). The main emphasis of such work is to investigate whether linguistic minority children's L1 (e.g. Spanish, Chinese) and the wider, societal language (English) are given equal emphasis by calculating the relative quantities of use in the classroom (in terms of the number of utterances in each code or the time spent on it). Data

for such studies is typically collected through class visits and observations with subsequent analysis of field notes and audio/videotapes. For instance, Wong-Fillmore (1980) found a range of L1 use depending on the degree of individualization in teacher-student interaction. In a Cantonese-English bilingual programme, the teacher spoke the least L1 (8% of all her utterances) and the most L2 (92%) during whole-class instruction. She spoke more L1 (28%) during interactions with individual students in seatwork. The child chosen for observation, on the other hand, spoke much more L1 (79%) in seatwork than during teacher-directed whole class instruction (4% L1). This study suggests the preference for the use of L1 in less formal, more intimate participant structures.

In another study (Frohlich, Spada and Allen, 1985) on the communicative orientation of L2 classrooms in four different programmes in Canada (e.g. core French, French immersion, extended French with subject matter courses, ESL classrooms), teacher talk in all four programmes was found to reflect very high L2 use (96%). However, the researchers noted that students generally used the target language only while the teacher exercised control over classroom activities. During seatwork most interaction occurred in the students' L1. Again, it seems that students show strong preference for using L1.

While the interactive sociolinguistic notion of 'participant structure' (Goffman, 1974; Heller, 2001) was not used in these early studies, they relied instead on the related notion of activity type or setting (e.g. individual seatwork, group work, whole-class instruction) as an important factor affecting the relative amounts of L1/L2 use in both studies above. In contrast, other work used functional coding systems in their analysis to develop categories of functions for which L1 is used.

### *Early Studies on Functional Distribution of L1/L2 Use*

Many of the functional studies were conducted in bilingual content classrooms in the USA and only a few on second and foreign language classrooms. In these studies, classroom utterances were usually coded by the observer with a functional system (e.g. Flanders, 1970) yielding frequency counts of distribution of L1 and L2 over different functional categories. For instance, in a study based on observations of five kindergartens in Spanish bilingual programmes and using an adaptation of Flanders' Multiple Coding System, Legarreta (1977) reported on the functional distribution of Spanish (L1) and English (L2) in two different models: the Concurrent Translation (CT) and Alternative Days (AD). She found that the AD model generated an equal distribution of Spanish and English by teachers and children overall, with more Spanish used for 'warming' and 'directing' functions and English as

the primary choice for disciplining children. However, in the CT model, instead of using the L1 (Spanish) of the majority of the pupils to express solidarity (warming, accepting, amplifying), the teachers and aides predominantly used English for these functions.

In another study, Milk (1981) coded teacher talk in a twelfth grade bilingual civics lesson according to eight basic pedagogical functions (e.g. informative, directive, humour-expressive) based on Sinclair and Coulthard (1975). English (L2) was found to dominate the teacher's directives (92%) and meta-statements (63%) while there was a greater balance between L1 and L2 in other functions (e.g. elicitation, expressive, reply, informative). In addition, Milk described the skilful manner in which the bilingual teacher employed extensive switching between Spanish and English to create humour, both as a means of social control (via the creation of a sense of solidarity) and as a way to arouse students' interest.

Guthrie (1984) used similar research methods in a study of an ESL lesson attended by 11 first-grade Cantonese-American students (ranging from limited-English proficiency to fluent). Two types of lessons were analysed: reading in English with a Cantonese-English bilingual teacher, and oral language with an English monolingual teacher. Field notes and audio recording of six hours of lessons were obtained and coded by two bilingual observers. It is found that interactions of the English monolingual teacher with the limited-English-proficiency students in the oral lessons were characterized by a higher proportion of conversational acts such as 'attention-getters', 'requests for action' and 'protests', indicating a certain lack of teacher control and a frequent loss of student attention. On the other hand, while the bilingual teacher used Cantonese (L1 of the students) very rarely (less than 7% on average) in the English reading lessons, when she did it was for a distinct reason. She told the researchers that she tried to avoid using Cantonese during these lessons and was surprised to find she has used L1 as much as she had. The functions of L1 use reported by Guthrie can be summarized as: (i) to act as a 'we-code' for solidarity, (ii) to clarify or check for understanding, (iii) to contrast variable meanings in L1 and L2 and to anticipate likely sources of confusion for students.

So, while the functional coding approach dominated early work in some studies (e.g. Guthrie, 1984; Milk, 1981) preliminary use of ethnographic interviews and interactional sociolinguistic methods were incorporated, a trend which continued in later work.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Many early studies seemed to have worked with the assumption that functional categories were stable, valid categories of classroom speech and that analysts could reliably assign utterances to each category. Yet

the functional coding approach in early studies in fact involved a lot of sociolinguistic interpretive work on the part of the coder. This interpretive work was, however, not made explicit but taken for granted in the form of final frequency counts of L1 and L2 distributed across different functional categories.

Later studies (e.g. Adendorff, 1993; Creese, 2005; Eldridge, 1996; Heller, 1999, 2001; Jacobson, 2001; Lin, 1990, 1996, 1999; Martin, 1996, 1999, 2003; Martin-Jones, 1995, 2001; Merritt, Cleghorn, Abagi and Bunyi, 1992; Ndayipfukamiye, 1994; Polio and Duff, 1994; Simon, 2001) have, to varying degrees, dispensed with a priori lists of functional categories and drawn on research approaches from interactional sociolinguistics and ethnography of communication (e.g. Goffman, 1974; Gumperz, 1982; 1986); conversation analysis (Sacks, 1965/1992); interpretive research paradigms; critical social theory (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977); and critical research paradigms to study classroom code-switching (see also Wei, *Research Perspectives on Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*, Volume 10; Toohey, *Ethnography and Language Education*, for these or related research paradigms).

Just as interactional sociolinguistics (IS) and ethnography of communication (EC) provide the most useful analytic tools for researching and understanding code-switching in different settings in society, their concepts and methods have been drawn upon in classroom studies on code-switching. For instance, the most frequently and fruitfully used ones are: code-switching as contextualization cues (Gumperz, 1984) to signal a shift in the frame or footing (Goffman, 1974) of the current interaction (e.g. see Adendorff, 1993). Frame or footing is the definition of what is happening and it is constantly being negotiated, proposed (signalled) and re-defined by the speakers engaged in interaction. Different frames or footings that are being evoked (or signalled and proposed by a speaker) involve the simultaneous negotiation of different role-relationships and the associated sets of rights/obligations. Lin's studies (1990, 1996), for instance, drew on these interactional sociolinguistic analytic concepts to analyse code-switching in Hong Kong classrooms. Below is an example from Lin's (1996) reanalysis of Johnson's (1985) data in Hong Kong secondary schools, using IS analytic concepts. The data presentation format is as in Johnson's: Tape-recorder counter numbers precede utterances; italics indicate originally Cantonese utterances, and only teacher's utterances have been transcribed.

### *Example 1*

A junior secondary maths teacher in Hong Kong begins his lesson in English and then breaks off and switches to Cantonese to deal with

late-comers; once they are settled, he switches back to English to continue with the lesson work ('Example 1' in Johnson, 1985, p. 47):

008 Close all your textbook and class work book.

012 *There are some classmates not back yet. Be quick!*

017 Now, any problem about the class work?

Johnson (1985) analyses the Cantonese utterance as an example of an informal aside done in Cantonese. While agreeing partially with this analysis, we note, however, that if it is to mark out a mere topical digression, the teacher can well have done this by means other than code-switches, e.g. intonational changes, hand-claps, or pauses to bracket the aside (see e.g. in Lin, 1990, pp. 32–36). The use of these contextualization cues (Gumperz, 1984) does not involve a violation of the institutional 'use-English-only' constraint which teachers in Anglo-Chinese secondary schools in Hong Kong were well aware of. It can, therefore, be argued that what is being signalled here is not only a topical aside, but also a radical break in the English pedagogic frame and an urgent change in the teacher's concerns. The switch from English to Cantonese seems to relay to his students this implicit message, 'Now I'm so annoyed by these late-comers that I have to put aside *all* kinds of teaching, including that of English teaching, and concentrate on one single task: that of getting you to settle down quickly! And you'd better take my command seriously as I'm single-minded in enforcing it!' This break in the English pedagogic frame to highlight a different, urgent set of concerns cannot have been achieved without the teacher's switch from English (L2) to Cantonese (L1).

The key, therefore, to understanding the implicit meanings signalled by code-switches lies in a recognition of the sociolinguistic fact that whenever Hong Kong Cantonese have something urgent and earnest to relay to one another, they do so in their shared native language; whenever Hong Kong Cantonese speak to one another in English despite their having a common native language, it is usually because of some institutionally given reasons, for instance, to teach and learn the English language in an English immersion classroom. When teachers want to establish a less distanced and non-institutionally defined relationship with their students, they will also find it necessary to switch to their shared native language, Cantonese.

Similar kinds of analysis drawing on IS and EC research methods are offered in Simon's (2001) study of code-switching in French-as-a-foreign-language classrooms in Thailand. Teachers are seen as code-switching for a number of purposes, among which are those of negotiating different frames (e.g. formal, institutional learning frame vs. informal friendly frame), role-relationships and identities (e.g. teacher vs. friend). Code-switching is seen as having a 'momentary boundary-levelling effect' in the classroom (Simon, 2001, p. 326). Whether similar effects

might be achieved by code-switching in different contexts would, however, seem to depend on different sociolinguistic statuses and values associated with different codes in different societies.

