

PROSPECTS FOR LANGUAGE EDUCATION
IN MULTILINGUAL SOCIETIES

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CONTENTS

Preamble	4
Part 1 Policy formation	7
1. Introduction	7
2. Incentives	8
3. Ambitions	12
4. Options	13
5. Constraints	16
6. Policy instruments	17
7. National, regional and local policies	23
8. The home language survey: a basis for policy making	24
Part 2 Policy implementation: models of language teaching	31
1. Introduction	31
2. Regional (or national) minority languages	32
3. Immigrant minority languages	34
4. The official language taught as a second language (L2)	38
Conclusion	41
Bibliography	43
Participants in the project ‘Ethnic and cultural minorities in education’	45

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PREAMBLE

This volume was compiled as part of the project 'Ethnic and Cultural Minorities in Education', an international co-operation project which ran from October 2001 to December 2002. The project was conducted on the basis of Memoranda of Understanding between, on the one hand, the Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science and, on the other, the ministries of education of the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovenia. The Dutch ministry was the main sponsor of the project, through Cross Agency. Co-funding was provided by the ministries of the other countries.

The aim of the project was to offer the participating countries the opportunity to exchange expertise and experience in the field of education for minority groups, with a focus on expected developments resulting from the enlargement of the European Union. The project involved international seminars for education experts, visits to sites of good practice and the preparation of state of the art reports by experts in the participating countries.

In consultation with the project participants it was decided that the project should pay specific attention to three vital areas in the education of ethnic and cultural minorities: pre-school education, language education and parental involvement. These priorities are visible in the project publications, in particular volumes 2 and 3 of this series and the video recordings.

The project has resulted in the following products:

- a publication describing current and expected trends in migration in Western and Central Europe, as well as the policy dilemmas related to immigration (volume 1 in this series)
- a publication setting out major principles and considerations in language policy making in multilingual settings (volume 2)
- a report with impressions from research, policy and practice in the participating countries and information about monitoring and accountability (volume 3)
- a video tape showing sites of good practice in the participating countries

The findings of the project show that all countries are making strong efforts to provide high quality education to ethnic and cultural minorities. In several cases, similar approaches have been adopted for similar target groups in different countries. In each country examples were found of practices that may be of use for other countries that are dealing with the same issues. The project publications make it possible for all those

who take an interest in the education of ethnic and cultural minorities to share the knowledge and experience collected in this project.

How to read this report?

The report is divided into two parts:

1. policy formation
2. policy implementation: models of language teaching

The first part is concerned with the general principles underlying language policy, presenting an overall model for language policy making as well as a description of instruments that can be used in the context of language policy. The second part is more concerned with the implications of policies at the classroom level, exploring various models of language teaching that have proven their effectiveness in differing contexts.

PART 1

POLICY FORMATION

1. INTRODUCTION

Language policies in Central and Eastern European countries have generally focused on the languages of regional minority groups. Important reasons for this are the fact that regional minorities are a common phenomenon in these countries and the fact that their rights – including the linguistic rights – have been the subject of a range of international agreements. Language policies in Western Europe, where regional minorities are much less common, have focused more on the languages of minority groups that have settled there as immigrants or – in more recent times – as refugees and asylum seekers. Given the economic and demographic developments in Europe as a whole, it is to be expected that Central European countries, once they have accessed the European Union, will also attract growing numbers of immigrants. Whatever the backgrounds of these immigrants – transmigrant workers on the way to Western Europe who for some reason decide to settle in Central Europe, migrant workers who come to do the unattractive work refused by the native population, asylum seekers or illegal immigrants –, their presence will at some stage require a response from the education system.

It will be clear then, that the language policies of existing and prospective member states of the European Union will have to address not only the languages of regional minority groups, but also those of immigrant groups. Furthermore, the language policies of countries with a multilingual population will also have to deal with the language of the host country itself, since minority groups, indigenous or foreign, will have to learn the official language of the host country in order to participate in its economic, social and cultural life. To summarise, the subject of national language

policies is, or should be:

- regional minority languages
- immigrant minority languages
- the official language, taught as a second language (L2)

Language policies, like any other policies, are determined by options, constraints and ambitions. These three factors operate at different policy levels – national, local and institutional – where they may take different shapes. National policies are by their nature more comprehensive, whereas local policies and institutional policies will be geared more explicitly to local variations in needs and possibilities. Ideally, national policies provide a framework as well as the necessary conditions for local and institutional policy-makers to develop and implement policies tailored to local circumstances.

The general goal of this publication is to anticipate on the consequences of possible and probable future developments in Central Europe, with a specific focus on language policy. Since the overall concern of the project ‘Ethnic and cultural minorities in education’, of which this volume forms part, is with educational matters, we limit our focus to language policy within the context of education. More specifically, the publication seeks to:

- provide a general framework for policy-making with regard to language education for minority groups
- outline specific issues that need to be addressed in language policy-making for minorities
- present various models of language policy implementation in classroom practice

First we shall briefly discuss the context within which language policy-making takes place. Following this, we shall look at the three factors mentioned above: ambitions, options and constraints. We shall then focus on policy instruments for the implementation of policy measures. These factors will be placed in a general framework for policy-making. We will conclude with a brief look at language policy concerns at different levels of policy making.

2. INCENTIVES

Contrary to what the term ‘language policy’ suggests, the ultimate goals of language policy are generally not of a linguistic nature. As Robert Cooper (who prefers the term ‘language planning’ to ‘language policy’) phrases it in his often-quoted book *Language*

planning and social change (1989: 35), “language planning is typically carried out for the attainment of non-linguistic ends such as consumer protection, scientific exchange, national integration, political control, economic development, the creation of new elites or the maintenance of old ones, the pacification or cooperation of minority groups, and mass mobilization of national or political movements.” Language, then, is the object of language policy, but the motives or ‘incentives’ to develop a language policy are derived from national and international developments, interests and ideals. This is also evident from the international agreements of such organisations as the United Nations, UNESCO, the European Union, the Council of Europe and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), in which the protection of the language rights of minority groups has been implicitly or explicitly included. The considerations listed in the preambles to these agreements emphasise the importance of ‘human rights’, ‘fundamental freedoms’, ‘inalienable rights’ and express a shared concern for ‘pluralistic democracy’, ‘rule of law’ and ‘Europe’s cultural wealth and traditions’. These considerations are prompted by the many conflicts between minority and majority populations, which have threatened – and still threaten – stability in parts of Europe. By securing the rights of these groups through international agreements between governments, it is hoped, equality between minority and majority groups will be promoted and tensions that may spark violent conflicts will be reduced. This means that, linguistic rights are perceived as fundamental rights and protecting these rights, as an object of policy, is seen as a way to contribute to the maintenance and development of democracy, justice and cultural diversity in Europe. Since international agreements form a major incentive for language policy-making by national governments, the relevant parts of the most important agreements are summarised below.

Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1950) – Council of Europe

This convention, inspired by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1948, provides a basis for all subsequent agreements on the linguistic rights of national minorities as it prohibits discrimination with respect to the enjoyment of the rights and freedoms included in the convention “on any ground such as ... language, ... [or] association with a national minority”.

Council Directive 77/486/EEC of 25 July 1977 on the education of the children of migrant workers

This directive concerns the provision of language education for children of migrant workers from member states. It states specifically that member states shall take appropriate measures to ensure “the teaching - adapted to the specific needs of such

children - of the official language or one of the official languages of the host State: and to promote “in coordination with normal education, teaching of the mother tongue and culture of the country of origin”.

Document of the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE (Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe) - 1990

The states that participated in this conference agreed that it is their common concern to protect and promote the rights of migrant workers and promised to protect the linguistic rights of national minority groups, including the right to use their own language and to establish their own schools. The states also promised to ‘endeavour to ensure that persons belonging to national minorities ... have adequate opportunities for instruction of their mother tongue or in their mother tongue’.

European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ETS No. 148, 1992) - Council of Europe

This is the most far-reaching and most detailed agreement with regard to minority languages in Europe. The charter includes an extensive list of measures that may be taken by member states of the Council of Europe to protect and promote the use of regional and minority languages in the following spheres: education, judicial authorities, administrative and public services, media, cultural activities and facilities, economic and social life, transfrontier exchanges. States are given some (but not much) freedom to choose between alternative measures included in the charter.

Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (ETS No. 157, 1995) - Council of Europe

The Framework Convention grants national minorities the right to use their own language “in private and in public, orally and in writing” and to set up and manage their own private schools. Furthermore, states that have ratified the convention “shall endeavour to ensure, as far as possible and within the framework of their education systems, that persons belonging to those minorities have adequate opportunities for being taught the minority language or for receiving instruction in this language”.

It is important to note that the agreements focus on ‘traditional’ national minorities and their languages¹. The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages states explicitly that “it does not include ... the languages of migrants”. The EEC Directive is concerned with migrants, but only in a limited sense, i.e. citizens of member states moving to other member states. This does not mean, however, that migrants from outside Europe fall outside the scope of these agreements altogether. The Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms states that ‘the enjoyment of the rights and freedoms set forth in this Convention shall be secured

without discrimination on any ground such as sex, race, colour, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, association with a national minority, property, birth or other status’. In a similar vein, the Document of the Copenhagen Meeting (1990) states that ‘all persons are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to the equal protection of the law. In this respect, the law will prohibit any discrimination and guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection against discrimination on any ground’.

In short, the linguistic rights of non-European immigrants are generally defined in implicit or global terms, so that the responsibility for creating language policies with regard to these groups is largely left to national governments. As stated earlier, the need for such policies is bound to increase in the years to come. As Europe continues to attract migrant workers, refugees and asylum seekers from all over the world, children and adults from different language backgrounds and with differing levels of literacy will continue to enter the education systems of European countries. Education systems will somehow have to respond to this challenge. Experiences in Western Europe in the past decades show that many immigrant pupils have to cope with cultural differences (differences between their own culture, the majority culture and other minority cultures) and that many fail to keep up in school due to an inadequate command of the language of instruction (the majority language). These cultural and linguistic problems require, respectively, a cultural and a linguistic response from the education system, in the form of minority language and culture teaching and in the form of second language teaching of the majority language. The justification for policies addressing these issues is not – or not necessarily – derived from the international agreements summarised above, but from the social and economic necessity to assist new citizens in finding a place in society.

¹ One of the few references to the need for education in non-European languages may be found in Recommendation 1383 on linguistic diversification (1998) by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. This recommendation notes, among other things, that “languages which are spoken by hundreds of millions of people in the world, such as Russian, Portuguese, Arabic and Chinese, have only a tiny place in school curricula. Moreover, the standard of teaching in these languages is not always satisfactory.” The recommendation therefore calls for a “new approach to modern languages in Europe’s education systems [which] should focus on ... a wider selection of languages to cater for the new needs generated by the development of international exchanges.” Interestingly, the recommendation does not link the extension of language education curricula to the presence or the rights of migrant groups (in fact the term ‘migrant’ does not even occur in the document), but sees it as a contribution to promoting “understanding between peoples, tolerance of other communities, be they indigenous or foreign, and peace between nations, as well as being an effective barrier against the return of barbarity in its various guises.” Although the recommendation does not have a strong legal status, it can be seen as indicative of a trend towards greater variety in language teaching.

3. AMBITIONS²

If options and constraints are more or less objective factors in policy-making, ambitions constitute the subjective element in the process. Policy-makers show their ambitions in the choices they make (i.e. selection of options) and in the way they use political and practical constraints to defend those choices. For example, a policy-maker may decide not to introduce Vietnamese minority language teaching as a curriculum subject (option) on the grounds that no suitable teaching materials are available (constraint); another policy-maker, faced with the same option and the same constraint, may decide to introduce Vietnamese nonetheless and to allocate additional resources for the development of teaching materials. The difference in the resulting situation is not determined by options or constraints, but by the differing ambitions of the policy-makers.

The ambitions of policy-makers with regard to language policy for minority groups are influenced by their view of the cultural diversity in their country. Lambert (1995) has introduced a useful typology to distinguish between three types of countries, based on the ethnolinguistic characteristics of the population:

- homogeneous countries: countries that are largely linguistically homogeneous, often with ‘relatively small, usually geographically and socially marginal, linguistic minorities’
- dyadic/triadic countries: countries with two/three relatively equal ethnolinguistic groups
- mosaic countries: countries with “a substantial number of resident ethnic groups”.

According to Lambert, language policies in homogeneous countries tend to focus on “the purification and codification of the current or traditional language of the country”. Large and powerful homogeneous countries also invest in ‘exporting’ their language to other countries. In their own education system, there is considerable emphasis on foreign language instruction. Lambert mentions countries in Western Europe, Latin America and the United States as examples of homogeneous countries. In dyadic countries, language policies are mainly concerned with the position (status) of the country’s languages in government and in the school system and with foreign language instruction in schools. This happens in countries such as Belgium, Canada and Switzerland. In mosaic countries, policies generally focus on “the choice of languages to use in official affairs” and the standardisation and development of writing systems for languages, as well as the development of teaching materials and the spread of literacy. Lambert mentions Nigeria and India as examples of such countries.

² For section 2 and 3 we have gratefully borrowed some of the concepts outlined by Sjaak Kroon in his article ‘Language policy development in Multilingual Societies’ in *Nationalities and education: perspectives in policy-making in Russia and the Netherlands* (2000).

The interesting thing about Lambert’s typology is that it based on the factual situation, whereas policies are generally based on perceptions that do not always coincide with the facts. Even among the examples given by Lambert there are countries that, judging by their policies, appear to consider themselves linguistically homogeneous, while in reality they are mosaic. This suggests that there is a tendency among governments to hold on to the notion of homogeneity, even if the ‘evidence’ indicates otherwise. The reason is obvious: recognising the permanent presence of minority groups entails the obligation to develop policies for these groups. In the Netherlands, it took the government many years to acknowledge that the migrant workers who had come to the Netherlands from Turkey, Morocco and Southern Europe would not return to their country of origin, but would settle in the Netherlands permanently. In consequence, it took a long time before educational policies were developed that were targeted at these groups and the educational problems they were experiencing.

Migration movements in the past two decades show that most European countries are gradually developing into mosaic countries. The rate at which this happens may differ from one country to another, but the trend is clear: the number of immigrants increases, as well as the diversity of ethnic groups. An ambitious policy starts with the timely recognition of this trend and anticipates accordingly on predictable developments.

4. OPTIONS

The options that are open to policy-makers with regard to minority language policies are related to the relative positions of the languages that are spoken in the country. In theory, it would be possible to achieve maximum linguistic pluralism in a society by according equal rights to all languages spoken in that society and creating the conditions for putting these rights into practice. The other extreme would be to allow only the use of the majority language and to ignore or ban other languages. In practice, the options that are open to policy-makers lie on the continuum between those two extremes. Regardless of the position of each option on the continuum, policymakers have to deal with three types of planning (Cooper, 1989):

- status planning
- corpus planning
- acquisition planning

Status planning

Status planning is concerned with the status of the languages in a country. Status is related to the various functions that may be allocated to a language. According to

Cooper (1989: 99), ‘status planning refers to deliberate efforts to influence the allocation of functions among a community’s languages’. The decision of the Latvian government to allocate to Latvian the function of official state language of Latvia is an example of status planning. So is a Dutch school’s decision to include Turkish as a curriculum subject in its educational programme. Cooper lists the following language functions:

- official (e.g. Latvian in Latvia)
- provincial/regional (e.g. Frisian in the Netherlands)
- wider communication (e.g. Russian in the former Soviet Union)
- international (e.g. English, Spanish)
- capital (e.g. Dutch and French in Brussels)
- group (e.g. Vietnamese in the Czech Republic)
- educational (e.g. German in German schools and in bilingual schools in Poland)
- school subject (e.g. Turkish and Arabic in Dutch Schools)
- literary (e.g. Sanskrit)
- religious (e.g. Latin, Old Church Slavonic)
- mass media (e.g. minority language broadcasts)
- work (e.g. French in Quebec)

Within the context of education for minorities, the ‘group function’, the ‘educational function’ and the function of ‘school subject’ are of particular importance. By allowing the group language of a linguistic minority to be used as a medium of instruction or to be included as a subject in the school curriculum, the language is given additional status, which will often be perceived as a recognition of the group concerned. In Central European countries there are various examples of national minority groups who are given the opportunity to follow the entire curriculum, or a part of it, in their own language. There are also many examples of schools where the curriculum is taught in the official language and where the minority language(s) are taught as a subject. Choices of this kind reflect more fundamental attitudes towards cultural diversity.

