

LANGUAGES, COMMUNITIES, AND EDUCATION

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Foreword

Dr. Ofelia García

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In his influential book, *Imagined Communities* (1982), Benedict Anderson proposes that language is more than a marker of identity and has much more than a semiotic sense. Language, Anderson says, has a rhetorical meaning, and thus is capable of generating imagined communities and of constructing particular identities. This volume, imagined and produced by graduate students in the Department of International and Transcultural Studies at Teachers College, Columbia University, draws from the work of students across the college--bilingual education, international educational development, comparative education, curriculum and teaching, teaching of English, teaching English to speakers of other languages, applied linguistics, reading and language arts, speech and language pathology--and the larger university. In so doing, it reflects the multiple perspectives in which the study of languages in society is negotiated across Columbia University, particularly at Teachers College. The volume thus reveals the academic breadth and diversity of a scholarly community interested in the role of languages in communities and in education, across academic departments and disciplines. It is our hope this collection of papers will contribute towards creating a central place for the study of multiple languages and literacies in communities and schools, highlighting the important role that non-dominant languages and discourses play in the lives of many.

The authors not only imagine, but also investigate and reconstruct the sociohistorical, sociopolitical and socioeconomic conditions that affect language use, discourse production, and language policy in different societal contexts. It points to instances in which certain language ideologies are more privileged than others and the ways in which discourse practices are resisted at the local level. By relating languages to particular communities, this volume presents multiple constructions of discourse, practices, beliefs, and values, surrounding language.

Teachers College is committed to the role that education, broadly conceived, plays in optimizing "human potential" and in creating "a more just and compassionate world" (Teachers College *Mission Statement*). And yet, the task of formal schooling is most often to homogenize and reproduce a monoglossic discourse in a standard language. How language is constructed in school is often different from the ways in which it is used in the more compassionate spaces of family and community. The papers in this volume make evident this tension, while offering glimpses of how this discourse can be resisted, even in formal schooling.

The multilingual and multicultural fabric of New York City presents a unique space in which the local and global intersect and where a multiplicity of languages and cultures are negotiated and reconstructed. This complex linguistic

reality provides a compelling starting point for the examination of how individuals, communities, and formal and informal institutions interact around language issues and their communities of speakers. The volume is organized with this in mind, moving from local issues to issues elsewhere, from New York City to China, Taiwan, Peru, Iran, and Israel. The first section comprises exploratory papers which focus primarily on NYC ethnolinguistic communities--Barbadian, Greek and Thai--and how they negotiate the use and maintenance of their languages. The section concludes with a paper that takes a theoretical approach towards understanding language policies and minority resistance in mainland China.

The second part of the volume consists of research papers, which concentrate mainly on contexts beyond the borders of NYC. Again, the section opens with a paper focusing on local issues, this time addressing Spanish-speaking communities, the most sizable ethnolinguistic group in the NYC area. This preliminary study of Latino adolescents from two schools, one in the Bronx, New York, and the other in Newark, New Jersey, looks at adolescent attitudes and values towards both Spanish and English. The volume then moves to the study of multiple languages and literacies in four countries--Taiwan, Peru, Iran and Israel--and the ways in which dominant and minority languages, whether transnational, national, or indigenous, are negotiated, presenting different sociolinguistic situations. Taken together, the papers in this volume point to alternative spaces for multiple identity articulation, created by transmigratory groups and by the communication that technology has facilitated in the 21st century.

Graduate students are leading the way "from the bottom up" for faculty to open up heteroglossic spaces where the linguistic difference that defines us is put at the center of all educational endeavors and is considered a serious matter of study. In today's complex globalized context, it is not enough to accommodate for linguistic difference, or to educate just some teachers, such as bilingual educators, for linguistic diversity. All teachers must be cognizant of the plurilingualism that defines us, of the many languages and cultures that children bring to the classroom, of the silencing discourse of "national language standards," and of the resistance within hegemony that may be partly responsible for the educational gap that characterizes so much of contemporary US national discourse.

Scholars at Teachers College are in a particularly privileged position to study the languages of communities and schools, not only because it is located in one of the most multilingual and multicultural cities of the world, but also because it attracts students from all over the country, and the world. Thus, Teachers College is in itself a rich linguistically diverse context where students speak a myriad of languages and exhibit multiple features of the "Englishes" in the voices of bilingual and multilingual students. The papers herein draw on the diverse and rich language and cultural backgrounds of our students, and reflect the geographic and linguistic breadth of research contexts being examined by our graduate students.

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Editors' Note

This research volume seeks to promote a much-needed cross-disciplinary and cross-departmental dialogue on language-related issues in education, broadening the lens from school to community and drawing in a diversity of perspectives by adding the work of graduate students from across Columbia University to the current body of literature. Because the study of language and education reaches beyond the subjects of literacy or foreign language education, inquiry into language and education must take into account language policy and how it affects access to educational, health, and social services; rights of ethnolinguistic minorities; and how community creates language and language in turn creates community. It is hoped that the collaboration encouraged by this initiative will enhance cross-disciplinary dialogue among Columbia University graduate students, faculty, and the wider academic and professional communities on these significant issues.

The multicultural landscape of New York City has produced one of the most linguistically diverse communities in the world, a microcosm of global language education and policy issues. Contributions, both exploratory and research-based, draw from this microcosm, as well as from the world at large, to present region-, culture-, and language-specific issues that expand and challenge our understanding of language, community, multilingualism, and identity. The authors write from a variety of disciplines and perspectives to reflect the diverse academic community concerned with these issues.

We would like to commend all of the masters and doctoral students who responded to the Call for Papers. The articles received reflect both the broad and interdisciplinary interest in this compelling topic and the high caliber of Columbia University student research. While the Editorial Board tried to be as inclusive as possible, our biggest regret is not being able to include more papers.

We are especially grateful to Dr. Ofelia García, whose course, "Languages, Societies, and Schools," was the inspiration for this volume. Dr. García has provided guidance to countless students in their research on language policy and education, encouraging critical inquiry into language communities in New York City and beyond. She contributed the foreword to this volume and has enthusiastically supported our initiative from the start. We extend a special thanks to her for her tireless support of student research and publication and for providing opportunities for their contribution to the field.

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Exploratory Essays

English Only? Greek Language as Currency in Queens, New York City

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Claimed by some to be the largest Greek "city" outside of Athens, the Queens neighborhood of Astoria in New York City instantly conjures images of the Greek immigrant community that has inhabited it for over 40 years. Outside of New York, Greeks and their diaspora fondly and nostalgically describe it as a homeland outside of the homeland, where one can not only find tasty Greek cuisine, bouzouki-blaring nightclubs and cafés named for neighborhoods in Athens, but also Greek newspapers, banks, political societies, and Hellenic folk and dance associations.

Yet, in recent years, as Greek immigration to the United States has steadily declined and immigration from other areas in the world has rapidly increased, the demographics of Astoria have begun to shift. Peppered between the café and the gyro restaurants, the Hellenic social clubs and the village associations are new linguistic and social spaces reflecting a changing landscape. A stroll down Broadway or Steinway, the main thoroughfares of the neighborhood, reveals Brazilian restaurants, Croatian soccer clubs, Mexican taquerías, Egyptian coffeehouses, Korean churches, and South Asian mosques. On the elevated train that runs through the heart of the neighborhood, the faces and people reflect a microcosm of the world rather than the homogeneity of a Greek speaking population.

Despite this emerging transformation, the Greek presence in Astoria is still extremely palpable, and it is virtually impossible to avoid the "Greek-ness" of this place. The Greek-themed establishments are ever ubiquitous and thousands of Greeks from other neighborhoods pour in on the weekends to flood them, confirming that the Greek-ness of this Greek town has not entirely diminished. According to Constantakos and Spiradakis (1997), Greek language is still heard throughout the neighborhood because there is an environment and economy that continues to support it.

Characterized by various waves of immigration, Astoria is now more visibly undergoing demographic transformation. As a result, a fascinating linguistic phenomenon has emerged between the newer non-Greek speaking immigrants and the older generation of established Greek speaking immigrants. Specifically, as non-Greek speaking immigrants swell in numbers in Astoria, they become workers in many of the Greek establishments, which are still frequented and patronized by the Greek speaking population. Consequently, it is not uncommon to see a Polish waitress or a Pakistani chef in a Greek café *speaking Greek* to communicate with the clientele.

This phenomenon presents a unique opportunity to reflect upon and examine a deeply rooted linguistic speech community undergoing change. When the Greek speaking community situated themselves in this neighborhood, they established a commitment to language maintenance of their mother tongue, evidenced not only in the rise of Greek speaking establishments, but also in the creation of Greek Orthodox churches and language schools (Constantakos & Spiridakis, 1997). The subsequent dominance of the Greek language in this community has influenced the decision by newer non-Greek speaking immigrants to learn Greek instead of, or in addition to English, despite having moved to a supposedly English-language dominant country.

In this essay, I will explore the theoretical and ideological rationale for this language choice. I will examine this in light of the dominant discourse about English-language learning and globalization. Since the acquisition of Greek by immigrants from non-Greek speaking countries is connected to a desire to secure an economic livelihood in the United States, this raises broader questions about the purported usefulness and importance of learning English, not only in the United States, but also in a globalized and interconnected world.

Language Policy in the United States: Where Does it Reside?

While English is the dominant language of the United States, it has always been a multilingual country. In a detailed account of the use of languages since European colonization and the subsequent formation of the nation state, Bernard Spolsky (2004) chronicles the tension between English monolingual tendencies and a multilingual reality in the United States. Specifically, he argues that movements to make English official and to suppress other language usage have existed side by side with the reality of a country that has been significantly defined by a continual history of immigration and multilingualism. In normative terms, the languages that have been imported to the United States from non-English speaking areas are often referred to as community languages, minority languages, ethnic languages, or heritage languages. According to Kaplan and Baldauf (1997), these terms are euphemisms intended to recognize that, while these are not the majority languages, they represent populations of citizens in the country. They are acknowledged as practiced languages despite English dominance in written policy, implying a discursive distinction between the spheres of policy and practice. In other words, Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) suggest that, although a language is practiced in a particular country, this is not necessarily a result of policy that supports its usage. Policy, therefore, is generated and implemented hierarchically, while practice takes place on the community level.

Spolsky (2004), however, argues that this distinction is artificial and that policy is generated *through* practice, not through what is codified and written by an external force. He contends that the widespread use of other languages, such as those officially recognized through the legal and governmentally sanctioned support of multilingual services and unofficially recognized through usage in particular speech communities, indicates that, while some national and state policies may *attempt* to make English official, the United States is actually

multilingual in *practice*, despite these policies. In this sense, language policy and language practices are synonymous and not necessarily separable.

Language policy, therefore, is not necessarily determined on the national level, although nation states do exercise a significant and relevant locus of power. By focusing only on centralized national language policies, however, studies are likely to overlook other factors that generate language policy. According to Spolsky (2004), much of what constitutes language policy operates within a specific speech community of whatever size, defined simply as "any social or political or religious group or community ranging from a family through a sports team or neighborhood" (p. 40). It is within these speech communities that language policies are not only manifest, seemingly haphazardly, but are also determined by grounded ideological language choices. Often, these choices involve an overt attempt at the employment of language management.

In the case of the Greek community in Astoria, the initial importance of maintaining language and curbing language loss suggests a direct connection to the maintenance and preservation of culture. Joshua Fishman (1991) contends that reverse language shift (RLS) is almost never pursued for its own sake. He argues that the desire to reverse language shift is connected to the desire to protect culture and "a call for RLS must, therefore, also be seen and explained as a call for cultural reconstruction and for greater cultural self-regulation" (p. 17). This is concordant with the past and present desires of the Greek speaking populations, who, according to Constantakos and Spiradakis (1997),

have always considered their Greek language to be a binding force to their ethnic identity. They struggled for its survival during many periods of foreign domination, evidenced in the endurance and maintenance of the Greek language during four hundred years of occupation by the Ottoman Empire at which time the learning of the Greek language was forbidden. Krifa-Skolia, 'Hidden Schools,' operated clandestinely under the cover of darkness to maintain the language during this period. (p. 144)

The historical significance for Greeks between language and culture is directly connected to the reasons for Greek language maintenance in the United States. This is evident by their steady commitment to establishing Greek language schools and programs, including 400 afternoon schools and 24 day schools, the proliferation of Modern Greek studies programs at the university level, and the continual active membership in village societies and professional associations (Constantakos & Spiradakis, 1997).

Greek Immigration to the United States and New York City

Greek immigration to the United States falls into four general periods: 1890-1922, 1923-1939, 1940-1950, and 1960 to the present (Constantakos & Spiradakis, 1997). During the initial period of Greek immigration, most of the migrants were illiterate and under-educated young men that had no English language skills and who came for economic reasons. Most had the intention of returning to Greece and left the country to send money back home to help their

families, most often to provide for their sisters' dowries. Generally, they settled in three major areas: the western states, to work on railroad construction; the New England states, to work in textile and shoe factories; and the urban centers of New York and Chicago, to work as peddlers or in factories.

By the 1920s, many US Greeks began to leave the factories and to establish businesses, such as restaurants and hotels, revealing a shift in mentality from temporary relocation to permanent presence and status. Furthermore, female Greek immigration and the establishment of Greek families with American-born children also increased in this period, augmenting the permanent status of the Greek-American community. However, this was also the time when quotas were established that restricted immigration from Greece. The Johnson-Reed Act, for example, limited immigration to 100 per year. This quota was raised to 307 in 1929, where it remained until 1960 (Constantakos & Spiradakis, 1997). This arrested development in immigration patterns had two significant consequences for the community: (1) there was a massive scramble to acquire American citizenship by those who were already here, and (2) American-born Greeks began to outnumber foreign-born Greeks (except in New York City). These changes helped redefine the Greek-ness of the Greek-American community and led to a decreased usage of the Greek language in the United States.

Post World War II immigration, nonetheless, contributed to a revival of Greek life and identity in the United States. While the quota remained in effect, laws were changed that enabled the entry number of Greek immigrants to be "borrowed" from future years, so that the actual number of immigrants from a particular year could exceed quota limitations. Under these new provisions, approximately 70,000 Greeks immigrated to the United States between 1945 and 1965 (Constantakos & Spiradakis, 1997). Most of these immigrants settled in large urban metropolises, the majority of them in New York City. It was during this time that Astoria became the chosen destination for Greek immigration, establishing it as the "Greek town" of today. For example, numbers of Greeks (both foreign and American-born) in New York City range from 200,000 to 439,000, and up to 70,000 of them reside in the Queens neighborhood of Astoria (Hatzidimitriou, 1995). Although New York City still attracts the largest number of Greek immigrants, the number has steadily declined since the mid-70s, with a stabilized figure of about 8,000 annually (Constantakos & Spiradakis, 1997). The 2000 US Census, while not specifying the number of Greek immigrants in New York City, reveals a 17% drop in immigration to the United States from Greece since 1990 (US Census Bureau, 2000).

Agenda for Research

As an entrenched presence in Astoria, the Greek-American community, despite decline in immigration and the shifting demographic landscape of the neighborhood, continues to have a strong commitment to the maintenance of Greek language and culture, reflected in the language policy of the speech community. As noted earlier, the intrinsic connection between language and culture is historically paramount for Greeks as they feel that their community survival depends upon their maintenance of language (Constantakos &

Spiradakis, 1997). This localized generation of language policy extends beyond the community sphere to the contained realm of the workplace (Spolsky, 2004). For example, in a study of the language policy of Ethiopian markets, Cooper and Carpenter (1976) revealed that the language of transaction between buyer and seller was governed by the pragmatic effort of the seller to learn the buyer's language (as cited in Spolsky, 2004). The economic functionality of a particular language therefore unveils its potential power. If Greek is the dominant language of those who patronize Greek-themed establishments in Astoria, it would be necessary, or at least more beneficial, that those who work in these establishments also speak the language.

Accordingly, as new immigrants from non-Greek speaking and non-English speaking countries settle into the neighborhood of Astoria, they are faced with the decision of whether or not to learn Greek and/or English in order to increase chances of employment in these establishments. According to Spolsky (2004), "as an individual moves from one level to another, or as globalization opens up and expands the scope of the relevant linguistic system, so one language rather than another becomes valuable" (p. 187). While it would seem likely that immigrants from non-English speaking countries would primarily learn English upon relocating to the United States, the phenomenon of the newer immigrants learning Greek to function within their community suggests that this linguistic choice is a lot more complex. Economically speaking, their desire to learn English is perhaps equal to their desire for learning Greek, revealing that a seemingly insignificant language outside of Greece or Cyprus may actually have more weight than imagined for particular communities.

What is perhaps most divulging about this phenomenon, however, is that it contests the "universal" assumption that English is the lingua franca worldwide (see for e.g. Wright, 2004). Jacques Maurais (2001) challenges this assumption by suggesting that globalization may not in fact lower the overall diversity of languages worldwide, but rather contribute to the fragmentation of the "bigger" languages such as English. These initial observations about language usage in this dynamic immigrant community run concordant with this hypothesis.

Through these preliminary reflections on the sociolinguistic experience of one community undergoing change, it is my hope that this essay will serve as a catalyst for further research into this topic, both specific to this community and more generally to others. While this essay provides an economic basis for linguistic choice in a multilingual environment, a sociolinguistic ethnographic study of the community is necessary to deeply understand the rationales behind Greek language learning by non-native Greek speakers in the United States. Data could in fact reveal that as new immigrants assert their presence more prominently in a multilingual community, the desire and need to learn the language of the established community might in fact diminish over time, going against the grain of what appears to be happening right now. Most interestingly, however, this type of research could disclose meaningful insights beyond the scope of the theoretical, producing new knowledge about linguistic patterns of immigrant groups in an era of rapid globalization.

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Thai Language Maintenance in New York City: Wat Thai and the Preservation of Thai Identity

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You [My faithful mother tongue] were my native land;
I lacked any other
I believed that you would also be a messenger
Between me and some good people
Even if they were few, twenty, ten
Or not born, as yet.

- Czeslaw Milosz (1968), Excerpt from "My Faithful Mother
Tongue (City without a Name)"

There is an inseparable and co-dependant linkage between language and identity (Fishman, 1985, 1999; Gudykunst, 1988; Noels, Pon, & Clement, 1996). As Czeslaw Milosz writes in compelling verse, mother tongue language *is* the native land. This mother tongue gains admission to membership in a community of "good people," those who share the same values. It also creates an identity for the speaker. Employing the Thai conception of a tripartite identity, comprised of nation, religion, and monarchy, this paper explores the relationship between mother tongue language maintenance and the preservation of identity for the Thai immigrant community at the Thai temple, Wat Buddhathai Thavornvanaram (Wat Thai), in Elmhurst, New York. Based in part on a preliminary investigation of Thai language maintenance at the temple, this paper explores the relevance of the theoretical literature to the experience of Thais in New York City, a relatively recent immigrant group to the area. It is hoped that the preliminary discussion provided here will contribute to the growing discourse on language maintenance and identity.

