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and of Standard English as a Second Dialect*

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CONTENTS

**SPECIAL TOPIC ISSUE:
LANGUAGE PLANNING AND POLICY**

ARTICLES

To print, select PDF page nos. in parentheses

Unpeeling the Onion: Language Planning and Policy and the ELT Professional	401	(10-36)
Thomas K. Ricento and Nancy H. Hornberger		
English Only Worldwide or Language Ecology?	429	(38-61)
Robert Phillipson and Tove Skutnabb-Kangas		
Language Curriculum Development in South Africa: What Place for English?	453	(62-80)
Gary P. Barkhuizen and David Gough		
Language Policies as Virtual Reality: Two Australian Examples	473	(82-106)
Helen Moore		
Puerto Rico: On the Horns of a Language Planning Dilemma	499	(108-119)
Alicia Pousada		
English-Only and Standard English Ideologies in the U.S.	511	(120-144)
Terrence G. Wiley and Marguerite Lukes		
Language and Education Policy in the State of Indiana: Implications for Language Minority Students	537	(146-164)
Carmen Simich-Dudgeon and Timothy Boals		
Dual-Language Planning at Oyster Bilingual School: "It's Much More Than Language"	557	(166-191)
Rebecca D. Freeman		

TEACHING ISSUES

Institutional Policies and Language Minority Students	583
Institutional Policies and Language Minority Students in the U.S.	
Shelley D. Wong	
Institutional Responses: Empowering Minority Children	
Joseph Lo Bianco	

BRIEF REPORTS AND SUMMARIES

Collaborative Research and Curriculum Change in the Australian Adult Migrant English Program	591
Anne Burns	
English Language Development in Tunisia	598
Mohamed Daoud	

Language Planning and Policy and the ELT Profession in Selected Central American Countries 606
Patience Lea McGuire

Accidental Language Policy: Creating an ESL/Bilingual Teacher Endorsement Program in Utah 611
James Sayers

EFL Teaching in the Ukraine: State Regulated or Commercial? 616
Oleg B. Tarnopolsky

REVIEWS

Power, Politics, and Language Rights 623

The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language
Alastair Pennycook

Linguistic Human Rights: Overcoming Linguistic Discrimination
Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Robert Phillipson (Eds.)

Power and Inequality in Language Education
James W. Tollefson (Ed.)
Reviewed by Reynaldo Macías

Language Policy in English-Dominant Countries
Michael Herriman and Barbara Burnaby (Eds.)
Reviewed by Robert B. Kaplan

Reversing Language Shift
Joshua A. Fishman
Reviewed by Teresa L. McCarty

Languages in School and Society: Policy and Pedagogy
Mary McGroarty and Christian Faltis (Eds.)
Reviewed by Robert Bayley

Language Planning Around the World: Contexts and Systemic Change
Richard D. Lambert (Ed.)
Reviewed by Valerie Jakar

French-English Language Issues in Canada: International Journal of the Sociology of Language, Vols. 105-106
Richard Bourhis (Ed.)
Reviewed by Calvin Veltman

Information for Contributors 641

Editorial Policy
General Information for Authors

Publications Received 649

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Editor's Note

■ This issue of the *TESOL Quarterly* is devoted to examining the relationship between language planning and policy (LPP) and English language teaching (ELT). The response to the call for papers on this topic was tremendous. In light of the widespread interest in the topic, this issue is considerably longer than usual, including articles and brief reports from a wide variety of countries. Because of the additional length of this issue, the Winter 1996 and Spring 1997 issues will contain fewer articles.

I want to thank the guest editors for this issue, Nancy Hornberger and Thomas Ricento, for their outstanding work in compiling papers that illustrate the many ways in which LPP can affect language teaching. In addition to selecting the full-length articles for the issue, they edited the brief reports and summaries and solicited book reviews, thus developing the theme throughout the entire issue. I share with them the hope that this issue will contribute to a greater awareness of how we as language professionals both influence and are influenced by LPP decisions.

The Autumn 1997 special-topic issue, guest edited by Bonny Norton Peirce, will focus on Language and Social Identity. Submissions for this issue are closed. However, a Call for Abstracts for the 1998 special-topic issue on Research and Practice in English Language Teacher Education, guest edited by Donald Freeman and Karen E. Johnson, is included in this issue.

Sandra McKay

In This Issue

■ As English grows, so grows the ELT profession. This issue of the *TESOL Quarterly* seeks to emphasize that the expansion of English and the ELT profession is not a value-free enterprise. It explores the usefulness of LPP frameworks and approaches for understanding and evaluating the role of the ELT profession and ELT professionals in the continuing growth of English worldwide. In pursuit of that objective, the issue takes an international, albeit English-focused, perspective, with about half of the articles and

short reports focusing on international ELT cases from Australia, Central America, Europe, South Africa, Tunisia, and the Ukraine and half focusing on the U.S. Authors look at national ideology, state policy, and institutional and classroom-level language planning and implementation, at both the macro- and the microlevel.

- Thomas Ricento and Nancy H. Hornberger, co-editors of the issue, briefly review LPP frameworks and approaches and then provide a layered schema for conceptualizing the interactions among LPP agents, levels, and processes. Throughout, we argue that ELT professionals are involved in these LPP processes, whether as preservers of the status quo or workers toward change, and we urge ELT professionals to be conscious of and conscientious about that involvement.
- Robert Phillipson and Tove Skutnabb-Kangas take a global look at the role of English worldwide, introducing two paradigms borrowed from Japanese scholar Yukio Tsuda: the diffusion-of-English paradigm and the ecology-of-language paradigm. Their discussion of the two paradigms in the light of recent tendencies within the European Union, the postcommunist states, and the international arena emphasizes the close alliance between LPP (and ELT) and wider ideological, political, economic, social, and cultural trends. Thus, for example, the diffusion-of-English paradigm is associated with capitalism and modernization, and the ecology-of-language paradigm is linked to linguistic human rights and protection of national sovereignties.
- Gary Barkhuizen and David Gough present the first case study in the issue, exploring the changing role and status of English within new language-in-education policies in postapartheid South Africa. These policies now recognize 9 standardized African languages, in addition to English and Afrikaans, as official. In a context in which the mother-tongue principle in education was historically used as a central instrument of apartheid and in which White children learned English and Afrikaans while Black children were expected to learn not only English and Afrikaans but also an African language (their mother tongue), the new policies emphasize the equality of all 11 languages and the right of all people to use the language of their choice. The authors offer a descriptive framework for understanding language-in-education planning and trace the constraints on and implications of the recent policy changes for ELT in South Africa.
- Helen Moore poses the question of why two different and somewhat contradictory federal language policies emerged in Australia within the space of 4 years: the 1987 National Policy on Languages (NPL) and the 1991 Australian Language and Literacy Policy (ALLP). Using first Robert Cooper's language planning accounting scheme and then the work of two feminist critical scholars, Dorothy Smith and Anna Yeatman, the author shows how and why the broadly pluralist aspirations and processes embodied in the NPL came to be replaced by the ALLP's emphasis on English literacy and Asian languages.

- Alicia Pousada describes a case that belongs to both the international and the U.S. arenas—that of Puerto Rico, with its ambiguous status as an island “nation” and U.S. territory. This ambiguity sets the scene for the language planning dilemma reflected in frequent and conflicting changes in official language policy over the years and in a generalized resistance to the learning of English. The author identifies a number of factors contributing to the language dilemma, including the historical imposition of English as part of a heavy-handed Americanization plan, the critical role of party politics in the consideration of linguistic and cultural questions, the socioeconomic schisms in Puerto Rican society with their linguistic and educational ramifications, and a host of pedagogical problems stemming from an overly centralized and politicized school system in economic crisis.
- Terrence G. Wiley and Marguerite Lukes describe two dominant ideologies of language in the U. S.: one a monolingual ideology, stemming from an immigrant paradigm and embodied in historical and contemporary English-only policies, and the other a standard language ideology reflected in attitudes and behaviors biased against creolized or—allegedly—less “literate” varieties of English, such as African American Language, Appalachian English, and Hawaii English Creole. The authors argue that these ideologies embody racism and linguisticism, that the language policies accompanying them have encouraged both assimilation and resistance, and that there is an ongoing need to consider the implications of these ideologies for contemporary policy and practice and to contest those that perpetuate social inequities.
- Carmen Simich-Dudgeon and Timothy Boals report on the processes and outcomes of Indiana’s language and education policies for language minority students from 1976, when the state bilingual education law was passed, to 1995. The authors show how Indiana’s language-in-education policy follows a combined compliance and local option approach, in which the state seeks neither to oppose federal law nor to interfere with local preferences. Noting the potential gaps and ambiguities in such an approach as well as the apparent conflict between the 1976 bilingual education policy and the state’s 1984 official and largely symbolic English-only language policy, the authors conclude with a series of questions about the relative advantages or disadvantages of a more deliberative or explicit approach to language planning and policy in Indiana.
- Rebecca D. Freeman begins with the premise, well established in the LPP literature, that researchers must understand LPP within its sociopolitical context and sets out to do so for the case of the dual-language plan at Oyster Bilingual School in Washington, DC. Using an ethnographic/discourse analytic approach, she shows how, in the societal level of context, Oyster operates within but defines itself as an alternative to mainstream U.S. societal ideologies with respect to

language use and language minority participation in education. She demonstrates how, at the institutional level, a view of language diversity as resource informs every aspect of Oyster's program whereas at the situational level evidence shows that implementation falls short of the ideal dual-language plan. The ongoing efforts of Oyster educators to address these discrepancies are an example of how ELT professionals can and do contest policies and practices that perpetuate social inequity.

Also in this issue:

- **Brief Reports and Summaries:** The short reports include both broad-scope examinations of issues in EFL teaching within particular countries (Mohamed Daoud on Tunisia, Patience L. McGuire on El Salvador and other selected Central American countries, and Oleg B. Tarnopolsky on the Ukraine) and more focused descriptions of the effects of policy on specific ELT initiatives (Anne Burns on adult migrant education in Australia and James Sayers on ESL/bilingual education in Utah).

Thomas Ricento acknowledges a grant from the Dean of the College of Social and Behavioral Sciences, the University of Texas at San Antonio, which facilitated his work in editing this issue. Both of us would like to thank the members of the Editorial Advisory Board for inviting us to edit this special issue. We are especially grateful to Sandra McKay for her support and encouragement throughout the editorial process.

Nancy H. Hornberger and Thomas K. Ricento, Guest Editors*

* Names are listed alphabetically.

Unpeeling the Onion: Language Planning and Policy and the ELT Professional

THOMAS K. RICENTO

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The field of language planning and policy (LPP) provides a rich array of research opportunities for applied linguists and social scientists. However, as a multidisciplinary field that seeks to understand, among other things, why some languages thrive whereas others are marginalized, LPP may appear quite theoretical and far removed from the lives of many English language teaching (ELT) practitioners. This is unfortunate, because ELT professionals—be they teachers, program developers, materials and textbook writers, administrators, consultants, or academics—are involved in one way or another in the processes of LPP. The purpose of this article is to unravel those processes and the role of ELT professionals in them for both theoretical and practical reasons: theoretical, because we believe there are principled ways to account for why particular events affect the status and vibrancy of languages and speech communities, and practical, because we believe there are ways to influence the outcome of social processes. In general, we find that the principle of linguistic self-determinism—the right to choose (within limits) what languages one will use and be educated in—is not only viable but desirable for LPP decision making because it both promotes social equity and fosters diversity. In this article, we examine how ELT professionals are already actively engaged in deciding language policies, how they promote policies reaffirming or opposing hierarchies of power that reflect entrenched historical and institutional beliefs (see Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, this issue), and how they might affect changes in their local contexts.

The field of language planning and policy (LPP) has witnessed significant growth over the past 25 years. Scholars from a variety of disciplines, including linguistics, education, political science, history, policy studies, law, demography, and sociology, have continually broadened

and deepened the scope of inquiry while contributing new insights into the processes, politics, and goals of language policies, whether planned or unplanned, overt or covert. Although there is currently no prospect for a unified theory of LPP (even assuming such a theory is desirable), several frameworks have been elaborated to describe and explain how and why policies have certain effects in particular contexts (e.g., Cooper, 1989; Fishman, 1974; Kloss, 1977; Leibowitz, 1969, 1971; Phillipson, 1992; Ruiz, 1984; Tollefson, 1991).

In this article, we briefly describe frameworks and approaches from the LPP literature. Following that, we provide a schema characterizing various components in which policy decisions and practices are realized. We argue that these components—variously referred to in the language planning literature as language planning agents, levels, and processes—are layers that together compose the LPP whole (the “onion”) and that permeate and interact with each other in a variety of ways and to varying degrees. We cite case studies from the literature and from this issue of *TESOL Quarterly* to illustrate some of these interactions. In keeping with the theme of this issue, we focus primarily on case studies relating to the English language (many more LPP cases, of course, concern other languages worldwide). We suggest how English language teaching (ELT) professionals are involved in shaping language policy, whether consciously or unwittingly. We conclude with some thoughts on how practitioners at all levels might affect changes in their local contexts.

ANALYTICAL AND THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO LPP

Hornberger (1994) presents a framework integrating nearly three decades of language planning scholarship based on Ferguson (1968), Kloss (1968), Stewart (1968), Neustupny (1974), Haugen (1983), Nahir (1984), and Cooper (1989). The framework (see Figure 1) identifies two language planning approaches—policy planning (on form) and cultivation planning (on function)—and three types—status, acquisition, and corpus planning. The policy-planning approach attends to matters of society and nation at the macroscopic level and is mainly concerned with standard language, whereas the cultivation-planning approach deals with matters relating to language/literacy at the microscopic level and is mainly concerned with literary language. Status planning concerns uses of language, acquisition planning concerns users of language, and corpus planning deals with language itself. Building on Haugen’s (1972, 1983) model, which maps two binary distinctions (status/corpus and policy/cultivation) onto a fourfold matrix consisting of society/language

FIGURE 1
Language Planning Goals An Integrative Framework

Approaches	Policy planning (on form)	Cultivation planning (on function)
Types	Goals	Goals
Status planning (about uses of language)	Standardization status Officialization Nationalization Proscription	Revival Maintenance Interlingual communication International Intranational Spread
Acquisition planning (about users of language)	Group Education/school Literature Religion Mass media Work	Reacquisition Maintenance Foreign language/second language Shift
Corpus planning (about language)	Standardization Corpus Auxiliary code Graphization	Modernization Lexical Stylistic Renovation Purification Reform Stylistic simplification Terminology unification

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and form/function axes, Hornberger (1994) sketches a six-dimensional framework.

Although its parameters are based on types and approaches, the framework is, as Hornberger (1994) notes, neutral with regard to political direction; rather, it is the language planning goals assigned to LPP activities that determine the direction of change envisioned. Referring to the literature cited above, Hornberger then identifies some 30 goals within the parameters of the two approaches and three types (e.g., under status/cultivation planning are revival, maintenance, interlingual communication, and spread; under status/policy planning are standardization status, officialization, nationalization, and proscription). Finally, Hornberger notes that language planning—specifically, in this case, literacy planning—never occurs in a vacuum. For example, the fact that learners acquire literacy in one language means that they may not acquire literacy in another language, at least in a school setting. Hornberger then turns to another concept in language planning, Ruiz's

(1984) orientations model, as a means of accounting for the role played by attitudes (often unconscious) “toward language and its role, and toward languages and their role in society” (Ruiz, 1984, cited in Hornberger, 1994, p. 83). Hornberger characterizes these orientations as follows:

1. a language as problem orientation which would tend to see local languages as problems standing in the way of the incorporation of cultural and linguistic minority groups in society, and to link language issues with the social problems characteristic of such groups—poverty, handicap, low educational achievement, and little or no social mobility;
2. a language as right orientation which would tend to see local languages as a basic human and civil right for their speakers, and to seek the affirmation of those rights, often leading to confrontation, since a claim to something is also a claim against something else;
3. a language as resource orientation which would tend to see local languages as resources not only for their speakers, but for society as a whole, and to seek their cultivation and development as resources, in recognition of the fact that they are exhaustible not by use, but by lack of use. (p. 83)

Mindful of the complexities of implementing language change, Hornberger (1994), citing Fishman (1979), reminds us that “status and corpus planning ‘are usually (and most effectively) engaged in jointly’” (p. 2). Other scholars have pointed out that corpus and status planning are interconnected activities (for example, Wiley & Lukes, this issue, argue that “standard language policies tend to be submerged within corpus planning but also to involve status planning between varieties”).

The framework provided by Hornberger (1994), in conjunction with Ruiz’s (1984) orientations model, is useful in analyzing LPP activities in terms of a range of LPP goals. However, as has long been recognized in the LPP field, when governments or states decide to intervene in areas involving language, they usually have primarily nonlinguistic agendas; furthermore, language change often has many causes, only one of which may be planning (Rubin, 1983); the same is true for language policy, which can result just as well from the absence as from the presence of planning (see Sayers’s brief report, this issue, on Utah’s accidental language policy on ESL and bilingual teacher endorsement). When planning does occur, unintended outcomes may result, implementation may be incomplete or inappropriate, and evaluation may be sketchy or nonexistent (and whether the results are “good” or “bad” depends on who is evaluating them and for what purpose). As with all types of social planning, the goals, means, and ends of language planning are contentious and subject to ongoing reanalysis and renegotiation. In the LPP

field, continuing awareness of this complexity has resulted in the ongoing development of LPP perspectives and approaches.

First, recognizing that many variables influence processes of language change, scholars in recent years have investigated specific language policies in specific contexts to provide richer descriptions and explanations of why particular languages are maintained or die, why one language (or variety) is acquired and another is not, and why and how “language is built into the economic and social structure of society” (Tollefson, 1991, p. 2). Second, whereas much of the earlier work in LPP was concerned with issues related to nation building and modernization in postcolonial Third World countries, recent research has often dealt with language rights globally, the ways language policies perpetuate structural socioeconomic inequalities (e.g., Luke, McHoul, & Mey, 1990; Phillipson, 1988, 1992; Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1994; Tollefson, 1991, 1995), and bottom-up efforts to revitalize threatened and nondominant languages (e.g., Fishman, 1991; Hornberger, in press). Third (and related to the second change), a number of scholars (e.g., Auerbach, 1993; Pennycook, 1989, 1995; Tollefson, 1991) have problematized research approaches and analytical frameworks used in applied linguistics research, arguing that research methods and goals may reflect values that tend to justify existing social structures and favor the interests of dominant elites. Pennycook (1989) argues that social science researchers have appropriated positivist (or scientist) orientations from the physical sciences, which seek objective results “through the development of standardized quantitative techniques of analysis” (p. 594). This orientation is seen in some approaches to research in language teaching, acquisition, and use. Such approaches divorce the political nature of teaching and research from what is perceived as the objective, ideologically neutral description and analysis of language issues. (Tollefson, 1991, characterizes this type of research as constituting the neoclassical approach to language planning, a somewhat troubling characterization in that the research he refers to was never intended to address language planning at all. Tollefson therefore seems to be setting up a straw figure as a contrast to the historical-structural approach he advocates; compare Hornberger, 1992; Paulston, 1992.)

An example of a positivist orientation used in LPP, adopted from various social planning fields (e.g., city and government planning, including resource planning), is the rational model. In this framework, multilingualism is often seen as a problem that states have to solve. Reflecting this problem/solution framework, Rubin (1971) defined language planning as the pursuit of “solutions to language problems through decisions about alternative goals, means, and outcomes to solve these problems” (p. 218). The rational model assumes that the nation or government is the sole agent making choices and that it chooses from

available alternatives ranked according to their value or usefulness in achieving specified objectives (Rubin, 1986). The agent commonly evaluates competing language plans within the framework of cost/benefit analysis; maximizing national economic growth while maintaining political stability and control is usually the goal. Thus, the rational model views complex sociocultural phenomena involving language as manageable problems, amenable to study and solution within the parameters of normative science. It has become clear over the past 20 years that the rational model in and of itself is inadequate to account for how policy is developed and why it succeeds or fails.¹

In contrast and largely in reaction to the positivist approach that underlies the rational model and as a reflection of recent postmodernist trends, often lumped together as *critical theory* in the literature, a number of scholars from various academic disciplines and specialties (see Pennycook, 1989, for a representative listing) have proposed theoretical and analytic approaches that take into account broader historical and economic forces influencing, if not determining, social policy, of which LPP is one element. (See Pennycook, 1995, for a critique of the positivist influence in the ELT profession.) Many of these approaches tend to problematize language as a mechanism of social control by dominant elites; they stress that all language policies are ideological, although the ideology may not be apparent or acknowledged by practitioners or theorists. An example of “invisible” ideology in language policy is given by Tollefson (1991):

The policy of requiring everyone to learn a single dominant language is widely seen as a common-sense solution to the communication problems of multilingual societies. The appeal of this assumption is such that monolingualism is seen as a solution to linguistic inequality. If linguistic minorities learn the dominant language, so the argument goes, then they will not suffer economic and social inequality. The assumption is an example of an ideology, which refers to normally unconscious assumptions that come to be seen as common sense . . . such assumptions justify exclusionary policies and sustain inequality. (p. 10)

The dominant critical model in LPP over the past 20 years or so has been the historical-structural approach. According to Tollefson (1991), within this framework “the major goal of policy research is to examine the historical basis of policies and to make explicit the mechanisms by which policy decisions serve or undermine particular political and economic interests” (p. 32). This approach “rejects the neoclassical

¹ Rubin (1986) reviews the criticisms leveled against the rational model as it has been applied to social planning. She concludes by suggesting that although it contains legitimate problems, the model does have a certain value as a heuristic device.

assumption that the rational calculus of individuals is the proper focus of research, and instead seeks the . . . social, political, and economic factors that constrain or impel changes in language structure and language use” (p. 31). The historical-structural approach assumes

1. that all language plans and policies represent and reflect the sociopolitical and economic interests of majoritarian or dominant interests;
2. that these interests are often implicit and are enmeshed in hegemonic ideologies that serve to maintain the socioeconomic interests of ruling elites;
3. that such ideologies are reflected at all levels of society and in all institutions, whether government agencies, planning bodies, legislative or judicial bodies, school boards, or other entities;
4. that individuals are not free to choose the language(s) that they will be educated in or be able to use in specified domains, as all choices are constrained by systems that reinforce and reproduce the existing social order, which of course favor particular languages in particular contexts for particular sociopolitical ends favored by interested parties, usually dominant elites (or counter elites).

Although some have criticized this approach as deterministic, or even circular, leaving little room for human creativity, innovation, or choice (Abu-Lughod, 1975), proponents argue that “the historical-structural approach . . . encourages a broad range of evaluation” (Tollefson, 1991, p. 35). Further, proponents argue that individual and collective resistance to majoritarian domination and exploitation is possible, as ideologies are contestable and there is always the potential for change. Proponents of the historical-structural approach believe language policy should be guided by “a will to respect linguistic diversity and the linguistic human rights of all, at both the individual and the collective levels” (Phillipson & Skutnabb Kangas, this issue).

In addition to Tollefson, other scholars adopting an explicitly critical approach include Cummins (1988), Leibowitz (1969, 1971), Macías (1992), Moore (this issue), Pennycook (1989), Phillipson (1992), Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (this issue), Ricento (1995, in press-b), Skutnabb-Kangas (1988), Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1994), Sonntag (1995), Street (1984), Wiley (in press), and Wiley and Lukes (this issue), among others.

A common characteristic of all analytical and theoretical approaches to LPP thus far is that none offers a model that can predict the consequences of a particular policy or show a clear cause/effect relationship between particular policy types or configurations and observed

(often undesirable, from the perspective of critical theorists) outcomes.² In other words, although some of the critical theory approaches may claim to have greater explanatory power than the rational model approaches, they do not provide falsifiable hypotheses or economic models sufficiently robust to predict behavioral outcomes in any but the most narrowly defined contexts any more than the older ones, based on the rational model, did. However, by locating the LPP enterprise within broader theories of sociology, economics, and culture, critical approaches uncover implicit ideologies (such as state capitalism, with its various forms of cultural and economic imperialism) that provide, at least, richer descriptions of how language functions within broader sociocultural contexts and why particular policies may help to maintain the status quo, with its attendant structural social inequalities (see Wiley & Lukes, this issue, on ideologies underlying LPP in the U.S.).

THE LAYERS OF PLANNING AND POLICY

Within the context of the theoretical and analytical approaches outlined above, and in an effort to more clearly situate the ELT profession and professional in relation to LPP, we present below a schema of agents, levels, and processes of LPP in terms of layers that together make up the LPP whole and that affect and interact with each other to varying degrees. For every layer we include examples intended to show not only how the ELT professional—whether teacher, program developer, materials and textbook writer, administrator, consultant, or academic—is involved at that layer but also how that layer permeates and is permeated by the others.

² Rubin (1986), in critiquing the rational model used in policy analysis in the 1970s, cites the work of Rittel and Weber (1973), who divide planning problems into two types: “tame” problems and “wicked” problems. According to Rittel and Weber, the problems social scientists deal with are of the wicked variety. Wicked problems “have no stopping rule . . . there are no ends to the causal chains that link interacting open systems solutions to wicked problems are not true or false, but good or bad depending on who does the judging” (as cited in Rubin, pp. 109–110). Rubin argues that language problems are somewhat wicked and somewhat tame. For example, she claims that ascertaining the number of native speakers of different languages is a tame problem requiring technical expertise. On the other hand, she cites bilingual education in the U.S. as an example of a wicked problem because it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine the links between poverty (because the targeted population in the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 was persons in families below the national poverty level) and its various possible causes, such as general economic issues, deficiencies in cognitive and academic skills, patterns of migration, and personal problems. In other words, it is difficult to discern whether school performance is related more to language ability, self-image, class image, personality, or to other, more global causes, such as the role of education in society.

Legislation and Political Processes

In terms of LPP processes,³ at the outer layers of the onion are the broad language policy objectives articulated in legislation or high court rulings at the national level, which may then be operationalized in regulations and guidelines; these guidelines are then interpreted and implemented in institutional settings, which are composed of diverse, situated contexts (e.g., schools, businesses, government offices); in each of these contexts, individuals from diverse backgrounds, experiences, and communities interact. At each layer (national, institutional, interpersonal), characteristic patterns of discourse, reflecting goals, values, and institutional or personal identities, obtain. Freeman (this issue) explains that “schools, like other institutions in society, are largely discursively constituted That is, . . . [they] are made up of people who talk and write about who they are and about what they say, do, believe, and value in patterned ways Abstract, underlying institutional discourses are never neutral. They are always structured by ideologies.” Within each layer, competing discourses create tensions and ambiguities in policy formation (for example, in the U.S. one political party, which opposes official English legislation, might control the executive branch of the government while another party, which supports official English legislation, might control the legislative branch, as is currently the case).

As it moves from one layer to the next, the legislation, judicial decree, or policy guideline is interpreted and modified. Legislation at one or another governmental level may not be funded (see Simich-Dudgeon & Boals, this issue); it may even be unenforceable. For example, in 1986 the voters of the state of California enacted Proposition 63, which declared English the official language, by a margin of 73% to 27%. Yet, the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, in a case in which municipal court employees in Huntington Park, California, were sued for speaking Spanish on the job (*Gutierrez v. Municipal Court*, 1988), found the official English statute to be “primarily a symbolic statement” (p. 10) and irrelevant in deciding the case. In another case decided in 1990 (*Yniguez v. Mofford*), Arizona’s official English amendment was found to be in violation of the guarantee of free speech in the U.S. Constitution’s First Amendment by U.S. District Judge Paul Rosenblatt (Draper & Jimenez, 1992). Thus, in the U. S., one branch of the federal government, the judiciary, has often been unwilling to validate official language policy enacted at the state level (see Miner, in press, for discussion of some recent court cases dealing with language issues).

³LPP processes are generally recognized to encompass policy formulation, implementation, and evaluation; see Fishman, 1979; Haugen, 1966; Hornberger, 1990; Karam, 1974; Rubin, 1971.

In other instances, guidelines proposed in one administration may not be enforced by those that follow. This happened in the U.S. with regard to the so-called Lau Remedies, which outlined the responsibilities of school districts to ensure limited or non-English-speaking children had access to the curriculum.⁴ School districts were nine times less likely to be monitored for compliance with the Remedies by the Office of Civil Rights (OCR) under the Reagan administration than under the Ford or Carter administration (Lyons, 1990). During the Reagan administration, 58% of the reviews found districts to be in violation of the provisions of the Lau Remedies, but follow-ups were rare (Crawford, 1986). In fact, given all the potential competing interests, variable discourses, and modifications in policy from layer to layer, it is not surprising that what passes for bilingual education in the U.S. varies enormously (Ricento, in press-b), even though the original enabling federal legislation for bilingual education—the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 and subsequent reauthorizations—is still in force. In some schools, the mere presence of non-English speakers in a classroom with an aide (who may or may not speak the students' native language) is considered bilingual education, whereas in other schools mainstream English-only classrooms with a pull-out ESL component are often labeled bilingual education by principals and other administrators. Such practices no doubt reflect competing ideologies and interests; but beyond this is the issue of accountability (or lack thereof), uneven implementation, and sporadic evaluation of programs to ensure stated policies are actually followed.

Of course, it is not only ELT planning and policy that may be affected by such modifications and reinterpretations across LPP layers and over time. The LPP literature is replete with examples of similar gaps between policy goals and their implementation. In Peru, the 1975 officialization of the Quechua language called for the obligatory teaching of Quechua at all levels of education and to all students across the nation beginning in 1976. This law opened the way for innovative and far-reaching bilingual education initiatives in the highland, Quechua-speaking areas of the country, which continue to have an impact to the present day. On the other hand, there was never any real follow-through on the teaching of Quechua to, for example, monolingual Spanish-speaking students in the capital city, Lima; no provision was made for either funding or

⁴ Following the Supreme Court decision in *Lau v. Nichols* (1974), school districts around the country serving a population composed of more than 5% minority group children and receiving any federal funding were required to provide bilingual education (or some other remedy) for language minority students who needed language assistance. The Office of Civil Rights, an agency of the Department of Education, was charged with ensuring that school districts complied with federal policy.

enforcement of such efforts. Subsequent government administrations further diluted the force of the officialization by modifying the constitution to state that Quechua was only “in official use in the zones and form that the law establishes” (Hornberger, 1988, p. 30).

Politics affects LPP processes at all levels of analysis. For example, a number of studies of the U.S. English-Only movement have used attitudinal and demographic data to determine the relationship between political affiliation or philosophy and support of particular language policies (e.g., Dyste, 1990; Huddy & Sears, 1990; MacKaye, 1990; Zentella, 1990) whereas other studies have offered frameworks from political science theory to account for why particular policies are promoted (e.g., Donahue, 1995; Sonntag, 1995). Crawford (1989, 1992) shows how politics has informed the debate over bilingual education in the U. S., as do Lyons (1990), Cummins (1994a), Secada (1990), and many others. Ricento (1995) describes the role of grass-roots organizations in language policy development during the Americanization Campaign, 1895-1924. Politics is inseparable from any discussion of something so central to human society as language. All the articles and reports in this issue of *TESOL Quarterly* reflect the political dimension to one degree or another.

An issue in current research in LPP is how to analyze political processes in ways that go beyond mere description or speculation. A similar concern arises with regard to assessing the role of ideology—especially as it interacts with political processes—in language policy formulation and implementation (see Barkhuizen & Gough, this issue; Wiley & Lukes, this issue, on ideology as it affects LPP in South Africa and the U. S., respectively). Although many frameworks have been offered for analyzing why certain policies are developed (see, for example, Moore, this issue, and Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, this issue), for elucidating the levels and processes of policy development (see, for example, Barkhuizen & Gough, this issue), and for describing the range of possible policy types and goals (see, for example, Hornberger, 1994, mentioned above), the field of LPP research still lacks sufficient explanatory and predictive analytical tools that can be applied to diverse settings. Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (this issue) call for “comparative language policy analysis . . . that goes beyond consideration of language in a few domains and permits valid comparison of fundamentally different sociopolitical units.”

States and Supranational Agencies

We have argued that LPP processes (and the politics that affects them) interact across layers—national, institutional, interpersonal; the next three sections look more closely at those layers. Much of the extant

literature in LPP concerns the role of states⁵ in the development and implementation of language policy. Area as well as national studies have been conducted on virtually all independent states, protectorates, commonwealths, and other entities. We will not indulge in cataloging them here (although, as a starting point, for area and national studies see Cobarrubias & Fishman, 1983; Fishman, 1993; Fishman, Ferguson, & Das Gupta, 1968; Haugen, 1972; Marshall, 1991; Rubin & Jernudd, 1971; Wolfson & Manes, 1985; see Hornberger, 1988, for an example of an in-depth empirical study in one country, Peru).

In neo-Marxist approaches to the role of education in capitalist societies, “the State is regarded not as an institution but as a relation by means of which the class structure is reproduced” (Carnoy, 1982, as cited in Phillipson, 1992, p. 67). “Education,” according to Carnoy, “serves the State by fulfilling three functions . . . economic-reproductive (a process of qualification for work in the economy), ideological (the inculcation of attitudes and values), and repressive (the imposition of sanctions for not complying with the demands of school)” (as cited in Phillipson, p. 68). According to this view, education serves the sociopolitical and economic interests of the state so that the state can perpetuate and enhance its power. The values and norms of dominant groups within the state are generally not forcibly imposed in capitalist systems; rather, they are transmitted through hegemonic processes, which, though always dominant, are never either total or exclusive (Williams, 1977, as cited in Phillipson).

States have both supported and benefited from the explosion of the ELT profession over the past 25 years. The principal English-dominant powers, the U.S. and Great Britain, together have aggressively promoted the English language and Western culture in all areas of the world. Great Britain has benefited from its colonial legacy in Africa and Asia, and the U.S. has leveraged its economic and geopolitical clout since World War II to gain cultural and economic footholds in areas previously under British control as well as in newly created states in Africa, the Middle East, and Asia. The utility (i.e., economic value) of English in international commerce and in access to technology and development has hastened its spread and the displacement of hundreds of indigenous regional languages, many of which had historically served as regional lingua francas. Of course, the spread of English has led to nativized varieties that are often delinked from colonial progenitors; in some regions, for example, India, English has served as a lingua franca transcending to a significant degree the sociopolitical baggage associ-

⁵ Following Tollefson (1991), the term *state* is distinguished from *government* as “an independent source of power with an interest in retaining and expanding its dominance” (p. 10). Here we use *state* interchangeably with *nation*.

ated with British colonial domination. In other cases, such as in Kenya, English has continued to serve as “the vehicle and the magic formula to colonial elitedom” (Ngugi, 1985, as cited in Phillipson, 1992, p. 115).

Clearly, the ELT profession has benefited economically from the apparently unstoppable spread (some consider it an invasion) of English worldwide.⁶ Again, one need not accept all the premises and conclusions of neo-Marxist frameworks to agree that the growing importance of English throughout the world has had particular, often negative, consequences for other—especially smaller—languages. Multinational corporations often adopt English as the lingua franca of the workplace; international organizations, such as the United Nations (UN), rely on English to a disproportionate degree given the number of countries in the General Assembly in which English is the national language (see Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, this issue).

To what degree do states actively engage in LPP development? States may have global, abstract, or symbolic aims with regard to language policy. It is unusual for high-level state actors to be directly involved in language policy.⁷ Case studies (see, for example, Simich-Dudgeon & Boals, this issue) have shown, however, that what the various branches of federal governments do in terms of policy pronouncements, guidelines, legislation, and high court rulings always has an impact on policy development at provincial, state, and local governmental levels. Kaplan (1990) argues that language planning has often been relegated to the educational structures of government, which tend “to exclude some languages from consideration, to minimize the effectiveness of language dissemination by underfunding language teaching operations, and to support the notion of the identity between the nation and some single language” (p. 5). Although Kaplan (1990) and Phillipson (1992) come at the issues from different directions, the results they describe are the same: The survival and spread of one language is supported (by the state) to the detriment, even death, of another language.

States have the resources to engage in language planning that are not available in other sectors of society as well as the ability to operationalize language policies through legislation, executive orders, and so on. However, with few exceptions, states are most likely to engage in planning and policy activities in those areas (for example, education)

⁶ An estimated 315 million speak English as a native language, and as many as 1.5 billion speak it as a second or foreign language. No language in recorded history has been spoken by more people in both relative and absolute numbers (Crystal, 1985, cited in Phillipson, 1992).

⁷ There are many notable exceptions, however. For example, responding to decades of policy that failed to make Puerto Rico a bilingual society, President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1937 intervened directly in the education policy of Puerto Rico, the only time a U.S. president has involved himself directly in Puerto Rico’s language affairs, according to Resnick (1993) (see Pousada, this issue).

where their interests seem clearly apparent and where structures already exist to disseminate policy (e.g., state boards of education, commissioners of education). When necessary to preserve power (or to counter perceived threats to that power), states use more overtly repressive tactics to neutralize “state enemies” or economic competitors (e.g., the repression of Kurdish in Turkey, discussed in Skutnabb-Kangas & Bucak, 1994; and of Catalan in Spain, discussed in Woolard, 1985). Most states (most of the time) tend to become involved in language matters when they are intertwined with political issues (e.g., the development of the Lau Remedies by the OCR in response to the *Lau v Nichols*, 1974; Supreme Court ruling; also see Pousada, this issue, on the influence of the U.S. Americanization plan and of Puerto Rico’s own party politics on the status of English in the education system of Puerto Rico) but otherwise show little sustained interest in or commitment to language issues per se.

Suprastatal agencies involved in language policy issues have a formidable challenge: They must seek consensus among nations that may have fought wars with one another and may have little or no desire to give up national identity markers, such as language, in accepting another nation’s language as an official language. For the 15 member states of the European Union, “explicit language policy formulations are relatively rare, which does not mean that there is no language policy” (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, this issue). In addition, states that ratify international laws and various human rights charters and covenants are supposed to implement the policies stipulated in these documents in their national law (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1994). An example of a supranational policy statement is the Council of Europe’s proposed *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* (1988), significant because it “assumes a multilingual context and expressly states that support for minority languages in no way represents a threat to official languages” (Phillipson, 1992, p. 95). Within the UN, the *Draft Universal Declaration on Indigenous Rights* (as cited in Phillipson, 1992) establishes as fundamental human rights that indigenous peoples have

the right to develop and promote their own languages, including a literary language, and to use them, for administrative, judicial, cultural, and other purposes. The right to all forms of education, including in particular the right of children to have access to education in their own languages, and to establish, structure, conduct, and control their own educational systems and institutions. (p. 96)

The wide-ranging implications of such declarations for the ELT profession have been taken up by Phillipson (1992) and others (see Ricento, 1994, for discussion and additional references).

To summarize, the state plays a very important—although sometimes indirect—role, whether one adopts a neo-Marxist perspective or a liberal

view, in deciding which language(s) will receive support (usually through the education system), which will be repressed, and (often) which language (s) will be ignored. Because states (through their legislatures or proxies) have the power to levy taxes,⁸ regulate commerce, protect the national interest, and in countless ways regulate behavior through laws, edicts, executive orders, and so on, their role in LPP development should not be underestimated. National political leaders can sometimes do more to affect attitudes by supporting one or another language or policy than dozens of scholarly books or articles can. However, as recent events in eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, and countries in Asia and Africa show, states can dissolve and governments can change with astonishing speed. Even within stable polities, power relations among competing elites (and counter elites) are continually being negotiated, often resulting in major realignments in relatively short periods and with implications for changes in language policies (see Ricento, in press-b; Sonntag, 1995).

Institutions

By institutions, we mean relatively permanent socially constituted systems by which and through which individuals and communities gain identity, transmit cultural values, and attend to primary social needs. Examples are schools, organized religion, the media, civic and other private and publicly subsidized organizations (e.g., libraries, musical organizations), and the business community.

Because language is involved, in one way or another, in virtually all human activities, planning language is not much different from planning society. In this sense, all institutions are implicated when states or institutions within states make language planning decisions. As Kaplan (1990) notes, institutions other than government often have a large impact on language policy development. Kaplan cites the work of Masagara (n.d.) on the role played by missionaries in East Africa, in which he argues that the missionaries “interacted with the population to understand their needs and behaviors They de-constructed the existing environment by providing attractive alternatives to existing practices and beliefs . . . [and] third, they set in motion a dialectic process designed to adjust the new model to the evolving situation” (as

⁸ Bilingualism is not without costs. For example, according to one researcher (Esman, 1985, as cited in Coulmas, 1992), the cost of official bilingualism in Canada was 1 % of the federal budget in fiscal 1978–1979, or about C\$503 million. The LINGUA Program, designed to promote the study of foreign languages in the European Community, was funded at a level of 200 million ECU in 1990 (Coulmas, 1992). Federal appropriations for bilingual education approved by the U.S. Congress under Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act for fiscal 1993 were nearly \$200 million (Ricento, in press-a).

cited in Kaplan, p. 10). Governments, Kaplan notes, are rarely this systematic in their planning and implementation processes, which explains in part why governmental attempts to plan and implement policies, especially those involving status issues, have mixed results and often unintended consequences (see Tarnopolsky's brief report, this issue, on how commercial ELT programs in the Ukraine are effectively implementing the government's policy goals with respect to increased EFL learning more than state-controlled schools are; see also McGuire's brief report, this issue, which contrasts the driving forces for English LPP in Central America's public and private schools as *command* and *demand*, respectively).

Institutions other than religious ones, such as book and magazine publishers, broadcast media, and schools and universities, also play important roles as policymakers, arbiters, watchdogs, opinion leaders, gatekeepers, and most usually reproducers of the existing social reality. One need not subscribe to theories of cultural and linguistic hegemony to believe that attitudes toward languages and their speakers are deeply embedded in institutional structures and practices. The preeminent status of English in the U. S., Canada, England, New Zealand, and Australia, for example, is apparent because it is embedded in every aspect of virtually every important public—and private—institution, whether or not English is designated the national language.

Attempts by governments to change language policies—especially those with long histories—in any institutional domain without the consent of the affected parties or without broad-based input will always be problematic, especially in democratic societies (see, e.g., Eggington, 1994; Moore, this issue, for a critique of Australia's national language policies). The fact that societies unquestioningly embrace covert policies and practices but often ignore or resist explicit ones—even if well intentioned and carefully implemented—can be explained in a number of ways. Ricento (in press-b), in a discussion of national language policy in the U. S., argues that “language policies evolve out of more general social policies, which reflect . . . ‘deep’ values [that] represent an accretion of national experiences, influenced by certain intellectual traditions, which together create underlying . . . frameworks within which policies evolve and are evaluated.” For example, bilingual education has often been opposed in the U.S. because, among other reasons, Americans have been socialized to believe that the unity and cultural integrity of the U.S. cannot abide cultural, including linguistic, pluralism. The precise details of that socialization process are complex and span decades of lived experience. Consequently, unless and until social attitudes change—an equally long and complex process—resistance to bilingual education will continue regardless of official national policy or research demonstrating its effectiveness in educating language minority

and majority children (see Cummins, 1994a, for additional explanations of why bilingual education is opposed in the U.S.). In a similar vein, Schiffman (1996) refers to the powerful role played by “linguistic culture” (p. 246) in the development of covert policy in any polity.

In short, language policy must be evaluated not only by official policy statements or laws on the books but by language behavior and attitudes in situated, especially institutional, contexts.

Classroom Practitioners

We place the classroom practitioner at the heart of language policy (at the center of the onion). In the ELT literature, the practitioner is often an afterthought who implements what “experts” in the government, board of education, or central school administration have already decided. The practitioner often needs to be “educated,” “studied,” “cajoled,” “tolerated,” even “replaced” by better prepared (even more pliant) teachers. In contrast, we claim that educational and social change and institutional transformation, especially in decentralized societies, often begin with the grass roots (see Burns’s brief report, this issue, on teachers as implementers and evaluators of curriculum change in English language education for migrants in Australia).

In countries with highly centralized state structures, as well as in countries with decentralized structures, several layers of intermediate actors (e.g., state boards of education, commissioners of education, program directors) may lie between the persons or bodies who promulgate and disseminate broad policy guidelines and those who actually implement a particular policy, for example, classroom teachers. Usually, policies change as they move down through administrative levels, either explicitly in new written documents or through interpretation of existing documents. Only the most authoritarian political structures leave little room for variation in the implementation of official language policy. Even in countries with decentralized political systems, however, teachers are often socialized to see themselves as simply carrying out policies that others have articulated. In fact, as Auerbach (1993) points out, teachers may implement policies (e.g., English only in the ESL classroom) that reflect broader social attitudes and not specific school policies without realizing it. They do so in many ways and on many levels; for example, teachers may internalize normative social attitudes toward speakers of nonofficial languages or nonstandard varieties of official languages, or they may believe that bilingual education programs disadvantage language minority students. Further, the discourse of schools, communities, and states helps reinforce unstated beliefs so that teachers come to believe not only that what they are doing reflects explicit policies but that the policies are generally in the best interest of students.

In contradistinction to the notion that the teacher is an unwitting reproducer of social reality, a number of researchers have described how teachers can transform classrooms, thereby promoting institutional change that can lead to political and, ultimately, broader social change. These researchers view teachers as primary language policymakers (see Freeman, this issue, on how teachers at one bilingual school implement a language policy that represents an alternative to mainstream societal discourse with respect to language minority participation in education). One way teachers can make policy is by becoming researchers in partnership with their students as a means of “mak[ing] changes in participants’ lives, either inside or outside a classroom” (Auerbach, 1994, p. 695). Auerbach advocates participatory action research, begun as a method for community development work, as appropriate in ESL classrooms in part because “it explicitly attempts to break down barriers between research, curriculum development, teaching, learning, and evaluation As such, [this] research is integral to the educational process itself” (p. 696). In this regard, in support of and in collaboration with students and their communities, teachers become catalysts for policymaking, thereby breaking from the traditional approach to research, “in which experts in universities collect data about other persons’ behavior, analyze that information and then tell people about themselves” (Fingeret, 1991, cited in Auerbach, p. 694). Research in which participants study themselves helps break down the researcher-versus-practitioner dichotomy, enabling teachers and students to articulate research agendas that are more likely to have an impact on their lives. If an important goal of language policy is to bring about social change, as Cooper (1989) and others have stated, then this approach has the potential to develop and implement language policies in several areas (e.g., curriculum, teaching techniques, approaches to program design, evaluation, certification of teachers, placement decisions).

Another example from the literature on critical pedagogy comes from Darder (1991), who, in describing the connections among cultural ideology, power, and pedagogy, argues that “teachers must understand the role schooling plays in uniting knowledge and power, and how this dynamic relates to the development of critically thinking and socially active individuals” (p. 77). Darder’s goal is to “develop a new language by which bicultural educators may gain the perspective to evaluate their current practices with bicultural students and to formulate new directions in the interest of linking education with a pedagogy of differences” (p. xv). Her work, heavily influenced by the work of Foucault (1977), Freire (1970, 1978, 1985), Freire and Macedo (1987), Giroux (1981, 1983, 1988), and Gramsci (1971), among others, is essentially a critique of contemporary education practices in the U.S. “In many schools [in the U. S.] bicultural students are not only discouraged but actively prevented

from speaking their native languages (e.g. Spanish, Japanese, Chinese, Ebonics, etc.)” (Darder, pp. 36–37). This is due to “hegemonic forces of class oppression and cultural invasion [that] strongly converge in the dynamics of language domination” (p. 37). Educators often justify English-only policies because they believe the use of the native language in schools will interfere with students’ intellectual and emotional development (Ramirez & Castaneda, 1974, as cited in Darder). The remedy, according to Darder, is to promote policies that will create the conditions for cultural democracy, which presupposes a “political commitment to a liberator vision” (p. 127). In the last chapter of her book, Darder describes the graduate Bicultural Development Program at Pacific Oaks College in California as a model of critical and liberator education. Students in this program take courses such as Racism and Human Development, Theory of Cultural Democracy, Implications of Parenting Bicultural Children, and Freire’s Model and Its Implications for Bicultural Educators. This institutional response to what is perceived as an undemocratic, indeed oppressive, educational system in the U.S. aims to give teachers a set of tools to work with in the classroom that is different from what more traditional programs provide. Teacher education, then, can be one avenue for introducing changes in the classroom that can indirectly affect processes of societal change, including those that affect language behavior.

Of course, what sort of teacher education is deemed appropriate depends on how program developers (i.e., government bureaucrats, professors) view social reality, the goals of the ELT profession, and their own role as educators. Obviously, the program Darder (1991) describes would be viewed with hostility in many contexts within many polities because it threatens the social order or because it seems unobjective or too political. Such a view, though, makes the point: A “neutral” curriculum is simply one in which the politics⁹ are subterranean.

CONCLUSION

We suggest that LPP is a multilayered construct, wherein essential LPP components—agents, levels, and processes of LPP—permeate and interact with each other in multiple and complex ways as they enact various types, approaches, and goals of LPP. We have hinted at the roles played by ideology, culture, and ethnicity. However, all three thoroughly infuse

⁹ *Political* here does not refer to sectarian ideologies, such as liberal or conservative; rather, as Pennycook (1989) notes, all relations within a society are political in that they involve notions of power between and within groups, often reflecting and reinforcing differences based on race, class, and gender.

the LPP layers, goals, approaches, and types we have sketched. We suggest that, because human society is constituted of, by, and through language, all acts and actions mediated by language are opportunities for the implicit (or explicit) expression of language policies (i.e., opportunities for language planning, macro and micro, overt and covert, intended and unintended). An example of an explicit expression of language policy is a memorandum written by the manager of the styling room in a J. C. Penney store in San Antonio, Texas, dated October 8, 1995, reproduced in its entirety here:

Sunday Associates—if you are having lunch in the meeting room you *must* sign out for lunch. If you don't your luncheon will have to stop. ALSO this is AMERICA* We only speak ENGLISH* in our salon. NO SPANISH. Thx Jane
*only exception is if client does not speak English.

An example of an implicit policy is the use of English at professional meetings of TESOL affiliates in non-English-dominant countries, such as Japan. Although no official policy states that Japanese cannot be used in affiliate meetings, in practice the disproportionately high number of native English-speaking officers in the Japanese Association of Language Teachers (JALT) dictates that English will be used, even though 95% of the nonnative speakers of English who are JALT members are native speakers of Japanese (Oda, 1995). English-only policies that lead to a disproportionate percentage of native English speakers in leadership positions in the organization effectively discriminate against native Japanese speakers with limited English proficiency who may be interested in attending JALT conferences and benefiting from what the organization has to offer.¹⁰

Whenever communication occurs and individuals make decisions about the language variety they will speak, the form of address they will use, the posture or facial expression they will adopt, the content of their speech, their body language, and so on, the individuals express, work out, contest, interpret, and at some level analyze language policies (on this point, see Jernudd, 1991; Jernudd & Neustupny, 1991; see also Kuo & Jernudd, 1993, on the microlevel of language planning or language management at the level of individual discourse). ELT professionals are not different from anyone else in this regard. They are policy transmitters and can become policymakers if they so desire. Auerbach (1994, 1995) and Darder (1991) describe options available to teachers and teacher educators who are interested in promoting particular social agendas through education.

¹⁰ According to Oda (1995), in 1993, of 37 local chapter heads, each of whom has a vote at the national executive committee meetings, 28 were native speakers of English.

The most fundamental concerns of ESL/EFL teachers—that is, what will I teach? how will I teach? and why do I teach?—are all language policy issues. Auerbach (1995) argues that “the day-to-day decisions that practitioners make inside the classroom both shape and are shaped by the social order outside the classroom” (p. 9). In many settings, curricular guidelines are handed down to teachers, often with hidden agendas. In the case of adult ESL programs in the U. S., for example, the underlying assumption of curricula is that “learners should assimilate into preexisting structures and practices without questioning the power relations inherent in them” (p. 14). Rather than accept this broad goal, ESL teachers may, for example, opt for a participatory approach that centers on students’ rather than society’s needs. Although the topics in both externally driven and participatory approaches may be similar, the ways they are implemented in the classroom differ. Auerbach suggests three ways in which participatory approaches differ from externally driven ones: (a) Content draws from and validates what students already know and bring to learning rather than focusing on what they do not know, (b) content is presented descriptively rather than prescriptively, focusing on learners’ lived experience instead of on idealized projections of that experience; and (c) content is problematized (e.g., housing issues may be framed in terms of shortages or tenants’ rights rather than simply in terms of learning how to read advertisements for apartments in the classified section of the newspaper). This approach puts a heavy burden on practitioners who are already overworked and underpaid. Auerbach suggests that, to improve their situation, adult ESL teachers should apply to their own situation the same participatory approach recommended for curricular and materials development—critical awareness of power and social relations and collective action for change. In the meantime, teachers have daily opportunities to make small changes in their practices, from the topics they choose for discussion, to how they structure the classroom, to the interest they demonstrate in students’ problems. Teachers send implicit messages in other ways, too. As individuals, members of communities, and citizens of a country, ESL/EFL practitioners serve as role models, informants, and advisors on a daily basis. They may reinforce dominant cultural values (to one degree or another), or they may question and even oppose those values, thereby modeling possible alternative views of social reality often unavailable to students struggling to survive in a new culture or acquiring English for instrumental purposes.

