LINGUISTIC MINORITIES IN ENGLAND

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3. The Schools Language Survey: Summary of Findings from Five LEAs. LINC, May 1983

Forthcoming Papers Nos. 4 - 10, including:

Sampling of linguistic minorities/Sociolinguistic perspective on the study of minority languages in England/Summaries of findings from the Secondary Pupils Survey, the Mother Tongue Teaching Directory Survey and the Adult Language Use Survey.

LMP forthcoming book: The Other Languages of England (provisional title). Routledge & Kegan Paul. 1984.

Available from LINC, 18 Woburn Square, London WC1H 0NS:

a. Short Report of the Linguistic Minorities Project. September 1983.

b. Reference copies of the LMP survey instruments:
   Schools Language Survey (SLS)
   Secondary Pupils' Survey (SPS)
   Mother Tongue Teaching Directory (MTTD) Survey
   Adult Language Use Survey (ALUS)

c. Details about the possibilities for using SPS, and of the video programme on the SPS "Sharing Languages in the Classroom".

d. On loan: for use at exhibitions, etc., 3 display panels describing (a) the work of the Linguistic Minorities Project, (b) the Schools Language Survey and (c) the Secondary Pupils' Survey.

e. Select Bibliography: Bilingualism and Linguistic Minorities. (compiled by LMP/LINC-NCLE/CILT. April 1983.

Linguistic Minorities Project

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LINGUISTIC MINORITIES IN ENGLAND

A Report by the Linguistic Minorities Project

for the Department of Education and Science

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SUMMARY

This report presents the findings of the Linguistic Minorities Project (LMP) funded by the Department of Education and Science and based at the University of London Institute of Education from September 1979 to April 1983.

The Project was concerned with the minority languages widely used now by large numbers of people in England in their daily lives, languages mainly from South and East Europe and South and East Asia. When LMP started there was a notable lack of easily available information about the minority languages of England, and little discussion about the social policy implications of widespread bilingualism in England. Discussion among educationalists focussed on a rather narrow range of questions about mother-tongue teaching for bilingual pupils. There had also been little academic work on the sociolinguistic characteristics of linguistic minorities in England, in contrast to the fairly substantial research on the indigenous languages of Wales and Scotland.

LMP aimed to study bilingualism in England as an asset for bilinguals and a potential resource for society as a whole, including monolinguals. Its research extended beyond school-age children, to ensure that an understanding of the social context of language use would inform the development of language-in-education policies. The interdisciplinary research team devised four survey instruments, to provide an account of the patterns of bilingualism in selected areas of England. All the surveys were designed to involve active members of local linguistic minorities as much as possible in the shaping of research strategies, and to enable those who were the subjects of the research themselves to make use of the findings. This active dissemination was undertaken by the LINC project, an extension to LMP funded by the Commission of the European Communities from January 1981.

Two of the survey instruments, the Schools Language Survey (SLS) and the Secondary Pupils Survey (SPS) focussed on the school-going population, and their administration involved class teachers as well as both bilingual and monolingual pupils in the class. The Schools Language Survey aimed to document the range of linguistic diversity in a Local Education Authority (LEA) and the extent of literacy in each minority language; it was carried out by LMP in five LEAs. The findings show varying proportions of the children surveyed reporting spoken skills in a minority language (from about 7% in the Peterborough Division of Cambridgeshire to over 30% in the London Borough of Haringey), and a consistent 40%-50% of these pupils in each LEA reporting some literacy skills in a minority language. The combinations of languages found in the school population in different areas vary considerably, but usually the most frequent three or four languages account for at least two thirds of the bilingual pupils in an Authority. Such

findings have important implications for the development of language policies which aim to promote the learning of minority languages by many more pupils, bilingual and monolingual. They indicate the scale of the task, and the potential for positive action.

The DES now has the opportunity to promote the wider use of the Schools Language Survey and to encourage LEAs to update their findings at regular intervals. Acceptance of our proposal to extend the SLS research would enable the collection and monitoring of the language statistics needed, for local planning, for national policy development, and in connection with the response to EC Directive 77/486 on the schooling of children of migrant workers.

The other school-based survey instrument developed by the LMP is the Secondary Pupils Survey (SPS). The questionnaire was developed originally for use in a sample survey, examining in more detail than was possible with the SLS the language use and perception of linguistic diversity among secondary school pupils. Its potential as teaching material and as a means of promoting language awareness, especially among monolingual pupils and teachers, led to a change in focus in its use. The questionnaire was eventually produced in an illustrated format, and made available for individual teachers, with a set of teachers' guidelines. LINC, who were responsible for arranging the production of this material, have also, in collaboration with ILEA, produced a video programme about the use of SPS. In collaboration with the Schools Council Mother Tongue Project, they are now producing teaching materials for primary children which explore and exploit linguistic diversity inside and outside the classroom.

The first of our community-based surveys, the Mother Tongue Teaching Directory survey (MTTD), was developed to collect information on the existing provision for minority languages teaching in both LEA and community-run schools and classes. We established through this survey that a very high proportion of the teaching is at present not supported financially in any way by LEAs, or at best receives minimal support in the form of reduced-cost or free teaching accommodation. This is in spite of the fact that virtually all of the pupils attending these classes are between 5 and 16 years old.

The MTTD survey was developed in close collaboration with the National Council for Mother-Tongue Teaching in the expectation that after the end of the LMP they would be able to promote the survey throughout the country, with a data bank set up at the Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research in London. The MTTD surveys in Coventry, Bradford and Haringey were carried out with the help of bilingual interviewers from the local linguistic minorities, who provided very important input to the research.

The Adult Language Use Survey (ALUS) also involved a community-based research strategy, in which LMP collaborated with over a hundred bilingual interviewers in Coventry, Bradford and Haringey to conduct some 2,500 interviews in respondents' homes. The interview schedule included questions about language skills, language use at home and at work, and attitudes to language teaching provision. The interviews were based on translations of the ALUS questionnaire into eleven languages, and conducted with carefully prepared samples in each of the three areas mentioned. From the resulting mass of data (which will be more fully analysed by the Community Languages in Education Project, one of the successor projects to LMP), we mention only four points here:

a) the multilingualism of a high proportion of respondents, not only among the respondents of South Asian origin;
b) the high proportions of those who had a real choice in terms of their reported language skills, and who used the minority language in domestic settings;
c) the strong support evident among all the local linguistic minorities for an increased contribution from the LEAs to mother-tongue provision;
d) important differences between respondents of the same linguistic minority in different cities in terms of language skills and language use, which suggest that it is essential to look in some detail at local historical, demographic, social and economic factors in order to understand the dynamics of bilingualism.

The work begun by the LMP has provided a foundation for future research, it has raised a range of theoretical and applied issues, and it has demonstrated the need for bilingual researchers as well as community-based research strategies. The experience of carrying out the research has shown the general lack of information about bilingualism among many people involved in the education of children in England. Overall the findings of the survey suggest that there is an immediate need to develop mother-tongue provision if bilingual pupils are going to be able to retain their language skills.

The LMP research was designed to stress the need for an understanding of bilingualism in society to inform the debate about educational policy and practice. It has shown that the issue of minority languages is not a marginal one, socially or educationally, and raises fundamental questions about the direction in which British society could evolve.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The Linguistic Minorities Project

The Linguistic Minorities Project started its work in September 1979, based at the University of London Institute of Education. It was funded by the Department of Education and Science initially for three years, but this was later extended to three years and eight months, so that the Project in fact ended in April 1983.

The project began at a time when there was an increasing discussion among educationalists about the role of mother tongue teaching in the state school system. There was an obvious need for basic data about the extent and scope of minority language use to inform this discussion, and for the development of appropriate policies and practice. There was also a need for instruments to collect data on a regular basis, so that policies to deal in a constructive way with the full linguistic resources of the populations might be more firmly grounded. The Institute of Education provided a good base for this work, as it had produced one of the first investigations to help teachers assess the issues relating to linguistic diversity in the classroom (Rosen and Burgess, 1980), and it has since housed two other projects (Bleach, 1983; Hester, 1983) in related fields.