As a consequence of immigration, the number of minority groups may increase to such an extent that it becomes inevitable to formulate criteria for deciding about the position of minority languages in education. Which language(s) should be used as medium of instruction? Which language(s) should be taught as a subject? How to take account of differences between pupils? The Netherlands provides an example of how such questions can be answered on the basis of a number of objective criteria which reflect the vitality of the languages concerned. This example will be discussed in section 7.

Corpus planning

Corpus planning generally follows on from status planning and is concerned with defining a standard for the form of a language. This is particularly important when a

language is allocated a communicative function which it did not have previously and for which its existing form is unsuitable (or considered to be so). Cooper (1989) distinguishes four domains of corpus planning:

- graphisation
- standardisation
- modernisation
- renovation

Graphisation is concerned with the writing system of a language. When a minority language exists only as a spoken language, a writing system will have to be developed if it is to be taught in schools. Standardisation (or codification, as it is also sometimes called) is the process of setting a generally accepted norm or standard for the form of a language. This involves, among other things, the production of grammars, spellers, dictionaries and style manuals. An accepted standard makes it possible in classrooms to distinguish between correct and incorrect usage of a language. An example of standardisation is the work currently undertaken on the Tamazight language, a Berber dialect which is spoken by many Moroccan immigrants in Western Europe, but for which as yet no accepted standard exists. Modernisation, which is sometimes referred to as ‘elaboration’, has to do with adjusting or expanding the lexicon of a language to meet communicative needs in a changing society. This may involve the establishment of specialised committees that decide about accepting terms from other languages or coining new terms for concepts for which the language lacks the terminology. Renovation refers to efforts to change existing results of corpus planning activities. For example, changing the official spelling of a language is not standardisation, but restandardisation and is therefore a case of renovation. Similarly, changing the script of a language is not graphisation, but regraphisation; an example of this is the reform introduced by Kemal Atatürk to change the Turkish alphabet from Arabic to Roman script.

It will be obvious from the description above, that corpus planning, unlike status planning, requires the involvement of linguists and other subject specialists.

Acquisition planning

Acquisition planning occurs when deliberate efforts are made to increase the number of users of a language. A clear example is the work of the British Council, the Alliance Française and the Goethe Institute to promote the use of English, French and German respectively. But also the decision of a school or a minority group to offer a minority language course to people outside the minority community is an example of acquisition planning.

From the perspective of national policy-making, the main task of the government in the field of acquisition planning is the provision of adequate and sufficient facilities for

teaching and learning the official language as a second language. As stated earlier, in order for minority groups to participate fully in the society of the host country, it is indispensable that they obtain an adequate command of the country's official language. This requires a specific approach to the teaching of the language, since it must be taught as a second language to these groups. This is complicated by the wide differences that exist between these second language learners. A teaching methodology for children born in the host country will have to meet other requirements than a method for illiterate immigrant teenagers or for adult immigrants who have completed general secondary education. This issue of teaching the dominant language as a second language, together with its implications for curriculum development and teacher training, will become more urgent as growing numbers of non-European migrants move to Europe.

5. CONSTRAINTS

Constraints determine the feasibility of policy options and ambitions and thus set the limits for policy-making. They fall into two categories: political and practical.

Political constraints

An example of political constraints is the 'political tolerability' of policy measures, i.e. the acceptance of policy measures by the public. The promotion of minority languages is generally not perceived as a priority issue by the majority population. This can make it difficult to have policy measures accepted whereby substantial budgets are made available for, say, the training of minority language teachers. On the other hand, political tolerability constraints need not be static. The opinion of the majority can be influenced by publicity campaigns, by reports of events in the media or by political developments. The 2002 presidential elections in France, with the unexpected initial success of Le Pen, are an example of how public support for minority issues can be boosted – at least temporarily – by unexpected political developments. An opposite example is provided by the Netherlands, where the declining public and political support for minority issues has induced the government to abolish minority language teaching in primary schools.

Political constraints may also operate at the lower limit of policy-making, determining the minimum of what must be done. Examples of such constraints are the political commitments laid down in party programmes, coalition agreements and agreements with governmental and non-governmental bodies at the international, national, regional and local levels. Even though these commitments may be worded in very general terms (“the government will endeavour to ensure ...”), allowing government

authorities considerable leeway in formulating policies and initiating activities, they also place real obligations upon governments to act.

Practical constraints

Practical constraints are factual circumstances that determine the feasibility of policy options. These constraints fall into three categories: financial constraints, human resources constraints and technical constraints. As regards the first category, public financial resources are always limited, which means that priorities must be selected from the range of options available. The second category, human resources, refers to the presence or absence of qualified teachers to teach the language of a minority group and/or to teach the official language as a second language. The third category, technical constraints, has to do with such aspects as the availability of teaching materials, the codification of a language, or the technical possibility to show subtitles in Arabic in television programmes. Another type of technical constraint is the degree of heterogeneity of the immigrant population, i.e. the numbers of different groups of immigrants. For example, the Netherlands currently has about 150 different immigrant minority groups, ranging in size from 250,000 to less than a dozen. As a result, there are classrooms with pupils from more than 20 different linguistic backgrounds. Obviously, it is unfeasible to organise education in the mother tongue for all of these groups. This means that other ways will have to be sought to meet the cultural-linguistic needs of these groups.

Like political constraints, practical constraints need not be static. For example, the absence of qualified teachers can itself be a subject of policies aiming to extend the range of teacher training courses with a view to catering to a diverse school population. When Dutch legislation concerning minority language teaching changed, requiring minority language teachers to change the focus of their teaching practice from 'teaching the minority language' to 'teaching the minority language to support the acquisition of Dutch', it turned out that many teachers lacked the necessary proficiency in Dutch. To remedy this, special courses in Dutch as a second language were set up for minority language teachers. This shows how practical constraints can inspire ambitions for further policy development.

6. POLICY INSTRUMENTS

The selection, implementation and evaluation of policy measures requires a range of policy instruments. Policy instruments can be classified into two categories: effectors and defectors. Effectors are instruments used by government authorities to make an impact ('effect') on the public they serve (the public at large, but also institutions, non-

governmental organisations and governmental authorities at a lower hierarchical level)³. This involves a flow of interventions from the government to the public. Detectors are instruments used to gather ('detect') information from the public. This involves a flow of information from the public to the government. Detectors may be instruments to collect data systematically or to register and manage spontaneous flows of information (e.g. requests, petitions, complaints, unsolicited reports from the public). Within these two classes, instruments can be classified under four major categories: nodality, authority, treasure, organisation (NATO). Each of these categories may refer both to existing instruments (including general functions of governmental organisations) that are put to a novel use as well as to new instruments, specifically developed for language policy-making. The categories are described below, with illustrations of possible applications in the domain of language policy.

Nodality

Government organisations are 'nodes' or junctions where many strands of society come together. Government authorities can avail themselves of this nodality to disseminate, generate and process information. To this end they make use of existing occasions, facilities and procedures, in accordance with the subject and the target group concerned.

nodality and effectors

At her weekly debriefing, the prime minister shares with journalists the information she received from her Minister of Education about the language difficulties experienced by newly arrived immigrant children in schools.

nodality and detectors

Complaints from parents about opportunities to communicate with school and other official institutions in their own language are registered in a central system and on a regular basis reported to the national committee for minority languages.

Authority

'Authority' refers to the prestige and the influence of governmental organisations, which can be used to influence people and organisations and to define their status, rights and duties. Governments can use their authority to introduce sanctions, prohibitions and taxes in order to punish and discourage undesirable practice; they can bestow awards, honours, certificates and other forms of recognition in order to support good practice. Thus, the governments represents a system of norms and values.