At the microscopic level of the ELT classroom or teacher-student interaction, a relevant frame of reference is Vygotsky’s (1978) zone of proximal development as the site not only in which language is acquired but also where macroscopic language policies are instantiated daily (see Cummins, 1994b, for elaboration on this point). This language learning

site is both the place where learners acquire or do not acquire language and a place where external politics has influenced which language and which variety of that language learners will acquire, who will acquire it, and what the function of that variety will be in the learners' future life. Traditional approaches to language policy development see these issues as already decided before the ELT professional enters the classroom. This need not be the case, as a number of researchers have argued. Teachers, administrators, professors, and program developers can introduce change in their individual practices and through collective action in their institutions, communities, and professional organizations (for example, Daoud's brief report, this issue, places both the weight and the hope for improved ELT in Tunisia on the continuing development of ELT professionals through their professional associations). If we as ELT professionals defer at each level to others whose views we find antithetical to our missions as educators and citizens, we ratify existing policies through our silence. One way or another, all ELT professionals play a role in reaffirming or opposing language policies that affect not only our students' future lives but the lives of our communities and nations as well.

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Call for Abstracts

Research and Practice in English Language Teacher Education

The *TESOL Quarterly* announces a special-topic issue on Research and Practice in English Language Teacher Education to appear in 1998. The issue will feature research articles, grounded descriptions of best practices, and analytical commentaries that address current research and practice in English language teacher education. We are seeking contributions from English language teacher education contexts and geographical regions around the world. We encourage submissions in the following categories:

1. Research in ESOL Teacher Education

Qualitative and quantitative research on (a) teacher learning and professional development; (b) the role of teacher preparation programs (both pre- and in-service) in (a) above; and (c) the development of teachers' knowledge and beliefs in relation to their classroom practices.

2. Accounts of Best Practices

Grounded descriptions of pioneering teacher education programs or sustained activities that target (a) the creation of professional communities through pre-service and in-service interventions; (b) the processes of teacher socialization in classrooms, schools, and the wider professional community; and (c) the development of teachers as researchers and curriculum developers.

3. Conceptual Analyses

Analytical commentaries that address (a) the knowledge-base of English language teacher education; (b) systemic issues of teacher change and learning in schools; (c) the complex developmental processes of teacher learning; and (d) the assessment of teachers in both pre- and in-service contexts.

We are also seeking reviews and short notices of current books and materials used in English language teacher education programs. Brief Reports and Summaries on research projects and programs that reflect the submission categories above are also welcome.

At present, we are soliciting three- to five-page abstracts for submission categories 1-3 above. Please send three copies of the abstract (double-spaced) with the category of submission clearly indicated (Research, Best Practices, Conceptual Analyses) accompanied by a biographical statement (maximum 50 words), a full mailing address, daytime/evening fax and telephone numbers, and e-mail (if available). Abstracts should be mailed to the address below and should be received no later than:

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English Only Worldwide or Language Ecology?

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The multilingualisms of the United Nations, the European Union, and postcommunist Europe are very different phenomena. English plays a key role in each and is being actively promoted. The language map of Europe and linguistic hierarchies are evolving and are in need of scrutiny so that research and policy in Europe can benefit from insights that come from theoretically informed study of language planning, policy, and legislation. Overall there seem to be two language policy options, a *diffusion-of-English paradigm* and an *ecology-of-language paradigm*. The first is characterized by triumphant capitalism, its science and technology, and a monolingual view of modernization and internationalization. The ecology-of-language paradigm involves building on linguistic diversity worldwide, promoting multilingualism and foreign language learning, and granting linguistic human rights to speakers of all languages. This article explores the assumptions of both paradigms and urges English language teaching professionals to support the latter.

We shall set the scene for this study of language policy in the making and triumphalist English (on the make?) with some brief examples that demonstrate the salience of language policy issues in the contemporary world. We shall then relate language policy as a scientific concern to two ways of conceptualizing global tendencies, one endorsing the continued spread of English, the other representing an alternative to it.

In “international” activities there is a pecking order of languages, with English having much the sharpest beak, for a variety of reasons—political, economic, and cultural. Eighteen states warned in a letter to the secretary general of the United Nations (UN) (*The Guardian*, 1995) against accepting a virtually monolingual UN, meaning the use of English as the dominant language of UN bodies. They demanded that the 50th Annual Session of the General Assembly in September 1995 place on its agenda the issue of multilingualism. However, in this context, *multilingualism* means equal rights only for the six official languages of the UN (Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish) and interpretation and translation between them. The countries

behind the UN complaint were in fact mainly the “francophone” countries, which presumably wish French to be as widely used as English.¹ Languages other than the six have no rights, which puts their speakers at a disadvantage, as an interpreter from within the UN system has documented (Piron, 1994). Similarly the dominance of English is regarded as fundamentally unjust in Japan-U.S. relations. An eminent Japanese journalist is quoted as stating that

Americans take it for granted that foreigners should speak English. That is linguistic imperialism and Americans should give up that idea. I believe Americans respect fairness, but as far as language is concerned, they are not fair. For example, the U.S. Ambassador has never held a press conference in Japanese. (Tsuda, 1994, p. 59)

The European Union (EU) ascribes a central role to language learning in promoting European integration and intercultural understanding among the citizens of its 15 member states. In 1995 the French government failed to persuade its EU partners to adopt a Languages Pact that would have committed governments to the principle of all European schoolchildren learning two foreign languages and to a diversification of the languages learned.² Recent years have seen an intensification of contacts at many levels between EU member countries and major programmes designed to promote foreign language learning and student and teacher mobility. However, in the supranational institutions of the EU, the European Parliament in Strasbourg and the European Commission, which is the EU'S administrative headquarters in Brussels, the term *multilingual principle* refers to the formal equality of 11 languages as official and working languages. These are Danish, Dutch, English, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, and Swedish. Other languages have no rights, even if they have many speakers, for example, Catalan, spoken by more than 6 million people, more than speak Danish or Finnish. The multilingual principle also ignores the fact that in practice some languages are more equal than others, in particular French and English. Native speakers of languages other than the dominant ones are at a disadvantage, as the German government has pointed out to the EU on several occasions (Volz, 1994). Likewise, German scholars have complained that the obligation to publish or address conferences in English puts them at an unfair

¹ In addition to “French-speaking” states, the signatory countries were Portugal, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Greece, Egypt, and Romania.

² Details of the French proposals are described in several pronouncements by government ministers in 1994 and 1995 and in several publications of the Haut Conseil de la Francophonie (e.g., 1994). Many European children already encounter two foreign languages in their schooling, and some learn three or four, but the picture varies in each country, as does whether first or second foreign language learning is obligatory (see Eurydice, 1992).

disadvantage (Ammon, 1989). How contemporary Europe will work through the hierarchies of language—among official, international, indigenous, and minority languages (“national” and immigrated)—in the coming years is an open question.

In postcommunist states, English is being vigorously promoted as the royal road to democracy, a market economy, and human rights.³ The British foreign minister has proclaimed that English should become the first foreign language throughout Europe, the lingua franca of the changed economic and political circumstances. The claims of competing dominant languages, particularly French, are pressed with equivalent rhetoric and substantial resources. German is traditionally a widespread lingua franca in eastern and central Europe and is still widely used in cross-border regional collaboration (Gellert-Novak, 1994) and learned in schools (e.g., in Hungary; Radnai, 1994). In the wake of the rejection of an ideology (communism) and a language (Russian), postcommunist countries need to make major language policy decisions on what role particular languages can play in the evolution of more democratic societies and on whether and how to redeem some of the promises and expectations, material and spiritual, that are associated with languages that represent success, English in particular.

That the promotion of English is not a purely altruistic matter of assisting former victims of communism towards democracy and human rights can be seen in the thrust of the English 2000 project, launched by Prince Charles for the British Council in early 1995. The press pack associated with this media event (which the noble Prince sidetracked by a gratuitous attack on the corruptions of American English; see *The Times*, March 24, 1995) declares that the aims of English 2000 are “to exploit the position of English to further British interests” as one aspect of maintaining and expanding the “role of English as the world language into the next century” (British Council, 1995, n.p.). The project description evinces a fundamental ambivalence about whose interests are served by an increased use of English: “The English language is in the full sense international: it is divesting itself of its political and cultural connotations. Speaking English makes people open to Britain’s cultural achievements, social values and business aims” (n.p.).

The unclear contours of the evolving European language map have attracted some attention from scholars (Ammon, 1994, the *International Yearbook of European Sociolinguistics*, which requires reading competence in English, French, and German; Baetens Beardsmore, 1994). A Canadian sociolinguist has written a monograph on EU language policy and

³“The [British] Council responded with speed and imagination to the truly enormous demand in the former communist states of Europe for what Britain signifies to them: liberal democracy, the free market and, above all, the English language” (British Council, 1992, p. 2).

the ways EU institutions manage their multilingualism (Labrie, 1993). Fishman has impressionistically pinpointed some of the dimensions (1994a) and provisionally concludes that “English can and will continue to be a mighty force in Europe even without becoming a dominant or domineering one” (Fishman, 1994b, p. 71). Others are less cautious and, after a cursory inspection and without careful clarification of concepts, adopt a triumphalist stance:

It is, in my view, likely that English will become the primary language of the citizens of the EC. Whether or not it is ever officially declared as such, it will be even more widely used as a vehicle for intra-European communication across all social groups. (Berns, 1995, p. 9)

PRINCIPLES OF LANGUAGE POLICY

The contours of language policy as a scientifically explicit and theoretically based concern need to be delineated more thoroughly and clearly. This is particularly important if scholars are to contribute to the clarification, let alone the solution, of salient language policy problems, national and international. Hierarchies of language substantially influence social reproduction and intercultural communication in a world characterized by the contradictory pressures of vigorous ethnolinguistic identities and strong global homogenizing tendencies. It is important therefore to assess how language policy is formulated and what role language professionals play in the linguistic market place.

Many types of language policy issues are in evidence. Familiar issues in education relate to how best to organize schooling leading to high levels of bi- or multilingualism, for both minority and dominant groups.⁴ Also prominent is the learning of international foreign languages when it is seen as being in the national interest, often primarily for economic reasons. Language policy issues also arise in broader sociopolitical domains—the maintenance of indigenous cultures, the promotion of language rights, and the choice of national and official languages in contemporary states, the de facto multilingualism of which is increasingly recognized. Language policy is therefore a barometer of identities at the subnational, national, and supranational levels and of how education systems and society at large encourage or subdue languages and identities.

Language policy issues are invariably entangled with nonlinguistic matters, ranging from military collaboration or peacekeeping (e.g., the

⁴See the contributions to Skutnabb-Kangas (1995)

UN or the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Bosnia, Somalia, or the Middle East) through commercial transactions (much trade being translational) to the media (in which the massive flow of products from California worldwide contrasts with a mere trickle in the reverse direction). Virtually all these relations—economic, cultural, and linguistic—lack symmetry. A further characteristic is interlocking national and international pressures and influences.

Bargaining in the linguistic marketplace is also likely to be asymmetrical: The case for dominant languages is put constantly and reinforced in myriad ways, most of them covert hegemonic processes, whereas alternatives to the current linguistic hierarchies are seldom considered and tend to be regarded as counterintuitive and in conflict with a commonsensical, “natural” order of things.

Language professionals must consider how to promote a better understanding of language policy issues among politicians and bureaucrats. In very few countries have political and academic interests coalesced as they did in Australia over a period of years leading up to the National Policy on Languages (Lo Bianco, 1987, 1990) or as in the more limited fusion of interests in the business, political, and academic worlds in the Netherlands, leading to the Dutch National Action Programme on Foreign Languages (van Els, 1992). Language policy tends to be made piecemeal and ad hoc. In the foreword to a recent volume of papers on language education in the national curriculum in Great Britain, Stubbs (1995) states that it lacks a coherent language policy: “Indeed, it is doubtful if the Ministers involved could make much sense of the concept of ‘language policy’” (p. ix). This is so, despite a flurry of official reports (26 are listed for the period 1975-1993; see Brumfit, 1995, pp. xiii-xvi, on various aspects of English learning, foreign language learning, language awareness, drama, and other subjects in the British national curriculum).

In addition to such domestic policy work, the authorities in all 15 member states of the EU are involved in a great deal of supranational activity, for which language is not only the medium but also a central concern (what will be the official and working languages in supranational institutions, and in what languages will authorities communicate with citizens?). Since the Maastricht treaty of 1993, culture and education have figured more prominently in the European integration process, along with economic and political links and collaboration in atomic energy. In the EU, explicit language policy formulations are relatively rare, which does not mean that there is no language policy. On the contrary, there are competing policies at the national and supranational levels. Even within official rhetoric, there is an inconsistency between cultural and economic homogenization and unification, on the one hand, and a declared principle of respect for the distinctive cultural and

linguistic heritage of the diverse member states, on the other. Both dimensions are regarded as central to European identity.

Exploring language policy issues is challenging both because of the sociolinguistic diversity in each context and the intermeshing of language policy with broader social structures and goals and because of the prevalence of fuzzy concepts and strategies. Comparative language policy analysis requires a conceptual framework that goes beyond the consideration of language in a few domains and permits valid comparison of fundamentally different sociopolitical units. It seems to us that this is precisely the challenge of language policy as an explicit concern. Language policy and language dominance have been well documented and described, but our impression is that relatively little effort has gone into clarifying how to approach language policy in a more rigorous, interdisciplinary way, although significant approaches exist within political science, the sociology of language, and economics and language.⁵ In applied linguistics the contours of a more systematic approach to language policy are becoming visible.⁶ We shall briefly summarize what we regard as some central concepts.

Language Policy

Language policy is a broad, overarching term for decisions on rights and access to languages and on the roles and functions of particular languages and varieties of language in a given polity. Such policies, and the decisions that underpin them, may be more or less overt or covert. Not providing for the implementation of a policy is mere *posturing*, L. Khubchandani's term for much language policy in India (personal communication, November 2, 1994). Davis (1994) distinguishes among language policy intent, implementation, and experience.

Language policy is concerned with language matters at the collective level, whether statal, suprastatal, or substatal. Most human rights law on language rights is formulated in terms of the rights of individuals, but collective and individual rights effectively presuppose each other.

Language policy is a superordinate category within which fall operational concerns such as language planning and, as one form of normative regulation, language legislation. Both of these exemplify the more

⁵ Several political science approaches are presented in Weinstein (1990) and in Eastman (1993). A substantial literature on the politics of language in particular countries includes, for example, McRae (1983, 1986) on Switzerland and Belgium. Much of Fishman's work in the sociology of language is relevant and inspiring (e.g., Fishman, 1991). On economics and language, see Grin (1994, 1996) and Vaillancourt (1995).

⁶ See, for instance, Grabe (1994a), but few of the papers are theoretically explicit and the volume is of uneven quality.

centralistic, government-induced or government-controlled aspects of language policy. On the other hand, language policies in such domains as business, tourism, the mass media, and entertainment (each of which may be statal, suprastatal, or substatal) are at least partially government-external and may be overt or, as is more often the case, covert.

Language Planning and Legislation

Language planning conventionally consists of corpus, status, and acquisition planning.⁷ Language planning is necessary in a multidialectal and multilingual world and reflects political and economic choices and the value judgments of the planners.

Language legislation is the regulations at state and substate level that specify the implementation of language policy. The EU has suprastatal rules for the choice and functioning of official languages; for working languages; for language requirements in employment and for language use in commercial transactions, products, and the media (Labrie, 1993). Principles in international law regulating language policy and enshrined in UN human rights charters and covenants that states have ratified are supposed to be implemented in the domestic law of states that ratify such documents (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1994b). In state education it is governments that choose a language as the medium of instruction, sometimes delegating this choice to a regional authority.

Language policy is guided by overall policy concerns such as appropriate educational policy or the facilitation of democratic citizenship. Ideally it is guided by a will to respect linguistic diversity and the linguistic human rights of all, at both the individual and the collective levels. The formulation and implementation of policies that respect linguistic human rights (see Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1994a) presuppose a recognition of the reality of linguistic hierarchies and the need to mitigate them. Thus addressing the reality of the power relations between users of different languages is a necessary prerequisite for language policy to go beyond posturing.

The focus in language policy studies on the collective level implies a concern with social structure and power. This is the framework within which individuals, families, groups, or peoples operate and can attempt to maximize language maintenance (intergenerational continuity being of decisive importance; Fishman, 1991) and language learning at the individual and group levels.

⁷The cutting edge of language planning is often in journals (see, e.g., Hornberger, 1994) or conference papers (e.g., Baldauf & Luke, 1990; Lambert, 1994; Sajavaara, Lambert, Takala, & Morfit, 1993). On acquisition planning see Cooper (1989).

TWO LANGUAGE POLICY PARADIGMS

A useful way of situating the infectious spread of English within a wider language policy framework and alternative perceptions of what is at stake is offered by the Japanese communication scholar, Tsuda (1994), who posits two global, contemporary language policy options, a *diffusion-of-English paradigm* and an *ecology-of-language paradigm*. Tsuda sees the paradigms as characterized by the following (our lettering and numbering):

Diffusion-of-English Paradigm

- A. capitalism
- B. science and technology
- C. modernization
- D. monolingualism
- E. ideological globalization and internationalization
- F. transnationalization
- G. Americanization and homogenization of world culture
- H. linguistic, cultural, and media imperialism

Ecology-of-Language Paradigm

- 1. a human rights perspective
- 2. equality in communication
- 3. multilingualism
- 4. maintenance of languages and cultures
- 5. protection of national sovereignties
- 6. promotion of foreign language education

The two paradigms can be regarded as endpoints on a continuum. Language policy initiatives can thus be seen as attempts to shift the political or educational ground toward one end (e.g., the English-Only movement in the U.S. and English as the sole European lingua franca fall at the diffusion-of-English end) or the other (e.g., the multilingual principle in the EU and minority language rights fall at the ecology-of-language end). The characteristics listed are not binary oppositions, in which the presence of one excludes a corresponding feature in the other, but rather a bundle of features and tendencies that are manifest in the structures and processes supporting either the diffusion and domination of English or the ecology of language. We shall look at each paradigm in turn and briefly consider some implications for the TESOL profession.

The Diffusion-of-English Paradigm

English is a more triumphant language than its rivals in the contemporary world (e.g., Chinese, Arabic, German), though it may be successfully challenged by them in the coming century. English has spread worldwide in conjunction with *capitalism* (Tsuda's A) and the *science and technology* (B) associated with it. The *monolingualism*⁸ (D) that speakers of spreading languages such as Spanish, French, and English attempted to impose in their empires has had devastating effects on the languages and cultures of huge parts of the world in processes of internal and external colonialism. In the ensuing postcolonial phase, *modernization* (C) was marketed as the key to the future of economies and cultures that were seen as in need of this and "development," along with the Western belief that states optimally operate with a single national language. Language policy was not left to chance, neither in colonial times (Calvet, 1974; Heath, 1972) nor in the postcolonial period (Phillipson, 1992).

A language policy is basically monolingual when it linguistically allocates resources primarily to one language and correspondingly idolizes and glorifies this dominant language while demonizing, stigmatizing, and rendering invisible other languages. The ideological underpinning involves a rationalization of the relationship between dominant and dominated, always to the advantage of the dominant, making the learning of the dominant language at the cost of other languages seem not only instrumentally functional but beneficial to and for the dominated. *Linguicism* is defined as "ideologies, structures and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (material and immaterial) between groups which are defined on the basis of language" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1988, p. 13). This paradigm has been dominant in the past two centuries, with nation-states positing the notion of a close fit between the state and a single language (e.g., French, German, Indonesian, Turkish). Monolingualism has a long pedigree, in Europe deriving from Judaeo-Christian ancestors and the biblical book of Genesis:

And the Lord said, Behold, the people is one, and they have all one language . . . and now nothing will be restrained from them, which they have imagined to do. (11:6)

This could be paraphrased in contemporary professional language as

God decreed: We are all citizens of one nation state and monolingual . . . and now there will be no limits to your happiness and prosperity, and the market

⁸Or, rather, strong (subtractive) dominance in the incoming language and exclusive literacy in it, *dominant monism*.

economy, modernization, internationalization, and everything else that we can fantasize about.

This was Jehovah's image of the monolingual world before the curse of Babel was inflicted on the peoples of the world. It is clear now, of course, that the Babel myth of the origins of language is incorrect, as the sociohistorical and biological evidence is that languages evolved in a multitude of cultures to respond to a variety of interfactional needs. However, the myth is still widely but erroneously believed in, with monolingualism regarded as normal and language contact as a source of conflict (Skutnabb-Kangas, in press).

The world is currently in a phase of the *internationalization* (E) of commerce, entertainment, communications, and many domains of public, professional, and private activity. UN bodies and supranational alliances are now more prominent. On the heels of the EU, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) has been implemented without policymakers having thought through the language policy dimensions, except in attempts by Quebeckers to at least raise the issue (Labrie, 1995). In Asia, comparable international trading links are being formed.

These symptoms of internationalization reflect changes in economic patterns in the postcolonial, postnational, and post-Cold War world, but there is nothing new about the economic prerogative being influential. Whereas French was for a couple of centuries actively construed as the language of reason, human rights, and logic ("ce qui n'est pas clair, n'est pas français"⁹), from the 1950s, when colonial powers were bringing their empires into a different type of North-South relationship, French was promoted because, as official discourse then put it, "là où on parle français, on achète français" (Coste, 1984, p. 33).¹⁰ Exactly the same applied to British diplomacy, which from the 1960s increasingly functioned as an instrument of economic promotion. English is seen as a major economic asset:

⁹ "Whatever is unclear is not French." This formulation occurred in Rivarol's essay, which won the competition held by the Academy of Berlin in 1782 on the theme of why French was a "universal" language.

¹⁰ "Wherever they speak French, they buy French." French has been, and still is, energetically promoted at home and abroad (with the advantage, for researchers interested in such matters, of massive documentation of official policy and legislation). One of the major reasons for French language promotion is the encroachment of English, the rival and hitherto victorious world language. One element in contemporary French strategy is to stress the miserable command of the language of most L2 users of English. This purist streak is nothing new in France, but it has been extrapolated and redefined so that one might paraphrase contemporary official French discourse as "ce qui n'est pas clair, c'est l'anglais international" ("whatever is unclear is international English"). This kind of argument is being used in many forums, particularly in EU institutions. English as a world language is seen as bastardized, truncated communication.

The English language is fundamental to Britain's export-led recovery. It makes it possible for British companies to develop markets, sell into them and form commercial alliances. (British Council, 1995, n.p.)

It therefore makes economic sense for the "English-speaking" countries to attempt to make as much of the world as possible English-speaking. To do so they need to facilitate the learning of the language by those unfortunate enough to have been born with another language as their mother tongue—which is where TESOL comes in. English for business is business for English, big business for the British economy, publishers, language schools, teachers, experts, professional associations, and so on. TESOL'S logo represents TESOL spanning the globe. Its publicity covers job opportunities worldwide, just as the London-based *EL Gazette* (1995) claims that it "opens doors across the world" and documents "the key role the English language and its teaching industry has to play in providing a link between disparate nations" (p. 2).¹¹ It is revealing that what many would regard as a liberal profession is portrayed as an "industry."

The projection of English as the "world language" par excellence is symptomatic of globalization processes. We live in a world characterized by *ideological globalization* (E), *transnationalization* (F), and *Americanization and the homogenization of world culture* (G) (pax Anglica?), spearheaded by films, pop culture, CNN, and fast-food chains. "McDonaldization" involves production for global markets so that products and information aim at creating "global customers that want global services by global suppliers" (Hamelink, 1994, p. 110). McDonaldization means "aggressive round-the-clock marketing, the controlled information flows that do not confront people with the long-term effects of an ecologically detrimental lifestyle, the competitive advantage against local cultural providers, the obstruction of local initiative, all converge into a reduction of local cultural space" (Hamelink, 1994, p. 112). Most of the processes involved—investment, production, marketing, consumption, and interpretation—involve the use of language. The dominance is composed of economic, technological, cultural, and linguistic strands.

The professionalism that most of us imbibed in our TESOL training was unduly narrow, as TESOL luminaries are increasingly admitting. The foreword to the *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 1993–1994, records the failure of applied linguistics prior to the 1990s to address the social and political contexts of its operations and the fact of "the inherently

¹¹ This publication was earlier called the *EFL Gazette*. From mid-1995 it has included in each issue columns by the president of TESOL and the chair of the International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language. The journal is monthly and has a section entitled "A to Z, Working Your Way Around the World," which describes the job market in ESL/EFL country by country.

political nature of LPP [language planning and policy],” both in its formation and implementation (Grabe, 1994b, p. viii). TESOL professionals are in fact increasingly addressing the sociopolitical and ethical dimensions of English teaching and language policy (Ammon, 1993; Kachru, 1993; Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 1992; Tollefson 1991, 1995). Questioning dominant paradigms may take the form of resistance to a language teachers’ association functioning in English only in Japan (Oda, 1994) or the principles underlying standard English (Parakrama, 1995). TESOL has encouraged the process of professional reflection through the activities of its Sociopolitical Concerns Committee.

The unclear nature of the “internationalism” of TESOL is manifest in the organization’s vision statement on this topic, reported in Nunan (1995), which looks like new missionary wine in old bottles.¹² Kaplan (1995), in an astonishing confession that he was wrong earlier to advocate that TESOL should avoid taking political stances, specifically recommends caution internationally:

If the membership, which lives and works largely in the US, cannot begin to meet its objectives domestically, to what extent can it hope to play a significant role in its international member organizations, in the internal affairs of other states, and in the face of recalcitrant government establishments? (p. 16)

Whether triumphant English is evidence of *linguistic, cultural, and media imperialism* (H) is an empirical question that can be answered if such concepts as linguistic imperialism are sufficiently clearly defined and if adequate evidence is analysed.¹³ In the current phase of “integration” in western and postcommunist Europe, each country clearly needs to clarify the nature and extent of the pressures exerted by international languages on national languages and the role played by English in ongoing processes of global McDonaldization. As English is the dominant language of the U. S., the UN, the World Bank, the International

¹² The TESOL statement declares that the association is expansionist (TESOL will work “within the TESOL world and beyond”) and will attempt to work through “existing structures” outside the U. S., and “respect regional, national, and cultural distinctiveness and autonomy while at the same time promoting mutual understanding” (as cited in Nunan, 1995, p. 3). Quite apart from the fuzziness of much of such language and an ambivalent view of partnership, the statement looks uncannily like a rerun of the ideology that served to underpin the expansion of English and TESOL a generation ago. It echoes the *Report of the Makerere Conference in Uganda* (1961) (regarded by the Ford Foundation as the most central one in the formative period of ESL) on the Teaching of English as a Second Language, which reassuringly declares: “Nor can there be any question of believing that we propose, by our efforts, to supersede or weaken or dilute any of the cultures of Asia and Africa” (p. 46). It appears that little changes in cultural and linguistic imperialism. See the detailed analysis of this in Phillipson (1992).

¹³ See Mühlhäusler (1994), Phillipson (1992), and Tsuda (1992) on linguistic imperialism, on the role of the expansionist TESOL profession in making the world dependent on native speaker norms and expertise, and on the way linguistic imperialism contributes to global dominance of the South by the North.

Monetary Fund, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, many other world policy organizations, and most of the world's big businesses and elites in many countries worldwide, it is the language in which the fate of most of the world's citizens is decided, directly or indirectly. It is important therefore to investigate whether the diffusion of English as a world language is compatible with the promotion and protection of the human rights of all the world's citizens.

We are not suggesting that global injustice in North-South relations correlates simply or straightforwardly with English as the dominant world language and a range of uses to which English is put internationally and intranationally. Major complexities exist in the relationship between global homogenization and heterogenization, the intermeshing of economic and cultural forces (Appadurai, 1990),¹⁴ and controversy about the multiple nature of the English language and about whose interests "world Englishes" serve. On the other hand, as people concerned with language matters, we need to consider how and why English is expanding worldwide, whose interests this process has served, and what ideologies and structures currently favour the increased expansion of English at the expense of other languages. We need increased sensitivity to diverse language policy goals and to the potential of a range of educational language policy measures, particularly in formal schooling. We as TESOL professionals need to know whose agenda we are following, both as intellectuals (Said, 1994) and as teachers responsible for the educational development of fellow humans.

The Ecology-of-Language Paradigm

The late Einar Haugen, a seminal figure in the establishment of bilingualism studies, language planning, and sociolinguistics, defines *language ecology* as the study of interactions between any given language and its environment (Haugen, 1972). Haugen states that the linguist's concern with language forms and the psychology and sociology of language should be combined with those of other social scientists who are interested in the interaction of languages and their users, for more than descriptive purposes. Just as ecology is a "movement for environmental sanitation" (p. 329), the ecology of language should be concerned with the cultivation and preservation of languages. It should be a predictive and even a therapeutic science, typically concerned with the

¹⁴ "The globalization of culture is not the same as its homogenization, but globalization involves the use of a variety of instruments of homogenization (armaments, advertising techniques, language hegemonies, clothing styles and the like), which are absorbed into local political and cultural economies, only to be repatriated as heterogeneous dialogues of national sovereignty, free enterprise, fundamentalism, etc. in which the state plays an increasingly delicate role" (Appadurai, 1990, p. 307).

status of languages, functions, and attitudes, and ultimately with a “*typology of ecological* classification, which will tell us something about where the language stands and where it is going in comparison with other languages of the world” (p. 337).

Mühlhäusler (1994) has considered the impact that language teaching has on linguistic ecology:

When speaking of linguistic ecologies we focus on the number of languages, user groups, social practices and so forth that sustain this language ecology over longer periods of time. Language teaching involves the introduction of a new language into an existing language ecology. (p. 123)

What needs studying is the impact of such teaching on the inhabitants and the long-term sustainability of the system. Mühlhäusler (1994) considers that language teaching may but need not serve imperialist purposes, but his verdict on the spread of English, French, Indonesian, and Chinese in the Pacific and Australasian region is that the teaching of these languages is unlikely to lead to a more stable, equitable world or more social justice.

The struggle for linguistic rights represents an attempt to harness fundamental principles and practices from the field of *human rights* (Tsuda’s Point 1 in the ecology-of-language paradigm) to the task of rectifying some linguistic wrongs and granting to less favoured languages some of the support that is the rule for dominant languages. We have argued the case for linguistic human rights at length elsewhere (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1995; Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1994a).

Everyone can probably agree that a human rights, equity-oriented perspective should be an integral part of any language policy. It is therefore somewhat ironic that, when pressing the case for their language, both the British and the French, whose countries have a long history of depriving their linguistic minorities of basic rights,¹⁵ plead that English and French are the languages of human rights. English 2000 publicity declares, “The English language underpins human rights, good government, conflict resolution and the democratic process by ensuring that communities have access to the information society, to the world media and to freedom of opinion” (British Council, 1995, n.p.). As fundamental human rights are often a question of enjoying freedom of speech or not being imprisoned without fair trial, one wonders whether the British really think that such existential matters are best ordered for all the world’s citizens in English rather than the other 6,000–7,000 oral languages of the world—plus possibly an equal number of sign lan-

¹⁵ The French government declared in 1994 that it could not support the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages on the grounds that it was anticonstitutional (European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages, 1994).

guages.¹⁶ Such ethnocentric or linguocentric special pleading may appear innocuous but represents an abuse of the concept of rights for the crude purpose of legitimating the diffusion-of-English cause. Human rights are meaningless if they do not apply to speakers of all languages.

Tsuda's second point in the ecology-of-language paradigm is that participants in communication should be in a position of equality, irrespective of mother tongue, gender, or other distinctions. Equality in communication can be analysed from various angles: participants in a speech event, interaction between members of different speech communities (and the inherent unfair advantages of native speakers), sign language users, equal access to information, freedom of expression, and others.

McDonaldization is in conflict with principles of fundamental human rights and does not promote *multilingualism* (Tsuda's 3) or the *maintenance of languages and cultures* (4). In a world of global, asymmetrical communication, counterhegemonic resistance could involve strategies to empower consumers of media products so that they are better informed and can participate more actively locally and globally. Such principles are propounded in the People's Communication Charter (prepared by the Centre for Communication and Human Rights, Amsterdam; see draft text in Hamelink, 1994, appendix), the objective of which is

to contribute to a critical understanding of the significance of communication in the daily lives of individuals and peoples . . . to bring to (national and international) policy making processes a set of claims that represent people's fundamental right to communicate. (p. 153)

Applying an ecological principle of equality of communication and support for diversity in the activities of the EU, in particular its supranational institutions, tends to run up against economic and practical constraints. There are manifest difficulties in administering the multilingual principle of the formal equality of the 11 official languages when running a vast, complex bureaucratic and political enterprise.

Similarly, under NAFTA, companies that use French or Spanish should in principle be in the same position as those that use English. In considering the language policy implications of NAFTA, Labrie (1995) points out that the three signatories to the agreement are quite different and incompatible in their sociolinguistic makeup, in language ideologies, and in the extent of their language legislation. Language policy differs substantially among Canada, whose explicit laws ensure the equality of the two dominant languages; the U. S., where much language policy is implicit and Mexico, which has more actively addressed the

¹⁶ Sign languages have recently been accorded official status in Finland and Uganda

bilingualism of its indigenous population (see Hamel, 1994). The supremacy of economic over political considerations in NAFTA makes it likely that equality among the English, French, and Spanish languages will remain a fiction. Because of its dominant position in business, science, and culture and its prestige, English is likely to strengthen its position and impinge on the language ecology in ways that disadvantage nonusers and nonnative users of English. But treating language policy with regard to NAFTA as if it is exclusively a question of competition between the three “big” languages in itself serves to perpetuate the marginalization and invisibilization of all other languages, indigenous and immigrant, on the North American continent. This shows how far the world is from equality in communication.

The same worry applies to much of the rhetoric of multilingualism and linguistic equality in the EU, in which few of the language policy issues have been seriously or openly addressed. Ironically, support for the principle of multilingualism seems to discourage openness about de facto linguistic hierarchies. For each state the right to use its official language (Danish or Portuguese in the European Parliament, for instance) is an important democratic principle, and discussion of any limitation of this right seems to be foreclosed. Failure to address such issues suits users of English (whether as L1 or L2), as the general trend is in the direction of an increasing use of English—though not yet in the European Commission in Brussels, where French still dominates. There seems to be a real need to explore the language policy issues and the management of multilingualism, to identify possible scenarios—particularly if the EU takes in new members—and to expand awareness of the relationship between national and international languages. Clearly the rights of minority languages, national and immigrant, should also be brought onto this agenda.

Awareness of the role of language in what has been termed *ethnic conflict* may be increasing throughout Europe, though the conclusions drawn may vary. One view is that either the (voluntary or forced) repatriation of immigrated minorities or their rapid linguistic and cultural assimilation is a way of avoiding ethnic conflict, meaning the mere presence of (unassimilated) minorities is seen as a threat. This false analysis of the causal factors in such conflict leads to a false conclusion that is likely to fan the flames of conflict (Phillipson, Rannut, & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1994). A more democratic and just analysis regards a higher degree of awareness of linguistic and cultural rights as a hallmark of a civilized society and the granting of these rights as a way of avoiding or containing conflict. A policy of this kind should contribute to the reduction of linguistic and economic inequalities or linguistic and political cleavages between the groups that make up a polity. The recognition at the continental level of the rights of minority or regional

languages (e.g., in Council of Europe's *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*, 1992) is, despite the shortcomings of the *Charter* (see Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1994b), a step in this direction.¹⁷

Many of the east and central European countries have for decades accorded more rights to linguistic minorities in education than most west European countries have, reflecting the focus on minority protection that was a major feature of the treaties enacted at the conclusion of World War I. These countries have seen it as natural that (many) national minorities (whether designated nations, nationalities, or minorities) have had at least part of their education through the medium of their own language and that bilingual teachers have taught the majority language. This trend does not seem to be diminishing, although some postcommunist governments seem to be set on a path of ethnic and linguistic intolerance and "cleansing." A country can in fact simultaneously *protect national sovereignties* (Tsuda's 5) and promote multilingualism internally, two principles that are often seen as contradictory. It is also obviously in the national interest of every country to invest in *foreign language education* (6) for external, international purposes.

LESSONS FROM FOREIGN LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN EUROPE

We cannot do more here than adumbrate a few parameters in foreign language education in Europe that might be considered relevant for TESOL, the diffusion of English, and the ecology of language.

First, almost invariably, "foreign" languages are languages that are dominant somewhere. Among the many factors influencing the learning of foreign languages are trading patterns, the relative size of a country (smallness encouraging L2 learning), many of the symptoms of globalization (foreign travel, multinational industries, satellite TV), the appeal of particular cultures (stereotypes about, e.g., France or Spain), and geographical proximity (Trim, 1994).

Second, although a EU report states that European member states apparently "have not yet reached the position of defining their own strategy for languages in a coherent form" (Savage, 1994, p. 11) and regards foreign language competence as "the Community's Achilles' heel" (p. 12), efforts are underway in several states to ensure that not only English but other foreign languages are learned.

¹⁷ So are *Document of the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE* (1990), *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* (1994), and, especially, *UN Human Rights Committee's General Comment* (1994) on Article 27 of the *UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (1966, in force since 1976), which still represents the strongest binding minority language protection.

Third, in Europe and Australia it is accepted that schoolchildren should learn at least one foreign language for cultural, practical, and general educational reasons. This is a position that the U.S. could learn from. Such a viewpoint would increase its citizens' capacity to be sensitive to global diversity as well as provide them with the skills necessary to deal with other parts of the world (as many publications from the Washington-based National Foreign Language Center have argued, e.g., Lambert, 1994), quite apart from allowing the U.S. to capitalize on the wealth of languages actually present in the country.

Finally, a good deal of imaginative educational experimentation is currently taking place in foreign language learning in Europe. The number and type of bi- or multilingual schools has increased (Baetens Beardsmore, 1993; Nelde, 1993; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1995), as have scattered efforts to establish the presence of immigrant minority languages in the mainstream school curriculum. Innovation is increasingly based on the principle that different groups have different points of departure and needs, so that they must use different educational routes and strategies to reach the goal of high-level multilingualism (Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia, 1995). But what the successful experiments have in common is that they all regard bilingual teachers as a *sine qua non*. This is true of immersion programmed for majority children (see, e.g., Duff, 1991, for English immersion in secondary schools in Hungary), European Community Schools (e.g., Baetens Beardsmore, 1993, 1995), maintenance programmed for minority children (e.g., Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984, 1990), and two-way programmed (e.g., Dolson & Lindholm, 1995).

ENGLISH WITHIN THE ECOLOGY OF LANGUAGE

Evidence in western and eastern Europe shows that diglossia, with English as the intrusive dominant language, may be imminent. If the state language is construed or presented as unable to function adequately for certain purposes, for instance as the medium for higher education or as the in-house language in commercial enterprises aiming at the export market, arguably linguistic structures and ideologies will gradually result in the spread of the dominant international language, English, in a diglossic division of labour that marginalizes the state language. There are trends of this sort in Scandinavia, the implications of which have been little explored (but see Haberland, Henriksen, Phillipson, & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1991), and in former communist states. Essentially the issue is whether the situation is subtractive or additive. For a diglossic division of labour of this sort to be realized presupposes that English (or just possibly one of its rivals) remains the dominant foreign language in schools.

Former communist countries may be in a better position to ensure that their schools teach a diversified range of languages. On the other hand, because of the miserable economic plight of most postcommunist countries and the shortage of local people qualified to teach English, the countries will likely be quite tempted to accept well-intentioned offers from the West and the chance of getting something for nothing. This, however, was exactly the position of many underdeveloped countries, where Western aid in language in education has had disastrous effects (Phillipson, 1992, and many references therein to work by scholars from underdeveloped countries, particularly Kachru, Ngugi, and Pattanayak). Here the lure of linguistic arguments for English and a legacy of linguistic imperialism was too strong. It has continued virtually uninterrupted (e.g., Mateene, 1980). If mainstream TESOL is to contribute substantially to the expanding European market, it needs to incorporate its methodologies into much broader analyses of educational and language policy goals in particular contexts.

Clearly, following the principles of the ecology-of-language paradigm has costs, financial and human. On the other hand it would be quite false to assume that adherence to the diffusion-of-English paradigm does not have costs, both of a practical kind (for education systems and for interpretation in international organizations; Piron, 1994) and, especially, for the global linguistic ecology.

English can serve many useful purposes but will do so only if the linguistic human rights of speakers of other languages are respected. The historical evidence seems to indicate clearly that linguisticism and linguistic imperialism need to be resisted actively. Just as the subtractive, oppressive monolingualism of the English Only movement in the U.S. is being countered by demands for English plus (i.e., English in addition to other languages), Europeans should build on their linguistic diversity by promoting all languages, including English. An immediate way of contributing to this effort is by building on Tsuda's (1994) productive dichotomy when analysing language policy and by working to promote a healthy and just ecology of language.

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Language Curriculum Development in South Africa: What Place for English?

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As in other parts of the world, language-in-education planning in South Africa is composed of two interrelated domains: decisions about languages taught as subjects and decisions about languages used as media of instruction (or languages of learning, as they have come to be known in South Africa). Alternative political ideologies and educational philosophies have clearly determined the nature of each of these decisions and their implementation—a point especially true of the South African situation. In this article we focus on the changing role and status of English within new language-in-education policies in South Africa. Because the implementation of new policies needs to be understood in the light of past policies and their effects, we briefly place current policy debates in their historical context. We then present a model that provides a descriptive framework for analyzing and evaluating decisions made relating to language-in-education planning. We discuss existing constraints on policy implementation in the South African context and conclude by identifying issues related to the process of language-in-education planning that we discovered through ongoing assessment of the planning process itself.

During the apartheid era, language-in-education policy in South Africa directly reflected apartheid ideology in general and the philosophy of Bantu Education in particular (for reviews see Brown, 1990; Cluver, 1992; Webb, 1994).¹ Of particular significance, given its prominence at present, was that the apartheid system used promotion of the mother tongue principle, specifically the advancement of the indigenous African languages as subject and medium of instruction, as a

¹ Even before 1948, when the National Party Government came to power, a system of segregated and unequal education was in place in South Africa. In 1953, with the passing of the Bantu Education Act, the system of apartheid education officially began and the patterns of inequality were entrenched: Different education systems did not provide equal education for the different population registration groups (races).

central instrument of the policy of divide and rule. Linguistic difference was not only used as a tool for dividing racial groups in the country but also exploited to divide the African people themselves. There was a specific attempt to create and foster an ethnolinguistic nationalism amongst preidentified ethnic groupings similar to that which had been such an integral part of the Afrikaners' rise to power. In apartheid terms, the primary significance of the mother tongue principle was thus not educational but ideological: It was specifically exploited as a rationale for the creation and separation of different "groups" of Africans (for instance, by forcing them to attend specific schools created exclusively for them). Present suspicions of promoting mother tongue education amongst Africans can be well understood in light of this policy.

Besides these general factors, unrealistic demands were made on students at Black schools. In particular, there was a gross disparity in the language-in-education policies of Black and White schools, policies that had their origins in general apartheid concerns. For Whites, the medium of instruction was exclusively either English or Afrikaans. The fact that English speakers had to attend English schools, and Afrikaners, Afrikaans schools created a division within the privileged White group itself. For Blacks, on the other hand, by 1976 a situation (which sparked off the Soweto uprisings in that year) had eventually evolved in which the enforced media of instruction were, for different subjects, English and Afrikaans as well as, for the purposes of religious instruction, an African language. Integral to the motivation of this policy appeared to be the perspective that Blacks had to function as effective servants of the White state and therefore had to be competent in both official "White" languages.

As for language as subject, Black children not only were expected to learn the two official languages (at the time English and Afrikaans) that White children had to learn but also were required to study an African language (their mother tongue). Given the deprivations of apartheid education, instruction in all these languages suffered, the consequences of which had a ripple effect throughout the educational process (Macdonald, 1990). Furthermore, enormous attitudinal problems were involved. Afrikaans was considered the language of the oppressor, and Blacks had little motivation to learn African languages as formal school subjects, perceiving them largely as horizontal codes (languages of everyday interaction and solidarity) rather than as vertical codes (languages of educational and societal access), which the colonial languages (specifically English) represented (see Heine, 1992).

Furthermore, all such points need to be conceptualized in terms of the discriminatory educational system Bantu Education created, in which Black teachers in general received inadequate training, funding of Black education was intentionally lower than that for Whites, and lack of

educational resources and overcrowded classrooms were the norm. Not only, then, was the language-in-education policy untenable, but the deliberately created context of Bantu Education effectively barred it from any possible implementation.

With reference to English, the above scenario (as well as the fact that Blacks hardly used the language outside of the school context) resulted generally in a poor acquisitional context despite its popular appeal and support as the language of education and access and of Black unity and liberation (Mesthrie, 1993). In this way the language of choice, ironically enough, effectively discriminated against the majority. Although English was set to become the dominant medium of instruction in Black schools and a compulsory subject in all schools, for such reasons it remained a problematic language in the African educational context.

A LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION MODEL CURRENT PROPOSALS

Figure 1 presents a model of a descriptive framework for analyzing and evaluating decisions relating to language-in-education planning. The model indicates that a particular language-in-education policy is grounded in language policy as a whole, which in turn is in keeping with basic ideological objectives associated with the state. Two fundamental components of the language-in-education policy are (a) the factors involved in teaching language as a subject and (b) the general principles regarding the medium of instruction (or language of learning, as it has now become known in South Africa).

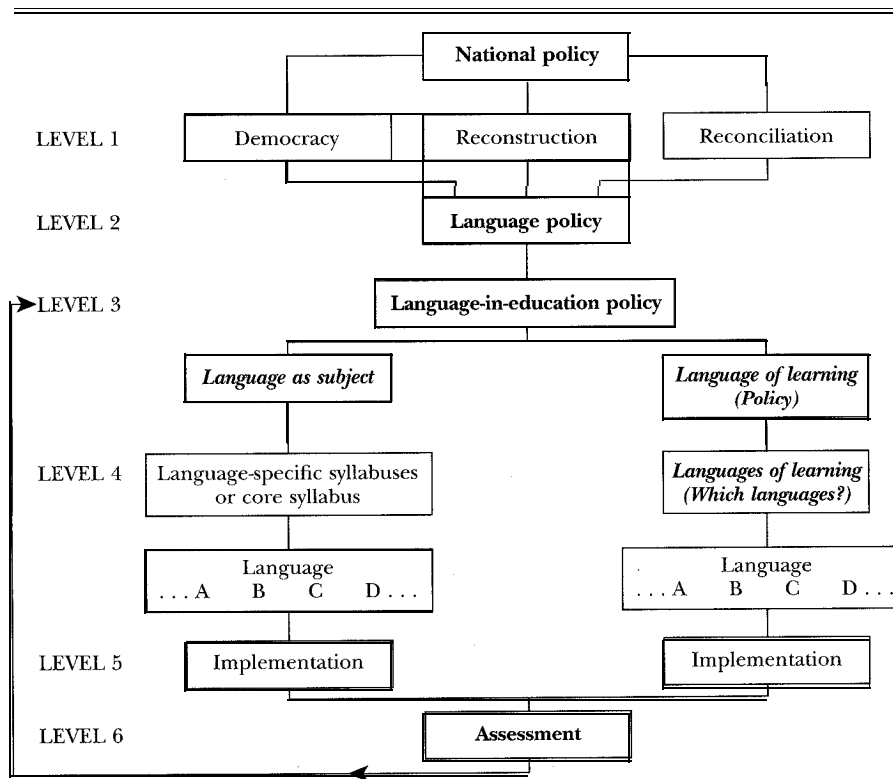
Level 1: National Policy

The main sociopolitical and ideological principles underlying the interim constitution of the Government of National Unity in the new South Africa are

1. the promotion of democracy for all South Africans,
2. the reconstruction of South African society (particularly by addressing past imbalances and discriminatory practices), and
3. the reconciliation of the peoples of South Africa (Senate Subcommittee on Languages, 1995; see also Sachs, 1994, for a critical discussion of language rights in the new constitution).

As we will show, such ideological concerns are manifest in decisions regarding language policy.

FIGURE 1
Language-in-Education Planning



Level 2: Language Policy

The central themes of the new national language policy are the following:

1. Societal multilingualism is a national resource that is an integral part of nation building and the creation of access (rather than the problem it is typically thought to be in Western contexts; see Ruiz, 1984, for a discussion on language as a problem, as a right, and as a resource). In the past, societal monolingualism, a segregationist policy (Baker, 1993), effectively disempowered those who did not speak the dominant language.
2. All South African languages are linguistically equal.
3. There is a need to actively promote African languages, which, unlike English and Afrikaans, have been neglected in the past. Such

regressive action will facilitate the empowerment of the majority of the country's people. (Senate Subcommittee on Languages, 1995)

Although English and Afrikaans continue to enjoy official status, 9 (standardised) African languages now enjoy equal official status at the national level. Within this scenario, the nine provinces are free to choose which of these 11 official languages to declare official at the regional level.

To guard against the possibility of future linguistic domination, the interim constitution's Bill of Human Rights (Section 31) specifically establishes the notion of language as a fundamental human right. Relevant clauses in this respect follow

1. Every person shall have the right to use the language of his or her choice.
2. No person shall be discriminated against on the grounds of language.
3. Every person, wherever practicable, has the right to insist that the state communicate with him or her at the national level in the official language of his or her choice and at the provincial level in any provincial official language. (Senate Subcommittee on Languages, 1995)

Level 3: Language-in-Education Policy

In the present state of transition, language-in-education policy in particular (as reflective of the new language policy as a whole) exists only in the form of proposals, draft policy documents, discussion documents (African National Congress [ANC], 1992, 1994; Forrest, 1994), and published articles in local journals (e.g., Chick, 1992; Crawhall, 1994; Heugh, 1992, 1993; Lockett, 1993b). At the core of these proposals are the following two principles (ANC, 1994; Forrest, 1994):

1. redressing past linguistic imbalances and encouraging educational multilingualism (The latter is seen as specifically promoting the educational use of African languages at all levels of education against the continued dominance of English and Afrikaans.); and
2. ensuring linguistic freedom of choice for learners in terms of language as subject and language of learning in the context of gaining democratic access to broader society.

Other important principles relating to implementation include the need for community-based rather than top-down decision making (as has happened in the past) and the need for flexibility, given the inheritance of the past and differences across regions within the country (at least in the short term) (ANC, 1992).

The ideological basis of this policy is quite clear: It promotes multilingual education (as interpreted in the light of the above two points) as part of a broader educational vision of national unity, democracy, and empowerment of the previously disempowered African majority (see Heugh, 1993). In this orientation, although the pragmatic utility of English is noted, multilingualism in education is seen as challenging English (besides Afrikaans) as the language of power (ANC, 1992). Some (e.g., Heugh, 1992; Phillipson, 1992) argue that English effectively discriminates against the majority and perpetuates the interests of the elite. The Senate Subcommittee on Languages (1995) states, for instance, that the continued linguistic dominance of English has led to the “disempowerment and socio-political disadvantage [sic] of the non-English speakers,” whose home languages are “marginalised and relegated, de facto, to the status of ‘second rate’ languages” (p. 12). Put even more strongly, “English is in many ways a shackled language, in the sense in which any language that has been used for exclusion, division or domination is a shackled language: it becomes trapped in the interests of money makers and power makers” (ANC, 1992, p. 7).