The first chairman of the Project, Professor H.G. Widdowson, ensured a firm institutional foundation for the project. He also proposed the sharing of this chairing role to maximise the influence of the project's work on a wider range of people at the Institute of Education. Therefore Professor Harold Rosen and Dr. Jagdish Gundara each spent one year as chairperson before Professor Widdowson resumed this position for the closing stages. Verity Saifullah Khan acted as Director of the Project, which functioned as a collective team of five researchers and two secretarial staff. An assistant programmer joined the team in 1981, and from January 1981 Verity Saifullah Khan also co-ordinated the L.M.P.'s work with that of the LINC project funded by the Commission of the European Communities (See Appendix I).

The initial focus of the D.E.S.'s interest in linguistic minorities in England was on children and schools. The assessment of immediate policy issues and practical initiatives already underway necessitated some comprehensive data on the range of minority languages known by children

in the school-going population, and on the scope of their knowledge. There was also interest in the numbers of these pupils who already attended some form of mother-tongue teaching and in the content and organisation of this provision. The D.E.S. thought it was important to gather this information from as large a number of LEAs as possible to ensure that our findings reflected the very different situations in different parts of the country. Policy makers would then be more likely to recognise their own situation in our overall assessments.

While not denying the need for basic data to inform developments in policy and pedagogy, we thought that data referring to children in the state school system should be complemented with an understanding of language use in the pupils' neighbourhoods, including details of adult language use and community-run mother-tongue schools and classes. Therefore we agreed to carry out the Schools Language Survey in about half-a-dozen Authorities, and the other surveys in only three of these areas.

From the beginning of the Project we argued that we should pay full attention to the whole range of linguistic minorities in England. For two of our surveys this meant working with bilingual interviewers from a range of South and Eastern European, South and East Asian minorities. For one of these surveys it meant translating our questionnaire into eleven different languages. Similarly, we were convinced that data on the number of children or adults reporting certain spoken or literacy skills was of little relevance for educational or social policy, without an accompanying understanding of what was happening to the languages in everyday life. For this we needed to know when people were using their other-than-English languages, and what value they had for their speakers. Without this basic understanding of the social context there would be no way in which researchers, policy-makers or teachers could assess the likely trends of language use among linguistic minorities in the future.

The main objective of the Linguistic Minorities Project was, therefore, to study patterns of bilingualism in selected regions of the country. Our two main aims were (a) to highlight the educational implications of this societal bilingualism and (b) to provide a baseline for future work on the newer minority languages of England. We hoped to contribute towards theoretical and methodological developments, as well as leave a good example of how research and application can be closely integrated, through strategies for active dissemination and research instruments with built-in pedagogic uses.

The interdisciplinary research team for the Project consisted of a social anthropologist, three sociolinguists, a sociologist/computer programmer assisted by an assistant programmer. The recruitment of the research team was based on the assumption that the project would entail a substantial amount of survey work involving sociolinguistic

expertise and community-based research strategies. Most of the criteria arising from these assumptions were met by the team, which also collectively had some knowledge of a range of the minority languages. The other main criterion for recruitment to the research team involved experience which would facilitate in-depth observational research on language use. In the event this last criterion was not tested, since the scope and focus we collectively agreed on for our research precluded the possibility of observational studies, even within our extended time-scale.

We established an Academic Advisory Committee which met twice or three times each year for a one-day discussion of our work, and an overseas Advisory Committee consisting of many of the North American researchers Verity Saifullah Khan had met on her month-long visit to Canada and the U.S. at the beginning of the project. The D.E.S. Steering Group met every four to six months throughout the project. Much of our research depended on the help of consultants, (for example on specific languages, on survey design or on sampling), of fieldwork co-ordinators and of local contacts, as well as teams of carefully trained bilingual interviewers from the local communities. Without the funds to finance this range of expertise and guidance, and to provide for our local field offices, we would not have been able to complete our research on such a firm basis.

With the help of the LINC project we circulated four progress reports in English, French, German and Italian to a large mailing list in Britain and abroad, at different stages in the Project.

By the summer of 1980 we had developed three of our four survey instruments, and we piloted them in the autumn of 1980 as we began to develop the fourth instrument. Each instrument had its own distinct objectives (see Chart A, which outlines the aims of each survey, the methods used, and the content and scope of the findings) and together they contributed toward a more comprehensive picture of patterns of language use in the three cities where we worked: Coventry, Bradford and London. (Chart B details the timing of the preparation and administration of the surveys.)

In our early discussions on the aims and content of our research we returned frequently to two themes. One related to our dependency on survey data, based on adults' or pupils' own reports of their language use or skills, rather than observations of what actually happened. We accepted that this kind of large-scale survey was needed to inform policy and build up data for developing hypotheses for future research. We were well aware of the difficulties of carrying out large-scale surveys in a relatively sensitive field in inner city areas, and among often insecure respondents. We also believed that the only valuable and feasible way of doing the schools-based surveys, which often depended on the co-operation of teachers working under pressure, involved using approaches which would provide immediate interest value for the teachers and longer-term value for trainers and advisers.

CHART A: THE LINGUISTIC MINORITIES PROJECT SURVEYS

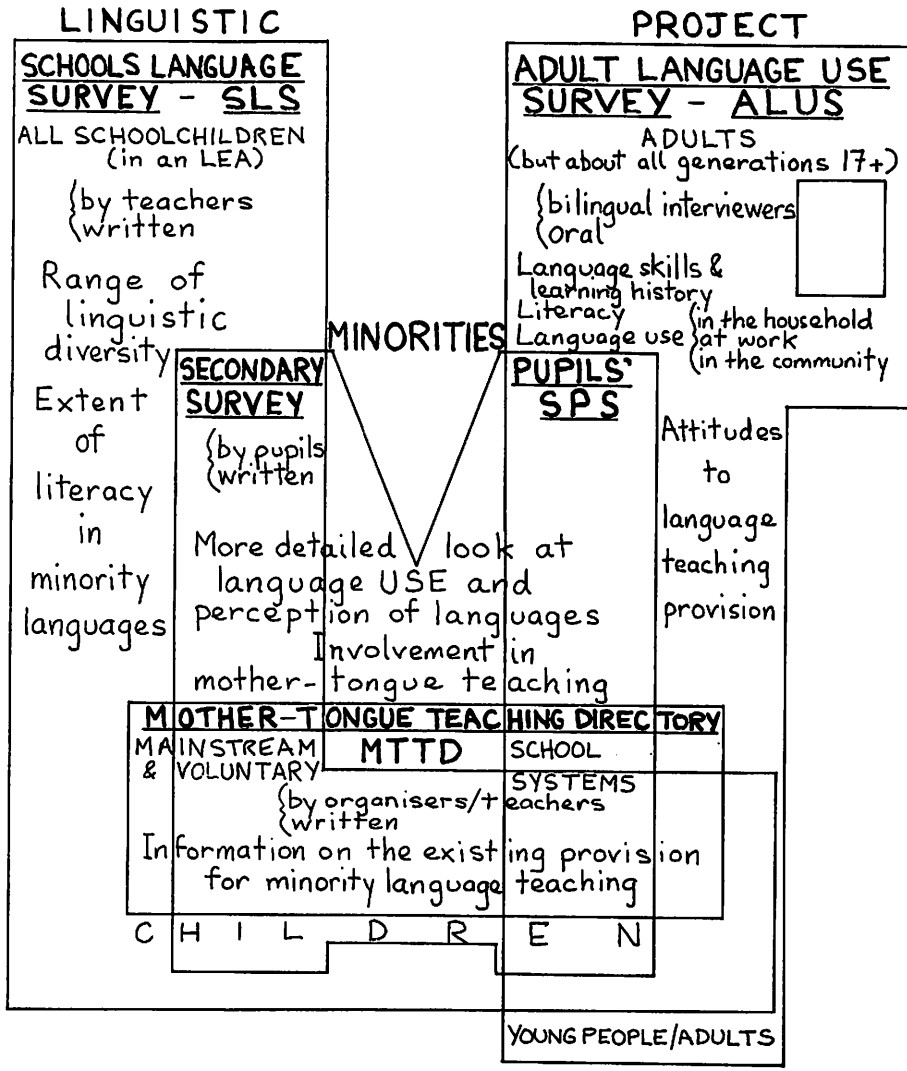
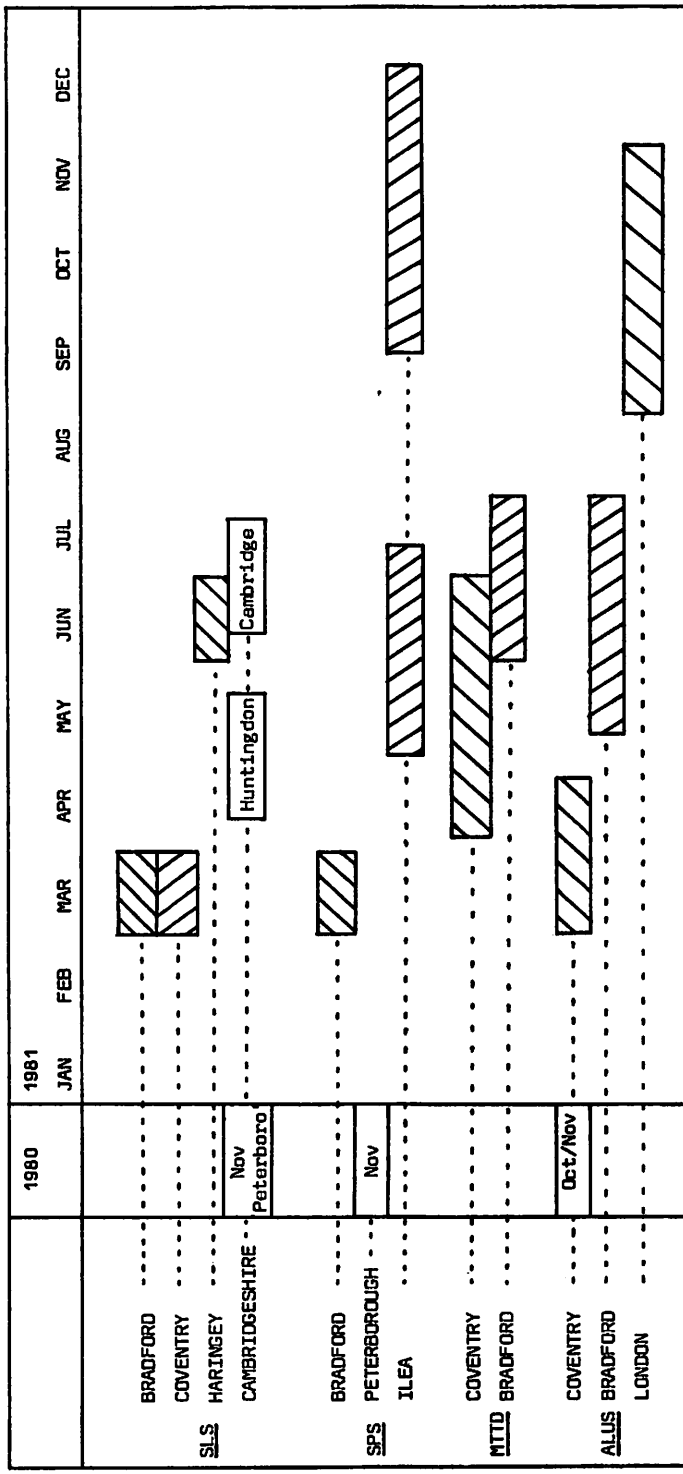