Language Maintenance and Identity

The literature surrounding language maintenance and identity continues to grow in volume and importance, particularly with increased transnational migration and the creation of new diasporas, ubiquitous media technologies, and the "postcolonial and post-communist search for national identity" (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Kroskrity (2000) defines identity as "the linguistic construction of membership in one or more social groups or categories," and further explains that though other, non-linguistic criteria may play a significant role, language and communication often provide "important and sometimes crucial criteria by which members both define their group and are defined by others" (p. 111).

Non-linguistic anthropologists studying nationalism, such as Anderson (1991) and Gellner (1983), also draw a relationship between language and identity. Anderson draws upon language as a marker of membership into a nation, or "imagined community," and claims that national language is a means of creating national identity. While Gellner may not entirely agree with all that Anderson proposes, he does concur that the national unit is most commonly defined in terms of language, and that language and identity are, indeed, inseparable.

Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) agree that language and identity are connected, yet they challenge previous "oversimplified" literature and criticize the one-to-one correlation between language and ethnic identity for being monolingually and monoculturally biased (pp. 5-6). While exploring how identities can be negotiated, they discuss studies that investigate the ambiguity of the correlation, and find that some minority communities exhibit high levels of ethnic identity while also demonstrating high levels of linguistic competence in the majority language (Hoffman, 1989, as cited in Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). A study by Schmidt (1983, as cited in Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004), for example, finds a high level of ethnic identity accompanied by a low level of ethnic linguistic proficiency. These studies illustrate the complexity of the relationship between language and identity, and suggest that language acquisition cannot be "reduced to a few essentialized variables" (p. 6).

Fishman delves further into the complexities of the relationship between language and identity by investigating *The Significance of the Ethnic-Community Mother-Tongue School* (1985). He puts forth the concept of dependence of minority language maintenance on reward systems that require mother-tongue speech, either monolingually or bilingually. In other words, without religious, political, fiscal and social rewards enforcing and recognizing membership within the family, community, and society, it is impossible to maintain the minority language (1980, 1985).

The Tripartite Conception of Thai Identity

Thais take great pride in the fact that they were never colonized, and therefore were never forced to compromise their Thai identity. The conceptualization of Thai identity rests upon three pillars as formulated by King Rama VI (reigned 1910-1925): (1) the nation, including people, land, and language (*chat*); (2) Buddhism, the religious dimension (*satsana*); and (3) the King, or monarchy (*phramahakesat*) (Mulder, 1990; Reynolds, 1977). This tripartite identity is symbolically represented in the nation's flag; as Thai children are taught in school, the red section represents the nation, the white stands for Buddhism, and the blue signifies the King. These three pillars construct a unified national identity in Thailand. While the population often also identifies with a particular geographical region (both linguistically and culturally), the central Thai language (the medium of instruction in schools and public institutions) contributes to the cohesive quality of society. Ninety percent of Thais living in Thailand identify with mainstream Thai ethnic identity (Moore, 1974), and though minority groups exist, moving into the ethnic mainstream identity has political and social benefits.

The state religion of Thailand is Theravada Buddhism, originating in India, and over 95% of the Thai population is Buddhist (Mulder, 1990). While there are Christian and Muslim Thais, Ishii (1968) quotes the government when writing, "Indeed, 'the Buddhist way of life is an integral part of Thai national life.' 'Being a Thai' and 'being a Buddhist' are almost synonymous" (p. 865). Buddhism is visibly incorporated into daily life, as evidenced by food donations to hundreds of thousands of monks; prayer and Buddhist instruction in schools; and countless temples, shrines, and spirit houses outside the home, among other things. It is a well-known cultural ideal that every male should be ordained as a monk, traditionally for three months during the Buddhist Lent (though recently the length of time has decreased, and generally spans from two weeks to three months). Based on the 1976 Thai Ministry of Education statistics, Mulder (1990) projects there to be one monk to every thirty-eight adult Buddhist males, "making Buddhism the most visible and ubiquitous of Thai institutions" (p. 114). Buddhism is equally important in non-visible ways, influencing ideas of tolerance, acceptance, good citizenship, and respect. When viewing Thai society, it is clear that Buddhism reaffirms Thai identity.

The third pillar of Thai society is the King and the monarchy, constituting a strong and unifying national symbol. The King is revered, honored, and held sacred by Thais. Moore (1974) writes, "(The Thai) picture of the world would be incomplete without the King's image in the center, for the King embodies the values of national unity. His person--all that it symbolizes--molds the society of villages into a nation sharing common values and moving toward a common destiny" (p. 15). The practice of holding the King in reverence, as described by Moore over 30 years ago, extends to the present with King Rama IX, who came to power in 1946. The King's symbolic image is ubiquitous, as evidenced by pictures of him hung above the head in Thai homes and the social practice of playing and respectfully standing for the King's song before the commencement of movies or other forms of entertainment. Furthermore, it is not only strictly taboo, but also illegal to verbally disrespect the King or the royal family.

The government outlines "Thai language, communication and literary arts; national religion [...] customs and traditions, concept, and the essence of being Thai; and monarchical institution" as areas of emphasis in *The National Culture Policy and Guidelines on Preservation, Promotion and Development of Culture 2529 B.E.* (MOE, 1987). Because two of the three interwoven pillars on which Thai identity rests were transfused from other lands (Theravada Buddhism and the traditional concept of an absolute and divine monarchy were borrowed from India or the Indian-influenced cultures of Burma and Cambodia) (Barth, et al, 1971; Moore, 1974), to observe how these pillars are uniquely Thai, one must look to the nation, particularly language, to achieve this feat. Without the central Thai language, Thai identity would not exude such unique "Thai-ness."

Thai Immigration to New York and the Role of Wat Thai

According to the 2000 US Census, 4,395 people in New York City speak Thai at home. Immigration of Thais to NYC primarily started around or after 1970, and therefore the great majority of New York Thais are only first or second generation immigrants. While there are small groupings in Woodside, Jackson

Heights, and Elmhurst, Queens, most Thais are scattered throughout the New York area with no distinguishable geographic locale, and the Thai temple is the center and heart of the Thai community.

This arrangement is not unique to Thais living abroad, for in Thailand, the *Sangha*, or organized Buddhist community, is the central social organization outside the family. As such, the temple was historically the focal point of education, and formal education was provided chiefly by the Buddhist monks. Even after major educational reforms, starting in the late 1800s and early 1900s with King Chulalongkorn (King Rama V), many boys in Thailand continue to enter the monkhood, not only for religious or societal purposes, but also for economic reasons, and to receive temple (*wat*) education.

Wat Thai was established in Elmhurst in 1994 and is administered by a head abbot and three committees that manage the temple: the monks, a committee of Thai residents in NYC, and a committee located in Thailand. Like temples in Thailand, Wat Thai, is multifunctional. The stated purpose of the temple, as articulated by the Thai Consul General, is to be the center of the Thai community, a place to perform religious activities and a place to teach Thai culture to Thai children (Wat Buddhathai, 1999). In addition, according to temple literature, Wat Thai seeks to promote Buddhism, organize activities for education, religion, and culture, and to house the Distance Learning Center, part of the Non-Formal Education Department, a section of the Ministry of Education (MOE) in Thailand. The Distance Learning Center seeks to provide Thai educational opportunities to Thais living abroad, and was established in June 2001. While Wat Thai literature states the official objective of the temple, one mother defines the temple in her own words: "Wat Thai is a place that I can teach my children about Buddhism, and also what it means to be Thai." When asked what "being Thai" entails, this mother explained her definition of Thai cultural identity as encompassing the Buddhist religion, the King, Thai dance and other cultural activities including holiday celebrations and festivals, morals, manners, and Thai language.

Language Maintenance and the Preservation of Thai Identity at Wat Thai

The discussion that follows is based on observations made during a preliminary investigation of language maintenance among the Thai community in New York City. The study involved participant observation at the temple from February to May 2005, including Thai language classes, as well as semi-structured and informal interviews with religious leaders, teachers, students, and members of the community regarding immigration, language choice and use, and perceptions of identity. Findings were explored descriptively within the framework of the tripartite conceptualization of Thai identity.

The Thai language classes at Wat Thai are what Fishman and Nahirny (1964) define as a *weekend school*, whereby students attend American public school on weekdays and attend Thai language classes on Saturday afternoons. The students at Wat Thai, aged 5 to 16, begin their weekly routine with the singing of the national anthem and receiving a Buddhist lesson from a monk.

After brief meditation and paying respect to Buddha images and the monks, the Thai language classes (grouped by proficiency level) commence. Following the language class, students have the option to study Thai classical dance, instruments, Thai boxing, and traditional Thai sword fighting.

Preliminary observations at Wat Thai suggest that all three pillars of Thai identity are maintained and promoted within the temple compound. The Thai community not only exists within Wat Thai, but rather because of Wat Thai, and vice versa. A survey of 48 Thais at the temple, found that community members expressed their primary reasons for attending the temple (either solely or in combination) in terms of: (1) religious purposes (such as prayer; "making merit," i.e. performing acts such as food and money donations with the hope that they will provide good fortune; to learn about Buddhism), 18 respondents; (2) cultural purposes (to preserve family/national culture), 13 respondents; (3) involvement in Thai language classes, 12 respondents; (4) social purposes (to see other Thais), 8 respondents and (5) to receive advice from the monks, 4 respondents. As one parent explained, "I think it's good for my daughter to study at Wat Thai, because here she can learn all about being Thai... her culture, her heritage... and she can learn many cultural things to be proud of, like Thai dance." Several other parents and monks discussed the importance of students learning Thai dance, instruments, boxing, and other activities, as a means to "show off" their culture and be proud of "being Thai."

The nation and religion are clearly visible in all activities at Wat Thai, and the King and monarchy, the third pillar of identity, is present as well. Wat Thai provides a unique language maintenance program for Thais in New York (another privately owned weekend school, referred to as the Thai Cultural Center, has existed in Woodside, Queens since 1986) in that the temple language maintenance school is accredited by the government of Thailand through the Non-Formal Education section of the MOE. The MOE donates books specifically produced for Thais who live abroad, administers exams, and produces diplomas equivalent to a degree from Thailand. The books provided by the MOE state the objectives as being the teaching of values, quality of nation, religion, King, and culture; understanding issues within Thai politics, economics, and society; and having Thais living abroad being able to speak the Thai language.

Through the temple, the Thai government provides resources to keep Thais connected to their country and equip them with the tools necessary to succeed upon return, primarily through the Thai language maintenance program and a *Return to the Motherland* campaign. The latter entails students traveling to Thailand every two years under the auspices of Wat Thai. The trips provide students with opportunities to immerse themselves in Thai culture and to meet government officials and stay in famous temples. As one monk explained, this program increases the motivation of Thai-American students to learn Thai language and culture, and directly influences the students' association with their Thai identity. One first generation Thai-American stated, "Most Thais come here for economic or education reasons, but they'll probably go back home at some point... maybe to retire." When asked whether they intend on living in Thailand in the future, 40 of 48 surveyed informants, ranging in age from 5 to 67, answered either "yes" or "not sure."

After observing the Thai community in New York, it is evident that there is a strong connection between language and identity. When surveying the students involved in the language classes, there appeared to be a direct relationship between the amount of time and number of activities that the students engage in that require Thai language (such as communicating with others; reading books, newspapers, magazines, comic books; watching Thai movies/TV; visiting Thai internet sites and chatting/e-mailing in Thai; and listening to and "playing" karaoke with Thai music), and whether they consider themselves to be "more Thai" or "more American." However, this link is not directly related to the level of Thai proficiency.

According to Garcia (1997), Thais living in New York are "very bilingual," as 70% to 90% are proficient in English (p. 11). Many of the older, first generation Americans are equally proficient in Thai and English, though they undoubtedly consider themselves "more Thai." Parallel with Schmidt's (1983) study (as cited in Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004), it appears that American-born Thais studying Thai language who exhibited much greater linguistic proficiency in English than in Thai, still considered themselves to be "more Thai." The link between language and identity, therefore, is not simply that language equals identity, as one might infer from Gellner (1983) and Anderson (1991), but rather that the relationship is more nuanced, involving the activities of a community of speakers. In the case of Wat Thai, these activities are directly linked to the tripartite conception that is promoted at Wat Thai.

Fishman's notion of reward systems requiring speech (1980, 1985) is important and applicable to the Thai community. Thais in New York are dependent upon Thai language to gain access to membership of family, community, society, and religion. In addition to this dependency on Thai language in the US, most Thais frequently return to Thailand (most at least once every five years, and some at least once a year), and this relationship between language and membership is greatly magnified when back in the native land.

Concluding Thoughts

A 13-year-old Thai-American studying Thai language at the temple explained, "Learning Thai is much different from learning Spanish or another second language in school. Without the culture it's just a language... nothing special." The "culture" she refers to can be understood as the three pillars that make up Thai identity: nation, Buddhism, and the King. All three pillars interplay to construct identity as she considers herself to be "more Thai," despite the fact that she has lived in New York for more than 90% of her life, and her English language proficiency is much greater than her Thai. As evident from the preliminary study of language maintenance at Wat Thai, language usage (rather than language proficiency) and identity are inseparable and co-dependant. As introduced by Czeslaw Milosz, the mother tongue language, Thai language, is the nation. When the nation is joined with the other pillars, Buddhism and the monarchy, this tripartite constructs Thai identity.

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A Deeper Level of Diversity: Linguistic and Cultural Recognition for the "New" Black Student in NYC, the Barbadian Example

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Introduction

The multilinguistic and cultural fabric of our country has been expanding since the first group of immigrants set foot on United States soil. In recent years, this expansion has taken place at such a rapid pace that educators have struggled to keep up with the prolific growth. As a result, some linguistic minorities have been hastily grouped together or altogether ignored in educational language planning policies.

When the term "language minority" is used in US educational policy circles, it is often understood to mean those whose first language is not English. Consequently, the educational needs of linguistic minorities who do not speak Standard *American* English as a first language unfortunately get shoveled into a larger demographic grouping, thus disregarding the cultural and linguistic standards that are intrinsically specific to those groups. By recognizing that "members of a speech community share also a general set of beliefs about appropriate language practices [...] assigning values and prestige to various aspects of the language varieties used in it" (Spolsky, 2004, p. 14), language policymakers and educators are obliged to meet the needs of all students whose first language is not Standard American English.

The use of English in Barbadian culture serves as an excellent instructive example of a casualty of such well-meaning but broad-stroke, dismissive approaches to language planning and policy in New York City education. Since the well-publicized 1996 debacle when Oakland Unified School District educational policy planners sought to include "Ebonics" in the list of officially-recognized foreign languages, Black dialects of English have experienced dwindling recognition in policy circles. Though acknowledged, there are no official New York City Department of Education standards regarding "Black English." Moreover, before, during and subsequent to the controversy, Black dialects of English that are not American have been largely unrecognized. Though the issue of Black English (a linguistic policy term for "African-American English" dialect) is increasingly making its way back to the forefront in New York City Public School language planning meetings (particularly in response to the current NYC school reform movement), this "Black English" nomenclature suggests that English belongs to America alone, and that Black English is the primary linguistic vehicle for all English speaking Blacks living in the United

States. This assumption is simply not true and blatantly discounts the depth and linguistic richness of the African diaspora.

Using Barbadian immigrants and first-generation Barbadian students as the illustrative basis for this exploratory paper, I seek to build a case for more research and cultural recognition within educational policy planning circles for Anglophone Caribbean students and other groups that do not speak Standard American English as a first language. Some have attempted to counteract this trend by adopting the linguistic category of "Caribbean," a term that acknowledges the linguistic and cultural differences between Black American culture and Caribbean culture but fails to take into account the cultural and linguistic differences *among* Anglophone Caribbean nations. Anglophone Caribbean immigrants and first-generation students often find that their specific languages and cultures are not adequately recognized within this "Caribbean" cultural and linguistic construct. The effects of these linguistic policy oversights, though often hypothesized about, have not been adequately studied. A greater understanding of these linguistic differences will lead to a greater appreciation for the diversity of the entire African diaspora, including the Caribbean, fostering a sense of history, global connectivity and esteem for all students of color, leading to a markedly enhanced and relevant educational experience.

Background

Barbadians are considered part of a recent wave of new immigrants to the United States, particularly in New York City. English West Indian migration to the United States has come in three distinct waves (Kasinitz, 1992). A large group of West Indians immigrated to the United States in the first three decades of the century, a smaller group came in the wake of the end of the depression in the mid-1960s, and the largest wave started in 1966 and continues to this day (Winer & Jack, 1997). The 1965 amendment to the US Immigration and Nationality Act not only exemplified a radical shift in US immigration policy, but essentially dismantled most of the stringent policies restricting West Indian immigration to the US. The amendment decreed that immigrant selection was to be conducted on a first-come, first-serve basis, and the previous practice of selecting immigrants based on national origins was abolished. The 1965 amendment was applied to countries of the Eastern hemisphere, including Barbados.

This major change in US immigration policy changed the physical, linguistic and cultural profile of new immigrants and had a particularly profound effect on English speaking Caribbean immigrants. Islands that had recently received independence, such as Barbados in 1966, were no longer bound by the quotas imposed on dependent countries. As a result, the largest Barbadian immigration boom began in 1966 and continues to this day.

However, the immigration patterns of Barbados are somewhat unusual in that the situation of the mother country is stable. Barbados has one of the highest literacy rates and standards of living in the world and is currently listed by the United Nations Development Programme as the number one developing country in the world. However, the lure of American opportunity appealed to

many Barbadians, and the overwhelming majority of them settled in New York City. New York City, particularly Brooklyn, with its multicultural flavor, well-entrenched Barbadian community, and glittering presentation of the ever-dangling carrot of opportunity, maintains its status as the preferred home-away-from-home for new Barbadian immigrants.

As the numbers of Southern American Blacks that relocated to New York dwindled due to improved opportunities in their own cities, the numbers of Caribbean immigrants conversely increased. Of the 700,000 legal immigrants who came to New York between 1982 and 1989, five Caribbean countries--Jamaica, Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, Haiti, and Barbados--accounted for nearly a third. Today Caribbean immigrants and their descendants outnumber US born Blacks in both Brooklyn and Queens, and are fast becoming a majority of Blacks citywide (Millman, 1995).

The influx of hundreds of thousands of Caribbean immigrant students into New York City public schools and, subsequently, first generation American students of Caribbean parentage, demands that a change be made in policies addressing the needs of the "new Black student." However, the tentative steps such as "multicultural potlucks" and cursory references to accomplished Caribbean scholars and leaders that have been taken are incongruous with the rapidly growing numbers of students who claim Caribbean ancestry.