The policy of equality of all languages in multilingual South Africa implies that English by definition should enjoy no special privileges (including educational privileges) in relation to the other languages of South Africa and that the popularly perceived notion of the superiority of the language for academic purposes is a misguided hangover of past colonial practices.

Level 4: Language as Subject and Language of Learning

The model in Figure 1 indicates how general language-in-education principles become manifest in the two constituent areas of language-in-education policy, namely, the interrelated domains of language as subject and language of learning (as formulated in the language syllabus). At least in principle, in the South African context specific regions give concrete form to decisions made in this respect as long as they conform to national policies.

Language as Subject

A number of issues central to the formulation of language-specific syllabuses have been debated concerning the teaching and learning of languages as subjects. Of particular interest has been the idea of devising a core syllabus for all languages in the school program. Although this idea is not explicitly formulated in the available literature, the notion of a common core syllabus underlying the syllabus goals and design of all languages has emerged in discussion at the national and regional levels.

In principle, a core syllabus would specify the common objectives of all language instruction and emphasize the role of language teachers as involved, together with teachers of other languages, in the common goal of language teaching rather than their role as teachers of specific languages. It would also specify the parameters through which teachers of different languages could coordinate their activities in general language development. There has been very little research in this domain, although Forrest (1994), without explicitly addressing the concept of core syllabus, discusses possible future syllabus structures based on Vygotskian theory.

Another issue concerns dissolving the L1–L2 distinction. It is often argued that the term *second language* implies a “deficit view of language competence” (ANC, 1992, p. 12) and that the aim of a fully bilingual education system is rather to achieve a single level of language proficiency by the end of compulsory schooling. In the literature this concept has been specifically discussed in terms of the negative consequences of the label *English as a second language* (rather than the African languages as second languages) (ANC, 1992; Forrest, 1994; Musker, 1991). The reluctance to acknowledge the difference between L1 and L2 learners has been criticized by Peirce (1991), who notes that it may be in the interest of future democracy in the country to do so.

A third issue in the language-as-subject debate is the growing emphasis on the acknowledgment of language varieties as a resource in the educational process rather than on the exclusive focus and dominance of one standard variety (ANC, 1992; Janks & Ivanic, 1992; Young, 1988). This notion has typically been discussed in terms of legitimizing indigenized varieties of English, specifically Black English (see Alexander, 1989; Ndebele, 1987, for earlier thinking in this regard).

In general terms the following points are significant for the teaching of English as a subject:

1. In the future students need not choose English, which is compulsory at present, as a subject.
2. Will the English syllabus represent a specific instance of an all-encompassing (albeit vaguely defined) core language syllabus for all languages? At present nothing like this exists.
3. Will the distinction between English as an L1 and English as an L2 be dissolved? At present this distinction is very much an institutional reality, with each side having a separate syllabus.
4. Will standard English be reemphasized and indigenized varieties become educationally acceptable? Both traditionally Black and traditionally White schools have already encountered attitudinal difficulties with this particular proposal (see, e.g., Botha, 1994).

In addition, the concerns of the People's English movement have affected the language-as-subject debate (see Gardiner, 1987). Those in progressive circles (especially prior to the impact of the movement against English itself) see the concept of People's English as part of "People's Education" as essential to the development of an alternative and liberating English syllabus. Essential to the concept of People's English is the idea that the role of English in the educational process should be to empower and liberate learners (Peirce, 1989). How such thinking is to affect future syllabus decisions is yet unclear.

Language of Learning

In official documentation, the issue of what language to use as the medium of learning has attracted relatively more specific attention than language as subject has. The ANC policy document (1994) notes that because "language is essential to thinking and learning, learners must be able to learn in the language or languages which best suits this purpose" (p. 64). Three different options are discussed in this regard: (a) the use of a language of wider communication such as English (with a gradual and supportive introduction to those for whom it is not a home language), (b) the use of the home language of the majority of learners at a particular school, and (c) the use of different languages as languages of learning for different subjects.

In each of these instances the policy document stresses that individuals who are not proficient in the language or languages of learning used at a school will not be denied access to that school at the early phases of schooling (ANC, 1994). Provision should be made for language support mechanisms in such instances.

Although neither the ANC policy documents (1992, 1994) nor the government *Draft White Paper on Education and Training* (Department of Education, 1994) overtly expresses a preference for one of the three options, the focus on promoting educational multilingualism means that present debate revolves around deemphasizing the central role of English as the dominant language of learning. As noted, despite popular opinions to the contrary it is typically argued that all languages are capable of functioning as media of academic study and that having English as the language of learning very often denies rather than guarantees access while maintaining the privileged status of the elite (ANC, 1992; Heugh, 1992; Phillipson, 1992).

One model that appears to be receiving particular support is the third option mentioned above, that is, a bilingual language-of-learning policy. This option is typically seen as essential for promoting a national additive type of bilingualism in which one of the languages of learning would typically be an African language. In the past, children with an African

language as mother tongue had to learn through the medium of an L2 (a situation that led to subtractive bilingualism). White children, on the other hand, were in the privileged position of being able to learn through their mother tongue. Seen in this light, the concept of national additive bilingualism is attractive precisely because it fits into the general orientation of promoting multilingualism and advancing the cause of African languages in the context of democracy (see Lockett, 1993b).

Another issue in the domain of language of learning that has emerged consistently is that of code switching as an educational resource (Adendorff, 1993; ANC, 1992; Myers-Scotton, 1992; Peires, 1994). This issue is typically discussed in terms of switching between English (at present the dominant language of learning amongst Africans) and an African language. In practice such mixing appears to be the norm in African schools. Far from seeing code switching in a negative light, as in the past, an emerging doctrine is that it facilitates learning in the educational process.

For English, the new language-of-learning policy has an obvious implication: It substantially challenges the privileged position of English as the principal language of learning. The approach that sees English and an African language as languages of learning appears to be gaining considerable support.

As illustrated in Figure 1, prior to the implementation phase (Level 5) decisions regarding general language-of-learning concerns are concretized in syllabuses for specific languages, and specific choices are made on the medium of instruction. In South Africa, these decisions are a matter of regional and provincial concern. In the following sections we refer to planning in the Eastern Cape province for the purpose of exemplification.

Level 5: Implementation

The success of a language-in-education policy is measured by the effectiveness of its implementation. Just as sociopolitical concerns guide the formulation of policy, so too do the practical aspects of implementation. During the process of language planning for education, planners examine school districts, teacher education institutions, and classrooms. Their aim is to make compatible the three related domains of political ideology and educational philosophy, the practical realities of the teaching and learning process, and the policy itself.

In connection with decisions about language as subject and language of learning, the ANC draft policy documents are peppered with cautionary phrases on the practicality of some of their policy statements. For example, the *ANC Policy Guidelines* (1992) uses phrases like “except where not possible because of practical constraints,” “except where

impractical,” and “within the limitations of reasonableness.” These precautions are summed up in a Reasonableness Clause in the ANC’S policy framework document (1994): “The material and human resources required to support the choice of particular languages should be taken into account” (p. 63).

The following are some of the significant practical constraints influencing decisions about languages in education.

The Syllabus

Part of the language planning process, both nationally and in the Eastern Cape, has been the revision of the syllabuses for all languages taught. For example, Interim Core Syllabuses have recently been written for English First and Second Language by the Department of Education (at the national level) and distributed to schools in the provinces. The syllabuses, for implementation in 1995, are temporary measures designed to see the provinces through a period of change and adaptation and to give them a chance to design their own provincialized syllabuses.

The problem with syllabuses, especially in the form of documents that state language teaching and learning principles, dictate content, and suggest teaching methodology, is that, first, they often do not reach the teachers for whom they are intended. Many English teachers in the Eastern Cape, for instance, have not yet received or even seen the 1995 Interim Syllabus. This is hardly surprising, as it is widely known that the syllabus currently in use (dated 1984) is just as remote to the teaching lives of the same teachers. Some of the teachers who do have access to the syllabus cannot follow it anyway because of large classes, poor resources and facilities, unfamiliarity with the communicative approach that it espouses, and an inadequate competence in English (Chick, 1992; Murray, 1991). During the final years of school, negative washback (see Lynch & Davidson, 1994) occurs: Teachers tend to use the externally set examination instead of the syllabus as a guide to their teaching.

A second problem is that, once teachers are familiar with a particular syllabus, they find it very difficult to change their teaching practice and their thinking about teaching. They hold on to what they know and to what they have been doing and therefore resist any attempts at change. If the constraints of past syllabuses and the trepidation teachers feel toward present and future syllabuses are not overcome, the syllabus will be an obstacle in the path of successful policy implementation.

Teacher Education

Any language-in-education policy decisions will have to be supported by appropriate language teacher education. In deciding on a policy and

planning for its implementation, both national and provincial authorities have made teacher education a priority (ANC, 1994; Papu, 1994; "Poaching Brains," 1995).

Preservice teacher education has in the past not prepared English teachers for the classrooms of the future. Chick (1992) reports, "Modelled on courses for mother tongue English speakers, the English courses offered to second language teacher trainees tend to be heavily literature-orientated" (p. 35). So teachers were prepared either to teach only English-mother-tongue students or to teach ESL students as if they were English-mother-tongue students. During recent years a number of teacher education programs have been established to cater specifically to the needs of English teachers who plan to practice in L2 contexts. However, the nature of preservice teacher education will have to change in accordance with current calls for a multilingual approach to language education (Barkhuizen, 1993). The lack of resources, both human and material, for this change presents further barriers to quick and effective change,

Practicing English teachers, many of whom struggled during the early days of multilingual classrooms (because of their preservice teacher education and their experience in segregated schools), continue to find themselves in unfamiliar territory. Because of the racial, and thus linguistic, integration of schools these teachers face classes of students who have very different levels of English proficiency. In-service education aimed at empowering teachers to cope with this situation, to see multilingualism as a resource rather than a problem (Luckett, 1993a; Nomvete, 1994), is of vital importance for successful implementation of a new policy. Forrest (1994) states that all teachers, not only language teachers, should complete a course with the following aim:

Such a course would provide teachers with a sound basic grasp of the rationale for transformation in language education. This would encompass an understanding of the nature of the learning process and the implications of this for teaching methodology and the active use of multilingualism within the classroom, practical methods, and assessment practices. (p. 21)

Like many draft policy documents, this one does not spell out in any useful way the precise practical implications of this move and many others regarding pre- and in-service teacher education.

Teaching and School Administration: Practice and Attitudes

The implementation of a new language-in-education policy has to struggle against the old methods and routines of classroom teaching and school management, an aspect often neglected during the process of language planning. Planners fail to project themselves into the reality of

the working lives of teachers and administrators. It is all too easy to wallow in the comfort of politically correct rhetoric and to produce equally appealing policy statements. But these often mean almost nothing on the ground.

Teachers are regarded by some people, and often by themselves, as very practical. From the teacher's point of view, for a change to be a success it must involve little extra work, be achieved with the resources and structures that already exist, and produce results almost immediately in the classroom. As one teacher perhaps too cynically remarks, "No teacher ever does what she thinks is best. We do the best we can in the circumstances" (McPherson, 1972, p. 187). But it is not only what teachers (and administrators) do that is important. Planners must also take what they think—their attitudes—into account. Asking teachers to change practice, no matter how entrenched that practice may be, is very difficult if they (a) do not understand what specific changes are being suggested, (b) do not make sense of the rationale behind these changes, and (c) do not believe that the changes are feasible, that is, capable of practical implementation in their current teaching situations. A prominent instance of the third point is that English teachers usually greet the repeated suggestions for dissolving the English L1-L2 distinction in the classroom (e.g., Forrest, 1994; Liebowitz, 1992) with surprise and much resistance because they perceive the move to be shortsighted and unrealistic in light of the practical realities of teaching and learning.

The feasibility criterion extends beyond the confines of the school to the community and the region as a whole. A question that must be asked is, Is it really possible to make changes that support and promote policy decisions?

Testing

Language planners often underestimate the power of testing and examining. Results of tests dictate whether or not students move from one grade to the next, what jobs they get, and whether or not they go to university. Changing a system of testing means changing a system of education.

The language testing situation in South Africa (both internally within a school and externally in national or regional testing) is very complicated. Each language has its own examinations. The languages are tested as first, second, and third languages and at higher, standard, and sometimes even lower grade levels. Furthermore, each language has its own syllabus, typically quite distinct from the others, and nationally both independent and provincial bodies are and no doubt will continue to be responsible for writing their own syllabuses and setting their own

examinations. Thus the range of language testing in the country is extremely broad, and the quality of testing, enormously variable.

Decisions on the following issues, some of which have been raised in earlier sections, will determine whether this pattern continues:

1. Will language teaching and testing maintain the L1–L2 distinction?
2. Will the testing system maintain the higher/standard/lower grade distinction?
3. Will the study of all languages indeed share a common core syllabus?
4. How many languages will students be required to study as subjects?
As noted, the popular suggestion is that students study at least two and preferably three of the official languages (including one African language) (ANC, 1994; Gough & Barkhuizen, 1995; Heugh, 1993).
5. Will the results of language examinations count for purposes of promotion from one grade to the next?
6. Will there be specific language requirements for admission to tertiary education institutions?
7. Will students be allowed to answer examination questions on other school subjects in the language of their choice, as suggested by the ANC (1992) and the Eastern Cape Department of Education (Hennop, 1995)? For example, a student might choose to answer an examination question in Xhosa even if English is the language of learning for that subject.
8. Will students from the former, segregated Education Departments within a particular province or nationally all be expected to write a common examination for languages and their other subjects (and if so, when)? This certainly seems likely in the Eastern Cape, where calls for such a move have frequently been made in the media and at conferences.

Resources

One of the major constraints on the implementation of a policy is the availability of resources, including human resources, funding, school facilities, materials and textbooks, to put that policy into effect. It is all very well to say that a language academy must be established “to supervise language policy development, resource development, etc. within the province” (Gerwel & Snayer, 1995, p. 3) or that multilingual materials must be developed (Crawhall, 1994), but often planners give no guidance as to how to achieve a goal and do not indicate where to find human resources, financial backing, and infrastructural support.

Especially for the short term, the challenge lies in constructing a well-formulated plan of action, a plan that is possible to carry out with available resources or one that suggests valid and realistic means of accruing the necessary resources.

One example of a resource constraint on language policy implementation is found in many state-aided schools, in which the state pays quota-restricted teaching staffs' salaries. The schools have to fund any additional teaching staff internally from their own coffers. ffolliott and Stear (1995), both school principals in the Eastern Cape, have pointed out a rather frustrating anomaly in these school contexts: The schools cannot carry out language policy recommendations to promote African languages because they do not have qualified teachers of those languages and cannot afford to employ above-quota staff members. ffolliott and Stear have therefore proposed that "all State-aided schools must be granted, where applicable, one additional post, specifically for the teaching of Xhosa" (p. 3).

Level 6: Towards an Ethnography of Language Planning

Ongoing assessment of any language planning endeavour is an integral component of the process. Planners, whether political linguists or sociolinguists (Eastman, 1990), must monitor and evaluate the consequences of the decisions they make. What does the promotion of African languages in schools, for example, mean for the status of English? What is the effect of requiring children to study up to three languages at school? Planners need to answer these questions, and many others, to measure the success of a language-in-education policy and to make adjustments to that policy if goals are not being achieved.

Planners must also continuously describe and evaluate the process of language planning itself. In other words, they must observe their own methods of operation. One way of doing so is for planners to perceive themselves and their colleagues in education as part of the same community a language planning, teaching, and learning community. One language planning activity, therefore, would be to research as participant observers the context, structures, and procedures of language planning within that community, very much like an ethnographer whose goal is "to provide a description and an interpretive-explanatory account of what people do in a setting (such as a classroom, neighbourhood, or community), the outcome of their interactions, and the way they understand what they are doing" (Watson-Gegeo, 1988, p. 576).

Following are three of the issues we have discovered during our involvement in language planning in the Eastern Cape province. An awareness of these issues (formulated mainly from group discussions

with other planners, during which we took notes at all meetings and planning sessions, closely observed media reports and announcements, and critically reflected on the experience) has enabled us to discover where our strengths and weaknesses lie and, where necessary, to work towards developing more effective language planning strategies.

Structures in Conflict

In some cases previous structures, particularly those departments that are remnants of the former government, conflict with present structures, particularly nongovernmental organizations and unions. For example, when a Transitional Language in Education Policy Working Group was established in the Eastern Cape, the chairperson of the group had to start his work virtually from scratch; he had no access to any of the (considerable) work-in-progress documentation that other groups either inside or outside the province had generated. In addition, without getting specific details, we often hear of other groups within the province who are working on language-in-education policy for the region, yet these groups are not in contact with each other.

Because of the conflict, certain groups may boycott meetings, thus hampering progress, or disillusioned members of these same groups may be replaced by others at future meetings, thus preventing continuity.

Poor Communication

The absence of effective communication between groups, especially between planners working at national and regional levels, means that whether one gets information about policy matters is often left to chance. As a result, those lucky provinces that have easier access to the relevant information are far ahead of the less fortunate regions in language policy development. The uncertainty of the communication network has often led to a rumour-versus-reality situation. We frequently find ourselves asking questions like, What are the policy decisions? Where do the decisions come from? Who is in charge? It is sometimes very difficult to get answers to these questions, and when we do they may not always be accurate. Answers to questions about the date set for a common final-year examination for all students from the former, segregated Education Departments, for example, have ranged from 1995 to 1997 at the very earliest. A contributory factor to poor communication is that many people are involved in planning only part time. They usually hold full-time positions in schools, universities, teachers' unions, or in-service teacher education organizations, so the time they can devote to language planning activities is limited.

Planning as a Cleansing Activity

The birth of a new political dispensation in South Africa has been accompanied by feelings of relief and hope. Perhaps more than ever before, language planners are motivated to grasp this opportunity to redress the imbalances of the past and to formulate a language policy that is fair to everyone. They must, however, be cautious of being overzealous in their recommendations. The desire to cleanse the system should not take preference over rational, well-informed decisions, as the implementation of a policy is a long-term rather than a short-term process.

The strong call for transparency and democratic decision making is not always as fruitful as intended. For example, at an October 1994 workshop run by the Eastern Cape Strategic Management Team (Education and Culture), almost the entire morning was taken up by the few hundred invited stakeholders trying to decide what should be on the agenda; for the Management Team simply to present the participants with an agenda would possibly have been interpreted as dictatorial. Perhaps the words of Nunan (1989), reflecting on a collaborative attempt at curriculum development, should be heeded: "The democratic impulse to involve as many teachers as possible would probably be tempered by the need to obtain the cooperation of those teachers who have the most experience and skill in curriculum development" (p. 22).

CONCLUSION

According to Kaplan (1994), language planning has tended to be perceived as a monolithic activity focused on one particular language at one particular time. Such a conceptualization, however, ignores "the interaction of multiple languages in a community and of multiple non-linguistic factors" (p. 4). A more productive way of looking at language planning activity is that it "implicat[es] a wide range of languages and a range of modifications occurring simultaneously over the set of languages in the environment" (p. 4).

Although Kaplan's comments focus on language planning generally, they are obviously of significance to language-in-education planning in particular. We hope to have presented a perspective on language planning activity in the South African context that meets with the necessarily more broad and encompassing orientation Kaplan argues for. We feel that the model presented not only describes the fundamental issues involved in such planning activity but also addresses societal multilingualism and particular sociopolitical perspectives on such multilingualism. Ultimately, then, we can answer the question in our title,

“What place for English?” only in terms of the broader question, “What place for all South African languages?”

We have also tried to show that, to implement a policy effectively, planners need to critically and dispassionately examine the constraints on implementing that policy. Above all, we hope to have shown in the discussion of our own experiences that the production of a language-in-education policy is a human activity that puts together individuals (sometimes with quite disparate backgrounds and objectives) operating within a specific sociocultural milieu. We thus hope to have demonstrated that the dynamic of language planners themselves is an integral component of the investigation of language planning as a whole.

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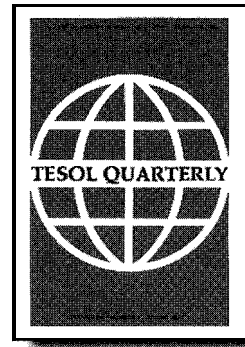
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Language Policies as Virtual Reality: Two Australian Examples

HELEN MOORE

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In 1991, language policy in Australia turned from a commitment to pluralism to a divisive prioritisation of literacy and selected Asian languages. This article explores that shift in the context of the general question of how to approach language policy analysis. Cooper's (1989) descriptive framework claims to offer a method for studying language policies, which I argue has serious flaws. I then consider some insights from the wider social science literature.

With something of the archangelic manner he told her how he had undertaken to show (what indeed had been attempted before, but not with that thoroughness, justice of comparison, and effectiveness of arrangement at which Mr Casaubon aimed) that all the mythical systems or erratic mythical fragments in the world were corruptions of a tradition originally revealed. Having once mastered the true position and taken firm footing there, the vast field of mythical constructions became intelligible, nay, luminous with the reflected light of correspondences. But to gather in this great harvest of truth was no light or speedy work.

George Eliot, *Middlemarch*

I have been working against an enemy that I was also part of, to discover how it worked so that I could discover how I was, and am, tied in to the relations of ruling in my practices of thinking about and speaking about people . . . Renouncing such methods of speaking and writing is not just a matter of a personal transformation.

Dorothy Smith, *The Conceptual Practices of Power:
A Feminist Sociology of Knowledge*

Mr. Casaubon and Dorothy Smith illustrate differences in scholarly enquiry. Mr. Casaubon seeks, by process of comprehensive description, mastery of "the true position" which illuminates his "vast field" of investigation. Smith interrogates descriptions for their implication in "the relations of ruling" (p. 204).

Mr. Casaubon's 19th-century belief that the truth resides in description persists in modern language planning studies. Cooper (1989) proposes that a comprehensive descriptive framework will lead towards a theory of language planning—what Yeatman (1990) would call an "origins myth" (p. 149). But Smith requires a more probing stance. For example, Luke, McHoul, and Mey (1990), Phillipson (1992), Pennycook (1995), and Tollefson (1991, 1995) have engaged with seminal work in the social sciences (e.g., M. Foucault, A. Giddens, J. Habermas) in considering power, the state, class, and colonialism. As Luke et al. point out, avoiding these issues makes the study of language planning "the classic incarnation of a linguistics which is blind to the very networks of power through which it operates" (p. 38).

In this article, I use insights from Dorothy Smith and Anna Yeatman, both feminist scholars, to explore the nature of policy formation. They start with the premise that all description is partial and interested. My perspective comes from my professional commitment to TESOL teacher education in Australia since 1975. Here my focus is explicitly developed language policy in Australia. In the next section, I describe two policies and ask why the first was replaced by a second. I then show that Cooper's (1989) approach offers no route into understanding this change. Next I use Smith's (1990a) analysis to explain why Cooper's approach fails and to consider how policy texts come about. Finally, I apply Yeatman's (1990) account of government *metapolicy* in Australia to show why language policy there has changed radically.

TWO LANGUAGE POLICIES IN AUSTRALIA

Australia is of interest for the study of language policy and planning because, unlike in many other countries, two explicitly designated language policies have been formulated at the federal level:¹ the National Policy on Languages (NPL) (Lo Bianco, 1987) and the Australian Language and Literacy Policy (ALLP) (Department of Employment, Education and Training [DEET], 1991). Explicitly designated language policies are not the same as policies that concern languages. Although Australia may be unusual in having developed the former, almost all policies can have some bearing on languages. This raises the questions of why and how these explicit policies came into being, what they sought to achieve, and why one replaced the other. The first two questions will be the main focus of this section.

¹ Australia is a federation consisting of elected governments at Commonwealth and state (six) and territory (two) levels.

A starting point is each policy's statement of goals. These statements set the frame for government action. They also encapsulate a policy document's "broad symbolic role as a public affirmation of the values" and the "social description" governments espouse (Lo Bianco, 1991, p. 26). The NPL and ALLP documents are part of the social description used by the Commonwealth government in its response to linguistic and cultural diversity in Australia. The NPL assumes pluralism as a common social good that policymaking on languages will enhance. The ALLP prioritises literacy and "foreign" languages, using these to displace the NPL's commitments.

The 1987 National Policy on Languages

The NPL is organised around four goals, described as (a) English for all, (b) support for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island languages, (c) a language other than English for all, and (d) equitable and widespread language services (Lo Bianco, 1987). These goals are to be realised through four broad strategies: "the *conservation* of Australia's linguistic resources; the *development and expansion* of these resources; the *integration* of Australian language teaching and language use efforts with national economic, social and cultural policies; [and] the *provision* of information and services in languages understood by clients" (p. 70). The justification given for the policy is that, for individuals and Australian society, it will support the potential of languages to provide cultural and intellectual enrichment, offer opportunities for employment and trade, overcome disadvantage and enhance social justice, and promote the nation's external relations, particularly in the Asia-Pacific region.

In the Australian context, these aspirations are thoroughly pluralist. They propose that the multiplicity of languages in Australia offers unique opportunities to develop a dynamic society.² Although English is indisputably the language of public life, it is one among many as a resource. Paradoxically, the argument for pluralism lies in showing commonalities across differences. All Australians are portrayed as both language users and potential learners, with all languages being reached by equally valid paths, creating different challenges for different people.

The NPL's aspirations embody a 15-year history of policy responses to linguistic and cultural diversity that were couched in terms of commitments to pluralism. It is important to trace how these aspirations took form. The first step was taken in 1972 with the election of a reformist

² The NPL documents that 17.3% (2,404,600) of the Australian population (16 million) speak a first language other than English (1983 figures) (Lo Bianco, 1987).

federal Labor government led by Gough Whitlam.³ Reacting against a period of more than 20 years of conservative rule, which had also included an extensive immigration program to meet demands for labour, the new government proclaimed multiculturalism as official policy. New buzzwords such as *strength in diversity* and *the family of the nation* announced pluralism as a social good. The government's commitments stemmed from and included greater access to politicians and bureaucrats for Aboriginal and immigrant organisations and professionals connected with their education, welfare, and legal status. Their advocacy was successful in establishing "programs of intervention targeted at particular groups for equity purposes," the main achievements in language education being in ESL for children and Aboriginal transitional bilingual programs (Lo Bianco, 1988, pp. 25–26). Whitlam's emphasis was on rights and redressing disadvantage (Clyne, 1991; Lo Bianco, 1988), themes and initiatives that the NPL incorporates in its social justice concerns.

In 1975, the Whitlam government was ignominiously sacked by the governor general, following a constitutional crisis provoked by conservative outrage at its social policies and inability to manage the economy. However, on language matters, Whitlam's achievement was to oblige his conservative successor to attempt to gain the policy high ground. Narrowing its main response to linguistic and cultural diversity to immigrant issues (thereby excluding Aboriginal concerns), the incoming Fraser government sought to denaturalise immigrants' alliance with Labor by announcing the most comprehensive package of measures to date (Galbally, 1978). These included expansions in ESL, "community" languages, interpreter services and ethnic radio, and a new multicultural television service. Triennial funding for adult and child ESL ensured program stability, leading, in adult ESL, to an outstanding federally run teaching service and quality curriculum. The Fraser government reendorsed multiculturalism but shifted Whitlam's emphasis on rights to pluralism in the service of social cohesion (Foster & Stockley, 1984; Lo Bianco, 1988; Ozolins, 1991, 1993). This view is central to the NPL.

Although its response to Aboriginal concerns was weak, the Fraser government effectively brought about bipartisan agreement at the federal political level on broad directions in immigrant issues. Developed in different ways, the endorsement of linguistic and cultural pluralism had become fundamental to policies' social description. Paradoxically, the undisputed acceptance of English as the language of public life and

³ Three major parties contend for federal office in a Westminster-style cabinet government: the Australian Labor Party (ALP), with a strong union base, and the conservative Liberal Party in coalition with the National Party (formerly the Country Party). In this article, *Labor* refers to the ALP (as determined by the party), whereas *labour* is the spelling otherwise adopted.

institutions gave space to support for community languages on grounds of their benefits to individuals, their communities, and hence the wider society (Lo Bianco, 1988). Challenges to these assumptions were marginalised and received no support at policymaking levels.⁴ In ESL, research indicating the advantages of bilingualism and mother tongue literacy (e.g. Cummins, 1978; Peal & Lambert, 1962; Swain & Cummins, 1979) became a cornerstone in teacher development and of advocacy to communities, bureaucrats, and politicians. Leadership in the ESL profession rejected its previous assimilationist image and agenda and, in schools, promoted ESL as an aspect of bilingual children's development seen in the context of their other language(s). ESL professionals were among the most active in advocating bilingual programs, community languages in the mainstream curriculum, and linguistically and culturally inclusive practices in teaching and schools. The NPL document builds on these notions of multilingualism and elaborates them.

The specific history of the NPL arises from this climate of expectation, activism, and access to government during the 1970s and early 1980s. Ethnic and language-related professional associations directed incipient rivalries for attention and resources into a push for a national language policy. This strategy reflects what several policy scholars have called Australia's "statist political culture" in which "much political activity that elsewhere happens outside the state, in Australia occurs inside the state" (Lingard, Knight, & Porter, 1993, p. viii). Groups, such as those with interests in languages, focus their claims in and around governments and the bureaucracy (Yeatman, 1993), rather than, for example, the courts or the local community.

Lo Bianco (1990) and Ozolins (1993) describe the complex processes in the formation of the NPL that allowed "specific groups to perceive individual benefit in adhering to a broader constituency" (Lo Bianco, 1990, p. 69). This constituency sought to extricate language issues, first, from being simply immigrant or welfarist policy (Ozolins, 1991); second, from "feel-good" insubstantive multiculturalism; and third, from antiracist policies, which seemed too politicised to command widespread support. A policy focused on languages would resolve the previous contradictions that excluded nonimmigrant concerns. It appeared to offer a potentially coherent, substantive, and positive response to linguistic and cultural diversity. This policy would encompass the dominant language—English—as a mother tongue and a second and foreign language, together with nondominant languages, including community, foreign, Aboriginal, and Torres Strait Islander languages, and the languages of the deaf. It would affect domains such as education, interpreting and translating,

⁴ See Ozolins (1993) for a detailed account of these challenges.

libraries, the media, foreign relations, trade, and exporting educational services (PLANLangPol Committee, 1983). To draw these aspirations together, the proponents of a languages policy deployed the key notion of *languages as resources* in achieving national enrichment and economic advantage. This is a strong theme in the NPL document.

This impetus led to a Senate Enquiry, begun in 1982 under Fraser and continued under the Hawke Labor government elected in 1983, a transition that was to prove crucial.⁵ In 1984, the Enquiry recommended in favour of a national language policy (Parliament of Australia, 1984). However, the new government not only delayed acting on these recommendations but in 1986 took measures to trim the public sector, including community languages and ESL programs. Vigorous reactions by immigrant and professional groups and the forthcoming 1987 election persuaded the then-education minister to commission a consultant to prepare an implementation plan for the Senate recommendations. The NPL was negotiated in 1986–1987 with state/territory governments and other agencies. Featured as an election campaign promise, it was subsequently implemented as a 4-year program.

Action under the NPL was authorised within the education portfolio and was clearly more limited than its stated goals. The cuts to school ESL were not revoked, although tuition for newly arrived children was extended. Other provisions concerned languages other than English (particularly in primary schools), adult literacy, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages, Asian studies in schools, and cross-cultural training. In the wake of the NPL, each state/territory developed its own languages policy.

The NPL's major achievement was as a "social description" and a "public affirmation of values" (Lo Bianco, 1991, p. 26). Through its construction of pluralism as a social good benefiting all, it not only met the aspirations of the diverse groups who had lobbied for and contributed to its development. It also articulated a coherent set of unifying principles on which future policy development and these groups' advocacy might jointly build.

The 1991 Australian Language and Literacy Policy

In 1991, the NPL was replaced by the ALLP. The reasons for this can be portrayed in various ways, as will be seen below. The document, entitled *Australia's Language: The Australian Language and Literacy Policy* (DEET, 1991) claims the policy is "a continuation" (p. xiii) of the NPL, suggesting that it resulted from the administrative process of reviewing

⁵Labor remained in office until March 1996 (just before this article went to press).

the NPL at the end of its 4-year funding cycle. The summary version of the ALLP goals reads as follows:

1. All Australians should develop and maintain effective literacy in English to enable them to participate in Australian society;
2. The learning of languages other than English must be substantially expanded and improved;
3. Those Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages that are still transmitted should be maintained and developed, and those that are not should be recorded where appropriate;
4. Language services provided by interpreters and translators, the print and electronic media and libraries should be expanded and improved. (DEET, 1991, p. 4)

These goals can be seen to reframe and atomise those of the NPL. Their implications are not immediately obvious. Clearer definition was provided by the new education minister, whose hostility to the NPL had been undisguised since he took office following the 1987 election. His speech to launch the ALLP emphasises coherence and the setting of priorities, which he saw as lacking in the NPL:

This policy brings together a number of strands of policy that have been separately administered, separately put together in the past and now this is our attempt to try and make a coherent whole out of these various strands of policy and various programs. And the starting point is that Australia is a nation of many cultures but Australia has but one national language, that being Australian English. Despite the fact that that's a fairly uncontroversial statement, it remains the case that many Australians do not read and write English very well and many Australians do not even speak it. And that has, of course, enormous implications for those individuals in terms of their ability to participate in the education and training system and, perhaps as much as anything, their ability to participate in the wider life of the nation including its democratic institutions. (Dawkins, 1991, p. 1)

The minister then moves to the need "to improve the rigour of English language teaching in schools" and measures to be taken in assessing literacy. He stresses "that English language education, English language training, is by far in a way the most important part of this policy document" (p. 1). The government's second priority is "that more Australians should speak foreign languages" to enhance Australia's role "as a trading nation" (p. 2). Here prioritizing languages for special support will achieve the necessary "greater focus" (p. 2).

Minister Dawkins's naming of language issues, carried through in all essential aspects in the policy document itself, marks a number of dramatic changes from the NPL and language policy formation since Whitlam. These are summarised in Figure 1. However, despite the claim

that separate policy strands would become “a coherent whole” (Dawkins, 1991, p. 1), there was no proposal to bring the programs collected under the ALLP title within a single agency. In fact, the various bodies responsible have become more difficult to locate or access. What Minister Dawkins meant was that his starting point—that Australia has “but one national language” (p. 1)—would direct the work of these bodies.

FIGURE 1
The Differing Perspectives of the National Policy on Languages
and the Australian Language and Literacy Policy

Perspective	NPL	ALLP ^a
Expressed in title	<i>National Policy on Languages</i> Uses the pluralist <i>languages</i> .	<i>Australian Language and Literacy Policy</i> Strengthens nationalistic theme; displaces pluralist <i>languages</i> by ambiguous <i>language</i> (either English or language in general).
Language goals	Committed to broad pluralist goals; developed from a consensus-building process among diverse groups.	Claims to make separate “policy strands” “a coherent whole”; nominates priorities as literacy, assessment, and designated “foreign” languages; aims for control.
Language and culture	Treats languages and cultures as irretrievably interlinked.	Contrasts Australia’s “one national language” with its “many cultures,” thus separating language from culture and erasing the many languages associated with the “many cultures.”
Language speakers	Proposes all Australians as knowers and learners of languages, distinguishing the paths by which different languages (and associated literacies) are developed.	Frames the main issue as lack of English. Groups those who “do not read and write English very well” with those “who do not even speak it,” thus conflating English literacy with second language development and erasing literacies in other languages. Frames all languages other than English as “foreign”—separate from and alien to “Australians.”
Importance of different languages	Articulates multiple values for languages; focuses on the potential of languages as resources in a variety of ways.	Foregrounds English and “Asian” languages; ties English literacy to education, training, and employment; views not “speaking” English as a threat to democracy; ties Asian languages to trade. Generalises and obscures the role of different languages by mythologising the instrumental value of some, obliterating others, and demonising the consequences of lack of English.

^aIncludes the interpretation of the minister of education as expressed in Dawkins (1991). Terms in quotation marks are from Dawkins (1991).

The ALLP's main function was to eliminate the inclusiveness of the NPL by targeting "literacy," assessment, and foreign languages. The actual document provides an interesting example of an explicitly designated language policy that is largely inexplicit about subsequent policy developments related to languages. These included cuts to immigration quotas; course fees for immigrants tested as having less than "survival" English;⁶ the replacement of triennial funding for adult ESL programs by a competitive tendering system;⁷ the combination of adult ESL and English literacy in a single assessment framework (Coates, Fitzpatrick, McKenna, & Makin, 1995); the mandating of competency-based training in the adult training sector; new national curriculum and assessment guidelines for schools whose references to children's bilingualism are tokenistic; cuts in school ESL programs due to states' and territories' diverting funds to offset their overall reduced federal grants (Victorian Association of TESOL and Multicultural Education, 1993); and a decline in work on Aboriginal languages, permitted by the conflation of funding with ESL and literacy. A subsequent report (Council of Australian Governments, 1994), which prioritised Japanese, Mandarin, Indonesian, and Korean—designated as vital for trade—has now superseded the ALLP's mandate over languages other than English. In effect, pluralist aspirations no longer have a place in Commonwealth-sponsored endeavors.

In 1991, few within language advocacy groups foresaw these developments. Nevertheless, there was intense anger and dismay at the divisive prioritisation of literacy and selected Asian languages, which erased precisely what these groups had worked so hard to set in place.⁸ I argue below that their success in establishing an explicit language policy committed to pluralism had created the need to extricate government from the coherent set of claims that this policy permitted. The ALLP's role was to announce that pluralism had gone. Language advocates now faced the unsavoury choice of co-option or resistance.

Why did such a dramatic change take place? Cooper (1989), Smith (1990a), and Yeatman (1990) offer various ways to approach this question. I will show that Cooper's pursuit of a complete descriptive

⁶The tuition fee is currently \$4,000 for the main applicant and \$2,000 for dependents. It is not levied on refugees.

⁷Before 1992, the Commonwealth directly funded its own adult ESL teaching service and also signed 3-year contracts (subject to annual review) with other providers. Competitive tendering meant that regional offices developed course specifications to meet what each office determined as client needs (based on local unemployment patterns) and advertised for bids (from anyone), initially on a 6-month basis. The subsequent chaos persuaded the department to adopt longer funding cycles and to institute a provider registration system.

⁸The discussion paper leading to the ALLP generated unprecedented opposition, including 340 submissions written over 3 months, 2 of which were the Christmas/summer break. No submission favouring the ALLP was ever identified (Clyne, 1991).

schema leads nowhere. Smith's and Yeatman's work demonstrates the insights to be gained from less ambitious but better argued and contextually grounded analyses.

COOPER'S PATH TO EXPLAINING LANGUAGE POLICIES

Following Cooper (1989), the replacement of the NPL by the ALLP would be best understood by describing each policy in terms of the following framework: What *actors* attempt to influence what *behaviours* of which *people* for what *ends* under what *conditions* by what *means* through what *decision-making process* with what *effect*? (see p. 98 for a full elaboration). Cooper claims that these framing questions provide an "accounting" scheme that makes explicit and evaluates the central tasks of describing, predicting, explaining, and theorising in language planning.

An immediate issue is Cooper's (1989) assumption—not made explicit—that such description is unproblematic. For Cooper, the validity of a description is established by cross-verification:

How is truthfulness in description to be judged? Probably the best solution is to ask a person who is familiar with the events to evaluate the validity of the description. For example, political scientists familiar with the early stages of the Ethiopian revolution could be asked to evaluate the truthfulness of my description of the Ethiopian mass-literacy campaign. (p. 47)

But a number of questions are unanswered. For example, who and what might be included as the actors, people, ends, behaviors, and so on in the formation of the NPL and ALLP, and how might each be distinguished from the other? Cooper claims that these headings help in selecting and organizing "our observations from among the indefinitely large number of observations which could be made" and act "as a template which the investigator can use to impose order on his or her data and which the critic can use to evaluate the description" (p. 47). In fact, without importing some other criteria for selecting what will be described, these headings set in train an endless and unmotivated task.

Other questions are equally unresolved. What might count as "familiarity" with events (and is Cooper implying that students of language planning need not be familiar with the "events" they describe)? Why should someone from another discipline be able to validate a description? What is to be done with different views of the same events? And are we to believe descriptions because they agree with each other? In place of answers to these questions, Cooper presents his descriptive framework using a combination of contradictions, arbitrariness, and circular argument.

A central contradiction lies in Cooper's assumption that events manifest their own truth, at the same time as he proposes a framework that constructs truths in terms of actors, people, ends, and so on.⁹ Arbitrariness occurs in the ways this framework is introduced and reified and its content selected, without justification, from innovation studies, marketing, politics, and decision making (see chapter 4). Much of this content (and associated imagery) appears to rely surreptitiously on experimental psychology as a research model. For example, explanatory adequacy is to be ascertained through the techniques of correlations, observations, and experiments. In fact, these techniques exclude most explanations found in the language planning literature and could not answer why the ALLP replaced the NPL.

Circular arguments are used to justify the utility of descriptive frameworks. Most notably, Cooper claims that descriptive frameworks can contribute to theory building: Descriptive frameworks nominate the variables to be described, leading to the discovery of "behavioral regularities" (p. 57), which lead to theories, which tell us which variables should be described. Cooper's predilection for description leads to a catalogue of theories (see chapter 8). In the face of their complexity, he asks, "Is a theory of language planning possible?" (p. 182). His answer is akin to Mr. Casaubon's realisation that "to gather in this great harvest of truth is no light or speedy work." Cooper believes that "such a theory seems as far from our grasp as the philosopher's stone and the elixir of youth . . . unattainable at our present level of competence" (p. 182). Because "to plan language is to plan society," "a satisfactory theory of language planning . . . awaits a satisfactory theory of social change" (p. 182). This circular argument justifies, one supposes, Cooper's descriptive approach for the foreseeable future.

Actual descriptions of policies, including my own above, demonstrate that these descriptions are not observations of events from which explanations unproblematically emerge. Rather, descriptions and explanations vary and, even when overlapping, may contradict each other. For example, Eggington (1993/1994) and Ingram (1994) agree that the NPL was replaced, despite its strengths, because of its deficiencies. Both appear to assume that policymaking is a process whereby the weaknesses of one policy create the need for the next, whose own weaknesses inevitably lead to yet another. But their descriptions of strengths and weaknesses differ. Reviewing other literature, Eggington cites the NPL's "top-down" approach, narrow implementation, single authorship and a "narrow developmental base" as making it "vulnerable to severe revision"

⁹See Bowe, Ball, and Gold (1992) and Burchell, Gordon, and Miller (1991) for critiques of policy in these terms. Rubin (1986) makes a similar criticism specifically in the context of language planning.

(pp. 139–141). The ALLP overcame these “weaknesses” through the discussion process and departmental consultations with “language planning experts,” leading to revisions and facilitating its current acceptance (pp. 141–142), although by whom is not stated. In contrast, Ingram attributes the “need” (p. 76) for the ALLP to the NPL’s limited attention to literacy, the absence of ongoing evaluation, its restriction to short-term program funding, and its lack of a framework to link analysis with implementation proposals. He does not explain how the ALLP was designed to rectify these problems. The ALLP’s strengths are “some excellent and innovative ideas” (p. 77) which, apart from its attention to assessment, he does not describe. In turn, the ALLP’s weaknesses are its imbalance towards economic goals, its failure to include languages of “multicultural significance” and, like the NPL, its lack of a rigorous framework (pp. 76–77). Further variation can be found in assessments of the ALLP’s significance. My account above paints it as a major shift in language policy, which, to some extent, accords with Eggington’s and Ingram’s. In contrast, Lo Bianco (1991) and Clyne (1991) conclude that the ALLP largely preserved the NPL’s directions.

These variations point to the problematic issue—passed over by Cooper (1989)—that descriptions are inevitably selective because they are interpretative. Eggington (1993/1994) does not mention the history, extensive consultation, and consensus building described by the consultant who authored the NPL (Lo Bianco, 1990), whose account is the basis for my description above. What Eggington describes as consultation in the ALLP process, I interpret as co-option and coercion. I do not see the revisions to the ALLP document as substantive, but as strategic and trivial (see also Clyne, 1991). Ingram (1994) presents as “unbalanced” (p. 77) what I will argue below are crucial pointers to the ALLP’s explanatory principles. His account of the NPL’s weaknesses omits reference to the policy’s extensive discussion of literacy issues and accompanying budget allocations, preferring the description of the NPL canvassed by Minister Dawkins and his advisors (see also Cavalier, 1994). He fails to mention that NPL programs had a 4-year funding cycle and that a progress report based on independent evaluations was publicly available within the first 3 years (Australian Advisory Council on Languages and Multicultural Education, 1990). He does not point out that the ALLP has been funded on an annual basis and that evaluations do not appear to be publicly accessible.

Decisions about what will be described are always taken in the context of an argument—whether overt or covert, coherent or incoherent—that the describer is making. Eggington (1993/1994) aims to review literature he considers relevant to an international survey of language planning. Ingram (1994) seeks to demonstrate to fellow academics and policymakers

the need for his own “rational framework” (p. 79, 85ff.). Clyne (1991) and Lo Bianco (1990) seem strategically oriented to downplaying the effects of the ALLP and to maintaining the NPL’s aspirations. One of my principal motivations is similarly strategic, in that I wish to offer an understanding of what I interpret as a retrograde turn in policymaking in Australia, to highlight its effects and maybe provide some ground for change. Cooper’s (1989) headings could not help evaluate our descriptions, and cross-validation by other analysts would inevitably rely on their motivations in structuring what is selected, omitted, and interpreted.

What a describer chooses to describe, how it is described, and what interpretations are made are all problematic. The differences above bring to light the interestedness of describers of language policies in what they describe and what their descriptions can produce, both in the academy and policymaking arenas. Our interestedness as scholars inevitably influences our choice and interpretation of data, the arguments to which our descriptions contribute, and the values that our analyses embody. As I argue below using Smith (1990a), this interestedness cannot be dismissed as something extraneous or improper to scholars. Scholars must be interested in something, otherwise they would not embark on their work in the first place. The question is not whether scholars are interested, but what they are interested in.

A crucial issue for policy scholars is how they are situated in relation to the state. In Cooper’s (1989) accounting scheme, the assumption of scholarly objectivity leaves language planning analysts in positions that are multiple, confused, and never explicit. Sometimes they are initiators of policies and experiments in planning, sometimes the evaluators of others’ work. How or why this comes about is never made clear, nor are its effects. This lack of clarity provides evidence for Smith’s (1990a) argument below that the ethic of objectivity obscures the interests that scholars and state authorities have in each other’s descriptions.

If scholars, like everyone else, always have interests in what they do, one might ask whether they offer anything special or different. Cooper’s (1989) answer suggests endless description, pseudoscientific methods, and grand theory, all in the name of objectivity. An alternative is that, coherently and reflexively, scholars develop and probe the bases of their own and others’ understandings. Smith (1990a) and Yeatman (1990) provide examples of this type of scholarship, to which I now turn.

SMITH: INTERESTEDNESS AND POLICY TEXTS

Smith’s extensive work (e.g. 1987, 1990a, 1990b) includes exploration of a fundamental reality ignored by Cooper (1989):

Knowing is always a relation between the knower and known. The knower cannot be collapsed into the known, cannot be eliminated; the knower's presence is always presupposed. To know is always to know on some terms, and the paradox of knowing is that we discover in its object the lineaments of what we know already. There is no other way to know than humanly, from our historical and cultural situation. This is a fundamental human condition. (Smith, 1990a, p. 33)

The knower's presence cannot be eliminated, but it can be obscured in two ways. First, researchers obscure their presence as knowers by separating their work from their personal experiences, interests, values, and beliefs: We are trained "to discard our personal experience as a source of reliable information about the character of the world and to confine and focus our insights within the conceptual frameworks and relevance of our discipline" (p. 15). Second, researchers treat other people as objects that are to be examined and classified and whose subjectivities and agency are discounted. Retaining (but disguising) the privilege of agency for themselves as authorised (but limited) by their discipline, researchers create and maintain their frameworks and theories by separating what "people say from the actual circumstances in which it is said, from the actual empirical conditions of their lives, and from the actual individuals who said it" (p. 43). Objectivity bestows agency on researchers' frameworks while researchers and the researched become simply their different representatives (p. 49). These frameworks can be seen to "work," because, beyond them, there is always "an actual co-ordering of activities that is reflected in them" (p. 49). Thus Cooper's (1989) accounting scheme will work if researchers co-order their descriptions in terms of "actors' influencing people's "behaviours" (p. 98), and because policies do affect people.

Cooper (1989), Ingram (1994), and Eggington (1993/1994) assume that objectivity produces disinterested knowledge, which is therefore credible. Smith (1990a) shows that objectivity does not equate with disinterestedness, and credibility rests on neither. Objectivity is "a convention of the profession requiring that the presence of the subject and the subject's interest in knowing be canceled from the 'body of knowledge' as a condition of its objective status" (p. 33). Rather than being necessarily concerned with the development of "knowledge" or "truth," the practices of objectivity are committed to their self-extension, namely, to "the constitution of a phenomenal world and a body of statements about it" (p. 33). Smith argues, using Marx, that researchers produce "ideological circles" (p. 49) if they disguise and further their interests by using human experiences to produce and maintain their own procedures, descriptions, and theoretical edifices. Cooper's (1989) accounting scheme is a particularly clear example. Its effect is precisely to reduce knowing, acting subjects to objects for classification under its

headings.¹⁰ Its main purpose, as he repeatedly illustrates, is its own self-maintenance and extension.

Smith (1990a) seeks practices that, as she writes in the epigraph to this article, renounce what she critiques. Her alternative begins with and always honours “insider’s knowledge” (p. 24), that is, how individuals describe and explain the actualities of their lives. This focus should not be confused with promoting subjectivist interpretations or rejecting evidence, careful analysis, and argument: A concern with the “self as sole focus and object” (p. 27) would perpetuate the very problems Smith seeks to investigate. Starting with insiders’ perspectives, Smith uses her scholarly knowledge and skills to explore “the relations beyond our direct experience that shape and determine it” (p. 27), particularly how people’s lives are brought under the control of the state in “the relations of ruling” (p. 204). But insiders are not simply providers of data. Their interests and insights, as well as the researcher’s, contribute to a dynamic dialogic process from which both may gain.

Smith’s “insider’s knowledge” (1990a, p. 24) of her own profession of sociology is the basis of her exploration of objectivity and its implication in “the relations of ruling” (p. 204). She starts by noting how

Sociologists . . . move among the doings of organizations, government processes, and bureaucracies as people who are at home in that medium. The nature of that world itself, how it is known to them, the conditions of its existence, and their relation to it are not called into question. Their methods of observation and inquiry extend into it as procedures that are *essentially of the same order as those that bring about the phenomena they are concerned with* [italics added]. Their perspectives and interests may differ, but the substance is the same. (pp. 16-17)

As with her previous account of objectivity, Smith’s (1990) alternative order of description focuses on people’s practices. The modern state requires practices that produce “facticity” (p. 69). For Smith, “facts are neither the statements themselves, nor the actualities those statements refer to” (p. 71). Rather,

They are *an organisation of practices of inscribing an actuality into a text* [italics added], of reading, hearing, or talking about what is there, what actually happened and so forth. They are . . . properties of a discourse or other organization mediated by texts . . . In scientific contexts, the facticity of statements is guaranteed by generally highly technical procedures that can reliably and precisely produce the state of affairs or events expressed in

¹⁰ Cooper’s (1989) account of the mass literacy campaign in Ethiopia concludes with the remark that “if Haile Sillase could view the present scene, he could, perhaps, be forgiven an ironic smile” (p. 28). Cooper’s perspective permits this distanced and callous comment, which makes the actualities of those people’s extraordinary suffering irrelevant.

factual statements. The facticity of statements thus arises from *their embedding in distinctive socially organized processes* [italics added]. (p. 71)

Crucial to facticity is that texts are written and read without attention “to what has gone into . . . [their] making” (p. 107). Thus a factive text exists in textual—as opposed to real—time and “has no apparent history other than that incorporated in it” (p. 74). The practices on which objectivity relies—the erasure of the relation between the knower and the known—also operate in producing factive texts. A common interest in the production and use of these texts creates a symbiotic relationship between state authorities and social scientists. This insight points to the core of the blindness in Cooper’s (1989) assumption that description is nonproblematic and that Luke et al. (1990) diagnose generally in language planning studies.