CHART B: TIMING OF SURVEYS CARRIED OUT



The second theme that preoccupied us in our early discussions revolved around our sense of social responsibility, and our receptivity to the needs of those who contributed to our findings. We were aware of the attitudes of some teachers towards research whose outcome never appeared to help them in their daily difficulties. We were conscious also of the need to provide tools that LEAs could take over themselves, to inform policy and to use for in-service training. Most of all we thought we understood the frustrations of so many minority teachers and community workers, who often saw no sign of official recognition of their problems nor willingness to tackle them. While we discussed the relative urgency of these needs, and our most appropriate contributions both short and long term, we knew that a full response to local demands would probably restrict our research to one area only. It was at this stage that we discussed the possibility of setting up a parallel research project, involved in actively disseminating the findings of our research, in particular to all those who had contributed towards the data (See Appendix I).

The community-based research strategies which we adopted compensated in some ways for our inability to follow the ideal path - the undertaking of neighbourhood-based, in-depth studies before we developed our survey instruments. Each of the four surveys which we did develop could have been the focus of an independent three year project in such a new area of research, so we reluctantly put aside the observational studies projects. The final design adopted for our research does in fact allow an evaluation of the appropriateness of a smaller number of different research methods, but we were not able to use as wide a range as we had initially envisaged.

Later in this Report we shall refer to some of the fundamental principles we established in the early days of our research, but we should mention immediately the most important ones. First, we aimed always to counter the prevailing view that our work, and the 'mother-tongue' debate, was about South Asian languages only. Second, we wanted to show that policy decisions need to be based on an understanding of the sociolinguistic context, and not just on the numerical data. Through this wider approach to bilingualism in society, we hoped to remind many teachers, policy makers and parents that education is not only a matter of schooling. And finally we were keen to be responsive to all those involved in the research process. We worked from the principles that all participants have a right of access to the data they help to collect, and that researchers need to develop ways of ensuring that access, and of encouraging feedback from participants in the research process to guide future work.

Setting the Scene

England is now more obviously than ever before a multilingual society, with large sections of the population using more than one language in their daily lives. Italian or Polish or Gujerati, for example, are spoken in the family, in local shops, or in community institutions. Some bilingual children and adults have access to newspapers, books, films and radio programmes in their home language as well as in English. Some children attend lessons to learn more of their home language, or perhaps to learn to read and write another language which is valued by their community (Wilding, 1981).

There are two ways of looking at the educational implications of this situation. The first approach concentrates on societal multilingualism; the second on individual bilingualism.

The societal viewpoint acknowledges that in a multilingual society there are many aspects of social policy not directly related to formal education which may have important influences on the language education of both adults and children. The overall national attitude towards linguistic diversity, and the patterns of social interaction which people experience in everyday life, affect language skills, and affect the relative value the different languages come to have for different members of the population, whether they can speak those languages or not. The implicit language policy of the national media, and of libraries with reference to the range of books stocked, as well as the choice of languages taught in schools and institutions of higher education, all have a bearing on the evolution of responses to the multilingualism of our society (Elliott, 1981).

The second and complementary approach to bilingualism focusses on individual members of the society, who grow up with two or more languages. This approach is concerned with the different processes of language socialisation in different contexts, and assesses their influence on an individual's educational development. It concentrates on the linguistic, conceptual and psychological impact of the experience of living with more than a single language.

The societal and the individual approaches to bilingualism are, of course, closely interrelated. If there is an unstated rule in many institutions such as offices, schools, restaurants or clubs that minority languages should not be used, at least with monolingual English speakers present, then the languages are likely to be limited to a very narrow range of functions. If, for example, programmes in minority languages on national radio and television channels are in practice restricted to unsocial hours, and if such languages are seldom if ever used in mainstream programmes, this too carries a message - though perhaps a different one for bilinguals and for monolinguals. If teachers of English as

a second language do not use or refer to the pupils' mother-tongues as an aid to learning, then this may signal a low evaluation of the minority languages. In other words there are many factors external as well as internal to a school, which constrain the effects of the school's implicit or explicit language policy.

Patterns of language use are a reflection of the historical and social developments in society. In turn these patterns reinforce the status of the dominant language. At the most general level, it is noticeable that use of English is expected in most public places and official institutions, whereas minority languages are usually expected to operate in private "community" spheres of interaction. Although code-switching - the alternate use of two or more languages in the same conversation - is common in many multilingual communities in Britain, as elsewhere in the world, it is rarely recognised in discussions of language policy at the theoretical or applied educational level. It seems that the positive effects of bilingualism are often still not understood or appreciated by many monolinguals.

Focussing on societal bilingualism reminds us that the most effective language learning is often unguided, informally acquired through social interaction with others. The scope of that social interaction is not primarily of course a question of individual choice. It is for this reason that we try to avoid the term 'language choice' in our discussion of patterns of language use among adults and children.

Migrants to England usually join existing social networks whose physical and material resources are constrained by the housing and employment options available to them. The resulting patterns of settlement, along with the particular characteristics of local ethnic relations, limit the opportunities adult migrants have to learn English. And their British-born children's maintenance of their home language probably has more to do with their opportunity to use that first language at home, and with their perception of other people's attitudes to the language, than it does with their opportunities for the formal acquisition of literacy in the home language, for example. Nevertheless, literacy in the home language, or in a related language, is an important means of gaining access to everyday cultural activities. It also opens up historically accumulated literary traditions, allowing communication with "significant others" in daily life as an additional channel for learning, and, for some, the possibility of exam qualifications for employment or further educational opportunities.