In studies along this line, IS and EC analytical concepts and methods are drawn upon to analyse instances of classroom code-switching. The findings look remarkably similar across different sociocultural contexts. Code-switching is seen to be an additional resource in the bilingual teacher's communicative repertoire enabling her/him to signal and negotiate different frames and footings, role-relationships, cultural values, identities and so on in the classroom (e.g. see Merritt, Cleghorn, Abagi and Bunyi, 1992; Ndayipfukamiye, 1994). These studies have the effect of uncovering the good sense or the local rationality (or functions) of code-switching in the classroom. To summarize by drawing on the functional framework of language from Halliday (1994), code-switching can be seen as a communicative resource readily drawn upon by classroom participants (usually the teacher but sometimes also students) to achieve the following three kinds of purposes:

1. Ideational functions: Providing limited-L2-proficiency students with access to the L2-mediated curriculum by switching to the students' L1 to translate or annotate (e.g. key L2 terms), explain, elaborate, or exemplify L2 academic content (e.g. drawing on students' familiar lifeworld experiences as examples to explain a science concept in the L2 textbook/curriculum). This is very important in mediating the meaning of academic texts which are written in a poorly understood language—the L2 of the students.
2. Textual functions: Highlighting (signalling) topic shifts, marking out transitions between different activity types or different focuses (e.g. focusing on technical definitions of terms vs. exemplifications of the terms in students' everyday life).
3. Interpersonal functions: Signalling and negotiating shifts in frames and footings, role-relationships and identities, change in social distance/closeness (e.g. negotiating for in-group solidarity), and appealing to shared cultural values or institutional norms.

Apart from the above studies which draw on interpretive research paradigms, there is also a major trend of studies led by Monica Heller and Marilyn Martin-Jones (e.g. in their edited 2001 book, *Voices of Authority: Education and Linguistic Difference*), which draws on both interpretive and critical research paradigms and relates micro-interactional functions of code-switching in the classroom to larger societal issues, such as the reproduction or sometimes contestation of linguistic ideologies in the larger society (e.g. which/whose language counts as standard and valued language; which/whose language counts as inferior or not-valued language).

Heller and Martin-Jones (2001) provided some examples on how micro-ethnographic studies of classroom code-switching are not actually 'micro'

in their implications if we see the classroom as a discursive site for reproduction or contestation of linguistic ideologies and hierarchies. The discursive construction/negotiation of what counts as front stage and back stage (Goffman, 1974) and the legitimation of what goes on in the front stage (largely controlled and set up by the teacher) as legitimate, standard, valued language versus what gets marginalized, reproduced as inferior, non/sub-standard language in the back stage. Usually the societal dominant L2 occupies the first position and students' L1 occupies the latter position. For instance, in Ndayipfukamiye's (2001) study of Kirundi-French code-switching in Burundi classrooms, the bilingual teacher is seen to be using Kirundi (students' familiar language) to annotate, explain and exemplify French (L2) terms and academic content. While the linguistic brokering functions of code-switching is affirmed (i.e. the value of providing students with access to the educationally dominant language, French), the linguistic hierarchy as institutionalized in the French immersion education policy in Burundi is largely reproduced in these code-switching practices.

However, not all studies are about reproduction of linguistic ideologies and practices. For instance, Canagarajah (2001) shows how ESL teachers and students in Jaffna (the northern peninsula of Sri Lanka that has been the political centre of the Tamils) negotiated hybrid identities through code-switching between Tamil and English, defying both the Tamil-only ideology in the public domains and institutions, and the English-only ideology from the ESL/TESOL pedagogical prescriptions from the West. Canagarajah argued that both teachers and students, by code-switching comfortably between these two languages are also constructing their bilingual cosmopolitan identities, refusing to be pigeonholed by essentializing political ideologies (of Tamil nationalism) or English-only pedagogical ideologies.

Lin (1999) also showed that by skilfully intertwining the use of L1 (Cantonese) for a story focus with the use of L2 (English) for a language focus, a bilingual teacher in a Hong Kong English language classroom successfully got her students interested in learning English and gaining confidence in reading English storybooks, and thus transforming the habitus of these working class students for whom English had been an alien language irrelevant to their daily life. Drawing on the discourse analytical methods of conversation analysis applied to educational settings (Heap, 1985), Lin (1999) offered a fine-grained analysis of how L1-L2 code-switching was built into two kinds of Initiation-Response-Feedback (IRF) discourse formats to enable the teacher (Teacher D) to engage students in both enjoying the story and in learning English through this process:

Teacher D uses two different IRF formats in the following cycle in the reading lesson:

1. Story-Focus-IRF:  
     Teacher-Initiation [L1]  
     Student-Response [L1]  
     Teacher-Feedback [L1]
2. Language-Focus-IRF:  
     Teacher-Initiation [L1/L2]<sup>1</sup>  
     Student-Response [L1/L2]  
     Teacher-Feedback [L2], or use (2) again until Student-Response is in L2
3. Start (2) again to focus on another linguistic aspect of the L2 response elicited in (2); or return to (1) to focus on the story again.

This kind of discourse practice allows the teacher to interlock a story focus with a language focus in the reading lesson. There can be enjoyment of the story, via the use of the story-focus IRF, intertwined with a language-learning focus, via the use of the language-focus IRF. We have noted above that the teacher never starts an initiation in L2. She always starts in L1. This stands in sharp contrast with the discourse practices of Teacher C (another teacher in the study) who always starts with L2 texts or questions in her initiations. It appears that by always starting in L1, Teacher D always starts from where the student is—from what the student can fully understand and is familiar with. On the other hand, by using the language-focus IRF format immediately after the story-focus IRF format, she can also push the students to move from what they are familiar with (e.g. L1 expressions) to what they need to become more familiar with (e.g. L2 counterparts of the L1 expressions) (see Lin, 1999).

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

In this section, we shall look at new research that hints at a slightly different research angle that starts to draw on research approaches from different fields such as genre analysis and English for academic purposes (EAP).

Setati, Adler, Reed and Bapao provided a mid-term report (2002) on findings from their larger ongoing study of code-switching and other language practices in Mathematics, Science and English language classrooms in South Africa. These schools had adopted a small-group inquiry teaching approach and built on notions of additive bilingualism and strategic code-switching as encouraged by the authorities. While good in their intentions, this approach might have overlooked some pitfalls in two areas:

1. The indirect, student-centred, exploratory, group-work, learning-from-talk teaching approach: This is found to be done mostly in

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<sup>1</sup> “L1/L2” denotes “L1 or L2”.

students' L1. However, without teacher's input on scientific content (e.g. in whole-class instruction), students may suffer from a lack of input in the English academic discourses required to talk about science topics or writing extended texts in English.

2. So, some traditional teacher-fronted whole-class teaching may be needed to provide the necessary L2 academic discourses to students, especially those in rural areas.

Setati, Adler, Reed and Bapoo (2002) found that the progressive pedagogies (e.g. student-centred group work) alone did not provide the much-needed direct teaching of subject domain-specific academic discourses and English academic literacies and thus aggravated social inequalities. The Setati, Adler, Reed and Bapoo (2002) report, however, did not show much analysis of how this academic discourse can be provided or inserted into the progressive teaching approaches along with the integration of some conventional pedagogies. While this report seems to be work-in-progress, it does point out the importance of drawing on research tools of genre analysis of different subject-specific academic discourses in future studies of code-switching in the classroom. In the next section, I shall discuss why this might provide a potentially useful direction for achieving a breakthrough of our current state of affairs in researching classroom code-switching.

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Researching code-switching in the classroom, unlike researching other kinds of related classroom phenomena (e.g. classroom discourse, classroom interactions), has often been engaged in consciously or unconsciously with either apologetic or corrective motives. Given the official pedagogical principle of prescribing the use of only one language in the classroom in some contexts (e.g. in Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia; see Haroon, 2005; Lin and Martin, 2005), many researchers have studied classroom code-switching practices either to seek out their 'good sense' and local rationality or to document their pitfalls or pedagogical inefficacy. These two (implicit) aims have often shaped the research questions and research approaches used in classroom code-switching studies.

Because of these (implicit) 'legitimizing' concerns of researchers, the studies in the literature tend to stop short of pointing ways forward for analyzing how code-switching practices can be further improved to achieve better pedagogical and social critical purposes. They tend to be descriptive rather than interventionist; i.e. they describe existing practices (either approving of or condemning them) rather than experiment with innovative ways of code-switching practices as ways both to provide access to L2 and to critique linguistic ideologies and hierarchies in the larger society and institutions. Because of the lack

of critical, interventionist research questions, the majority of studies in the classroom code-switching literature tend to offer little new insight into how existing classroom code-switching can be further changed to achieve more: e.g. more of the transformation (as hinted at by Lin, 1999 and Canagarajah, 2001), and avoid the reproduction consequences (e.g. reproducing societal ideologies about linguistic hierarchies, marginalizing the students' familiar languages while privileging the dominant societal languages). The findings of the existing research literature thus seem to be variations on similar themes (as summarized above) without providing new research questions and research approaches to achieve new findings beyond what has already been known (and repeated frequently) in the literature on classroom code-switching.