³ These concepts were first introduced by Hood (1983). Wazir and Van Oudenhoven (1998) have applied and elaborated these concepts as part of an international policy analysis; we have gratefully borrowed from their work for this section.

authority and effectors

The president, filmed by national television as she hands out the award for the most inspiring intercultural language project, emphasises the importance of intercultural language teaching and praises the award-winning school for its excellent work.

authority and detectors

The government makes it mandatory for schools to conduct an annual survey of the languages spoken by their pupils.

Treasure

Allocation and re-allocation of public resources can be used by governments to encourage good practice. By awarding subsidies under conditions, governments can influence the priorities in the work of schools and other institutions.

treasure and effectors

Local authorities offer financial assistance to schools to develop a language policy plan, which outlines the school's efforts to deal with the linguistic diversity and the language problems of its population; standards for the plan are supplied by the Ministry of Education.

treasure and detectors

The government finances the construction of a language survey questionnaire and pays schools a fixed amount per pupil to help cover the cost of conducting the annual language survey.

Organisation

Governments are by definition large organisations, employing people all over the country at all levels in society. These people, their work and their offices can be used to gather and disseminate information to the public.

organisation and effectors

In all government offices posters will be displayed with the text: "Our country has over 100 different languages. How many do you speak?"

organisation and detectors

Reports on the language performance of pupils at primary and secondary school level are gathered in a standardised fashion by local authorities and collected in a central database at the Ministry of Education.

In addition to these four categories of 'traditional' policy instruments, three new types of instruments are emerging: agenda setting, networking and social movements. These instruments differ from the four discussed above (NATO) in that they involve combined efforts by the government and groups in society. This means that detectors and effectors are merged, as there is no strict separation between flows from and to the government.

Agenda setting

Language is not a subject that is likely to attract a great deal of attention in the media or in policy-making circles. The media have more spectacular subjects to report about and policy-makers have to deal with many issues that vie for their attention. However, little progress can be expected unless language is given a place on the agenda of policy-makers. According to Kingdon (1984), the right situation for agenda setting occurs when two 'streams' come together: one stream is formed by the recognition of the problem, the other by the generation of the solutions for this problem. However, even when the situation is right, agenda setting will not occur by itself. In order to induce policy initiatives or to trigger the 'political will' to put a problem on the policy agenda, efforts may be needed by the media, non-governmental organisations, interest groups (minority organisations, parents' organisations) to bring a problem to the attention of policy-makers. On the other hand, policy-makers wishing to convince the public of the urgency of a problem may have to start awareness campaigns, give interviews, organise conferences, visit critical places, etc. in order to muster the public support needed to put it on the policy agenda. The media are of course a powerful channel through which public attention and support may be secured. That is why both policy-makers and social groups may be seen to attempt to put an issue on the media agenda. Such attempts are more likely to be successful if they are supported by surprising research findings or by a dramatic event that 'shocks people into awareness'. In Algeria the death of a Berber student in police custody sparked demonstrations by Berber activists for the official recognition of their culture and their Tamazight language. Following the killing of demonstrators by the police, the protests intensified and ultimately led to the official recognition of Tamazight as a national language in the Spring of 2002.

Networking

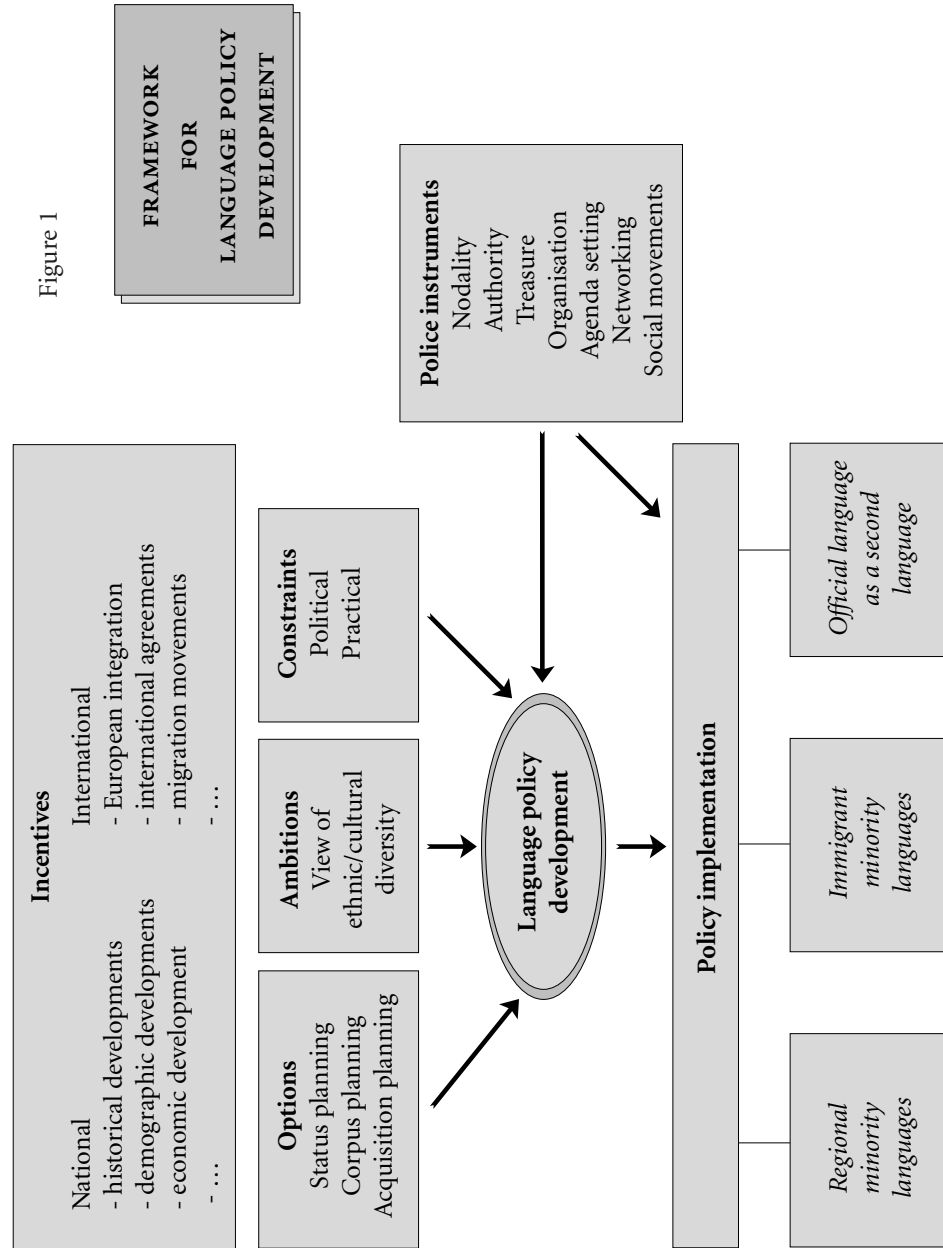
Networking is a familiar phenomenon in policy-making processes, involving the participation of government officials as well as representatives of non-governmental institutes, organisations and businesses. Networks are generally of an informal and non-hierarchical nature, which makes them extremely useful for disseminating and gathering information and ideas and for initiating action without bothering with bureaucratic or scientific procedures. Less visible are the networks of citizens with common interests, which exist at all levels in society. These networks range from more or less official organisations, such as minority language associations, to informal arrangements between some parents in a neighbourhood. Citizens' networks may be very effective in generating and disseminating good practice. However, people are generally unaware of the many uses to which such networks may be put. Policy-makers, at national, regional and local levels, can use these networks to disseminate and gather information, to test new ideas or to muster support for new policy plans. Policy-makers are also in a position to bring different networks together, to encourage partnerships

and to co-ordinate initiatives. Citizens may use their networks to exchange views and practices, to pool energy and resources and to establish contacts with other networks and policy-makers.