The collective community repertoires of the different linguistic minorities in England incorporate a wide range of oral and literacy skills used for cultural, economic and political purposes. But individual members of a linguistic minority have very different degrees of access to this potential range of skills. That access depends, among other things, on the linguistic skills they already have on arrival in England or by the time they start school. It depends also on the resources available to them in their

own locality, such as shops, cinemas, 'ethnic' newspapers, radio programmes, religious and social festivities and institutions. There are also networks provided through national organisations, conferences, daily papers and certain T.V. programmes, as well as informal networks, for example religious or social gatherings such as weddings. These factors affecting language use mean that some bilingual adults have little opportunity to use their first language beyond the home, whereas others may have the chance to use it in a wide range of daily activities, including work. In the latter case, workers not literate in their first language have more opportunity to learn the standard or national language through particular activities or types of contacts, and perhaps also to become literate in that language. Children of families who live in areas of high concentration of the same linguistic minority also, of course, have more chance of attending 'mother-tongue' classes. These are still organised mostly by local community groups, churches, or by embassies and high commissions, but in a few cases they are now also available in LEA schools (see Chapter 4 of this Report).

An individual's linguistic repertoire often includes different regional or class-based varieties of English, as well as different varieties of the minority language such as dialect and standard in the case of Bengali or Italian. Individuals' actual repertoires often represent only a small part of their potential oral and literacy skills. The salience and frequency of use of different elements in these repertoires are likely to vary throughout the individual's lifetime. The use individuals make of particular varieties is a response to a range of external factors, including some of those mentioned above, but also reflects the person's own assessment of the social value and economic utility of the languages. Youngsters in their teens are likely to be particularly influenced by the linguistic characteristics of their peer-group, and by the assimilative pressures experienced at school and in their leisure world. As they are also likely to be at a crucial stage in negotiating independence from their parents, this too may be reflected in their use of particular languages.

None of these factors influencing language use is exclusively relevant to the experience of bilinguals. Most apply equally to 'monolinguals' who are bidialectal or multidialectal. For example, the languages or dialects of the home often retain particular emotional weight throughout life for bilinguals and monolinguals alike. And if the language or dialect of the school is markedly different from that of the home, and perceived by its teachers to have not only a different but a superior functional value, both bidialectal and bilingual children have to adjust to the imposition of new expectations about their language use as well as about other social values. Even if it is accepted that the overriding task of the school is to ensure that children become literate in standard English, then for English bidialectal pupils the learning of literacy in English, and for bilingual pupils the learning of oracy and literacy in English, need to start from a recognition of the social and linguistic contribution that their existing

linguistic skills might make to their overall educational development.

Some bilingual children have in fact already begun the acquisition of literacy in their first language before they start learning literacy in English at their LEA schools. Many attend community-run classes which are based on their existing patterns of social interaction. But for these children the LEA school rarely builds upon the language learning of the home, neighbourhood networks and community organisations or schools. Both bidialectal and bilingual pupils experience the disjunction between the home and community and the LEA school. It can be argued that for bilingual children at least this disjunction may have more impact on their general educational development than the actual content and teaching methods used in the LEA schools.

Both monolingual and bilingual school children learn to communicate in one or several language varieties or different languages before they start school. Their existing skills in, and attitudes towards, these and other languages influence their approach to acquiring other languages or varieties. But language is also a symbol of social identity and group solidarity, and a means to transmit cultural and religious knowledge. If children or their parents interpret the process of schooling as an attempt to undermine or challenge such a personal and significant part of their existence, this will affect their interest and involvement too.

Knowledge of the English language is also a prerequisite for access to basic information about how the school system works. An understanding of the options available and their implications is, however, dependent on translations or interpretations that recognise the different cultural and educational experience of minority parents (Bradford Metropolitan Council: 1983).

If we start from the basis that language education includes informal and formal (or 'unguided' and 'guided') language learning, and that the options and the responses of learners are influenced by the social and economic constraints of the context in which they live, then we can begin to link societal and individual bilingualism. This wider foundation also helps us to recognise how in England the monolingualism of the majority may negatively affect the bilingualism of the minority, and the bilingualism of the minority could affect positively the monolingualism of the majority. One of the most effective ways of learning a language is through social interaction in everyday life. That is obvious from the young child's capacity to learn languages. This process of language acquisition is a natural and mainly unconscious process. So, as more monolingual English youngsters have friends who regularly use two or more languages in their daily lives, there is a greater chance that they may come to see the naturalness of these social skills. This may encourage them to adopt a different approach to their own learning of languages, both as formal school subjects and as means of communication with people from other parts of the world.

A societal approach to bilingualism helps us realise that the question of how we are to enjoy the social and economic benefits of multilingualism in our society is as relevant for the monolingual members of society, in their role of potential modern language learners and as participants in a multilingual society, as it is for bi- or multidialectal speakers. Although the popular notion of bilingualism is still 'total' fluency in two languages, most bilinguals have greater skills in one language than in another, e.g. they are better at reading or writing in English but understanding or speaking Urdu. If the wider definition of bilinguals, as regular users of two languages is adopted, then it automatically excludes many pupils who have learnt their second language as a subject at school and who cannot alternate easily between, and do not have the opportunity to use, the two languages. The existence of many multilingual neighbourhoods in English towns provides such an opportunity, and suggests for example that the characteristic social skills of bilinguals could be more realistically represented in the national media.

The main arguments supporting societal and educational policies which foster bilingualism then are of two kinds. Firstly, rich linguistic resources already present in our society should be maintained and used before we lose through exclusion or neglect the opportunity to exploit existing linguistic skills to economic advantage. The everyday reality of multilingual England now is a means to help monolingual English speakers either to learn to communicate in other languages, or at least change negative or indifferent attitudes towards language learning in general and towards minority language speakers in particular.

The second argument rests on the need to ensure that the school system does not impose disadvantages on certain pupils. These disadvantages may arise from the way their bilingualism is treated, i.e. through a rigid imposition of English, which restricts non-English speakers' opportunities to learn through the medium of their own language, or their opportunities to develop literacy in their non-English language and to take exams in it. Or they may arise, again not through any negative intention on the teacher's part, but as a result of a general slowing down in the educational development of bilingual children due to a lack of recognition of existing social and linguistic skills. This second argument relates to a wish for equal outcome of the schooling process for all pupils, rather than being based on notions of compensatory education. It cannot be realistically fulfilled until the first argument is taken seriously and acted upon.

The main arguments used in support of individual bilingualism are, usually, conceptual, cognitive and psychological. And many focus on the role of the school, implying that the school is the only, or at least the major, factor in educational "success" or equal "opportunity". But, the more monolingual the language policies and perspectives of the wider society the more restricted the opportunities the education system will have to foster bilingualism among monolingual and bilingual children and adults. From one point of view the schools' primary task

should be to find ways of educating monolinguals out of their negative attitudes to bilingualism, and their secondary aim should be to encourage all modern language learners to learn from the experience of natural language acquisition in bilingual settings. From another point of view, the task should be to ensure that bilinguals themselves do not lose their existing skills, and that they and others can in fact develop them not only for themselves but also for the wider society.

One of the main problems with a monolingual perspective in a multilingual society, is that bilingualism is perceived to be inherently problematic for individuals and for the society. Any provision introduced to facilitate the acquisition of English, or even provision for the maintenance of the other language, may be conceived of in the deficit or compensatory tradition. To counter this perspective we need more understanding of the role of the first language in facilitating rather than impeding acquisition of the second language. We must also acknowledge the central role of bilingualism in helping teachers to perceive the role of language across the whole curriculum, and in promoting more effective modern language teaching.

Research and information about bilingualism and education

The lack of research and information on multilingualism in England is a clear reflection of the official invisibility of multilingualism in England - at least until the 1970s. The lack of interest shown by educationalists in England in the research findings and evaluations of bilingual schemes in Wales, Scotland or Ireland suggests that the experience of bilingualism among indigenous British populations was not perceived to be relevant either to the bilingualism of non-indigenous populations in England, or to the debate about modern language teaching. One exception is of course the discussion in the late 1960s and early 1970s about introducing French in primary schools, where the case for the advantages of "early" versus "late" bilingualism referred to findings from Wales (see Dodson, Evans and Sharp in CILT, 1976).