Only when we begin to think beyond the binary research question of whether it is good or bad to code-switch in the classroom (or whether classroom code-switching has largely positive social functions or largely negative pedagogical consequences) can we liberate ourselves from the limiting research agenda of just describing the good sense or local rationality of classroom code-switching or the vice versa (e.g. describing the reproductive, negative pedagogical as well as ideological consequences).

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS FOR RESEARCH

To the author's knowledge, there have been no published studies of the longitudinal, interventionist type. Also, most studies were conducted by a sociolinguist or a discourse analyst, usually an outsider coming into the classroom studying the interactional practices of classroom participants. As discussed here, many studies draw mainly on the interpretive research paradigms (IS, EC and CA research approaches). These limitations in existing studies make it difficult for us to know what will happen if classroom participants (e.g. teachers, students) themselves become researchers of their own classroom practices, and what will happen if they embark on systematic study of their own practices, getting a deeper understanding of their own practices through their own research and then modify their own practices with systematic action plans and study the consequences, much like the kind of action-research carried out by the teacher-researcher. Below I outline what a future study might look like in order to achieve new insights into classroom code-switching:

1. Longitudinal research: Instead of one-shot classroom video/audiotaping studies, we need to have studies that follow the same classroom for a longer period of time; e.g. a whole course, a whole semester.
2. Interventionist research agenda: We need to integrate the sociolinguistic interpretive and conversation analytic with the action-research approaches so that the teacher becomes conscious of trying out

specific bilingual classroom strategies with respect to achieving specific sets of goals. We also need to build into the research design ways of ascertaining the degree to which these goals are achieved. This is similar to the mode of teacher action research (see Varghese, *Language Teacher Research Methods*, Volume 10). Close collaboration between teacher and researcher is also needed; e.g. the teacher is the researcher or there is close collaboration between the teacher and the researcher. Likewise, depending on the readiness of the students, students can also be solicited to become researchers in the study of their own bilingual classroom practices.

3. Drawing up specific goals and designing specific bilingual classroom strategies to achieve those goals: This will require the teacher and researcher to understand the specific situated needs and goals of the educational context in which they find themselves. These educational goals need to be set up with reference to the needs and choices of participants in specific contexts, and not taken to mean any universal set of goals.
4. Drawing on research methods of genre analysis of domain-specific academic discourses and literacies: For instance, we need to know what are the specific genre features and discourse structures of a biology course in order to design bilingual strategies to provide students with access to biology discourses through familiar everyday discourses. There will be frequent inter-weaving between academic discourses (mostly mediated in a less familiar language to the students such as the L2 or the 'standard' dialect) and students' familiar discourses (e.g. everyday life examples and experiences mediated in students' familiar language such as their L1 or a home dialect). How can the teacher provide access to the formal, academic (often L2) discourses through the informal, everyday, familiar (often L1) discourses of the students' will become a key research question.
5. Systematically studying effectiveness of different bilingual classroom strategies will require a carefully planned integration of different research paradigms (including interventionist action-research, interpretive, critical) and research approaches (including those from sociolinguistics, academic genre analysis, pedagogical analysis, analysis of students' spoken and written samples of academic work, plus assessment of students' mastery of academic genre features and skills in performing academic tasks using the appropriate registers).
6. Taking a holistic, contextualized approach: We need to situate the classroom in its larger socioeconomic and political contexts and to re-examine the pedagogic goals of the classroom to see if they

are really serving the interests of the students. Then we need to find out/explore possible ways to achieve these goals including (but not limited to) bilingual classroom strategies. Both traditional (e.g. teacher whole-class instruction) and progressive pedagogies (student-inquiry groups) need to be used in conjunction with a consideration of which code-switching patterns can be intertwined with which pedagogical patterns and participant structures. All these require an approach that allows for try-and-see and then document and re-try another pattern and see what happens and re-design future action plans that will progressively better achieve the goals through both bilingual and other pedagogical practices.

The above suggestions might sound like an ‘unholy’ eclectic approach to the linguistic or research methodological purist. However, to have breakthroughs in our current state of affairs in researching classroom code-switching, we need to be both pragmatic and flexible in our research paradigms and approaches. As code-switching is still seen as a negative practice in the classroom in many mainstream educational contexts, we need concrete designs of bilingual classroom strategies and research studies that can systematically develop these designs and show their effectiveness (with respect to the situated goals of the classroom). Without designing these systematic longitudinal, interventionist studies that can work on refining bilingual classroom strategies and pedagogies to achieve the goals deemed worthwhile in specific contexts, our research literature on classroom code-switching might be seen as repetitive of apologetic statements about the good sense or diverse functions of classroom participants’ practices without advancing our knowledge of how they can do better what they are already doing with different degrees of success and failure, as the studies reviewed above show.

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## LANGUAGE TEACHER RESEARCH METHODS

### INTRODUCTION

The study of language teachers is a relatively recent area of research that focuses on how teachers learn to teach, how they teach, and who they are as individuals and professionals. Over a decade ago, Richards (1990, p. 3) observed that there had been “little systematic study of second language teaching processes that could provide a theoretical basis for deriving practices in second language teacher education.” The field has developed since then and has become an important area of study in language and education. It has included methods used to study language teachers by outsiders and those used by language teachers themselves to study their own classrooms. In addition, topics have ranged from those predominantly confined to the classroom, such as action research, to studies of teachers across different settings, such as those describing teachers’ professional trajectories.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Early forays into analyzing second-language classrooms focused on attempts to evaluate student language learning through the identification of the best method or a set of teacher behaviors. Chaudron (1988) outlined four methods of research into second-language classrooms, which are useful to consider here: (1) psychometric analysis, a quasiexperimental method that uses pre- and post-analysis of classrooms with experimental and control groups; (2) interaction analysis, an observation scheme of the social interactions in the classroom; (3) discourse analysis, an observation scheme of the linguistic interactions in the classroom; (4) ethnographic analysis, an analysis of the classroom based on interpretation, including interviews with and observations of participants. The language teacher in the first three types of analysis was viewed as transmitter of a particular method, and the focus was on teacher behaviors and student outcomes. In the fourth approach, the emphasis was more of a holistic understanding of teacher and student interactions and motivations.

Two often-cited, early studies of second-language classrooms used mainly psychometric methods to determine student outcomes: the Pennsylvania project that attempted to compare the audio-lingual method with traditional methods by looking at the test scores of students in a secondary school in the different programs (Smith, 1970) and Politzer's (1970) study of secondary French classrooms where the frequency of certain techniques (different types of drills) used by teachers were related to learner outcomes. A number of studies subsequently used interaction and discourse analysis (Chaudron, 1977; Fanselow, 1977; Tsui, 1985) rather than experimental studies. With the onset of communicative language teaching, many of these studies were conducted for purposes of teacher training and evaluation, using standardized and analytic observation frameworks, with the goal of removing the bias of the observer. A number of these derived from first-language classroom analysis, but a widely used example of this in second-language teaching is Communicative Orientation of Language Teaching (COLT) (Fröhlich, Spada, and Allen, 1985). This observation scheme allows for analysis of communicative variables in the classroom, such as classroom activities (tasks, participation structures) and classroom language. Much of the research on language teaching then remained confined to the classroom setting as opposed to including factors outside the classroom.

#### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

What was viewed as a simplistic cause-effect model in the earlier process-product framework was challenged by, among others, Nunan (1988) and van Lier's (1988) book on ethnography in second-language classrooms. These scholars provided a conceptual rationale for addressing the complexity in the language classroom. In turn, this shift moved language teacher research into a qualitative domain and provided a central role for the teacher's perspective. Research in language teaching, thus, moved from a behaviorist model based on teacher triggers and student behaviors and outcomes as illustrated in some of the examples mentioned earlier, to an integrated and multifaceted understanding of teaching and learning. Predominantly qualitative and classroom-based, there have been two major strands of this research aim. The first aims to study language teachers' professional development, beliefs, decisions, and actions independently and also in interaction with their learners; the second attempts to provide ways for language teachers to study and document their own practices.

It is useful to frame the first set of studies within Freeman and Johnson's (1998) call for a reconceptualization of the knowledge base of language teacher education. Freeman and Johnson outlined the

knowledge base of what language teachers should know as including the following: teacher as learner, the social context of schooling, the professional environment of the teacher, and the actual practices and activities of teaching and learning the teacher is involved in. As a result, this shift in the understanding of language teaching naturally called for research into language teaching and teachers to be conducted across diverse settings (beyond the classroom), and to understand the process from the view of different participants. Within this framework, teacher learning is conceptualized “as normative and lifelong” (Johnson and Golombek, 2003, p. 730).

Two volumes of language teaching and teacher practice reflect this reconceptualization. Bailey and Nunan (1996, p. 1) describe their volume as containing studies that have been conducted naturalistically, that is, where “naturally occurring events are studied,” as well as ones having multiple data sources so that triangulation can be achieved. This volume provides 19 qualitative studies, from teacher thinking and interpretation to classroom studies, from ones that are based on curriculum changes to those that are largely situated within their sociopolitical context. An example of a study examining teacher thinking is an investigation into why ESL teachers depart from their original lesson plans where Bailey (1996) found that teachers chose to do so to further the lesson and accommodate student learning styles, and a number of other reasons. Additionally, the studies in this volume originate from different countries and also display a range of different types of language teaching, from ESL to EFL, and from bilingual to world language/foreign language teaching (such as van Lier’s (1986) description of classroom teaching influenced by a bilingual education project in the Peruvian Andes). In the other volume, Freeman and Richards (1996), in turn, discuss language teacher learning, broadly defined as “how people learn to teach languages” (Freeman and Richards, 1996, p. 2).