Social movements

Social movements are driven by a vision, ideas and values, inspired by discontent with the existing social order. They often emerge spontaneously at the grassroots level, without co-ordination, leadership or a formal membership. As they gain increasing support, they grow in size and become more and more organised, developing into formalized organisations with a formalized mission. Examples are the women's movement (which, incidentally, has had a strong impact on the use of non-sexist language) and the ecological movement. In a social movement, the people as individuals or as members of formal, nonformal and informal groups, take initiative and experience a sense of empowerment in the process. Although the characteristic features of social movements make it hardly possible for governments to initiate such movements, governments do have possibilities to encourage large-scale social change. Under the heading of 'social mobilisation', a range of processes, strategies and approaches exist that can help governments to generate participation by citizens at all levels in society to bring about sustainable change. Key elements of social mobilisation are: advocacy, education and communication, community organising, capacity building, networking and alliance building, monitoring, programme sustainability and community empowerment. Some of these elements have been mentioned before, in the context of other policy instruments. The difference lies in the end to which they are employed. The aim of social mobilisation is not to, say, gain support for a particular policy measure, but to achieve lasting change in society as a whole. From this perspective, language policy can be seen as one of the many facets of a wider policy – or movement – aimed at achieving an equal, just, pluriform and tolerant society.

The aspects of language policy-making that have been discussed above and in previous sections may be combined into a general framework for language policy-making, as is shown in figure 1.



7. NATIONAL, REGIONAL AND LOCAL POLICIES

There are distinct geographical aspects to the problems related to linguistic diversity of regional and immigrant minority populations:

- Immigrants tend to settle in urban areas. In the Netherlands, it is estimated that nearly 75 percent of immigrants live in the four largest cities, mostly in the inner-city areas. Similar patterns can be seen in countries such as France, Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States. This means that the educational problems related to multilingual school populations are concentrated in a limited number of areas, requiring focused policies at the local and institutional level.
- In some areas immigrant groups from the same ethnic background are concentrated. In the Netherlands, Cape Verdeans are concentrated in Rotterdam, Ghanese immigrants in Amsterdam; both Rotterdam and Amsterdam have large concentrations of Pakistani and Suriname immigrants; Almere and Lelystad have a large Surinamese population. Concentration of minority groups is presumably related to employment opportunities and to solidarity and contacts within distinct groups (Valk et al., 2001). This means that at the local level there needs to be room for policy-making targeted at linguistic provisions for specific groups, such as the development of curricula and textbooks or the organisation of minority language teaching.
- Regional language minorities are relatively homogeneous and stable groups. Their concentration in regional areas makes it possible to provide facilities for them that would not be feasible for the more dispersed immigrant minorities. Examples of such facilities are the bilingual schools that are a common phenomenon in Central and Eastern European countries. A specific problem of regional language areas that receive immigrants is that they will have to develop ways to teach new arrivals both the official language of the country, which they will need to integrate in the wider society, as well as the regional language, which is usually the medium of communication in everyday situations and in school.

These geographical aspects have consequences for the focus of policy-making at national, regional and local levels:

National policy	Regional policy	Local policy
<p>developing central policies with regard to the languages of regional minorities and immigrant minorities, allowing for regional and local variation, including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • creating appropriate conditions for minority language teaching and L-2 teaching (including development of teacher training courses and teaching materials) • stating the government's view of cultural and linguistic diversity 	<p>developing regional policies, allowing for local variation, including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • implementing central language policies relevant to the regional situation • creating/maintaining provisions for regional minority groups • creating policies to teach immigrants both the official language and the regional language as a second language 	<p>developing policies tailored to the local situation, including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • implementing central and regional language policies relevant to the local situation • creating/maintaining provisions for specific immigrant minority groups (concentrations of same-language groups as well as multilingual school populations)

8. THE HOME LANGUAGE SURVEY: A BASIS FOR POLICY MAKING

As the linguistic diversity of school populations increases, it becomes inevitable to take account of language differences in educational policy and practice. The arrival of pupils from different language backgrounds requires policy makers and administrators to decide which minority languages to teach in schools. Another issue, related to that question, is what form minority language teaching should take. Should it be offered as a curriculum subject in its own right? Or should it serve a supportive function, to facilitate the acquisition of the official language? In the first case, it is possible to base the selection of languages on a needs assessment among pupils and parents and an examination of practical possibilities. Priority would in principle go to the largest language groups that express a need for lessons in their own language, while the ultimate choice would also be determined by the available human, financial and material resources.

Supportive minority language instruction more complicated⁴. This type of instruction is particularly relevant for young language learners who have already mastered basic concepts in their home language, but not in the official language. In that situation, it is

possible to use the home language in order to make gains in the acquisition of the official language. However, a crucial issue here is that it only makes sense to do so if a child is sufficiently proficient in its own language. If a child is taught new words in the second language, without knowing the corresponding words in its own language, it will not be able to benefit from its own language skill and precious learning time will be lost by explaining the words first in the minority language and then in the second language. Decisions relating to supportive minority language teaching must therefore be based on explicit information on pupils level of proficiency in their own language. We shall return to this when discussing the home language surveys conducted in the Netherlands.

In dealing with minority languages, then, two questions are central:

- Given the increasing linguistic diversity of school populations, how does one decide which minority languages to offer in schools?
- What functions should the minority language(s) fulfil in school?

Identifying target groups and languages

Selecting languages that will be offered in school is clearly a sensitive matter, as the selection of some languages will always imply the exclusion of others. However, even before a selection is made, it will be necessary to determine the number and the nature of the groups that speak a minority language. In the case of immigrant minorities, this is often done on the basis of information about nationality or the country of origin. However, this information is often inadequate to determine the language a person speaks. For example, a Vietnamese child born in the Czech Republic may have the Czech nationality, but may still speak only Vietnamese. Information about the country of origin does not always give the right clue either: a person from Turkey may speak Turkish or Kurdish; a person from Iran may speak one of over 65 different languages. This means that, in order to determine which language(s) pupils speak, one cannot rely on 'traditional' statistical information, but it will be necessary to gather information from each pupil.

- 4 The supportive function of minority language teaching is based on the idea that if children are more proficient in their own language than in the language of the host country, lessons in their own language will help them master the second language. This idea is supported by three types of arguments (Kabdan, 1997). From a linguistic point of view, it is argued that proficiency in the home language is a condition for the learning of a second language. This means for example that it is easier for children to learn a new word in a second language, if it is first explained to them in their own language. From a didactic and educational-psychological point of view, it is argued that ignoring a child's home language skills when it enters school leads to an inefficient learning process, because the language of instruction is not geared to the initial situation and the child's learning capacities and because learning time and learning capacity are wasted when a child for a long time fails to understand what goes on in the classroom. From a socio-psychological point of view, it is argued that instruction in the home language promotes feelings of safety and identity and improves children's self-esteem.

The home language survey

In the Netherlands, experience has been gained with home language surveys as a method to inform local minority language policy making⁵. The surveys have been jointly conducted by Sardes Educational Services and the Babylon Institute of the University of Tilburg. Most surveys are concerned with primary school pupils, but similar surveys can be conducted for pupils and students at all levels of the education system. Needless to say that local surveys provide input for local policy making. By aggregating the data of local surveys, a wider picture emerges, which may serve to inform national language policy making.

Aim

The aim of home language surveys is to offer objective information to local policy makers about the possibilities for minority language policy, by collecting information on:

- the size of the language groups
- the dispersal of children from different language groups across the schools in the municipality
- expressed needs of pupils for instruction in their home language
- the vitality of the identified languages

Organisation

The information is gathered with the help of individual questionnaires, administered to all pupils in primary and/or secondary schools (see appendix for an English-language version of the questionnaire). In classrooms with young children, the questionnaire is administered by the teacher; older children complete the questionnaire by themselves, during class. It is important not to give the questionnaire to the parents, because they are not familiar with the child's communication habits outside home and they are more likely to answer what they believe the school wants to hear. Individual administration takes about 20 minutes; classroom administration takes about half an hour for the whole class. The questionnaires are collected by the head teacher and forwarded to the municipal authorities for further processing. The analyses are ideally conducted by independent experts from an outside (national) institute. If at all possible, the data collection should be repeated annually, to keep an up to date picture of how the linguistic composition and behaviour of school populations in a particular area develop.