The lack of any basic statistics on language affiliation in England may have contributed to this situation, but no definite decision has yet been made to include a language question in the census in England. However, the most basic information at least is necessary to inform social policies related to multilingualism, such as the provision of community interpreters and translators, media coverage, and school and adult education policies. This dearth of information may have contributed to the situation we found in 1980, when only a few LEAs officers and advisers knew how

many bilingual pupils they had in their schools. However, lack of official statistics does not explain the absence of information among many teachers and administrators about the range and type of mother-tongue teaching provision organised outside the state school system. In some areas a high percentage of bilingual pupils attends this parallel form of schooling. But even in the early 1980s many teachers knew little of this influence on the educational development of their pupils, or, if they did, they did not consider it to be directly relevant to their work (Saifullah Khan, 1980).

As schooling is an important form of cultural transmission from generation to generation, it is also surprising that mother-tongue schools have not been studied in England by educational researchers working in the field of ethnic relations, or by sociologists of education. The link between language education and social control is more evident in research in Scotland and Wales (e.g. Williams and Roberts, 1983). In England the role of the mother-tongue school has been discussed in relation to the Saturday "supplementary schools" run by people of West Indian origin. A fundamental theme in this work is the role of the state and of the communities in a multicultural society (Stone, 1981). Starting from a view of the school system as having limited power to alleviate the disadvantage experienced by children of West Indian origin, the focus of some of these authors is on the need to teach standard English well, and to leave cultural issues in the control of the local minorities. The former argument also fits into the critique of child-centred pedagogies, and the latter argument reflects the desire to avoid the "expropriation" of minority resources by the dominant majority.

There are two obvious parallels between West Indian supplementary schools, and mother-tongue schools and classes among linguistic minorities. Firstly, as members of linguistic or ethnic minorities know, these schools are important focal points for community organisation. Secondly, there is an acute awareness of the link between language and ethnicity, especially for youngsters in their teens, and particularly in relation to the language skills of future generations. However, one major difference arises in the debate about the future of minority languages in England. Whereas the discussion about West Indian schools is about different varieties of English, amongst other important issues, the discussion about mother-tongue schools is also a discussion about the learning of minority languages in the wider society. Many bilingual and monolingual educationalists are concerned that the debate should not be restricted to the question of mother-tongue teaching for bilingual pupils alone. They argue that it is a question about the language education of all children, and the contribution of bilingualism to the social and economic resources of the society.

One explanation for the relative lack of research and discussion about the policy implications of bilingualism in England is, of course, the particularly important international role of the English language. The other explanation is not simply the converse - the differential

and inferior status accorded to all other-than-English languages. We have to remember that attitudes to languages cannot be assessed in isolation from attitudes to the speakers of those languages. The relative status of different minority languages in England is also influenced in large part by: (a) the historical relations between England and their countries of origin; and (b) the present socio-economic status of the speakers. These factors help to explain how the South European languages of migrant workers from E.C. countries and the Eastern European languages of political refugees from the Second World War enjoy greater prestige than the South Asian languages spoken by settlers from ex-colonial countries.

Two other explanations for the relatively slow development of interest in this field help to explain why some of these higher status European languages are taught as modern languages to some monolingual English pupils in LEA schools, but often not to children of bilingual families. The first relates to the dominant perspective on minorities in general and on bilingualism in particular. The second links these points with the historical development of policies and practices set up to deal with the new situations created by the presence of pupils from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

In England the terms 'immigrant' and 'minority' are almost synonymous with 'coloured'. In presenting our project we have always stressed that we were equally interested in the languages spoken by the 'invisible' white minorities. As the term 'immigrant' is also used in popular debates to include British-born children of immigrants, we have steadfastly avoided using this term altogether. In this context it is not surprising, therefore, that much of the research has focussed on 'black' or 'brown' minorities. As these minorities are perceived to be 'the problem', rather than the catalyst for the dominant institutions to reconsider the appropriateness of their provision for all categories of the populations, attention has been focussed, through policy-based research in particular, onto difficulties to be solved instead of opportunities to be learnt from.

In the 1950s and 1960s South Asian pupils were presented as a 'problem', as non-English speakers rather than as potential bilinguals with extra personal skills and a potential contribution to our society. To understand the development of English as a Second Language teaching, it is necessary to add this monolingual perspective to the predominantly assimilationist policies at that time. It was generally believed that the most appropriate support for these pupils was the teaching of English, without reference to their existing linguistic skills. It is not an exaggeration to state that there are still many people, including many teachers, who believe that the acquisition of English by non-native speakers is hindered rather than helped by supporting the first language.

Seeing bilingualism as unnatural works against the

acceptance of cultural and linguistic diversity as an individual right and a social inevitability in modern urban societies.

A belief that bilingualism may be socially divisive has tended to make many teachers wary of plans for the provision of mother-tongue teaching. The debate has developed in relative isolation from other language teaching issues, mainly amongst those who are more widely concerned with education for a multi-cultural society. In the majority of discussions and publications about English as a second language and modern language teaching it remains a marginal issue. It is dealt with, for example, in only two of the sixty paragraphs of the Consultative Paper on Foreign Languages in the School Curriculum circulated in May 1983. To appreciate these points it is useful briefly to compare the situation in England with that in some other countries.

In those countries where the ethnic minority populations are legally and politically marginalised, not surprisingly, the discussion about the appropriate education for these children is perceived primarily as a problem and as 'their' problem. In some European countries, such as France and Germany, many children of 'migrant workers' are taught their mother-tongue either during school time or after school, by teachers who have been brought from the homeland and are paid by its government. The overall marginalisation of mother-tongue teaching, inside and outside the mainstream school, works against the integration of the pupils' bilingual and bicultural resources within the state school system.

In some areas of Europe there is now much more interest in intercultural education and its role not only in providing a sounder foundation for mother-tongue teaching or bilingual schemes, but also in involving majority children in a renewed schooling process which takes into account and builds upon all resources brought by all pupils. However, in Bavaria there exists a bilingual schooling programme for children of migrant workers which ensures that they are unprepared and unaccepted for social integration when they leave school. This case is a crucial reminder that educational objectives must be linked to social outcomes, and that there is no single appropriate pedagogic model for all social and political systems.

Some of the most interesting work on bilingual education, as contrasted with mother-tongue teaching, comes from a few rather different settings. In Canada there has been some excellent research on additive and subtractive bilingual policies. The early "immersion" programmes were established in the 1970s with the aim of teaching native English speakers French within the first few years of schooling (Lambert and Tucker 1972). An excellent Survey of Non-Official Languages was carried out in 1975 (O'Bryan, Reitz and Kuplowska, 1976) and there is a range of teaching programmes in different parts of Canada. Enrichment

programmes involve the use of the minority language on a longer-term basis in order to develop bilingual skills, e.g. the English-Ukrainian programmes in Edmonton and Manitoba, the Hebrew-English programmes in Montreal, and the Ontario Heritage Language Program. The transitional programmes involve the use of the children's home language as a temporary bridge to help them keep up with academic content, e.g. the English-Italian Kindergarten Program in Ottawa, the Vancouver Punjabi-English Transition Program.

Unlike programmes in the United States of America, these Canadian programmes did not have substantial legal or financial resources to start them off and facilitate the appropriate teacher training etc. The Heritage Language Program in Toronto, for example, started from existing and often rather tentative links between community-run schools and the local schools and education boards (ed. Cummins 1983). In Australia the increase in ethnic schools and demands for support from state and federal funds has led to a grant-aided system supporting mother-tongue teaching in community-run schools, and to teacher training schemes for training bilingual teachers to work in the state schools (Norst, 1982; Garner, 1981).

The position of Finnish 'migrant' workers in Sweden led to some of the earliest research arguing for the need for 'language shelter' programmes, to allow children to consolidate their command of their first language, and to encourage a more successful addition of the second language. These programmes were of course more practical in areas of high concentration of particular languages, although the literature does not give much attention to the social implications of separate Finnish schools, or of separate streams. The Swedish Board of Education has supported every bilingual child's right to have home-language teaching, but it is interesting to find that intercultural or multicultural education and bilingual schemes involving Swedish native speakers are rare.