Similar to other areas of education in the late 1980s, teacher learning and teacher cognition became the focus of inquiry for language teacher research in the 1990s. This new focus places teachers at the center of the process of understanding language teaching. Most of this work can be described as second-order research (data are viewed as evidence that has to be interpreted through the participants’ perspectives). Such studies have been mainly qualitative and interpretive, ranging from understanding teacher decision-making through different data elicitation techniques and analysis (interviews, narrative studies, journal studies, discourse-based studies, and ethnographic analysis). Examples of these include Johnson’s (1996) rendering of how one preservice teacher experiences tensions between her vision of the teaching and the realities of classroom teaching during her practicum and Pennington’s (1996) description of how a group of secondary English

composition teachers in Hong Kong adopt a process approach to writing.

Two larger studies of language teacher cognition are also of import. Woods (1998) examined cognitive processes of decision-making through ethnographic methods. Woods himself clarifies that he does not consider his study fully ethnographic; he observes that a study that would have been ethnographic in its goal (rather than solely with regard to methods) would have focused on describing the shared sub-culture and processes of the teachers. Woods analyzed how decisions were made by eight ESL teachers at four universities in Canada in their courses and lessons through ethnographic interviews, observations, and video-based elicitation (asking teachers to view videos of their own practice and comment). Woods charts teachers' decision-making processes, based on an interaction between their beliefs, planning, and implementation of their teaching, and shows how these all loop back into their future teaching. In a similar type of study and the earliest of its kind, Johnson (1992) analyzed the beliefs and decisions made by preservice ESL teachers based on their student input and shows how these are cognitively organized. In a review article of studies in language teacher cognition, Borg (2003) provides a summary of these two studies and others.

The second strand of research that has been influential has been that of language teachers studying their own classroom. Allwright and Bailey's (1991) book on classroom research for language teachers attempts to provide guidelines for teachers to conduct research in their own classrooms. The aim is to provide tools for teachers to address immediate and practical issues that come up in their classrooms rather than actually testing different types of large-scale methods. One of the most popular forms of teacher research has certainly been action research although the methods described in this volume span a range: from the naturalistic (observations, case studies, diaries) to ones that require more intervention (action research, elicitation), as well as those that are more quantitative (experimental, analytic observation frameworks). Much of the research Allwright and Bailey (1991) provide guidelines for is the examination of classroom interaction (e.g., error correction, student participation, teacher talk). They conclude that each of the areas of language learning and teaching need to be investigated as they emerge by teachers in their own settings, and by involving their learners (e.g., having students keep a language learner diary). Allwright and Bailey (1991) synthesize their own approach to classroom research on/with language teachers as exploratory teaching, which has subsequently expanded into a research approach and methodology for teachers referred to as exploratory practice (Allwright and Lenzuen, 1997). Exploratory practice is a process where language teachers

attempt to understand what is happening in their classrooms through puzzling over their area of focus in a systematic fashion. Differently from action research, here the focus is on a teacher actually changing a practice as a result of the research conducted by the teacher in her classroom. Originating in Brazil, it became a more popular form of teacher research across the world when it was integrated with the establishment of the Exploratory Practice Centre at Lancaster University in 2000.

The topic of Edge and Richards' (1993) edited volume is also classroom research but for the explicit purpose of teacher development. The authors in this volume also use a range of methods (experimental, naturalistic) but share characteristics with the problem-solving orientation of action research. In Edge's (2001) book on action research for the TESOL professional development series, he describes action research as an inquiry-based approach to one's teaching and practice that can be transformative at a personal, social, and political level. A number of books exist that are notable in the area of action research and language teaching, among those is one by Wallace (1998). Once again, all these monographs illustrate a range of methodologies that can be used by language teachers to study their own classrooms, from questionnaires to case studies, and from observation schemes to quasiexperimental studies (McDonough and McDonough, 1997). The range of the scope of language teaching is also evident in these different books; that is, from the individual to the social, from the politically neutral to the overtly political.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

As qualitative research has become more popular in understanding language teaching and teachers, ethnographic methods, in particular, have been increasingly employed for this purpose. This has also taken place due to the greater acknowledgment of the social and the political contexts of language teaching (Johnson and Freeman, 1998), which places more emphasis on the roles that language teachers take on beyond the classroom. Studies of language teachers in recent years often have taken an ethnographic approach toward language teaching with the understanding that it is shaped by and shaping the sociopolitical context surrounding teachers. For example, Skilton-Sylvester (2003) primarily uses this methodology to understand how ESL teachers in the USA can be language policy makers in a context where students' native languages and cultures are undervalued. More recently, in her book-length ethnography, Creese (2005) describes the roles of Turkish language specialists in mainstream classrooms and shows how they are marginalized in the classroom and in the schools although they serve

as critical resources for their students. A snapshot of Creese's study, Skilton-Sylvester's study, and a number of other studies of this nature can be found in Creese and Martin (2003).

Ethnographic methods, like other methodologies that have become more popular such as the case-study approach and narrative analysis, also highlight the importance of the local perspective as well as that of narrative and stories in understanding language teaching and teachers. In her study of four ESL teachers in Hong Kong, Tsui (2003) uses the case-study approach of the four teachers to provide a description of a range of expertise in second-language teaching. To develop the case studies, Tsui conducted classroom observations of the teachers where she took field notes and interviewed the teachers. In her interviews, she initially focused on their life histories and backgrounds and then progressively on issues that came up in their classroom teaching; particular attention was paid to how the teachers' professional development connected to what they did and how they thought of what they did in the classroom. Duff and Uchida (1997) also used a case-study approach of four EFL teachers in Japan and looked at how the teachers saw themselves as cultural agents in the classroom and how these self-images interacted with their curriculum, classroom practices, student interactions, and larger institutional issues.

In what can be described as the narrative turn of language teacher research methods, much has been made of the importance of teachers' biographical experiences, from their own early childhood and schooling experiences to their professional learning experiences, and especially their influence on teachers' practice. Primarily through interviews of language teachers, studies using narrative analysis (Alleksaht-Snider, 1996; Bailey and Nunan, 1996; Freeman and Richards, 1996; Galindo, 1996) have shed light on this critical aspect of teacher development. Interestingly, some of these studies (Alleksaht-Snider, 1996; Galindo, 1996; Liu, 1999) have used this approach to examine how bilingual and non-native English-speaking language teachers relate their own, specific minoritized experiences to their own teaching. Like action research and exploratory practice, the narrative inquiry approach is one where teachers have studied their own narratives and those of their classrooms to reflect on and improve their teaching (Johnson and Golombek, 2002).

#### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Two prominent difficulties in understanding and documenting language teaching and teachers are theoretical in nature: (i) how to understand and view language teacher knowledge and (ii) how to conceptualize language teacher learning. Naturally, questions around the theoretical orientation of language teaching greatly influence the

research methods that are promoted or challenged in language teaching. A salient issue in that regard is how to describe or categorize language teachers' knowledge. As described earlier, Freeman and Johnson (1998) have called for a reconceptualization of language teacher education and for changing what constitutes the knowledge language teachers develop. In fact, the location and the categorization of teacher knowledge has recently been a subject of lively debate—from those who advocate that this knowledge develops in relation to individual teachers in interaction with their particular contexts (Edge, 2001), and is actually “a process of reshaping existing knowledge, beliefs, and practices” (Johnson and Golombek, 2003, p. 730) to those who have argued that it is of primary importance to consider the body of knowledge more statically (Yates and Muchisky, 2003). What has also been equally problematic is understanding the nature of language teaching since it can vary widely according to setting and context. For example, when Yates and Muchisky (2003) argue that second-language acquisition needs to be considered the main body of knowledge for language teachers, they fail to consider that a number of language teachers teach both language and content, especially in K-12 schools.

Another conceptual issue that also needs to be addressed is how to define teacher learning, as touched upon in earlier parts of the chapter (Freeman and Richards, 1996). What is important to keep in mind is that recent work in cognition and learning have opened up possibilities of defining learning that is more external than internal (Putnam and Borko, 2000). Under this perspective, teacher learning is viewed primarily in the social context that it is being learnt and in the relationships that are being formed. This view locates teacher learning more on a social plane rather than an internal, cognitive plane although these are seen as related to each other.

A major issue remains of whether there is currently a formalized research agenda around language teacher research. As far as the 1980s, scholars in language education pointed to the need to establish a research agenda for language teaching, especially as it relates to teacher education (Allwright, 1983; Freeman, 1989; Richards and Nunan, 1990). A similar concern has been voiced by researchers in mainstream teacher education as well (Cochran-Smith and Zeichner, 2005). Within this research agenda, a critical question is how to connect language teaching to student outcomes. The push for focusing on language teachers, their cycle of learning, and their work and lives as well as the movement of language teacher research have been extremely useful endeavors; nevertheless, for many there is still a need to understand what can be viewed as generalizable in the research and how language teacher education can make use of these research findings. From this, connections need to be established to how and what students learn.