For both social scientists and state authorities, this organisation of practices makes factive texts “virtual realities,” that is, “the account comes to stand for the actuality it claims to represent” (Smith, 1990a, p. 74). Whereas social scientists use facts in their creation of frameworks and theories, state authorities require facts as the basis for what is “properly actionable” (p. 125). Examples of state-produced factive texts are population data, hospital and school records, and policy documents. These are the realities by which state authorities act, not people’s everyday accounts of their lives.

The practices that bring facts into existence are likewise directed to maintaining them. Specific procedures allow “an organization . . . [to] virtually invent the environment and objects corresponding to its accounting terminologies and practices” (Smith, 1990a, p. 96), so that if something cannot “be resolved into the appropriate terminology, it cannot gain currency within the system” (p. 100). Particular institutions have their own procedures that “warrant” and “enforce” (p. 73) how texts are constructed, read, and understood; who is capable of reading and understanding; and how people are trained in doing this. These procedures are hierarchically organised. They insulate those who mandate the production of factive texts from those closest to “local historical experience” (p. 96), which has the potential to disrupt how a factive text is constructed or read. The subordinate status of those closest to “the lived situation” (p. 100)—those actually making particular records and reports—prevents them from challenging, and ensures they actively maintain, the way factive texts mandate realities.¹¹

¹¹ Smith gives an example from the Vietnam War (p. 99). Those ordering bombing raids devised reporting procedures based on their previous knowledge of warfare. Subordinates followed these procedures, ignoring the considerable differences from their experiences of actual raids.

As is clear from the epigraph to this article, Smith (1990a) places herself with those who are ruled, not those who rule. She does not dispute that factive texts are necessary for the business of the state and other authorities. Her scholarly interests lie in contributing to an understanding of how people's lives are caught up in this business. If desired, these insights can provide agendas for struggle and change in specific contexts. Applied to the study of policy texts, her approach requires that we do not "take for granted as known" (1990a) the entities and processes on which these texts rely. Rather, we should examine how policy texts select and produce virtual realities that authorise particular lines of action by state authorities. In considering the NPL and the ALLP documents, one must go behind their portrayal of the inevitability of their views and their obliteration of the struggles experienced by insiders to their production and those whom they affect (see also Kress, 1985; Lemke, 1990; Luke et al., 1993; Yeatman, 1990). How have these documents produced, warranted, and enforced their virtual realities?

The contrast between the NPL and the ALLP shows that their realities are anything but inevitable. These realities were produced from ongoing and shifting struggles over how Australian governments should respond to linguistic and cultural diversity, not the inevitable march of progress, as Ingram (1994) and Eggington (1993/1994) would have us believe. As I have portrayed it, the NPL created a policy reality whose purpose was to bring together the efforts of groups struggling with and close to this diversity. Its history and formation drew from the understandings of these groups and produced principles for state action that they found acceptable. The ALLP was produced to establish new realities drawn from completely other sources. Yeatman (1990) offers an account of how these realities gained ascendance and why they proved so hostile to the pluralism espoused by the NPL.

CONSENSUS POLITICS VERSUS PLURALISM

Like Smith, Yeatman (1990, 1994) rejects objectivity's "archimedean" (1990, p. 149) judgments and seeks reflexivity in her own and others' work, particularly in attending to how it intervenes in the constitution and distribution of power relations. She is committed to promoting "the surfacing of claims" and "debate and struggle" over their distribution (1990, p. 174). Her view of state texts is also similar to Smith's: Policies "are not responses to social problems already formed and 'out there'" but rather "constitute the problems to which they are seen to be responses" (1990, p. 158).

Yeatman (1990) describes modern democratic political activity as a "discoursal politics" (p. 153), that is, a struggle over what is to be named

(or nameless) and thereby constituted (or disqualified) as “subject to state agency or intervention” (p. 155). As noted above, the NPL named linguistic and cultural diversity as a social good that policymaking would develop towards cultural, economic, social justice, and foreign policy goals. The NPL ran headlong into political processes that constructed pluralism as a problem.

These processes—popularly known as *consensus politics*—were central to the Labor Government’s strategy in gaining and retaining office. Its 1983 mandate was to reverse youth unemployment, strikes, and poor economic performance. To achieve this, Labor’s traditional relationships with the unions were exploited, together with a new openness to cooperation with big business. Formal agreements between government and the unions reduced strikes and wage demands, in return for improved conditions, lower inflation, and growing employment. Consensus politics named its realities in terms of what Yeatman (1990), using Beilharz (1987), describes as “the discourse of labourism” (p. 158). Drawn from traditional Marxism (but dispensing with its oppositions), this discourse naturalises the interests and understandings of unions, employers, and the state, constructing these as producers of policy (p. 158). Throughout the 1980s, representatives of these power elites were privileged in policy bodies while other groups were progressively eliminated (Lingard et al., 1993). So, for example, following the 1987 election, “corporate managerialist” principles were used to restructure a renamed and enlarged Department of Employment, Education and Training, giving its minister and his senior advisors greater power (Considine, 1988; Yeatman, 1990). Its semi-autonomous policymaking bodies, which included representation from parent, educational, and community groups, were replaced by advisory committees dominated by businessmen, unionists, and bureaucrats.

This policy elite set economic restructuring as Labor’s metapolicy, that is, “the policy framework within which all other specific policy challenges are to be located” (Yeatman, 1990, pp. 102–103). Economic restructuring aimed to reduce trade deficits and overseas debt and expose Australian industry to international competition. The government removed tariffs, deregulated financial markets, cut taxes, reduced the public sector, and attempted to promote efficiency and skills in industry, training, and education. These policies were intensified in the late 1980s and early 1990s in response to recession, worsening trade balances, and a return to high unemployment. Common in much of the industrialised world, such policies are frequently described as emanating from New Right ideology or *economic rationalism*, which Marginson (1992) defines as “a form of political rationality in which (paradoxically) the market economy is substituted for democratic politics and public planning as

the system of production and co-ordination and as the origin of social ethics" (p. 1; see also Pusey, 1991).

Where Australia was distinctive under Labor was in the articulation of economic rationalism with labourism. This precluded the extreme market-oriented policies developed in the U.S. and Britain and required "social justice" for "disadvantaged groups." However, by the late 1980s, the economic rationalist ethic had colonised social justice. A central policy document, *Towards a Fairer Australia: Social Justice Under Labor* (1988) proclaims that "the Government . . . is committed to making social justice both a primary goal of economic policy and an indispensable element in achieving economic policy objectives" (pp. vi-vii, cited in Fitzclarence & Kenway, 1993, p. 91). The new DEET minister was a key producer of this ideology. As Taylor and Henry (1994) describe,

The clear emphasis in Dawkins' approach . . . was that education must be part of a skills-led economic recovery. Equity concerns were peripheral in these policies and where "disadvantaged groups" were targeted for attention they were seen primarily in terms of wastage of human resources. (p. 109)

Yeatman (1990) describes social justice policies as being "specifically for those whom labourist discourse excludes from mainstream modes of participation and distribution" and "a strategy which maintains, and even *develops* . . . the exclusions which are built into the dominant labourist discourse" (p. 158). These exclusions allowed the policy elite to both maintain its control and limit others' claims to policy benefits. In Smith's (1990a) terms, social justice policies created "an ideological circle" (p. 49) that perpetuated and obscured the interests of their producers while eliminating the agency of those at whom the policies were directed. This was precisely the effect of reconstituting the NPL's inclusive "English for all" as "literacy" for the "disadvantaged" (see Figure 1). "Language and literacy" (in English)—the authorised policy category which subsumed ESL—has devalued and misrepresented the languages and literacies of ESL learners, has obscured the needs of English mother tongue speakers, has disrupted and divided teachers, and threatens to return the ESL profession to the assimilationist thinking its leaders have struggled so hard to replace.

Within both the neo-Marxist and right-wing interests privileged by consensus politics, there was also outright hostility to the NPL's pluralism (Moore, 1996). Aspirations for immigrant language maintenance were aligned with fanatical "ethnic" groups (supposedly let out of control by Whitlam's irresponsibility) and the spectre of ghettos and social collapse. In place of pluralism and diversity, Labor celebrated its traditional 19th century ethos of mateship, "fellow Australians" and "true believers" (for example, Cavalier, 1994). By the end of the 1980s, the NPL's commitments

were sidestepped except on occasions specifically soliciting ethnic votes, where weak assurances were given (Ozolins, 1991). Immigrant representation in mainstream policy bodies had disappeared. Policymaking on languages other than English was directed to what Minister Dawkins (1991) had named as “Australians” learning “Asian languages” (p. 2)—meaning four such languages—thereby confusing and dividing schools and communities. His suggestion that immigrants who could not “even speak [English]” (p. 1) are unproductive burdens and threats to democracy, despite the facility of many as native speakers of Asian languages, has since gained new vitality in the public arena.

In the public sector, such as education and social services, economic rationalist assumptions made private sector activity both a goal to be served and an operational norm (Yeatman, 1990). Corporate managerialism instituted goals that centred on “economy, efficiency and effectiveness” (p. 27). “Cost efficiency” became value-free “objective necessity” (p. 32), reducing other values to matters of personal viewpoint. Incentives to meet these goals were combined with devolved responsibility for policy implementation (within generally reduced budgets) to local sites. These changes created a sophisticated system of top-down controls that rewarded loyalty to management objectives. The effect of these controls was, as Yeatman describes, to “to offset and limit the influence of ‘content,’ namely, commitments and loyalties which are tied to particular departmental or agency portfolios and which acquire authority through the development of specialised experience and links with client groups” (p. 9). As shown above, the content of the NPL was generated through access to politicians and bureaucrats by advocates from local communities; service and educational providers; and Aboriginal, immigrant, and professional groups. Such networks are themselves necessarily pluralist and help constitute pluralist policies. The corporatist ideological circle in the public service cut off and circumscribed the knowledge produced by these networks, making their claims objects of suspicion.

The post-1987 DEET became an exemplar of corporate managerialist processes and economic rationalist policies. DEET named its realities in terms of “accountability” and training in “competencies” (Moore, 1996, in press). For Minister Dawkins and his department, the NPL represented an annoying remnant of earlier times with which they had been saddled as a result of ethnic pressures during the close 1987 election. Because the NPL had succeeded in naming languages as an object of policymaking, they would be reconstituted in the ALLP to serve economic restructuring: Asian languages would meet overseas trade objectives; literacy would focus on skills upgrading and social justice without allowing pluralist claims to surface. Those who did not accept this selectivity and reductionism were eliminated from consultation mecha-

nisms. In this way, the ALLP produced and enforced the ideological circle of DEET metapolicy.

In adult ESL, arguably the country's greatest achievement in quality language education, DEET promulgated the reality that the program was an expensive luxury serving the interests of its teachers (for career paths, quality curriculum, and stable programs). The economic rationalist belief that market principles increased cost efficiency became the unassailable rationale for replacing triennial funding with competitive tendering and including the private sector. The new system provides a perfect example of the maintenance and enforcement of an ideological circle serving bureaucratic interests and excluding others. The dynamics of competition divided providers and weakened their ability to understand, articulate, and mobilise their claims (Yeatman, 1990), destroying previous infrastructure, professional standards, and advisory and cooperative networks. It simultaneously strengthened bureaucratic control and interventions in student selection and program management and effectively installed DEET's preferred curriculum model of competency-based training (Moore, 1996). DEET's factive texts enforced its virtual reality of cost efficiency by not documenting the time spent in preparing and assessing tenders and the almost daily negotiations between providers and DEET officials; nor did they reveal that classes were funded without students to fill them while others were turned away, had courses discontinued, or were not told they had places. As Smith (1990a) predicts, providers actively maintained DEET's virtual reality: Including this information in course reports would have jeopardised their chances with subsequent tenders.

The NPL's major achievement had been in framing language policy as a set of interrelated concerns, including economic ones, which diverse interests could jointly endorse and develop. Consensus politics produced a power elite, whose ideology and processes could not tolerate pluralism: The NPL had to be replaced precisely because it rested on different interests and understandings. The new policy regime had no place for seeking consensus with anyone outside the alliance who had constructed its virtual realities. The ALLP announced to those working within the NPL's assumptions that their concerns were important only insofar as they could be co-opted into the goals constructed, consensually agreed (more or less), and pursued by government, its unionist and big business colleagues, and the senior bureaucracy.

The power of the ALLP's categories and processes in determining programs, curriculum and assessment, and research agendas—and the results of these—has been felt in all post-1991 developments in languages. Paradoxically, the NPL assumption of diversity as both norm and social good tapped the potential of cooperative efforts, whereas the ALLP's priorities have generated conflict, confusion, and waste. The

state's factive procedures ensured that the latter remained undocumented while protecting those whose interests were furthered by the ideological circles of consensus politics.

CONCLUSION

As an explicit language policy—or factive state text—the NPL drew in both its content and its processes from realities known to language users and teachers. The ALLP's virtual reality is constructed and enforced in terms of divisive ideologies serving a power elite. The actual consequences of these ideologies are not fully played out. It is unclear whether Labor's training policies—of which the ALLP is one—have helped in remedying Australia's economic problems. Meanwhile, linguistic and cultural diversity has not gone away. The understandings achieved by the NPL may become even more necessary if Australians are to avoid the unpalatable consequences of the present divisiveness, notably, racism and the alienation of both nondominant groups and professionals working with them.

No doubt, the account above could be rearranged under Cooper's (1989) headings. This would yield what Smith (1990a) describes as an investigation "aimed primarily at itself" (p. 22). In contrast, my hope is that this analysis, including the argument for more reflexive approaches, enlarges the possibilities for understanding both the Australian example and others in the field.

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Puerto Rico: On the Horns of a Language Planning Dilemma*

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This article considers a number of factors that have contributed to the long-standing conflict between Spanish and English in Puerto Rico. Among them are the historical imposition of English as part of a heavy-handed Americanization plan, the critical role of party politics in the consideration of linguistic and cultural questions, the socioeconomic schisms in Puerto Rican society and their linguistic and educational ramifications, and a host of pedagogical problems that stem from an overly centralized and politicized school system in economic crisis. The article then notes ways in which a language planning perspective could help defuse the conflict and arrive at functionally adequate policies in keeping with the Puerto Rican people's desire for self-determination. Finally, the article specifies concrete roles for English language professionals in the planning effort.

Language and bilingualism have been objects of heated controversy in Puerto Rico ever since the U.S. occupied the island in 1898. Although Spanish is unquestionably the local vernacular and is fervently defended and maintained, English is a mandatory subject in schools and colleges and increasingly a requirement for work in commerce, technology, and the professions. Frequent and conflicting changes in official language policy over the years and the intertwining of the language question with the still-unresolved issue of legal status for the island have resulted in a partisan polemic that rages on at all levels of Puerto Rican society. To add fuel to the fire, some intellectuals assert that teaching English has produced "transculturation" and "linguistic impoverishment" in Spanish (Meyn, 1983; Rua, 1987; Seda Bonilla, 1987).

The debate is well documented in the popular media (see Schweers & Vélez, 1992). Politicians, educators, and columnists have repeatedly taken up the pen to duel over language matters. These writers regularly

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stir up public frenzy but do little to shed light on the role of language in the current reality and future needs of the Puerto Rican people.

As a result, teaching English in Puerto Rico is highly problematic. ESL teachers are seen, on the one hand, as purveyors of U.S. colonialism and agents of cultural destruction and, on the other, as liberators and providers of marketable skills. Moreover, they are constantly bombarded with complaints about the poor showing of Puerto Rican students in English, and the streets abound with commercial enterprises purporting to teach quickly (but never cheaply) what the schools have “failed” to teach.

By far the greatest impediment faced by the ESL teacher has been the public’s resistance to learning English, what Resnick (1993) terms a *motivated failure*. Despite official policy and public consensus on the instrumental utility of English as an international language, according to the 1990 census only about 20% of the island’s people consider that they can use it effectively. Because English is not indispensable in their domestic lives and because they already speak a language of worldwide prominence, Puerto Ricans are ambivalent about their L2, and most underestimate their proficiency. Some fear betraying their Puerto Ricanness if they become too competent and may even assume a “patriotic accent” when speaking English. In essence, although they agree that English is important, many covertly resist learning it out of nationalistic loyalty to Spanish.

Thus, before ESL teachers in Puerto Rico can even contemplate teaching structures and norms of appropriateness, they must find creative ways to overcome students’ negativity. Without appropriate motivation, little learning can take place, regardless of methods or materials, and the students’ worst fears about the intransigence of English are confirmed.

Puerto Ricans’ resistance to bilingualism is due to several factors. What follows is a discussion of some of the historical, political, socioeconomic, and pedagogical factors that have contributed to this resistance.

HISTORICAL FACTORS

English was forcibly imposed in Puerto Rico as part of a plan openly dedicated to the creation of a territory loyal to U.S. interests (see Meyn, 1983; Negrón de Montilla, 1970; Osuna, 1949). Victor Clark, who directed island education during the military regime, asserted that Puerto Ricans had little devotion to their native tongue and spoke not Spanish but a “patois” with little value as an intellectual medium. He speculated, “There is a bare possibility that it will be as easy to educate

this people out of their patois into English as it will be to educate them into the elegant tongue of Castile" (Cebollero, 1945, p. 6).

Clark obviously knew nothing about dialect variation and even less about Puerto Rican literature, for this was the period of such distinguished writers and thinkers as Eugenio María de Hostos, Ramón Emeterio Betances, José Gautier Benítez, José G. Padilla, and Luis Muñoz Rivera. Still worse, he spoke in total ignorance of the fiercely nationalistic nature of the Puerto Rican people, who viewed (and still view) Spanish as a nonnegotiable symbol of cultural identity.

Not surprisingly, Clark's English-only language policy was heartily disliked by teachers and students, who circumvented the official decrees. Resistance to the imposition of English resurfaced repeatedly throughout the history of the U.S.-appointed commissioners of education and their inventive language policies. Suffice it to say that virtually every combination of Spanish and English was tried in Puerto Rico. (For an overview of the changes, see Language Policy Task Force, 1978.) The more Washington pushed English, the more defensive and nationalistic the populace became. The pattern continued until 1949, when Luis Muñoz Marín, Puerto Rico's first elected governor, appointed Mariano Villaronga as secretary of public instruction. Villaronga immediately instituted Spanish as the medium of instruction at all levels with English taught as an L2. This policy still holds today, yet even such a minimal role for English continues to spark controversy.

POLITICAL FACTORS

Language policy changes have always been tightly connected to political struggles on and off the island, in particular the nagging headache of political status. Statehooders are anxious for a closer union with the U. S., yet they want Puerto Rico to be admitted as a *jibaro* state with Spanish as its official language.¹ This hardly seems likely given the English-only thrust of recent U.S. legislation. Commonwealth backers are caught in a bind because their option does not resolve the status question but prolongs the uncertainty. Some have put forward the idea of an associated republic, which would be more autonomous than a commonwealth and presumably able to govern language policy. Despite their official support of bilingualism, relatively few would call themselves bilingual. The *independentistas* are similarly divided. Some view all U.S.

¹ The *jibaro* is the rural peasant from the interior of the island, the symbol of the quintessential, unspoiled Puerto Rican.

influence, especially English, as negative and would like to dethrone it from its official position; others see English as a vital tool in accomplishing the struggle for Puerto Rican independence. It should be noted that the leaders of all three persuasions have studied in the U.S. and are proficient in English.

The link between partisan politics and language policy became irrefutable in 1991, when the Partido Popular Democrático (Popular Democratic Party), supporting commonwealth status, revoked the Official Language Act of 1902, which had granted English and Spanish equal official status. Many observers saw the move as a political ploy to gain votes in the following elections (Vélez & Schweers, 1993). The new law established Spanish as the sole official language, although it recognized the importance of English and did not alter school language policy. Nevertheless, in 1993, when the Partido Nuevo Progresista (New Progressive Party), supporting statehood, came into power, Governor Pedro Rosselló, fulfilling a campaign promise, promptly repealed the Spanish-only law. Puerto Rico is now back to two official languages, although this may change again in future elections.

As Algren de Gutiérrez (1987) has aptly put it, a true resolution of the language conflict requires the confrontation of equal political forces. For that, Puerto Rico needs a defined political status.

SOCIOECONOMIC FACTORS

On the other hand, Canino (1981) has argued that the language policy changes were motivated not solely by colonial imperatives of political control but also by changes in the system of production. The conflicts and contradictions arising from the shifts from the early consolidation of agrarian capitalism, to the decline and collapse of the plantation system, to the development of industrial capitalism were echoed in the struggle over language. Different sectors of the population vigorously supported or opposed English depending on their class interests.

The class base of language choice on the island is evident today in the fairly clear social demarcation between those who have mastered English and those who have not. Highly competent bilinguals in Puerto Rican society tend to be middle- and upper-class members of the intelligentsia, the international commercial circle, and the military. Their social mobility is closely tied to economic benefits accruing from the mastery of English, and they have collectively deserted the public school system to go into private schools where English is more actively and effectively developed.

PEDAGOGICAL FACTORS

This brings us to the schools themselves. Although the overall official language policy has remained constant for the past 40 years, debates over implementation have continued. Periodically, the question of when to begin ESL instruction has arisen. Attempts in 1986 to delay English teaching until the third grade to allow children to become more proficient in their mother tongue met with public outcry. Although most people agree that English is poorly taught, they fear that experimentation will worsen the situation.

Part of the uncertainty stems from conflicting psycholinguistic research findings. Prior to the 1960s, the stress was on the negative cognitive effects of bilingualism (Hakuta, 1986), and this perspective left its imprint in the public consciousness. During the 1970s and 1980s, although much research concluded that bilingualism was beneficial or neutral in child development, a significant subset (particularly that involving U.S. minority populations) indicated that children did best when taught in their native language. In Puerto Rico, this finding was taken to mean that teaching English would damage children. What was forgotten is that in Puerto Rico the issue is not usually teaching in English but rather teaching English as a subject. Given the role of Spanish as majority language, it is difficult to see how 50 minutes of English daily would pose much of a threat regardless of when it was initiated. Nevertheless, this menace was held over the parents and served to further cloud the issues.

Just as critical as when English instruction is begun is how it is imparted. Because of the anomalous situation of Puerto Rico, schools have vacillated between ESL and EFL orientations.

In an ESL approach, only English is used in class. Materials are geared toward preparing students for life in an English-speaking environment. This orientation is appropriate for students who eventually migrate to the U. S., but it does not work as a national policy. ESL requires a speech community in which to practice natural communication, such as that found in the U.S. or the Virgin Islands, where Puerto Ricans represent a sizable minority (Simounet-Geigel, 1993). In Puerto Rico, such a speech community does not exist outside the enclaves of North Americans and the return migrant (or *Nuyorican*) populations. Nevertheless, the pervasive influence of English in commercial signs, cable TV, English language broadcasting, English-only federal courts, and the like argues for an ESL approach.

An EFL approach is used when students do not have the opportunity to use English on a daily basis. Although some EFL classes are carried out solely in English and focus on speaking, most emphasize reading and

writing as the most accessible and pragmatic forms of language proficiency. This emphasis also makes sense for Puerto Rico but is weakened by the reality of continual migration and the fact that most residents have English-speaking relatives living in the U.S. with whom they communicate and exchange visits. Given these conditions, English cannot be compared to foreign languages like French or Portuguese.

An alternative to the binary split is English as an auxiliary language (EAL) (Olshtain, 1985), a label applied to situations in which English is the official or co-official language but not the mother tongue, as in many former British colonies. A key distinction is that these former colonies are now free nations and can determine their own language policies whereas Puerto Rico remains in a legal limbo that limits policymaking. Clarification of Puerto Rico's status would lead to clarification of language goals and roles, which would, it is hoped, lead to better language teaching. Whether Puerto Rico becomes a state or sovereign nation, effective teaching in both Spanish and English will be necessary.

Of course, merely placing Puerto Rico within a typology does not resolve the matter. Much work needs to be done to devise curricular materials that correspond to the specific needs of the island in its use of EAL. Currently available materials in an ESL or EFL vein are less than adequate and lack local relevance.

To add to the problems, Puerto Rico finds itself in an educational crisis of monumental proportions. Those who can, put their children in private schools, further weakening an already tottering, overly centralized, physically deteriorating system by taking away precisely those parents most empowered to demand the changes needed. The public schools have become the domain of the working poor, the welfare recipients, and the public housing residents, the most disenfranchised sectors of the society. In such a system, excellence in language teaching cannot be guaranteed.

The predicament is perpetuated by the fact that teachers are paid very poorly and that top university students are drawn into more lucrative and respected fields. As a result, colleges of education have a smaller pool of exemplary students to draw from and are forced to accept applicants of lesser standing. As a corollary, students in more academically demanding fields like the sciences tend to have greater English proficiency than those who go into education as a profession. In a study of the lowest level 2nd-year English students at the University of Puerto Rico, one third were found to be majoring in education as opposed to less than one tenth in natural sciences (Pousada, 1987b). It is not clear whether the science students' English proficiency is due to greater academic capacity, superior study habits, or the more pressing need for English skills in their field, which then motivates learning of the language. Probably all three reasons are operative.

Certainly, however, a vicious cycle exists in which ill-prepared English teachers who are unsure of their English rely on mechanical methods of teaching that disguise gaps in their background and give them control over reluctant students. The students, in turn, become proficient at superficial language tasks like filling in blanks and responding to predictable and unnatural language patterns. They are allowed to pass English. When they come to the university, their true lack of proficiency is revealed, so they avoid the sciences, which require extensive English reading. The university is faced with the task of remediating a dozen years of mislearning and unlearning, which in most cases it is not able to do. So students are once again passed on with faulty skills. Some become English teachers, and thus the cycle resumes.

LANGUAGE PLANNING AS A POSSIBLE SOLUTION

An effective way of dealing with the conflicting language issues in Puerto Rico is through language planning (Pousada, 1989). By *language planning* I mean the conscious and deliberate manipulation of the linguistic resources of a society to achieve certain educational, political, and economic ends. Language planning is a widespread phenomenon in today's world, particularly in the organization and development of multilingual states and recently decolonized territories. Because of the increasing complexity of modern, urbanized societies and the mounting political and social demands of minority groups the world round for equitable treatment, careful, systematic, and sensitive language planning has become highly desirable and indeed necessary in many nations (Eastman, 1983). Language planners are involved in the selection of official or national languages; development of writing systems; preparation of dictionaries, grammars, and textbooks; promotion of literacy; and standardization, modernization, and terminological enrichment of both majority and minority languages. Their work is closely tied to that of educational planners, as it is within the sphere of formal education that language treatment is most often perceived and carried out. However, language planning also entails the assessment and alteration of the practices and products of government, private business, and the media.

Solid language planning typically consists of four stages: research, policy formulation, implementation, and evaluation. The research stage is perhaps the most critical, for only through careful investigation into the linguistic resources, attitudes, and goals of the people can a responsible and sensitive policy be derived. Unfortunately, because of the exigencies of time, economics, and political pressure, research is often truncated or tailored to the beliefs of the dominant group, and the resulting policy is ineffectual or rejected outright by the populace.

Policy formulation and the determination of goals and strategies for its implementation are essentially political tasks because they must balance the demands of different interest groups against the long-term needs of the nation as a whole. To quote Mackey (1979), "Language policy is a branch of the politics of accommodation" (p. 49). Sometimes policymakers make seemingly unlikely choices precisely because of the difficulties inherent in favoring one indigenous cultural or linguistic group over others. The actual formulation is affected by the nature of the planning agency, the economic and political state of the polity, the linguistic systems concerned and the attitudes held toward them, the extent of literacy, and the people's sense of cultural identity.

Implementation is another thorny area, especially if the policy has not been well researched or is being imposed on a doubting public. It requires the development of materials, programs, and institutions to support decisions as well as the organized mobilization of economic, educational, and communicative resources. Unsuccessful or partial implementation can cause further disorganization, mistrust, and conflict.

The success or failure of the implementation is evident in the evaluation process. Ideally, evaluation is ongoing and initiated at the outset of the plan. Two basic criteria for assessing a policy's outcomes are functional adequacy and popular acceptance. A third criterion that should be added is the enhancement of the democracy, equality, autonomy, and overall well-being of the people. If a policy does not do this, then planning language becomes "planning inequality" (Tollefson, 1991) or "linguistic imperialism" (Phillipson, 1992).

In Puerto Rico, language policy has rarely been planned and even less often been evaluated. It has usually been imposed in response to political imperatives. One attempt to go beyond came in 1986 when a special commission of former secretaries of education of Puerto Rico presented the governor with a report on language instruction that paid particular attention to the teaching of English (Special Commission of Ex-Secretaries of Education, 1986). It was not a full-blown language policy, but it did present recent research findings along with recommendations, falling thus into the stages of research and policy formulation. Because it had neither the force of law nor the control of funds necessary for implementation, the document functioned only as a guidepost and point of departure for an eventual language education policy to be determined, presumably by the Department of Education.

Nevertheless, the report represents one of the few dispassionate and comprehensive pronouncements on the subject and is based on research and classroom experience. It takes as its major premise the desirability and necessity for generalized bilingualism in Puerto Rico while underscoring the undeniable reality of Spanish as the national vernacular and principal means of socialization and cultural identity. It points out the

instrumental utility of ESL and recommends additional attention to innovative instruction, research, materials development, and staffing in order to provide Puerto Rican youngsters with more significant levels of communicative competence. Rejected is the view of English and Spanish as rivals. Instead the two are projected as complementary avenues to the full cultural development of the individual.

Among the report's recommendations are school decentralization to provide local flexibility; the provision of meaningful contexts for English; initiation of L2 instruction at the earliest possible time consistent with the students' state of readiness; the use of varied teaching methods and techniques to meet the needs of an increasingly heterogeneous student population; improved and linguistically oriented training of greater numbers of qualified and motivated English teachers, especially at the elementary levels; better pay for teachers; and the revamping of language proficiency instruments, teaching materials, curriculum design, and teacher evaluation. The report also insisted on the need for systematic university- and school-coordinated research into language acquisition, bilingualism, teaching techniques, and language attitudes.

In a University of Puerto Rico forum on the teaching of languages in Puerto Rico, I outlined a follow-up agenda to concretize the Special Commission's recommendations (Pousada, 1987a). A first step would be to establish an official, nonpartisan language commission (LC), much like those in Canada, Norway, India, Sweden, and Malaysia. The LC would consist of representatives from public and private schools, government agencies, private enterprises, and the media, as well as linguists, anthropologists, sociologists, and psychologists, and would function independently of the government and electoral process.

The LC's primary mission would be to popularize the concepts of linguistic alternatives and language planning via, for example, surveys of attitudes, public hearings, radio and television programs, newspaper columns, public debates, and school activities. Another important task would be to collect all materials pertaining to language on the island. In addition to Department of Education documents, these materials would include federal and local legislation regarding language and education, civil rights, and minority rights; regulations mentioning language in commercial enterprises, factories, workshops, unions, and community associations; and language policies established by radio and television stations, newspapers, magazines, publishing houses, public relations firms, and other agencies that manipulate language and public consciousness.

After a predetermined period of investigation, the LC would prepare a report on the current situation and suggest the changes that would most benefit the people in terms of national unification and development. These recommendations would be discussed and amended. Special

referenda or other democratic mechanisms would determine the general direction of the new policy. The details of implementing the plan would be the responsibility of the LC and the appropriate experts.

To achieve a national language policy in a culturally congruent manner, popular campaigns complete with slogans would be necessary to awaken the interest of the Puerto Rican citizenry and maintain the struggle high on the national agenda. While planning for policy implementation, the LC could also define the criteria for a continuous evaluation—that is to say, the significant indications of the probable success or failure of the policy at each stage.

THE ROLE OF ESL TEACHERS AND LANGUAGE SPECIALISTS

The development of a functionally adequate and popularly acceptable language policy for Puerto Rico will not be easy or rapid, but each step should bring the island closer to unity and clarity and farther away from the current divisiveness and confusion. Although a cohesive language policy would not be a panacea for all the ills that afflict Puerto Rican society, it could provide a base on which to organize other far-reaching changes.

It is my firm belief that linguists and language teachers can be of help in this matter; however, there is no question but that efforts on the island's political status will determine to a great extent the nature of the eventual policies. My only hope is that language planning will be part of the resolution of the status question and not left as an appendage to be grafted on later.

One way in which this can take place is if all interested parties begin immediately to collect the preliminary information necessary to begin the planning process. Some good starting points would be the survey of language attitudes carried out by López Laguerre (1990); the work of the Linguistic Competencies project at the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras; and the 1994 Language Planning conference at the Inter-American University in San Germán. Another important source is the recently established Puerto Rican Association of Applied Linguistics, which has language policy as one of its primary concerns.

However, these forums are limited primarily to a university audience. Of more direct impact would be teacher-generated studies in the classroom. ESL teachers are uniquely situated to take the linguistic pulse of the island's children by gathering information and eliciting students' views on ways to improve English teaching. Teachers can influence perceptions and serve as models for bilingualism. They can inform

principals and supervisors and make improvements at the school level. They can become catalysts for change and make a significant difference in the way scores of Puerto Rican children are prepared to handle challenges in today's modern, multilingual world. They can in essence serve as the vanguard of the language planning forces to come.

CONCLUSION

This article has explored in brief the historical, political, socioeconomic, and educational reasons behind the Puerto Rican resistance to the English language. It has outlined a language planning perspective that could involve ESL teachers and other language specialists in creating viable language policies.

Although it is unlikely that the entrenched nature of the problem will prevent any substantive change in the near future, it is hoped that the information presented here will draw attention to the Puerto Rican language policy dilemma and perhaps provide useful parallels to situations in other nations.

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English-Only and Standard English Ideologies in the U.S.

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This article probes assumptions underlying dominant U.S. ideologies regarding language diversity (both between English and other languages and among varieties of English) and their impact on language planning and policy from a historical-structural perspective by analyzing and synthesizing a broad base of literature. It compares and contrasts two popularly accepted ideologies. The first is the ideology of English monolingualism, which frames policy issues in an immigrant paradigm in order to portray language diversity as an alien and divisive force; the second involves a standard language ideology that is used to position speakers of different varieties of the same language within a social hierarchy. The article discusses the connection between assumptions underlying linguistic ideologies and other social ideologies related to individualism and social mobility through education. It discusses limitations in the immigrant paradigm and considers the instrumental role that schools play in positioning students by using language assessment and classification schemes. Dilemmas and opportunities for contesting these ideologies are addressed.

Dominant attitudes toward language in the U.S. are replete with contradictions. Bilingualism, for example, has tended to be seen as either a curse or a blessing. This contradiction is evident in the contrast between two drastically different policies toward bilingualism. The first is a policy toward language minority students that is intended to prescribe rapid transition out of L1 instruction into English-only instruction—often resulting in the eventual loss of the L1. The second is a policy toward monolingual English-speaking students that is intended to promote learning a foreign language. In terms of resource allocation, bilingual programs are mandated to develop languages other than English—only to a minimum level—whereas foreign language programs spend millions attempting to develop them further (see Crawford, 1992a; Simon, 1988). However, on closer inspection, the root of this contradiction becomes clear: These policies are designed for two different populations. Transitional bilingual education, developed under

congressional mandate in the late 1960s, was originally intended for students who had historically been discriminated against, that is, for a language minority underclass that had been denied an equal chance to learn. Foreign language instruction, on the other hand, has historically been intended for an educational elite who are expected to pursue higher education (Wiley, 1996b).

In explaining the underlying influences on language policy formation, a growing number of scholars have focused on language as an instrument of political, social, and economic control and on language planning as an instrument of social stratification.¹ Nevertheless, popular and scholarly understanding of language diversity in the U.S. continues to be shaped largely by two dominant language ideologies. The first is the monolingual ideology manifested as a monolingual English ideology in the U.S. (Macías, 1992, in press), and it is easily identifiable in the rhetoric of the English Only movement. The second is the ideology of standard language, or, more specifically in the context of the U. S., the ideology of standard English.² Both of these linguistic ideologies are tied to other ideological assumptions related to beliefs about the relationship between language and national unity and between language and social mobility. Taken as a whole, these beliefs constitute the ideological context in which language policy is formed and in which language teachers work. To illustrate, consider the following catalog description:

01A. Basic English Writing Skills: Mandatory for students who have scored below the minimum score required for freshman composition. Does not count toward graduation but may as part of total course load. This course in writing reviews basic mechanics including spelling, punctuation, grammar, word choice, sentence structure and paragraph development and guides students through the writing process. Grading: Pass/Fail only.

¹ See, for example, Grillo (1989) and Leibowitz (1969, 1971, 1974). The role of language and social reproduction has been addressed in the controversial work of Bernstein (1975) as well as by Bourdieu (1977, 1982). The communication and reproduction of racism through discourse has been investigated by van Dijk (1984, 1986, 1989) and Wetherell and Potter (1992). Gender bias has been investigated by Corson (1993) and Frank and Anshen (1983), among many others. Fairclough (1989) has pursued the ideological dimensions of language and power, and more recently Phillipson (1988, 1992) and Tollefson (1989, 1991) have addressed and challenged the notion that English language teaching is a politically neutral professional activity by calling attention to its association with structured inequality and imperialism.

² The notion of a standard imposes a normative status on one variety of language. Typically, the standard is given the status of a language, and all other varieties are commonly considered dialects and, thereby, deemed substandard (Roy, 1987). As Crystal (1987) notes, although the notion of dialect is technically problematic, it can also be used to describe any variety of a language, including the standard. Regardless of whether the standard is seen as *the* language, or merely as one of its dialects, the designation of a standard has great significance for its speakers and nonspeakers because command of the standard becomes a form of social capital facilitating access to higher education, employment, status, and privilege.

This course is the kind that some language professionals may teach, or have taught—or may have even taken once upon a time. Several aspects of the catalog description are noteworthy. First, the course is not offered for credit. It carries less status than for-credit courses. It is considered remedial rather than developmental. English 01A is thus intended to “correct” or “remediate” a deficiency in English. Entrance to the course is mandated based on scores on a measure of standard English proficiency.

Next, consider who the students in such a course are likely to be. In answering this question it is important to be aware of the operational labels that practitioners often apply to their students. Some faculty and students may refer to such a course as “bonehead English” or “dumbbell” English. Courses such as these are intended as gatekeepers for students who are considered “underprepared” or, less euphemistically, those who “don’t belong” in the university. In professional jargon, many of the students are likely to be “nonnative” speakers of English or students of “limited” English proficiency. Some are likely to be foreign born, and others are “dialect” speakers of American English or of other World Englishes, or monolingual speakers of English “who just never learned to write.” Perhaps the most remarkable fact about the composition of such courses is that students are assigned to them based solely on their English test scores without consideration of their diverse individual linguistic backgrounds.

Now, consider who the teachers of such courses are likely to be and what their professional training has been. Typically, the academic preparation of the instructors is often as diverse as the linguistic characteristics of their students. The instructors’ academic rank and experience may range from teaching assistant to full professor. Their academic fields of expertise may include English composition, English literature, TESL, linguistics, applied linguistics, and other fields more remote from language teaching. Despite the presence of many native speakers of languages other than English, many of the teachers may not have had any special training—other than on-the-job experience—in TESL, language minority instruction, or language diversity. Fewer still have studied nondominant varieties of language in any systematic way or been trained to consider their implications for instruction.

The point here is not to fault the efforts of teachers or students brought together under the umbrella of catalog descriptions such as the one above. Neither is it intended to argue that there is no need for some standards of performance. Rather, it is to reflect on why students from such linguistically diverse and rich linguistic backgrounds are corralled together in English courses that are considered remedial and why the courses either completely ignore their linguistic backgrounds and abilities in their native languages and varieties of language or perceive them only as deficiencies, when students who enroll in foreign language

classes usually receive credit for instruction that requires far less target language proficiency than the 01A course does.

To understand why basic English courses and the students who take them are considered remedial, it is necessary to reflect on the ideologies of English monolingualism and standard English in the U.S. The former sees English monolingualism as a normal—if not ideal—condition. The latter stresses the importance and superiority of the standard, “literate,” or “unaccented” variety of English. Taken together, these ideologies are hegemonic; that is, their assumptions are widely accepted in popular perceptions about language diversity. Moreover, they provide the ideological context for both official and institutional policies.

These ideologies also help frame the direction of much of the ESL teacher education literature (see Kachru & Nelson, 1996; Sridhar, 1996) and the scholarly research on language diversity (Kachru, 1994; Sridhar, 1994)—particularly as it relates to English language acquisition, language shift, and English language teaching (ELT). For example, much of the notable work in language demography proceeds from the assumption that language minorities will acquire English and lose their native languages (e.g., Veltman, 1983, 1988). Thus that work has focused more on language shift to English than on the process of developing bilingualism (Macías, *in press*). Similarly, second language acquisition (SLA) research—true to its name—tends to concentrate only on the L2, that is, English, with little concern for the fate of the maintenance or development of the L1. At the level of policy, bilingual education in the U. S., when and where it is actually practiced, is usually based on a transitional (or weak) model (see Baker, 1993; Ruíz, 1995) rather than on a maintenance model, even though the latter has been demonstrated to better promote educational achievement (Ramírez, 1992).

Standard language ideology likewise exerts a strong influence on research, policies, and practices directed at speakers of nondominant varieties of English. For decades, linguists have been asserting the equality of all languages and varieties as codes of communication that allow their speakers to attribute meaning, represent logical thought, and communicate within a community of speakers. However, language is more than just a code because it also involves social behavior. As social behavior, language becomes subject to normative expectations for behavior. These norms can either be based on a consensus regarding what constitutes appropriate behavior or be imposed by dominant groups. Those who have the power to impose their variety of a language as normative may appeal to its alleged superiority over other varieties. Such appeals, however, mask the issue of differential power between groups by confusing grammar with language etiquette. Nevertheless, the dominant groups succeed in attributing the status of language to their own variety

while ascribing the status of dialect to those of others (Wiley, 1996a; see also Labov, 1973; Wolfram & Fasold, 1974).

Once standards for expected linguistic behavior have been imposed, privileged varieties of language become a kind of social capital facilitating access to education, good grades, competitive test scores, employment, public office, and economic advantages for those who have mastered the standard language. Thus, the linguistic notion of the equality of codes does not carry over into the power relationships of a hierarchical society. In this regard, A. E. Sledd (1994) concludes that the concept of *democracy through language*, or the equality of all language varieties, is the wishful thinking of researchers and scholars who speak, write, and publish in standard English. He suggests that, by denying that a linguistic power imbalance exists, they only strengthen it more. Sledd notes that merely asserting democracy through language—in articles written in standard English, no less—cannot achieve it. His point is well taken. Nevertheless, teachers face the dilemma of challenging detrimental institutional language policies while simultaneously trying to help their students attain enough proficiency in standard English that they are not barred by the gatekeeping mechanisms. In view of this dilemma, Sledd's critique can be dismissed as a merciless rebuke of those trying to cope, or it can be seen as pointing to the inherent contradictions that policymakers and teachers of English to speakers of other languages or other varieties of language cannot easily avoid, even as they attempt to validate the linguistic heritages of their students on the one hand while instructing them in the “power dialect” (or the language of power) on the other (Lukes, 1995).

Given the contradictions that language teachers and planners face, it is appropriate to ask why researchers and practitioners have not been more concerned about the role of dominant ideologies. One reason relates to the assumption that language acquisition and SLA research and ELT are, for the most part, nonpolitical activities. According to Phillipson (1992), this assumption “serves to disconnect culture from structure. It assumes that educational concerns can be divorced from social, political, and economic realities” (p. 67). More directly, Tollefson (1991) concludes that the failure to relate language planning and policy to broader sociopolitical concerns results in a research orientation in which ideologies and implicit political values pass for theoretical frameworks. These concerns underscore the need to consider the role of the dominant language ideologies in the formation and implementation of language policies as well as in language minority research and education. More importantly, they point to the need to consider the impact of policies derived from dominant ideologies on linguistically diverse populations.

Language-in-education planners usually analyze issues related to official English and standard English policies separately, thus, the similarities between the ideological assumptions underlying both positions are rarely discussed. Arguments for English-only policies tend to be framed more in terms of status planning between languages. Standard language policies tend to be submerged within corpus planning but also to involve status planning between varieties.

Exploring these relationships raises a number of questions. What are the assumptions of these ideologies about language, language varieties, and the relative statuses of their speakers? Why are policies implemented, and how are they maintained? What is their impact on various language minority populations? These questions are significant because the work of a number of scholars indicates that the dominant ideologies (Fairclough, 1989; Tollefson, 1991) and the language policies influenced by them tend to be used as instruments of social control (Leibowitz, 1974) that result in the reproduction of unequal social boundaries among groups (Bourdieu, 1977, 1982). Last, one may ask: What roles can language professionals, researchers, policy planners, and teachers play in promoting more equitable policies and instructional practices? To begin answering these questions, it is first necessary to analyze the relationship between the dominant ideologies underlying individualism and social mobility and those involving language.

LANGUAGE AND THE IDEOLOGY OF INDIVIDUALISM

Linguistic ideologies are not autonomous. They are linked to other social ideologies, the most prevalent of which is the ideology of social mobility through individual ability and effort, in other words, the ideology of individualism. In this regard, Tollefson (1991) notes that an underlying assumption of research and programmatic practice is that causal variables in SLA are located within the individual. In particular, there has been considerable interest in how to change learners' attitudes toward the target language (i.e., English) and culture (which typically means cultures of English-dominant countries) (see Tollefson, 1989, 1991). This concern for learners' attitudes frequently ignores factors that affect them, such as how the dominant group treats learners of a particular linguistic and ethnic group as they attempt to learn the dominant language (Perdue, 1984) or how the learners perceive the dominant group ascribes status to them (Gibson & Ogbu, 1991; Ogbu, 1978; Ogbu & Matute-Bianchi, 1986).

Preoccupation with individual factors is also manifested in assumptions about the relationship between social mobility and educational achievement, which is likewise seen as largely an artifact of individual motivation and aptitude. The dominance of this view means that educational failure and failure to master standard English are seen as individual problems rather than as a result of systematic, institutional inequity between groups.

Lewis (1978) argues that common explanations for success and failure in the U.S. are based on an ideology that both justifies a "culture of inequality" and "mandates the existence of visible failure" (p. 192). In this culture of inequality, he notes, the undereducated and the poor are caught in a perpetual cycle of failure and blame. Lewis has predicted that the need to blame the victim will increase as the disparity between rich and poor widens. He observes that low educational achievement is blamed on the backgrounds of those who fail rather than on the programs in which the failure occurs. In other words, there is an attempt to correct individual deficiencies rather than to reform the educational system. In a culture of inequality, Lewis concludes, success comes to be seen as a function of individual ability and "the match of education and job" (Collins, 1991, p. 235). (See also Lankshear, 1987, for a discussion of the role of ideology in English-dominant countries and Wiley, 1996b, for a more detailed discussion.)

In the U. S., immigrant and native-born language minorities have been particularly vulnerable to the ideology of blame, and language differences have been used as one of the principal means of ascribing a deficit status to them. Because educational deficiencies relative to English are seen as individual problems, and because English education programs are designed to correct or remedy those problems (Brodkey, 1991), there is little attempt to analyze the impact of educational language policies on the populations being served. In this regard, Lippi-Green (1994) contends that an important assumption underlying the ideology of standard English is that the communicative burden rests mostly with the individual speaker. In a critique of this view, she notes that communication is a two-way street that involves not only communicative competence on the part of the speaker but also goodwill on the part of the listener. It follows that "prejudiced listeners cannot hear what a person has to say because accent, as a mirror of social identity, and a litmus test for exclusion, is more important" (p. 166). When the communicative burden is seen as residing solely with the speaker, it is easy to blame the victim.

THE IMPACT OF DOMINANT IDEOLOGIES: STATUS ASCRIPTION AND DISCRIMINATION ON THE BASIS OF LANGUAGE

As specialists in narrowly defined domains of academic inquiry and expertise, scholars and practitioners are sometimes understandably reluctant to pursue issues outside their immediate area of expertise. For example, Kloss (1977), in his now-classic analysis of language policies in the U. S., was careful to exclude what he considered policies related to racial laws (Macías, 1992). That is, he attempted to separate language policies from the muddier waters of ethnic and racial politics. Although this approach lends itself to conceptual neatness, it leads analysis away from a possible source of, or motive for, many language policies, namely, the use of language policies as instruments of racial and ethnic control (Leibowitz, 1974). Language, like race and ethnicity, can be used as a marker of social and political status. Similarly, language prejudice is not unlike other forms of prejudice and may work in conjunction with them.

Weinberg (1990) defines *racism* as a systematic, institutional procedure for excluding some while privileging others; thus it involves more than simple prejudice because it has the power to advantage and to disadvantage. Racism is premised on the belief that some are inherently superior to others. Similarly, Phillipson (1988) defines *linguicism* as “the ideologies and structures which are used to legitimate, effectuate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and non-material) between groups which are in turn defined on the basis of language (i.e., the mother tongue)” (p. 339). He notes that linguistic ideologies have affinities with racism because they allow the dominant language group to present “an idealized image of itself, stigmatizing the dominated group/language and rationalizing the relationship between the two, always to the advantage of the dominant group” (p. 341). (See also Attinasi, 1994.)

Schmidt (1995) contends that historically language has “played an important role in both the ideology and practice of the system of racial domination that held sway in the U.S. prior to the Second Reconstruction of the 1960s” (p. 4). He notes that in the 19th century, one of the more important aspects of “Anglo-Saxon racist thought focused on the superiority of the English language as a derivative of German culture” (p. 4). English language and literacy requirements have been used in discriminatory ways to prohibit individuals from immigrating, voting, and seeking employment (Haas, 1992; Leibowitz, 1969, 1974; McRay, 1993; McKay & Weinstein-Shr, 1993; Schmidt, 1995). Thus, linguicism has been functionally parallel to racial exclusion and in some cases has functioned in cultural genocide (Hernández-Chávez, 1994).

For speakers of creolized and—allegedly—less “literate” varieties of English, the lack of proficiency in the standard becomes a means by which others can use language as an instrument to maintain boundaries of social stratification. For example, the labels for course descriptions, student assessment, and program placement in English language programs can ascribe a lower or deficit status to such students. In public schools, community colleges, and universities, it is not uncommon to find immigrant language minority and international students who wish to avoid ESL classes, because they frequently do not count toward graduation credit and because the students feel stigmatized as “ESL” students in courses that are considered remedial.

Status ascription on the basis of English proficiency is particularly evident in the use of labels such as *limited English proficient* (LEP). LEP was first used in the bilingual education legislation of 1968. Initially, it referred only to oral abilities in English, but in 1978 it was expanded to include reading and writing. According to Macías (1994) it was “determined that English proficiency would be the exclusive criterion for the LEP population, irrespective of the person’s proficiency in the non-English language” (p. 35). The LEP label is based solely on the language skills that the students lack (i.e., English) rather than what the students have (i.e., ability in their native languages). Such educational labeling thereby renders abilities in other languages invisible. Macías adds that “programs and policies that were developed to address a student’s limited English proficiency often ignore or de-emphasize race and ethnicity in general” (p. 231). At the same time, however, he notes, “debates over bilingual education and cultural literacy are as much about race” (p. 231) as they are about language. Thus, status ascription based on language can be a surrogate for status ascription based on race, ethnicity, and social class (Wiley, 1996b; see also Crawford, 1992a; Lyons, 1990).

THE IDEOLOGY OF ENGLISH MONOLINGUALISM

Monolingual Ideology and the Immigrant Paradigm

The ideology of monolingualism sees language diversity as largely a consequence of immigration. In other words, language diversity is viewed as imported. English Only, as a specific example of the ideology of monolingualism, equates the acquisition of English with patriotism and Americanization (i.e., with what it means to become an “American”). This linkage became hegemonic during the World War I era with the rise of the Americanization movement and the widespread persecution

of speakers of German and was quickly extended to speakers of other languages (Wiley, in press; see also Crawford, 1992a; Leibowitz, 1971; Ricento, in press).

In the immigrant view of language diversity, language—much like an alien form of dress—is something to be changed and not worn again, except perhaps on special ethnic holidays when it is considered appropriate to celebrate diversity. Kloss (1971) offers a useful critique of the assumptions of monolingual language ideology about why immigrant language minorities should be expected to surrender their native languages. In immigrant countries,³ he notes, the dominant group usually assumes that it is natural for incoming language minorities to give up their native languages as quickly as possible. He identifies four theories, or what we will consider four⁴ ideological arguments, in support of that expectation.⁵ We outline these below and then summarize Kloss's (1971) critique.