As the number of people of Caribbean descent in the United States continued to grow, the sub-groups residing under the Caribbean umbrella began to form community-based organizations specific to their particular islands to promote their language and culture. These organizations took on many forms, including home-based financial investment organizations, social clubs, and a myriad of other informal groups.

For example, community-based Bajan (a colloquial, self-defining term for Barbadian and Barbadian dialect) groups provided, among other things, relocation support for new immigrants, home ownership and schooling advice, and most importantly, a space for cultural and linguistic reaffirmation. In spite of assimilationist educational policies, Bajan language and culture remains strong not only among immigrants but also their children, who carry American passports alongside their intimate knowledge of Bajan language and culture. Very rarely does one meet a Bajan or Bajan-American who is not highly proficient in the Bajan language and culture. This proficiency is the result of a strong pride and value placed on the culture by family through the language, reinforced by these organizations.

However, despite the strong formal and informal structures of attachment to the Bajan language and culture, educators are hard-pressed to find the educational parallel in New York City public schools. There are no policies that recognize, address and celebrate different Caribbean cultures. There are few, if any, references made to Bajan accomplishment (or any Caribbean accomplishment) and achievement during Black History Month. The invisibility is remarkable, particularly when compared with the size of the immigrant groups. There is a failure to recognize the Bajan language for its nuances and its ability

to provide a linguistic map of survival from Africa to Barbados to New York City. This oversight serves to widen the disconnect between the inclusive educational rhetoric and the exclusive reality of the experience of the Black student whose culture is not "American."

Language Issues

An examination of the linguistic patterns of Bajan reveals a mixture of the language of the British colonizer; the cadence of the African speech and *griot* story-telling techniques; and the lilt and brogues of Irish and Scottish indentured servants. Words from a variety of West African dialects are still regularly used in colloquial speech. For example, the term *Ecky Becky* is a Bajan phrase used to describe a poor, white person. Bajan lore suggests that the term originated in the 1600s in Nigeria, when a poor, white Frenchman named Ecqué Bequé sought to inhabit an Ibo village. His attempted settlement caused an uproar and provoked fear among the local Ibos. When it was discovered that Ecqué Bequé did not have the capital or agency to take over the village, he was dismissed and roundly ridiculed. As a result, poor whites that are perceived to lack power are called *Ecky Becky* in Bajan, which is a Nigerian Ibo pronunciation of this Frenchman's name. Interestingly, the term *Béké* is also frequently used in many Caribbean Francophone countries to refer to local white populations (Williams, 2004). This dual Anglo-Franco-usage of *Becky/Béké* not only strongly supports the assertion that the term has an African genesis, but more importantly, highlights an intra-continental linguistic connection between the British and French colonized African countries that is still vividly reflected in the languages of the diaspora to this day.

There are many examples of this kind, which not only highlight the connections of the Bajan dialect to its African linguistic predecessors, but also tell the life and survival stories of the African ancestors. To disregard the significance of the Bajan language makes short shrift of the entire Afrocentric experience and endangers its collective post-colonial and diasporic history. By failing to acknowledge the linguistic differences between the people of the African diaspora, educators and policy planners also fail to acknowledge the breadth and depth of the entire US experience, which is not only a disservice to Black students of non-American lineage, but also to every student sitting in an American classroom. Linguistic recognition and sensitivity is a basic tenet of human rights and a core component of effective civic education.

Although some discursive strides have been made in the language planning and policy fields, particularly with the work of Kaplan and Baldauf focusing on the bifurcation between language *policy* and language *practice* (1997), the NYC classroom experience is not reflective of this shift. Current literature in the field acknowledges the areas of overlap between the various Anglophone Caribbean dialects, but specificities remain unexplored. There is a dearth of research in this area, even within Barbadian academic circles.

Janina Fenigsen offers one of the few comprehensive exegeses of the Bajan dialect. In her 1999 article, "A 'Broke-Up' Mirror: Representing Bajan in Print," she offers a standardized linguistic structure of Bajan, an investigation

into the diglossic distinctions between written and spoken Bajan, and the political implications of the linguistic representations of Bajan. She states that an observation of *when* and *where* Bajan is used can be an important signifier and reinforcement of Bajan as a lesser form of English. She further argues that the construct of Bajan as a lower form of English has an oppressive political implication:

[government officials and policy makers] construct Bajan as an estranged language of marginal speakers, and legitimizes and reinforces that variety's subordinate position below English, the official language of the island... (p. 3)

She concludes that Bajan has been forced into a "representational straightjacket" (p. 3) through an exaggeration of its formal features and its non-place in Standard English (American, British, or otherwise). I will offer that this representational straightjacket forces Bajan language into subordination to Standard English, and tacitly implies that, culturally and otherwise, Bajans are subordinate to Standard English speakers.

This permitted invisibility of the Bajan language and culture runs counter to recent educational reform efforts devoted to equity. Therefore, in order to remain consistent with the current thrust of educational reform, Bajan, and other languages like it must at least be acknowledged in education policy circles, particularly in schools with large Bajan or Caribbean student populations.

Research Agenda and Preliminary Findings

A qualitative, ethnographic study examining the retention of Bajan language and culture could serve to provide educational policymakers and practitioners with a deeper understanding of these complex issues. As most Bajan cultural and linguistic institutions are informal, this would require an anthropological approach to not only determine how the language is being maintained, but also to assess how language plays a part in legitimizing and perpetuating the culture. A secondary research focus would seek to assess the educational needs of this growing population and Bajan perception of language maintenance in New York City public schools. Through such research, a more thorough understanding of the needs of the Bajan community could be obtained, and potentially generalized to other immigrant populations in New York City, where appropriate. The external validity of the results would be contingent upon applying the findings to other similar situations/cases.

I am currently undertaking a preliminary research study to investigate the role of informal spaces in the retention of language and culture within the Bajan community. The six-week study consists of observation and weekly interviews of a group of Bajan men who belong to an informal club. The study takes nascent steps into the linguistic spaces of the Bajan community, and findings may provide an introductory understanding of the underpinnings of cultural and linguistic preservation.

Initial findings suggest that the connections between the Bajan community and formalized spaces, such as workplace and school, are weak due to the informants' perceptions that Bajan language and culture remain invisible in NYC institutional settings. Participants acknowledged that Bajan takes a subordinate position to *both* Standard British and Standard American English, but felt powerless to do anything about it in the US. One of the sentiments expressed was that, although the informants lived and worked in NYC (in some cases for 20-plus years), participants did not feel part of American culture, and as a result socialized very infrequently with their American counterparts. Intra-Caribbean social mixing was reported to be infrequent in the lives of these men, although the commonalities within the Caribbean cultures were definitely acknowledged. In addition, the participants in the study made use of Bajan media--*The Nation*, a Barbadian newspaper, was the primary source of Bajan diasporic news, and Bajan radio programs were a common point of discussion among the participants.

American English was not seen as the "gold standard;" in fact, it was British English that was considered to be "proper" English. One participant reported that his son had written the word "cheque" on a school assignment, which was marked incorrectly for spelling. According to the informant, when he approached the teacher, she explained that check was spelled "c-h-e-c-k" and that he was wrong and "should learn English." It is possible that this teacher had limited knowledge of different English dialects, pointing to the importance of teacher training programs that acknowledge difference and encourage linguistic sensitivity. Such experiences strengthen the Bajan assumption that their variety of English is considered inferior in the United States. It would be interesting to observe whether the teacher in this anecdote would have had the same reaction if the student who had written "cheque" had been white. Although it is not explored here, race plays a significant role in linguistic agency.

Despite the well-organized and supported Bajan informal community at the focus of this preliminary investigation, the informants perceived little need to formalize these structures through the creation of official community centers or CBOs. The unofficial status and importance of the informal community resonated so strongly with the residents, that making it official would only serve to make a statement to mainstream society, a society in which Bajans feel they have not been invited to play a major role. The findings here suggest that there is a fair amount of self-segregation because the formal spaces for cultural and linguistic self-expression are largely absent for Bajans in the US. In response to this, the study's informants choose to culturally and socially segregate and feel no real connection with African-American or mainstream society.

Perhaps, through further study, the dynamics of the Bajan community would be better understood by educational planners and subsequent policies would better respond to the needs and the contributions of the Bajan community. As long as educators continue to deem languages, like Bajan, invisible, and fail to recognize their historical and current importance, it can be expected that these languages and cultures will remain marginalized. This situation would not only be detrimental to Bajans and other linguistic minorities,

but would eventually erode the principles of equality and democratic ideals of the US.

Additional research about the interrelated dynamics and informal structures of the Bajan immigrant community in New York City could provide a more informed context for educational planners when creating initiatives and programs addressing the needs of the growing West Indian student population. Without this kind of research, it would be difficult for educational planners to create school environments and curricula that are reflective of the needs, expectations, and desires of the community that they purport to serve. As recent educational reform efforts have proven, lack of community input and relevance to community needs is a strong correlate to failing schools. Community relevance and participation cannot be obtained without learning about the linguistic, social, and cultural mores of that community.

It would benefit the New York City community to recognize the achievements and diversity of all of its ethnicities and cultures. Black History Month celebrations should encompass *all* Blacks of the African diaspora. Diversity should not only connote race, it should encourage celebration of the diasporic languages and dialects, and how these relate to a history of survival of Blacks and their cultures all over the world. These measures should not be relegated to schools in Black neighborhoods; they should be implemented citywide. As we embrace a more global perspective in education, we should better equip ourselves, as educators and policy-makers, to be able to rise to the challenge of creating a deeper and more meaningful level of diversity for every Black student in New York City.

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Language Policies and Minority Resistance in China

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Introduction

The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) uses language policies in education to foster a national identity among the 56 official ethnic groups in China. The official language of China is Mandarin Chinese, but minorities speak over 80 languages, 30 of which have written forms. Minority language policies in China have worked best to reduce illiteracy in communities without a formal writing system. In communities with a well-established formal writing system, however, minority education and language policies have been far less effective (Zhou, 2000).

When minority groups strongly identify with their language, policies that restrict minority language use in school are often met with resistance. The Chinese central government has responded to such situations by allowing minorities a limited degree of autonomy in order to address issues of alienation and social instability. Chinese minority education policy struggles to balance the goal of a national "One China" identity, while allowing a degree of autonomy in minority regions to quell potential rebellion.

In this paper, I apply two theories towards understanding the impact of minority language policies in China. The first is Benedict Anderson's (1983) theory of imagined communities. Second, I use the ideas of the Mongolian academic Urudyn Bulag (2002) on forms of resistance within hegemonic state policies to examine minority groups' illiteracy as resistance to current language policies.

Anderson and Theories of National Identity

Anderson (1983) posits that the cultural roots of the modern conception of nationhood can be found in historical communities' relationships with sacred languages. He points out that "the Middle Kingdom--which, though we think of it today as Chinese, imagined itself not as Chinese, but as central--[was] imaginable largely through the medium of a sacred language and written script" (p. 13). Anderson claims that a fundamental difference between these sacral communities and today's nations is that the form of a language itself was truth. Learning the language was tantamount to converting to the identity of its source. If an outsider learned Chinese script, he became, through "alchemic absorption" of the "truth-language," a member of the Middle Kingdom (Anderson, 1983).

In the early 1950s, as the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) attempted to construct a new national identity, language was a barrier not only to communication between the government and minority groups, but also to the creation of common identity (Zhou, 2000). Even if minority groups learn Mandarin because they are forced to militarily (as during the Cultural Revolution), or because it is in their economic interests (current Chinese policy motivations), speaking Mandarin creates the option of entry into the identity of being Chinese. For these reasons, the Chinese government uses language policies to stimulate minority peoples into imagining that they belong to the greater Chinese nation.

While minorities learning Mandarin Chinese may not find that they are alchemically absorbing "the truth" in Anderson's religious sense, it is arguable that they are learning the truth in the sense of Foucault's (1980) "regime of truth." Naz Rassool (2000) writes, "National language policy discourse [...] provides the means *par excellence* by which cultural 'truths' about the 'nation,' 'nationhood,' and cultural knowledges are systematically constructed, regulated, and circulated within and through social processes and practices" (p. 386). These cultural truths about the nation constitute domination when dissenting perspectives of minority nationhood are denied, repressed, or denounced. As nations absorb these truths and begin to take them for their own, there is less resistance to the dominant ideology. Gradually, the dominant identity and national consciousness become accepted and promoted by the minority group itself. The Chinese government has attempted to establish hegemonic views of nationhood through their minority policies, including language policies.

In the early years of the CCP's reign, the policy for communities with functional writing systems did not prohibit minority language use, but rather it incorporated the study of Mandarin Chinese and formed a bilingual education system (Xie, 1989, as cited in Zhou, 2000). In this way, the government's ideology could convince minorities of its "correctness" over time. In communities without an established written language system, the CCP insisted on the strict use of Mandarin in schools (Zhou, 2000). Without a strong, historical identity with native languages, minority communities adopted Mandarin with less resistance and their literacy levels increased dramatically. This perceived relationship of language to national identity formed the basis of language policies.

Michael Billig (1995) points out, "the creation of a national hegemony often involves a hegemony of language" (p. 29). By the 1960s, the CCP felt it could begin to push its ideological views harder and that minorities were ready to accept them. The government denied the use of local languages in schools (Lin, 1997). These policies are essentially hegemonic, in that the Chinese state suppressed minority language, thereby dominating education and transmission of culture. This process continued during the Cultural Revolution, from 1966-1976, when the government believed that it was necessary to teach one national program of education in every region--minority or Han (Lin, 1997). Instilling ideological correctness within the people's consciousness became a military process. All minority languages were suppressed in schools, and those who raised questions about the curriculum were denounced as supporters of

capitalism. This program was followed until the 1980s, and particularly up until the 1984 "Act of Regional Autonomy for Minority Nationalities," which allowed a decentralization of curriculum, but still required central government approval (Wang & Zhou, 2003). The discourse of these policies states that the CCP provides aid to minority groups for social and economic development.

This is another aspect of the establishment of hegemony--the assertion of one group or nation as superior. For minority nationalities lacking a written form of language, the Chinese government was eager to lend its sophisticated, ancient writing system. Chinese Communists would provide a well-planned educational program to develop "backward" minority regions, to bring them into the modern world, and into the Chinese nation. The long history of the Han Chinese language further legitimized its use in education.

However, the failure of literacy programs since 1949, particularly in Tibet (Zhou, 2000), reveals that minority groups are in fact unwilling to leave their national identities behind in favor of communism and Mandarin Chinese. The language policies failed to "construct, regulate and circulate" (Rassool, p. 386) CCP ideas about nationhood and cultural truths. It appears that local identity with minority languages remains strong. Despite the fact that the Tibetan Autonomous Region has long been the focus of aid and assistance from the central government, including requirements for non-minority provinces to donate resources for Tibetan development (Wang & Zhou, 2003, p. 89), Tibetan illiteracy rates are still higher than that of other minority regions or Han Chinese levels--69.4% compared with the Han's 21.5% (Zhou, 2000). It appears that even with resources and policies directly targeting Tibetan education systems, the Chinese education program is failing in Tibet.

In addition, during monolingual (Mandarin) stages of minority language policies, literacy rates fell for every minority region (Zhou, 2000). Following the return to bilingual education in communities with long-established writing systems, there were slowdowns in illiteracy reduction, and in some cases, rises in illiteracy (Zhou, 2000). While research suggests that it is easier and more effective to teach literacy programs using native and local languages (see for e.g. Cummins & Corson, 1997; Genesee, 1994; Grosjean, 1982; Hakuta, 1986; Ramirez, 1992; Thomas & Collier, 1997; Troike, 1978; Tucker, 1980), Zhou points out that "political situations and other factors in China have also affected the development of literacy and eradication of illiteracy, regardless of types of minority community" (p. 146). The manifestation of the relationship of education and politics is an important site for minorities to voice their opinions, particularly when it is difficult to speak directly within the state.

Bulag and Theories of Resistance Within Hegemony

Bulag (2002) proposes that, within China, it is useful to examine notions of minority resistance within the context of Chinese hegemony. He suggests that due to the political realities of China, minority peoples' resistance can take the form of compliance and, at times, even promotion of government policies. He states, "Complicity in this sense does not imply conscious collaboration with the powerful but the curious fact that action and the discourse of 'resistance' very

often operate within the framework of the existing order of domination" (p. 202). From this perspective, it is useful to look at the failure of literacy levels in minority language policy as resistance.

The CCP has worked hard to present itself as the "liberator" of oppressive powers in minority regions. It has invested money, time, and people into the development of successful minority education policies, and constantly reaffirms its superiority in media and policy discourse. With the rise in illiteracy, particularly in Tibet, the Chinese government's planning and policies appear to have failed. At the same time, the low levels of minority literacy still fit symbolically within the Chinese hegemonic framework whereby the Chinese are still superior.

When Chinese minority language policies have not made use of a native language writing system, as in communities where the state decided the native written form was too narrow for educational purposes, literacy levels have not improved. Zhou (2000) suggests that an indigenous writing system may foster stronger group identity within its community as compared to communities without a formal writing system. "Such group identity and social integration may promote passive resistance to the use of non-native writing systems in schools and in the community" (Zhou, 2000, p. 146). This analysis supports Bulag's concept that resistance may fit into a hegemonic framework.

Language policies in China are becoming more inclusive of minority language use, but because of the sensitive relationship between language and identity, they have become a site of resistance. When language policies change, switching from tolerance of minority language use to the repression of minority language use and back again, it affects minority parents' decisions about schooling. Zhou's (2000) research shows that parents' decisions to send their children to school and to finish the first grade correspond with policy shifts. As the CCP changes its national language policies to suit its own agendas, parents may feel that formal schooling is less about education and more about repressing minority culture. Rejecting formal education at the hands of the Chinese state is one way to resist the acquisition of hegemonic thought.

Implications for Minority Education Policies

Recent research and analysis suggests that language policies are not independent from political agendas, at least in China (Lin, 1997; Zhou, 2000). Education and language policies correspond with political agendas, and seek to foster similar political ideology in minority communities through a specific education curriculum and language of instruction. Prior to the 1980s, there was little regard for the cultural appropriateness of the education system in various minority communities. Furthermore, there was no effort to accommodate minority communities' histories or viewpoints. The cultural truths of minority groups were not considered valid or important enough to pass on to the next generation.

Policy adjustments since the end of the Cultural Revolution suggest a greater sensitivity to minority nationhood, and have attempted to grant more

autonomy and control over education to minority peoples. If the Chinese government is to remain in power and prevent the rebellion of minorities, it has a delicate policy line to balance. On one hand, there needs to be a curriculum and language policy that focuses on the incorporation of minorities into the larger Chinese nation. However, if these policies are too restrictive, they can lead to the alienation and dissatisfaction of minority groups and create social disequilibrium. As Rassool (2000) suggests, "The language rights of minority groups within the nation-state need to be addressed in relation to the diverse power interests that underscore national language policy formation" (p. 388). A greater incorporation of minorities into the policy-making process at the national level may alleviate dissatisfaction and potential instability in these regions.