This has become even more critical in the K-12 arena since schools are becoming increasingly accountable for students' achievement in the USA, the UK, and elsewhere, thus, looking for ways to increase the success of their linguistically and culturally diverse student body. Recently, Canagarajah (2005) and several authors in his edited volume show that due to the growing global and local pressures many face to learn English, this has become a concern for governments and citizens all over the world and it is international in scope.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

From the accountability perspective, there has been more of a push to connect how language teachers learn to how they eventually teach, and in turn, how to connect this to student outcomes; consequently, teacher education programs have increasingly been a focus of research in language teaching and will continue to be so. Much of the research methodology around studies of these programs has been naturalistic or qualitative; for instance, Ramanathan's (2002) study of an MA TESOL program. However, due also to the increasing demand/need for accountability of these training programs and to the consideration of how they are related to student outcomes, it will be important to use mixed methods in understanding the process and outcomes of these programs, as, for instance, in some of the bilingual teacher education programs described in the edited volume by Minaya-Rowe (2002) and the immersion teacher education programs described in Erben (2004). This trend is also evident in countries other than the ones that have traditionally been the focus of much of the research (such as the USA and the UK), as mentioned earlier.

Another prominent direction of language teacher research has been in understanding who language teachers are, their identities, and their roles (Varghese, Morgan, Johnston, and Johnson, 2005). Within this, the political (Creese, 2005; Ramanathan, 2002; Skilton-Sylvester, 2003) and moral dimensions (Johnston, 2003) of language teaching have been studied. Along with the ethnographic methods that have been used to study language teaching and teachers in this way, a poststructural lens using a discursive approach (Creese, 2005; Johnston, 1997; Varghese, Morgan, Johnston, and Johnson, 2005), in particular, has examined how teachers take up particular ideologies or discourses. In his interview study of Polish EFL teachers, entitled "Do EFL teachers have careers?," Johnston (1997) uses the work of Mikhail Bakhtin to show that the teachers use specific discourses to talk about themselves as not having a purposeful and linear career.

Since language teachers, language teaching, and language teacher education have only recently been recognized as central areas of

research in applied linguistics, debates around some of the theoretical questions pertaining to this area of research will continue, as will the use of the different methodologies that have been used to study this area. At the same time, as with other areas of educational research, the forces of globalization and of accountability will inevitably continue to influence the research methodologies used to understand the following critical questions: how language teachers learn what they do, why language teachers do what they do, who language teachers are, and how what they do and who they are shape students' experiences and outcomes. On one hand, an increase in experimental studies may be an outcome of the accountability movement; on the other hand, the importance of understanding and taking into account the local perspective in language studies and globalization may lead to the promotion of more studies that are bottom-up and critical in understanding language teaching and teachers, foregrounding methodologies such as critical ethnographies and those using a poststructural lens.

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## RESEARCH APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF LITERACY, TECHNOLOGY AND LEARNING

### INTRODUCTION

Since desktop computers were introduced into educational settings in the late 1970s in the economically developed world, researchers have been trying to find ways to explain the conceptual, textual, technical and identity processes involved when information and communication technologies (ICT) are used that might inform curriculum and pedagogical practices. Much important work has been done to devise effective ways to investigate the complex connections between literacy, technology and learning. This review provides an international perspective on how researchers, in universities and schools—working either independently or collaboratively with teachers—have studied the changes to social and cultural practices associated with the use of ICT for educational purposes.

The history of the approaches to research parallels the trajectory of the wider area of educational studies. The first investigations were most often quantitative—there was a gradual shift to qualitative methods—then studies adopted multiple perspectives, drawing on methods from both traditions. It would be a mistake, however, to represent the history as a process of evolution. Each of the earlier waves is still operating in the present as a set of practices that researchers follow or argue against. An array of choices now characterises the field with no single approach privileged.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Investigating written composition, pioneering researchers asked if computers used as word processors improved writing (Gould, 1978). Although survey and case study methods were employed to examine students' attitudes and responses to computers, the early computer-writing studies were most often experimental or quasi-experimental in design. They assessed whether the quality of texts produced with computers was better than those produced with pens.

The findings were equivocal—some studies produced evidence of enhanced quality, but just as many found no improvement. With hindsight, the explanation is clear. The research question, which asked

about the 'impact' of computers 'on' writing, attributed too much power to the technology and not enough to the social and cultural context in which it was used. There is a short answer to the question, 'Do students write better with computers?' It depends—on the writer's preferred writing and revising strategies, keyboarding skills, prior computer experience, teaching interventions, the teacher's goals and strategies, the social organisation of the learning context and the school culture.

Mainly from the perspective of cognitive psychology, early research also examined the effects of the use of computers on composing processes, particularly pre-writing and revising (Daiute, 1986). Other studies concentrated on writing pedagogy, often a process approach that teachers adopted when introducing the technology, examining the computer as a potentially felicitous tool that might both facilitate and enhance a process approach (Sommers, 1985).

By the mid-1980s, socio-cultural understandings of literacy became more widely accepted and provoked different kinds of research questions and orientations. As there was a gradual shift to an emphasis on the socially constructed nature of reality (Dickinson, 1986) and correspondingly, increased sensitivity to the socio-cultural setting, research became more ethnographic. Researchers were also beginning to examine computer-mediated contexts from multiple perspectives (Hawisher and Selfe, 1989). Overall, the field was in transition: some researchers were operating in the current-traditional paradigm, concerned with correctness and error; many were operating in the writing-process paradigm and a few were beginning to adopt the social view.

At the end of the 1980s, feminist criticism, cultural criticism and critical pedagogy were all invoked to frame and inform research. There was a hiatus in the war between quantitative and qualitative approaches (see Fishman, *Theoretical and Historical Perspectives on Researching the Sociology of Language and Education*, Volume 10) and the researcher was increasingly understood as implicated in research processes. Descriptions of paperless writing classes in which all student and teacher contributions occurred over a network began to appear. The contextual approach to computers and their use made gender issues central to discussion of technology and there was the growing recognition that computers in classrooms appear 'unlikely to negate the powerful influence of the differential socialisation of students by social class and its effects on their success or failure in school' (Herrmann, 1987, p. 86).

A comprehensive review of the first decade of research addresses the difficulties of interpreting studies that reflect contrasting conceptual frameworks and which differ in design, methods of data collection, variables examined and modes of analysis (Bangert-Drowns, 1993).

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

No longer concerned whether the use of technology made things better, researchers in the 1990s asked different kinds of questions, which again influenced their approaches. Qualitative methods, including observation and interviews, seemed the best way to investigate how the use of ICT affects students' literacy practices. Cochran-Smith, Paris and Kahn (1991) worked with teachers and students in five elementary classrooms over two years to explore how computers made learning to read and write different. In a case study that involved active participant observation, Miller and Olson (1994) found that the existence of innovative practice associated with the introduction of computers in the classroom had less to do with the advent of technology than with the teacher's pre-existing conception of practice.

At the same time, some researchers continued to investigate the influence of word processing on writing quality and revision strategies, but took into account variables that had confounded the earlier studies. These included the students' word processing experience, the differences in their writing abilities and the effect of interventions or guidance from either teachers or specially designed software. The findings were correspondingly more persuasive.

Researchers also examined computer-mediated communication, made possible when computers were used to create electronic forums on local-area networks and wide-area networks. The electronic spaces produced were widely seen as having the potential for supporting student-centred learning and discursive practices that can be different in form and perhaps more engaging and democratic than those in traditional classrooms (Batson, 1988). Most of these studies focussed on college students; however, the findings still have implications for other educational sectors. Researchers carried out comparative observational studies of students engaged in both face-to-face discussions and electronic exchanges about their writing and concluded that the use of networked communication both shaped and was shaped by the curricula. They also concluded that the interaction between networked communication and face-to-face may lead to better academic performance. By contrast, other researchers argued that computer-mediated peer review had many of the drawbacks of distance learning.

From the early 1990s on, hypertext, fully electronic non-linear reading and writing, became a research focus. Before the Web, the research was dominated by explorations of the technology's convergence with contemporary literary theories (Landow, 1992, 1997, 2005), although some theorists suggested somewhat cynically that linking the new textual environment to an esteemed body of critical writing made it 'appear' to be substantial. However, using mainly qualitative approaches, such as

observation, semi-structured interviews and student journals, researchers also described hypertext's potential to improve teaching and learning. By transferring to students the responsibility for accessing, sequencing and deriving meaning from information, hypertext was seen to provide an environment in which discovery learning might flourish. In the teaching of writing, the use of hypertext was seen to promote associative thinking, collaborative learning, synthesis in writing from sources, distribution of traditional authority in texts and classrooms and the facilitation of deconstructive reading and writing (Johnson-Eilola, 1997).

Increasingly, the Internet, including the Web after 1992, has become a site for research (Jones, 1999). Informed by the understanding of literacy as a set of social practices, investigations have focussed on new literacy practices (Lankshear and Knobel, 2003; Snyder, 2001), multimodality (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001), issues of identity (Turkle, 1995), class and access (Burbules and Callister, 2000) and the maleness of the Web (Takayoshi, Huot and Huot, 1999). The research findings emphasise the need to teach students how to critically assess the reliability or value of the information they find on the Web by understanding not only its textual, but also its non-textual features such as images, links and interactivity (LeCourt, 1998).

The *Digital Rhetorics* study (Lankshear and Snyder, 2000) exemplifies research informed by the understanding of literacy as social practice. This relatively large-scale qualitative study argued that in the age of the Internet, education must enable young people to become proficient in the operational, cultural and critical dimensions of literacy (Green, 1988). The investigation of eleven research sites across Australia identified five broad patterns of practice: complexity, fragility, discontinuity, conservation and limited authenticity. The analysis suggested five principles for practice when ICT are used: teachers first, complementarity, workability, equity and focus on trajectories.