1. The Tacit Compact Argument

Assumption: Minority languages and minority language rights should be surrendered as a kind of payment for the right of passage to the receiving society.

Critique: Historically, many language minority immigrants were allowed to maintain their native languages. Some groups immigrated to escape linguistic persecution. Therefore, they did not expect to have to surrender their ancestral languages as a condition of immigration.

2. Take-and-Give Argument

Assumption: Language minority immigrants prosper more in their new country than in their countries of origin; therefore, they should waive any claims to linguistic minority rights and be required to shift to the dominant language.

³ Kloss (1971) emphasizes dominant languages generally more than the ideology of English monolingualism specifically. Thus, he cites Argentina, Chile, Brazil, and the U.S. as examples of immigrant countries.

⁴ Phillipson, Rannut, and Skutnabb-Rangas (1994) have added what may be considered a fifth category, "the myth that monolingualism is desirable for economic growth" (p. 4). They note that "in many nation states the (uneven) distribution of power and resources is partly along linguistic lines, with majority groups taking a larger share than their numbers would justify" (p. 4).

⁵ Grin (1994) provides a useful critique of the principles of territorial multilingualism (see especially pp. 41–43).

Critique: The notion of benefit is not a one-way street. The receiving society also benefits from language minority immigrants in many ways. Immigrant workers contribute their labor, some develop new sectors of the economy, and those of the educated elite contribute their technical expertise, which sometimes results in “brain drain” for their countries of origin.

3. Antighettoization Argument

Assumption: Language and cultural maintenance is predicated on a self-imposed isolation from the dominant mainstream language and society. This isolation results in a social and cultural lag for the minority group.

Critique: The assumption of self-imposed isolation often distorts the historical reality. “The apparent lagging behind is frequently due to a language policy that disregards the elementary needs of the minority” (Kloss, 1971, p. 256). By disallowing the use and cultivation of the native language while not allowing contact with the majority and equal educational access, the minority group is rendered functionally illiterate in both its native language and the majority language.

4. The National Unity Argument⁶

Assumption: The perpetuation of a minority language is a potentially divisive factor in maintaining national unity. Therefore, the host/receiving society should require linguistic assimilation and a surrender of language minority rights.

Critique: In many instances in which language minorities have been accused of lack of national loyalty, their perceived disloyalty has been caused by overt discrimination and a denial of language minority rights. “In other words: the majority, by dealing unfairly with the minority, created among it the very unrest, dissatisfaction and centrifugal tendency which in turn provided governmental authorities with arguments (sometimes not unwelcome) to bolster their restrictive policies” (Kloss, 1971, p. 257).

Kloss's (1971) categorization scheme and critique, while not exhaustive, remain comprehensive enough to encompass recent assumptions of the monolingual English ideology. Advocates of English-only policies echo variants of these arguments. For example, they often claim that English should be promoted because it is an equal opportunity language

⁶ Phillipson, Rannut, and Skutnabb Kangas (1994) have recently made a related case.

(Bennett, 1992). This claim is a variant of the antighettoization argument. Similarly, the national unity argument remains a persistent theme of contemporary English Only proponents.

In developing his critique of the immigrant paradigm, Kloss (1971) attempts to deal with this assumption by distinguishing between the historical and political categorization of immigrant language minorities. In this regard, he notes,

A discussion of the language rights of present-day immigrant groups must start by redefining . . . the concept of "immigrants." Normally we call immigrant a person who leaves one country and takes up his abode in another, in other words: who has crossed some international boundary. (p. 252)

Kloss then notes that there are internal migrations:

But when we speak of language rights, a second category of migrants has to be taken into consideration: persons who while remaining within the boundaries of their country have left areas where their mother tongue is in general use, and have moved into an area where the indigenous population consists of native speakers of some "other tongue." Migrations of this type have at times assumed large proportions. (p. 252)

As one of several examples of internal migrations, Kloss cites the mass migration of Spanish-speaking Puerto Ricans to the U.S. mainland, primarily into New York City.

Kloss's (1971) distinction between external and internal migrations begins to probe the limited adequacy of the immigrant paradigm in dealing with language diversity. However, the distinction between internal and external immigrants, though useful, is still inadequate to deal with groups such as the Puerto Ricans. Puerto Rico had been ruled by Spain since it was conquered and first colonized in the 16th century. The island was ceded to the U.S. in 1898. It was thus initially free, then a colony of Spain, and later a colony of the U.S. until 1952, when its status was upgraded to that of a commonwealth. Its ethnic, racial, and linguistic heritage is complex. Thus, to appreciate and accurately describe the ethnic, racial, and linguistic characteristics of Puerto Ricans, additional categories (besides internal immigrants) are needed.

Toward a More Comprehensive Paradigm: Immigrant and Indigenous

In his critique of the immigrant paradigm, Kloss (1971) was also aware of the importance of distinguishing between immigrant and indigenous language minorities. He concluded, "It seems reasonable to consider as an 'immigrant group' every linguistic minority a majority of whose adult

members are foreign born or the children of foreign born, and as 'indigenous' every group a majority of whose adult members are natives of native parentage" (p. 253). Without specifying a context, this distinction seems self-evident. However, placed within a historical-political context, such as the national expansion of the U.S. between 1783 and 1898, the notion of indigenous peoples becomes more problematic. In this context, Macías (in press) offers a more complex definition of U.S. indigenous groups: "Indigenous groups are those who occupied an area that is now the U.S. prior to the national expansion into that area, and those groups who have a historical/cultural tie to the 'Americas' prior to European colonization."

Macías's (in press) distinction is important in view of the lands and peoples that have been conquered, annexed, and otherwise acquired since the rebellion of the 13 original colonies: (a) lands west of the Appalachians and east of the Mississippi, ceded in the Treaty of Paris (1783); (b) the Louisiana Purchase, which included a vast territory adjacent to the Mississippi and Missouri rivers (1803); (c) Florida, including parts of what is now southern Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana (1810–1820); (d) Texas and territories north of the Rio Grande (1845–1848); (e) Oregon Country, which included present-day Washington and Idaho (1846); (f) the Mexican Cession, including California, Nevada, Utah, and parts of what is now Arizona, New Mexico, and Colorado (1848); (g) the Gadsden Purchase, which included what is now southern Arizona and New Mexico (1853); (h) Alaska (1867); (i) Hawaii (1896); (j) Puerto Rico (1898); and (k) for a time the Philippines, not to mention Guam (1945) and other island territories.

As this list indicates, there is more to the story of the linguistic dominance of English than merely its hegemony during the colonial period and its continued dominance over immigrant languages into the national period. In its first century as a nation-state, the U.S. was not merely a fixed territory into which immigrants flowed. Rather, it was an aggressive, emerging power adding to its territory and population through an expansive nationalism. With each successive territorial conquest, annexation, and acquisition, indigenous language minorities were incorporated into the U.S. polity. Thus, Macías (in press) notes that the mode of incorporation and subsequent treatment of acquired groups by the dominant majority were significant factors in determining their linguistic and sociopolitical standing. Language differences frequently became markers of status differences between the conquerors or annexers and those that they incorporated.

In summary, in analyzing the ideology of English monolingualism and its relationship to the historical development of language policies in the U. S., it is necessary to understand language diversity in terms of both an immigrant paradigm and an indigenous paradigm. Moreover, it is

necessary to consider how groups were incorporated and subsequently positioned by the dominant monolingual English ideology.

STANDARD LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY

Standard language ideology has been defined as “a bias toward an abstracted, idealized, homogeneous spoken language which is imposed from above . . . which takes as its model the written language” and which has as its goal the “suppression of variation” (Lippi-Green, 1994, p. 166). Because norms for standard language are based on written, or literate, varieties rather than oral varieties of language (Milroy & Milroy, 1985), notions of a formal standard of language (Wolfram & Fasold, 1974) have been based on a “taught,” that is, school-based, variety of language (Illich, 1979; Wright, 1980). This explains why one must go to school to learn one’s “native” language. Again, the issue of whose language variety is taken as the standard has a direct bearing on which groups will be advantaged or disadvantaged in the acquisition of literacy at school. Language assessments and most language tests are designed as tests of standardized language. Thus, an implicit literate, or schooling, bias underlies most notions of language proficiency, including the construct of so-called general language proficiency. These notions are influenced by specific types of language or by what Collins (1991) refers to as an *indexical fixing of literacy*. This process results in an implicit bias against oral varieties of language. Varieties of language that lack writing systems are treated as deviant and substandard and are therefore called *dialects*, which implies a lower status than *language* (Romaine, 1994). In this connection, Wolfram (1994) concludes that

It is quite clear that vernacular dialects have been defined in our own society as inappropriate vehicles for literacy, and it is apparent that children are socialized regarding this functional differentiation from the onset of their socialization regarding literacy. In this respect, the U.S. situation is akin to some third-world situations, in which unwritten minority languages are considered inappropriate for literacy vis-à-vis official state languages even when knowledge of the official language is minimal or nonexistent. (p. 74)

The current view has not always been hegemonic. According to Illich (1979), vernacular literacies were flourishing in late 15th-century Spain until they were eclipsed by the promotion of Castilian as the school standard. He contends that the promotion of standardized languages through formal schooling arose as a means of social control. By prescribing an officially sanctioned mode of discourse, the content of discourse could be controlled as well as its form (Donald, 1991). Illich argues that the imposition of standard language policies diminished the vernacular

values associated with local languages. He concludes that the ideological impact of this change from the use of vernaculars to the use of standardized mother tongues sanctioned the schools as the only legitimate medium for promoting literacy so that “there would be no reading, no writing—if possible, no speaking, outside the educational sphere” (p. 55).

To be promoted as instruments of wider communication, standard languages are necessarily the products of corpus planning and regularization that have a dual potential to either open or bar doors of access and opportunity (see Hornberger, 1994). Dominant standard languages (Grillo, 1989) are products of the dominant groups whose standards “come to be seen as ‘universal,’ that is natural and self-evident” (Collins, 1991, p. 236). According to Collins, school-taught standard language

achieves a “social magic” of definition and deception. It uses yet disguises biases of text, curriculum, and classroom practice by evoking the literate tradition in ways that discriminate against those who have the least exposure to that tradition. It does so by treating aspects of the tradition which are the most tied to particular class-based varieties of language as symptomatic indices of skill, ability, or proficiency in general. (p. 236)

For language minorities, whose languages or regional and social varieties are not reflected in the written language models of schools, the relevance of these observations should not be lost, as groups that can impose their language and literacy practices as normative have a strategic advantage over those who cannot. In this regard, Bhatia (1984) notes that “there is a systematic correlation between the rate of literacy and the distance between local dialects and the standard language” (p. 28). This is also the case for speakers of African American Language in the U.S.

Again, although linguists have asserted the equality of languages as communicative codes, differential educational outcomes across groups indicate an implicit bias against speakers of certain varieties of English. African American Language (variously referred to as Black Vernacular English, BVE, or Black English) has the largest number of speakers among “nonstandard” varieties of English. Other varieties include Appalachian English and Hawaii English Creole, just to mention a few.

In the U. S., the imposition of elite expectations for standard English achieved hegemony during the final decade of the 19th century, according to Wright (1980), when college and high school education took on a greater importance in the “ideology of upward mobility through perseverance in school” (p. 327), and the influence of this ideology has persisted throughout the 20th century. In 1893, the prestigious, elite Committee of Ten, led by Harvard president Charles Eliot, made its recommendations for college entrance requirements. Then, as now, there was a widespread perception that too many students lacked a

sufficient knowledge of English to attend college. Even though only a small minority of students went on to college at that time, the legacy of the Committee's top-down approach established a precedent for curriculum planning.

Some knowledge of the Committee's class background is useful in understanding its recommendations. A number of the Committee's members had received an elite education and had studied Latin. Based on the perception that college entrants' knowledge of English was inadequate, the Committee outlined a school language arts curriculum for English that was modeled on formal grammar instruction. In other words, the English language would be taught to native speakers of English much as Latin would be taught. The curriculum prescribed a high level of correctness in speech, creating a marked dichotomy between "good" and "bad" language (Wright, 1980, p. 328). As teaching methodology was modernized in the 20th century, the term *correct*, when referring to grammar and vocabulary, was replaced by *preferable* and now still "teaching materials are replete with exemplary lessons in which rhetorical choices are represented as being right or wrong . . . on the basis of grammatical rules" (p. 335). Language policies initiated by the Committee of Ten were developed further by the Conference on English (1893-1925) and have been used as a basis for academic tracking. Recommendations of the Conference included holding some children back in school (or testing them out) because their English usage was considered "unclear" or "incorrect" (p. 337). Thus, at a time when education was becoming more universally accessible, elitist school English policies devised by upper-class policymakers became gatekeeping mechanisms imposed on those who spoke other varieties of English and other languages. According to Wright,

In order to control the effects of universally accessible elementary schools, or the high school and college enrollments, they put a mantle of scholarly respectability on the discriminatory mores and customs of society, which were expressed in popular linguistic prejudice, on the increase, after 1850. (p. 337)

Thus, although literacy in the standard was held out as universally accessible, it has been "controlled by elites, held out as a universal ideal yet stratified and unequally available" (Collins, 1991, p. 233). The longevity and persistence of English testing policies through the educational system as mechanisms for tracking and gatekeeping are evidence for the hegemony and centrality of the standard English ideology in education. Echoing Illich's (1979) concerns, Collins contends that the result has been

a universalistic literacy, context-independent and functionally general, evaluated by tests under prior assumptions of differential achievement. This

literacy has slowly become the norm for all literacy. Encompassing and redefining, it has turned a prior diversity of literate practices into a stratified literacy, driving a series of wedges into popular cultural practices. (pp. 232-233)

Collins (1991) offers three reasons why the standard English ideology has hegemonic capacity: (a) It serves a political ideological function by promoting national integration, (b) it serves an economic ideological function by seeing the attainment of standard English as the means to social mobility, and (c) it presents particular kinds of class- and culturally based literacy practices as if they were universal and thereby discriminates against those who have the least exposure to those practices (see pp. 233–237 for elaboration).

Schools are the principal instruments of this stratification because they are supposed to maintain standards. Although the family endows children with linguistic and cultural knowledge, “the school establishes the authority and legitimacy of the scarcest, and therefore most highly valued linguistic and cultural forms and secures universal recognition of this legitimacy” (Woolard, 1985, pp. 740–741). According to Woolard, linguistic hegemony has two components: (a) a group that has knowledge or control of the standard and (b) groups that have a recognition or acceptance of it—even if they do not have knowledge or control of it. She concludes that the

test of legitimacy is the extent to which the population that does not control that variety acknowledges and endorses its authority, its correctness, its power to convince, and its right to be obeyed, that is, the extent to which authority is ceded to those who do not control that variety. (p. 741)

Access to an elite language education is an essential component of social mobility. Thus educational language policies, such as college entrance requirements, are significant gatekeeping mechanisms for other social, economic, and political domains. Early in their education students are “tracked” based on their language proficiencies relative to the literate standard. Schools stratify students based on their ability to use the standard by assigning those who speak English as an L2 or nondominant varieties of English to “remedial” educational tracks (Wiley, 1996b).

Lippi-Green (1994) also underscores the importance of the educational system in perpetuating standard language ideology and thereby status differentiation. However, she notes that additional factors contribute to the hegemony of standard English: (a) the mass media, which promote hegemonic ideas about acceptable accent and dialect as well as false perceptions about the “neutrality” of certain speech patterns; (b) the Civil Rights Act, which leaves room for discrimination based on accent or dialect; (c) the legal process, which gives employers room to

(legally and successfully) argue in court that accent stands in the way of job performance; and (d) the courtroom, in which hegemonic media standards are upheld and can be used against defendants to legally discriminate against them based on accent or dialect.

The hegemony of the standard language ideology, however, has not gone without challenge and critique. Over the past 30 years, the work of a number of scholars has added to the understanding of language variation. Despite this knowledge, Adger (1995) notes, schools rarely have met the needs of speakers of indigenous varieties of American English. Moreover, given recent demographic changes in immigration, schools now also face the challenge of attempting to serve speakers of other varieties of World Englishes. Adger analyzes the historical response of professional educational organizations in meeting the needs of speakers of other varieties of English and notes that organizations such as TESOL, the National Council of Teachers of English, and the American Speech-Hearing-Language Association have adopted enlightened policy positions that call for appropriate responses to language diversity. She concludes that these position statements have had little impact on practitioners and that reform efforts aimed at professional training and instructional materials development have been separated from policy, with the consequence that policy statements are largely ceremonial.

Professional organizations have made three types of policy recommendations in order to promote more equitable instruction for speakers of nondominant varieties of English. The first calls for dialect (or language variation) awareness for teachers. Years ago, Labov (1969) noted the reciprocal ignorance among teachers and children who were unaware of their mutual linguistic systems and, thus, the need for teacher education in these areas (see also Berdan, 1980). Although some model programs exist in this area and although some materials have been developed that can be used in teacher preparation (e.g., Wolfram & Christian, 1989; Wolfram & Fasold, 1974), what passes for language diversity training in teacher education is still insufficient (Adger, 1995; see also Wolfram, 1993).

Teacher preparation in teaching standard English as a second dialect has also received attention by professional organizations in policy statements; however, it has likewise not been implemented on a broad scale (Adger, 1995). There is also disagreement on what specific approaches to employ. Delpit (1995) contends that teachers must stress "correct" forms through skill-based approaches in conjunction with whole language and process approaches to ensure that language minority children obtain the skills that middle-class White children typically acquire from their environments. Because achievement tests are gatekeepers that prevent many African American children from accessing

institutions of the dominant culture, she argues, such children must be taught test skills explicitly. Thus, Delpit (1992, 1995) calls for a combination of pedagogical approaches, including explicit skills-based instruction that some whole language specialists oppose (see Edelsky, 1991).

The third area where there is general agreement on the need for reform relates to training in language assessment. Language assessment has often been misused as an instrument for gatekeeping and status ascription (Hakuta, 1986). Mattes and Omark (1991) and Stockman (1986) note many of the difficulties inherent in assessing bilingual and speakers of nondominant varieties of English. Assessments that measure language proficiency solely in standard English and do not take into account L1 proficiency have led to results that have been inappropriately interpreted as indicating that language minorities are less intelligent and need remedial or special education courses (Adler, 1990; see also Wolfram & Christian, 1980).

CONCLUSION

In analyzing the hegemony of the dominant linguistic ideologies, it is tempting to drift into a kind of fatalism predicated on a sense of determinism. In this regard, Phillipson (1988) offers an important insight:

It is of the essence of hegemony that injustices are internalized by both the dominant group and the dominated groups as being natural and legitimate. However, neither the structures nor the ideologies are static. Hegemony is lived experience which is in a constant process of negotiation, recreation and adjustment. It is therefore open to contestation. (p. 343)

Consistent with Phillipson's viewpoint, policy issues related to effective language minority education continue to be contested, recreated, and renegotiated. For years, a bitter debate has raged over the most appropriate and equitable ways to educate speakers of languages other than English (particularly Spanish). The debate over "official English" and bilingual education has been well chronicled by Baron (1990), Crawford (1991, 1992a, 1992b), and others. The scholarly contribution to the debate over the effectiveness of bilingual education has resulted in a preponderance of research that has demonstrated its efficacy. Nevertheless, as the media portray the controversy, polemical reports such as those put out by conservative think tanks, such as the Little Hoover Commission, are presented as if they were the scholarly equivalent to research studies, and an underinformed public is not the wiser.

Similarly, over 30 years ago a bitter debate began over the most appropriate and equitable ways to educate speakers of nondominant

varieties of English, particularly African American Language. Adding to the dispute has been the fact that many of the recommendations for the education of speakers of African American Language have been put forth by White social scientists (see Baratz, 1973; Stewart, 1964; Wolfram & Fasold, 1974), whose intentions (see J. Sledd, 1969, 1973) and recommendations for bidialectal instruction (see O'Neil, 1973) have been strongly criticized and questioned by some writers (see also Shuy, 1980; Wolfram, 1994, for thoughtful reflections on the controversy Wiley, 1996a, 1996b).

In recent years, old themes have been repeated and several new issues have emerged. The controversy, though less rancorous than before, remains polarized around the contention that students must receive instruction in standard English and the opposite viewpoint that sees such an attempt as stifling students' voices (Heller, 1988). Williams (1991), for example, has reiterated the call for instruction in African American Language, whereby the former social "weapon" becomes an effective "tool" of instruction. Others (e.g., Delpit, 1995; Jordan, 1985) have advocated a dual approach in which students learn to value and assert their native voices while receiving explicit instruction in the dominant language.

Wiggins (1976) has argued that the real issue has never been language, literacy, or education but power and a fear of heterogeneity, be it through language, behavior, or values. He has noted that, for all too many African Americans, the fact that mastery of the language does not ensure economic mobility or political access makes manifest the fallacy of standard English as the language of equal opportunity. His conclusions parallel those of a host of authorities who draw similar conclusions about the impact of dominant language ideologies and the policies that result from them on other language minority groups.

As debates over language policy have continued, generations of students have come and gone, and a substantial number of students—whether labeled as immigrant or indigenous language minorities or as speakers of nonstandard English—continue to receive instruction amid conditions of "savage inequalities" (Kozol, 1991; McDermott, 1987a, 1987b; McDonnell & Hill, 1993). Given the historical legacy of the ideologies of English only and standard English and their continuing differential impact across racial and ethnic groups, language professionals need to consider their implications for contemporary policy and practice and to contest policies and practices that perpetuate social inequities.

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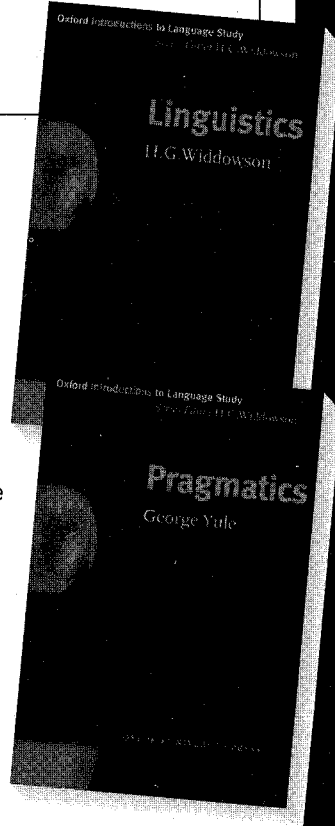
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Language and Education Policy in the State of Indiana: Implications for Language Minority Students

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TIMOTHY BOALS

Indiana Department of Education

In the U. S., education issues are considered the purview of the states, with the federal government maintaining an important leadership role. However, without a coherent federal language-in-education policy and with an increasing number of language minorities in schools, the states have enacted language policies and guidelines that they believe meet the educational needs of these students. Although language policies in states with large numbers of language minority students have received much-deserved attention, there has been no systematic study of language planning and policy in states with small, unevenly distributed, yet growing numbers of language minority students. This article reports on a study of Indiana's language and education policies for language minority students from 1976, when the state bilingual education law was passed, to 1995. The goal of the study was to determine how and why language policy decisions were made and what the effect of those decisions was on the delivery of educational services for language minority students attending public schools. Drawing on legal documents and interviews with legislators and advocates, we document the process and outcome of the state's language policy decisions.

With a small, unevenly distributed, yet growing number of language minority students, Indiana has an unusual history of laws and other initiatives enacted to meet the educational needs of these students and to satisfy federal mandates. However, on close examination, these laws and initiatives exhibit apparent contradictions between language policy and language-in-education policies. Furthermore, the state does not rely on its language policies to encourage public schools to provide equitable and appropriate education programs for language minority students. Rather, a provision included in its school accreditation law mandates that schools do so.

In this article we report the results of our study of Indiana's language policy and language-in-education actions affecting language minority students from 1976—when the state's bilingual education law was passed—to 1995. In our study we examined the decision-making process involved in the formulation of those policies and their impact on the language minority students and the communities they represent. The importance of the study is twofold. First, it documents for the first time Indiana's language-in-education planning and policy decisions affecting language minority students residing in the state. Second, it may serve to stimulate discussion among educators, policymakers, researchers, and community activists about the unique language planning and policy needs of Midwestern U.S. states such as Indiana that have small but growing numbers of language minority students.

In the first section of this paper, we advance definitions of language planning and policy to clarify the parameters of our research. The second section describes in detail the methods and procedures used in the study, followed by demographic and program placement information on the language minority school-age student population in the state from 1987–1988 to 1993–1994. Next, we describe Indiana's language and education policies for language minority students and the decision-making process of those involved in policy formulation and those who influenced legislative outcomes. We also examine the impact of the policies on language minority students and the communities they represent. Finally, we discuss the implications of language policy decisions for the education of language minority students, particularly limited English proficient (LEP)¹ students. We close with conclusions and recommendations.

Language policy is the “set of statements, objectives and/or commands explicitly or implicitly decreed by some agency, organization, or other body (usually governmental) with respect to the oversight over which that agency has jurisdiction” (Judd, 1992, p. 169). On the other hand, *language planning* is “an attempt to systematize a course of action, or a direction, or a time sequence” (p. 170) or “deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes” (Cooper, 1989, p. 169). We agree with Judd that the goal of language policy research should be to determine how and why language policy decisions are made and “to attempt to disambiguate what (governmental) programs exist (or do not exist), and how they came into being” (p. 170).

¹ Throughout the article we use the term *limited English proficient* (LEP) to designate language minority students who are in the process of learning English as an L2. Although some in the field consider it a negative term, we have chosen to use it because it is used by the federal and state agencies that work with language minority students in the U.S.

During the initial phase of our research, we examined language-in-education policies that overtly aimed at influencing schools' decisions on language with regard to language minority students. Subsequently, we realized that we needed to expand our investigation into broader language and education mandates that appeared to be related to the state's language policies and to educational outcomes for language minority students. By expanding the scope of our inquiry, we acknowledged that language planning and policy decisions are inseparable components of the larger socialization goals of formal schooling (Judd, 1992) and are influenced by larger political, economic, and sociocultural events (Cooper, 1989; Kaplan, 1994).

METHODS

How were language policy decisions regarding language minority, school-age students made in the state of Indiana? To understand the process of language policy decision making, we adopted a descriptive framework that asks "who makes what decisions, why, how, under what conditions, and with what effect?" (Cooper, 1989, p. 88), one that is compatible with the "basic questions that should be asked in the pursuit of such research" (Judd, 1992, pp. 182–183). This framework for the study of language planning was one of several suggested by Cooper, who proposes that researchers need to study research frameworks used in other disciplines "to forward the development of a framework particularly suited for language planning" (p. 58). Cooper's suggestion is worth considering, particularly because language planning is a relatively new area of inquiry that came into being "without a theoretical base . . . [and initially] drew more heavily upon the field of planning than it did on the field of linguistics" (Kaplan, 1992, p. 141).

In addition to thoroughly reviewing education and language policy laws enacted in Indiana since 1976,² we investigated the state's education policies for language minority students in public schools and in private schools that participate in the state's accreditation process.³ We collected

²One of the early Indiana language policy debates concerned the Indiana school taxation referenda of 1848 for supporting public schools. The referenda were given impetus by the 1850 census, the first to include a systematic inquiry into schools and literacy (Martin, 1994). In addition, Indianapolis was the third major U.S. city where bilingual public schools, primarily English-German, were well established until World War I. Others were Cincinnati, Ohio, and Baltimore, Maryland (Kloss, 1977).

³Indiana state law requires private schools only to report the total school enrollment to the Indiana Department of Education (IDOE). Private schools are under no obligation to give the state information on language minority or LEP students unless they choose to participate in the state's accreditation process.

documentary data and conducted telephone conversations and interviews with policymakers, educators, and community activists who influenced the legislation.⁴ These contacts provided us with extensive information about the policies themselves, the internal and external factors that are believed to have led to their enactment, and their current implementation status.

LANGUAGE MINORITY STUDENTS IN INDIANA

Although language minority students have never accounted for more than about 2% of the public school enrollment in Indiana, they have been a consistently increasing presence there (see Table 1). Between 1987-1988 and 1993-1994, language minority student enrollment grew by more than 70%. The number of LEP language minority students also increased by nearly 60% over this same period, although they represented only about ½ of 1% of the school population by 1993-1994.

Table 1 also shows that language minority students are linguistically diverse and geographically distributed across the state, speaking nearly 200 native languages and living in nearly 85% percent of the state's school corporations.⁵ Further analysis shows that Spanish is the most frequently spoken native language and that language minority students are concentrated in northern Indiana and in Indianapolis, the state capital. Moreover, the data indicate that one in six language minority students was served by state or federal categorical programs during the 1993-1994 school year.

Table 2 shows the number of language minority students placed in Chapter 1, special education, gifted and talented, and vocational education programs.⁶ Overwhelmingly, Chapter 1 programs are the programs of choice for support services to LEP students. In some cases, Chapter 1 programs may simply be the only viable alternative for LEP students who

⁴ Timothy Boals did not participate in the interview process because he is an employee of the IDOE.

⁵ In the state of Indiana, school districts are legally known as *corporations*.

⁶ *Chapter 1* (now referred to as Title I, 1994) is the largest federally funded support program for disadvantaged students, including language minority children and youth. Under the new Title I law, enacted in September 1994, LEP students are automatically eligible because of their lack of English proficiency. *Special education* refers to federally funded programs aimed at serving students with mental and physical disabilities, such as mildly mentally handicapped and learning-disabled students. These programs must comply with the provisions of the law (Pub. L. No. 103-382). *Gifted and talented* programs are designed to meet the learning needs of students of above-normal IQ or recognized special talents. These programs are funded at the federal, state, and local levels. *Vocational education* programs, also funded through a combination of federal, state, and local monies, serve as alternate educational opportunities for students interested in nontraditional technical and vocational careers.

TABLE 1
Language Minority Student Enrollment in Indiana, 1987–1994

School year	LM students	LEP students	Native languages spoken	School corporations (of 296) with LM students	Counties (of 92) with LM students
1987–1988	11,745	3,376	162	221	81
1988–1989	13,949	3,387	166	228	82
1989–1990	15,769	4,001	177	224	82
1990–1991	18,278	4,670	178	231	81
1991–1992	19,068	4,822	186	230	84
1992–1993	19,950	5,017	187	239	82
1993–1994	20,103	5,342	196	249	89

Note. From Indiana Department of Education (1995, p. ii). LM = language minority; LEP = limited English proficient.

need additional assistance in keeping up with peers. Although the total number of language minority students enrolled in special education programs is relatively low, compared with 12% of the general student population, a higher proportion of LEP students than of other language minority students are placed in special education. Although the overall rate at which language minority students are placed in special education programs is lower than that of the general student population, the rate at which LEP students are placed in certain special education programs, such as those for children with learning disabilities, communication disorders, or mild mental handicaps, is relatively high. This may be due to the difficulties inherent in the appropriate and accurate evaluation of linguistically and culturally diverse students. At issue are concerns about bias and what some experts consider to be a lack of information about cultural differences, L2 development, and the nature of language proficiency.

TABLE 2
Language Minority Students Served in Special Programs in Indiana, 1993–1994

Program	LM students served		LEP students served	
	No.	%	No.	%
Chapter I	1,725	8.6	715	13.4
Special education	516	2.6	169	3.2
Gifted and talented	627	3.1	21	0.4
Vocational education	294	1.5	50	0.9
Total	3,162	15.7	955	17.9

Note. From Indiana Department of Education (1995, p. 1). LM = language minority; LEP = limited English proficient.

Entry into and exit from special programs for English language support services are usually based on English language proficiency assessment scores. Typically, school corporations use either the nationally recognized Language Assessment Scales or the Indiana Department of Education's (IDOE) procedures to assess language proficiency, which include a variety of short oral and written assessment tools (IDOE, 1990). School corporations are not required to assess the students' native language proficiency. An assessment of language minority students' native language proficiency would provide a more comprehensive profile of their academic and linguistic repertoire.

On the other hand, language minority students are assessed in their native language before schools make decisions about placement, a requirement under Pub. L. No. 142. In practice, such assessment can be very difficult because of the large variety of languages spoken by Indiana's language minorities and the lack of trained personnel who speak those languages.

Because, as we describe below, bilingual teacher endorsements and ESL certification are optional in Indiana, teachers of English to language minority students and bilingual education teachers may not be certified or endorsed in these areas of expertise. This raises the question of whether methodologies now used in ESL and bilingual classes are up to date and optimally effective. Although the state encourages improvements in programs through its accreditation guidelines, day-to-day program decisions are in the hands of local educators.

LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION POLICY FOR LANGUAGE MINORITY STUDENTS

In this section, we examine language policies and language-in-education policies for school-age language minority students enacted in the state of Indiana between 1976 and 1995 and describe how those policies were adopted. We also examine the possible underlying intent of the policies and the internal and external factors that may have led to their enactment. The policies discussed in this section are House Enrolled Act (HEA) 1324 (1976), the Bilingual and Bicultural Teacher Endorsement (1978), the English as a Second Language certification (1985), the Official State Language law (1984), and, finally, the Performance-Based Accreditation System (1992).

House Enrolled Act 1324

On February 25, 1976, the General Assembly of the State of Indiana passed HEA 1324, calling for the superintendent of public instruction to

“carry out a bilingual-bicultural program for the improvement of educational opportunities for non-English dominant children” (p. 461), making it clear that the goal of this program was to “place the bilingual-bicultural student in the regular course of study” (p. 462) as expeditiously as possible. Furthermore, the law stated that the state of Indiana “recognizes the need for and the desirability of such programs to aid students to reach their full academic level of achievement, and to preserve an awareness of cultural and linguistic heritage” (p. 465).

In 1984, 1989, and 1993, minor amendments to Sections 1, 2, and 5 of the law were enacted. However, these amendments did not in any way modify the law’s major provisions.

Specifically, HEA 1324 (1976) required

1. the inclusion in bilingual programs of children whose dominant language is English “unless participation will hinder the progress of the non-English dominant children” (p. 462), thus discouraging the segregation of non-English-dominant children and making it possible for English-dominant children to participate in, and benefit from, bilingual education;
2. the placement of LEP students in age-appropriate classrooms to the extent possible and the provision of instruction appropriate for their individual educational attainment;
3. the notification of parents regarding the placement of their children in bilingual programs, their program of study, and their rights to refuse placement;
4. state assistance to school corporations in the development of bilingual-bicultural programs by making available to them materials on the theory and practice of bilingual instructional and evaluation; and
5. the funding of bilingual-bicultural programs for a minimum of up to 5 years, with priorities identified by the state

A careful review of the law suggests that it was modeled after the federal Bilingual Education Act, Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) (1965), as amended in 1974. This statute aimed to “prepare [limited English-speaking] students to participate effectively in the regular classroom as quickly as possible” (Stewner-Manzanares, 1988, p. 3) and to assist students in progressing effectively through schooling (Stewner-Manzanares, 1988). To date, the state has not appropriated funding for bilingual-bicultural education. Without appropriated funds, HEA 1324 has remained dormant and has not directly affected educational programs for language minority students.

How was such a comprehensive bilingual education law passed in the state of Indiana, a state with a small language minority population that is only now gaining in presence? External and internal considerations

contributed to the formulation of the state's bilingual education policy and, more important, to current policy toward school-age language minority students. In addition, over time negative perceptions appear to have grown about the political and economic impact of the immigrants, many of whom were language minorities with little or no proficiency in English, settling in the state.

What external and internal factors contributed to the enactment of HEA 1324? Among the most important external considerations was state compliance with federal statutes and certain case law rulings. Interviews with IDOE personnel and community activists indicate that, first and foremost, Title VI of the Civil Rights Act (1964) and *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) influenced the decision-making process that led to the enactment of HEA 1324 (P. Roth, IDOE, personal communication, May 12, 1995). The latter, a class action suit whose legal basis was the Civil Rights Act, was filed with U.S. District Court in San Francisco, California, on behalf of 1,856 LEP students of Chinese origin against the San Francisco Unified School District. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act requires school districts that receive federal funding to "guarantee non-discriminatory treatment on the basis of race, sex and national origin" (as cited in IDOE, 1989, p. 1).

Other laws that influenced the passage of HEA 1324 were the Bilingual Education Act (1965, as amended in 1974) and the Equal Educational Opportunities Act (1974). The former recognizes the need for education programs that address the language and cultural needs of linguistically diverse students. The latter mandates that school districts take "appropriate action to overcome language barriers that impede equal participation by its students in its instructional program" (Bailey, 1993, p. 34). Finally, the court case of *Serna v. Portales Municipal Schools* (1974) influenced the passage of HEA 1324. In this case, Chicano students in Portales, New Mexico, challenged the English-only instruction that they were receiving (IDOE, 1989). This case is significant in that it further highlights language as the key to educational access and therefore to an equitable education.

From the legislators' point of view, the imperative to comply with the requirements of the recently enacted Title VII of the ESEA regarding the education of language minority LEP students strongly influenced the passage of HEA 1324. In addition, the legislators saw passage of the act as an attempt to recognize the different languages and cultures in the state (Rep. P. Warner, personal communication, May 10, 1995). However, community activists suggested that the most important factor in its passage was the coordinated effort of advocates and the support of one of their representatives to the Indiana State Assembly (J. Sena, Coordinator, Bilingual Programs, Gary, Indiana, personal communication, May 17, 1995). Although bilingual education programs were at that time

being offered in Indiana with funds from Title VII of the ESEA, advocates believed that the passage of a state bilingual education law would guarantee that bilingual education would continue to be offered to language minority students, particularly those who were LEP.

The education needs of the language minority youth in Lake County, Indiana (which includes the cities of East Chicago, Hammond, and Gary), a region that has traditionally had the largest number of language minorities, particularly Hispanics, in the state had given impetus to the establishment of bilingual education programs in the state. In 1970, the first two Title VII—funded bilingual education programs were established in East Chicago and Gary. Although both school corporations continued to offer bilingual instruction for LEP language minority students after federal funding ended, there was a strong possibility that local and state funds would not be available to continue the programs in the future. This situation mobilized Concerned Latins, a grass-roots, Hispanic community organization with members in the Lake County region. The membership consisted of a coalition of Hispanic educators in public schools and a small group of Hispanic university professors involved in lobbying the legislature for passage of HEA 1324 (I. Gonzalez, bilingual teacher, personal communication, May 17, 1995).⁷ Concerned Latins had developed a reputation for well-organized, proactive involvement in issues affecting the Hispanic community. The organization strongly believed that bilingual education was the best approach to educating language minority students, particularly those most in need: the LEP students (I. Gonzalez, personal communication, May 17, 1995; S. Martinez, Coordinator of Bilingual Education, East Chicago, Indiana, Public Schools, personal communication, May 17, 1995).

What is the intent of the state's bilingual education policy? HEA 1324 (1976) highlights at least four goals: (a) the improvement of educational opportunities for language minority students who are "non-English dominant" (p. 359) or who have difficulty performing in classes with all-English instruction, (b) assistance to non-English-dominant children so that they reach their full academic potential, (c) the preservation of an awareness of their cultural and linguistic heritage, and (d) their quick transition to all-English instruction once they acquire English. However, Indiana's bilingual education law seems to have broader, implicit goals. Its intent appears to be to unify the state, as it advocates models of transitional bilingual education whose aim is the swift Americanization of language minority students and at whose core is English acquisition. This broad intent is compatible with Indiana's official state language law (1984; see below). Furthermore, the law is clearly compensatory in

⁷According to Gonzalez, then-Representative Adam Benjamin, a recent immigrant himself, assisted advocates in their efforts.

nature, as its beneficiaries are school-age children who speak languages other than English and who are seen as disadvantaged in school achievement because of their lack of English proficiency. However, the law seems to imply contradictory goals. It advocates a transitional bilingual education model whose goal is the attainment of English language proficiency while calling for the preservation of an awareness of the LEP students' language and culture. From the perspective of the community activists we interviewed, the Indiana legislature passed the law "as a sign of tokenism" (J. Arredondo, personal communication, May 17, 1995), as funds have never been appropriated for its implementation.

The Bilingual and Bicultural Endorsement

In 1978, the Teacher and Training Licensing Commission (currently the Indiana Professional Standards Board) of the IDOE approved a voluntary teaching endorsement in bilingual and bicultural education.⁸ The endorsement required 12 university semester hours of study in methods of instruction in bilingual and bicultural education, the development of bilingual and bicultural programs, and the culture of the bilingual target language group. In addition, it required oral and written proficiency in the target language. Teachers obtain the endorsement as an add-on to an existing license. By the end of 1994, 113 teachers had bilingual/bicultural endorsements on their active state licenses (Indiana Professional Standards Board, 1994).

The ESL Voluntary Certification

In 1985, the legislature passed the ESL voluntary certification for K-12 teachers of ESOL. The law required 24 university semester hours of general linguistics and English linguistics; psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics; culture and society; literature; and methods and materials for teaching LEP students. The K-12 ESL certification is an add-on to an existing license. By the end of 1994, 102 teachers in Indiana held ESL certification on their active state licenses (Indiana Professional Standards Board, 1994).

Indiana Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, an affiliate of TESOL, and the Indiana Association for Bilingual Education, an affiliate of the National Association for Bilingual Education, were the forces behind the passage of the ESL voluntary teacher certification law. In addition, the steady increase of language minority students in the

⁸ Both the Bilingual and Bicultural Endorsement (1978) and the English as a Second Language Certification (1985) are Indiana Administrative Codes that get their authority from Ind. Code 20-1-1-6 (1976).

state's public schools and teachers' concern with their lack of knowledge about how to teach LEP, linguistically diverse students most likely added to the pressure to pass the state's voluntary certification and endorsement provisions (P. Roth and T. Boals, personal communication, May 12, 1995).

Official State Language Policy

Another important language policy statute was passed during the 1980s. On February 29, 1984, the 103rd General Assembly amended the Indiana Code concerning the state language. Pub. L. No. 1 (1984), Official State Language, briefly states that "English is the official language of the state of Indiana" (p. 1).⁹ The law was passed with only one vote cast against it (Rep. P. Warner, personal communication, May 10, 1995).¹⁰ Legislators decided that an English-only policy was essential to bring coherence to a democratic way of government, to unite the state, and to further public policy debate. The law was enacted as a precautionary measure to ensure that the state's democratic traditions were preserved (Rep. P. Warner, personal communication, May 10, 1995).

Performance-Based Accreditation

Following the 1980s national school reform movement, in 1992 Indiana enacted various educational reforms, including the Performance-Based Accreditation System, whose purpose was to "provide the structure to accredit schools relative to input standards as well as outcomes." (IDOE, 1993). The law included Legal Standard 28, which states that, as part of the accreditation process,

[schools must submit] appropriate information to the Indiana Department of Education [certifying] that appropriate instruction is provided to limited-English proficient students. The Indiana Department of Education's Division of Language Minority and Migrant Programs verifies that each school provides appropriate instruction for limited-English proficient students. (pp. 60-61)

Until the passage of the performance-based accreditation guidelines, essentially no mechanism was in place to ensure local school compliance

⁹ By 1994, 16 states had enacted English-only laws and 1, Hawaii, had adopted a constitutional amendment recognizing both English and Hawaiian as official languages (Crawford, 1993). As of this writing, 3 more states have passed English-only laws: Montana, New Hampshire, and South Dakota. In Maryland, the state legislature passed an English-only amendment. However, the governor vetoed the bill (J. Crawford, personal communication, May 9, 1995; January 17, 1996).

¹⁰ The negative vote was cast by the only Hispanic legislator in the 103rd General Assembly.

with state guidelines for educating language minority students. Under Legal Standard 28 school corporations are required to propose a plan demonstrating that they have developed individualized instructional programs to meet the English language and education needs of LEP students. The state monitors compliance through the 5-year Performance-Based Accreditation System review cycle required by law.

What constitutes an appropriate program for language minority students as intended in Legal Standard 28 of the performance-based accreditation statute? First, school corporations must identify language minority students by means of a home language survey given to the child at time of enrollment. If the student speaks a language other than English at home, the student takes a state-approved or commercially available English proficiency assessment. Schools are prohibited from retaining students in grade based solely on English language proficiency. Legal Standard 28 requires that schools provide counseling services and communication in the native language of the parents to the extent possible.

Schools must also provide at least 10 hours per week of appropriate English language instruction in a classroom where the student-to-teacher ratio does not exceed 15 to 1. Appropriate instruction includes tutoring by peers or parent volunteers, time spent in cooperative learning and whole language learning environments, and more formalized ESL or bilingual programs.¹¹ This minimum requirement must be documented on Individual Record Plans in students' cumulative folders. In addition, school corporations must develop criteria for determining when students should exit from special language programs. A committee of key educators examines progress in English and content-area achievement to apply these criteria.

Education consultants from the IDOE who are trained in language minority education issues visit school corporations during the Performance-Based Accreditation System evaluation year. On these site visits, IDOE consultants assess classroom practices, counseling and administrative practices, and the role of special service providers and give local educators a "scorecard" on how well they have met their language minority plan guidelines. If implementation is incomplete, the consultants make recommendations for improvement. A school corporation that has failed to provide key services to LEP students may receive a recommendation that final accreditation by the state be contingent on the full implementation of its language minority plan.

The system that ties appropriate services for language minority

¹¹ About 10% of language minority students in the state of Indiana are served in bilingual or ESL programs. About 90% of these students are served in mainstream classrooms where they may or may not receive tutorial support.

students to the overall school accreditation process has been effective in ensuring at least minimum compliance with state standards, and many school corporations have been encouraged to go beyond the requirements of Legal Standard 28 to optimize their capacity to effectively serve LEP students. However, Legal Standard 28 has limits. First, it does not specify the meaning of “appropriate instruction” for language minorities (IDOE, 1993, p. 60). Therefore, school corporations can interpret it in widely varying ways, resulting in language minority plans that at times do not meet federal or state minimal requirements. In addition, issues of local autonomy in setting service priorities often determine to what degree schools create programs that are truly innovative in meeting the needs of LEP students. Second, the state accreditation process calls for a comprehensive review of school corporations by the IDOE only every 5 years. If a school corporation does not have a language minority plan that meets the state’s approval during the review, the state gives the corporation assistance for improvement. However, some school corporations may not forcefully improve their language minority plan until 5 years later, when they are due for another accreditation review by the state. Last, school corporations do not receive additional funding to implement any of the provisions of the Performance-Based Accreditation System, including Legal Standard 28. Despite a lack of funds, many school corporations are making a surprisingly strong effort to comply with and go beyond the state’s requirements.

Other factors constrain school corporations’ efforts to provide appropriate education programs for LEP language minority students. First, language minority students are spread widely across the state in relatively small numbers per school corporation and per school, making the cost of formalized programs and the hiring of ESL and bilingual teachers prohibitive in all but a few areas. Second, there are not enough ESL-certified teachers, teachers with bilingual education endorsements, and other resource personnel even in areas where student concentrations are high. The shortage of trained teachers for LEP students in Indiana may be related to the fact that teachers are not required to obtain supplemental ESL certification or a supplemental bilingual endorsement to teach language minority students.

DISCUSSION

The study reported in this article investigated how and why language and education policy decisions regarding language minority students were made in the state of Indiana from 1976 to 1995, how effective these decisions were, and what their effect was on current education practices for these students. The decision-making descriptive framework used in

the study focused on “who makes what decisions, why, how, under what conditions, and with what effect” (Cooper, 1989, p. 88).

Two important language policy decisions were enacted in Indiana during this time: (a) a language-in-education policy for non-English-dominant language minority students (HEA 1324, 1976) and (b) an official language policy (1984). A review of the provisions of these laws indicates that those involved in the decision-making process gave little or no consideration to possible conflicts between the intent of the bilingual education law and that of the state official language law. Policymakers acted on the belief that passing one law reaffirming the need for an English-only state policy does not conflict with passing another acknowledging the languages and cultures of the state and meeting federal mandates. However, our data indicate that the decision-making process that led to the formulation of both policies excluded some important language planning activities suggested in the literature: the identification of language policy goals for the state, including coordination with language-in-education goals; the development of implementation plans, including provisions for funding and other resources; and the development of an evaluation process to determine whether the state’s language policy goals were being met and to identify obstacles to implementation (Hornberger, 1990).

Unlike English-only laws passed in states such as Arizona (Crawford, 1993), the Indiana statute does not specify the social domains affected by the law (i.e., election ballots, public schools, government operations). Furthermore, it does not clarify (a) whether the law applies to all branches of the government, (b) who is responsible for enforcing the law, or (c) whether the state recognizes exceptions to the law. The lack of clarity contributes to the appearance of conflict between the state’s language policy and its language-in-education policy for bilingual education. An exception in the state’s official language policy of 1984 that allowed the use of languages other than English to carry out the transitional bilingual education programs mandated under HEA 1324 (1976) would have signaled some coordination between the two policies.

The data suggest that the passage of HEA 1324 (1976) was strongly influenced by the state’s need to comply with federal statutes and recognize the demands of a well-organized Hispanic constituency from the northwest region of the state. However, 19 years after the law was passed, funds had yet to be appropriated. The discrepancy between the comprehensive provisions in the law and the lack of legislative funding further corroborates the fact that language-in-education policy and larger political, economic, and sociocultural events must be interconnected (Cooper, 1989; Kaplan, 1994) and that legislators and advocates have different perspectives on these events.

Our data also indicate that the English-only law served as a powerful

yet redundant legal declaration mandating the use of English to conduct the business of the state, which includes all educational, economic, and cultural activities. Nevertheless, the most important function of the law seems to be to serve as a symbol of state unification and of the collective history and traditions of the people of Indiana. However, because Indiana is not a monolingual and monocultural state but has about 200 languages represented in its public schools (see Table 1), a declaration of English as the official language may signal a denial of “the legitimacy of diversity” (Cooper, 1989, p. 102).

According to the literature, declarations of languages as official do not always lead to the intended outcome. Evidence from other countries shows that “it is necessary neither to specify an official language nor to observe it once specified” (Cooper, 1989, p. 101). The U.S. and Britain are examples of these complex sociolinguistic processes. Neither country has a statutory official language, yet English is the *de facto* official language in both countries. Another example is the 1975 declaration of Quechua and Spanish as official languages in Peru. Since the passage of the dual official language policy, Spanish has continued to be the language of government and social life. The declaration of Quechua as one of the official languages of Peru has stopped neither the increase in the number of Spanish speakers nor the decrease in the number of speakers of Quechua and other vernacular languages in the country (Hornberger, 1990, 1993).

Finally, our data indicate that HEA 1324, although dormant, has nevertheless promoted state actions that have benefited language minority students. First, the act seems to have influenced the enactment of the state’s ESL voluntary teacher certification and the bilingual and bicultural education voluntary teacher endorsement. Second, in the absence of funds to implement the act, the state has found a mechanism to satisfy federal requirements and to monitor the provision of educational programs for language minority students in Legal Standard 28 of the Performance-Based Accreditation System.

Nevertheless, although the state has established that it by law must monitor the provision of educational services to language minority students, other variables that are unique to states such as Indiana impinge on the development of sound language-in-education policy. The first is the great diversity of languages spoken by language minority students in the state. Second, small numbers of language minority students speaking different languages are spread across the state (see Table 1), except for the northwest area, which has the largest concentrations of language minority students. Last, the state has not allocated funds to implement either the state’s bilingual education law or the Performance-Based Accreditation System. Therefore, the cost of implementation falls on the school corporations, many of which do not have

the funds to garner the resources needed to provide innovative programs for the growing number of language minority students in their schools.

CONCLUSIONS

We draw two descriptive conclusions from our study of Indiana's language policy decisions. First, Indiana has by and large taken a compliance/regulatory approach to language-in-education policy for language minority and LEP language minority students. Even though HEA 1324 (1976) is on the books, our data suggest that it was adopted to show that the state was in compliance with federal statutes and constitutional requirements. The failure to fund this law suggests that the state's policymakers do not see bilingual education as their own initiative. Further, Indiana does not have its own definition of the civil rights of language minority students. Instead, Legal Standard 28 is represented as a vehicle to allow school corporations to show that they are in compliance with federal legal requirements.