Even this brief reference to the situation in some other countries, and to our knowledge of bilingual schooling in other bilingual countries, illustrates the paucity of research and provision available in England. The E.C.-funded Bedfordshire Project which ran from 1976 to 1980, evaluated the teaching of Italian and Panjabi as a subject in primary and middle schools. The D.E.S.-funded Mother Tongue and English Teaching Project (MOTET) was the first project to show that five-year-old children who learnt through the medium of their first language for half the day learnt English as well as, if not faster than, their peers who were in the control group and learning entirely through English (MOTET: 1981). The Schools Council-I.L.E.A.-E.C. Mother Tongue Materials Development Project is developing teaching materials in Bengali and Greek, as well as strategies to help monolingual teachers support bilingualism in their classrooms (Schools Council, 1983). There are now several initiatives for the in-service training of teachers by e.g. the Royal Society for the Arts and the Grange First School in Bradford. A report on training teachers of

minority languages by the Swann Committee (Craft and Atkins: 1983) has recently been published, with valuable recommendations for future action.

However, despite these beginnings and the substantial support we hope the development of some of our own surveys might provide to central and local government initiatives, very few teaching schemes have been carefully planned or systematically evaluated. Initiatives within local authorities are too often hastily established, in response to pressure from local minorities or through political expediency, rather than based on sound educational principle.

The Mother Tongue Debate

In England the debate about bilingualism and schooling has been restricted, with few exceptions, to the issue of mother-tongue teaching. The only types of bilingual education schemes that have been discussed are those with a transitional objective. The mother-tongue debate in England has focussed, therefore, almost exclusively on the teaching of the newer minority languages as curriculum subjects rather than on their use as medium of instruction. As mentioned in the last section, the debate has also tended to focus on the teaching of bilingual children, neglecting the potential for monolingual English speakers to participate in bilingual schemes.

Several reasons have already been suggested for this situation. Firstly, the initial response to the language education of bilingual pupils' was to concentrate on the acquisition of English as a second language and to ignore the pupils first language skills. Given the predominantly assimilationist and monolingual attitudes prevailing in England, it was understandable that few teachers realised the value of, or could provide support for, first language development as a firmer foundation for second language acquisition. Secondly, the two main forces which led to a wider public debate on mother-tongue teaching in the late 1970s did not initially define the issue as one involving all pupils. The demand from minority associations and mother-tongue teachers for support for mother-tongue teaching arose from their existing experience of trying to meet demand with very few resources. And teachers working for an education system which would reflect the multicultural composition of society argued that this involved not only the recognition of linguistic diversity in school, but also the teaching of these languages for bilingual pupils.

Once the fuller implications of the language education of bilingual children were appreciated, more teachers and researchers recognised parallel issues in the language education of bidialectal pupils. Many of these issues had been under discussion for years, for example the transition from spoken vernacular to standard literacy, and the best

methods for teaching modern languages. But this realisation did not, of course, solve the practical problems of timetabling nor the more fundamental issues of crossing professional sub-divisions (English as a Mother Tongue, English as a Second Language, Modern Languages, etc.). The introduction of mother-tongue teaching at the secondary level raised major problems with regard to teacher training, materials development and appropriate examinations (NCLE, 1982). But one of the most fundamental hurdles to be overcome involves the opening up of this provision to all pupils, as part of the response to the arguments for offering a wider range of modern languages.

At the primary level the introduction of mother-tongue provision necessitates the recruitment of bilingual teachers but, so long as transition to English is seen by schools as the primary objective, support for minority literacy is unlikely to be given high priority. Discussion about provision at the primary level developed in the early 1980s, and was enriched by the experience of the MOTET project in Bradford. The arguments for supporting this teaching through the mother tongue included reference to the importance of (a) smoothing the transition from home to school and avoiding the imposition of unfair disadvantage at a critical stage of schooling; (b) encouraging the child's general conceptual development and avoiding a sudden curtailment of academic and cognitive skills because of inadequate English; and (c) providing a sound base in the child's first language to facilitate acquisition of the second language (M.O.T.E.T., 1981).

Another reason why the debate on mother-tongue teaching focussed on provision for bilingual children, rather than bilingual education for all pupils in those schools in England with a high percentage of pupils from a single non-English language background, was that many bilingual pupils were already losing their language skills. Even in areas where bilingual pupils had environmental support for their minority language, many were not becoming literate and few were taking examinations in these languages. Increasing numbers of parents and teachers saw only the urgent short-term needs to rescue their own children's command of their languages which, if met, would make less serious the long-term consequences which might be faced by young adults who had lost their command of a valued personal resource.

There are now many parts of England where a high percentage of bilingual pupils (see Table 2.1, p. 43) is using two or more languages in their daily lives, (which seems to us to be the most socially appropriate definition of being bilingual), but where they are not necessarily fluent speakers of their so-called mother-tongue. This means that over time an increasing amount of mother-tongue teaching in secondary schools will be starting from an elementary stage, unless pupils have had a good grounding at the primary level in LEA schools or community-run classes. Although this presents particular problems for curriculum development and teacher training, it also provides all pupils with the opportunity to learn one of the minority languages.

These suggestions presuppose of course that there is a concentration of speakers from one language background, which is the case in many schools in different parts of the country. They also make the assumption that there are native English-speaking pupils who would want to participate in such schemes. This is a vital factor in the context of considerable prejudice and antagonism felt towards members of minorities in many areas of the country. Already there are cases of native English speakers attending mother-tongue classes during and after regular school hours, but one of the greatest challenges is to ensure that monolingual as well as bilingual parents are given the opportunity to consider the advantages of their children becoming bilingual. This is not an achievement normally expected to emerge from modern language teaching at secondary school level, but in many areas of England now pupils have the possibility of using these newer minority languages in their daily lives, and there is a range of European and non-European minority languages which are important for professional, business, social and leisure services and secretarial work within England and abroad. Much of the debate has been so narrowly defined in terms of individual bilingualism, however, that it has assessed these social and economic advantages too narrowly in terms of the needs of international trade and diplomacy.

It is not an accident that many bilingual schemes in different parts of the world have been started with two languages of approximately equal status (e.g. French and English in Canada) or among middle-class parents, sometimes more international or "progressive" in outlook (e.g. English monolinguals in Welsh medium or bilingual schools in Wales). Recognition of these status factors was evident in the way the headmaster of one school in London, argued for the introduction of Arabic as a non-European international language, rather than as a community language of the neighbourhood around the school, one of the few areas in England where Arabic was a mother-tongue of a substantial number of pupils.

These references to the socio-economic background of speakers, and to the status of minority languages, remind us that the term 'mother-tongue' is particularly unfortunate. In many cases the language taught as 'mother-tongue' is not identical with the home vernacular. In some cases the language of religion, the language of national origin or the lingua franca are linguistically close to the so-called mother-tongue. Even where these 'community languages' are distinct there remain social and educational arguments for their support. Some community languages are languages of literacy or of formal school instruction in the parents' countries of origin. But it is also important to remember that many members of linguistic minorities in England are multilingual, using their different languages for different functions, and that the value of different elements in their repertoire is changing with different patterns of ethnic relations.

The increase in community-run language provision in nearly all linguistic minorities over the last ten years is an obvious indication of the vitality of the languages, and of the increasing demand. Some schools started in the 1950s and 1960s, but it was in the 1970s that mother-tongue teachers and organisers became more aware of the range of provision offered within their own population nationally, and by other linguistic minorities. One of the first conferences, held by a South Asian Gujerati organisation in conjunction with the National Association for Asian Youth, took place in 1976. Organisers of these meetings came together with other South Asian individuals and institutions and discovered a parallel group which was developing among South European teachers or organisers. Although Embassy-run provision opened up a different set of organisational problems, these groups found many common difficulties and issues that needed to be considered. The two groups merged into the Co-ordinating Committee for Mother-Tongue Teaching, which has since become the National Council for Mother Tongue Teaching.