In addition to social approaches, critical and post-structuralist perspectives have also garnered researchers' interest, suggesting a further range of approaches and modes of analysis. Rather than blaming technology for the failure of schools or the end of books and reading, more measured approaches suggest the importance of critical engagement with ICT in the context of education (Postman, 1993). Researchers have criticised short-sighted policy efforts that have spent large amounts of money on technology without first asking questions about use, support and learning (Cuban, 2001). Others have pointed to the non-neutrality of computing technologies and how over time they tend to become naturalised (Burbules and Callister, 2000). Yet others have represented computers, not as the harbingers of strengthened democracy, increased freedom and more support for educators, but as

instruments of social control and dependence, both in wider society and for teachers and students in schools.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Although the trend has been there since the mid-1980s at least, increasingly, researchers are acknowledging the need to pay attention to the social, cultural and political changes associated with the use of ICT. Finding ways to use their affordances in productive ways, but at the same time helping students to become capable, critical users is a major contemporary preoccupation. Often implicit in research proposals and reports is the understanding that the relationship with technology is never one-way and instrumental: it is always two-way and relational.

Of the research overviews (e.g. Reinking, McKenna, Labbo and Kieffer, 1998), *The Impact of ICT on Literacy Education* (Andrews, 2004) is particularly useful, even though its title suggests a tacit acceptance of a deterministic relationship between ICT and literacy learning. The analysis concludes with a mixed set of findings. For some learners, it seems that ICT bring no improvement in educational outcomes, whereas in some instances educational practices and learning are made worse.

As a caution against technological optimism, Andrews proposes that randomised trials should precede further investments in ICT for literacy education. However, his confidence that rigorously designed randomised trials evaluating the Impact of ICT will attach scientific evidence to direct future policy settings is optimistic. As already discussed, experimental designs do not capture the interactive, iterative and dialogical character of literacy learning and teaching. By contrast, qualitative approaches, informed by a social view of literacy, are providing more nuanced accounts of the use of ICT in education (Schultz, 2002).

Finding the language to talk about the new literacy practices associated with the use of ICT and discerning how meanings are made with them is a current focus of research (Snyder, 2002). Interested in issues of Web design and use, researchers have examined online culture and young people's Web authoring practices, paying attention to the fusion of visual, textual and structural elements. They have explored how different semiotic modes contribute to the meaning-making potential of Web sites and that what goes on behind the screen is just as important for users as what is visible on it. Burbules (2002) has examined hyperlinks and how they can become 'invisible' and 'neutral'. He suggests new metaphors for thinking about learning with, through and about ICT—metaphors that posit learning as a kind of mobility that has special import for reconceptualising education in an information age.

Research is investigating the complex connections between 'school literacies' and 'out-of-school literacies'. Large-scale and multi-method studies, based on interviews and surveys of young people's use of old and new media, have investigated the complex relationships between the media and childhood, the family and the home (Livingstone, 2002). As a useful counterpoint to large survey studies, in-depth case studies of young people both at school and at home are providing deeper understanding of how computers are used in the real world of inequitable distribution. The *ScreenPlay* project (Facer, Furlong, Furlong and Sutherland, 2003) examined what young people do with computers at home, how parents and children negotiate access to and use of them and the role computers play in the day-to-day lives of families. On a smaller scale, Snyder, Angus and Sutherland-Smith (2002) investigated the ways in which four families used ICT to engage with formal and informal literacy learning in home and school settings. The findings draw together issues of access, equity and cultural capital in the context of school success and failure.

Popular culture is also receiving attention. Research has highlighted the benefits of using 'non-school' literacies in schools for consolidating and extending students' understandings of how texts are read (Alvermann, 2002). Often perceived as antithetical to mainstream print-based literature, using case study and discourse analysis, researchers have demonstrated how video and computer games require complex literacies that extend students' knowledge and teach a degree of multimodal visual and linguistic sophistication often ignored in curriculum design (Beavis, 2004; Gee, 2003). After examining the learning theory underpinning 'good' video games, Gee concludes that it resembles the best kind of school science instruction. Using survey and case study methods, Snyder, Bulfin and North (2005) examine the cultural forms with which young people engage in three domains: school, home and community. A key aim is to learn more about the complex connections between literacy practices and cultural form.

When exploring the possibilities for creative changes to pedagogical and institutional practices when ICT are used, researchers argue that a prerequisite is understanding the history of the new literacies. Bruce (2002) asks how literacies, technologies and social circumstances have co-evolved and what changes in literacy practices mean for young people. He argues that literacy becomes inextricable from community, from the ways that communities and society change and from the material means by which knowledge is negotiated, synthesised and used. Moreover, valuing the lessons to be learned from history, Lankshear and Knobel (2003) outline how the field has moved from 'reading' to the new literacy studies, reminding readers that just 30 years ago the term literacy hardly featured in formal educational discourse.

## PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

The communication landscape is changing, as it has always done, but more rapidly and more fundamentally. As new sites for research emerge, sites that are virtual and boundless, researchers are faced with the challenge of how to investigate them effectively. Researchers require flexible, sensitive frameworks for understanding and portraying the complex phenomena of technology-mediated literacy settings. At the same time, researchers find themselves pressured to work within the constraints of a positivist paradigm as funding bodies increasingly provide support only for 'evidence-based' research (Lather, 2004). The kinds of questions asked and the kinds of studies carried out are directly affected by this trend. More than ever, researchers need to 'think outside the box' and to resist automatically adopting approaches to research dictated by conservative funding regimes.

Another difficulty with research in this area is that technological determinism—the assumption that qualities inherent in the technology itself are responsible for changes in social and cultural practices—continues to permeate the academic discourse. New technologies are credited with transforming education systems and democratising schools. Electronic forums are represented as open spaces in which issues related to gender, race and socio-economic status are minimised. Such claims, however, need to be interrogated as they overlook the human agency integral to all technological innovation. No technology can guarantee any particular behaviour simply by its nature, as its use and effect are closely tied to the social context in which it appears. Technology succeeds or fails not by its own agency, but as a result of how it is used by people and institutions that take it up. Researchers need to assume a critical perspective to explore the implications of the cultural and ideological characteristics of technology in educational settings.

Although some researchers rue the cultural cost of the rise of ICT (Postman, 1993), a further difficulty for the field is the privileging of 'newness'. Yet the so-called 'new' literacy practices associated with the use of ICT do not simply represent a break with the past—old and new practices interact in far more complex ways, producing hybrid rather than wholly new practices (Bolter and Grusin, 1999). Indeed, the current tendency is not displacement but rather convergence—a coming together of previously distinct technologies, cultural forms and practices, both at the point of production and reception. Just how a range of different forms of communication—writing, visual and moving images, music, sound and speech—are converging and the implications for meaning-making represent an important focus for future research.

## FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The research agenda is rich with possibilities. In the first instance, researchers should build on previous investigations, adding to the growing knowledge base about the connections between literacy, technology, curriculum and culture. It would be salutary to concentrate on students who have grown up with ICT. A longitudinal approach to the study of young people immersed in techno-culture, at school, at home and in the community, would produce new understandings of technology-mediated literacy practices. Attention also needs to be directed towards the intersection between multiple languages and the multiple modalities of the new technologies. There are many educational settings in which multiple languages are present both inside and outside classrooms. Research could investigate the place of multilingualism and multiculturalism in ICT-mediated educational contexts.

Further research aimed at investigating the complex relationships between the verbal and the visual in communication and representation would also provide opportunities to examine at close hand new literacy practices in real contexts: to observe teachers and students, to discuss the emerging technology-mediated communication practices and to apply to those practices understandings that draw on the work of theorists such as Bolter and Grusin (1999), Gee (2003), Kress (2003), Kress and van Leeuwen (2001) and Lankshear and Knobel (2003).

The need for more research investigating the complex relationships between literacy, ICT and disadvantage is manifest. Research needs to keep up with technological and market developments in relation to access—to track shifting and diversifying contexts of use, including the institutional and social influences on young people's Internet use and to critically examine causes and consequences of exclusion (Livingstone, 2002).

As the introduction of ICT into literacy curricula is a contextual change that encourages alterations in the political, social and educational structures of systems, it is important to look more closely at how it is carried out. There needs to be more research into how language and literacy teachers integrate technology into curricula. How does pedagogy change? Do teachers' expectations alter? What are the implications for teachers' professional development and for the training of pre-service literacy teachers?

More research on patterns of resistance to the use of ICT are required. Why do teachers who work in environments that have technology facilities remain wary of its use in their classrooms, despite the fact that the future promises to be increasingly dominated by ICT? There also needs to be care in ascribing to the technology powers it does not possess. If ICT are used in innovative ways, caution about

inferring a cause and effect relationship between adopting ICT and effective teacher practice is essential.

Confronted by the largely uncharted territories of cyberspace in which young people are often the navigators, messier, less certain, more reflexive, multi-voiced research texts seem to be a useful way to respond. It is likely, however, that the problem of representation will continue to be complicated by the fluid, metamorphosing, unpredictable nature of the electronic spaces themselves.