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Research Papers

Spanish and English Language Attitudes and Values of Latino Adolescents

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Introduction

Although Latinos have immigrated to New York City for a variety of reasons, many share the view that language is a means to preserve their identity in the United States. According to Mar-Molinero, "Not only does language have an instrumental role as a means of communication, it also has an extremely important symbolic role as a marker of identity" (2000, p. 3). Latino immigrants and their children are both faced with the challenge of negotiating their identities by using the Spanish and English languages, as well as their environment, as roadmaps. Adolescent children of Latino heritage living in the US face not only the struggle of asserting their identity, a struggle that characterizes adolescence, but also of establishing a balance between the culture of their family and the culture of the American teenager.

This preliminary study focuses on 20 students of Latino heritage in two middle schools, both of which are charter schools. Ten students, ranging in age from 14 to 18, attend the North Star Academy in Newark, New Jersey, while 10 students, ranging in age from 14 to 16, attend Bronx Preparatory in the Bronx borough of New York City. Of the 20 students, only two from North Star Academy and one from Bronx Preparatory were born outside of the country. Two of these students began their education in the US, and the third attended the first two years of formal education in Puerto Rico before moving to the US.

This study has three major aims. First, it aims to examine the value that students place on the use of the Spanish language in social, economic, and academic realms. Second, it explores the value that these students place on the use of the English language in social, economic, and academic realms. Third, it identifies the generational differences in the students' points of view concerning the Spanish and English languages.

Language, Culture, and Identity

Fishman (1991) discusses the concepts of language and culture by using the terms "X" and "Y." He argues that one cannot be a good "X-man" without knowing "X-ish" and that the lack of X-ish allows one access to a limited part of the X culture. He cites as an example the fact that there are specific terminologies in Yiddish for the relationship between sets of in-laws, and claims that the existence of these terminologies denotes the importance of that relationship in the culture. Culturally specific words often give insight into the culture from which they stem, and Fishman maintains, one will not fully understand the culture without an understanding of these very culturally specific words.

While Fishman (1991) has viewed the connection between culture and language as inevitable, the current demographics of second-, third-, and fourth-generation immigrants living in the United States have caused other researchers to reconsider language's ties to culture. In a study of Spanish in New York, Zentella (2000) concluded that "Puerto Ricanness is redefined in NYC without prerequisites of birthplace and/or language: you are Puerto Rican 'if you have Puerto Rican blood in you'" (p. 189).

According to Rivera-Batiz, the term Latino refers to "someone residing in the United States who identifies himself or herself as a Latino, generally on the basis of having an ancestry or background in Latin America" (in a lecture at Teachers College, Columbia University, September 13, 2004). Notably, this definition does not make any mention of language, or of the ability to speak Spanish as a criterion for identifying as Latino. The Pew Hispanic Center conducts regular surveys of the Latino population regarding issues that pertain to the Latino community. When asked if they ever use certain terms to describe themselves, 88% of Latinos in the US said that they identify themselves by their country of origin or that of their parents, 81% said that they use Latino or Hispanic, and 53% said American. These results demonstrate that some Latinos use both terms, Latino *and* American, to identify themselves. In his comparative study, "Some Problems of Identity and Education: A Comparative Examination of Multicultural Education," Grant (1997) provides a lens through which the above assertions of multiple identities can be viewed. He states that "it is possible and common to live in two cultures (or more) without rejecting either and that the ways of doing so take different forms according to the circumstances of the cultures themselves and their individual members" (p. 20). Otheguy, Garcia, and Roca (2000) reinforce this notion with their observation that "in all embraces of cultures there is something of what happens in the generic copulation of individuals; the child always has something of both progenitors, but it is always something different from each of them" (p. 165). Essentially, that is how Latino identity is constructed--America has labeled them "Latino," while their home country has labeled them "American." They are forced to exist between two cultures while trying to make sense of their identity.

The Two Schools

The North Star Academy

The North Star Academy, a charter school founded in 1997, is located in downtown Newark, New Jersey. The school comprises a middle school, grades 5 to 8, and a high school, grades 9 to 12. The high school currently serves 120 students. Of the student body, 10% is Latino, 90% is African American, 90% are from low-income families, and 90% of the students are first generation college applicants. This study focused on 10 of the 12 Latino students enrolled in all grades of the high school.

Since downtown Newark is a business district, all of the students commute to North Star Academy from other parts of Newark. The city of Newark is divided into five smaller regions known as the North, South, East, West, and Central Wards of the city. These wards are ethnically segregated, and while everyone travels to the downtown area for various reasons, residents rarely travel between the wards. The North Ward has traditionally been the area in which Latinos have settled and are the majority.

According to the 2000 US Census, Newark's total population is 273,546, of which 20% consider themselves Hispanic or Latino; of those who reported themselves as foreign-born, 63.6% were born in Latin America. Approximately 46% of Newark's residents reported that they spoke a language other than English at home; of the 28.2% who reported speaking Spanish at home, 14.6% considered themselves to speak English "less than very well" (US Census Bureau, 2000).

Bronx Preparatory School

The Bronx Preparatory School is a charter school that was established in 2000. The school, located in the Claremont section of the Bronx in New York City, includes both a middle school, grades 5 to 8, and a partially-completed high school, which presently includes grades 9 and 10. This study focused on the Latino students enrolled in grades 9 and 10. There are 82 students in the high school of which approximately 45% are Latino and 48% are African Americans.

Most of the students attending Bronx Preparatory reside in the surrounding neighborhood. The total population of the Claremont section of the Bronx is 69,048, of which 61.9% consider themselves Hispanic or Latino. Over 56% of the residents of the South Bronx who speak a language other than English at home speak Spanish, and 31.1% of those who speak Spanish at home claim that they speak English "less than very well" (US Census Bureau, 2000).

Methodology

A two-pronged survey, roughly based on surveys used by Lasagabaster (2003) in his study of "Attitudes towards English in the Basque Autonomous Community," was given to 10 students of Latino heritage in grades 9 to 12 in

North Star Academy in Newark. The same survey was given to 10 students of Latino heritage in grades 9 to 10 in Bronx Preparatory. The first component of the survey addressed the students' attitudes and values concerning the Spanish language. The second component of the survey addressed the students' attitudes and values concerning the English language. Questions included on both surveys elicited students' social, economic, and academic perceptions of each language.

Four weeks after the distribution of the survey, five of the survey participants from North Star Academy and four from Bronx Preparatory participated in a focus group held at each school. The students were given a quote by the entertainer Dame Edna from *Vanity Fair* magazine:

Forget Spanish. There's nothing in that language worth reading except *Don Quixote* [...] There was a poet named Garcia Lorca, but I'd leave him on the intellectual back burner if I were you. As for everyone's speaking it, what twaddle! Who speaks it that you are really desperate to talk to? The help? Your leaf blower? (February 2003, p. 116)

Students were then asked to give their reactions to the statement. The students participated in 45-minute-long focus groups. The student responses from the surveys and focus groups were then analyzed and generalizations were drawn about student attitudes and values of both Spanish and English.

Anticipated Results

North Star Academy in Newark, New Jersey

In Newark's North Ward there is a visible presence of Spanish in the community, evident, for example, in the majority of street signs being written in Spanish. In the other wards, while there may be a few Latinos, African Americans make up the majority of the population. Although the presence of Latinos is felt in Newark now more than ever, there is little interaction between African Americans and Latinos because of the segregation between communities. Because African Americans are the majority in Newark, there is a sentiment that English is still the dominant language of Newark's residents. Reflective of the demographics of the city, the students of Latino heritage attending North Star Academy make up a mere 10% of the total student population, with African American students composing the majority of the student body. While the percentage of Latinos in the school is much smaller than their overall presence in the city, there is still a notion that the African American culture is dominant and that Latino culture and Spanish is a distant second.

When we began our study we anticipated that these external factors would have a direct impact on the students' values and attitudes towards both English and Spanish. We predicted that these students would value English more than Spanish in the academic, social, and economic realms of their lives because, due to the ethnic makeup of their environment, English played a more dominant role in all three of these realms in the students' lives. We speculated

that the students who were born in a Spanish-speaking country, or who had strong connections to family still living in a Spanish speaking country, would value Spanish over English in the social realm because they would need to know and use Spanish to communicate with their families. However, we believed that English would also have value in the social realm because these students would value English more than Spanish as a tool for communicating with their friends. We also speculated that the students born in the US would not consider Spanish to be their native language, but rather, would view speaking Spanish as a second language to be an asset in the economic realm since bilingualism would make the students more marketable. The students born in Latin America would not view learning English as an economic advantage, but would instead view their bilingualism as necessary for survival in the US.

Bronx Preparatory Charter School in Bronx, New York

Regarding the Bronx students, we predicted that because the school was located in a neighborhood where Spanish was highly visible, this would also have an impact on the students' language value. Although most of these students were born in the US or arrived at a very early age, we expected these students to value Spanish in a social context, based on the need to communicate with their families. Because Latino students make up approximately half of the student population, we theorized that these students would feel a greater sense of confidence in communicating in Spanish among their friends. Since adolescents usually seek approval or acceptance from their peers, and because there are more Latinos at Bronx Prep, we speculated that these students would feel validated when speaking Spanish. These students would also associate bilingualism with opportunity and economic gain as an added benefit. However, this would be seen as a second value; speaking two languages would make the students more marketable. We also predicted that perhaps these students would not see the need for Spanish to be taught in schools due to its wide usage in the neighborhood.

Emergent Themes

In both the survey answers and the focus groups, four major themes of language, culture, and identity emerged. This section provides a preliminary discussion of these themes using the students' original words in order to preserve the strength and authenticity of their voices.

Empowerment at North Star Academy

I don't know a lot of Spanish, but I be talking it.

[Spanish] was [my] first language, so that's what I'm going to speak. So I have to speak Spanish or [my dad] will tell me to say it over again in Spanish.

Empowerment at Bronx Preparatory School

You can come up to me and I'll tell you what I'm talking about but I'm not going to stop speaking Spanish.

At first, I guess that it was a bad thing to speak Spanish but now we speak more Spanish and we make it known that you have to respect the language.

In some ways, the students at North Star Academy are just beginning to reclaim their heritage and to find power through knowing and using the Spanish language. However, the number of Latinos in relation to the larger population is so small at North Star that students still feel as though they have to justify their presence and their culture. By contrast, the Latino population at Bronx Prep is more substantial and the students at this school are more secure regarding the Spanish language. They appear to feel strength in numbers and mention several times that Latinos and Spanish have become more accepted in the school as the number of Latinos has increased. This has allowed the Bronx Prep students to feel a sense of empowerment in their knowledge and use of the Spanish language in a way that the North Star Academy students are just now becoming aware is possible.

Bilingualism at North Star Academy

Spanish is worth learning 'cause in a job interview or in anything else it's important. They'll take you in 'cause it's an advantage.

I think children from middle school should also start learning Spanish to get prepared for the high school.

Some of our parents, because of the jobs they got, they learn how to speak English....

Bilingualism at Bronx Preparatory School

When I think about it, I think, oh I'm speaking too much English, I'm going to forget [Spanish], let me speak Spanish.

I speak to [my friends] in Spanish too because they want to learn the language.

Everyone speaks Spanish. Even the guy at the Chinese store speaks Spanish. There was a guy who came in and ordered in Spanish and he understood what [the Spanish-speaking customer] was saying.

While the theme of bilingualism appeared in both focus groups, it manifested itself in very different ways. At North Star, the students assumed that English was the native language and Spanish was the acquired language. Students equated speaking both languages with being economically successful.

However, at Bronx Prep, the students saw Spanish as the dominant language and equated being bilingual with maintaining their Spanish and using their Spanish in the social realm.

Language and identity at North Star Academy

When [I have] kids, their first language is going to be Spanish because I want them to learn where I came from and to get a feel of who I am and how my country works.

I think people think you're dumb if you're speaking Spanish.

I think the whole point of being Latino is knowing the Spanish world, the culture too, but still you can't be, well, you could be Spanish without speaking Spanish, but that doesn't make no sense. You might as well not be Spanish, I mean Latino. [Under her breath] I keep saying that.

Language and identity at Bronx Preparatory School

You don't think you have to speak Spanish to consider yourself Latino, but you are missing something [if you don't speak Spanish].

Sometimes when I forget how to say things in Spanish, I get so mad because I, oh, I know how to say this in English, but then I'm asking somebody else how to say it in Spanish and I am from a Spanish speaking country. That makes no sense.

My aunt says if you don't know the language, then you should not say that you are from there, you know...I mean I don't agree with her. That's just what she says.

Culture at North Star Academy

Why you Mexican, well half Mexican, but you don't know Spanish? It's half your culture, man.

There are so many things to Hispanic culture, like a lot of stuff, and Spanish is, I mean speaking Spanish is, just a little part of it.

It's like someone asks you what's [your heritage], what are you, and you say you're Spanish and you don't speak Spanish, than that's kinda... sounds wrong.

Culture at Bronx Preparatory School

I actually think that Spanish should be encouraged 'cause I know like the four of us probably actively speak Spanish but I feel like in

my family my generation English or the American culture takes over that we actually lose the culture.

You, to really find a balance, have to try not to forget your culture, but then not let your culture hold you back either.

Students from both schools acknowledge their struggle with labeling ethnicity based upon one's language ability. On the other hand, the students acknowledge that there is connection between language, culture and identity. However, the students do not feel comfortable excluding anyone (including themselves) from identifying with the culture because that person does not speak the language.

Living between two worlds, North Star Academy

'Cause I'm Latino and why are you calling me Gringo? I'm not white, I'm Latino.

It's not like they refer to you as the white person when they call you Gringo, it's like they are calling us American. Like [Puerto Ricans in Puerto Rico] weren't really referring to us as Puerto Rican. They were referring to us as American because we live here.

But look, my father, he's dark and he looks Dominican. He was born there and came here when he was 18, and when he goes there they call him a Gringo, and when I asked my mother why, she said, "Oh is because he started dressing better, he has better stuff." So I was like, "Oh so they are calling us Gringo because we speak English and because we dress better than them." And she was like, "Pretty much."

Living between two worlds, Bronx Preparatory School

When you're here you say, "Oh whatever, I'm Dominican." But back there you're American... you're American. This is where you live, that is what you are.

[On being called American] I hate that so much!

My cousin says if you are living here in America you do everything America.

Students perceive that American society attaches labels to individuals. These labels are often difficult to accept or even understand, particularly for adolescents. In both schools, students discussed this concept of being viewed by people in their home country (or their parents' home country) as "American." These Latinos, most of them second generation, are faced with the task of trying to define and understand what it means to be Latino. Their families in other countries, however, simply see them as Americans; there is an association between speaking English instead of Spanish, living in America, and having

wealth. According to many of these students' family members outside the US, all of these things are equated with being American, despite their parents' background. As a result, these students are often left "living in two worlds." American society has rejected them and labeled them Latino, and their country has rejected them and labeled them American. These adolescents are trying to make sense of this identity.

Conclusion

Many linguists have debated the accuracy of the term Latino and have questioned whether people of Latin American heritage really use this term to identify themselves. They question whether people of Latino heritage living in the US continue to identify with their family's country of origin, or if, after generations of living in the States, they identify as American. As this study has demonstrated, many Latinos, particularly second generation Latinos, see themselves as having multiple overlapping identities.

As anticipated, the students with strong connections to Latin America seemed to value Spanish in the social realm. These students saw Spanish as a necessity for communicating with relatives. We also anticipated that the Newark students in our study who are in an environment where they are in the linguistic minority would value English in all realms, which was indeed the case. Many of the Newark students do not view Spanish as their native language and, therefore, it is difficult for them to envision themselves being taught the language formally. These students are using Spanish as a way to reclaim their Latino identity and mainly use the language in the social realm. The reality is that many of these students would have difficulty taking classes in Spanish because, aside from their Spanish (foreign language) class, many have never been exposed to Spanish in an academic setting. Students who were born outside of the US viewed learning English as a tool for survival. These students discussed the fact that their parents learned English through their jobs because they were forced to in order to retain their jobs. Students born in the US viewed bilingualism, in this case reclaiming their Spanish, as a tool which would allow them to perhaps appear more marketable in future employment opportunities, but not as a tool for survival per se.

One of the most surprising findings was the students' reaction to the Dame Edna quote. Most of the students (particularly the Newark students) were not as offended by the statement as one would anticipate. Many of the students focused on the fact that they know people who speak Spanish, and therefore found it relevant to learn the language. One of the students made the following statement:

Yeah, that doesn't make any sense to me either. And it's kind of insulting too, 'cause most of my family I have to speak Spanish to. And when it says "the help, your leaf blower," okay, my dad's my leaf blower, so I, of course I have to talk to him.

These students did not question the point in the quote where Dame Edna alludes to the fact that Spanish-speaking people are only seen as "the help." We

speculated that perhaps some of these students do have family or friends who work in these fields and perhaps, for them, this part of the statement did not stand out as offensive. One of the students in the Bronx group did state that she found the statement offensive, while another actually addressed this specific segment of the quote by saying,

I also think that Spanish is important. And [Dame Edna] says, "oh you only need to speak Spanish to the help," or whatever, but his makeup artist is probably Hispanic, 'cause we're taking over. [group laughter]

In our discussions regarding the different groups, we speculated that perhaps the students in the Bronx have been exposed to more professional Latinos or that these students simply feel more confident and secure about their culture. However, we must acknowledge that we interviewed a small number of students and therefore must be cautious when making generalizations.

This study demonstrates the multidimensionality of identity formation. The Latino students at North Star Academy, of which there are only 12 in the entire student body, have recently begun to reclaim their Latino heritage while the students at Bronx Prep are aware of the effort necessary to maintain their Latino heritage. This difference speaks to the crucial influence of environment on adolescents' attitudes concerning heritage language. The students' comments in both schools show that a meaningful purpose for language usage that extends outside of the home must exist for language maintenance. In asserting their identities, whether reclaiming or maintaining their Latino heritage, the adolescents in this study often presented contradictory statements, trying to find balance between what they know they should say as "proud Latinos," and the conflicts that they experience in their real lives.

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Taiwanese Students Talk About English in Taiwan and Their Lives

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Background and Purpose

Crystal (2003) described the 1990s as a decade that saw "an increasingly public recognition of the global position of English." He observed that the spread of English "as a global lingua franca" was a situation that would only intensify in the near future (p. x). Lingua franca, defined as a language "widely used beyond its native speakers" and "primarily for international commerce and extending to other cultural exchanges" (*Lockergnome Encyclopedia*, 2005), is not a descriptor invented solely for the English language. Several languages, including Greek, French, and German, have also historically served as the lingua franca of various parts of the world (*Lockergnome Encyclopedia*, 2005). French previously served as "the lingua franca of diplomacy" (Infoplease, 2005). However, none of these other languages have ever been used and taught to the extent that English has, due in part to the dissemination of information through an 80% English language internet (*China Daily*, 2003).