Second, Indiana does not have a clear and unambiguous statewide policy on the use of language in public life. The state's official language law is largely symbolic and seemingly has had no real effect on governmental practice in the state, particularly on the conduct of language-in-education policy. Thus, the law may be a political expression of the sentiments and preferences of some, perhaps a majority of, Indiana citizens, but the state has not implemented it in a way that prohibits the satisfaction of other, differing preferences. As a result, local preferences still determine language-in-education policy and policy in other societal domains.

The state's voluntary certification provisions are a resource for local communities; the state makes trained teachers available if locally designed programs demand them. Whether programs for language minority students aim at transition to all-English instruction or maintenance of the native language is determined at the local level rather than by a uniform state ideology. However, determination of language-in-education policy at the local level varies in its level of compliance with federal and state requirements.

Yet state language and language-in-education policies may not be as incoherent as they seem. On the one hand, Indiana has no desire to oppose federal law on the other, the state has no desire to interfere with local preferences beyond minimum compliance. The Performance-Based Accreditation System combines the state's compliance orientation with its tolerance of local options; it requires a local language minority plan that meets federal requirements but that allows room for local

preferences. This approach is fairly understandable in a state with relatively few language minority students. However, some language minority communities may not have a voice in the local decision-making process and its effects on their children's education. These communities may attach particular importance to language diversity and bilingual education because the local economy makes linguistic diversity a particular benefit or because language is an important component of their ethnic identity, their families, and their community.

DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Finally, our study raises a number of potentially interesting questions for future research and reflection.

Is a combined compliance and local option approach to language-in-education policy an appropriate way to serve the needs of a small but rapidly growing population of language minority and LEP language minority students? The compliance orientation assumes that local schools already have the capacity to satisfy the requirements of federal law. Are the increasing numbers of students bringing this assumption into question? For example, is there an emerging need for more direct state assistance in providing educated and licensed bilingual or ESL teachers? Local option assumes that local communities can successfully negotiate their own language-in-education policies without state intervention. Are the numbers and distribution of language minority students changing so that this assumption no longer holds? Are preferences so polarized and disparate in some communities that a local accommodation cannot be reached?

What large-scale, unintended consequences of language-in-education policies that use a combined compliance and local option approach need to be addressed? For example, in Indiana's public schools the rate of enrollment in special education is much lower for language minority and LEP language minority students than for the student population as a whole. Does this mean that the special needs of these students are being neglected? Or is the school system actually finding more appropriate ways of meeting these students' needs? Similar questions might be asked about gifted and talented, vocational, and Chapter 1 programs.

Does a state such as Indiana have a good reason to be more deliberative or explicit about its language and language-in-education policies? In part, the answer to this question depends on answers to the questions asked above, but other factors come into play as well. Would an effort to be more explicit create tensions between language minority parents and other parents that might result in educational disadvantage for language minority students? Are the members of the language minority community united enough in their beliefs about appropriate state policy to give

shape to a more explicit policy? Answers to these questions need to be pursued to fully understand the sociocultural, economic, and political factors that have contributed to the language policy and language-in-education decision-making process in Indiana and in other states with small, unevenly distributed, yet growing numbers of language minority populations.

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Dual-Language Planning at Oyster Bilingual School: “It’s Much More Than Language”

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This article describes how Oyster Bilingual School’s two-way Spanish-English language plan functions in its sociopolitical context. Language planning and implementation at Oyster Bilingual School constitute a dynamic, multilevel, multidirectional process in which language minority and language majority members of the Oyster community collaborate in their efforts to define bilingualism and cultural pluralism as resources to be developed. The Spanish-English language plan is one part of a larger identity plan that aims to promote social change by socializing children differently from the way children are socialized in mainstream U.S. educational discourse. In addition, the ethnographic/discourse analytic approach presented can be applied in investigating how other language plans function in their sociopolitical contexts.

Fishman (1973) describes language planning as “the organized pursuit of solutions to language problems” (pp. 23–24), typically at the national level. Whereas most language planning studies focus on macrolevel issues, scholars agree that an understanding of how the sociopolitical context interacts with every facet of language planning and implementation is essential to furthering an understanding of successful language planning (Bamgbose, 1989; Christian, 1988; Cooper, 1989; Fishman, 1973; Neustupny, 1983; Paulston, 1984; Weinstein, 1986). With respect to the English language teaching profession, the contexts in which actual programs are implemented vary so much that it is difficult to evaluate which are most effective for limited English proficient (LEP)¹ students (Padilla, 1990; Ramirez, Yuen, & Ramey, 1991). Language planning researchers must therefore look locally at individual institutions to see how they interpret and implement the macrolevel language plan within a particular context.

¹ Although I recognize the negative connotations associated with the label *limited English proficient*, I use the term throughout the article because of its use in official documents.

This article, based on a 2-year ethnographic/discourse analytic study of the James F. Oyster Bilingual School (Freeman, 1993), describes how Oyster's successful two-way Spanish-English language plan functions in its sociopolitical context.² The dual-language program in this Washington, DC, public elementary school serves a student population that is linguistically, ethnically, racially, and economically diverse. According to Oyster's March 1993 Fact Sheet, the school's population is 58% Hispanic, 26% White, 12% Black, and 4% Asian and represents over 25 countries; 74% of the student population is language minority; 24% are LEP; and 40% are on the free and reduced lunch program available to low-income children in the District of Columbia Public Schools. In operation since 1971, Oyster's bilingual program is considered successful by a variety of measures, including students' standardized test scores and teachers' ongoing performance-based assessments. Oyster has also received several awards for excellence in education. Because it is considered successful with its LEP students, Oyster provides an excellent site for investigating how the Bilingual Education Act³ is translated into a language plan and then implemented on the local level.

Language planning and implementation at Oyster Bilingual School are dynamic, multilevel, multidirectional processes in which language minority and language majority members of the Oyster community collaborate in their efforts to define bilingualism and cultural pluralism as resources to be developed. Oyster's *language-as-resource* orientation stands in opposition to and struggles against the *language-as-problem* orientation that characterizes most bilingual and ESL programs in the U.S. (see Ruíz, 1984, for discussion of these language planning orientations). However, limiting the discussion of Oyster's success with its linguistically and culturally diverse student population to language alone would allow only a superficial understanding of how the dual-language program functions. As one teacher explained to me, "You know, it's much more than language." The Spanish-English language plan forms one part of a larger identity plan that aims to promote social change by socializing children differently from the way they are socialized in mainstream U.S. educational discourse.

The article begins with a description of the ethnographic/discourse analytic approach that I used to investigate how Oyster Bilingual School's

²I use the school's real name with the permission and encouragement of the school administrators. The names of all individuals have been changed.

³The Bilingual Education Act, or Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, signaled the U.S. government's first commitment to addressing the needs of students with limited English skills by authorizing resources to support educational programs, train teachers and aides, develop and disseminate instructional materials, and encourage parental involvement. The act was signed into law in 1968; each reauthorization involves decisions on how much money to allocate to what types of programs (see Crawford, 1991, for further discussion).

two-way language plan functions in its sociopolitical context. This discussion is intended to (a) illustrate the value of using ethnographic and discourse analytic methods of data collection and analysis to answer questions raised in the language planning field and (b) provide a theoretical and methodological orientation to the Oyster School case study. My discussion of Oyster's dual-language planning and implementation then begins at the societal level with the Bilingual Education Act (1988). Because Oyster describes its program as an alternative to mainstream U.S. programs for language minority students, I briefly discuss the most common types of bilingual and ESL programs funded under the act. I then describe problem identification, planning, and implementation at Oyster Bilingual School and present examples from the multiple levels of context to summarize how Oyster's two-way bilingual program is implemented in situated practice.⁴

THE LANGUAGE PLAN IN ITS SOCIOPOLITICAL CONTEXT

Although scholars agree that it is essential to understand how the sociopolitical context interacts with every facet of language planning and implementation, few studies illustrate this interaction. This section describes how an ethnographic/discourse analytic approach enables researchers to investigate and document the way an educational language plan functions in situated practice. To motivate the approach, I relate work in critical discourse analysis on language and power (Fairclough, 1989, 1992; Gee, 1991; Lemke, 1989, 1990) to methodological recommendations from language planning researchers (Bamgbose, 1989; Cooper, 1989; Prator, cited by Cooper, 1989; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984). I then present a diagram that illustrates the nature of language planning and implementation at Oyster Bilingual School.

A crucial question to address is, What is meant by *sociopolitical context*? According to Fairclough (1989), *context* can be understood as dynamic interrelationships among situational, institutional, and societal levels that influence each other in important ways. Because this study aims to explain how one successful school interprets and implements an educational language plan, I begin my discussion of sociopolitical context at the institutional level. This study assumes that schools, like other institutions in society, are largely discursively constituted. That is, institutions are made up of people who talk and write about who they are and

⁴ Because of space limitations, I do not demonstrate my actual discourse analyses in this article (see Freeman, 1993, for extensive analyses).

about what they say, do, believe, and value in patterned ways. Actual microlevel spoken and written texts produced by people in situated activities within the institution both reflect and shape the abstract macrolevel discourses that constitute the institution. It is important to emphasize that the abstract, underlying institutional discourses are never neutral. They are always structured by ideologies (see also Fairclough, 1989, 1992; Freeman, 1993; Gee, 1991; Lemke, 1989, 1990).

The assumption that institutions are largely discursively constituted offers an important theoretical basis for progress in language planning research. First, as Fishman (1973) argues, language planning is primarily problem oriented. Language planning researchers need to understand how people in the institution under study define what the problem is and for whom (Cooper, 1989). However, the researcher cannot assume a priori that a particular institution is characterized by one coherent ideological discourse reflected in official policy statements and that all participants embrace and act on it in the same way. Prator's description of language planning and implementation reflects the possibility of competing discourses around the official policy:

The entire process of formulating and implementing language policy is best regarded as a spiral process beginning at the highest level of authority and ideally descending in widening circles through the ranks of practitioners who can support or resist putting the policy into effect. (cited as personal communication in Cooper, 1989, p. 160)

Prator is one of the few language planning scholars who regard language teachers as language planners (Cooper, 1989), a belief that I strongly endorse. In an educational language plan, teachers have considerable autonomy in their implementation of high-level decisions, which leaves room for significant variation in the way they put the plan into practice on the classroom level.

Implicit in Prator's description of the language planning process is the notion of language planning as a top-down activity in which high-level policymakers design policy that lower level practitioners implement. Bamgbose (1989), however, stresses the importance of understanding the nature of the relationship between policy decisions and implementation:

Since policy decisions can be taken at any stage in the planning process, there is a need to reconsider the unidirectional movement from policy formulation to implementation which is usually presented in models of language planning (Fishman et al. 1971, Jernudd 1973). This account of the relationship obscures the fact that policy formulation is a dynamic process. (p. 25)

Considering teachers and administrators as planners allows an understanding of how practitioners potentially shape the language plan from the bottom up.

The concept of language planning as dynamic, ideological processes shaped by multiple levels of institutional authority is a principled basis for investigating how a language plan is interpreted within an institutional context. The researcher needs to understand the levels of authority in the institution (i. e., the organizational or decision-making structure) as well as the power relationships among those levels. Analyzing open-ended interviews with people who represent the various levels of institutional authority enables an investigation of two important issues identified by language planning researchers—the political interests of policymakers (Cooper, 1989) and the implicit and explicit goals of the language plan for the various target populations (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984). Triangulating analyses of policymakers' interests and goals with analyses of official policy statements begins to reveal important sociopolitical concerns that can affect how the educational plan is interpreted and implemented.

Because no institution exists in a sociopolitical vacuum, language planning researchers need to incorporate an understanding of the local community and larger, societal levels of context into the analysis. Sociolinguistic studies of language use, with attention to the social stratification of languages and of speakers of those languages in society (for further discussion see Fasold, 1984; Ferguson, 1959; Fishman, 1967) allow the researcher to identify existing language resources in the community as well as power relationships between and among the groups who are to be affected by the plan. The next step is to compare these community and societal resources and relationships with the educational language plan's implicit and explicit goals for the various target populations. Such a comparison will more than likely reveal that the institutional language plan aims to challenge and potentially transform societal relations in some way, for example, in terms of student attitudes toward languages and speakers of those languages or in terms of language use in the larger community. In these cases, as Fasold (1984) points out, the successful language planning policy will include measures to influence a person's self-identification, making the identity of the target language population desirable. Fasold emphasizes, however, that "identity planning, " or "consciously taken steps to influence a person's self-identification appear to be at least as difficult as steps to plan the language directly" (p. 262).

Analysis of policy statements and of interviews with language planners about their goals in relation to the sociolinguistics of society yields an understanding of the school's ideal language planning and implementation. However, as Bourdieu (1977) warns,

the informant's discourse, in which he strives to give himself the appearance of symbolic mastery of his practice, tends to draw attention to the most

remarkable “moves,” i.e., those most esteemed or reprehended in the different social games rather than to the principle from which these moves and all equally possible moves can be generated, and which, belonging to the universe of the undisputed, most often remain in their implicit state. (pp. 18–19)

To understand the implicit or underlying principles that inform the implementation of the language plan, it is necessary to triangulate the analysis of the language planners’ oral and written discourse about practice with observation of actual practice. This leads to a discussion of the situational level of context.

An approach incorporating an ethnography of communication provides a means of investigating how the ideal language planning goals are realized (see also Hornberger, 1988). “Its basic approach does not involve a list of facts to be learned so much as questions to be asked, and means for finding out answers” (Saville-Troike, 1989, p. 2). The focus of an ethnography of communication is the speech community. The ethnographer of communication identifies what speech situations and speech activities constitute that community by analyzing who says what, to whom, when, where, how, and with what effects. The research questions that guide the analysis emerge through an investigation of communicative behavior within that speech community (see Hymes, 1974; Saville-Troike, 1989, for a detailed discussion of this approach). Likewise, the research questions that guide the language planning study emerge through an analysis of the institution’s explicit and implicit language planning goals in relation to how they are realized in face-to-face interaction. A discourse analysis of the distribution and evaluation of the languages and of speakers of those languages relative to each other and to the ideal plan facilitates an understanding of discrepancies between the ideal and the actual, discrepancies that can often be explained by the interaction of the institutional and societal levels of context.

My discussion of the role of an ethnographic/discourse analytic approach in investigating how a language plan functions in its sociopolitical context has been general to this point. I now present a brief yet specific description of my data collection and analysis that is intended to address the validity and reliability of the Oyster School case study and facilitate replication of this approach in other contexts. To obtain an insider’s, or *emic*, understanding of how the Oyster bilingual program functions, I held ongoing, open-ended interviews and conversations with policymakers, administrators, teachers, parents, and students over the course of my 2-year study (1989–1991). The majority of these interviews were taped and transcribed. I began my analysis of the interview data by looking closely at individual transcripts to understand a person’s representation and evaluation of what the problem was and for

whom, goals for the various target populations, and beliefs about Oyster's success (see Tannen, 1993, for a discussion of frame analysis). Once I had analyzed individual texts in detail, I looked across texts from a particular level of authority, such as the teachers' level, and began to identify recurring themes. For example, I found considerable coherence in how various individuals represented and evaluated what the problem was for LEP students in mainstream U.S. schools and how Oyster functioned as the solution to societal problems for language minority students. Then I looked across the levels of authority and at official policy statements and other site documents (e.g., newspapers, curricular materials, conference papers) produced or distributed by Oyster and again identified coherence in what made Oyster's bilingual program successful with its linguistically and culturally diverse student population.⁵ This intertextual discourse analysis allowed a collective understanding of Oyster's ideal plan.

To understand how the language plan was implemented on the classroom level, I spent 1 year (1989) in the sixth grade and another (1990) in one of the kindergarten classes as a participant-observer. In addition to working with the students and the teachers in a variety of ways and taking extensive field notes about my participation and my observations, I audiotaped and transcribed classroom interaction and collected samples of student work. My analysis of classroom discourse concentrated on identifying patterns of language use and intergroup relations, which I compared with those in the ideal plan. As part of my ongoing interviews and conversations, described above, I regularly asked the teachers I was working with about my interpretations, which either confirmed what I was finding or pushed me in other directions to further my investigation. To ensure that the patterns of interaction and interpretation that I identified in the kindergarten and the sixth grade were representative of those throughout the school, I conducted spot observations in pre-K and in the first, third, fourth, and fifth grades over the course of my study. When I finished my analysis, I submitted my findings (Freeman, 1993) to the school. In 1994, I returned to Oyster to talk to the administrators about my work; they both confirmed my interpretations and informed me of ways they were working to address many of the discrepancies between the ideal plan and its implementation that I had identified and that I describe in detail below.

The diagram of my research design (Figure 1) locates the situational level of the classroom interaction within the institutional level of Oyster Bilingual School, which falls within the societal level of mainstream U.S.

⁵I do not claim that there was no variation in the Oyster educators' discourse about their practice. Rather, I claim that there was considerable coherence in themes they identified and in the way they represented and evaluated what contributed to Oyster's success.

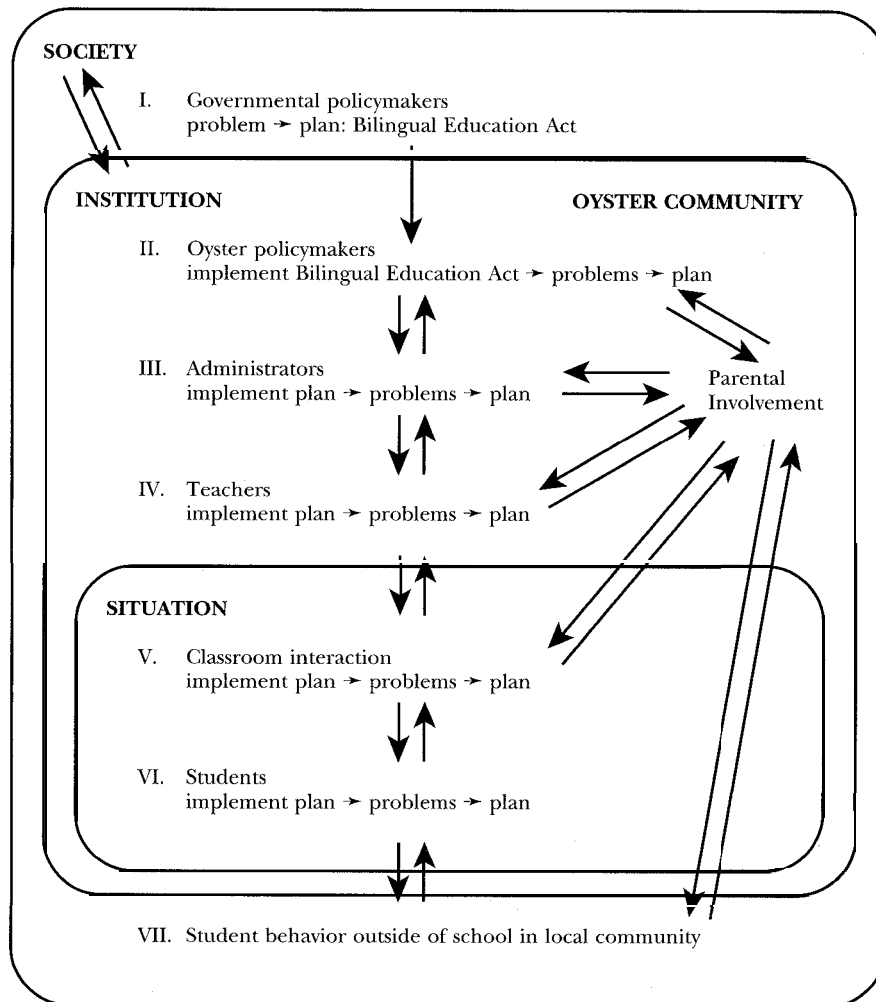
discourse. The arrows represent dynamic interrelationships among problem identification, planning, and implementation on the different planning levels that I identified at Oyster, as well as how these processes interact with sociopolitical factors. As critical discourse analysts (e.g. Fairclough, 1989) argue, one possible relationship among levels of context is reproductive. That is, the language used in the microlevel, face-to-face classroom interaction can reflect and help reproduce the existing macrolevel, social order in schools and in society. Many ethnography-of-communication studies conducted in schools document exactly this case: Mainstream U.S. educational discourse reflects and perpetuates the language minority students' subordinate social role (e.g., Heath, 1983; Philips, 1983; Scollon & Scollon, 1981). However, this is not the only possibility. Another is that the language used in the microlevel, face-to-face classroom interaction challenges and potentially transforms the macrolevel social order. This goal is implicit in the dual-language planning and implementation efforts at Oyster Bilingual School. As Figure 1 illustrates and as I discuss in more detail below, Oyster's bilingual plan was made in response to the Bilingual Education Act. On the institutional level the response to this plan involved decisions on the part of policymakers, administrators, teachers, and parents. Their decisions interact in dynamic ways with plans and problems on the situational level, the classroom.

DUAL LANGUAGE PLANNING AT OYSTER BILINGUAL SCHOOL: A CASE STUDY

The remainder of the article illustrates Oyster Bilingual School's dual-language planning and implementation processes as they interact within the larger, sociopolitical context. I begin at the societal level of context. Because the Oyster educators describe the school as an alternative to mainstream U.S. societal and educational discourse with respect to language use and language minority participation, I briefly discuss this discourse and the most common types of bilingual and ESL programs funded under the Bilingual Education Act (1988). This discussion makes explicit the mainstream U.S. ideological notion of linguistic and cultural differences as problems to be overcome.

I then turn to the institutional level of context to illustrate Oyster's rejection of that mainstream ideological notion. My discussion of Oyster's dual-language planning and implementation processes illustrates how the language minority and language majority groups at Oyster collaborate in their efforts to define linguistic and cultural differences not as problems to be overcome but as resources to be developed. The Oyster educators argue that their emphasis on bilingualism, cultural pluralism,

FIGURE 1
Language Planning and Implementation at Oyster Bilingual School:
Dynamic, Multilevel, and Multidirectional



and academic excellence is the reason that Oyster's linguistically and culturally diverse student population is participating and achieving in school.

However, because Oyster's educational discourse is in opposition to mainstream U.S. societal discourse with respect to language use and intergroup relations, leakage between the ideal plan and its implementation is not only understandable but to be expected. My discussion of the

situational level of context therefore describes discrepancies between the ideal and the actual that I observed and gives sociopolitical explanations for those discrepancies.

Societal Level: Linguistic and Cultural Differences as Problems to Be Overcome

The largest level of context represented in Figure 1 is the societal level. In the U. S., standard English is the language chosen for official government and education functions (although it is not designated as the official language by the U.S. Constitution). Standard English and White, middle-class English speakers are dominant in U.S. society, and both the language and the speakers are, at least within mainstream U.S. society, attributed more prestige than other languages and their speakers. Languages or varieties of languages other than standard English (e.g., Spanish, Korean, Black English) and speakers of those languages tend to be stigmatized in official domains. This sociolinguistic situation is an important backdrop for understanding how the Bilingual Education Act has most commonly been interpreted and implemented in mainstream U.S. society.

Within the context of the Civil Rights Movement in the U. S., the Civil Rights Act was designed to ensure equal opportunities for all members of the U.S. population. In accordance with the Civil Rights Act, the Bilingual Education Act mandates that U.S. public schools provide programs for students defined as LEP so that they can achieve “full competence in English” (Bilingual Education Act, 1988, p. 275) as a prerequisite to their equal educational opportunities in school. At the time of this study, transitional bilingual and pull-out ESL programs were those most commonly funded through the Bilingual Education Act (Ramírez, Yuen, & Ramey, 1991).⁶

Transitional bilingual education was advocated by the Bilingual Education Act for schools with a sufficient number of students from the same language background and trained bilingual educators in that language. The goal of a transitional bilingual education program, as the name reflects, is transition to English so that the LEP students can participate equally with native English speakers in the mainstream classroom. Because policymakers have traditionally assumed that language is the problem that excludes students defined as LEP from equal educational

⁶The emphasis on funding transitional bilingual programs continued throughout the 1980s. In the early 1990s, funding was also allocated to “developmental bilingual programs,” that is, programs that encouraged the development and maintenance of language minority students’ native languages. However, this increase in funding accounted for only 1% of the budget. During this period funding for English-only programs also increased significantly. Such changes in funding allocations reflect dynamism on the societal level.

opportunity, LEP students are often removed from the all-English program. Segregated in transitional bilingual programs, LEP students receive English language instruction to facilitate their acquisition of English while receiving content-area instruction in their native language. Once LEP students pass the exit criteria, they enter the mainstream program. In school districts without a sufficient population of students who speak the same language or a sufficient number of trained bilingual educators, schools have the obligation to provide ESL instruction to their LEP students. Traditionally, LEP students have been pulled out of some of their content-area classes to receive ESL instruction. In both transitional bilingual and pull-out ESL programs, LEP students have been expected to shift to monolingualism in standard English and conform to mainstream societal (White, middle-class, standard English-speaking) norms of interaction in order to access equal educational opportunities.

Transitional bilingual and pull-out ESL programs, in Ruíz's (1984) terms, follow a *language-as-problem* orientation. That is, given that students are defined in terms of the language proficiency they do not have (limited English proficiency); that students are segregated from the mainstream program while they receive ESL, content-area instruction in their native language, or both; that a majority of the programs do not emphasize the maintenance of the students' native language; and that the goal of instruction is transition to English, these programs implicitly define languages other than English as problems to be overcome. Because language is so closely tied to group identity, by extension LEP students are positioned in these programs as problems to be overcome (see also Hornberger, 1991).

Institutional Level: Linguistic and Cultural Differences as Resources to Be Developed

The Oyster School educators see the language-as-problem orientation that characterizes mainstream educational and societal discourse as discriminatory toward language minority students. Oyster's language planning policies and practices reject that orientation in favor of a *language-as-resource* orientation (Ruíz, 1984) that benefits language minority and language majority students alike. As the following excerpt from the Oyster Bilingual School Mission Statement (1988) reflects, Oyster's language planning goals are closely tied to the development of positive identification with people from racially and ethnically diverse backgrounds:

Oyster Bilingual School's focus is on the development of bilingualism, biliteracy, and biculturalism for every student through the mastery of academic

skills, the acquisition of language and communicative fluency, the appreciation of differences in racial and ethnic backgrounds, and the building of a positive self-concept and pride in one's heritage. (n.p.)

As I describe below, Oyster's positive orientation toward linguistic and cultural differences informs every aspect of its program.

Development of the Program

The question "*Who plans what for whom and how?*" (Cooper, 1989, p. 31) organizes my discussion of dual-language planning and implementation at Oyster Bilingual School. Although I did not observe the early stages of problem identification and language planning in 1971, I was able to piece together an understanding of the development of the dual-language program based on current representations of Oyster's history provided by Oyster policymakers, administrators, teachers, and parents. In addition, I analyzed Oyster policy statements and other site documents that describe the history and politics of the bilingual program. Although I cannot be certain that these documents reflected what actually happened, it is the educators' current construction of their history that is relevant to understanding how Oyster's bilingual program functions in its sociopolitical context today.

Any discussion of who does planning at Oyster Bilingual School must emphasize Oyster's description of itself as one community with common interests and common goals as opposed to several distinct communities (e.g., Latino, African American, European American) that are often in conflict with each other. For example, the parent organization is referred to as the *Community Council*, and the students wear T-shirts that say *Oyster Community Bilingual School*. One parent told me, "You know, the great thing about this school is it's like a community that crosses language, cultural, and class lines."

The Oyster community exemplifies language planning by the language minority (Spanish-speaking) group in collaboration with the language majority (English-speaking) group. As such, the Oyster School study makes an important contribution to the literature because most studies document language planning efforts by the language majority community for the language minority community. However, language planning at Oyster Bilingual School did not begin with equal support from the language minority and language majority populations. As the following discussion highlights, creating comembership in a community among people with very different assumptions and expectations, for example, about bilingual education and language minority participation, can require considerable effort on the part of the community members.

By all accounts, Oyster's bilingual program began as a grass-roots effort coordinated by an active Hispanic community struggling to meet the needs of an increasing Latino population in Washington, DC. For example, according to the March 1993 *Oyster Bilingual School Fact Sheet*, Oyster's program was created "by a coalition of Hispanic leaders, parents, and educators who pushed the Superintendent to replace the traditional, underenrolled program at Oyster with an innovative two way bilingual program" (p. 1). Reflecting Oyster's assumption that teachers are an integral part of every level of planning and implementation, the school recruited 20 experienced native Spanish-speaking teachers from a variety of Latin American countries to help transform Oyster from a traditional monolingual English program to a two-way bilingual program. However, as Señor Estevez,⁷ one of the cofounders of the program, described, the principal and teachers at (monolingual) Oyster were originally reluctant and did much to discourage the idea of a two-way bilingual program in their school. In response,

the parents and bilingual teachers launched a public-relations effort in the community arguing for the advantages of an enrichment program for all its students. They argued for stability in real estate values of both the Woodley Park and Adams Morgan communities with a quality program in its elementary school. They argued for integration along racial, cultural, and socio-economic lines through an educational program that would give equal weight to learning two languages well for all its students. (*Oyster Bilingual School*, 1993, p. 2)

It is interesting to note that, in Oyster's historical overview and in my interviews with Señor Estevez, the arguments presented in support of the bilingual program focused on economic and security benefits to the community rather than on the benefits of bilingual education or any moral commitment to equal educational opportunities for the native Spanish-speaking students. This suggests the bilingual program advocates' sensitivity to the various interests of the populations who would be affected by the language plan. As Señor Estevez repeatedly emphasized, "Bilingual education can mean many different things to different people." Therefore, he argued, it was essential that parents, teachers, and administrators share an understanding of the goals, processes, and anticipated outcomes of the educational reform in which they were about to participate. The school organized a summer institute as a forum in which these different groups had the opportunity to communicate

⁷ Consistent with the terms of address used by members of the Oyster community, I refer to Spanish-dominant individuals with a Spanish title (Señor, Señora, Señorita) and to English-dominant individuals with an English title (Mr., Mrs., Miss, Ms.). I thank Isolda Carranza for making me aware of the need to point out these naming practices.

with each other about their concerns and to negotiate their objectives. Linguists consulted on language issues; experts on group dynamics helped the participants learn to talk to each other and listen to each others' views. I emphasize that, in this account of the original language planning processes, as in other examples of problem identification and resolution that I heard about and observed, the Oyster educators do not describe language planning as high-level policy handed down to administrators and teachers to implement uncritically. They represent teachers, parents, and other community members as actively involved in the decision making, reflecting the dynamic, multilevel, multidirectional nature of language planning at Oyster Bilingual School.

The Dual-Language Plan

Because it is difficult to describe what the two-way language plan is without describing for whom it is intended, I address these two parts of Cooper's (1989) question together. Full implementation of Oyster's bilingual program took approximately 3–5 years. At the program's inception in 1971, Oyster offered one class with one Spanish-dominant teacher and one English-dominant teacher to address the needs of the native Spanish-speaking students. Gradually this model spread until two full-time teachers, one English dominant and one Spanish dominant, were working with the native Spanish-speaking and native English-speaking students in integrated classes throughout the school. According to the ideal policy, the English-dominant teacher is to speak and be spoken to only in English, and the Spanish-dominant teacher is to speak and be spoken to only in Spanish. These team teachers are responsible for dividing up the content-area instruction so that all of the subject areas are taught 50% of the time in Spanish and 50% of the time in English. Oyster's explicit goal is bilingualism, biliteracy, and biculturalism for all students through the equal representation and evaluation of Spanish and English throughout the school. Although the explicit policy is the same for all students, it is important to distinguish which aspects of the language plan affect which populations in what ways.

The two-way bilingual program functions as an English acquisition plan for the LEP students and as a Spanish acquisition plan for the limited Spanish proficient students. The goal is for all students to develop the necessary academic competence to participate and achieve in content classes taught in Spanish and English. This goal differentiates Oyster's educational program from mainstream U.S. programs for language minority and language majority students in important ways.

First, LEP students' participation in the dual-language program facilitates their development of academic competence in English because half of their content classes are in English. This situation contrasts with

traditional bilingual education and ESL programs, which are criticized for not enabling LEP students to develop the academic competence necessary to compete as equals in all-English classes (see Adamson, 1993; Brinton, Snow, & Wesche, 1989; Richard-Amato & Snow, 1992, for a discussion of this issue). Second, language majority students' participation in the dual-language program facilitates the development of academic competence in Spanish. This point is important to emphasize because, according to the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, "only 3 percent of American high school graduates, and only 5 percent of our college graduates, reach a meaningful proficiency in a second language—and many of these students come from bilingual homes" (as cited in Crawford, 1991, p. 97). Third, native English-speaking students and native Spanish-speaking students learn together in integrated classes. The availability of many native speaker models has the potential to enhance students' second language acquisition by providing considerable comprehensible input in the target language (Krashen, 1985) as well as opportunities to negotiate meaning in that language (Long, 1985). Integrated classes also enable language minority and language majority students to develop effective intercultural communication skills naturally because communicating with people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds is a simple fact of everyday school life. Oyster's emphasis on integration contrasts with traditional bilingual and ESL programs, which are criticized for segregating LEP students from the mainstream program and potentially further marginalizing the LEP student population.

The Spanish component of the Oyster program also serves as a Spanish language maintenance plan for the native Spanish speakers. Because 50% of the elementary school experience is dedicated to content-area instruction in Spanish, the native Spanish speakers maintain and develop their Spanish to achieve academically in the Spanish content areas. Oyster's emphasis on native language maintenance and additive bilingualism stands in contrast to the mainstream U.S. educational and societal emphasis on subtractive bilingualism in transition to monolingualism in English. Bilingualism, in the Oyster educational discourse, is a resource to be developed by all students.

The Identity Plan

Consideration of the Oyster perspective on the sociopolitical situation in Washington, DC, in particular and in the U.S. in general reveals an underlying identity plan that, I argue, informs and explains Oyster's bilingual program. The social stigmatization of the Spanish language in mainstream Washington, DC, requires that the Spanish language planning component also be considered an example of Spanish status

planning. The equal distribution and evaluation of Spanish and English throughout the school elevates Spanish to a status equal to that of English. Because of the close relationship between language use and social identity, if students are socialized to view Spanish as a legitimate means of fulfilling the official educational function, by extension they will see Spanish speakers as legitimate participants in the educational discourse. Teaching Spanish is thus an attempt to strengthen the symbolic social identity of Spanish speakers.

In sum, Oyster's dual-language plan forms one part of a larger identity plan that attempts to socialize language minority and language majority students differently than mainstream U.S. educational and societal discourse does. What is important to emphasize is that the Oyster educators (a) recognized discriminatory practices against language minority students in mainstream U.S. society, (b) rejected that discourse, and (c) collectively constructed an alternative with the goal of socializing language minority and language majority students to see themselves and each other as equal participants in school and in society. Oyster's opposition to and struggle against mainstream U.S. educational and societal discourse is reflected not only in its dual-language plan but also in every other aspect of its program and practices.

For example, although in most U.S. schools a decreasing number of minority teachers serve minority students in mainstream schools, Oyster's teachers represent a wide range of languages and cultures. The ideal plan requires 1 Spanish-dominant teacher and 1 English-dominant teacher in every class. Of the Spanish-dominant teachers, 4 are from Puerto Rico, 2 are from Argentina, 2 are from Peru, and 1 each is from Cuba, Colombia, Guatemala, and El Paso, Texas. All of the Spanish-dominant teachers speak English. One of the Peruvians also speaks Quechua. Of the English-dominant teachers, 3 are from Washington, DC (the family of 1 of these teachers is from Puerto Rico), and 1 each is from Tennessee, New York, New England, Missouri, Louisiana, New Jersey, Pittsburgh, and California. Of the 11 English-dominant teachers, 1 speaks five languages (one of which is Spanish), 3 speak Spanish, 1 is an English-French bilingual, and 6 are monolingual English speakers. Of the 6 resource teachers, 1 is a native Spanish speaker from Colombia who speaks English; 1 is a native English speaker from Baltimore who speaks three other languages (including Spanish); 1 is from Washington, DC, and speaks Spanish; and 3 are monolingual English speakers, 1 each from Florida, Missouri, and North Carolina. The principal during the 1st

⁸ This summary of where the teachers are from and what languages they speak was obtained from "Teacher Profiles" (*Oyster Escribe* staff, 1991), part of a handbook prepared by the Oyster Bilingual School students and faculty for visitors to the 1991 National Association for Bilingual Education conference.

year of my research was from El Paso, Texas, a native Spanish speaker who speaks English and French.⁸ Within this group of Spanish-dominant and English-dominant educators is a considerable African American representation. As is clear from this summary, the teachers provide a wide range of linguistic and cultural resources for the program. Through interaction with these educators, students come to see variation in categories that are generally considered homogeneous in mainstream U.S. discourse (e.g., Spanish, Hispanic, Black) and to respect that variation.

The Curriculum

Clearly Oyster's efforts do not focus exclusively on elevating the subordinate status of the Spanish language and its varieties and speakers within the school. Rather, the Oyster educators recognize discriminatory practices against languages other than standard English and against populations that are other than White and middle class. Their program therefore includes efforts to elevate the subordinate status of minority languages and social identities in general. This effort is reflected in Oyster's curriculum content and classroom practices.

As opposed to mainstream curriculum content, which has been criticized for a Eurocentric emphasis that excludes, marginalizes, stereotypes, or in some way negatively evaluates minority contributions and perspectives (e.g., Nieto, 1992), Oyster's policy is for the curriculum content to be multicultural. In practice, *multicultural* at Oyster means that Latino, African American, African, and Caribbean contributions are brought to the center in all of the content areas and are positively evaluated; these contributions reflect the majority of the student and teacher populations in the school. However, at Oyster *multicultural* means more than positive minority representation in the curriculum content and in the faculty and staff. It means that language minority and language majority children are encouraged to look critically at representations of different groups in the curriculum content and to relate their own lived experiences to the various constructions of history that they read about in school.

A current example from the principal, Señora Mendoza, illustrates how the curriculum encourages students, in collaboration with their parents, teachers, and administrators, to identify discriminatory practices around them and develop strategies to combat such discrimination. Members of the Oyster community have become concerned with the increasing aggression, violence, and interracial/interethnic tensions that they have observed at Oyster, which they argue reflect increasing tensions in these areas in mainstream U.S. society. In response to their concerns, the Community Council formed the Cultural Diversity

Committee. This committee researched all the companies and agencies in the U.S. that work on conflict resolution and hired a company from Florida to provide conflict resolution training in Spanish and English. In 1994, the 1st year of the training, half of the Oyster teachers and administrators, 150 parents, and several students from the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades participated in the intensive 3-day training. Although I did not observe the training, Señora Mendoza reported that teachers learned ways to incorporate conflict resolution into the curriculum, parents learned conflict resolution techniques to use with their children and among themselves at home, and students from the upper grades learned to become peer mediators. At present, the school plans to continue the training for the remaining teachers and administrators as well as for more parents and students. Although Señora Mendoza spoke favorably about the program, it is too early to say whether it has had any real effect on the problems.

Notice that in this example, as in my discussion of the original language planning process above, there is an emphasis on communication across all groups affected by the plan so that everyone understands the objectives and can work together as a team to implement the program in a coherent way. This is especially important given Oyster's assumption that people have different perspectives that affect the ways they behave and interpret each other's behaviors.

This emphasis on joint problem solving is also reflected in how the Oyster teachers organize classroom interaction. As opposed to the teacher-dominated organization of mainstream U.S. classroom interaction, which has been criticized for limiting minority students' opportunities to participate (e.g., Heath, 1983; Michaels, 1986; Mohatt & Erickson, 1981; Philips, 1983; Scarcella, 1992), the classrooms at Oyster are organized primarily into cooperative learning groups so that students with different participation styles can work together to negotiate meaning with each other in Spanish and English in the content areas. Further, as opposed to the mainstream U.S. emphasis on standardized tests, which have been criticized for being biased against all students other than those who are White, middle class, and male (e.g., Mohan, 1992), at Oyster teachers also rely on ongoing performance-based assessments to identify and document students' strengths (see Freeman, 1993, 1994, for further discussion and illustration of how the plan is implemented).

As this discussion of the dual-language program makes clear, Oyster Bilingual School goes to great lengths to oppose what it represents as mainstream U.S. schools' and society's negative evaluation of minority languages and social identities. Oyster's goal is to define minority languages and social identities as equal to majority languages and identities so that all students will have equal educational opportunities. Ideally, the language minority and language majority students alike learn

to value the Spanish language; to see bilingualism as an asset; and to expect, tolerate, and respect differences among themselves. According to the Oyster educators, students' socialization into and through this alternative educational discourse is the reason that the language minority students are participating and achieving at Oyster.

Situational Level: The Relationship Between Dynamic Planning and Implementation

Ethnographic/discourse analytic research of the classroom interaction makes it possible to understand how the language plan, as part of the larger identity plan, is implemented in situated practice. The majority of my data collection and analysis efforts therefore focused on gaining an understanding of the dynamics among teachers and students within the classroom in relation to the upper-level planning goals. I spent 2 years observing and audiotaping classroom interaction, conducting ongoing conversations with teachers and students about what was going on and why, and sampling student work in order to relate the microlevel situational context to the macrolevel institutional and societal contexts. This approach enabled me to identify and document systematic discrepancies between the ideal plan and its implementation, yielding an understanding of how the plan functions in its particular sociopolitical context.

Because the Oyster educators consider teachers integral to their success, I begin my discussion with the teachers. As mentioned, the ideal policy requires one Spanish-dominant and one English-dominant teacher in every class. Diversity is considered a resource at Oyster, and its teachers represent a wide range of languages and cultures. Representation seems to be equated with legitimization, and omission with illegitimacy. It is therefore noteworthy that at the time of my study all of the Spanish-dominant teachers could speak English, but not all of the English-dominant teachers could speak Spanish. The implicit message was that Spanish speakers must speak English to participate in the educational discourse, but English speakers do not necessarily have to speak Spanish. Although it is clearly the norm and is considered an asset for the English-dominant teachers, bilingualism is not a necessity. In this respect, the two languages are not distributed and evaluated equally throughout Oyster. In addition, at the time of my study, there were no Salvadoran teachers, a striking observation in light of the fact that the largest Latino student population in Oyster, as in Washington, DC, is from El Salvador.

When I returned to Oyster in 1994 to question the principal, Señora Mendoza, about these discrepancies, she said that all new Spanish-dominant and English-dominant teachers must be bilingual, preferably

in Spanish and English. At that point, she said, only three of the English-dominant teachers were not bilingual. In addition, the school at that time had a full-time Salvadoran aide and a Salvadorian student teacher as part of its effort to better represent and serve the large Salvadoran population.

The ideal policy also requires 50% of the content-area instruction to be in Spanish and 50% in English. It is important to emphasize that the team teachers have considerable autonomy in how they allocate this instruction as long as they adhere to the general guidelines of providing instruction in language arts in Spanish and English to all the students every day and approximately 50% of the instruction in Spanish and English per week. In some cases, the Spanish-dominant teacher would teach a subject area one week in Spanish and the English-dominant teacher would teach that same subject the next week in English; in other cases the teachers switched subjects and languages by the month or by the semester. Some teams worked very closely together, and others worked much more independently. Regardless of this surface variation, all the teachers organized their classes so that native Spanish-speaking students and native English-speaking students worked together in many different ways to acquire Spanish and English through content, develop academic skills in both languages, and learn to see each other as resources in their learning.

The ideal plan is for the English-dominant teacher to speak and be spoken to only in English and for the Spanish-dominant teacher to speak and be spoken to only in Spanish. Consistent with the ideal, I observed little to no code switching to Spanish by the English-dominant teachers, but considerable code switching to English by the Spanish-dominant teachers. Part of this discrepancy can be explained by the fact that, in both the kindergarten class and the sixth grade class that I observed for the longest periods of time, neither of the English-dominant teachers was able to speak Spanish, making teacher code switching impossible. However, there is more to the explanation than the individual teachers' language proficiencies. Because the language of wider communication outside of Oyster Bilingual School is English, which naturally has a very strong influence on students' language choice, leakage is to be expected within the school. I return to this point below.

Another discrepancy between the ideal of equal distribution and evaluation of Spanish and English throughout the school was apparent in Oyster's assessment practices. Although the students received grades for their classes in Spanish and English, the grades did not carry equal weight. If, for example, a student failed the third-grade reading class in Spanish, that student could be promoted to fourth grade. If the same student, however, failed the reading class in English, that student could not be promoted. This is because the District of Columbia only evaluates

English. I repeatedly heard concern by the English-dominant teachers that the different evaluation standards made the English-dominant teachers more accountable for skills development than the Spanish-dominant teachers were. One English-dominant teacher suggested that the two-way bilingual model could be improved by "making Spanish instruction count as much as English." Although I also observed an unequal emphasis on skills in Spanish and English content classes, I think this teacher's solution of "making Spanish instruction count as much as English" is difficult in practice given Oyster's sociopolitical situation. Oyster cannot control mainstream U.S. society's evaluation of Spanish and English relative to each other. As long as Oyster is a U.S. public school and English is the language of instruction in public schools in the U. S., Oyster can do little to make Spanish count as much. It can, however, make Spanish count more than it does now within the Oyster community through such internal measures as, for example, equal evaluation and equal promotion criteria. Addressing this discrepancy, however, assumes that equal skills development really is a goal within Oyster. When I mentioned this discrepancy to Señora Mendoza during my return visit in 1994, she informed me that all students, native Spanish-speaking and native English-speaking alike, are currently required to take a basic skills test in Spanish (Aprenda). How they incorporate the results of this test into the educational program is an area for further research.

The ideal plan is for all students to become bilingual and biliterate in Spanish and English. Because Oyster is considered a successful school by a variety of sources using distinct measures, including the District of Columbia's standardized tests in English, one can assume that LEP students become academically competent in English. This result demonstrates that the Oyster program meets the explicit goals of the Bilingual Education Act (1988), because the school "enable [s] students to achieve full competence in English and to meet school grade promotion and graduation requirements" (p. 275).

However, Oyster's goals go beyond the goals of the Bilingual Education Act to include the goal of additive bilingualism for all students. Although I do not have specific measures to support the following claims, my impressionistic observations are that, whereas native Spanish-speaking students do maintain their Spanish, at least until the sixth grade, English tends to be their stronger language at that point in their lives. Similarly, whereas native English-speaking students understand and express their ideas well in spoken and written Spanish, their fluency and grammatical accuracy, generally speaking, is not at the same level as that of their native Spanish-speaking counterparts in spoken and written English.

This outcome can also be explained by Oyster's sociopolitical context.

First, the native Spanish speakers and the native English speakers bring different L2 bases with them to Oyster and have different opportunities and expectations for using the L2 outside the official classroom discourse. At the time of this study, it was generally assumed that the majority of the Spanish-dominant students had some foundation in the English language whereas the majority of the English-dominant students did not have the same in Spanish. Because native Spanish speakers have many more opportunities to use English outside of the official classroom than the native English speakers do to use Spanish, it is unlikely that their levels of bilingualism would be the same.

The social stratification of languages discussed above also has considerable explanatory power. English is naturally the language of choice for Oyster students because languages and varieties of languages other than standard English tend to be stigmatized in mainstream U.S. society and because English is what the students hear on television and in the popular music that they listen to. Although the school goes to great lengths to create an environment in which English and Spanish are valued equally, the same conditions simply do not exist outside of the school's discourse.

With respect to Oyster's goal of cultural pluralism, the students seem to negotiate very well in their small groups, and they seem to expect and be able to accommodate diversity as they jointly construct meaning with each other through Spanish and English within the classroom interaction. Based on their class discussions and samples of their work, the students appear to recognize discriminatory practices both in the school and outside, for example, when a teacher treats individual students or groups more or less fairly, when the contributions of women are not represented in the curriculum, or when students consider local police and media treatment of groups in the racial riots that occurred in their neighborhood in 1991. Moreover, the students articulate creative solutions to the problems they identify. For example, they may speak out to the teacher in class, circulate petitions and protest letters, or write stories in which they describe an alternative construction of reality with, for instance, women as heroes.

However, the sixth-grade lunch table was particularly telling with respect to the goal of diverse social groupings. Because there were only a few boys in the class, who all tended to socialize together, ethnic division was not apparent. Among the girls, on the other hand, the African American English-speaking girls tended to form one group, and the White English-speaking girls, to form another. Within the Spanish-speaking female population, the White Spanish-speaking girls generally stayed together, and the darker Hispanic girls (who happened to come from the lowest income bracket) tended to form a separate group. Although there were exceptions, and although the students all seemed

to get along together in class, these patterns prevailed in their social interaction at school.

When I mentioned these groupings to the Spanish-dominant kindergarten teacher, Señora Rodriguez (who had been teaching in Oyster since the bilingual program began), she responded that the school had the obligation and the potential to break such tendencies and that the emergence of separation by social groups is "the fault of the teacher for not watching." Although it may be difficult to do what Señora Rodriguez suggested, I think the interaction of the Oyster educational discourse with mainstream U.S. societal discourse accounts for the discrepancies between the school's ideal policy and the outcomes with respect to the students' social interaction. Oyster's students are all exposed to the norms of interaction in Washington, DC, and as represented in the mass media, where opportunities to see integrated social groupings are relatively rare and often negatively evaluated. The students are socialized into acquiring the norms of interaction of both the larger society and the Oyster institutional discourse. Because the norms are distinct in the two discourse worlds, leakage between the ideal plan and actual outcomes is to be expected. And, as noted above, Oyster is actively searching for ways to combat aggression and violence and to promote conflict resolution through peer mediation.

In sum, the implementation and immediate outcomes of Oyster's program with respect to its goals of bilingualism, biliteracy, and cultural pluralism illustrate the interaction of the Oyster educational discourse and mainstream U.S. societal discourse. With respect to bilingualism and biliteracy, the explicit goal is for all of the students to master skills in both Spanish and English through equal representation and evaluation of Spanish and English. However, close analysis of the implementation of the language plan on the classroom level reveals that skills in English are emphasized more than those in Spanish, that only English is evaluated by the District of Columbia on standardized tests, and that not all of the teachers can speak Spanish. The result seems to be that all of the native Spanish speakers become competent in English, including academic English, and maintain their Spanish. The native English speakers also develop academic skills, but their Spanish, although quite good, is less fluent and less grammatically accurate than the English of their native Spanish-speaking peers. With respect to cultural pluralism, the students appear to develop good intercultural communication skills and work well in diverse groupings in their classes. They also talk about discrimination and about solutions to problems of discrimination that they identify both inside and outside of school. However, the divisions in their social interaction at school seem to correspond to racial, ethnic, or class lines in society. The teachers and administrators are aware of these discrepancies, and as my conversations with the principal in 1994 illustrate, many

of these discrepancies are being addressed. There remains the need for further study to see how the changes in policy affect the implementation and outcomes of that policy.

CONCLUSIONS

This article has illustrated how an ethnographic/discourse analytic approach furthers an understanding of the dynamic, multilevel, multidirectional nature of language planning and implementation at Oyster Bilingual School in Washington, DC. Although the dual-language plan is the primary structure for Oyster's efforts to provide equal educational opportunities to its diverse student population, what is important to emphasize is that this successful program involves much more than language. The Oyster Bilingual School is an example of language minority groups collaborating with the language majority group in an effort to plan and implement a program that values bilingualism and cultural pluralism as resources to be developed as opposed to problems to be overcome. This effort, which aims to elevate the subordinate status of minority languages and speakers of those languages, constitutes identity planning and is reflected in all of Oyster's program and practices.

I have also demonstrated how an ethnographic/discourse analytic approach provides a principled means of investigating how language plans interact within their particular sociopolitical contexts. By looking locally at how a language plan is implemented in an institutional context, which includes talking to participants about their perspectives on the planning and implementation and observing the processes in situated practice, one can identify and document what makes a program work and where and how it deviates from the ideal. This information can then be used to reform a program or to adapt the model to other sociopolitical contexts.

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TEACHING ISSUES

The *TESOL Quarterly* publishes brief commentaries on aspects of English language teaching. For this issue, we asked two teacher educators the following question: How can institutional policies address the needs of language minority students?

Edited by **BONNY NORTON PEIRCE**
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Institutional Policies and Language Minority Students

Institutional Policies and Language Minority Students in the U.S.