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## RESEARCHING COMPUTER MEDIATED COMMUNICATION IN EDUCATION

### INTRODUCTION

Computer-mediated communication (CMC) refers to human-to-human communication through a network of computers using the Internet or local area network and which can take place synchronously or asynchronously. Synchronous CMC refers to communication that takes place on a real-time environment such as Internet Relay Chat (IRC), commonly known as chatlines or chatrooms, virtual world or MUD Object Oriented (MOO; MUD for multi-user domain) and the more recent are instant messaging (IM), gaming and Virtual Reality (VR). Whereas examples of asynchronous CMC, communication at different times, are emails, bulletin boards or mailing lists, online forums, and more recently wikis and blogs (for further explanations on CMC see Thorne, *Computer-mediated Communication*, Volume 4).

Rapid developments in CMC technology and the need for inquiry into its influence on educational practices and values have offered rich insights into theoretical frameworks, research designs, and methodologies and have challenged researchers to be innovative and adaptive. The research questions of early CMC research in education focused on evaluating the effectiveness of the CMC tool on learners and learning, while the current research emphasizes the nature of interaction between and among individuals using CMC as well as the impact of multiple CMC tools and their direct applications, for example, on E-Learning and foreign language education.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

One of the early developments in researching CMC in education was Electronic Network for Interactions (ENFI), first used in network-based classroom for teaching English composition (Bruce, Peyton and Batson, 1993). ENFI was initially used among hearing impaired students learning English as a second language. These students learned to write compositions by interacting through ENFI, a local area network (LAN), with other students in the class. They were instructed to interact through ENFI to discuss their composition topics before they began to compose.

To evaluate the ENFI, students' responses to questionnaires were collected and analyzed quantitatively (Batson and Peyton, 1986). At the same time, comparative studies, between ENFI and non-ENFI students and teachers, were also conducted using both qualitative and quantitative approaches (Batson, 1993). The central finding confirmed that the CMC interaction among the students played a positive role in the composing process and on their motivation to write. The use of ENFI marked the beginning of research in network-based classrooms, i.e. CMC, in composition classes. The CMC environment of ENFI continues to be reevaluated while new and innovative research tools were built into the computer and the network.

The increasing use of CMC for E-Learning and Distance Education also encouraged research into, for instance, the effectiveness of Internet communication on learners and learning (Berge and Collins, 1985). Rohfeld and Hiemstra (1985), for instance, examined the experiences of students and course facilitators in courses delivered via CMC. The methodology utilized the researchers' own perspectives and familiarity when examining their students' learning in their distance education program. This approach revealed the nature of participation in the learning and teaching and the adequacy of training and support on the electronic system. Through, for example, online mentoring, peer-review of writing or peer learning, simulations, personal networking, and course management, researchers were able to gather rich data for critical analysis and subsequently make further improvements on E-Learning and distance education as well as preparing the teachers and the learners.

With the growth of online and distance education programs, there is a need to evaluate the system design (the basis for developing CMC tools), in order to examine the requirements for the systems and its usage. An evaluation of the system design in E-Learning or distance education is crucial since a good system ensures effective communication via the different CMC tools being used in the study. Several works on the evaluation of the online system design (Harasim, 1990; see Kerr and Hiltz, 1982) have managed to capture the intricacies of CMC research and offered useful insights into the conceptualization of variables and research design. Kerr and Hiltz (1982), for example, in investigating the virtual classroom at the New Jersey Institute of Technology, provided comprehensive perspectives on researching CMC. In their attempt to investigate educational technology and educational effectiveness, they examined a variety of types of courses, students, and implementation environments through pre- and post-course questionnaires, behavioral data, qualitative observations, and interviews.

Comparative studies is another popular CMC research approach. Early on, many studies attempted to compare face-to-face (FTF) to

online environments. These central questions have compared CMC interactions with FTF, also examining the effects of such interactions on the participants' motivation and participation. Among the methodologies used are field experiments (see Benbunan-Fich and Hiltz, 1999), case study (Arvan et al., 1998) longitudinal field study (Hiltz et al., 2000), and longitudinal and quasi-experimental (Hiltz, 1993). These comparative studies offer useful perspectives on the process and outcomes of traditional FTF courses versus online learning. Many of these studies describe the process and outcomes of online education, as well as measure the students' performance and effectiveness.

### MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Research in CMC has been an indispensable tool for various disciplines in education due to its effectiveness, efficiency and flexibility of its data collection methods and analysis. Several useful research tools in education have emerged from various CMC research approaches. Some of the direct contributions of researching CMC in education are in E-Learning, applied linguistics and second language acquisition, corpus linguistics, and ethnographic investigations.

Perhaps the most significant contribution of researching CMC in education is to the area of E-Learning or distance education (see Harasim, 1990; Hiltz and Goldman, 2005; Hiltz et al., 2000). CMC tools have been used to evaluate and examine the process and effectiveness of E-Learning. A good CMC research tool allows researchers to evaluate the learning environment while providing valid and reliable findings that can be generalized to other institutions. With the rapid expansion and powerful capability of the computer network, new state-of-the-art data collection tools and analysis have also emerged. For example, computers have the ability to save extensive logs of interactions that can directly be retrieved for later analysis, as well as allow a multiple level analysis. Kerr and Hiltz (1982) as pioneers in these innovative methodological tools, described how the computer medium could capture and save interactions, such as computer conferencing among the participants for later evaluation and analysis. Since then, this technology continues to evolve becoming more user-friendly, error-free, and inexpensive and thus, "permits greater research flexibility and potential productivity than do traditional methods" (Kerr and Hiltz, 1982, p. 170). This encourages more CMC researchers to further examine the CMC environment.

CMC research has also made broader contributions to the field of applied linguistics and second language acquisition. Numerous studies have successfully quantified and described the amount and quality of participation and interaction through qualitative and quantitative

designs. For example, Warschauer and Kern (2000) introduced the term Network-Based Language Teaching (NBLT), a different form of Computer-Assisted Language Learning (CALL). Warschauer and Kern managed to compile some illuminating research on language learning using the computer network, for instance, studies that compare FTF and computer-assisted discussion by measuring the students' participation (Condon and Cech, 1996). A number of quantitative research studies have compared the amount of participation among language learners and evaluated aspects of online environments (see Kern, 1995; Sullivan and Pratt, 1996). Warschauer and Kern's (2000) edited volume on NBLT highlights research using NBLT that provides new and valuable insight into CMC within the foreign and second language teaching contexts. This insight creates further avenues for CMC research which might lead to improved or effective teaching of language. Specifically, researching CMC in education has contributed to a better understanding of second language acquisition's aspect of collaboration, learner-centeredness and the nature of input.

Furthermore, CMC tools allow corpus linguists to examine a collection of sample texts of language used in real world settings. These samples, more popularly known as corpora, are analyzed to find meaningful patterns of vocabulary and grammar within the texts. For instance, researchers have used corpora for pedagogical interventions (Belz and Vyatkina, 2005) to promote pragmatic competence among the learners and intercultural communication (Belz and Vyatkina, 2005; Belz and Kinginger, 2003). Corpus linguistics is gaining popularity among researchers as it allows them to handle large amounts of data and examine the interconnected subsets of language elements or variables being investigated such as corpus-based linguistic profiles (see Belz and Kinginger, 2003; Belz and Vyatkina, 2005).

Researching CMC has also brought new understandings and provided fresh opportunities for ethnographic investigation of cyberspace through its interactive media and interpretive flexibility. As an example, Hine (2000) provides a comprehensive discussion on recent developments in ethnographic thinking which is useful in developing an alternative, ethnographically focused approach to the study of the Internet. Virtual participant observation, which emerged with the creation of cyberspace, refers to "being online in the same virtual spaces simultaneously with the participants as well as participating in their conversation and activities. This participant observation aims at seeking an insider's understanding of the participants' interaction on the computer screen and gaining new awareness of such interaction" (Wan-Mansor, 1998, p. 49). Virtual participant observation is a useful research methodology for investigating the chatrooms or chatlines and virtual world such as LambdaMOO, LinguaMOO or MediaMOO. As noted above,

MOO stands for MUD object oriented (MOO) while MUD refers to Multi-User Domain (or Dungeon or Dimension). We are reminded by CMC researchers that the role of the researcher in educational research is active and constantly changing. For instance, in a virtual participant observation, the researcher needs to be in the same virtual space in order to make sense of the interaction among the participants, while adapting to the computer environment. As reported in numerous studies, this is especially true due to the fact that a virtual uninhibited environment and anonymity normally lead to active and increased participation.

### CURRENT WORK

CMC research in education advances with the development of new and improved research tools for investigating both traditional classrooms and virtual classrooms. In recent years, CMC researchers in E-Learning or distance education and in foreign and second language education have utilized a multi-method approach in their research. In the field of foreign or second language learning, a few significant CMC research projects will be discussed here for their uniqueness in utilizing a multi-method research approach. Such an approach is necessary in order to understand the role of the medium and the interaction it entails: how CMC affects the interaction and how interaction affects the way CMC is used. This is to ensure that the intricate nature of CMC can only be optimally captured and analyzed by using a multi-method research approach.

*CULTURA* (Bauer et al., 2005; Furstenberg, 2003; Furstenberg et al., 2001), for example, is one of the most prominent projects which utilized the CMC tools for intercultural interventions within foreign and second language education. Even though *CULTURA* began in 1997, it continues to be upgraded and is currently being used among different groups of foreign language students. The *CULTURA* project was designed and based at MIT and was used among American students enrolled in a French language course at MIT and French students learning English at Institut National des Telecommunications. Aside from utilizing CMC for interacting, the French and American students in the study would collaborate on responding to web-based questionnaires. These web-based questionnaires (containing word associations, sentence completions and situation reactions) were designed to highlight cultural differences as a way to make the students aware of the other culture. Using the web and CMC tools, the project started with the goal of comparing cultures, allowing the learners and the teachers to learn about the target language and culture from each other.