Crystal's (2003) predictions came to fruition in the May 2002 Taiwanese government policy statement, *Challenge 2008: National Development Plan (2002-2007)*, where the importance of English to the economic and technological advancement of Taiwan was formally endorsed. The objective of the plan was to enhance Taiwan's internationalization, thus improving the nation's competitive edge both economically and technologically (Executive Yuan, 2003). Among the various implementation strategies for the achievement of this goal, is the development of "an internationalized living environment and enhance[ment of] people's English proficiency," which includes development of an English living environment, a balance of urban and rural English education resources, internationalization of college education, enhancement of government employees' English proficiency, and promotion of international cultural exchanges (Council for Economic Planning and Development, 2002). In addition, the Taiwanese government also plans to make English the semi-official language of Taiwan by the year 2008, thus recognizing English as the major tool for improving the country's status on the global stage (Executive Yuan, 2003).

The focus on English as a Foreign Language (EFL) education is not novel; however, it has recently gained considerable momentum. The Taiwanese government has begun to provide scholarships for foreign students and to encourage courses in English at the tertiary level as a method of attracting students from abroad. The possibility of English becoming a semi-official language of the nation, a status for which not even Tai-yu, the language spoken

by a majority of the Taiwanese people, has never been considered, is notable. These two undertakings demonstrate an official effort to insert English into domains which have previously only belonged to Mandarin. The Taiwanese government views English as playing an important role in increasing the country's competitive edge and its "internationalization." Kubota (2002) explains "internationalization" as that which "aims to transform social and institutional conventions to adapt to the international demands" (p. 16).

Statement of the Problem

Jung and Norton (2002) contend that, "in many non-English speaking countries, a learner's acquisition of English can be profoundly affected by a government's policy toward the role of English in society and also by the procedures for implementing those decisions in its educational system" (p. 246). However, neither the government nor the research and educational professions in Taiwan have completely accepted the idea in practice. Instead, *methods* of teaching have been the main issue of interest (Chen, 2003). Tollefson (2000), unsatisfied with how the sociopolitics of English language teaching have been marginalized by pedagogical concerns, calls for English language educators to "understand the direct and powerful impact of social, political, and economic forces upon their classrooms and how these forces affect students' lives" (p. 19). Without such knowledge, how can educators make claims about how best to teach their students? How can curriculum and policy-makers claim to be designing anything that would benefit students' learning?

Gorlach (2002) observed that "[r]esearch on forms and functions of English in Southeast Asian communities is generally scarce, considering the number of speakers and the historical and political importance of the phenomenon" (pp. 107-108). Yet, it is this emphasis on the forms and functions with which Pennycook (2001) is dissatisfied. Pennycook objects to how research regarding the spread of English "failed to problematize the causes and implications of this spread" and has only focused on "descriptions of varieties of English" and "questions of standardization and intelligibility" (p. 86). Taken together, these two scholars point to the importance of research on English in Asian countries, which focuses not only on the forms and functions of English varieties, but also on how these nations' mother tongues are understood and conceptualized by its citizens as a result of *and* in relation to global English. Taiwan, an East Asian country with its own distinct variety of English, is not a "postcolonial state" (Tollefson, 2000, p. 7), nor is it an economic or technological powerhouse (such as Japan). Unlike some of its neighbors, Taiwan is not suffering from war and poverty. As a result, Taiwan has received little, if any, linguistic research attention, despite the fact that it has been deeply impacted by the global spread of English. Opting for Taiwan as the center and setting of this study, the author hopes to draw attention to Taiwan as a contributing and participating member of the "global" English-dominated community.

Purpose of the Study

Prompted in part by Gorlach's (2002) and Pennycook's (2001) dissatisfaction with previous research emphases, and Chen's (2003)

observations of language in Taiwan, the aim of this research is to explore the impact of English on students from an East Asian country categorized by Kachru (1992) as belonging to the "expanding circle" of English (as cited in Kam & Wong, 2004, p. 7). More specifically, the purpose of this research is to explore how university and college students in Taiwan understand the role of English in their lives, in relation to other mother tongue Taiwanese languages, and the ways in which their understanding relates to the global spread and dominance of English. This study is an attempt to shed light on Taiwanese university and college students' conceptualization of the English and Taiwanese languages, and how that conceptualization relates to larger national and global sociopolitical forces.

Languages in Taiwan

Taiwan is a multi-ethnic and multilingual society that consists of four ethnic groups: the Southern Min people, the Hakka, the Mainlanders, and the indigenous Austronesians (Tsao, 2004). The former three groups of people represent approximately 98% of the population in Taiwan (Government Information Office, 2004), the Southern Mins being the majority ethnic group.

Languages in Taiwan can be divided into three categories: the "mother tongues," the official language, and languages for wider communication. Mandarin is the designated official language of Taiwan, and English is the major language of wider communication. However Japanese, French, and German are also becoming increasingly popular foreign languages in Taiwan (Tsao, 1999).

Taiwanese mother tongues include Tai-yu, Hakka, and Mandarin (Government Information Office, 2004). Tai-yu is the mother tongue of the Southern Min people, and Hakka is the mother tongue of the Hakka people. The Southern Mins and the Hakka are the two major groups of Han people who began immigrating to Taiwan from the coastal provinces of China in the 16th century. Mandarin is the common language spoken by the group Taso, also termed the "Mainlanders," those who retreated to Taiwan from China with Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang (KMT) government in 1949.

The Chinese immigrants who came to Taiwan in 1949 sought to establish their political dominance by strict control from the very beginning of their regime (Hsiao, 1997). Constraining language usage was one strategy to achieve this control. In 1948, Tai-yu was declared to be "inadequate for academic and cultural communication" (Chen, 1979, as cited in Chen, 2003, p. 59). Furthermore, languages in Taiwan were demoted to the status of dialects, and only Mandarin retained the status of a language (Hsiao, 1997). Mandarin became the sole medium of instruction in schools in Taiwan beginning in 1956. It was also designated as the sole legitimate language in public and official domains (Hsiao, 1997). Through political force, Mandarin gradually ascended to the official language of Taiwan, and was deliberately delineated as a more prestigious and "high-class" language than Tai-yu (Chen, 2003).

English in Taiwan

Chen (2003) explains that "the success of the British colonial empire and the subsequent rise of American economic and technological hegemony" (p. 65) have all contributed to the dominance of English in the world. The primacy of English has influenced English-language policies in Taiwan, that is, the promotion of English in Taiwan has been driven largely by economic needs (Tsao, 2001). Learning English is explicitly stated by the government as one of the major ways to boost the efficiency of the workforce, and also a major avenue toward increasing competitiveness of the country in terms of both commerce and technology (Executive Yuan, 2003). Perhaps, the increasing prominence of English in Taiwan has unintentionally contributed to the status of English as a global language.

The role and function of English in Taiwanese society, although still debated and questioned by some, has been accepted by the public. English, a foreign language to the Taiwanese linguistic majority, has become an integral part of Taiwan's economic, financial, and technological development. It is also a leading factor in the educational success of students in Taiwan who are learning English from an increasingly younger age.

Theoretical Framework

This study draws on the theoretical framework of the New Literacy Studies (Lankshear, 1998; Luke, 1995), which maintains that language and literacy has "no meaning—apart from particular cultural contexts in which it is used, and it has different effects in different contexts" (Gee, 1996, p. 59). In particular, the study proposes a socio-ideological theory of language and literacy that, namely, incorporates and extends both Street's (1984) ideological model of literacy and Barton and Hamilton's (1998) social theory of literacy. Street's work (1984, 1993) reinforces the ideological aspects of literacy in relation to the political atmosphere of a country's local and national context, while Barton and Hamilton pay more attention to the consequences of the social and cultural dimensions of literacy.

Employing the socio-ideological perspective on language and literacy enables the view that an individual's language practices occur within the social and cultural milieu in which the individual finds himself, ever influenced by and interacting with the discourses that surround him/her. These include policy discourses at the supra-national level that impact not only how a language is to be defined, but also which languages are even discussed. A socio-ideological framework also better allows for an examination of the phenomenon of English in Taiwan as a part of the country's language dynamics that is intricately connected to the goal of internationalization and the pressure of globalization.

Methodology

Data sources for this research included six semi-structured focus group interviews with a total of 30 (16 female and 14 male) university and college students in Taiwan. The purpose of the focus group interviews was to explore

the breadth and range of views represented by the participants on the topic in question. The interviews were conducted in Mandarin, the official language of Taiwan and also the medium of instruction of the educational system, and hence, the language in which all participants would most likely feel comfortable communicating. All interviews were audio taped, transcribed, and then translated into English by the author. These focus group interviews were a part of the author's dissertation study, which aims to explore the English-language discourses, practices, and identities of university and college students in Taiwan.

Participants in the focus group interviews included university and college freshmen, sophomores, and juniors. These students have had at least six years of English language education in middle school and high school as the basis of their English-language knowledge and learning experiences. The participants were selected using purposeful sampling so that they represented diversity in terms of the kinds of colleges or universities they attend (e.g. public and private, comprehensive universities, teacher colleges, liberal arts colleges, universities of technology), their fields of study (e.g. humanities, finance, science), and their ethnicity (e.g. Southern Mins, Hakka, descendents of Mainlanders).

Data Analysis

Morse and Richards (2002) distinguish between three kinds of coding: descriptive coding, topic coding, and analytic coding. Data analysis for the focus group interviews began with topic coding. The topics were designated according to the categories previously used in designing the focus group interview protocol. These categories of information, were used as preliminary ways of understanding the data, as "at the beginning of a study the researcher is uncertain about what will ultimately be meaningful" (Merriam, 1998, p. 179). After this broad categorization of data, the author began to apply codes, using both open codes as well as "in vivo codes" (Morse & Richards, 2002, p. 118). The author then looked for patterns among the codes within and across each of the categories, seeking to identify themes. The research goal was to allow meaning to emerge from the data itself rather than to prescribe pre-set categories to it.

Findings and Discussion

Participants generally viewed the English language in very positive light. They recognized the prevalence of English in the world, and shared many examples of why English is important for them as individuals in terms of access to information and employment opportunities, and its link to the development of the nation. They also believed that the power of a language, in this case, English, is intricately linked to the economic and political power of a country, the United States, and how Mandarin Chinese, as a result of the growing economic power of China, is gradually becoming another powerful language in the world.

The primacy of English in the world is understood by participants as "a trend," something to be pursued and obtained, rather than resisted. That is, they did not see the prevalence of English in the world as a form of dominance, but rather, with the exception of a few, they embraced English for its

connotations of status and development, both for the individual (i.e. employment opportunities) and the nation (i.e. internationalization). The hegemony of English internalized by the participants reflects an "uncritical perception that it has achieved supreme global status" (Tollefson, 2000, p. 16).

Tai-yu was seen as a language of the elderly people and of southern and rural Taiwan. Though the participants recognized it as part of the Taiwanese culture and Taiwanese lives, the possible extinction of Tai-yu or other Taiwanese languages did not seem to disturb them. They talked about it as if it were only a matter of historical inevitability. Here is another case where "the preeminent position of English" may "contribut[e] to the death of indigenous languages" (Tollefson, 2000, p. 9).

Participants did not seem to be cognizant of the political and practical implications of awarding a language "official status." None of them expressed dissatisfaction that English, a foreign language, has been considered for official status over Taiwanese languages. Rather, Tai-yu, a majority mother tongue, was deemed as not qualified because it was a local language without a written system. Official language status, as the participants seemed to understand it, was reserved for a language that is widely recognized and used by the international community. That is, only a language that is powerful enough deserves such standing.

Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) explains how this might have happened. She points out that through formal education, people may end up "believing that their language is not as useful or developed as the dominant language and that they help their future children best by speaking the dominant language to them" (p. 24), or in the case of the participants, learning the language themselves. Again, this is an example of the extent to which the current impact of global English has contributed to how local languages are conceptualized and even rendered restrictive.

Hall and Eggington (2000) ask, "Is it possible for the vastly culturally and linguistically diverse populations of the world to develop English as a common first, second (or third...) language, and if so, at what cost to factors such as societies and individuals as well as to cultural and linguistic diversity?" (p. 5). This study has shown that it is not only possible, but English is on the fast track to becoming a common language, even in a country where it is a foreign language. English was understood by the participants as a ticket to opportunities and a link to the world beyond Taiwan, as well as an important factor in developing Taiwan's international competitiveness. Participants also revealed an acute consciousness of how English, as the language of the world powers, is a language from which they cannot escape.

This study documents the hegemony of English in Taiwan, as evidenced by how "the supremacy of English is often unquestioned, taken to be an obvious matter of common sense" (Tollefson, 2000, p. 16) by Taiwanese university and college students. The study also illustrates how the global spread of English may have shaped the ways that languages are conceptualized, having more intrinsic value when it is more widely recognized and understood, and marginalizing local

languages as it gains prominence.

Implications

The findings of this research have implications for both the study of global English, and for the profession of English language teaching. Borrowing from Phillipson's (1992) distinction between "core" and "periphery" English-speaking countries, Tollefson (2000) further distinguishes between "periphery countries in which English is used for internal purposes and those in which it is used only for international communication" (p. 13). As in the latter case, countries such as Japan (the example given by Tollefson) and Taiwan have been categorized as places wherein English "is primarily associated with international government and business, as well as with access to popular culture" yet "not a central basis for deciding who has access to economic resources and political power" (p. 13). This study has shown, however, that this categorization of Taiwan, and perhaps many other East Asian countries, may no longer be appropriate, as English is not only strongly linked to economic resources, it is increasingly used for internal purposes in "major institutions such as government, education, and media" (p. 12). As a result of the global spread of English and the infiltration of English in a variety of domains even in EFL countries, previous frameworks for analyzing English and categorizing English-speaking peoples may need to be revised.

Hall and Eggington (2000) remind English language educators that "the political, cultural, and social dimensions of English language teaching are embedded in each and every decision" (p. 1), and thus, warrant explicit attention. In a country such as Taiwan where professors and parents alike emphasize to their children the importance and value of English in their careers and in their lives, what then should be the responsibilities of English-language educators? Should English language teaching simply transmit the English language system, or should it include discussions of "linguistic human rights" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p. 25)? Shouldn't the English language curriculum also include conversations of the impact of global English on the fate and language "rights" of minority and regional languages?

What are the language obligations of native English language speakers? Are they to maintain the prevalence of English, perhaps by encouraging its official language status, or by accepting the different varieties of English worldwide? Perhaps it is the responsibility of all English speakers, including native speakers and English language learners, to maintain the dignity and existence of minority languages around the world, particularly their own languages in order to avoid their extinction. It is a matter of urgency, for the ever-increasing English language speaking, teaching, and learning communities worldwide, to recognize that their language obligations are as pertinent as the claim to "language rights." I submit that such obligations extend to *all* language users to contribute to the preservation of the languages of others, particularly minority languages and those on the brink of extinction.

Significance of the Study

This study is significant in that it contributes a description of one dimension of the current linguistic situation in Taiwan. It draws attention to a politically vulnerable nation whose complex international and local situations can contribute to an understanding of how global and local forces influence not only a nation's language education agenda but also how learners make sense of languages in their lives, both foreign as well as mother tongue languages. In addition, this study is potentially significant in that it offers educators, curriculum makers, and policy makers in Taiwan further insights into a dimension of university and college students' perspectives. Most importantly, the study highlights the voices of students, the very people at the center of the learning process. This study is an attempt to answer Gee, Hull, and Lankshear's (1996) appeal for researchers and educators to "confront directly, at a fundamental level [...] the nature of language, learning, and literacy in and out of school" (p. 158).

Limitations and Agenda for Future Research

As with most qualitative research, the main limitation of this study lies in the fact that the researcher is the "primary instrument of data collection and analysis" (Merriam, 1998, p. 42), which implies that it is largely dependent upon the researcher's ability to elicit participant responses, and also on participants' enthusiasm to share their perspectives and their willingness to allow the researcher into their lives.

Bearing this in mind, one possible direction for future research is to conduct longitudinal qualitative studies that follow students over a period of time, interviewing them at different stages of their English education. This not only allows better mutual understanding between participants and researchers, but also offers insights into how global and local changes over time influence the global status of English and hence, attitudes of English language learners. Another possible direction for future research is to gain understanding of English language teachers' perspectives toward their roles as English language teachers in relation to the global spread of English.

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Education for Social Solidarity and Revolution: A Closer Look at Intercultural Bilingual Education in Peru

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This paper explores language policy and planning in Peru. It seeks to shed light on historical and social factors impacting current education policies and philosophies regarding the place of indigenous children in a centralized national school system. At the heart of this inquiry are two main questions: Is there a common ground between national and indigenous identity to promote social solidarity? And if so, does this common ground include teaching traditional indigenous culture and languages in public schools?

Currently, radical changes in Peru's education system are being made in order to implement a new model of learning for rural indigenous children. The goal of this reform, referred to as intercultural bilingual education, is to give all children access to a quality learning experience that is culturally relevant and inclusive of mother tongue languages. In Peru's case, the battleground between indigenous concerns and national policies in education exists in two broad arenas: 1) the urban and rural divide, and 2) the function or utility of indigenous languages within the national education system. From a postcolonial perspective, this paper explores not only the *why*, or the importance of such educational reform, but also the *how*, or the teaching methods and systemic adjustments required for such a change to be effective.

Language of instruction is linked to a struggle between creating a learning environment that promotes social cohesion while not stripping people of their cultural identity. In Peru, Spanish is the language that grants access to social, political, and economic domains both nationally and internationally. However, teaching Spanish as the primary language may disenfranchise rural children who are raised speaking an indigenous language at home and in the community. Language maintenance for isolated rural indigenous communities is a crucial issue when considering which language takes precedence in a classroom. The oral history, mythology, and linguistic conventions of some remote communities are on the verge of extinction, making learning mother tongue languages in a compulsory setting not only relevant but also necessary.

Intercultural bilingual education reform is significant because it not only seeks to revamp a defunct education system, but also advocates for a historic wide-scale change in language ideology. This evokes the question: Is schooling enough? From a postcolonial perspective, a change in education policy is closely tied to economic, social, and political factors. Specifically, it is important to understand the lingering effect of colonialism on social inequalities, economic

development, and the values ascribed to language. The intercultural bilingual model seeks to carve out a new space for rural indigenous people in Peruvian society concerning language policy and planning in schools. This can be achieved by giving community members access to formerly excluded domains and paying deference to voices once silenced.

Development and Education Reform through a Postcolonial Lens

Historically, the purpose of education to maintain social order has been prevalent in previously colonized nations such as those in Latin America. Colonization left a lasting imprint in these countries concerning language use, social stratification, economic production, and development. This is particularly evident in Peru, where Spanish replaced indigenous languages such as Quechua and Aymara as the dominant language for communication. In postcolonial Peru education further promoted social solidarity by inculcating a national identity amidst a volatile political landscape and civil war. In this context, indigenous identity and culture was pushed to the periphery (and even defamed) as cultural ideologies privileged urban values and society which promoted Spanish as the key to international discourse and development.