⁵ Regrettably, due to practical and political constraints, home language surveys have not been conducted widely in the Netherlands. However, the outcomes of surveys in a dozen municipalities, including The Hague and Utrecht (two of the Netherlands' largest cities), offer sufficient insight into their utility. Experience with language surveys, as part of wider population surveys or otherwise, has also been gained in Australia, Canada, the United States, South-Africa, Great Britain and Sweden (Extra et al, 2002).

Information gathered

Each of the information categories listed above has specific relevance for local language policy. The *size of the language groups* is an important factor in deciding which languages to offer in schools. Larger groups naturally can make stronger claims than smaller groups. However, it is by no means the only determining factor. For example, English appear to be one of the major home languages in the Netherlands. However, none of the Dutch municipalities where the surveys were conducted decided to introduce English as a minority language, because English is part of the official curriculum from the final year of primary school.

Dispersal of pupils is important for organisational reasons. If small numbers of pupils from one language group are scattered over the city, it makes sense to offer instruction at one centrally located school or at several schools in various city districts, where pupils from different schools gather to be taught together. If pupils are dispersed too widely, it may become unfeasible to compose groups of reasonable size; this may be a reason to refrain from offering the language at all.

Information about *pupils' needs* for home language teaching provides an important justification for offering (or not offering) a minority language in school, especially if participation will be on a voluntary basis. Surprisingly, pupil interest in mother tongue teaching is often limited. Many pupils say they prefer English, Spanish, Italian or French to instruction in their home language.

Information about the *vitality of home languages* is indispensable for selecting minority languages and deciding on the function of minority language teaching. Vitality refers to the degree to which a language is 'alive'. This includes, for example, the extent to which it is used by a child in communication with its environment (siblings, parents, friends, classmates). If a home language is hardly used in communication, this may be a reason to refrain from selecting it for minority language teaching. The degree of language vitality is determined by scores on (i.e. children's own perceptions of):

- language competition (the position of the home language in comparison with the official language)
- language skill (the mastery of the language)
- language choice (use of the language with family and friends)
- language dominance (children's mastery of the language in comparison with the official language)
- language preference (children's preference for using their own language or the official language)

Additional information

To supplement the data from the questionnaire surveys, information is also gathered about:

- initiatives of parents with regard to minority language teaching
- current minority language teaching provisions in the municipality
- practical possibilities for offering minority language instruction (availability and qualifications of teachers, codification of the language, availability of textbooks, etc.)
- available budgets

Information about these aspects is mostly collected through interviews with a limited number of key respondents from the municipal administration.

Use for policy making

The data collected from individual pupils are entered into a database system and statistically sorted. Thus, overviews are provided of:

- the distribution of home languages other than the official language (number and size of language groups)
- distribution of language groups among schools in the municipality (numbers of speakers per school)
- pupils' participation in, as well as need for mother tongue classes
- profiles of the largest language groups (country of birth of pupil and parents; scores on language vitality)

On the basis of this information, supplemented by the additional information gathered about parental initiatives, current provisions, practical possibilities and budgets, the researchers are able to offer objective recommendations concerning:

- which languages qualify most for minority language teaching
- which languages should be offered as supportive teaching, which languages as individual subjects
- what use can be made of existing provisions and initiatives
- what will be the implications (e.g. in terms of organisation or staffing) of policy decisions to offer specific languages

Of course, the use of the outcomes for policy makers depends to a large extent on the political and practical constraints in a given context. If a language group that already receives minority language teaching turns out to be smaller than expected, it may be rational to cancel those lessons, but it may be politically unfeasible. The opposite may hold for new language groups: these may well turn out to be larger (and definitely more numerous) than expected, but it may be difficult to get political and public support for offering minority language teaching to these groups (or some of them).

Notwithstanding all that, the home language survey provides local policy makers with objective data and, thus, with a sound justification for rational policy decisions.

PART 2

POLICY IMPLEMENTATION:

MODELS OF LANGUAGE TEACHING

1. INTRODUCTION

A crucial stage in the policy process is the actual policy implementation. This stage represents an important *caesura* in the process (van de Graaf & Hoppe, 1992; Kroon, 2000). Up to that moment policy makers have been occupied with studying options and reflecting on constraints in order to translate their ambitions into objectives. But as soon as these goals are agreed upon there will be a demand to put policy in practice. This is the moment of truth, which will prove whether the developed policy is realistic and the objectives feasible.

As stated earlier, language policy has to deal with: national/regional minority languages, migrant minority languages and the official language, taught as a second language. This distinction is also important for the implementation of policies. As a consequence of the differences between national minority groups and immigrants, in terms of their historical rights, their geographical spread and the diversity of their languages, different approaches are called for to cater adequately for these two groups. The diversity and fragmentation of immigrant groups make it impossible to grant all of them the same provisions and facilities as regional minority groups. From the instructional point of view, regional minority groups are by nature more homogeneous than immigrant minorities and this makes it possible to use bilingual instructional models that would not work in more heterogeneous classrooms. It is obvious that both groups require tuition of the official language, but here too, the choice of suitable instructional models is limited by the characteristics of the target groups.

In this part, the models that have been developed for language education will be described for each of the three target categories of language policy mentioned above. It will become clear that choices are never value-free and always reflect the authority's attitude towards a multilingual society.

2. REGIONAL (OR NATIONAL) MINORITY LANGUAGES

According to the definition in the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* (1992) regional minority languages are traditionally used in a state by nationals of that state who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the state's population and that are different from the official language(s) of that state. Examples are:

- Polish and Russian in Lithuania
- German in Poland and Denmark
- Catalan in Spain
- Armenian in Russia
- Hungarian in Slovenia and Romania

States may limit the teaching of some or all minority languages to particular regions where minorities live (OSCE, 1999), e.g.: Austria (Slovene in Carinthia, and Croatian and Hungarian in Burgenland); Finland (Sami in their homeland); Italy (Slovenian in regions of Friuli-Venezia Giulia); The Netherlands (Frisian in Friesland); Spain (four languages of Autonomous Communities in those regions). An example of more general limitations is Poland, where minority languages may be taught at the request of parents in primary schools, at the request of students in secondary schools, as well as "regions inhabited by dense concentrations of a given minority for generations or as a result of the latest political events and contemporary historical processes (displacements in the post-war period)".

As stated in *The Hague Recommendations* (OSCE, 1999), "the right of persons belonging to the national minorities their identity can only be fully realised if they acquire a proper knowledge of their mother tongue during the educational process." Although the oral aspect of the language may be passed on within the family, the written and literary aspects require active commitment of educational institutions. In order to do so schools may be organised in three different ways:

- The 'national school' in which all the subjects are being taught in the minority language (e.g. Armenian schools in Russia).
- The 'maintenance' bilingual school in which some subjects are being taught in the minority language and the rest in the majority language (e.g. Frisian and German in Germany; German and Polish in Poland).

- The 'transitional' bilingual school with an emphasis of teaching in the mother tongue in the lower grades of the primary school and a gradual but definite shift to the official state language as a means of instruction in the higher grades (e.g. German in Denmark; Russian in Estonia).

National schools are a familiar phenomenon in Central and Eastern European countries and reflect the status of the languages and, by extension, the minority groups concerned. Although national schools do full justice to the rights of minority language groups that have been laid down in international agreements, it is not clear whether these schools give students an adequate linguistic preparation for life in the majority society.

The two types of bilingual education, maintenance and transition, reflect different governmental attitudes towards bilingualism. Authorities that choose the maintenance approach acknowledge the right of the national minority to use and further develop their mother tongue and might even look upon the minority languages as equally important in societal life as the official state language. This perspective is also the basis for financing national schools.

Choosing the transitional model shows that is the authorities' main ambition to ensure that every citizen becomes proficient in the official language as soon as possible. Although provisions for initial teaching in the mother tongue may reflect a certain esteem for this language, in many educational set-ups minority language teaching is seen only as auxiliary to the acquisition of the official language: e.g. the minority language teacher prepares the pupils in the minority language for the lessons in the majority language, or direct support is provided during the lessons in the majority language (clarifications in the minority language) and remedial teaching. It will be obvious that these auxiliary forms of bilingual education hardly enable the maintenance, let alone the further development, of the minority language. It is even questionable whether these forms deserve the label 'bilingual'.