One of the research methods utilized is the comparative French and American opinion polls that deal with many societal issues. What sets

this CMC opinion research apart from others is the hands-on approach aspect where students are producing and analyzing their own data. Students then share their observations within the classroom, and then via several online forums (under each item on the questionnaires). Responses to the questionnaires and the results of the opinion polls are archived and can also be accessed by the students. Another interesting research method used in the *CULTURA* project is the students' comparisons and analysis of the French and American videos and texts. The juxtaposition of video segments and texts enables the students to uncover cultural differences. Later viewpoints about these materials were shared and exchanged in online forums. Finally, at the end of each semester, students are asked to complete evaluation questionnaires on the project with the following criteria:

- Usefulness and interest for cultural understanding
- Quality of materials and activities
- Web interface
- Nature and frequency of resources used
- General assessment concerning gains in understanding the target culture (Furstenberg et al., 2001, p. 87; Furstenberg, 2003)

By using a hands-on approach (utilized within the multi-method approach) and by utilizing CMC technologies to the fullest in order to optimize their data collection and analysis, this project illustrates an invaluable research design that should be useful for future CMC research.

In recent years, the term *telecollaboration* (Belz, 2003; Kinginger, 2004; Warschauer, 1999; 2000), also known as *Tandem Learning* in Europe, was introduced to refer to the use of a combination of CMC technologies such as chat rooms and emails that internationally link partner classes around the world. Partner classes are two classes set up in the two respective participating countries. The members of these two classes only communicate with other members via any available CMC tools.

Warschauer's (1999; 2000) ethnographic multi-site case study of four colleges made use of various research methods to investigate online learning among his students in second language classrooms. Not only was the research ethnographic in nature, it was also longitudinal, and employed participant observation, longitudinal open-ended interviews with the teachers and the students, and an analysis of electronic texts such as email. Students used CMC in the classrooms to share paragraphs, and also to participated in listservs or bulletin boards. Further, the students also communicated through email with their long distance keypals. Warschauer states that the findings of this study could relate to "the effects of sociocultural context on use of technologies, the importance of electronic literacies, and the purpose of literary activities" (2000, p. 42).

Another CMC research project on telecollaboration that is currently underway is the “Telekorp: The telecollaborative learner corpus of English and German”. Led by Julie Belz, “Telekorp is a bilingual learner corpus of diachronic, Internet-mediated, NS-NNS interactions with built-in NS control corpora” (Belz, 2005). Within the context of telecollaborative language and culture learning exchanges, Belz uses quantitative approaches and a variety of ethnographic research methods through:

- writing and speaking diagnostics
- biographical surveys
- technological surveys
- video and audio recording of classroom discourse
- retrospective verbal report interviews
- learner portfolios
- observer field notes

Even though it is a challenge for researchers to employ various research methodologies in CMC research, further exploration through multi-methods in these projects shows how research methodologies in CMC research can be innovatively modified, harnessed, and utilized to achieve the research goals. Besides attempting to capture the complexity of CMC research, a multi-method approach is necessary for the purpose of triangulating whereby researchers need to cross-validate analysis from various data collected.

### PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

The growing popularity and the abundance of CMC research should be viewed as a positive development, but with caution. Traditional FTF researchers will argue that even with the presence of innovative research design such as those described above, we have yet to really understand certain nuances of cultural or social phenomena. How are the CMC tools compared to those of their FTF counterparts? In what ways do CMC tools complement them and richly contribute to research and knowledge in general?

As in traditional FTF methodological issues in education, CMC methodologies will continue to be debated as CMC research continues to flourish. Typical problems in traditional FTF research (such as validity, generalizability, and authenticity), which have influenced CMC research, have been duly addressed (Beatty, 2003; Hine, 2000). Authenticating participants interacting on the Internet, for example, poses one of the main problems in researching CMC. Notions of participation, authenticity of audience, and authenticity of tasks have been reconceptualized within CMC research. Hine (2000), in discussing virtual ethnography, asserts:

Cyberspace is not to be thought of as a space detached from any connections to real life and face to face interaction. It has rich and complex connection with the context in which it is used. It also depends on technologies which are used and understood differently in different contexts (p. 64).

Even though researching CMC in education should be viewed in its own right, methodological comparisons to FTF research may be inevitable due to the socially driven and interdisciplinary nature of research in education. Thus, another challenge for the CMC researcher, especially the novice, is to provide the necessary methodological rationale for using CMC tools and determine how they influence the principles and practice of data collection and data analysis. However, there are problems and difficulties expected in some CMC research which will be outlined as follows:

- For a descriptive or ethnographic study (see Toohy, *Ethnography and Language Education*, Volume 10) seeking naturalistic data in a CMC environment, the methodology must take into account the nature and degree of participation of both the researcher and the participants interacting in the technology-mediated environment. The natural elements of CMC interaction must be accompanied by the description of the interactive tools of the CMC environment and whether or how those features are fully utilized. With multiple participants interacting using various CMC tools simultaneously, research methodology must be flexible enough to make sense of the interaction.
- CMC researchers who use previously established FTF methods or instruments to investigate CMC may overlook the absence or hidden social and cultural cues in the CMC environment. Since the instruments were originally meant for FTF investigation, CMC tools must be sufficiently versatile and data analysis must be holistic in order for the researcher to capture the meanings.
- CMC research design that may overlook the participants' computer and technical skills as well as the atmosphere of the research site may seriously affect the research validity. The skills, atmosphere, and attitudes towards technology may pose as moderating variables and must be properly addressed at the outset of the research. This can be a problem stemming from improper sampling or insufficient training of those skills.
- The institutional research, especially those measuring E-Learning or program effectiveness may not yield the desired generalizability normally needed by other institutions which expect the transfer to practice of the results of the research (see Arbaugh and Hiltz, 2005; Reeves, Herrington and Oliver, 2004; on the need to improve quantitative design for research on online learning).

- CMC researchers may not be conversant with CMC technology, and therefore, may not fully utilize both the CMC tools and its environment in the research design. This is natural since the researchers are education practitioners or professionals who may not be technologically savvy. Or the research task could very well be delegated to the technical professionals or administrators who are without strong conceptual framework with minimal help from education practitioners or professionals. This problem, however, can be overcome if educational researchers can collaborate closely with technical professionals with planning the research design.
- The potential negative effects of the CMC environment on CMC research participants has been one of the main problems in data collection. For example, participants disappear from CMC interaction because they lose interest in the interaction, quitting due to the overwhelming nature of CMC technology, or sometimes disruptiveness or playfulness during the interaction (through flaming, spamming, etc.).

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Due to its versatility and flexibility, the CMC environment will continue to be a popular research site where researchers or mere enthusiasts will take advantage of its convenient features, produce original research, or replicate existing traditional FTF research. In recent years, CMC practices have expanded to the use of instant messaging (IM), Wikis, Blogs (Godwin-Jones, 2003; 2005; Thorne and Payne, 2005), Short Messaging Service (SMS), and online gaming. In the near future of CMC research, Personal Digital Assistants (PDAs) and possibly iPods, will be experimental research tools for educators and researchers. For example, the growing use of mobile web portals among university students and faculty members will enhance the need for CMC researchers to investigate, for instance, the process and outcome of this device and how its mobility affects the students' learning. In addition, the researchers could examine the impacts and effects of the mobile medium or the mobile web portal environment on the university community, specifically with student-to-student and student-to-faculty social interactions.

Another near-future CMC research site would probably venture into the 3D or 2D Virtual Reality worlds or communities that have been rapidly growing on the Internet. These sites, to name a few, SIMS online, second life, and active worlds are social worlds. Active Worlds Educational Universe (AWEDU) which made its "Active Worlds Technology" available to educational institutions and individuals posits that "via this community, educators [would be] able to explore new concepts,

learning theories, creative curriculum design, and discover new paradigms in social learning” (AWEDU homepage). These social construction sites could be fertile grounds for CMC researchers to challenge themselves and perhaps, bring CMC research to a new level systematically examining these highly synchronized interactions.

Future trends in researching CMC in education will focus on mixed or multi-methods of qualitative and quantitative research (see Goldman et al., 2005; on qualitative and quantitative). There will be a trend for longitudinal studies, for instance, on learner corpora, or system design evaluation. Mixed methods and longitudinal designs will be important in measuring learning or program effectiveness; developing language or cultural competence; and improving pedagogical practices. Due to the complex nature of research in education, future CMC research tools must ensure a methodology that captures “broad based complex problems critical to education, maintains a commitment to theory construction and explanation while solving real world problems” (see Reeves, Herrington and Oliver, 2004; on the development of research agenda for online collaborative learning).

CMC environments have redefined the meanings of community, culture, and the nature of interaction. Since interactive media can be understood as both culture and cultural artifact (Hine, 2000; Thorne, 2003), the challenge for virtual ethnographers is to give equal attention to both aspects in their methodologies, data collection, and data analysis. Through its versatility, CMC methodology can be made to suit the local cultures of the participants it investigates (see Thorne and Payne, 2005; on culturally adaptive methodology). Researching CMC in education will continue to make great contributions to knowledge and a global research agenda. Computer and Internet-mediated technologies will allow researchers to explore new territories enabling them to address new global phenomena.

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