The critique focuses on the complexity of integrating indigenous bilingual education programs into the current national education system of Peru. According to Vavrus (2002), postcolonial analysis "explores the cultural and ideological aspects of colonialism that continue to influence the present" (p. 375). The postcolonial lens is an appropriate angle of critique for Peru's current rural education project because it promotes a contextualization of the many discourses and subjectivities of the stakeholders involved in language policy, language ideology and theories of development.

At the present time, Peru is in the first phase (beginning in 2004) of a three phase program (projected to end in 2013) funded by the World Bank entitled the *Rural Education and Teacher Development Project: Indigenous Peoples Plan* (World Bank Group, 2002). The main goal of the project is to implement intercultural bilingual education in rural areas of Peru where education indices show a systematic failure in achievement, attendance, teacher training, and educational resources for indigenous children. It is hoped that by 2013, Peru will achieve the Millennium Development Goal of universal primary education completion at a rate of 97% in rural areas.

Despite the project's potential, further consideration must be given to the social and economic landscape upon which its effectiveness rests. In order for this project to be successful, attention must be given to the way issues of poverty, prejudice, and ideologies of language compound the current problems facing indigenous children in the education system.

National Context and the Value of Education in Peru

Peru is located in the central western area of South America. The Andes mountain range divides Peru into three distinct areas: the Amazon, the Sierra (the Andes), and the Coast. The ecology of Peru is diverse with a tropical climate

in the east, desert in the west, and temperate to extremely cold temperatures in the Andes.

The geographic diversity is mirrored by a linguistic diversity, which is perhaps Peru's distinctive characteristic. Historically, Peru was a colony of Spain and gained independence from colonial rule in 1821. As a lasting imprint, Spanish is Peru's official language, spoken as the "maternal language" by 84% of the population (Hargreaves, Montero, Chau, Sibli, & Thanh, 2001). However, some sources document both Spanish and the indigenous language Quechua as the official languages (*Library of Congress*, 2004). In addition to Quechua (approximately four million speakers) and Aymara (350,000 speakers), which are largely spoken in the Sierra region, there are approximately 40 indigenous mother tongue languages spoken in the Amazon (World Bank Group, 2002).

Peru has a volatile political history marked most recently by a civil war from 1980-2000. The current presidency is losing popularity as a recent economic boom is steadily deflating and unemployment and poverty continue to rise. In addition, there are 60,000 internally displaced persons remaining from the civil war, a population mainly composed of indigenous peasants from the Andes and Amazon regions (*CIA World Fact Book*, 2004).

Amidst this turbulent context, indigenous people have been working toward new levels of access and equality in national policy. The rights of indigenous people have historically been absent from mainstream politics. This situation is marked by stark cultural differences and a strong divide between rural and urban concerns. The focus on intercultural bilingual education by indigenous advocates and organizations is indicative of a greater commitment to the cultural and linguistic maintenance of indigenous people.

Education is highly regarded in Peru as a sign of progress, honor, and respect. Social status is directly linked to educational achievement and demonstrated in titles, such as "Professor" and "Doctor," which denotes a level of academic accomplishment. Education is also associated with economic status. It is a distinguishing characteristic that signifies a separation from poverty. Historically, indigenous people in rural areas have been alienated from the formal education system. According to Aikman (1995), this system has in the past been discriminatory in promoting the languages of the national state at the expense of indigenous languages and cultures. Furthermore, school policies have encouraged the abandonment of native clothing and language, and have contributed to stereotypes of indigenous people as coca-chewing, poverty-stricken alcoholics (*Library of Congress*, 2004).

A centralized education system that focuses on urban rather than rural concerns complicates this social and economic divide. Indigenous students in remote or isolated areas have vastly different needs compared to their urban counterparts. In addition, rural schools in Peru are often difficult to travel to and constitute a single multigrade classroom, comprising students of various ages and grade levels, and a single teacher, making instruction and learning challenging. According to Hargreaves et al (2001), "in the Peruvian case, multigrade teaching is closely associated with an impoverished educational

service, of poor quality, with deficient resources and lacking a capacity to promote learning" (p. 501). These characteristics of rural schools are associated with negative stereotypes of rural education while simultaneously elevating the status of urban schooling.

Although the isolation of the Andes creates a haven of culture and resources, it is also a detriment to the infrastructure and dissemination of information. This is particularly significant for remote locations where the school is often the link between the urban areas and the local community. In addition, attendance problems occur when students and teachers need to travel long distances by foot to get to school. Teaching positions in rural locations are often less desirable, have a higher staff turnover rate, and are commonly obtained as the first job for less experienced teachers. These teachers feel isolated without proper faculty and administrative support (Hargreaves et al, 2001).

The stigma of rural schools is both part of the result and the catalyst for movements toward bustling urban centers such as Peru's capital city of Lima. According to Vilanova's (1997) historical account of urban migration,

The educational system itself ignored the country's heterogeneity and was based on a uniform curriculum dominated by urban values and completely detached from rural society. Life in the city was made highly attractive to rural children, whose education bore little relation to their everyday reality. (p. 2)

This type of centralized education system has created and reinforced inequalities among rural and urban students, further underscoring the need for a more inclusive curriculum for all.

Education and National Identity in Peru

It is important to explore the way in which the classroom serves as a space to create and promote a national identity. From a functionalist perspective, classic anthropologists such as Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown "regarded society as a functional system with strong tendencies towards equilibrium" (Smith, 1998, p. 20). From this perspective, the primary goal of society was to achieve balance through homeostasis and to preserve the power of the status quo. However, what is functional is not always ethical. This is closely tied to Althusser's theory of the Ideological State Apparatus in which institutions of the state serve to inculcate ideologies of those in power in order to maintain order and structure (Feinberg and Soltis, 1998). Compulsory education has been viewed as a classic example of an Ideological State Apparatus, which has tremendous influence on the development of youth to be intellectually and ideologically supportive of the state.

Education is a nation-building institution that provides a link between national and local society. As Safa (1971) stated,

The school provides a framework through which a national ideology can be shaped and formulated, and then taught to a large segment

of the society at an age when competing values have presumably not yet had a chance to take hold. (p. 208)

At a malleable age, children acquire a common set of symbols, such as a national flag, in addition to state-defined values and goals. In Peru's public schools these values and symbols are closely wedded to a militaristic focus. This is illustrated by *fiestas patrias*, a parade in celebration of military forces, as well as the cadet style public school uniform (*Library of Congress*, 2004). The volatile political landscape of Peru has made the implementation of social solidarity through national identity a top priority in compulsory education.

Teachers can be seen as mediators between national and local society. They are held accountable by the Ministry of Education in Lima to implement the dictated curriculum. Teachers are expected to educate students in content areas in addition to teaching values of modernity, nationalism, and patriotism that the state wants to promote. Consequently, teachers are trained to "break with and oppose indigenous knowledge and wisdom" (Wilson, 2000, p. 5). Nevertheless, teachers are also "local intellectuals" and as members of the local community, have "actively engaged in discourses of dissent and challenges of the state" (Wilson, 2000, p. 1). This dual identity has put teachers in a precarious position in regard to national and indigenous identity.

Revolutionary Changes for Indigenous Education in Peru

A focus on the meaning and utility of education reform

In order to explore a possible common ground between national and indigenous identity as a means of promoting social solidarity through education in the public schools, the meaning or philosophical backdrop of education must be considered. On the subject of learning culture in schools, the prominent anthropologist, Margaret Mead (1963) in her essay, "Our Educational Emphases in Primitive Perspective," explores how homogenization of cultures occurs within the compulsory setting. According to Mead, education is a cultural process by which a human infant is transformed into a functioning member of a particular society in order to share a specific culture with other members of that society. In other words, humans are nurtured by a variety of learning experiences that shape who they are as members of a specific society.

Education has many purposes, especially in a multilingual society containing a large indigenous population. Education is an essential component of financial and social development, both nationally and internationally. At the same time, the classroom is a place for maintaining knowledge of cultural history, linguistic conventions of mother tongue languages, and cultural practices on the verge of extinction.

The language of instruction is inextricably linked to the struggle between a learning environment that promotes social cohesion and an education that strips people of their cultural identity. The dominance of Spanish as the primary medium of instruction in Peruvian schools deprives rural children, many of whom speak indigenous languages with family members and their community, of their

educational rights. Quechua and Aymara, the two largest indigenous groups, have been the focus of bilingual education for decades. In some selected schools, Quechua and Aymara have become both a language of instruction and a subject, which has been seen as a triumph for cultural and linguistic equity. In addition, the World Bank Group's loan supports teacher training, text materials, and instruction of Quechua, Aymara, and Aguaruna in the formal classroom (World Bank Group, 2002).

Language maintenance and mother tongue literacy are particularly important in the Amazon region where a multitude of ethnolinguistic groups exist. According to Aikman (1995), "the Peruvian Amazon has an indigenous population of approximately 300,000 persons belonging to some 63 ethnolinguistic groups from 12 different language families" (p. 413). There remains an inherent duality in that the written form of language is valued over oral forms in the formal education system. Indigenous languages and mother tongue vernacular are largely oral languages, whereas Spanish is oral and written.

The 1980s marked a significant shift from cultural assimilation policies to recognition of cultural and linguistic plurality. This meant a move away from a vision of nationalism rooted in a monocultural/monolingual system to one that embraces differences. In 1990, The Peruvian Ministry of Education formally recognized bilingual education in national policy and supported the teaching of languages other than Spanish in the school system (Aikman, 1995). This is significant because the policy underscored the importance of written materials in the mother tongue vernacular to be used in formal schooling.

Nevertheless, according to Aikman (1995), it was not enough for these programs to be bilingual as "some peoples began to question the underlying objectives of the bilingual curriculum which they felt was not based in respect for their cultural practices" (p. 413). In other words, aspects of culture that extend beyond language conventions, such as oral history, mythology, and rituals were being ignored thereby resulting in the loss of essential cultural knowledge. However, teaching culture within the compulsory classroom remains a controversial issue. Although the national patriotic monoculture of Peru seemed to be readily taught, the place of indigenous culture remained unclear, both in content and teaching methods.

The degree of integration of intercultural bilingual education largely depends on a monumental shift in language ideology on behalf of the state for both rural and urban Peruvians. This is a bottom up approach to development, where those who have been historically subjugated advocate for change. According to Wilson (2000), "In colonial and post-colonial societies where large indigenous or subordinated populations have been ruled by elites distinguished by their racial-ethnic-religious identities as well as socio-economic class, the possibility has been present that the school is conquered from below" (p. 5). This further underscores the importance of change coming from the people of Peru and provides a different angle for development that comes from the bottom rather than the top.

Education reform from an emic perspective

Switching the focus of development from a top down to a bottom up approach requires a closer look at the issues that are pertinent to local voices that have often been left out of important policy making decisions. Focusing on local concerns is an emic approach to development policy and has the potential for affecting meaningful change for indigenous people. Aikman (1995) describes Sampaio and da Silva's (1981) definition of what intercultural bilingual education means to indigenous people as "providing useful knowledge with which indigenous peoples can defend their interests vis-à-vis the wider encroaching society (including nationally based language(s) and communicative practices), and revitalizing and strengthening indigenous cultural practices (including indigenous communicative practices)" (p. 411). Bilingual intercultural education is therefore seen by some as a crucial aspect of compulsory education that creates a sense of national and indigenous cultural identity.

Nevertheless, there are dissenting viewpoints as the values ascribed to language are complex and slow to change. As Saroli (2001) describes, parents want their children to be well-versed in Spanish, the language of power and opportunity. The ideological divide is perpetuated by stereotypes and there is a "common perception of Quechua speakers as uneducated and inferior to Spanish speakers" (Saroli, 2001, p. 1). Spanish remains the language of education, government, commerce, and the link to international dialogue. However, indigenous languages are an integral part of Peru's identity and ought not to be forgotten for the sake of development.

This duality in language ideology is represented within indigenous communities as well. For example, Aikman's (1995) research shows conflicting views among indigenous communities of the Amazon. While the Arasaeri Harakmbut embrace a bilingual model for education, the Arakmbut Harakmbut oppose it. The difference of opinion is grounded in the opposing influences of the national society as well as the way each envisions the role of language in formal schooling.

The Arakmbut opinion is that the mother tongue language and other cultural practices should remain separate from the domain of formal schooling. The indigenous language is to be spoken at home and within the community. Spanish should be taught to students in school because parents lack the ability to teach it to their children. In addition, their primary concerns are literacy and written skills in Spanish for necessary national and international discourse.

The Arakmbut's ideological approach to acquisition of language differs from a formal schooling model. According to Aikman (1995), the Arakmbut view learning as a meaningful part of dialogue and social interaction. This language exists largely in oral rather than written form. Therefore, learning is a process that happens gradually and spans the lifetime. For the Arakmbut, teaching language and grammar in isolation detracts from true contextualized meaning. Furthermore, cultural maintenance should exist outside the formal classroom as well. To the Arakmbut, this type of knowledge does not belong in a textbook and is not formulaic. The Arakmbut are also adverse to the competitive nature of the

formal education system and feel that quantifying cultural knowledge is inappropriate.

Aikman (1995) indicates that the Arasaeri hold a different perspective regarding language learning and cultural maintenance. For the Arasaeri, formal bilingual education was the best option for rescuing their language from near extinction. By incorporating bilingual teaching materials into the classroom, the language could be revitalized and disseminated. Much of the oral history, myths, and cultural traditions have fallen out of the mainstream of Arasaeri life. The commitment of the entire community to learn these ways in the context of the classroom ensures the survival of a dying language.

The World Bank's involvement in Peru

The Rural Education and Teacher Development Plan targets rural indigenous children at the pre-school, primary, and secondary levels because these students face particularly troublesome obstacles in attaining a quality education. This project focuses on six crucial areas: early childhood development, multigrade classrooms, bilingual education, teacher training, effective school networking, and decentralization. The World Bank has had an impact on bilingual education in Mexico, Guatemala, and Bolivia, and cites these countries as examples of successful integration models. The ultimate goal of the project is to provide an education that can support a plurality of cultures in Peru.

Teacher training and effective teaching materials in bilingual education is a cornerstone of this project. According to the report, indigenous languages in the primary level will be taught as a first language and Spanish as a second language. Teacher consistency in this process is essential; the use of two languages in the classroom can lead to an imbalance of one over the other. In addition, switching between two languages often depends on a teacher's comfort level with those languages. It is hoped that quality teacher training along with re-certification every five to seven years will increase teacher accountability.

The project further seeks to expand educational access for children living in extremely remote areas. One way this is being addressed is by providing non-formal household centered programs for young children who cannot travel far distances. In addition, multigrade classrooms will be improved with a more timely distribution of bilingual teaching materials. Furthermore, teachers will receive more training specifically geared toward meeting the needs of a variety of age/grade levels simultaneously.

As part of the decentralization effort, regional offices will be restructured for more effective, functional management. Involvement of the community in support of this process marks a momentous transition for local voices. Members of the local community will be encouraged to join school councils and be part of decision-making and educational policy. The development plan proposes school networking and greater communication among schools in order to support a greater amount of regional autonomy without simultaneously causing isolation.

Challenges and Recommendations

Despite the project's comprehensive and culturally sensitive plan, the practicality of implementing such ideals remains a challenge. Development and school reform are multifaceted processes that are not likely to be effective without wide social and political support. Ideological changes need to occur at the local and national level regarding the importance, utility and equity of a multilingual system if reforms like the World Bank's Intercultural Bilingual Education Plan are to have a long-term impact in Peru. Perhaps this will occur through the greater utilization of indigenous languages such as Quechua in mass media including radio broadcasts, television, and political discourse.

A closer look at the purpose and function of education for students in remote rural areas must be considered as well. If education is a means toward moving out of poverty and contributing to national development, then it is likely that graduates would move toward more enticing urban locations with more opportunities rather than stay in their local communities. In addition to input from adults of local communities, perhaps students could be given an opportunity to contribute to policy-making decisions. Having student representatives in roundtable discussions would add another perspective to intercultural bilingual education concerning methodology, implementation, and evaluation of effectiveness. If full integration of a bilingual system is not made in Peru's society beyond the rural schools, the intercultural system runs a risk of remaining in isolation. For example, limiting this type of instruction only to rural schools further perpetuates the urban/rural divide and makes culture learning relevant for some rather than all.

In order to increase dialogue among students in urban and rural settings, conversation pairs or pen pal programs could be introduced. Students would then have an opportunity to write to one another to practice using two or more languages, thereby increasing fluency and making meaningful interpersonal connections. In addition, school visits could be arranged so that urban and rural students could experience learning in a variety of contexts and settings while simultaneously increasing opportunities for empathy and understanding.

The urban and rural divide and the utility of indigenous languages remain at the heart of the matter in Peru's current intercultural bilingual education reform. Engaging a postcolonial analysis of this type of education reform is pertinent to education policy makers and indigenous people alike. It is hoped that a new inclusive vision of an effective education system can be created in a responsible way. This means shedding light on existing social inequalities, methods of economic development, and the values ascribed to language by the various cultures of Peru. The intercultural bilingual model seeks to carve out a new space for rural indigenous Peruvians by starting with the education system. It is hoped that providing this type of access gives voice to those once silenced and legitimacy to a culture and language in danger of extinction.

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Bilingualism in Mazandaran: Peaceful Coexistence With Persian

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Introduction

Although Persian is the official language of Iran, there are many regional languages and dialects spoken across the country. Most regional languages are related to Persian and belong to a larger "Iranian" family, itself a branch of Indo-European. Turkish, the major non-Iranian language, spoken in the northwestern part of the country, is greatly influenced by Persian. In some parts of the country, this linguistic diversity coupled with religious differences has led to ethno-political conflicts (e.g. in the province of Kurdistan). On the other hand, the Caspian provinces of Mazandaran and Gilan enjoy a peaceful coexistence between their vernaculars and the lingua franca, Persian.

This paper investigates the present position of Mazandarani, the non-standard regional language of the Mazandaran province, and its peaceful relationship with Persian, the standard language of Iran. In examining this relationship, this paper will attempt to answer two questions:

- 1) Why has language division which has caused political conflicts in certain regions of Iran not done so in the province of Mazandaran?
- 2) What are the implications of this linguistic harmony? Does this peaceful coexistence mean that the two languages are equal in terms of socio-political and economic status?

The paper is organized into four sections. The first section provides a glimpse of the historical and modern position of Mazandarani. The second section provides four motivating factors behind linguistic-political conflict: the level of sociocultural and political integration, internal (intra-national) and external (transnational) factors, religious differences, and socioeconomic inequality. The main concern of the third section is to discuss the consequences of the peaceful co-existence and its impact on Mazandarani by focusing on language shift and decline. Finally, the last section highlights the attempts that have been made to revitalize or maintain the vernacular.