As members of linguistic minorities increasingly articulated their demands for more support from the LEAs, the wider discussions about education for a multicultural society kept the issue alive. When the debate shifted from mother-tongue teaching at the secondary level to the use of the mother-tongue at primary level, more people came to recognise the importance of language in education generally. There have also been signs that more E.S.L. teachers have begun to recognise that mother-tongue teaching is the other side of the E.S.L. coin. This is also increasingly apparent to teachers working in adult E.S.L. (I.L.E.A. 1983). Some modern language teachers too have come to appreciate the potential (and the practical difficulties) of widening the range of modern languages.

While all these initiatives suggest a picture of increasing activity and interest, there have been major constraints on consolidating the expertise and interest generated. Within many minority populations there is the problem of internal communication and a constant battle for resources to maintain and develop provision. Both these difficulties divert energy away from organisation and representation. Within the LEA school systems the lack of appropriate teachers and materials, the in-built resistance of the organisational structure and the attitudes of key personnel have often discouraged initiatives. Examples of systematic collaboration between LEA and community-run schools are few, but represent some of the most well-developed schemes. While many of these local initiatives have had little publicity, there has also been very little guidance or encouragement from central government.

The Bullock report in 1975 stressed the importance of bilingualism:

> "In a linguistically conscious nation in the modern world, we should see mother tongue as an asset, as something to be nurtured, and one of the agencies that should nurture it is the school. Certainly the school

> should adopt a positive attitude to its pupils' bilingualism and whenever possible should help maintain and deepen their knowledge of their mother tongue."
>
> (Chapter 20)

The DES document The Schools Curriculum (1981) did not discuss the different curriculum options and implications involved in developing the valuable resource of pupils with first languages other than English or Welsh, although it raised the question:

> "Far more pupils than in the past have a first language which is not English or Welsh. This constitutes a valuable resource, for them and for the nation. How should mother-tongue teaching for such pupils be accommodated within modern language provision so that this resource does not wither away and the pupils may retain contacts with their own communities?"

The Fifth Report from Home Affairs Committee of the House of Commons on Racial Disadvantage made several inconsistent references to the teaching of minority languages in the school system (Home Affairs, 1981):

> "We are not convinced either that a local education authority is under any obligation to provide mother-tongue teaching or that it is necessarily in the general interest that they should do so.
>
> (Para 151)
>
> "This does not mean the case is hopeless. For many years education in some parts of Wales has been carried on wholly or partly in Welsh.
>
> (Para 150)
>
> "....we feel that some greater efforts to ensure that the secondary school curriculum responds to the presence of ethnic minority pupils would be advisable, for example by encouraging the teaching of Asian languages within the modern languages curriculum."
>
> (Para 115)

The only substantial external impetus to the mother-tongue debate has come not from the central government, but from the E.C. Directive on the Education of Migrant Workers' Children (E.C., 1977). Although the British Government successfully objected in 1976 to the inclusion of an individual right to mother-tongue teaching which was written into the original draft of the Directive, it made clear that the Directive should be applied in principle to all pupils, whether their families came from other Member States or not (see DES circular, 5/81, 1981). This provided an important extension to the scope of the Directive. One of the most notable features of the debate in the mid-70s about the draft Directive was the lack of information and understanding of the issue among most of the official bodies who were responding to its formulation. Even now the

CHAPTER TWO: THE SCHOOLS LANGUAGE SURVEY

Aims and Objectives

The Schools Language Survey was developed to assist Local Education Authorities in documenting the range of lingusitic diversity among pupils in their schools. It was designed in close collaboration with teachers and advisers to give a broad, overall picture of the number of languages used by pupils in all the schools in a particular area, the numbers of speakers of each language, and the proportions of pupils reading and writing the languages concerned. After piloting in mid-1980, it was administered during 1980-81 in the Peterborough Division of Cambridgeshire, Coventry, Bradford, Haringey and Waltham Forest. The survey form used in these five areas is included as Figure One, and the findings from these Surveys are included in summary form later in this Chapter.

First, however, we discuss briefly the context and procedures for this survey, from which follow some necessary qualifications about the interpretation of the survey data.

Context

The function of the collection of data on linguistic diversity among school pupils was intended in part at least to be for the use of the DES and LEAs in developing policy. In addition, certain obligations had been imposed on the UK Government by the EC Directive of 1977 on the Education of Migrant Workers' Children, whose Article 3 refers directly to the need to "take appropriate measures to promote, in co-ordination with normal education, teaching of the mother tongue and culture of the country of origin". It was clear then that the data collected by the Schools Language Surveys should be such as to assist not only the DES at national level, but also LEAs and individual schools at local level. Administrators, teachers, and minority parents were beginning to consider what sort of systematic arrangements might be made to support the maintenance and development of skills in languages other than English, for pupils who already had some of these skills. Some were also asking why these newer minority languages could not be made available more generally throughout the school system.

The overall intention behind our design then was to elicit basic information on

a) the full range of languages spoken at home by pupils in the LEA schools
b) the numbers of pupils speaking each of the languages
c) the proportions these pupils represented of the totals surveyed

d) age- and sex-related differences in the incidence of speaking, reading and writing skills
e) the distribution of the bilingual pupils and of the different languages across schools and classes.

We were also determined from the beginning to design and conduct the surveys in such a way that schools, teachers and pupils could benefit in the short term, as well as in the long term.

When the Linguistic Minorities Project began its work in the autumn of 1979 there were no publicly available and comprehensive data about the languages known and used by school pupils in England from the different linguistic minorities. A number of British education authorities, schools and teachers had informal and partial knowledge of the linguistic background of their pupils, usually derived in rather unsatisfactory ways from information about ethnic or national origin. Data about the level of English skills and the need for provision in teaching English as a second language was much more widely available.

It was becoming increasingly obvious that more and more of the children who came from homes where English was only one of the languages used were British-born. So it was linguistic data that was needed for planning policies on language education which would encompass support for home languages other than English as well as for ESL development. Data deriving from birthplace or nationality status, of the kind the DES had collected until the early 70s, were not satisfactory for this purpose.

The nature of our task meant that a census approach had to be used. And we knew that, if we were to receive the co-operation of the very large number of teachers necessarily involved in a comprehensive enquiry across all the schools and the whole age-range in an authority, we would have to confine ourselves to a small number of questions, rather simply worded.

We decided to involve a large proportion of the teaching force in the conduct of our surveys, which made the process of negotiation with LEAs elaborate, and occasionally unsuccessful. The autonomy enjoyed by individual Local Education Authorities in matters relating to the collection of data on their pupils meant that in each new area the different interest groups of people involved in the conduct of the Survey had to be informed, and in some cases persuaded, of the benefits to be gained from such an enterprise. It was clear in some areas that, although the education officers were convinced of the case for a language survey, they anticipated that objections might well be raised by local teachers' unions, or by the local councillors. In most cases, sometimes after the substantial investment of time and effort in consultation and discussion, objections were overcome. But in others they were not, for a mixture of reasons which were rarely made totally explicit to the LMP team.

The factors at work, however, seemed to come down to these. Firstly there was a realisation of the possible expenditure implications which might well lie in the results of such a survey. Indeed, some of the LEAs foresaw the implications of SLS almost exclusively in quantitative terms, and little or not at all in qualitative terms involving changes in teachers' attitudes. Secondly, we ran into a not uncommon reluctance in schools to undertake what was sometimes seen as yet more pointless form-filling. This feeling may have been exacerbated by the fact that the Survey originated with an outside institution concerned with educational research, since research is often seen by teachers to have little or no practical or immediate outcome. Finally there was a not unreasonable fear on the part of teachers and head teachers about possible misuse of statistics which could be seen as in some way 'ethnic' or related to the national status of the pupil.

Although these objections were on the surface different in origin, (manifestations of a range of local sectional concerns and vested interests at the time of negotiation), they seem to us on reflection often to have been covertly rooted in deeper societal attitudes - for example racism towards minorities in general, or a monocultural and parochial attitude towards bilingualism and linguistic pluralism. Such attitudes among the dominant sub-culture may rarely be made explicit, but were relied on in some cases to form the unspoken basis for resistance to the survey. Another indication of this association may be found in the sources of support for the conduct of a Schools Language Survey - often those most heavily committed to multicultural or to anti-racist education, who took it for granted that bilingualism was a resource rather than a handicap, and that accurate and comprehensive information was a necessary basis for change and reform in language policy.