It seems more appropriate to use the term bilingual education only in situations where the development of both languages is more or less evenly supported. To do so maintenance bilingual schools have two options. They may teach part of the curriculum in the minority language (teaching *in* the language) and/or teach the minority language as a subject (teaching *of* the language). Both approaches will be beneficiary to the further development of the pupil's proficiency in the minority language, but it is fair to state that the language can often be fully learned only if a broader part of the curriculum is taught in that language.

3. IMMIGRANT MINORITY LANGUAGES

Migrant languages are languages of foreign minority groups that have arrived recently in the host country, mostly for economic or political reasons. They immigrated to the new country in search of jobs and a higher standard of living or seeking refuge from political harassment and violence. These migrants may come from within or outside Europe. As stated earlier, there is no official European legislation concerning mother tongue teaching to migrant children from non-European countries, although several non-official documents and policy papers advocate strongly to take the mother tongue teaching for these groups seriously.

Broadly speaking, there are four approaches in offering language teaching to migrant children:

- Submersion: From the perspective of immigrant minority language teaching, this is the 'zero-option'; submersion is aimed exclusively at the rapid acquisition of the majority language, through teaching in the majority language in classrooms with fluent speakers of the majority language.
- Transitional bilingual education: Aims to help the pupil to switch from the home, minority language to the dominant language of society.
- Maintenance bilingual education: Aims to foster the minority language, strengthening the child's sense of cultural identity and affirming the rights of an minority group in a nation.
- Linguistic diversity teaching: Aims to employ minority languages as an educational resource and to stress the value of these languages. (Especially in multilingual, mosaic classrooms in which bilingual education is not feasible.)

In his book *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism* Colin Baker (2001) gives detailed descriptions of the first three types of education. Viv Edwards (1998) deals with the fourth topic in her book *The power of Babel*. A substantial part of the following clarification has been drawn from these two sources.

Submersion education

Submersion is the 'zero-option' with regard to immigrant languages, as its aim is the social and cultural assimilation of the minority language speakers. Sometimes the minority language may even be perceived as working against the common good and submersion education becomes a tool of integration. The school prepares for a *melting pot* society. A strong advocate of the melting pot philosophy, Theodore Roosevelt urged in 1917: "We can not tolerate any attempt to oppose or supplant the language and culture that has come down to us from the builders of the republic with the language and culture of any European country. The greatness of this nation depends on a swift

assimilation of the aliens she welcomes to these shores" (quoted in Wagner, 1980: 32).⁶ Skutnabb-Kangas (1981) points to the educational risks of submersion education in terms of learning performance. There is a substantial stress of learning through an undeveloped language. Listening to a new language demands high concentration, it is tiring, with a constant pressure to think about the form of the language and different curriculum areas and learn a language at the same time. Stress, lack of self confidence, 'opting-out', disaffection and alienation may occur. These considerations provide strong arguments in favour of bilingual education and should induce policy-makers to explore all the possibilities for implementing either transitional or maintenance bilingual education. Since submersion is concerned with the official language, more information has been included in the relevant section on pages 38-39.

Transitional bilingual education (TBE)

Transitional bilingual education differs from submersion education in that it allows language minority pupils temporarily to use their home language (including teaching arrangements where pupils are taught through their home language), until they are considered proficient enough in the majority language to cope in mainstream education. In Colin Baker's (2001: 198-199) words: "[...] transitional education is a brief, temporary swim in one pool until the child is perceived as capable of using the four language strokes in the mainstream pool. The aim is to increase use of the majority language in the classroom while proportionately decreasing the use of the home language in the classroom." Figure 2 shows how this can be done.

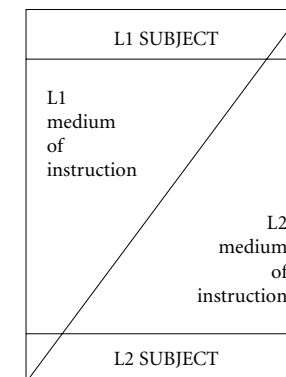


Figure 2:
transitional bilingual education

⁶ Notice how strongly this attitude towards immigrants, which is found among many politicians today, contrasts with the attitude towards national minorities, reflected in article 5.2 of the Council of Europe's *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*: "Without prejudice to measures taken in pursuance of their general integration policy, the Parties shall refrain from policies or practices aimed at assimilation of persons belonging to national minorities against their will and shall protect these persons from any action aimed at such assimilation."

The figure shows a gradual shift from minority language (L1) teaching to majority language (L2) teaching. In practice, two major types of TBE can be discerned: *early exit* and *late exit* (Ramírez & Merino, 1990). Early exit TBE refers to two years maximum help using the mother tongue. Late exit TBE often allows around 40% of classroom teaching in the mother tongue until the 6th grade. It is obvious that early exit TBE will not be sufficient to enable pupils to master their own language (L1) to the full. Therefore this option should be considered a weak form of education for bilingualism, which is basically aimed at assimilation, much like submersion. A much stronger form is maintenance bilingual education, in which pupils are offered better chances to achieve full proficiency and literacy in their mother tongue.

Maintenance bilingual education (MBE)

In maintenance bilingual education, L1 and L2 teaching efforts are balanced throughout the curriculum with the aim to achieve proficiency in both languages. However, in practice few MBE programmes work that way. Although many bilingual programmes subscribe to the maintenance view of bilingual education, in reality most programmes (especially in the USA and the UK) are of the transitional type (Crystal, 1995). Figure 3 shows MBE probably in its most ideal form.

Fig 3: Maintenance bilingual education

L2 SUBJECT
L1 medium of instruction
L2 medium of instruction
L2 SUBJECT

Obviously, the concept of MBE requires some clarification. It may be helpful to apply Otheguy & Otto’s dichotomy (1980). These authors make a distinction between *static* maintenance and *developmental* maintenance. Static maintenance aims to maintain language skills at the level achieved when a child enters school. As its focus is on majority language acquisition, it is not very different from the transitional approach. Developmental maintenance seeks to develop pupils’ home language to full proficiency

and full biliteracy. This is sometimes referred to as *enrichment* bilingual education for language minority children. Enrichment bilingual education aims to go beyond static maintenance to extending the individual and group use of minority languages, leading to cultural pluralism. This type of education does not produce a melting pot, but a *salad bowl*: a societal phenomenon in which all the distinct ingredients are combined in a well appreciated ‘dish’. The salad bowl view is also promoted by quite another approach in language education: language variety teaching.

Language variety teaching

Language variety teaching starts from the premise that minority languages are resources to be developed alongside the majority language and are sources of enlightenment and enrichment for both pupils and teachers. Researches such as Ramírez (1992) and Lucas & Katz (1994) claim that the extent to which children’s language and culture is incorporated into the curriculum is a significant predictor of academic success: appreciation of their language strengthens their self-esteem and as a result their learning motivation.

In *The power of Babel* Viv Edwards (1998) stresses the crucial importance of the appreciation of minority languages in the multilingual classroom and gives a range of practical suggestions. For example, children, parents and teachers work together to produce multilingual story cassettes, to make and read dual language books and to investigate oral history through the language of the home. These activities are especially useful in situations where bilingual education is not a viable option due to the diversity and the small size of the language groups. In bilingual education these activities help to accentuate the positive status minority languages already derive from the fact that they are being taught. Especially in the early exit variant of bilingual education ongoing language variety teaching would be a useful approach.

Language variety teaching starts the moment a minority child enters school. To reduce the stress of the early weeks, Edwards suggests the following interventions:

- **Special friends:** Other pupils, preferably speaking the same language as the newcomers take care of the new child, show it around and induct it in the school routines.
- **Bilingual support:** In the absence of a bilingual teacher, parents may be available to assist in the classroom or help with translations at home.
- **Bilingual phrase books:** With majority language words and sentences with translations and if necessary transliterations. The transliteration helps the teacher attempt the other language when children themselves are unable to read. Children who have been in school a year or so may offer advice as to what words and sentences are useful to include.