Choosing this language as the subject of my study is an extension of my personal attachment to Mazandarani. I was born and raised in Sari, the provincial capital of Mazandaran, and acquired the vernacular as a child. However, it was only in college that I began to speak the language fluently. I was first encouraged to speak it by my Mazandarani co-residents in the

dormitories at the University of Tehran during my graduate years when I was studying Linguistics. More recently, I started to collect folk poems. My interest in Mazandarani is largely connected to my familiarity with linguistics, sociolinguistics, and ethnography, without which I might have regarded the dialect worthless, as many of my friends from Sari do.

The Mazandarani Language

Mazandarani is the local language of Mazandaran, a province stretched along the southern shores of the Caspian Sea, with a population of about three million. Among the living Iranian languages, Mazandarani boasts one of the longest written traditions (from the 10th to 15th centuries), roughly matching that of New Persian. This status was achieved during the long reign of the independent and semi-independent provincial rulers in the centuries after the Arab invasion. Several major works were written in Mazandarani, but all are lost, except some fragments preserved in the Persian works connected to the province (Borjian, 2001, 2004; Windfuhr, 1989).

The geographical domain of Mazandarani, roughly within the present administrative boundaries of the province, has remained almost unchanged over the past millennium. It is still spoken in the historical cities as well as in modern industrial centers. Most speakers, however, dwell in a series of loosely knit villages spread over the plains of Mazandaran. They also live in individual mountainous settlements in the central-eastern Alborz, as far south as the suburbs of Tehran (Borjian, 2004; Windfuhr, 1989).

The usage of Mazandarani, however, has been in decline. Its literary and administrative rank was lost to Persian perhaps long before the ultimate integration of Mazandaran into the national administration in the early 17th century. Considerable migration has occurred in modern times from the foothills into the littoral plains and towns of Mazandaran. This demographic change has combined with the widespread use of Persian in gradually limiting the use of Mazandarani. An overwhelming majority of the population of the province is now bilingual. Moreover, Persian is increasingly influencing Mazandarani, which belongs to the northwestern family of Iranian languages, and, therefore, is mutually unintelligible with respect to Persian, a southwestern language (Borjian, 2001, 2004).

Attempts have been made to promote the language in the later decades. There has been a growing number of literary publications, mostly verse, but also proverbs, idioms, and vocabulary of various localities and sub-dialects that are being collected and published. Radio and television programs, both entertaining and educational, are regularly broadcast in Mazandarani. Since there exists a high mutual intelligibility among various Mazandarani sub-dialects, the broadcasts attract many listeners and are considered to be successful.

Language Divisions and Political Conflicts

The level of sociocultural and political integration

Fishman (1968) examines language problems in terms of the degree of political and sociocultural integration. He divides countries into three categories: the new developing nations, such as sub-Saharan and East Africa, the old developing nations, such as the Near East and Southeast Asia, and the intermediate types, such as India and Pakistan. While in newly developing nations the problem is in achieving and maintaining sociocultural and political integration, in old developing nations integration is already attained on the basis of their history and past greatness. However, the main concern of these societies is modernization. Their classical standard language is significantly different from the vernacular of the masses and should be mobilized through the process of modernization. Unlike the first two categories, the intermediate nations are those societies which need to maintain the political and sociocultural integration on the one hand, and deal with the process of modernization on the other.

Iran falls into the category of old developing countries, as it originated nearly 25 centuries ago, and over its entire history, Persian (Old, Middle, New) has functioned as the standard language. This lingua franca has always coexisted with other varieties and regional languages, including Mazandarani (Schmitt, 1989). This co-existence is the result of the political and sociocultural integration of an old developing country whose various ethnic groups want to be connected with and unified under their "Great Tradition." "Their ancient literatures, legal codes, heroes and leaders of the past command admiration and obedience; the old developing nations can withstand much greater linguistic diversity and unrest as a result of integration" (Fishman, 1968). Thus, based on Fishman's theory, in Iran, the stable and widespread coexistence of separate dialects or languages (including Mazandarani) with the standard language is indeed natural and expected. Therefore, linguistic division alone is not a vital factor to inflame political conflicts within an old nation; rather, other factors must be involved.

The role of internal and external factors

In discussing minority languages, Price (1979) analyzes language problems in terms of internal and external factors. The author distinguishes between those languages which belong to a minority in one country, but are a majority language elsewhere, and those languages which are not the dominant language in any country. Price includes in the first category such languages as French in Switzerland and Dutch in a small area in northern France. In the second category there are languages like Welsh, Catalan, and Basque. In the latter, only internal factors (e.g. inequality) are involved in language problems, while in the former, both internal and external factors magnify the language conflicts.

In Iran, the impact of external factors, which have promoted linguistic conflicts, can easily be detected amongst the Turkish-speaking and the Baluchi minorities. Turkish, spoken in northwestern Iran, is the official language of

neighboring Turkey and the Azerbaijan Republic, who regularly broadcast radio programs for Turkish speaking minorities abroad. The programs aim at encouraging the speakers to see themselves as part of a transnational Turkish speaking nation. This phenomenon also encourages separatist tendencies, as "ambitious members of minority groups see the opportunity to make careers for themselves by fanning a large potential group into consciousness of its separate identity" (Inglehart & Woodward, 1972). In 1945, the influence of external propaganda combined with the ambitions of local leaders led to the emergence in northwestern Iran of a small "republic" which declared Turkish its official language. The incident took place under the Soviet occupation of northern Iran during World War II, and the Republic was soon abolished after the Red Army was forced to leave the country under international pressure.

Baluchi, however, belongs to the larger Iranian language family spoken in the southeast of Iran. Although Baluchi is not a dominant language anywhere, most of its speakers live in Pakistan, where it is recognized as an official language to discourage the Baluchi separatist movement, which became a serious threat to the territorial integrity of Pakistan in the 1970s. In Iran the Baluchi problem has never become serious, partly because Iranian speaking Baluchis do not consider themselves alien in Iran as they do in Pakistan, and partly because of the preventative measures taken by the central government, particularly by spending large development funds in the poverty-stricken, tribally-structured province (Boyajian, 2000).

Mazandarani, in contrast, is at the other end of the spectrum. It is neither the dominant language of any nations, nor do its speakers live across the border (Borjian, 2004). Therefore, in the absence of the external factors, linguistic division itself is not a strong factor to lead to political conflicts among this minority group.

The role of religion

Religious division is another important factor tending to reinforce the line of linguistic cleavages. The Hindi-Urdu situation is an ideal example. Hindi and Urdu are by and large identical, but each represents a religion, and the religious division has led to linguistic cleavages (including in the script) and eventually to political conflicts within an old nation (Inglehart and Woodward, 1972; Wardhaugh, 1987).

In Iran, too, religion has played a significant role in language identity. Some 85% of Iranians are Shiite, the Persianized branch of Islam influenced by Zoroastrianism, the ancient religion of Iran (Borjian, 2001). In some parts of the country, the linguistic diversity coupled with religious differences has promoted political conflicts in the above-mentioned province of Kurdistan, the land of the Kurdish tribes, whose territory extends across national frontiers to Turkey, Iraq, and beyond. Sometimes religious divisions promote faith-motivated literary activity and the development of writing systems among linguistic minorities (Windfuhr, 1989). In Mazandaran, however, the dominant religion is Shiism, the majority faith. This is another reason why in Mazandaran linguistic division has not led to political conflicts (Borjian 2004).

The role of inequality

Ronald Inglehart and Margaret Woodward (1972) analyze language conflicts as a function of group inequality. They state that in almost all bilingual and multilingual societies, there is an upper language (i.e. the dominant) and one or more lower languages (i.e. subordinate). While the upper language represents prestige, power, and a higher status of the speaker, the lower languages signify the opposite. This linguistic inequality, however, does not always lead to political conflicts. Linguistic divisions will lead to political conflicts when a dominant language group obtains the social, political and economic power within the society and blocks the social mobility of the minority language groups. Therefore, based on Inglehart and Woodward's point of view, language conflict has its roots in the unequal economic, political, and social status of a language group.

Mazandaran's rural economy ranks high among the provinces of Iran, because of its rich soil and abundance of precipitation, in contrast to the arid plateau covering the bulk of Iran. Based on a quantitative survey conducted in 1962, Keddie (1968) contrasted regional variations as follows: "there were villages in the south-east [of Iran] where the poorest peasants made 8, 10 or 14 dollars a year, and even the richer cultivators made only five or six times that much per family; at the other extreme, in one atypical village in Mazandaran, a prosperous province below the Caspian Sea, the peasant families average 1037 dollars per year." This data reveals the economic status of Mazandarani, who are economically above average on the national scale.

It has so far been discussed that in Mazandaran a high level of sociocultural and political integration between the standard language, Persian, and the vernacular, Mazandarani, exists. Moreover, Mazandarani is neither the dominant language of any nation, nor do its speakers live across the border. Additionally, the lack of external factors, religious division, and economic inequality has allowed the peaceful co-existence of this linguistic division.

The Implications of This Peaceful Coexistence

Iran's linguistic diversity has led both to political conflicts (e.g. among Kurds and Turkish-speakers) and to peaceful coexistences (e.g. among Mazandarani and many other ethno-linguistic groups). The latter situation, peaceful coexistence, does not merely mean that there is no language inequality, shift, or decline at all. As Fishman (1991) points out, "some languages die and disappear without struggle" while others fight to reveal their anger and frustration.

The peaceful coexistence of two languages in old developing nations functions much like the phenomenon of globalization in the modern world; it can be both constructive and destructive. The positive implication is that it unifies a nation and connects its people to their common past and empowers nationalism instead of *nationism* (i.e. separation). On the other hand, it is destructive because one of the consequences of unification is the destruction of indigenous cultures and languages (Fishman, 2001). If this theory is legitimate, then the

question that emerges is why Mazandarani has not disappeared prior to the era of modernization.

When two languages are in contact, their relationship tends to change as a result of shifting economic, linguistic, social, demographic and political factors (Wardhaugh, 1987). Before the process of modernization and urbanization in Iran, the power status of Persian and Mazandarani was not profoundly unequal. The masses were illiterate and unaware of national events. The majority were peasants who were connected to their own lands and had low expectations of social and economic mobility. Moreover, lack of contact with other language communities (i.e. geographical isolation) and the absence of the mass media were vital safeguards to the maintenance of the local language (Keddie, 1968). Thus, functionally, Mazandarani was the dominant language within its geographical domain, both in urban and rural areas.

The balance of power between Persian and regional languages (including Mazandarani) has significantly been changed since modernization began in Iran in the late 19th century. Modernization has brought many changes in the social networks, relationships between people, and patterns of languages. Persian remained the language of education, bureaucracy, government and economy. The masses, at one time illiterate, were required to attend schools to learn the standard language. Newspapers, magazines, and mass media have broken the geographical isolations of the language groups. Thus, Persian has been replacing Mazandarani gradually--not fully, but partly--in its functions (Windfuhr, 1989).

Urbanization is another consequence of modernization, which has had a direct impact on the decline of Mazandarani. Wardhaugh (1987) considers cities and towns as important factors in achieving language dominance; they become governmental, social, cultural, and economic centers. While the countryside loses its attraction, cities get more attention, particularly from the young and mobile. Consequently, it is in the cities that languages come together and it is there where language inequality emerges. Before modernization, a large majority of Mazandarani dwelled in villages, and used different sub-dialects of the same language. However, after modernization, the mastery of Persian has increased especially among growing urban inhabitants (Windfuhr, 1989).

As Wardhaugh (1987) indicates, "languages exist to meet the needs of its speakers." The emergence of new needs has caused the linguistic assimilation of the younger, literate, mobile, and progressive urban generation who cannot rely on the vernacular to assess social progress. On the other hand, rural inhabitants, the farmers who are still connected to their lands and have their own economy and, therefore, are not entirely dependent on the bureaucracy, have kept the vernacular much better than the city dwellers. Mazandarani still meets farmers' needs and that is why rural areas remain the stronghold of Mazandarani (Borjian, 2004).

One of the factors indicating the decline of a language is "when it is no longer transmitted naturally to children at home by parents or other caretakers" (Nettle & Romaine, 2000). As mentioned previously, I was raised in a bilingual family whose mother tongue, Mazandarani, had not been fully passed down to

the younger generation, including my siblings and me. To provide an example, I would like to use one of my own experiences. Once my grandmother, my mother and I went to the forest to pick some edible vegetation. While my grandmother knew the indigenous names of many plants and tried to pass them on to us, my mother was only familiar with some of them; I, myself, was so much of a stranger to the subject that I did not even try to learn them. Obviously, this aboriginal knowledge, which has been passed down orally over time, is being forgotten and will soon disappear. This dilemma is not limited to my family; it is applicable to the entire urban generation, of which I am a part. We not only acquired the standard language but also express a negative attitude toward Mazandarani (Borjian & Borjian, 2006, forthcoming).

Negative attitudes toward the speakers of a language community may have psychological impacts on the individuals of the community and the use of their language (Grosjean, 1982). In addition, it reveals the impact of modernization on this language community. The community, which used to be economically self-sufficient from the cities, is gradually losing its independence, and this loss has paved the road for *Persianisation*. The following example, which is based on my fieldwork in rural parts of Mazandaran, shows the negative attitudes of the urban dwellers toward the rural people.

My 60-year-old informant, whose mother tongue is Mazandarani and whose Persian is pidgin-like, while talking about how she used to make cookies for the New Year, added: "These cookies used to be our gifts for the New Year's Eve. Now, well, we go to the town to buy all types of pastry. We don't bake them because the tradition survives no more. If you bake 'goat-ear bread' or a 'cookie,' the people would say, 'O peasant, you are still doing the things belonging to the olden days.' Now, we cannot do these any more, and if we do, no one would appreciate" (Borjian & Borjian, 2006, forthcoming).

Language Revitalization

Attempts have been made to promote the Mazandarani language. For instance, local radio and television programs regularly broadcast in the language. As I already mentioned, the broadcasts attract many listeners and provide primary and secondary employment for the minority language speakers. The question, however, is how local broadcasting alone can save a language which is losing its functions within the family domain.

To salvage languages at risk, Fishman (2001) presents an eight-stage solution, the most important of which is trying to keep a language alive within the domain of family. He proposes that if a language is used only by the older generation, it is likely to die as the older generations pass. His solution for this stage is to encourage parents to speak in the local language with their children. This effort, though, cannot be made on a wide scale without the support of the government. The urban youth within the province of Mazandaran do not generally speak its mother tongue. Although radio and television alleviate the pressure, they are only short-term remedies for the dying language. Media cannot uproot the source of the problem. When the older generation vanishes, the media will hardly attract the younger generation in any significant scale.

Conclusion

Over the last millennium, Persian and Mazandarani, one as the standard language and the other as a regional language of the Caspian province of Iran, have lived side by side. The sociocultural, economic and political fabric of the country has not led to the eradication of regional languages and dialects. That is the major reason why Mazandarani is still in use. However, the balance of power between the two languages has been dramatically altered since the emergence of modernization, which brought many changes to social networks, relationships between people, and patterns of languages. The power imbalance has led to language shift and the current decline of Mazandarani. This process has not caused political conflicts owing to the specific political, economic, and religious characteristics of the province and its people. It is not easy though to predict the future of the language given the promising attempts on the part of the speakers, as well as the central government, to save the language.

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Children's Attitudes Towards the Diglossic Situation in Arabic and its Impact on Learning

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One of the most distinctive features of the Arabic language is the occurrence of diglossia (Al-Batal, 1996; Haeri, 2000). Diglossia is defined as the co-existence of two language varieties. In the case of Arabic, one variety is the primary dialect of the language and the other is learned largely by means of formal education and used for most written and formal spoken purposes, but not for ordinary conversation (Ferguson, 1959).

This paper investigates students' attitudes in first, second, and third grade towards Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), as well as their perception of the learning process of MSA, using an interview paradigm. The results of the study are preliminary and provide insight into children's attitudes toward MSA, its perceived proximity or distance from Palestinian Colloquial Arabic (PCA), as well as the perceived difficulties of learning MSA. This understanding is essential for educational practices and curriculum planning.

Arabic Diglossia and the Schooling of Palestinians in Israel

Diglossia in Arabic is manifested through the existence of *al-lugha al-Fusha*--classical Arabic or Modern Standard Arabic (MSA)--and *al-lugha al-Ammiya*, colloquial Arabic. For the purposes of this paper, I will refer to MSA as Fusha and colloquial Arabic as Ammiya. Fusha is described as a mainly written, literary and formal language that displays a high degree of uniformity, and functions as the official standard language in all Arab countries (Al-Toma, 1969). It is the language of Islam (the second largest religion in the world), of pan-Arab nationalism, and marks the Arab identity (Haeri, 2000). Ammiya, on the other hand, is mainly a spoken dialect and represents the daily life communication vehicle and folk literature. It varies widely along geographical, religious and socio-economic lines from one Arab country to another and from one community to another within the same country (Holes, 1995).

Fusha and Ammiya diverged historically. Holes (1995) states that "although the syntax, vocabulary and phraseology of Arabic have undergone considerable changes in the fourteen centuries since the Revelation [of the Quran], the common origins of Classical Arabic and all other contemporary varieties of the language are still plain for all to see" (p. 4). Fusha, which is the modern descendant of Classical Arabic (the language of the Quran), is a standardized variety that unifies the Arab world as it is used for writing and formal discourse in the Arab world and is mainly learned through formal education. The colloquial Arabic varieties, on the other hand, are each the

mother tongue that native speakers of Arabic learn naturally, and which differ along geographical lines (Holes, 1995).

There is a lack of empirical study of the Arabic diglossic situation and education (Haeri, 2005). Research has focused on the effects of early exposure to literary Arabic texts on reading comprehension abilities in Arab pre-school children (Abu-Rabia, 2000; Eviatar & Ibrahim, 2000; Feitelson, Goldstein, Iraqi, & Share, 1993), the development of meta-linguistic awareness in either normally developing children or children with reading or learning disabilities (Abu-Rabia, Share, & Mansour, 2003; Saiegh-Haddad, 2003), and on teaching Arabic as a foreign language within the existent diglossic situation (Al-Batal, 1992; Brosh, 1995). Within the context of native Arabic speaking students, there is a scarcity of studies examining educational methodologies, knowledge and attitude development within a diglossic framework. In particular, the study of the diglossic situation and education for Palestinian Arabic speaking children in Israel is sparse.