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■ One of the greatest challenges to TESOL in the U.S. is to develop institutional policies that empower ESOL students. The approach of the 21st century has brought a resurgence of many of the conditions immigrants at the turn of the last century faced: a growth of child labor in sweatshops and fields, a growing gap between rich and poor, and a growing xenophobia, anti-immigrant movement. It is not uncommon for ESOL students to be working long hours in unsafe working conditions. Although ESOL teachers who have worked with special populations such as migrant workers are particularly aware of the conditions of poverty, problems of pesticides, and exploitation faced by their students and their families, in general immigrants are demonized in the public discourse (Wong & Grant, 1995).

Sociologists of education write that institutions reproduce social inequities (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). Linguistic stereotypes and models of cultural deprivation applied to racial and linguistic minorities tend to emphasize cultural deficits rather than lack of economic resources, thereby blaming the victim (Luke, 1986). Despite a rhetoric of equity in education, educational resources flow disproportionately to the rich and powerful (Kozol, 1991). The underfinancing of education is felt

particularly in TESOL because ESOL students are largely disenfranchised and unorganized.

The U.S. school-age population is becoming increasingly diverse with respect to race, culture, and languages spoken. In more and more school districts the majority of students are minorities. However, there is no corresponding increase in minority enrollment in school counseling and teacher certification programs. At a time when schools need more bilingual personnel at all levels and in all capacities, in districts where 40, 60, or 80 different languages are spoken, there is a shortage of linguistic minorities and people who speak minority languages entering schools of education. Policies that encourage recruitment of language minority teachers, counselors, and administrators are needed at all levels of education.

Cummins's (1986) framework for empowering minority students is a useful starting point for formulating institutional policies that support language minority students. At the core of his model is the notion that language minority students and their families, home languages, and cultures must be viewed as resources rather than as problems.

First, Cummins (1986) argues that the school should incorporate the languages and cultures of minority students and take an additive rather than a subtractive view toward the L1. For Cummins, the additive view honors the home languages and cultures of the students, whereas the subtractive view seeks to stamp out the L1 and replace it with English. Institutional policies encouraging an additive approach to learning ESL would include bilingual education that utilizes minority languages as the medium of instruction; support for language minority resources (books, periodicals, and audio- and videotapes); and active recruitment of bilingual teachers, counselors, administrators, and staff.

Second, Cummins supports community participation in the school. The school should have a collaborative relationship with the multiple communities of its students. It should devise programs that allow the community to participate in developing the school curriculum and policies that encourage the inclusion of different sources of knowledge and traditions. It should welcome parents and community members into the school to teach and to work with the students. Moll and Greenberg (1990) have shown that "funds of knowledge" (p. 322) exist in the community that the school can incorporate into its curriculum and activities. Their approach values community knowledge and stresses problem solving. Institutional policies that encourage community participation include hiring community liaison people in the school, providing translators at parent meetings, publishing school communications in the languages of the parents, and involving parents in curriculum.

Third, Cummins argues for pedagogy that is reciprocal and interactive. Cummins is critical of what he calls *transmission-oriented education*.

This is similar to what Freire (1970) criticizes as *banking pedagogy*, in which knowledge is “deposited” into students. Student-centered pedagogy in which language minority students help to determine the curriculum is compatible with school policies and school politics in which language minority students have a voice.

Fourth, Cummins calls for assessment that supports language minority students. He is critical of legitimization-oriented or norm-referenced assessment that is biased against minority students. Advocacy-oriented assessment will show what students can do so that instruction can build on their strengths. School competency tests and university admissions policies that reflect advocacy-oriented assessment for language minority students will eschew standardized tests in favor of portfolio assessment, evidence of community service, grade point average, and alternative assessment instruments.

Missing from Cummins’s four essential dimensions of empowering language minority students is the dimension of educational leadership for empowerment. Leadership is necessary to develop new institutional policies and practices that will transform the traditional relationships of power that marginalize language minority students. Leadership is necessary to combat racism, sexism, and economic exploitation. Economic empowerment in ESOL includes designing vocational ESL programs that train students for highly skilled, decently paid, and meaningful jobs in a global economy.

As TESOL professionals we need to organize within our own institutions and support each other. We need to view our professional organizations as a source of encouragement, support, information, and solidarity. Each one of us as a teacher can make a difference in the lives of our students. Each one of us can work with our students to create spaces for alternative visions. We can best advocate for language minority students by collectively working on institutional policies and practices. Leadership in the area of TESOL involves grass-roots organizing, community building, and encouraging our students to participate with us in reframing the public discourse and advancing new institutional policies for empowerment.

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Institutional Responses: Empowering Minority Children

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■ In Australia and possibly in many other countries, a very contradictory pattern has been emerging in recent years. TESOL educators who believe in the possibility of empowering minority children within existing educational institutions have often seen the related and contributory need for multicultural and bilingual education. This belief is by no means universally shared among educators. Indeed I would argue that the dominant way of thinking about the project of educational empowerment has dramatically changed from an optimistic one to a pessimistic one.

However, global trends may provide some hope that schooling can validate ESL children's L1s and cultures. The problem extends into policies for the education of minority children that name, frame, and orient teaching and assessment practices in particular ways according to how they constitute the learners and the task of the system. These policies gravitate between sometimes stressing the autonomous power of schooling to affect life chances and at other times stressing the dependence of schooling on wider social forces. This oscillation is an analogue of the deeper sociological tension between attributing change to human agency and stressing the effects of established structure and interests.

THEORIES OF EMPOWERMENT

Empowerment theories seek to make ESL children more powerful, but can ESL learners be constituted this way within ESL alone? The empowerment model is best represented in the work of Cummins (1986) and the ideologies of minority language rights (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1995) but also in various forms of either pluralism or multiculturalism. Cummins's (1994) model represents the most coherent and elaborated schema of empowerment. Recently he has sought to redefine *empowerment* as "collaborative creation of power" (p. 54) in which issues of language and cultural development are critical.

The commendable wholeness of the approach to the education of L2 children supported by Genesee (1994) will be only partial as long as schools cannot nourish the process of intellectualizing the child's L1 (the primary initial vehicle for conceptualisation). Otherwise schools produce "squandered bilinguals." Curricula rarely offer studies that build on diversity as a resource and rarely give prestigious recognition to the knowledge and culture of language minority children.

GLOBALISATION'S EFFECTS

It is interesting for teachers as much as for anyone else to speculate on the possible effects on ESL learners of what is coming to be termed *globalisation*. The term is used to mean the collective effects of international economic interdependence (the emergence of a "world system" with its primary rationality being competitiveness in markets), instantaneous and uncontrolled communications, population mobility at unprecedented levels (the "commodification" of education, labour mobility, and elite executives), and the transfer of trading and financial power away from predominantly English-speaking cultures towards non-English-speaking ones. One effect is the emergence virtually everywhere of multicultural societies, bringing with them the problem of managing difference. At the same time the decline of the Anglo-American ascendancy of the postwar period is making English-speaking societies more conscious of a pragmatic purpose in promoting the teaching of (some) languages other than English and in offering cultural awareness programs for their school populations. Globalisation demands educational responses. Connections between the knowledge and skills of language minority children and the newly perceived importance of cultural and language learning for reasons of exploiting economic and trading opportunities could add fresh impetus to pluralistic curricula. Alternatively, without principled connections between these two demands on curricula, globalisation will further characterise what language minority children know, or potentially know, as marginal and irrelevant, nurturing

assimilationist agendas for them while curricula encourage elite pluralism for majority children.

KNOWLEDGEABLE LEARNERS

Only with integrated pluralistic curricula could schooling treat language minority children as knowing learners—learners whose existing stocks of knowledge, experiences, and skills might productively be incorporated into developmentally appropriate instructional programs. Mainstream curricula in many parts of the world (e.g., Reggio Emilia, 1987) conceive of the learner as active and powerful (as a knower); extending these notions to language minority children ought to draw on mainstream demand for cross-cultural perspectives to pervade curricula for reasons of perceived national economic interest.

PLURALIST POLICIES

Pluralist positions seek to completely reconceptualise the social domain to give a central place to difference and thereby to elevate the cultural and linguistic knowledge of language minorities as a positive resource, as diverse cultural capital. There are at least two forms of pluralism: the structural and the culturalist. They diverge on whether empowerment is achievable through language and cultural programs in schools. The former holds that multicultural policies are likely to fail because they naively ascribe to educational institutions the transformative power that resides elsewhere in society, whereas culturalist explanations of the educational inequalities faced by language minority children attribute these inequalities to the cultural and linguistic dissonance between home and school (Banks, 1986).

GLOBAL TRENDS AND NEW COMMUNICATION MODES

Those who support cultural pluralism in Western education have always done so with the internal diversity of society in mind, often advocating the rights of minorities in these societies. But current global tendencies and developments in the economic, civic, and personal spheres of life of the contemporary world add powerfully to the need for pluralist education.

These tendencies are highly diverse. A powerful longer term trend is the move towards the creation of political structures that aggregate ethnic and national cultures (i. e., emerging political structures based on economic interest and geographic proximity). The European Union (EU), the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation group, and the North American Free Trade Agreement are examples of this trend at different

levels of development. Portuguese-speaking children in Luxembourg are in the ambiguous position of shifting from being speakers of an immigrant language to being co-citizens speaking an EU official language. Another example is the massive movement of population in all parts of the world and the emergence virtually everywhere of multicultural societies (Castles & Miller, 1993).

More subtly, semiotic systems have multiplied inexorably such that communication increasingly draws on diverse modes of meaning making and integrates them with complex technologies. Communication is becoming multimodal as it integrates the visual, the gestural, the spatial, the graphic, and the electronic (delayed-recorded and instantaneous) with the traditional modes of written and spoken forms of language (Luke, 1995; Michaels, 1995). Music videos are a good case in point, requiring a sophisticated “reading” skill.

Also, globalisation is yielding unique, hybrid forms of language and culture as speakers of different mother tongues must interact in *linguae francae* that are not native to the any of those using the common language. Economic/trading wealth and power have also been dispersed among groups and societies (in north Asia especially) less identified with English-speaking modernity than at any time in the recent past (Lo Bianco, 1995).

WILL PLURALISTIC EDUCATION ADVANTAGE MINORITIES?

These changes may constitute new and effective arguments for bringing cultural and linguistic diversity centrally into the domain of curriculum. For this to happen effectively will require a major renaming of the task of teaching children whose languages and cultural backgrounds are not the same as the dominant ones of the society they reside in. But in most Western societies schooling reform has fallen on hard times (Lingard, Knight, & Porter, 1993)—the mood for empowerment is sombre, if not pessimistic; the resources are fewer, the ideology less hopeful. If the renewed interest in self-serving cultural studies in English-speaking nations seriously materialises, ESL educators will need to actively construct an interdependence between such learning and minority children’s existing and potential knowledge to prevent their further marginalisation. If this is successfully done, then institutional response to global trends may well be capable of empowerment.

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BRIEF REPORTS AND SUMMARIES

The *TESOL Quarterly* invites readers to submit short reports and updates on their work. These summaries may address any areas of interest to *Quarterly* readers. Authors' addresses are printed with these reports to enable interested readers to contact the authors for more details.

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Collaborative Research and Curriculum Change in the Australian Adult Migrant English Program

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■ Adult ESL programs in Australia originated with the introduction of large-scale postwar immigration and culminated in the establishment of the Australian Adult Migrant Education (now English) Program (AMEP) in 1951. Whereas English language programs originally aimed at providing initial English language instruction and settlement information at preembarkation, en route, and on arrival in Australia, the main focus of the national provision rested on postsettlement language services.

Supported by funding from the Commonwealth Department of Immigration and Ethnic (now Multicultural) Affairs, over the following 35 years these services broadened considerably to include

- on-arrival and postarrival courses offered at state-based teaching centres,
- community-based programs,
- workplace and industry programs,
- distance education,
- independent learning centre arrangements,
- a home-tutor support scheme involving community volunteers, and
- pretertiary and tertiary support programs.

In 1992, the Australian government decided that the AMEP provision would again centre only on settlement programs, for which each learner

would receive a learning entitlement of 510 hours. All other ESL programs would be administered by the Department of Employment, Education and Training (now the Department of Employment, Education and Training and Youth Affairs) and focus primarily on vocationally oriented training. This decision coincided with a period of enormous political, economic, and educational change in Australia centred around a National Training Reform agenda and the emergence of a philosophy of competency-based education and training (National Training Board, 1992) applied to both industry and educational systems.

CURRICULUM CHANGE IN THE AMEP

By 1992, the AMEP had already witnessed a 15-year period of rapid shifts in curriculum orientation. They had ranged from centralised curriculum planning organised around situationally and structurally based course material in the 1970s to the highly decentralised, learner-centred, needs-based, and communicative approaches of the 1980s, which had become in effect individualised and classroom-centred curricula (see Nunan, 1988, for an account of curriculum change in the AMEP). At the system or institutional level, curriculum individualisation incurred a number of difficulties related to lack of continuity between courses (Campbell, 1985), the need for common descriptors for assessing and reporting learning outcomes (Brindley, 1989), learner pathways for students progressing through the institution (Colman, 1991), and high levels of professional support for the teacher as curriculum developer (Burton, 1987; Nunan, 1987).

The most sweeping policy and curriculum changes were those emerging in the early 1990s. A major element, in addition to the changed funding base and the focus on migration settlement only, was the introduction of accredited competency-based training (see Brindley & Burns, 1994). Competency-based training focuses on what competencies learners can perform as the result of learning rather than on the time spent in learning and overall language proficiency. The effects on classroom practice and on teachers were far-reaching (Bottomley, Dalton, & Corbel, 1994). They involved

- ◆ a move from decentralised curriculum and course planning to a process that was increasingly answerable to external accountability and reporting,
- ◆ the introduction of a Certificate in Spoken and Written English (CSWE) reflecting learner achievement and outcomes at defined stages and based on a functional and text-based theory of language (Halliday, 1985),

- the expectation that all teachers would work within this competency-based certificate,
- the assessment of learning outcomes in terms of competency rather than language proficiency,
- a move from negotiated and classroom-centred course design to planning within the learner pathway defined by the organisation, and
- the pressure of course completion within the restricted entitlement of 510 hours.

COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH AND CURRICULUM IMPLEMENTATION

The impact of policy and curriculum change on AMEP programs made it essential to support the implementation of the CSWE at national and state levels. In 1993 the National Centre for English Language Teaching and Research (NCELTR) at Macquarie University, Sydney, the government's key research centre for the AMEP, began a national research project. Its goal was to generate a collaborative model of action research, one that simultaneously supported and evaluated curriculum change processes with the involvement of teachers as the effects of competency-based training on their classroom practice were investigated. In adopting this approach, the NCELTR researchers subscribed to Somekh's view (1993) that "to have an impact on institutional development . . . the problems in establishing some form of collaborative action research . . . need to be balanced against the difficulties in bringing about change by any other means" (p. 37).

Thirty teachers and four state-based curriculum coordinators worked with the NCELTR researchers, myself and Susan Hood, in a cooperative approach based on *devolved participation*. This approach generated complementary as well as shifting roles for the researchers, coordinators, and teacher participants. The researchers initially adopted an *informing* and directive role as they outlined the national parameters of the research and provided input on the action research process; this later became an *informed* role as the researchers shared among themselves and with the other teachers the data collected by the teachers on decision-making issues, such as student needs analysis and the selection and sequencing of content relevant to specified learning outcomes. The coordinators provided the state-level perspectives and structures in other workshops and discussions as well as individual support, such as classroom observation and assistance in the preparation of surveys or questionnaires. The groups of teachers in each state applied their awareness of the institutional perspectives provided by the coordinators to the individual

observations and data collection processes undertaken to address such specific classroom issues as, for example, how to integrate elements of the competencies specified in the curriculum document into selected classroom topics and tasks.

In combination, the participants devised processes and methods for data collection that were appropriate from the teachers' perspectives and shared their emerging observations at regular discussion times. The data collection methods were qualitative and ethnographic (van Lier, 1988; Watson-Gegeo, 1988): pro formas devised by the teachers to document their daily decision-making processes; interviews with individual learners, which were audio recorded and transcribed; surveys and questionnaires seeking information from learners and other teachers on their responses to competency-based courses; documentation of teaching plans and learning outcomes; and classroom observations and field notes.

From the initial phase of open-ended data collection, four major themes relating to changing course design practices emerged:

1. the selection and sequencing of content,
2. competency-based assessment and tasks for assessment,
3. the teaching of grammar within a communicative approach, and
4. competency-based learning from the perspective of the students.

These topics were further investigated in a second phase of the research, in which teachers chose different areas and issues related to the four major themes. Through collaborative discussion with other project participants, teachers explored and extended emerging pedagogical insights and research findings. Project discussion focused on such issues as the tensions teachers felt between flexibility and responsiveness to learners' needs and the requirement to work towards explicit outcomes, the nature of explanations related to the procedures and the tasks used for competency assessment, decisions surrounding the selection and introduction of grammatical explanations of text for learners at different stages of learning, and the learners' perceptions of their learning experiences within a competency-based approach.

FINDINGS

A major finding was that, although competency-based approaches have been criticised as restricting and behaviorist (Auerbach, 1986; Quinn & McNamara, 1993), the project included a rich diversity of practices, approaches, methods, and content, which were still firmly embedded in personal interpretations of communicative perspectives. Teachers did, however, continually reconceptualise communicative ap-

preaches within the requirements of the competency framework. The need to work towards defined outcomes led to an increased level of formality in course planning and content selection, and teachers became engaged in more explicit evaluation of the content of their programs in order to ensure adequate coverage of the domains of learning encompassed by the competencies. A teacher in a workplace program, for example, commented that

the competencies that describe the three stages in the CSWE were also the basis for decisions on course content and sequencing. I chose the competencies that I intended to cover in the course in relation to the other factors and influences I have already outlined [learners' needs, input, and preferred learning styles; the needs of the company and the teacher's workplace observations]. The curriculum framework did however encourage me to include some language items and text types that I might not otherwise have included. For example in relation to the competency *Can participate in group discussions/meetings relevant to employment/workplace contexts*, I found I was focusing on discourse structures for discussions and meetings in much greater detail and in a far more methodical way because I was making reference to the CSWE document. (Beales, 1995, p. 49)

The greater focus on assessment gave rise to increased concern about the development of valid and reliable assessment tasks and about the time taken to conduct regular learner assessments. Although teachers tended initially to adopt an atomistic or checklist approach that placed the emphasis on assessment itself, this gave way to efforts to integrate the competencies more holistically across a number of classroom tasks. In response to his learner's comment, "Times are quite limited on assessment weeks," a teacher working in a collaborative group in South Australia observed,

From the discussions I had with others, this was certainly also the general perception of many of the teachers in our teaching centres who taught competency-based courses over the year and who were still getting used to the increased focus on assessment in such courses. It was certainly considered to be a problem when the course was driven by the need to complete assessments as was particularly the case in this course. However as teachers worked with the competency framework they began to look for ways to circumvent the problem such as integrating the assessment tasks with the planning of sequences of learning activities, so that one unit of work is used to assess several competencies. (Carroll, 1995, p. 101)

The functional and text-based linguistic theory underlying the CSWE and the specification of the elements of the competencies to be achieved in relation to the texts resulted in a greater emphasis on the teaching of whole texts and genres, written as well as spoken, rather than on sentence-level activities and vocabulary exercises taught in isolation. For

many teachers this emphasis implied a reappraisal of their grammatical knowledge within the functional perspectives of the curriculum framework and of the application of this knowledge to classroom teaching. For one teacher, relatively new to text-based approaches, teaching grammar became the impetus for change in her teaching methodologies:

While overall, my involvement in the research project led me to clarify what I was already doing, in the area of teaching grammar, my approach changed significantly. . . . Teaching grammar had always felt very ad hoc to me. Adopting a text-based approach gave a little more context to the teaching of particular features of language, and students responded positively to a methodology that incorporated the modelling of particular text types, and to discussions about the staging or schematic structure of texts. However I now recognise that I lacked a framework for the development of linguistic resources and a sense of the developmental process in language learning. It was therefore the issue of teaching grammar that I particularly pursued in discussions with the research coordinator who worked with me. (Lukin, 1995, p. 58)

The concept of a sequenced learning pathway, integral to the curriculum document, also heightened teachers' awareness of longer term learning goals and learners' progression beyond their own classrooms. Teachers were more concerned than previously with not duplicating learning experiences and with ensuring that their learners were familiar with the implications of competency-based training beyond their individual classrooms. For one Queensland-based teacher, investigating her learners' perceptions of "the efficacy and relevance of the learning outcomes on which they were being assessed" (Campbell, 1995, p. 124) also heightened her awareness of the need for greater learner involvement in the negotiation and planning of content and assessment processes in competency-based courses:

As a result of participating in this project, I would recommend teachers begin their courses with an explanation of competency-based programs and . . . of the learning outcomes the learners are aiming to achieve. Some students may have had a number of courses but be unaware about competency-based assessment. Previously in addition to formal assessment procedures, I used on-going verbal evaluations to gauge how learners felt about the course content, my teaching, the level at which I was pitching the lessons . . . I now think it is preferable to do this with a questionnaire that the students can answer in writing about mid-course. This helps to keep teacher and learner on track. At the end of the course, there should also be an evaluation to allow learners to reflect on what they have achieved overall. (Carroll, 1995, pp. 129-130)

CONCLUSION

The effectiveness of the implementation of any new curriculum policy depends ultimately on classroom practices. Far-reaching curriculum change involves fundamental shifts in the values and beliefs of the individuals concerned. Involving teachers collaboratively in creatively exploring the practical implications of curriculum change has, I would argue, a significant impact on whether and how the teachers accept and adopt change. Teachers who participated in this research reported a greater understanding of the impact created by government and institutional policy and a desire to focus and sharpen their course-planning and assessment processes in order to maximise the learning pathways available to learners within and beyond their immediate classrooms. Additionally they pointed to “the powerful means of professional development” (Campbell, 1995, p. 105) they had experienced from action research processes that were collaborative rather than individualised, suggesting also that models of participatory research involving researchers and teachers could be productively expanded to address institutional, theoretical, and personal teaching and learning issues. These processes offered positive engagement with situated practice, collaboration between institutional players, personal challenges, increased self-awareness, and understanding of the practical implications of the curriculum documents. The insights from the project have since flowed back into further curriculum policy in the AMEP in the form of modifications and adaptations to the competency-based curriculum documents in 1995.

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English Language Development in Tunisia

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- The growing demand for English as the means of access to modern science and technology and to economic development has led to interesting changes in the linguistic orientation of many developing

countries, particularly those that inherited a language other than English from their former colonial power. A case in point is Tunisia, a former French colony in North Africa, where such changes concern both English language policy decisions and implementation strategies, mainly in the educational system. This report will describe these changes and highlight the problems accompanying them in terms of institutional constraints and human resources.

BACKGROUND

In Tunisia, the language of everyday communication is Tunisian Arabic. Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) is taught as a subject and used as the medium of instruction in elementary education (which makes 6 years) and early secondary education (3 years) —both levels are now combined in a new system called *Basic School* (9 years). French is introduced as a foreign language in the 3rd year, but it enjoys (next to MSA) the status of an L2 used in secondary and higher education to teach science and technology and business subjects, as well as in the media and the administration (to understand the complex linguistic situation in Tunisia see Daoud, 1991; Payne, 1983). As for English, it is taught in secondary school (4 years) and in many higher education institutions, either as a degree subject in the faculties of letters and human sciences or as a service language in a variety of academic and occupational settings (Hemissi, 1985; Kennedy, 1985; Seymour, 1993).

THE RISE OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

English language teaching (ELT) has steadily improved in Tunisia since independence (1956). Local English language departments and teacher-training institutions have produced enough teachers to fill all ELT positions in secondary school and up to 80% of the positions in vocational and academic English for specific purposes (ESP); they have also contributed substantially to staffing undergraduate classes. However, Tunisia still suffers from a lack of functional users of English, primarily in the business and communication sectors of the economy (Daoud, in press). The ever-growing demand for English has, in the past few years, led to major developments in language planning or, more precisely, language-in-education policy and planning (Judd, 1992), which raises questions about the wisdom of the national educational policy on English, how it is implemented, and how it affects the ELT profession in Tunisia. Below I describe six developments and discuss the problems attendant to each.

1. The Continuing Improvement of ELT at the Secondary Level

ELT at the secondary level is being improved by (a) the introduction of a new, locally produced textbook series in 1993–1994 to implement the communicative approach; (b) the establishment of English as a required subject for science students; and (c) the strengthening of in-service teacher training by means of frequent methodology workshops, a summer university course, and, most recently, a 3-year project (1995–1997) to train teachers in collaboration with the British Council. Although these changes are encouraging, the secondary school ELT program suffers from a lack of clear goals and a clear teaching methodology. For instance, the 1993 official program does not include a specific description of the outgoing learner's profile, and the long-term goal, as understood and expressed by most teachers and even some inspectors of English, is to "pass the *Baccalauréat*" rather than to use English with some degree of effectiveness in specific domains beyond secondary school. The official methodology is "eclectic and essentially communicative" (Direction Générale, 1993, p. 3); however, the eclecticism exercised by teachers is mostly uninformed and based on their own experience as former learners and apprentice teachers.

This lack of clarity is essentially a consequence of the curriculum development process being undermined by a predominant view of language as functional/structural rather than communicative and of language learning as behavioristic rather than cognitive/affective. All aspects of the ELT curriculum (syllabus, teaching materials, methodology, in-service training, actual teaching and learning, and testing) are affected by these views. Classrooms remain largely teacher centered, with a much heavier emphasis on accuracy in language than on fluency in communication. Student assessment, although becoming more integrative, hardly meets standard reliability and validity criteria. To further promote ELT in secondary school, the most urgent issue to address remains teacher education (see Hassini, 1994), the goal being to change teachers' attitudes about language and language learning and teaching.

2. Teaching English in Elementary School

In 1994-1995, the Ministry of Education started a pilot program to teach EFL in the 5th year of basic school (in 25 volunteer classes throughout Tunisia with learners aged 10), with the intention of generalizing the program within 2–3 years and of continuing into secondary education. The official argument was that, to become operational in English, students had to be taught the language at a younger age and for a longer period (5 years in basic and 4 in secondary school). However, the program was canceled within a year because, according to a ministry

official, "it required huge human and material resources which we don't have."

ELT professionals showed no enthusiasm for the policy not only because very little time (2 months) was available to produce suitable materials and prepare teachers, who were used to dealing with older learners in secondary school, but also because there was no long-term strategy to link up with the secondary school program already in place. Moreover, the decision to introduce English was incongruous with the fact that in secondary school the teaching of English had been cut as of September 1991 from 4 to 3 hours a week. ELT professionals argued that it made little sense to introduce English so early (at age 10), given the demands put on the students to learn MSA as they start school (age 6), then French in the 3rd year (age 9).

In 1996–1997, a new policy will be implemented: English will be taught for 6 years starting from Year 8 in basic school (age 13). The new 1996 official program is likely to succeed, for it is more reasonable to start teaching English at that age; however, it may be hindered by institutional constraints at the levels of materials production, teacher training, and program evaluation. These aspects of curriculum implementation are relevant to separate services in the Ministry of Education, which would undermine the coherence of the program, as past experience has shown. For example, program evaluation is not done systematically: It typically applies to the textbooks and tends to be dismissive rather than formative and constructive.

3. ESP

English is taught in over 50 tertiary-level institutions, primarily in the business and economics domain, as well as in the sciences, engineering, and medicine. Many institutions outside tertiary education also teach English, including the banking, business, and airline sectors and the armed forces. However, the English taught in these institutions can hardly be called ESP for lack of professional standards (see Seymour, 1993). Needs are not clearly defined. Very few courses are designed for specific purposes. Most teachers have no formal training in teaching ESP and tend to work individually. Finally, there is no program evaluation to speak of. This lack is largely due to the poor status of English in the institutions where it is taught, as evidenced by the low priority it is given in fund allocations to develop adequate curricula and train teachers as well as in scheduling on the timetables. The situation is confounded by a low level of student interest in ESP classes, particularly at the undergraduate level, because the need for English becomes urgent only at the postgraduate level: Content courses are taught in French, and such courses promote rote learning rather than independent study and

research skills and strategies that would lead students to use the references available in English (see Hemissi, 1985; Daoud, in press).

Because in most institutions individual teachers are directly responsible for the various ESP programs, there has been a sustained effort, with effective British cooperation since 1983, to improve ESP teachers' professionalism through two ESP Resource Centers (see Kennedy, 1985; Seymour & Bahloul, 1992). The centers are now run by Tunisians, and their sustainability is secured (e.g., in December 1995 the ESP Resource Center at the Institut Bourguiba des Langues Vivantes [IBLV], where I teach, officially became a department for the promotion of ESP, with outreach prerogatives to all tertiary-level institutions). The centers are called upon in the future not only to continue the orientation and resource-supply effort but to oversee the development of ESP programs, train teachers, and encourage research and the sharing of research (the vehicles already established for that are *Tunisia ESP Newsletter*, published twice a year; teacher seminars, held three times a year; and the Regional Maghreb ESP Conference, held every 2 years).

ESP will keep growing in Tunisia, as indicated by (a) the government's recent decision to generalize the teaching of ESP in all the tertiary-level disciplines beginning in 1996–1997 (currently only 10% of a student population of 100,000 is taking English), (b) granting an official status to the ESP centers, and (c) starting a new graduate program (a master of arts equivalent in teaching ESP) in 1995–1996 at IBLV to prepare ESP teachers. It is hoped that ESP activity will enhance professionalism in ELT in Tunisia just as it has enhanced research into language and language learning and teaching internationally over the past 30 years (see Johns & Dudley-Evans, 1991).

4. The New *Maîtrise*

In 1994–1995, gradual implementation of a “new *maîtrise*” (bachelor of arts program) began in the departments of English in Tunisia as part of a standardization procedure of all degrees in this category in the language arts and human science disciplines. While maintaining the old tripartite division of content (literature, civilization, and linguistics), this program is promising in two respects: First, it sets minimum standards for a more homogeneous preparation of students in the various faculties; second, it includes an applied linguistics component as preservice teacher training, with courses in TEFL methodology, curriculum development, and language testing. This component helps correct a major deficiency in the profile of graduates, most of whom are recruited to teach EFL. The graduates without preservice training have generally been average teachers who perpetuated the traditional attitudes about language teaching and learning (see ELT at the Secondary School Level, above).

The major problems with the new *maîtrise* are that (a) English departments do not have enough qualified instructors to teach the required courses in the program (at least 705 of the instructors do not hold postgraduate degrees) and (b) certain instructors lack training in course design and are reluctant to work in teams. The solutions lie in preparing more teachers with higher degrees (see the next section) and in setting up subject-specific curriculum development committees that work on a regular basis to ensure that ends and means specification, course design, teaching, and evaluation are effective and shore up instructors' professionalism.

5. The Postgraduate Program

The postgraduate program in English, which has only produced about 40 graduates with a *diplôme de recherches approfondies* (DRA, a master of arts equivalent) and one unsuccessful doctoral candidate in 30 years, was reformed in 1993–1994. The new program leads to a *diplôme d'études approfondies* (DEA), obtainable in 2 years (one for courses and the second for research and thesis writing), and a doctorate in 3 more years, which allows students to specialize in literature, civilization, or linguistics. However, the program faces serious obstacles, one being the tripartite structure maintained from undergraduate studies: The DEA course distribution into four specialty courses in one track (literature, civilization, or linguistics) and six common core courses (two in each track), all of which are required in the 1st year, distracts students from their chosen area of specialization. It also prevents the coverage of certain issues more thoroughly, as 1 year does not allow for follow-up courses. Thus courses are only introductory and involve little practical, data-based investigation. The situation is confounded by the fact that no courses are offered after that and students are left to complete their DEA and doctoral work on their own, under the supervision of one faculty member.

Another obstacle, perhaps the most serious one, is a fundamental disagreement among the faculty on the purpose and nature of postgraduate studies. Whereas some view them as an opportunity for the student to acquire a body of theoretical knowledge, mainly from instructors and library references, others see them as initiation to research. A related problem is the limited number of faculty who have the status to supervise DEA and doctoral research. Still another problem is poor access to the research literature, which is not so much a consequence of a lack of references—in fact, library references are increasingly available even through CD-ROM and international interlibrary loan, although e-mail is still unheard of in many institutions and computer use very limited—as a result of poor study and research skills that are not developed at the lower levels of education. Another problem is student evaluation, which is done mostly through pencil-and-paper

exams. The DEA program, now in its 3rd year, is due for systematic evaluation, which should lead to a redistribution of, and an increase in, courses and a modification of the examination procedure to allow for more hands-on research and paper writing.

6. Professional Associations

A positive development in the past few years has been the establishment of professional associations (Association Tunisienne de Linguistique, ATL; the Tunisian Society of Anglo-Saxon Studies, TSAS; and the Tunisian Association of Teachers of English, TATE) and the inception of a series of conferences, workshops, and symposia held regularly on topics such as research methodology, ELT, ESP, theoretical and applied linguistics, literature, and British/American studies. For instance, the Third Research Methodology Symposium, held in April 1995, dealt with the use of computers in research, and the Second Maghreb ESP Conference, held in May 1995, focused on the English teacher as an agent of change and involved participants from Algeria, Morocco, Lebanon, the United Arab Emirates, Britain, France, and the U.S. These events are usually cosponsored by Tunisian institutions, the British Council, the U.S. Information Agency, and even local businesses. The work of the associations, together with the ESP resource centers, is improving considerably, both quantitatively, as more and more research is done and shared, and qualitatively, as people are doing more referential and less display research and learning to interact professionally. The impact of this work is beginning to be felt in English departments at the undergraduate and postgraduate levels, and even in secondary education, as association activities constitute opportunities to exchange ideas and spur research and publication on English and ELT/ESP in Tunisia as well as in North Africa and the Middle East.

CONCLUSION

Tunisia has entered a critical stage in the promotion of the English language. In response to community needs and aspirations in this Arabic-speaking but still predominantly francophone country, there is a political will to gear both institutional and human resources toward promoting English as the language of economic, scientific, and technological development. To make people truly operational in English, the educational system must develop sound ELT/ESP programs that are driven by clear goals and objectives, delivered by competent reflective teachers, and sustained by systematic formative evaluation.

For this to happen the educational system itself must evolve toward more professionalism, both institutionally and in terms of human

resource development. The developments described in this report indicate, in my view, that the system is indeed evolving in this direction. An institutional structure that is now emerging is likely to facilitate collaborative work in ELT at the various levels of education. There is also a critical mass of Tunisian ELT professionals who are aware of the problems outlined above and who are already working on solutions. What is needed most now is to strengthen this critical mass with more Tunisians who have adequate research and program management skills.

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Language Planning and Policy and the ELT Profession in Selected Central American Countries*

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■ Within the relatively small, diverse region that constitutes Central America, curricular decision making takes place in two distinct sectors, the public and the private. From early childhood education through the university level, some 32% of Latin American students are in private schools—50% in El Salvador (Reimers, 1994). The driving forces behind language planning and policy are *command* and *demand*. In the public schools, the force is command. Public school teachers commonly are required to teach English whether or not they want to or are able to; students likewise are captive rather than voluntary audiences, completing and often resenting arbitrary course requirements offered by poorly prepared teachers. In private schools, the force that drives policy is demand. Well-to-do parents seek out the best schools for their children, and motivated adults shop for the best training they can afford—from universities to private tutors. Ingenious entrepreneurs appear: A taxi driver, for example, described how he makes spare money from patrons who listen to and repeat lessons from a commercial audio cassette he acquired at a local department store. He remarked, in Spanish, that he has a good ear and can tell clients if they are doing *bien* (well) or *mal* (poorly).

TEACHER TRAINING AND PRACTICE

Among teachers, competition is keen to capture jobs in the region's excellent private schools. Some of these institutions, like San Salvador's British school, are bilingual beginning with kindergarten. Private schools and language institutes look for teachers who can satisfy and develop a rapport with a demanding clientele. Some institutions offer successful teachers seniority, prestige, and opportunities to move into supervisory and administrative slots. Others offer higher salaries, access to further training and resources, and pleasant surroundings.

Because jobs in Central America are hard to come by, teachers in both public and private schools—particularly in the latter—are self-motivated. Their competitiveness affects teacher training programs and on-the-job

* The information gathered in this report is the result of a Fulbright research grant to investigate English teacher training in Central America and of 2 consecutive years of teaching and consulting in El Salvador, followed by return visits in the summers of 1992–1995.

training. If teachers attend a workshop on Friday, then they expect to carry a useful technique or procedure into their classrooms on Monday, and for the most part they thoroughly dislike spending their time on theory.

Supervisors in general would like to see teachers develop broader vistas but express an understanding of the plight of working teachers, who tend to be in a survival mode, with little time or patience for the nonpragmatic. Nevertheless, a blend of practical experience and theory could free teachers to be more creative and less fearful. For example, more than one teacher described having “discovered” elements of audiolingual or other “noncommunicative” methodologies that were helpful with beginning and remedial classes, but because their institutions advertise “communicative” approaches, these teachers feel that their jobs depend on being perceived as purely communicative and that they must be cautious—even secretive—about straying from what they understand to be the official curriculum.

CURRICULUM DESIGN AND DEVELOPMENT

The public schools offer EFL classes in the middle and upper grades, often taught by teachers who are just learning the language themselves. In Costa Rica, public school teachers of English are better prepared in one sense: They are likely to have university degrees in linguistics but, according to local experts, lack pedagogical preparation. As one university-related language school director put it, they “end up teaching as they were taught—with drills and lectures.” In Nicaragua, where university language departments have recently dropped specialties in Russian, efforts are being made to train practicing public school English teachers in current pedagogical techniques.

In private schools, the days when students might bend to the rod of authoritarian teachers and drudge through formal texts are long gone; students today simply pack up and head for more congenial programs. Therefore, courses are designed to present appealing chunks of text, and teachers are hired or fired according to their ability to enhance a text’s appeal. The most popular books are based on some current theory of language acquisition and utilize communicative classroom techniques. Publishers of successful ESL materials influence enrollment, teacher training, and resource development. Throughout the region, students who consider enrolling in a language school commonly ask which textbook series the school uses, and institutions often feature their text selections in their advertisements as selling points. One new ESL business, based in El Salvador, found itself with offices in Honduras, Guatemala, and Nicaragua almost overnight. This enterprise imports texts and trade books as requested and provides training sessions. To

date, sales competition has been limited, but there are signs of demand for similar endeavors that combine desirable ESL packages with expert training workshops. The demand comes not only from purchasing agents for textbooks but also from the wide market of ESL teachers who are responsible for furnishing their own classroom materials. If literature-based learning and whole language, theme-based approaches gain acceptance, the trade-book market promises to increase dramatically as well.

According to a veteran representative, one obstacle to publishers' sales is the publication and sale of self-written texts by persons in various areas of education (including ministries) who can arrange for some schools to purchase their books. Another obstacle to sales is the high cost of books relative to the low income of the majority of people.

Relevancy is another ESL curriculum issue (FUSADES, 1994). For example, during the war years in El Salvador, it was common to be told, "The classroom is not the place to discuss politics," and this mentality lingers. "Politics" can mean discussing the situation of the country's majority of poor and hungry people, acknowledging wartime actions, discussing evidence of repression, or criticizing the tax system. Accordingly, for years teachers have shunned relevant controversy and have tried to promote student talk by adhering strictly to their textbooks. Typically, they prefer in-service training that helps them add to a repertoire of techniques that they can apply to "safe" topics. Teachers seek help from text series that, through engrossing text and illustrations, make it easy to immerse students in present, contrived situations brought to life through accompanying audiovisuals.

STUDENTS AND COMMUNITIES

Although ideological bias against English exists in some quarters, people in general want to learn the language. Both poor and rich see the knowledge of English as a tool for finding better jobs, emigrating, and socializing. In general, resentment expressed by those who have been in the public schools centers not so much on being required to study English as on having had to spend time in poorly taught classes. They see themselves as handicapped in comparison with graduates of the region's well-staffed, well-equipped private schools, who are prepared for universities nearby and abroad and qualify for academic and job-training grants. Still, those who manage to finish a high school education are privileged in comparison with the majority of students, who have dropped out of school by the end of the third grade to help support their families through manual labor. As these laborers grow older, many see the economic value of knowing at least some English and try to learn the language by listening to popular songs on the radio.

Indeed, economic motives impel a large group of adult language learners. For example, in El Salvador roughly one third of the national income comes from remittances sent by Salvadorans working abroad (CENITEC, 1992, Table 5)—mainly in the United States—and the common wisdom is that the better their abilities in English, the greater their employment opportunities. The hope of improvement has contributed to the phenomenon of false beginners, students who hide their knowledge in order to enroll in, and do well in, beginners' classes. Although schools try to screen out false beginners from first-level classes, students who have graduated from one program are frequently found in another program's beginning-level classes, seeking additional practice, instruction, and experience in a relatively nonthreatening environment. A few of these students who have acquired some English language background may join alumni conversation clubs in order to extend their skills; most, however, rotate among the many programs available in various ESL institutions. Sometimes they become teachers of English in order to review a curriculum with their students level by level, increasing their own mastery as they teach.

RESEARCH DIRECTIONS AND FUNDING

The situation of language learners and teachers in the private schools is generally very good and certainly will remain so. However, language teaching in the public schools needs to develop collaborative practices and encourage the empowerment of teachers and students.

In the course of my study, I found several instances in which collaboration was lacking in the educational institution. For example, some Central American language schools had stored away technical equipment received from foreign institutions because local personnel who had been trained in its use had moved on before the equipment could be installed in the language labs. Schools need to take a more collaborative, longer term approach to placing equipment, including finding a means of identifying appropriate contacts at the receiving school and involving enough people in projects to take up the slack if key participants leave the institution before the project's completion. In another case, a foreign university had teamed with a Central American language school to provide video training for future English teachers. The problem was that the project was negotiated with enthusiastic language school directors who unfortunately are not involved in the decision-making process for program development within their own institutions, and the video training program has not yet reached the students.

In another case, the department that trains students in pedagogy and the department that trains the same students in linguistics are separated

by what one chairperson calls “departmental competition and infighting.” Such examples demonstrate the need for public institutions to find, identify, examine, and highlight models of collaboration among departments of linguistics, education, and modern language, describing the elements that contribute to developing creative, flexible, well-prepared language teachers. Such study should involve Central American university personnel and initiate local discussion of ways to channel available resources into more effective teacher training and less textbook-bound programs.

Currently teachers and students in public schools also need empowerment. Poverty of means and resources is an easily identifiable cause, but solutions are elusive. If stipends were offered to teachers for attending in-service training, the sessions probably would be packed. If students could receive pay equivalent to what they receive by dropping out to labor for their desperately poor families, the classrooms probably would be packed regardless of the methodology employed. If textbooks and other materials were made available at minimal cost, all manner of teaching and learning would probably flourish. However, alternative approaches need to be examined given the unlikelihood of massive funding to educate the great Latin American minority that lacks the luxury of being able to invest their time in unremunerated study.

Fortunately, alternatives are at hand; effective models of “popular education” do exist in Latin America. When official education has failed for one reason or another—war, politics, remoteness—alternative educational forms have arisen, often with striking results. In 1962 Paolo Freire, working under impoverished conditions, was able to help 300 Brazilians become literate in 45 days (CIAZO, 1992). In 1992, when awarded an honorary doctorate by the University of El Salvador, Freire visited and encouraged those who had carried on clandestine, mobile education during the civil war. *Las Escuelas Populares de Chalatenango* (ED-UCA, 1994) describes how youngsters were elected teachers by their communities and how after the war these young teachers tested out on a ninth-grade level, considerably higher than the subject matter they had been teaching (ED-UCA, 1994).

Finally, privatization of public schools is being touted as a remedy to the shortcomings of present public education. This movement toward privatization offers another fertile field for further research as its implementation and evaluative criteria are planned and debated.

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Accidental Language Policy: Creating an ESL/Bilingual Teacher Endorsement Program in Utah

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■ From a language teaching perspective, the state of Utah is a study in irony. As the longtime center of the followers of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints—the Mormons—and its worldwide missionary effort, Utah prides itself on being home to a large number of native English speakers who have acquired L2s as part of their missionary training. At the same time, Utah is home to increasing numbers of federally designated limited English proficient (LEP)¹ students who find little official acknowledgment of their language needs in public schools. Between 1989 and 1990, for example, the number of Utah LEP students rose from 17,444 to 18,636. Over the same 2-year period, however, the number of LEP students enrolled in supportive Title VII Bilingual Education programs fell from 3,669 to 2,578 (U.S. Department of Education, 1991). This apparently weak response to educational needs among LEP students statewide may be emblematic of how “functions of

¹I use the term *LEP* because it is the term used by the U.S. Department of Education report (1991) cited in this report.

certain nonlanguage-related branches of government create implicit [language] policy” (Kaplan, 1991, p. 153). Recent events in Utah’s San Juan School District, moreover, seem to illustrate how patterns of local and state practices with regard to LEP students might operate as such unstated language policy.

Occupying the entire southeastern corner of Utah and constituting the third largest school district in terms of area in the U. S., San Juan County is home to two contrasting polities separated by geography, history, culture, and language. In the northern half of the county are rural, predominantly Anglo communities governed by state and local political structures; in the southern half are scattered but numerous ethnic Ute and Navajo communities occupying large tracts of federally designated reservation lands within the county. In these lands, which extend to the Arizona border, local and state laws overlap with federal and tribal laws. The San Juan School District, governed by a locally elected board, provides K–12 public education throughout the county.

Beginning in 1976, teachers and parents residing in the southern half of the San Juan School District frequently described district schools and administration as heedless of LEP student needs among its Navajo, Ute, and Hispanic students. Even though language and ethnic minority students made up half of San Juan’s approximately 3,400 students, parents and others argued that the state and district curriculum failed to accommodate this type of student and that district hiring practices did not target ESL/bilingual-qualified personnel. Generally poor performance on standardized tests, such as the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills, among Navajo and Ute students in the San Juan School District appeared to reinforce many of these arguments.

More substantial support for many of these claims came in a 1988 University of Utah study of San Juan schooling, which found that over 50% of the district’s Utah and Navajo students dropped out of school before Grade 12. This dropout rate was much greater than that for White students in the district; furthermore, many of these students were LEP (Deyhle, 1988).

In 1990, mounting interest in the Deyhle report among Utah Indian leaders and others coincided with a compliance review of district curriculum and practices by the Office for Civil Rights (OCR) in the U.S. Department of Education. The OCR was acting under the 1974 *Lau v. Nichols* decision by the Supreme Court, which mandates that schools and school districts provide help for students who lack the English language skills necessary to succeed in the mainstream classroom. The review identified weaknesses in organization, monitoring, and evaluation in district LEP student support efforts. Because these inadequacies might be violating some students’ civil rights, the OCR requested in 1991 that the San Juan School District submit a plan detailing improvements in

educational programs for the LEP students among the district's approximately 1,689 Navajo and Ute students (E. Swenson, personal communication, October 8, 1992).

The OCR ultimately found the District Plan, turned over to OCR in March 1992, unsatisfactory. The plan was passed along to the Department of Justice. The Department of Justice's course of action is now unpredictable. At the same time, the district is defending itself against a complex civil lawsuit involving LEP students. The plaintiffs in this lawsuit include the Navajo Tribe and the Department of Justice itself.

The stakes in this ongoing issue are high: Federal funding tied to Indian education in San Juan County accounts for close to 30% of the school district's budget, and funding can be withheld if the district has violated federally mandated civil rights standards. Because the OCR noted in its review that few San Juan teachers had specialized bilingual or ESL skills, one of the district's first goals in a new effort to better serve LEP students was to institute an educational program leading to bilingual/ESL certification (known as a *specialized endorsement*) for all of its teachers.

The existence of an official bilingual/ESL endorsement in state law beyond or in addition to the regular teaching certificate necessary for teacher employment is explicit language policy in that state because it formally recognizes a school language (English) in which some students lack proficiency. Arizona law, for example, requires specific assessment and instructional practices in Arizona school districts and individual schools enrolling minority language students and provides for official endorsement of qualified ESL and bilingual teachers. Because of this mandate, Arizona colleges and universities responsive to teacher education needs have developed an ESL/bilingual endorsement program that teachers may choose to take. This program consists of 20–30 hours of upper-division or graduate courses focusing on LEP students' needs. Arizona's ESL/bilingual endorsement standards also prescribe course content.

Similarly, the absence of laws and academic paradigms supporting LEP students in schools may be an example of what Kaplan (1991) terms *accidental language policy*, in which "functions of government create implicit policy" (p. 153). To illustrate, Utah state law does not require that public school teachers of LEP or bilingual children possess specialized training or skills; therefore, Utah law does not prescribe any language-specific courses. Because of this absence of requirements, Utah colleges and universities in 1992 offered few, if any, courses designed to prepare teachers to work with LEP children.

Utah's accidental, implicit language policy is affecting the San Juan School District's response to urgent legal and educational needs. The district, casting about for a practical substitute for a state program,

briefly considered requiring Utah teachers to complete an Arizona endorsement program. However, this option was soon rejected for the stated reason that teachers would incur large travel and time expenses in addition to tuition expenses, making this option too costly. In April 1993, the district asked a local community college, the College of Eastern Utah–San Juan Center (CEU-SJC) to formulate and implement a local bilingual education endorsement or certification program for district teachers.

When CEU-SJC agreed to this local alternative to a state-mandated ESL/bilingual endorsement, the effects of Utah's language policy widened. The content of endorsement courses is commonly upper division or graduate level, and a 2-year community college such as CEU-SJC is not authorized by the Utah Board of Regents to offer upper-division or graduate course work. Despite the absence of an official sanction to consider such a request, however, CEU-SJC'S administration and faculty recognized that no other institution in the state was interested in formulating such a program. Additionally, CEU-SJC could cite expertise in linguistics, ESL, and multicultural education among its small faculty.

A brief, highly tentative letter of approval from the Utah State Office of Education launched Utah's first bilingual/ESL teacher endorsement program. The new program was modeled after standards from the National Association of Bilingual Education as well as neighboring state endorsement programs, and an initial cohort of 120 district teachers was identified for admission to the program. The college library was allotted an initial acquisition budget.

With the first courses taught, the consequences of Utah's accidental language policy widened still further. CEU-SJC, in partnership with the district, was instrumental in obtaining a federal bilingual teacher education grant to pay teachers' tuition and other expenses. Without appropriate upper-division or graduate-level accreditation, however, CEU-SJC'S program showed questionable credibility as a teacher endorsement program eligible for such a federal grant. As this problem surfaced, CEU-SJC sought to borrow such accreditation from any one of Utah's 4-year institutions. Of those institutions, only Utah State University (USU) responded. After reviewing CEU-SJC faculty qualifications, USU granted accreditation to all the endorsement program's course work in the form of generic graduate workshop credit.

This type of credit constitutes the minimal accreditation of any course work. The low level of accreditation may affect San Juan teachers because it does not reflect the rigor of the CEU-SJC program on a teacher's academic record; officially, it appears to trivialize teachers' hard-won skills and knowledge. For example, workshop credits in general are usually devalued or disallowed for transfer between institutions or states. Utah teachers who relocate and wish to teach in a

neighboring state therefore may be required to take all the classes needed for that state's ESL/bilingual endorsement whether or not they completed CEU-SJC'S program. In San Juan, this is particularly significant for bilingual Navajo teachers, whose language proficiencies and cultural knowledge are normally valued in schools serving contiguous Navajo Reservation areas within Arizona and New Mexico. These states would officially recognize little, if any, of the CEU-SJC program for transfer credit toward their respective official endorsements. Additionally, teacher salary increases, which are frequently tied to a teacher's educational achievements, normally ignore workshop credit of any kind. Some bilingual/ESL endorsement classes taken in Arizona and New Mexico may be later applied to master's degree programs; workshop credit, however, normally may not. Teachers enrolled in the CEU-SJC program may be affected in other ways as well.

Both the current official status and the academic status of the CEU-SJC program remain clouded; its future is unclear. As of December 1995, other districts in Utah had received requests from the OCR inquiring about educational programs and services for LEP students in those districts. The State Office of Education has provided some administrative guidelines for a Utah ESL/bilingual endorsement, but school districts appear to vary widely in how they meet the guidelines. No law has been written or presented to the Utah legislature, on which state higher education funding and the long-term viability of the CEU-SJC program must ultimately depend.