In addition to these early interventions, ongoing support is recommended throughout the entire curriculum. Edwards presents her suggestions to do so in three language domains:

- Promoting spoken languages: Examples are bilingual story telling, listening to tapes that accompany dual language books and ‘language study’, where bilingual children are the experts. The latter activities includes exploration of the variety of sounds, structures and meanings in different languages.
- Reading in other languages: Allowing minority children to read in their home language strengthens their enthusiasm for books and enables them to transfer a whole range of skills when reading a second language. Even the monolingual teacher may encourage children to make, read, and share books in minority languages with the help of bilingual adults and more experienced peers.
- Writing in other languages: Drafting, revising and editing in their first language allows children to develop these skills while joining in the same activity as their peers. This functions as a bridge to literacy in the majority language (they become writers) and is a strong motivational incentive as well: minority children are able to take part in activities which would be beyond their reach in the majority language.

4. THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE TAUGHT AS A SECOND LANGUAGE (L2)

In order to integrate in their new environment, migrant children need to learn the official language of the country. That is why the EU directive 77/486/EEC requires that member states take appropriate measures to ensure that children of migrants from other member states receive tuition in the official language of the host state. To offer the proper L2-tuition, educational authorities have to choose an organisational model as well as a linguistic model. These aspects will be explored in this paragraph.

L2-teaching can be organised in four different ways:

- submersion
- transitional bilingual education
- maintenance bilingual education

Submersion education, where immigrant pupils are placed in mainstream classrooms without any form of structural support, does not really qualify as L2-teaching, because it does not involve systematic teaching of the language as a second language. As mentioned earlier, this approach has serious risks. In the words of Baker (2001: 195) “Students may either sink, struggle or swim”. A milder form of submersion occurs when ‘pull-out’ classes are offered, where immigrant pupils are taught the L2 in separate classes during teaching hours. A serious drawback of these ‘compensatory’

lessons is that the minority language children fall behind on curriculum content delivered to the pupils who are not in the ‘pull-out’ classes; in addition, there is the risk of stigmatisation for absence from regular lessons.

A specific variant of submersion is *structured immersion*. Structured immersion classes contain only language minority children and no language majority children. These classes are thus for minority language speakers only and are conducted in the majority language. In the Netherlands this format is used with pupils who enter the Dutch school system at an older age (between 6 and 15). These pupils receive intensive L2 instruction in order to enable them to participate in the regular curriculum as soon as possible.

In the *transitional bilingual education*, the teaching of L2 as a subject and the use of L2 as means of instruction increase rapidly, after an initial emphasis on teaching L1 (see fig 2).

In the *maintenance bilingual education*, curriculum hours are divided more or less equally between L1 and L2 teaching (see fig 3).

In recent years, a shift has taken place in L2 teaching from the structural approach to the communicative approach. The primary aim of the structural approach is to teach pupils the linguistic system of the new language. This approach has been increasingly criticised by researchers and advisors, in particular for its emphasis on out of context language drills and its imitative mimicry.

The communicative approach, on the other hand, stresses the importance of learning to use the language in functional situations. That is why communicative lessons consist mainly of task-based activities (Lee, 2000), such as conducting a conversation, writing a letter, reading an article or listening to instructions. The teaching of grammar is embedded in the tasks. In this format, pupils use a reference grammar when there is a need for it in the context of the task. The grammatical rules in the reference book are illustrated with functional examples.

The communicative approach is perfectly suited to the goals of L2-teaching as described in the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (Council of Europe, 1991), which is increasingly used in schools to define and assess achievement levels in language education. The framework distinguishes language users at three levels: basic, independent and proficient. The examples below are taken from the domain of ‘oral interaction’:

Basic user:

Can describe in simple terms aspects of his/her background, immediate environment and matters in areas of immediate need.

Independent user:

Can describe experiences and events, dreams, hopes and ambitions and briefly give reasons and explanations for opinions and plans.

Proficient user:

Can express him/herself spontaneously, very fluently and precisely, differentiating finer shades of meaning even in more complex situations.

CONCLUSION

How does the information presented in the previous chapters help countries that are experiencing a growing influx of immigrants and that are developing into increasingly multilingual societies? Clearly, there is no such thing as an ‘ideal way’ for using the concepts and tools for language policy making and language education that we have presented in this volume. Situations differ too much between countries, between regions, between municipalities and even between schools to make universal solutions feasible. Instead, we have attempted to offer an insight into the potential components of language policy and language education for ethnic minorities and to explain the relevance of distinct components for different situations.

We have argued that the policy making process starts with an analysis of the existing situation. Without a clear picture of the linguistic characteristics of the population, it is not possible to develop sensible policies. Existing data, for example from the national statistical office or the ministry of education, may be helpful in this respect, but experience shows that data that are not specifically collected for the purpose of language policy are often inadequate. Ideally, therefore, the basic data for language policy making are gathered through home language surveys, as explained in part one. Data gathering of this kind should take place at regular intervals, providing up to date information on changes in the linguistic composition of the population as a basis for policy adjustment.

The factual basis offered by home language surveys or other statistical tools should at least provide an insight into the number and the nature of the target groups of language policy. Which languages are spoken in our country, region, municipality or school and what is the role of these language within the respective minority communities? These objective data provide a major impetus (‘incentive’) as well as a part of the concrete input for language policy. Policy development is further determined by three other factors. First, there are the ambitions of policy-makers, which reflect their – and the government’s – view of cultural and linguistic diversity. This view can range from ‘monolingualism’ (in ‘homogeneous’ countries) to ‘linguistic pluralism’ (in ‘mosaic’ countries). Secondly, the options that are open to policy-makers represent the possible scope of language policy-making. We have described the policies that a government can pursue in order to strengthen the position of a language (especially through status planning and corpus planning) and thereby to express its recognition of a group’s cultural identity. A range of instruments were described that can be used to put these policies into practice. In addition to ‘traditional’ policy instruments, such as legislation and funding, several less conventional instruments

were introduced, such as ‘nodality’ and ‘organisation’. Thirdly, political and practical constraints impact on both policy ambitions and the feasibility of particular options and thus determine at least to some extent the scope of policy-making.

Finally, policy decisions have practical consequences in terms of models of language instruction. If a government decides to accord the language of a large immigrant group the status of teaching language or school subject, this also necessitates a choice for a specific instructional model – a choice that will be related to the government’s view of linguistic diversity. Is maintenance of the minority language regarded as an asset in itself or should the language only be taught to facilitate instruction in the early years? The consequences of such choices were described in the second part of this volume.

By describing contemporary insights into the many facets of language policy making and of the practice of language education for ethnic minority groups, we hope to have offered policy-makers both a conceptual framework and some useful concrete tools to deal with the difficult issue of language education in multilingual communities. Most countries in Central and Eastern Europe have a great deal of experience, much more so in fact than most Western European countries, in providing language education for national minority groups. The difficulty is that the models of language education for these groups are not (or not entirely) suitable for the new immigrants that have arrived in the past years and that will continue to arrive in the years to come. Leaving aside the moral question of ‘which groups can claim which rights’, it is in practice unfeasible to create full-blown bilingual schools for populations that include small numbers of pupils from a variety of language backgrounds. As the numbers of immigrant pupils increase, the problem of dealing with linguistic diversity in the classroom will become more acute. Offering these children exclusively monolingual instruction in the official language, which currently is common practice in many places, has an adverse effect on these children’s self-esteem, their learning achievements and, ultimately, the outcome of education. We have shown how the linguistic needs of these children can be addressed through various educational models that are based on different views of linguistic diversity.

The linguistic diversity of European societies is bound to increase in the years to come. No doubt, future experiences in dealing with multilingual school populations will cast new light on the issues addressed in this volume. For the time being, we hope that the notions of language policy and language education that we have presented here will assist policy-makers in new and prospective Member States of the European Union in creating proper conditions for the school success of multilingual populations and, by extension, for societal progress.

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