There is a clear consensus in the literature that the differences between Fusha and colloquial Ammiya manifest themselves in all language domains (Al-Toma, 1969; Holes, 1995). Many researchers proclaim that Fusha can be viewed as a second language (Ayari, 1996; Eviatar & Ibrahim, 2000). Others propose that this sociolinguistic situation delays literacy acquisition due to a lack of transparent relation between speech and literacy (Abu-Rabia, 2000; Feitelson et al, 1993; Saiegh-Haddad, 2003). Ayari (1996) and Maamouri (1998) attribute the widespread functional illiteracy in the Arab world to diglossia, which is argued to have a negative impact on Arab children's ability to acquire reading and writing skills in Arabic, and consequently on their academic attainment in general.

Although several researchers claim that Arab children are not exposed to Fusha until they enter school (Holes, 1995; Suleiman, 1986), children do have some Fusha exposure before entering school through television programs and literacy events, such as contact with stories, letters, and street signs. However, this exposure might be relatively limited depending on the child's environment. Thus, in general, children are primarily exposed to Fusha at school.

This study examines the attitudes, reported knowledge, and reported difficulties towards the diglossic situation of first, second, and third grade Palestinian Arabic speaking students living in Israel. Palestinian Arab citizens in Israel today comprise a minority group of 1,245,700 Palestinian inhabitants constituting 18.9% of Israel's population and almost one quarter of school aged children (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2003). These children in particular, have limited exposure to Fusha, compared to children from the Arab world. This is due to the sociopolitical situation in Israel where Hebrew and English are the dominant languages (Spolsky, 1996) and Arabic is the minority language in the Jewish state (Amara, 2002). At present, Palestinian Arab students are taught three languages: Fusha as the language of instruction, Hebrew as a second language starting in the second grade, and English as a foreign language starting the fourth grade (Amara, 2002; Spolsky, 1997).

Israel's educational system is subdivided into a Jewish system and an Arab system. These subdivisions give the system an appearance of educational pluralism, whereas in fact it is separate but not equal. The unequal separation in the educational system continues to serve official policies of domination and control (Abu-Saad, 2001; Amara, 2002; El-Haj, 1996; Human Rights Watch, 2001; Rouhana, 1997). The Arab education system suffers from shortages in physical facilities, such as the number of classrooms, sport yards, and laboratories. There is also a shortage in educational and pedagogical materials where most of the educational materials used for the Palestinian Arabs in Israel are translated word-for-word from materials made for the Jewish educational system.

Arabic Diglossia and Educational Development Policy in the Arab World

All Arab educational systems suffer from high repetition and dropout rates. In addition, illiteracy rates in the Arab world are higher than the average for developing countries and constitute a challenge for educational development (Maamouri, 1998; UNDP, 2003). Even though continuous efforts to improve language policies in the Arab world are taking place, most of these attempts focus on pedagogical and linguistic suggestions to facilitate the learning of Fusha, while ignoring the diglossic situation and its effects on the learning process (Maamouri, 1998). On the other hand, Maamouri claims that there is growing awareness among Arab educational specialists of the direct relationship between the use of Fusha in formal schooling and the high illiteracy rates in many Arab countries.

In recent years, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) published *The Arab Human Development Reports* (AHDR) as part of an ongoing series to identify and address problems and possibilities for human development in the Arab world. Authored by a diverse team of academics and development practitioners from across the region, the reports present a unified perspective on development concerns, identifying three cardinal obstacles to human development regarding (1) freedom, (2) women's empowerment, and (3) knowledge. The 2003 AHDR builds on this framework by focusing on the aspect of creating a knowledge society through educational reform as a means of overcoming these challenges. The report does not address, explicitly or implicitly, the diglossic situation as an intervening factor in the process of learning in the Arab world (Haeri, 2005). One of the conclusions of this report is that there is a need for "education reform," for which a "radical revision of education systems in Arab countries as they move into the twenty first century" is proposed (UNDP, 2003, p. 55). Three strategies are suggested for the implementation of this radical educational reform: enhancing human capabilities, creating strong synergy between education and the socioeconomic system, and formulating a program for education reform at the pan-Arab level.

Educational development policy discourses in the Arab world currently fail to address the challenges posed by diglossia, which are particularly critical in developing appropriate educational methods and practices for literacy development. There is an urgent need for greater understanding of the diglossic

situation within the educational context, and its impact on learning, whether school-based or through informal structures. This study seeks to contribute towards this end through an investigation of the attitudes, knowledge, and learning difficulties, as perceived and reported by first, second, and third graders learning Fusha within the formal educational context of the school. It is hoped that the findings will draw attention to the importance of increased consideration and scholarship regarding Arabic diglossia as it pertains to educational attainment in the Arab world.

Method

Semi-structured interviews were used to investigate Palestinian Arabic-speaking children's attitudes toward Fusha and the process of learning this language variety. The qualitative study involved 30 randomly selected monolingual Arabic-speaking native Palestinian children, who had been exposed to formal instruction in Fusha in their first three years of schooling. The students were divided into three groups of 10 children each, according to grade level, first, second, or third grade, which correspond to six, seven, and eight-year-olds.

To ensure maximum homogeneity, all participants were recruited from the same church-run school in the Arab city of Nazareth, located in the northern part of Israel. The residents of this city live on the margins of Israeli society politically, economically, and socially. Although all residents are native Arabic speakers, they perceive Hebrew as instrumental and vital for their economic and professional development. Schooling is conducted primarily in Arabic. The Hebrew language is introduced in the second grade, and English is introduced in the third grade. The school uses Lebanese textbooks (*Almushawaq*) for teaching Arabic. For all other subjects, textbooks from the Israeli Ministry of Education are utilized. All of the children who participated in this study come from moderate to high socioeconomic backgrounds, based on school records. None of the participating children had hearing, health, behavioral, developmental and/or reading problems, based on teachers' and parents' reports. All participating children had their parents' written consent to participate in the study, and also gave their own consent at the beginning of their interviews, in accordance with Institutional Review Board guidelines and ethics.

The interview was designed to assess children's attitude towards Fusha and their perception of learning it. It mainly consisted of five open-ended questions that were asked of all participants: (a) Do you want to learn Fusha? (b) Do you enjoy learning Fusha? (c) Why is Fusha important? (d) Which language is more important to you: Fusha or English or Hebrew? and (e) Is it easy to learn Fusha? Explain.

I visited the school setting and participated in each of the classes from which the participants were selected in order to increase children's familiarity with me before conducting the interviews. Later, I explained to the students in the participating grades that I needed children to volunteer to answer some questions so that I may understand the teaching methods that led to the success (or failure) of children's acquisition of literacy in Fusha. Interviews were

conducted individually in a quiet room at the school. All interviews were conducted in Ammiya and were tape-recorded.

Children's responses were later transcribed and coded in Arabic. The analysis focused on attitudes towards Fusha and on documenting any issues raised by the students that are relevant to the process of learning Fusha. Responses on the importance of learning Fusha were categorized under the following five reasons: (1) religious, (2) pan-Arabism, (3) language beauty perception, (4) learning necessity, and (5) communication. Religious factors correspond to the importance of learning Fusha because it is the language of the Holy Quran. The pan-Arabism factor relates to its importance as a language of communication among all Arabs, irrespective of their particular national or regional dialect. The language beauty factor relates to the perception that Fusha is an aurally and linguistically appealing language to learn. Finally, the learning necessity factor corresponds to the fact that all educational textbooks are written in Fusha and reading Fusha is required for learning. The communication factor refers to the use of Fusha for communicative goals such as talking to someone that does not speak the same dialect, or understanding a cartoon program.

All children's responses and thoughts throughout the interview (specifically for the third and fifth questions) were analyzed qualitatively and categorized to phonological, lexical, morphosyntactic difficulties in the learning process. Phonological difficulties correspond to reported difficulties in the sounds level. For example, the phoneme /θ/ in Fusha is absent from Palestinian Ammiya or Colloquial Arabic (PCA) and transforms to /t/ [e.g. /θalaθa/ (Fusha)--/talata/ (PCA)]. The lexical difficulties correspond to difficulties in the level of word meanings, such as difficulties in understanding the word /kura/ in Fusha which corresponds to /tabe/ in PCA. Finally, morphosyntactic difficulties corresponded to reported difficulties in the grammatical level. For example, the case of understanding the dual verb which exists in Fusha, but is absent in PCA [jalçabaan (Fusha)--bilçabu (PCA)].

Results

Due to the small sample size, interview responses were analyzed descriptively. This section begins by presenting the findings based on responses to each of the five interview questions. This is followed by general observations across questions, in terms of types of challenges cited by the students and rationales given for why learning Fusha is important to them.

Question 1: Do you want to learn Arabic? The results indicate a decrease in the children's desire to learn Arabic by the third grade. Six students from the first grade and seven students from the second grade stated that they want to learn Fusha. However, only four stated that they wanted to learn Fusha in the third grade. Students' responses for this question are presented in table 1 below.

Table 1: Student responses to questions 1 and 2 (out of 10 participants in each group)

Do you want to learn Fusha?	First Grade	Second Grade	Third Grade
Yes	6	7	4
No	3	0	4
To some extent	1	3	2
Do you enjoy learning Fusha?			
	First Grade	Second Grade	Third Grade
Yes	8	5	4
No	1	1	2
To some extent	1	4	4

Question 2: Do you enjoy learning Fusha? Children's responses suggest a decreased enjoyment of learning Fusha with increased grade level. Eight first-graders reported to enjoy learning Fusha, whereas only five reported to do so in the second grade, and four in the third grade. Students' responses to the second question are presented in table 1 above.

Question 3: Why is Fusha important? Children's common reason regarding the importance of learning Fusha centered on the learning factor throughout the three grade levels. Only one student in the second grade reported religious factors as the reason for learning Fusha. Similarly, only one third grade student reported the pan-Arabism factor to be the reason for learning Fusha. Mention of the importance of communication fluctuated across grade levels. Only two students in the first grade and in the third grade reported communication reasons for learning Fusha, compared with four students in the second grade. Students' responses for the third question are listed in table 2 below.

Table 2: Students' responses to question 3 (out of 10 participants in each group)

Why is Fusha important?	First Grade	Second Grade	Third Grade
Religious reasons	0	1	0
Perceived beauty of language	2	1	1
Learning reasons	5	4	6
Communication reasons	2	4	2
Pan-Arabism reasons	0	0	1
I do not know	1	0	0

Question 4: Which language is more important to learn, Arabic, Hebrew or English? Children stated that English is the most important language to learn across all grades, and Arabic is less important than English. In the first grade, children's responses reveal that Arabic is perceived to be less important than Hebrew as well, but later in the second grade, they report Arabic to be more important than Hebrew. Four students in the first grade reported English as the most important language to learn, and a similar number of students reported Hebrew as the most important language to learn, while only two of the first graders reported Arabic as the most important language to learn. Table 3 summarizes children's responses to question 4.

Table 3: Children's responses to question 4 (out of 10 participants in each group)

Which language is more important to learn, Arabic, Hebrew, or English?	First Grade	Second Grade	Third Grade
Arabic	2	4	3
Hebrew	4	0	1
English	4	6	6

Question 5: *Is it easy to learn Fusha?* In second and third grade, over half of the students reported that it was easy to learn Fusha, whereas only half of the students in the first grade reported that it was easy. These responses are summarized by grade level in table 4 below.

Table 4: Children's responses to question 5 (out of 10 participants in each group)

Is it easy to learn Fusha?	First Grade	Second Grade	Third Grade
Yes	5	8	6
No	5	2	4

To conclude, the interview responses revealed that third graders show a decrease in their reported desire to learn Fusha. Students' joy to learn Fusha and its perception of being easy to learn decreased along grade level. In addition, along all grades the most frequently reported reason for the importance of learning Fusha focused on the relation between Fusha and learning and the need to learn Fusha as a prerequisite for successful learning in schools. Furthermore Arabic was perceived to be a less important language than English along all grade levels.

General Observations

In addition, the following attitudes and perceptions were inferred from children's responses on learning Fusha in a diglossic situation. Students in the first grade focused more on the pronunciation and lexical differences between Fusha and Ammiya, mainly addressing the case-ending differences. Fusha has a case system of nominative, accusative, and genitive that is absent from PCA. The nominative is indicated by /u/ or /un/ at the end of the word, the accusative is indicated by /a/ or/an/ at the end of the word, and the genitive is indicated by /i/ or /in/ at the end of the word.

When asked whether it is easy to learn Fusha, a 6-year-old boy acknowledged that, "It is not easy. It is all about pronunciation. I transform a word back to Ammiya during reading so that I can understand it." A 6-year-old girl said, "The case-ending (harakat), for example, I want to put *skoon* (shwa) on the word, I forget the *skoon*. When I read Fusha I understand directly what I am reading, but when I write I think in Ammiya." An 8-year-old girl in the second grade reported the following: "I find it hard sometimes when I read Fusha word, for example /ʔilbed/ (eggs in Ammiya). I do not know what the

Fusha word is for it. A 9-year-old boy reported that it is only the strange words that he has to take time to think about before he understands or can write them.

No student remarked on the morphosyntactic differences between Fusha and PCA. Morphosyntactic differences concern grammatical differences between Fusha and PCA such as differences in subject verb agreement in verb-subject-object sentences, or the absence of grammatical inflections such as the dual for the verb or the adjectives.

One student, a 7-year-old girl in the first grade, remarked on her teacher's responses to PCA-based interference "errors." She said: "The teacher puts right when I write /tabe/ (ball, PCA) and not /kura/ (ball, Fusha). I know that /hifa?/ (shoe, Fusha) means /kundara/ (shoe, PCA), but I get confused with those words. When the teacher says /hifa?/ I know it."

Many students remarked on the similarities between Fusha and PCA. An 8-year-old boy in the second grade reported: "I do not find it hard. It is really easy, not like English or German because every body speaks Arabic with me. They are very close to each other." A 9-year-old girl in third grade remarked: "In English you need to spell the words and learn the meaning. In Arabic it is very close to what you say."

One child remarked on the need for exploiting additional resources to understand Fusha and his lack of experience in speaking Fusha. A 9-year-old boy in the third grade mentioned the following: "The Fusha has its own language and Arabic has its own language. I mean, we talk regularly, but the other one we talk different as if we were in Egypt. It is easy if you concentrate. I do not know how to speak Fusha. I never spoke Fusha. /?istajqafa/, /?am min nomo/."

Many children reported to be "transferring" from one language variety to the other during reading and writing. A second grade 7-year-old girl said: "Ammiya and Fusha do not differ much, that's why it is easy. I think in Ammiya before I write, I later transfer to Fusha. Sometimes, while reading I feel I am going back to Ammiya." A first grade boy reported that he turns words back to Ammiya while reading so that he can understand.

Children's remarks on the importance of Fusha were varied. Most of them addressed Fusha as being important due to its connection to reading, writing, learning, and school achievement. Only two out of the thirty participants remarked that it is important because it is beautiful, and another two addressed its use with people that do not understand their vernacular. One child in second grade related its importance to religious texts in saying: "It gives us information. Jesus and his students spoke Fusha."

Discussion

This preliminary study provides insights for the domain of Arabic teaching of native speakers of Arabic in the Arab world in general, and in Israel in particular. Children's responses, specifically their reflections on the process of learning Arabic, support the claims made by several researchers (Haeri, 2005;

Maamouri, 1998) that learning Fusha entails instances of de-contextualization that may affect their ability to learn through reading (Dyson, 1997; 2003). In Maamouri's words, "They learn to read instead of read to learn" (p. 45). Children stated having naming and comprehension problems on the one-word level, transforming from one variety to the other for understanding during reading and writing in the elementary grades. Additionally, their statements reveal that they perceive these two language varieties as two different systems.

Pedagogically, the students in the first three grades focused on the phonological and lexical differences between Fusha and PCA, and did not explicitly report on the morphosyntactic differences between Fusha and PCA. They also reflected on their need to practice speaking Fusha. These findings provide pedagogical insights which need to be further explored and investigated in teaching Fusha for Arabic native speakers.

There is also a need to have a clear understanding with regards to teachers' feedback and judgment of interference errors that could be viewed as a legitimate response in the linguistic diglossic continuum. Teachers need to empirically examine and learn when and which errors should be accepted, effects of different judgments, and ways of manipulating these interferences in learning Fusha. It is evident that at least one teacher in this study accepted lexical use of PCA lexemes in the first three grades as stated by the student in the first grade where her teacher accepted her writing of the word /tabe/ (ball--PCA) instead of /kura/ (ball--Fusha). Research on teaching Arabic as a second language reveals that teachers tend to disconnect Ammiya from Fusha. Brosh (1995) reports that Jewish children learning Arabic learn Ammiya at the elementary school and Fusha at the secondary grades. Teachers tend to ask them to forget all what they have learned in PCA when they begin learning Fusha. Children's reports in our study reveal that the similarities between Fusha and PCA serve positively and assist children in learning Fusha, specifically at the elementary school grade levels where their Fusha is still developing.

Conclusion

It is an unfortunate oversight that the program for educational reform suggested in the 2003 AHDR does not address the diglossic situation in Arabic. On the contrary, the UNDP (2003) calls for pan-Arab cooperation in "curriculum development, textbook production and teacher training, areas in which a common language represents a major advantage" (UNDP, 2003, p. 58). The authors of this program have ignored the effects of diglossia and dialectal differences on learning and have not prepared for the potentially negative impact this might have on educational reform.

The policy-making institutions in Israel similarly ignore the potential effects of the diglossic situation on literacy and educational achievement. Researchers claim that language policy in Israel is unclear due to a lack of a written constitution or a law defining language policy (Spolsky, 1997; Spolsky & Shoshamy, 1999). The Ministry of Education is responsible for forming language-education policy by setting the curricula, deciding on language instruction hours, hiring teachers, and authorizing textbooks (Amara, 2002). Amara suggests that

one of the major goals of Israeli education in the Arab sector is to disconnect and empty the education for Palestinian students of national content through curriculum and textbook manipulation. It would be interesting to compare the findings of this study to children's responses from public schools that use the Ministry of Education authorized textbooks, which lack Arab national content. Shoshamy and Donitsa-Schmidt (1998) report that Arabs see learning Hebrew as the first priority. This runs contrary to the current findings for primary school children in a church-run school in the northern district of Israel, in which English was perceived as the preferred language to learn, over Hebrew and Arabic.

There is a need for comparative studies in this domain. Several factors should be controlled or taken into consideration for an in-depth study, to enhance understandings of existing student attitudes towards Fusha and learning Fusha. These factors include grade level, school location (e.g. geographic location, urban/ rural), school type (e.g. private/ public, religious/ secular), sociopolitical situation, teachers' attitudes and practices, teachers' qualifications, and textbooks in use. Additionally, it is essential to examine a larger sample size and interview schedule in order to infer statistically significant conclusions with regard to the data. Such studies would contribute to educational development not only for Palestinian Arabic speaking schools, but also for Arabic speaking students elsewhere. Findings could direct practitioners towards factors that increase positive attitudes towards Fusha and learning in the first three grades. In addition, it would shed a light on children's psychological understanding of the diglossic situation, which is essential for curriculum development and pedagogical practices throughout the learning process.

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