Clearly, the existence of state-mandated guidelines in LEP student education indicates explicit language policy. However, as this narrative shows, Utah's lack of legal mandate specific to public school ESL/bilingual education operates as implicit language policy affecting Utah institutions and teachers. In view of the complexity of institutional practices shaping this policy, Utah may continue its present trend of declining educational support for a growing LEP student population in its schools.

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EFL Teaching in the Ukraine: State Regulated or Commercial?

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■ At present many people of different ages, occupations, and social status are learning English in the Ukraine. They include not only the overwhelming majority of secondary and higher education students but also thousands of adults and adolescents trying to master English at commercial courses.

FACTORS PROMOTING EFL TEACHING AND LEARNING

English and the learning of English in the Ukraine owe their current popularity to a number of economic, political, social, cultural, and psychological factors. They include, for instance, the emergence of a whole new class of businessmen striving to establish ties with foreign partners, attempts by state-owned and private firms and enterprises to integrate themselves into the international economy, and the intentions of many people to travel to developed Western countries or even to try to settle there for good because of the current severe crisis in the Ukraine. Numerous other reasons can be given, all of them demonstrating that the individual plans of quite a number of Ukrainian citizens depend on their mastering English.

Governmental language planning and policy are in principle favorable to satisfying this need, consistent with Cooper (1989), Tollefson (1995), and other modern authors who see language policy as indivisibly linked to the distribution of political power and economic resources. The Ukrainian authorities set the integration of the country into the world community and the international economy as one of their primary tasks in protecting and developing an independent Ukraine. Such a goal is impossible without many people who have a good mastery of foreign languages (FLs), especially English. The authorities' ever-increasing attention to the teaching and learning of foreign languages (EFL in particular) is evident in some recent documents regulating the functioning of state-owned educational institutions. For instance, the state national program for educational reform (Ukraine of the 21st Century), approved by the cabinet ministers in 1993, outlines new standards for the teaching of basic academic subjects. FLs are included in the basic subject list. According to a 1994 regulation of the Ministry of Education, in institutions of higher learning all academic subjects taught are divided into normative and optional. The normative subjects enumerated in the

State Educational Standard, including FLs, are compulsory for all institutions of higher learning; in addition, institutions are not permitted to reduce the academic time set by the standard for learning such subjects. According to Ministry of Education documents, 324 academic hours are allocated for FL teaching and learning, more hours than are allocated for other humanities studied in institutions of higher learning. Thus, FLs are a compulsory subject at all levels of education: 5–7 years in secondary schools and at least 2 years in higher education. The fact that approximately three quarters of the students study English as their FL contributes to the spread of English in the Ukraine.

The third factor promoting EFL teaching and learning is a sufficiently high EFL teaching standard in state-owned educational institutions. This results from the high level of FL teaching methodology and state-of-the-art development in the former Soviet Union. This methodology has for many years been distinguished by its communicative nature, in line with the principal propositions of the Western communicative approach. Teachers frequently use process-oriented and learner-centered approaches, computer-assisted language learning, pair and small-group work, role plays, simulations, and drama techniques. In fact, there is hardly a single promising trend in modern Western second and foreign language teaching and learning that has not found some parallel in the research and practical work of professionals in the FL field from the former Soviet Union.

Moreover, this research and practical work has always followed the principled pragmatism approach (Kumaravadivelu, 1994), which is now being given some attention in the U.S. Its essence is in a rational combination of different approaches, primarily the communicative and cognitive ones (i.e., reinforcing unconscious communicative competence acquisition with conscious focus on language structures). In recent years many authors in the U. S., and in the West in general, insist on the advisability of just such an approach (Bley-Vroman, 1990; Herron & Tomasello, 1992; VanPatten & Cadierno, 1993). EFL teaching professionals in the former Soviet Union have for many years supported such an approach, never following the extreme forms of the communicative approach, in which only the richness and variety of comprehensible input are taken into account (Krashen, 1982; Terrell, 1982).

The reason is that both now and in the time of the former Soviet Union learners did not have opportunities to receive comprehensible input outside the classroom. At the same time, classroom hours for language learning were limited and often insufficient (discussed in greater detail below). Because the communicative approach in its pure form simply did not work (see the description of a similar situation with similar conclusions in Bahloul, 1994), teachers preserved a predominantly communicative approach (as the only one suitable for the

development of communicative competence) but combined it with the advantages of conscious (cognitive) mastering of the language. Thus, teachers in the Ukraine have already made a very serious attempt to practically realize the trend that is now finding many adherents among ESL/EFL teaching professionals all over the world: to integrate communication and attention to form.

The inference is that the approach to EFL teaching in the Ukraine is quite in line with modern advances in the field. Such an approach is actually being advocated in the centrally developed curricula (such as the Comprehensive Secondary School Curricula: Foreign Languages. The 5th–11th Grades, 1991). They are either obligatory or at least strongly recommended.

The factors described above may lead to the conclusion that EFL teaching and learning in state-owned educational institutions in the Ukraine are likely to be successful because public needs coincide with effective governmental language planning and policy and because both are reinforced with advanced teaching methodology. But in practice the learning outcomes for many students are often very poor. There are no published statistical data in the Ukraine on learning outcomes, but the situation is so well known and language teaching failures are so common that they are the subject of popular jokes. Both the public and FL teaching professionals are well aware that only a minority of students from state-owned educational institutions benefit in a practical way from the compulsory EFL courses.

This popular opinion was confirmed by my own study of 300 higher education graduates studying English in the city of Dnepropetrovsk. Interviews conducted during 1992–1994 for this study demonstrated that only 62 (20.7%) of the former students thought that their study of English in secondary and higher education gave them some mastery of the language that they could put to practical use (e.g., reading professional literature, contacting native speakers). All the others (79.3%) asserted that they had acquired absolutely no communicative competence in English after 8–9 years of study.

WHY HAS EFL TEACHING AND LEARNING FAILED IN STATE-OWNED EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS?

A number of reasons underlie the failure of EFL teaching and learning when one would reasonably expect directly opposite results. First, although the need for FL learning is rapidly spreading now in comparison with the past, the majority of the population actually does not feel this need. Many people are absolutely indifferent to language learning. The reason is quite obvious: In the current economic crisis, the financial situation of very many people prohibits going abroad and using

a foreign language. These assertions were confirmed by my 1993 survey of 100 inhabitants of Dnepropetrovsk (between 18 and 40 years of age) —representatives of those strata of society in which incomes and social status are not high (students, industrial workers, engineers, low-ranking employees, and others). I asked the people if they were ready to spend much of their time and effort learning English and if they thought they could use the language for their own benefit. The answers to both questions were negative in 69% of the cases. A typical explanation was “I do not have enough money to go abroad, and I do not need English here” (I.B., 36 years of age, a building worker). Hence these people, who are in the absolute majority, have no personal reasons for FL learning.

Such attitudes in the majority of the population naturally find their reflection in EFL classrooms in all the state-owned educational institutions. The majority of students doubt the practicality of learning FLs because of the lack of opportunities to use them. For instance, 154 of 200 of my own students of English at Dnepropetrovsk State Technical University of Railway Transport expressed such doubts when I interviewed them in the 1991–1992, 1992–1993, and 1993–1994 academic years. If FL learning is compulsory for all students and the majority do not feel this learning to be practically useful, in any FL classroom only the minority learns the language because they want to or feel the need to. The rest do it because it is required. Absence of motivation usually predetermines low achievement or even failure for the absolute majority of such students. The performance of highly motivated students (the minority) is also impaired because teachers have to concentrate their efforts on the poorly motivated majority just to make them work.

The second cause of failures is the centralized development and obligatory nature of the EFL curricula, syllabuses, and other regulating documentation for different state-owned educational institutions. Standardized curricula for all higher or secondary schools do not favor the learner-centered approach (Nunan, 1988), nor does it take into account specific learning conditions and learners’ needs. The absence of precise learners’ needs analyses substantially lowers the motivation of even highly motivated students. It also upsets the balance between process and product in learning insisted on by Hyland and Hyland (1992).

The third cause is the fact that, under centralized planning of FL teaching with compulsory FL courses, the curricula designed are bound to allocate insufficient classroom time for language learning: Usually one and sometimes two classes per week of not more than 90 minutes are allowed. (Independent student work is also included in time allocations for FL teaching and learning, but as poorly motivated students rarely do this work conscientiously, it is of little use in raising their achievement levels.) Insufficient time is inevitable in compulsory FL teaching because otherwise too little time would be left for other (also compulsory)

subjects, often of more immediate importance for the students. Consequently FL teaching and Learning drag on for many years in a few classes spread too far apart. Effective FL teaching requires the reverse: a comparatively short course with many densely packed classes per week.

Some purely economic causes of failures are conditioned by the economic crisis the Ukraine is experiencing and the consequent difficulties and limitations in the centralized financing of state-owned educational institutions. Schools do not have sufficient budget allocations to purchase the newest and the best teaching materials and equipment, so they often use obsolete, low-quality technical equipment and obsolete teaching materials, in which the content is not informative and frequently simply boring. FL instructors' salaries are miserably low, which makes many of them (as a rule, the best) change their employment.

All these problems are the direct result of state regulation and financing of FL teaching and learning in state-owned educational institutions. This suggests that state encouragement of FL learning may be an impediment to successful FL learning and teaching if it takes the form of centralized planning and regulation.

ALTERNATIVE (COMMERCIAL) FORMS OF ESL TEACHING AND LEARNING

The failures of state-regulated FL teaching and its loss of popularity¹ have generated alternative commercial forms of instruction. Their development was boosted by the growing need for FL (and especially EFL) learning. These alternatives principally take the form of intensive, short-term commercial courses (mainly in English), which are mushrooming all over the country. They enjoy great and increasing popularity, and student enrollment grows every year even though students must pay for instruction, whereas state-regulated FL teaching is free. For instance, for commercial courses in English that I organized in Dnepropetrovsk, student enrollment, which was about 100 in the 1993–1994 academic year, almost tripled in the 1994–1995 academic year, with 100 students enrolled only in the first 2 months.

There are several reasons for the success of commercial EFL teaching. First, those who enroll are eager to learn and are in great need of English. Readiness to pay for FL classes signifies high motivation, which itself can ensure success. In addition, many of the learners have clear learning goals, which are also important for motivation

Second, commercial courses are in no way restricted by the centrally

¹ Of the 300 higher education graduates I interviewed during 1992–1994, 240 (80%) asserted that they did not believe the state-owned system of education could provide efficient EFL teaching.

developed curricula approved by the state educational authorities. Therefore they can be and, in fact, often are learner centered and process oriented.

Third, all commercial courses are distinguished by the concentration of many class hours per week (up to 12 and sometimes even more) in a comparatively short period of time. They seldom take more than 1 year, and courses of up to 3 months' duration are the most popular. Such intensive and short-term teaching and learning are conducive to success and attractive to learners.

Finally, the use of the newest and best teaching materials and equipment is a matter of survival for commercial courses, and their financial situation often enables them to obtain such resources. Thus, the courses enjoy advantages frequently financially inaccessible to state-owned educational institutions. These courses are as a rule the first to introduce the latest developments in the field of FL teaching. High salaries attract the best FL teachers, ensuring high-quality teaching. All these factors make such courses attractive to researchers and materials development specialists, who in turn contribute to improving the teaching and learning process.

CONCLUSION

In light of the problems of state-owned teaching institutions, I believe that hopes of considerably expanding the effective teaching and learning of English in the Ukraine lie primarily in intensive commercial courses rather than in the state-regulated, compulsory, and free EFL system. The latter is as yet incapable of ensuring that the majority of learners acquire communicative competence in English. This situation is obviously due to inflexible state regulation and the compulsory nature of EFL learning in state-owned educational institutions. As there are no grounds to believe that the state-regulated system of EFL teaching will radically change in the near future, one may reasonably assume that commercial courses have better prospects for making serious contributions toward the spread of English as an international language in the Ukraine.

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REVIEWS

The *TESOL Quarterly* welcomes evaluative reviews of publications relevant to TESOL professionals. In addition to textbooks and reference materials, these include computer and video software, testing instruments, and other forms of nonprint materials.

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Power, Politics, and Language Rights

The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language.

Language in Social Life Series. Alastair Pennycook. London: Longman, 1994. Pp. ix + 364.

Linguistic Human Rights: Overcoming Linguistic Discrimination.

Contributions to the Sociology of Language 67. Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Robert Phillipson (Eds.) in collaboration with Mart Rannut. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1994. Pp. vi + 478.

Power and Inequality in Language Education.

Applied Linguistics Series. James W. Tollefson (Ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. Pp. ix + 212.

■ The area of language policies and politics has become more popular in recent years. The editors and author of these three books continue to provide stewardship to the area by expressing in their books a concern for power, politics, language, and social justice.

Tollefson's stated purpose in *Power and Inequality in Language Education* is to "explore the relationship between language policy and language education with a particular emphasis on power and inequality" (p. 1). He indicates that all the articles in the collection reflect six recurring themes: (a) research in applied linguistics must incorporate, as a central concept, the issue of power; (b) language policies are both an outcome of power struggles and an arena for those struggles; (c) English language teaching must be examined within the context of the spread of English as a world language; (d) an understanding of the causes and consequences

of migration is important for applied linguists and language teachers; (e) state language policies, although often associated with a rhetoric of equality and opportunity, frequently serve to channel migrants and other linguistic minorities into low-paying jobs in the peripheral economy; and (f) the fields of applied linguistics and language teaching must undertake a critical self-examination.

Power and Inequality includes nine contributions by 12 authors, plus the introduction by Tollefson. It includes chapters on the politics of the ESL classroom (Elsa Auerbach), English in the world (Alastair Pennycook), language and power in the Solomon Islands (Karen Watson-Gegeo and David Gegeo), the support or containment of bilingualism in primary classrooms (Marilyn Martin-Jones and Mukul Saxena), official language movements (Selma Sonntag), U.S. language policy (Thomas Donahue), language determinants of income (Ofelia García), ideological influences on linguistic and cultural empowerment in Australia (Brian Bullivant), and linguistics and politics in language planning in Peru (Nancy Hornberger). Each chapter is tied to issues in language education, empirically based, and generally well written.

Pennycook's *Cultural Politics of English as an International Language* is an outgrowth of work he did for his dissertation. In Pennycook's words, it is an attempt "to seek out ways of thinking about the position of English in the world that will help myself and other teachers to understand our work differently" (p. 5). In particular, the book develops two principal themes: "The first develops my concern with the limitations I see in the dominant ways of thinking about English language teaching in applied linguistics, which I have here called the *discourse of English as an International Language (EIL)*. The second theme involves an attempt to think about the cultural and political implications of the spread of English, which I have termed the *worldliness of English*" (p. 6).

The book is divided into nine chapters, three (chapters 3–5) exploring the discourse of English language teaching; four (chapters 6–9) exploring the cultural politics of English as an international language, including an analysis of this in Singapore and Malaysia; and a concluding chapter on the development of a critical pedagogy for teaching English as a worldly language. It shares with *Power and Inequality* a focus on language teaching, albeit principally on English language teaching, but differs in reaching for an almost polemic view and analysis of world cultural politics.

Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson's *Linguistic Human Rights* attempts to "establish the contours and scope of the concept" (p. 1). The editors write that "the book brings together language and human rights, topics which are seldom merged, and politically sensitive and inextricably interwoven with power structures" (p. 1). The book includes 19 chapters by 20 authors and is divided into three parts, each with an editor's

introduction: The Scope of Linguistic Human Rights (6 chapters), Country Studies (7 chapters), and Post-Colonial Dilemmas and Struggles (6 chapters). In addition, an appendix of over 50 pages contains extracts of 22 selected documents from the United Nations as well as other international and regional professional organizations, covering agreements, proposals, and resolutions on language rights. Many of the chapters are revised papers from the 9th World Congress of Applied Linguistics and a 1991 symposium on linguistic human rights in Estonia.

Part 1 is broad in scope, covering such topics as various approaches to establishing linguistic rights at the individual, collective, and nation-state levels; recent reformations of language and social relations in Russia, Europe, and Canada; a historical overview of linguistic rights; a typology of language laws; and personal-naming rights, policies, and restrictions as an example of the relationship between linguistic human rights and group identity.

The essays in part 2 are case studies of the U. S., the Soviet Union, Estonia, New Zealand, Denmark, and Australia. The essays in part 3 focus on Latin America (Mexico and Brazil), the Indo-Pakistan area, Kashmir, Africa, and Turkey. There is no explicit rationale for the tripartite organization of the book, although one can recognize part 1 as the theoretical or definitional section of the book. Parts 2 and 3, however, share a common characteristic of looking at case studies, with the apparent difference being the location of the country in the first/second world (those in part 2) or the third world (those in part 3). Although the editors make no claims of comprehensiveness, it is important to include areas like Latin America and Africa in a collection like this. Not including at least a representational contribution from major regions of the world would have weakened the book. Not anchoring the essays for Africa on particular national or state policies, however, takes away from the policy focus of the book and obfuscates and oversimplifies the political/linguistic diversity of the different countries.

The document extracts in the appendix are very useful because many of the original documents are often referenced in the literature but are seldom available for review and examination by a wider audience than experts in these areas. Their utility would have been enhanced by more explicit organization by type and source of document, a paragraph description of the source document and the nature of the abstracting process, and more complete bibliographic information for each document.

Linguistic Human Rights is broader, richer, and somewhat more fragmented than either *Power and Inequality* or *The Cultural Politics of English*, in part because it is more ambitious in what it purports to do and how it purports to do it. Although some essays include a focus on language education, most do not.

Each of these books makes an important contribution to the literature on the language politics that contextualized English language teaching within a linguistically diverse world. I heartily recommend them to researchers and serious language teaching practitioners.

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Language Policies in English-Dominant Countries: Six Case Studies.

Michael Herriman and Barbara Burnaby (Eds.). Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters, in press.

■ As its title promises, this volume provides chapters covering South Africa (Stanley M. Ridge), Australia (Michael Herriman), New Zealand (Richard A. Benton), Britain (Linda Thompson, Michael Fleming, and Michael Bryam), the U.S. (Thomas Ricento), and Canada (Barbara Burnaby), plus an introduction (Herriman and Burnaby).

This book is an important contribution to language policy studies because, for the first time, it collects in one volume information on language-related policy in six English-dominant nations, all having struggled with language planning over the past half-century (see also Eggington & Wren, in press; Grabe, 1994). The chapters are detailed, although the distribution is uneven; South Africa and Britain each occupy 8% of the volume, Australia 10%, New Zealand and the U.S. each 15%, and Canada 24%. (The remaining 20% consists of the introduction, a list of references, two indexes, and notes on contributors.) One assumes that this distribution is accidental; it does not reflect any rational basis (e.g., relative population size, number of languages, geographic size, or complexity of policy).

SOUTH AFRICA: CHAPTER 2

This chapter is the least detailed in the volume, understandably so because South Africa's language policy is an unimplemented idea encoded in the interim Constitution. The chapter notes the various snake pits that lie ahead in the implementation process, and Ridge seems optimistic about the outcomes:

The language policy in the South African Constitution creates civil space for [various] matters to be addressed The challenge will be to understand the actual and changing roles of languages in our society, determining how

and for what purpose they are needed, and then . . . to build up both the languages themselves and people's ability to use them.

AUSTRALIA CHAPTER 3

The review of Australian language policy (by one of the editors) is a relatively complete summary of events since the late 1970s and a cautious estimate of shifts in underlying assumptions through the late 1980s and early 1990s, not reflecting fully the views in the academy of the Australian Language and Literacy Policy (ALLP)—a governmental (Department of Employment, Education, and Training) document published in 1991, substantially at variance with the original National Policy on Languages (NPL) (Lo Bianco, 1987). Lo Bianco saw language planning as occurring “at arm’s length from government.” The ALLP places the whole affair in the hands of government and changes the original social-policy-driven thrust to one driven by economics. The NPL specifically referred to Australia’s languages whereas the ALLP changes the focus to Australia’s language—English.

Not only has policy direction altered, but the idea of an independent, objective advisory committee (the Australian Advisory Committee on Languages and Multicultural Education) is lost; decisions are now entirely the responsibility of the government education sector. Lo Bianco’s NPL called for a national institute for research; although it is true that the National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia (NLLIA—directed by Lo Bianco) was established, it is much more closely tied to government and to government funding than was originally envisioned. The review underestimates the importance of shifts in direction and neglects the role of NLLIA in preserving any vestige of the original thrust.

NEW ZEALAND: CHAPTER 4

Benton is both a specialist in Maori language issues and a longtime champion of Maori, with which he has been engaged since the mid-1970s. Consequently, this chapter is less about language policy in New Zealand than about policy affecting Maori language. There have been other attempts at providing a view of broader language issues (e. g., Kaplan, 1993, 1994; Waite, 1992; Benton does mention Waite’s report, though briefly). Although the issue of Maori language in New Zealand is important, the other languages of New Zealand cannot be ignored, even though the populations are not great for some. Ignoring the other languages in favor of Maori distorts the language situation as well as the

basis on which language policy ought to rest. It is not a question merely of 2 official languages; some 40 languages are involved.

BRITAIN: CHAPTER 5

This may be the best chapter in the book, comprehensive in its coverage of pertinent policy documents and offering explanations of the thinking underlying various stages—the only chapter in the volume that traces changes in thinking and the roots of those changes.

Thompson, Fleming, and Bryam point out that “the place named in [their] title does not exist.” It is only on the basis of the popular assumption that “the British speak English” that one can justify the title, although in fact the British speak at least Gaelic and Welsh as well as English, speak many varieties of English, and, at least at the end of the 20th century (if British can be interpreted as citizenship), speak other languages, many of them Asian. The authors point out that “British governments tend to avoid presenting policies on languages unless obliged to do so” so that reliable figures are not available on the languages spoken, the numbers of speakers, or the distribution of speakers. The authors note that “the absence of official policy and statistics on languages spoken in the United Kingdom is itself an implicit policy ensuring the dominance of English.” The authors infer policy from educational practice.

THE U.S.: CHAPTER 6

As the chapter dealing with policy in Britain is the most comprehensive, the chapter on the U.S. is the most scholarly; it is heavy with citation, every point well documented not only in policy documents but in research as well. Possibly this more scholarly tone is achieved because much of the research literature focuses on the U. S.; possibly the effect is simply the bias of the reviewer, who is most familiar with the U.S. situation.

This chapter uncovers the tangle of legislation, judicial decision, inchoate social policy, and ordinary practice that underlies the complex language situation in the U.S. It shows that the conscious avoidance of policy articulation in many areas in itself constitutes policy.

The chapter reviews language policy (or its absence) since the 18th century foundation of the nation, tracing various strands that contributed to the language debate over the past 250 years. It discusses a number of foci—language for Native Americans, language for “ethnic” minorities, language and literacy for the majority of citizens, and the fallout from these foci into the judicial system, business, voting rights, equality of opportunity, and so on. The answer always comes out the

same way; the U.S. has spent vast time and energy on English and has done little or nothing with respect to other languages spoken within its borders. The chapter devotes some time to the political efforts to have English declared *de jure* the sole official language of the nation by amending the Constitution—an action that seems to warrant an award for redundancy, as the *de facto* hegemony of English has never been in question. Although the chapter is thorough in its coverage and scholarly in its support of that coverage, it is thin in explaining the causes underlying the various strands it identifies.

CANADA: CHAPTER 7

This chapter (written by the second of the volume's editors) is almost twice as long as any other chapter; it is also the most wide-ranging of the chapters. This reader got lost in the enormous detail and the perhaps excessive quotation. Canada's situation is complex because it involves primarily the relationship between French and English but also the aboriginal languages, the immigrant languages (in a rapidly changing demographic environment), and the activities of the central government, of the provincial governments, and of the British Crown. What seems lacking is more synthesis to help readers make sense of the wealth of detail.

SUMMARY COMMENTS

This volume makes clear that in each of these six polities the situation is complex, varying by historical circumstances, immigration patterns, and the number of official bodies involved in the articulation of policy. In every case (except Australia) there is no central authoritative policy; rather, there is a pastiche of bits of policy articulated at various times, for various purposes, and by various agencies of government—each having different spans of authority. Although the education sector is the primary implementation agency, in the absence of some centrally articulated policy only confusion is possible. What is necessary at the central level is not an explicit, detailed policy but a set of guiding principles to be followed in the articulation of policy in various governmental sectors and in the private sector.

Despite its minor weaknesses, this is an important volume because it does bring together policies as they exist in the six nations. There is no comparable volume. The field owes the editors a debt of gratitude for providing such a compendium. It will be important for students of language policy to have these materials at hand, recognizing that the case studies present a snapshot of the respective situations as of the middle of the 1990s and that circumstances are likely to change rapidly.

This volume could be the starting point for courses in language policy and planning, as it presents a large amount of valuable data, offers much to speculate about, and points the way toward a theory of language planning.

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Reversing Language Shift

Joshua A. Fishman. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters, 1991.
Pp. xiii + 431.

■ In his prefacing remarks, Joshua Fishman reflects on the life's work embodied in *Reversing Language Shift*: Recalling the publication of his first sociolinguistic monograph in 1965 he writes, "It is clear. . . that I was writing the present book even then" (p. xi). This suggests something of the book's scope. It is as impressive in its theoretical depth as in the detail and breadth of data brought to bear on theory.

What is *reversing language shift* (RLS), and why is it important? Fishman's response will surprise no one familiar with his work. RLS is about cultural democracy; it "involves a view of humanity and of the legitimacy and necessity of humanity's manifold cultural constituents" (p. 33). The work of RLS is theoretically grounded "assistance to speech communities whose native languages are threatened because their intergenerational continuity is proceeding negatively, with fewer and fewer users" (p. 1).

RLS is more than an abstraction. The loss of a community's language

is a concrete and public tear in the fabric of everyday life, a shattering of the most intimate home, family, and neighborhood contexts in which a mother tongue is transmitted and its speakers come to identify themselves as members of a speech community. As these disruptions typically are caused by outside intrusions, language shift is symptomatic of fundamental inequities. Thus, RLS also is about social justice and the retrieval of control over local life by speakers of subordinated languages. "It espouses the right and the ability of small cultures to live and to inform life for their own members as well as to contribute thereby to the enrichment of humankind" (p. 35).

The key to RLS, Fishman maintains, is intergenerational language transmission. No long-term, successful RLS effort can circumvent the natural processes in the home, family, and neighborhood through which succeeding generations replenish their speakers. This position anchors his eight-stage ranking of threatened languages. At Stage 8 (disruption is ranked in descending order), most heritage language speakers "are socially isolated old folks," and the language must be "re-assembled from their mouths and memories" (p. 88). Stages 5 and 4 involve mother tongue literacy and the use of the heritage language in school; Stages 3–1 involve heritage language use in the workplace, government, and media. The most crucial stage—the "continental divide" separating "healthy" from "sickly" languages—is Stage 6, in which the heritage language is a natural and regular part of interfamilial and intercommunity interaction. The bastion of this stage is the family, the great defense against outside influences and the inexpendable boundary marker. "*One cannot jump across or dispense with stage 6*" (p. 95), Fishman insists; "nothing can substitute for the rebuilding of society at the level of . . . everyday, informal life" (p. 112).

In the subsequent examination of 10 threatened language situations, it becomes evident how difficult intergenerational continuity can be. Even for Irish, with a state of its own and 70 years of RLS efforts, intergenerational continuity remains elusive. Fishman also documents Spanish, Navajo, and Yiddish in the U.S. and Basque, Frisian, Maori, and indigenous and immigrant languages in Australia, producing extensive data on the status of each and stage-by-stage RLS efforts.

Readers may be tempted to look to these cases and Fishman's typology for a quick diagnosis of the shape a language is in and remedies for its revitalization. It is not so simple. Navajo, for example, an American Indian language with 160,000 speakers, can be placed at Stages 7 (a vibrant adult speaking community), 6 (intergenerational transmission), 5 (literacy), 4 (schools under Navajo and external control), 3, and 2 (reservation-based work, media, higher education, and government). Yet even with the presence of Navajo-controlled schools and a significant number of speakers, native language maintenance is far from assured:

Only half the Navajo children now entering school speak Navajo as a primary language (Holm & Holm, 1995).

The situation for Navajo highlights Fishman's call to "ponder the interstage connections in RLS efforts" (p. 113), particularly the impact of such post-Stage 6 endeavors as mother tongue literacy, school programs, and mass media. Moreover, the Navajo case demonstrates that language maintenance and intergenerational transmission are not isomorphic; although language maintenance is impossible without Stage 6 intergenerational transmission, the latter will surely atrophy without an increasing pool of speakers—maintenance nurtured in Stages 5–1. "Both processes are necessary for successful RLS and neither one alone is sufficient" (p. 113).

Fishman also includes three success stories of RLS and language maintenance—modern Hebrew, French in Quebec, and Catalan in Spain. Yet the struggle never ends, as speakers of these languages still face competition from a language of wider communication (LWC) and coexist with other minority languages. Thus, RLS and language planning concern all language communities—topics to which Fishman turns in the final chapters of the book,

Those chapters raise and recapitulate theoretical and practical issues. Regarding language planning and standardization, Fishman suggests that a "flexible standard is . . . better than a standard that exacts a huge price in terms of compliance and . . . RLS support" (p. 350). In other words, dialects should be valued and conserved for the resources they are. Regarding the question of how some speech communities (e.g., native speakers of Dutch) acquire the LWC (English) generation after generation without endangering the mother tongue, Fishman cites the critical importance of boundary maintenance: The "outside" LWC never penetrates the home-family-community domains that nourish the "inside" language.

Perhaps the most provocative piece in Fishman's argument is the secondary or tertiary role he assigns to schools. "Most modern RLS movements," he notes, "have quickly and naturally . . . moved to emphasize schools . . . as the central thrust . . . of the entire RLS endeavor" (p. 368). This focus on post-Stage 6 processes, without achieving Stage 6, amounts to little more than dragon-chasing, Fishman claims. There is a huge loss in what is retained beyond high school. Further, expecting schools to "save" a language unrealistically burdens an already overtaxed teaching profession; schools come too late in children's development and are insufficiently identity focused for such purposes. Schools and educators can bridge the familial/extrafamilial language socialization environment, Fishman says, by facilitating opportunities for out-of-school mother tongue reinforcement and emphasizing the connection between a language and the cultural knowledge it

encodes. All of this elevates the moral authority of the mother tongue and “creates a social bond between the community of users . . . and its historically associated culture, symbolism and identity” (p. 372).

What final lessons can be drawn from *Reversing Language Shift*? First, Fishman provides a clearly reasoned rationale for early and sustained mother tongue development that goes beyond its well-documented cognitive benefits or efficacy in promoting the transition to English (or any LWC). All languages, dialects, and associated cultures are “things of beauty, encapsulations of human values which deserve to be fostered” (p. 33). Planned assistance to threatened languages is no more objectionable than is economic or educational planning. Second, there is no language for which something cannot be done. Even for languages with a handful of speakers, movement toward RLS is a worthy and feasible goal. Third, RLS is always a local effort; its engine is the home-community nexus. Educators can act as advocates and catalysts, wresting power away from the interests that imperil that nexus and creating new contexts that dignify the mother tongue. This is especially true where minority communities control the school, though it is essential even there that the outward-reaching functions of schooling not subvert RLS (see, e.g., Dick & McCarty, 1994).

Reversing Language Shift is far from an easy text to absorb. It is complex, dense, and tightly written, with an abundance of data. Yet these qualities are the book’s great strengths. For those concerned with cultural pluralism and minority language rights, *Reversing Language Shift* is the definitive and indispensable treatise, demonstrating both why RLS is needed and how it can be achieved.

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Languages in School and Society: Policy and Pedagogy.

Mary E. McGroarty and Christian J. Faltis (Eds.). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1991. Pp. x + 570.

■ This volume, a tribute to Robert Politzer by his colleagues and former students, consists of 30 papers that reflect the breadth of Politzer's interests over a long and distinguished career. Topics are highly varied and include methodological issues in large-scale studies of linguistic homogeneity and heterogeneity; language planning in Quebec; L2 and bilingual pedagogy, research, and assessment; and contexts for language learning.

The first section, consisting of four papers on very disparate topics, is the most far-ranging. Joseph Greenberg examines the parallel between classical grammarians and Moslem legal theorists. Joshua Fishman, Frank Solano, and Grant McConnell report on a methodological check of studies of the relationships between linguistic heterogeneity/homogeneity on one hand and gross national product and civil strife on the other. They find that the relationship is negligible and argue that cross-polity studies that examine only a small number of variables are often misleading. This section also includes André Martinet's study of phonological change on the French-Italian border and Sandra Schecter's historical account of language policy and planning in Quebec.

The remaining sections deal with topics more directly related to the professional concerns of most *TESOL Quarterly* readers. Part 2 contains a rich variety of papers dealing with recent developments in L2 pedagogy. Wilga Rivers argues for the value of interactive activities in the L2 classroom, a theme that is also taken up by Robert DiPietro and Frederick Bosco, who present a view of the learner as an active participant in social and personal activities. The other chapters in this part include Celeste Kinginger and Sandra Savignon's study of task variation and classroom discourse, Mary McGroarty's review of effective L2 teaching practices, Ann Fathman's overview of developments in L2 teaching methods, and Patricia Porter's review of approaches to communicative syllabus design. This section concludes with James Robinson's examination of the role of cross-cultural communication in the ESL classroom.

The third section is dedicated to research in the L2 classroom. It begins with Donna Johnson's overview of progress in L2 learning and teaching research. Johnson notes the contributions of recent quantitative studies that attempt to account for the complex array of interacting variables that characterizes L2 classrooms; she also observes, however, that Politzer's hopes for ethnographic research on L2 teaching have yet to be fully realized. In the next chapter, Arnulfo Ramírez examines the ways that discourse analysis may be used to study communicative

teaching. The three remaining chapters discuss instructional guidelines derived from second language acquisition research. D. Scott Enright discusses the use of peer interaction in the elementary ESL classroom, Elizabeth Whalley writes about the uses of children's literature, and Robert DeVillar examines the use of cooperative groups in computer instruction to facilitate L2 learning.

In addition to researching L2 teaching and learning, Politzer was also very involved in bilingual education, and many who are now prominent in the field were either his collaborators or students. Part 4 is dedicated to this aspect of Politzer's work. Robert Milk and Eleanor Thonis discuss the type of teacher education necessary to produce effective bilingual teachers. Frances Morales provides an overview of the main features of Southwest Spanish and presents a case for the use of vernacular Spanish dialects in the bilingual classroom. José Salvador Hernández discusses ways of developing the cognitive-academic skills of Spanish-speaking students. This section concludes with two reports of program innovations for improved bilingual instruction. Barbara Merino and Consuelo Coughran discuss an innovative program of lesson design and curriculum development, and Cynthia Prince describes Connecticut's experience with qualitative evaluation of bilingual programs.

The final two sections concern language testing and contexts for language learning. In the section on testing, Andrew Cohen describes recent trends in assessing reading comprehension, Albert Valdman examines the difficulties involved in assessing language proficiency in the diglossic society of Haiti, and Mindy Meldman shows how oral proficiency tests might be improved by incorporating the ratings of native-speaking judges who are familiar with the specific communicative demands that learners face. The final section consists of five studies of home and school contexts of language learning that address the relationship between the sociolinguistic aspects of language use in the community and classroom practices, interactions, teaching materials, and curricula. The first two are concerned with minority dialect students. Johanna DeStefano examines reading failure among Appalachian and African American children and finds that the language of basal readers constitutes a relatively greater obstacle to minority dialect than to mainstream students, and Mary Hoover examines methodologies that have proven successful in teaching composition to African American students. The final three chapters focus on home-school connections. Lucinda Pease-Alvarez provides an ethnographic description of how adults at home and at school used questions with two Mexican American children, Concha Delgado-Gaitán examines the structure of a reading lesson in a bilingual class, and Maria Torres-Guzmán presents a case study of school involvement by working-class Latino parents.

As in any volume of this type, the papers vary considerably in scope and in depth of analysis. The overall quality, however, is high, and the range of topics treated is impressive. Indeed, several of the chapters, such as Morales's discussion of the place of vernacular dialects in bilingual instruction and Hoover's description of how African American perspectives may be incorporated into composition teaching, should be required reading for students preparing to teach in minority language or dialect communities. Finally, taken together, the chapters form a worthy tribute to a scholar who has contributed to the education of language minority students not only through his own research, but also through the continuing efforts of the many students he supervised.

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***Language Planning Around the World:
Contexts and Systemic Change.***

Richard D. Lambert (Ed.). Washington, DC: National Foreign Language Center, 1994. Pp. xv + 169.

■ The papers in this volume were delivered at a foreign language policy seminar held in 1993. Apart from one paper on microlevel language planning features, regarding interpersonal and intrapersonal as well as organizational aspects of foreign language planning, by Kari Sajavaara, the remainder are concerned with the macrolevel, either taking a theoretical or a comparative approach or examining contexts and constraints related to a particular country and its foreign language education systems.

In the opening paper, J. L. M. Trim focuses on the situation in both eastern and western Europe to offer a hypothetical (but comprehensive) list of contextual features that predict a country's values, which will determine the needs for language planning and the directions that the policies will take. He presents this list as a set of propositions that lend themselves to investigation by students of foreign language policy in any setting.

Using a largely similar context (the European locus), Rune Bergentoft gives an overview of the nature and systems of foreign language instruction in a comparison of 15 countries surveyed, of which just one, Japan, is not European. Bergentoft notes where change has taken place as a result of political action or in response to economic or cultural cooperation. Much information is conveyed by means of graphs, tables,

and other statistical data to give a comprehensive account of issues related to the teaching of foreign languages. Of particular interest to observers of bilingual education programs are the data offered on the different provisions of home language education given to nonnative speakers in the various countries.

The same issue is addressed in D. E. Ingram's account of Australia's development of language policies, where he notes that, as well as issues of industrial and economic development, the diversity of ethnic composition in today's Australia is shifting the focus of interest from the British and the northern hemisphere toward Asia and the southern hemisphere. In the remaining papers, each country represented is seen to have diverse populations, orientations, and levels of development (with regard to language policy). Current economic and political issues play a critical role in the changes in systems and approaches that are being instituted. In every case, the English language plays a vital part, being either the official language of the nation featured (as in Ingram's paper on Australia and Stephen Hagen's account of the British situation with regard to business) or a prevailing foreign language influence on the education or economy of the country in question (the Netherlands and Israel).

This text serves as a reminder that many dynamic and vigorous movements are at work in the language planning fields all around the world and that English is playing a vital role in the processes.

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French English Language Issues in Canada.

Richard Bourhuis (Ed.). *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, Vols. 105–106.

■ The editor of this issue of the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language (IJSL)* is a professor of psychology and a specialist in interlinguistic contacts. The issue itself is divided into seven articles, three of them largely demolinguistic in nature and three more or less sociolinguistic in orientation; all deal in one way or another with the effectiveness of language planning efforts by both federal and provincial governments. The remaining article by D'Iberville Fortier, formerly the federal government's commissioner of official languages, although providing a wealth of information about federal government initiatives in the area of language planning over the past 25 years, has no place in a journal dedicated to serious analysis of language processes; it is, frankly

speaking, a poor apologetic for policies that have clearly failed to achieve their objectives—as the remaining articles clearly demonstrate.

Although each article tends to provide a certain historical perspective, the demolingistic papers draw heavily on Canadian census data, generally of a rather recent nature. Whereas, for example, the Canadian census shows that the English language group has been declining as a percentage of the Quebec population since 1871, only Richard Y. Caldwell's analysis takes the reader significantly further back than 1971; John De Vries's begins with 1971, and figures provided by Raymond Mougeon and Edouard Beniak and those furnished by Josiane F. Hamers and Kirsten M. Hummel generally refer to data from the 1980s. Nonetheless, all of the census data used by these analysts are presented forthrightly; the interpretations applied are generally accurate as well. For example, DeVries points out that the French language minorities in English Canada are undergoing serious decline, except perhaps in francophone New Brunswick (L'Acadie); in Quebec, the French language group is basically holding its own. As English-speaking people leave Quebec for English Canada and the French language groups continue their decline outside Quebec, a territorial polarization of the two language groups is occurring, a development that seriously undermines current federal language policy, which is predicated on providing services to individuals rather than to territorial groupings. In fact, the presence of official language minorities (English in Quebec, French elsewhere) dropped from 8% of the Canadian population in 1971 to 6% in 1991.

The Caldwell article on the English of Quebec amplifies substantially DeVries's analysis, pointing out the importance of English outmigration, substantially reduced in-migration, and terribly low birth rates. In addition, he cites the abundant evidence that since the middle of the 1960s, immigrants from third language groups have tended to integrate the French rather than the English language group, depriving the English community of its sole historic source of demographic gain. The Caldwell article also demonstrates the heterogeneous ethnic and religious character of the Anglo-Québécois community.

Two other articles make extensive use of census data. The excellent paper by Mougeon and Beniak shows that the Franco-Ontarian community is already extensively Anglicized when judged by the number of people declaring both English and French for their mother tongue; in addition, over 90% of all persons of French mother tongue are bilingual in English, and current rates of language transfer to English are approximately 45% among young adults. They suggest, although they offer no proof, that low levels of concentration of French-speaking people, the decline of church attendance, migration to more anglophone

urban areas in the hope of finding better jobs, and mixed marriages are at the root cause of such extensive anglicization. Ironically, the process of anglicization appears to be accelerating while at the same time the Ontario government has enacted legislation that should make the retention of French more attractive. Briefly, the authors hope that these efforts may stem the rising tide; they are clearly not convinced that they can do so.

The paper by Hamers and Hummel presents a certain amount of demolinguistic data derived from the census. This paper is the weakest contribution, containing gratuitous affirmations such as the following: Quebec is “the only society in North America where language planning by the successive Quebec governments has transformed the society from an English-dominant to a French-dominant one” (p. 127). It is most surprising to see such a wide-ranging claim in a supposedly scientific article; no proof is offered. In fact, when the authors begin to summarize the results of studies of linguistic interactions between French-speaking Quebecers and their neighbors, they conclude that “Bill 101 did not appreciably change the traditional relationship between English and French in Montreal” (p. 145). If Bill 101, the most rigorous language legislation enacted by successive Quebec governments, has had no appreciable effect, it is clear that language planning efforts cannot be credited with the fundamental changes that have occurred in Quebec during the course of the 20th century.

The remaining two articles are dedicated to the analysis of language use in L'Acadie. The article by Rodrigue Landry and Réal Allard develop the theory of ethnolinguistic vitality (ELV) and attempt to develop summary measures of the concept by considering the demographic, political, economic, and cultural “capital” of francophones in different regions of New Brunswick. They then proceed to show that schooling of francophones in French does not necessarily lead to the maintenance and use of the French language. Where ELV is judged to be lower, French is less used and speakers are less competent in that language (as judged by test scores). Thus, the presence of French language schools is no longer a sufficient condition for the maintenance of French, another finding that contradicts the hypothesis underpinning federal policy in favor of minority language schooling.

Bourhuis's extremely long article on language use by French-speaking federal civil servants and that by their English-speaking colleagues who are certifiably bilingual in French also leads to the conclusion that federal initiatives to promote the status and use of French have been ineffective. Regardless of their competence in English, francophones make extensive use of that language; they even speak English to their reportedly bilingual English-speaking subordinates. Bourhuis finds that

the composition of work groups most affects the use of French by francophones; the greater the percentage of francophones, the more French is used. Because his findings are based on some 2,316 questionnaires, we may be relatively assured that his findings are quite representative of the actual situation prevailing in federal government agencies in New Brunswick.

Although some of the papers included in this issue are stronger than others, all, with the exception of that of D'Iberville Fortier, clearly underline the general failure of language planning efforts designed to promote the use of French by francophones living in English Canada. On the whole, this *IJSL* issue provides a solid, basic introduction to the recent linguistic history of Canada, the current linguistic situation for official language minorities, language planning efforts and results, and the difficult linguistic future that lies before both English Canada and Quebec.

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INFORMATION FOR CONTRIBUTORS

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Graham Crookes and Kathryn A. Davis
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University of Hawaii at Manoa
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Because of the educational role the *Quarterly* plays modeling research in the field, it is of particular concern that published research articles meet high statistical standards. In order to support this goal, the following guidelines are provided.

Reporting the study. Studies submitted to the *Quarterly* should be explained clearly and in enough detail that it would be possible to replicate the design of the study on the basis of the information provided in the article. Likewise, the study should include sufficient information to allow readers to evaluate the claims made by the author. In order to accommodate both of these requirements, authors of statistical studies should present the following.

1. A clear statement of the research questions and the hypotheses that are being examined.
2. Descriptive statistics, including the means, standard deviations, and sample sizes, necessary for the reader to correctly interpret and evaluate any inferential statistics.
3. Appropriate types of reliability and validity of any tests, ratings, questionnaires, and so on.
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5. Clear and careful descriptions of the instruments used and the types of intervention employed in the study.
6. Explicit identifications of dependent, independent, moderator, intervening, and control variables.
7. Complete source tables for statistical tests.
8. Discussions of how the assumptions underlying the research design were met, assumptions such as random selection and assignment of subjects, sufficiently large sample sizes so that the results are stable, etc.
9. Tests of the assumptions of any statistical tests, when appropriate.
10. Realistic interpretations of the statistical significance of the results keeping in mind that the meaningfulness of the results is a separate and important issue, especially for correlation.

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2. Data collection strategies include prolonged engagement, persistent observation, and triangulation. Researchers should conduct ongoing observations over a sufficient period of time so as to build trust with respondents, learn the culture (e.g., classroom, school, or community), and check for misinformation introduced by both the researcher and the researched. Triangulation involves the use of multiple methods and sources such as participant-observation, informal and formal interviewing, and collection of relevant or available documents.

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Reporting the data. The researcher should generally provide "thick description" with sufficient detail to allow the reader to determine whether transfer to other situations can be considered. Reports also should include the following.

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2. A clear statement of the research questions.
3. A description of the research site, participants, procedures for ensuring participant anonymity, and data collection strategies. A description of the roles of the researcher(s).
4. A description of a clear and salient organization of patterns found through data analysis. Reports of patterns should include representative examples not anecdotal information.
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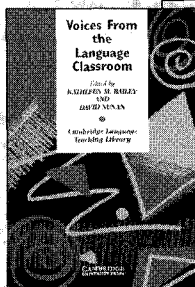
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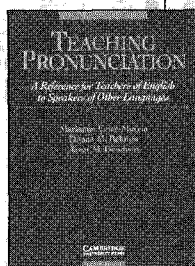
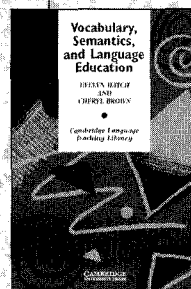
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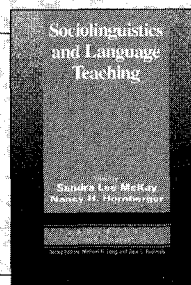
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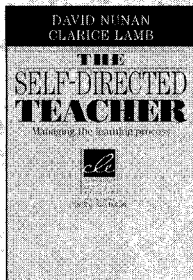
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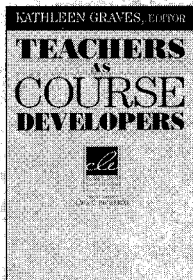
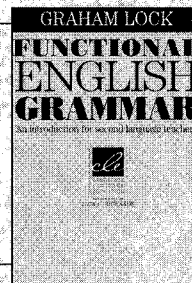
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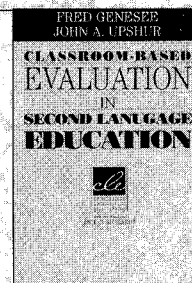
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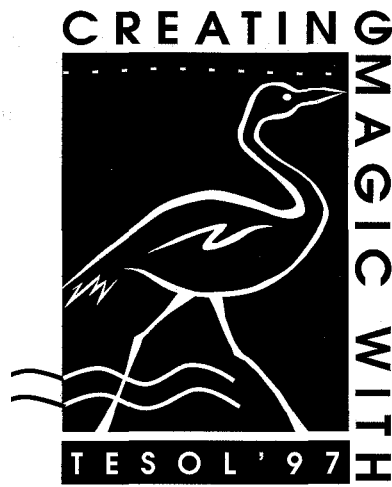
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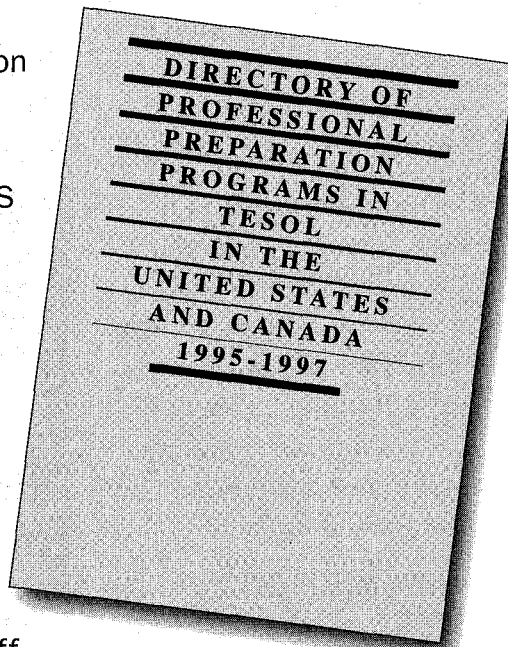
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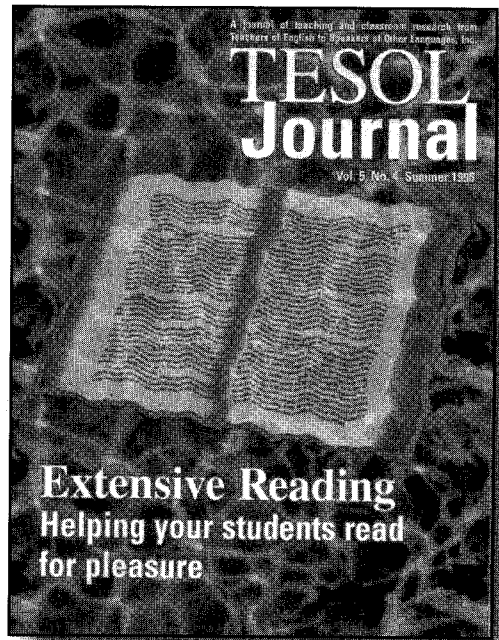
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Collaborating With Content-Area Teachers: What We Need to Share

Annela Tennant, Elizabeth Bernhardt, and Marisol Rodriguez-Muñoz

The 21st century presents our teaching members of diverse backgrounds with the challenge of meeting the needs of all students. In an increasingly diverse world, we must find ways to meet the needs of all students, including those who are English learners.

Over these last few decades, ESOL teachers understand that they alone

cannot meet all the language and content needs of their students through limited content programs, whether daily or weekly (Blaker & Williams, 1991). Furthermore, the broader school community can become a valuable resource. Those sciences, math, literature, and history teachers, for example, who have daily contact with ESOL students can help support students' content learning and acquisition of English.

This article identifies 10 principles that ESOL educators need to discuss at one collaboration with content area teachers. These principles represent real-world concerns that

emerged during several interdisciplinary collaboration-based research projects (e.g., Bernhardt, Duckworth, Faltis, & McSheehy, 1994; Bernhardt, Faltis, Kaul, & Rodriguez-Muñoz, 1995; Deacon, Bernhardt & Rodriguez-Muñoz, 1998), and extensive focus-group discussions with primary school science teachers in Florida and Ohio. For each principle, we describe a concern, outline a response, and present a relevant example. As a result, these principles summarize what content area teachers need to know about the ESOL students in their classes, and what strategies ESOL professionals can offer to help them.

Principle 1: Language and Content Go Hand in Hand

Students cannot learn until they grasp English fluently to be deemed "ready" for content instruction. There tends to be a wide gap between what ESOL students can understand, write, and conceptualize in English, and what they can say, write and conceptualize in their native language. This gap poses problems for students and sometimes leaves parents, teachers, counselors, or administrators saying, "Send them home until they know English." Although content area educators understand the value of content area instruction, it is often the ESOL students who may never learn to do it well. The solution for teaching non-English speakers in their middle or science classes studies them

This gap poses problems for students and sometimes leaves parents, teachers, counselors, or administrators saying, "Send them home when they know English."

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