The overt objections of course related to the national and local political situation at the time of the surveys. This was characterised in the first place by severe and continuing cutbacks in public expenditure, only partly accounted for in the field of education by the falling school rolls which followed from earlier changes in the overall national birth-rate; and in the second place by new nationality and immigration legislation affecting in particular some of the largest minorities which our surveys were likely to be concerned with. In these circumstances teachers faced with the proposal to conduct a language survey sometimes reacted negatively. If they thought that expenditure might be 'diverted' from other areas which they felt to be more important, or that pupils or parents already feeling threatened by the direction of change in immigration and nationality legislation might be put at more specific risk through identification as somehow 'different' in terms of their linguistic background, they objected openly to the survey.

We had some evidence too of straightforwardly discriminatory or even racist reactions to the possibility or the actuality of the research. This reaction developed from the position

that the LEA was once again proposing to give 'special' attention, and possibly to allocate extra expenditure, to small groups of 'black' or 'immigrant' pupils who had already, these objectors believed, received excessive attention. People taking this position saw the only special need to be for the provision of assistance in learning the English language, in order that children should become as 'English' as possible as quickly as possible. The focus was problem- and not minority-oriented, uninterested in arguments for promoting bilingualism for all.

Procedures and Administration

The piloting of the Survey in 1980 was mainly concerned with testing the feasibility of our proposed administrative procedures, and with improving the design of the survey form. Our pilot experience did lead to improvements in both these aspects, but also drew attention to our central problem - the naming of languages and language varieties. The discussion of this, with particular reference to South Asian languages, is developed more fully in a later section of this chapter, but we mention briefly here the related matter of 'West Indian English'.

It was accepted initially by the team that the Project would not attempt to investigate varieties of English, or other indigenous British languages such as Welsh and Gaelic. We modified our intentions, particularly as far as some Creole-based varieties of English were concerned, as a result of some of the answers given by pupils from families of West Indian origin in answer to the questions put in the SLS, and in response to the wish of some LEAs to give explicit recognition to the linguistic status of Creole varieties.

We decided at an early stage to involve as many teachers as possible in the survey process, rather than to rely on, for example, specialist teachers of English as a Second Language who might be expected to be familiar with the linguistic background of the pupils concerned. This decision was related to five main factors. Firstly, we believed that many teachers other than those teaching ESL might know a great deal about their pupils' languages, and be interested in learning more. Secondly, we did not want to reinforce the view that bilingualism is a narrowly linguistic matter, only related to language learning and teaching and only of concern to language teachers. Nor did we want bilingualism to be seen as a handicap for learning English, to be treated within the framework of 'remedial' ESL courses. We wanted rather to support a view of bilingualism as related to the overall conceptual development and social experiences of all pupils, therefore the concern of all teachers. Thirdly, we felt that the carrying out of SLS might be a valuable consciousness-raising exercise, and therefore in this respect too, the more teachers involved the better. Fourthly, we were aware that the findings of SLS could have an impact on policy makers, leading to a change of attitudes

and to decisions involving all teachers. So, the more involved teachers could be in the carrying out of the survey, the more they would be able to respond to the practical implications of the findings. Finally, the sheer scale of the task made it essential that most teachers should in any case assist in the data collection. Given this decision to use most of the teaching force in connection with the Survey, it was necessary to invest considerable effort in the briefing of the teachers and administrators concerned.

We wrote into the Notes of Guidance printed on the survey form to the left of the answer grid the inescapable minimum advice to teachers. The forms were circulated in advance, to allow school staff to brief themselves on the recommended procedures, and open meetings were arranged to deal with queries from schools and teachers. During the main survey weeks, a telephone advice service was made available locally.

With the help of local education office staff, who followed up the usually rather small number of reluctant schools, data was obtained on virtually all the pupils in the five areas which we surveyed comprehensively.

We have no detailed evidence about how the survey was in fact conducted in different schools, and to what extent our suggested procedures were adopted. However, through the dissemination process in Coventry, Bradford and Haringey we have begun to form an impression of this. It would be a valuable follow-up to the Schools Language Survey research to undertake some case studies of the different detailed procedures adopted in various schools.

Overall it seems that, in addition to the data generated by the survey, the process of putting the questions to the children and the effort of interpreting their answers, was a highly educative one for many of the teachers involved. For some of them it may well have been the first occasion on which they had had to wrestle with the problems of, for example, naming the languages or varieties apart from English used by their pupils, and trying to work out how these related to religious or overall cultural background. In other words the mounting of a schools language survey on similar lines to that described here can have a secondary function for teachers as a large-scale in-service training exercise in language awareness.

Linguistic Minorities Project

Schools Language Survey

HEAD TEACHERS PLEASE COMPLETE

	SCHOOLS USE THIS COLUMN	Please leave this Column Blank
Name of Local Education Authority:		6–7
Name, Address and Telephone No. of School: *Please use rubber stamp if possible*		8–10
Type of School:		
Age range of Pupils in school in years Youngest pupils: Oldest pupils:	_____ _____	11

CLASS TEACHER PLEASE COMPLETE

	TEACHERS USE THIS COLUMN	Please leave this Column Blank
Name of Class/Form/Group for which information is recorded here:		12–13
Number of pupils in Class/Form/Group:		14–15
Number of pupils absent at the time of this Survey:		16–17
Age range of pupils in this class/form/group to nearest full year Youngest:		18–19
Oldest:		20–21
Date of completion of this Survey:		22–27
Name of teacher completing this form: *Please print*		

Purpose
This survey is being done to find out how many of the pupils in your school use languages at home other than English or in addition to English. Information of this kind is useful in working out language policies to meet the varied needs of pupils in schools.

Putting the Questions
We suggest that you put the questions to the pupils ***individually***, if possible not in front of the class as a whole, since some pupils will certainly be shy about referring to what they may regard as an 'odd' linguistic background. We ask you to put the first question to ***all*** the pupils in your class, even when you think it very unlikely that the pupil concerned ever uses a language other than English, because experience shows that teachers are occasionally unaware of a pupil's linguistic background.

Form of Words
Since even quite small differences in the wording of a question can produce significant differences in response, ***please use the form of the question indicated.*** But, whenever you judge that it is absolutely necessary to put a question in a different way, please try to convey the essence of the question as accurately as possible.

Language Practice and Language Use
Occasionally pupils may quite reasonably, in answer to your first two questions, give the name of a language like French which they are learning at school and ***practising*** at home, rather than using for communication. Please do ***not*** include such answers on this form but include, for example, Arabic or Hebrew being learned for religious purposes, if the pupils tell you about them.

Naming of Languages
Try to find out the actual name of the language: pupils may first give answers to Question 2 which refer to a country or region where more than one language is spoken – for example, 'Malaysia', 'Belgium', 'Indian', 'Pakistani', 'Swiss', 'Chinese'. In such cases you may have to put further questions to the pupils or perhaps to parents, if they are accessible, to obtain the particular language name. (Indicate the source of the information recorded if it is not the pupils themselves.)

If you are still not able to establish the language name, try to find out the name of the country or region where the language originated and write that in the ***Notes*** column.

We list below examples of the languages most commonly spoken in England at the moment. In brackets after these language names we have included examples of terms which pupils may give in answer to Question 2: these terms often refer to related spoken or written forms of the languages, regional varieties or names of countries.

ARABIC (Yemeni)	HINDI	SERBO-CROAT ('Yugoslavian')
BENGALI (Sylhetti)	ITALIAN (Sicilian)	SPANISH
CANTONESE (Chinese)	POLISH	TURKISH (Cypriot)
GREEK (Cypriot)	PORTUGUESE	UKRAINIAN
GUJERATI (Kutchi)	PANJABI ('Gurmukhi')	URDU
HAKKA (Chinese)	PANJABI (Mirpuri)	YORUBA

It is the names of the major spoken languages, like those printed on our list in capital letters, that we would like you to write in the column headed 'Question 2'. (There will be many pupils who speak languages not on our list of examples, and these of course should also be recorded whenever appropriate.) Any information given to you on dialects, additional languages, etc., like the terms we give in brackets, should be written in the ***Notes*** column.

Caribbean and other Creole Languages
If the pupil says he or she speaks 'Jamaican', 'West Indian' or 'patois', or names another Caribbean country or island, please enter 'Creole' in the ***Language*** column and write the exact term used by the pupil within quotation marks in the ***Notes*** column. Do the same for English-based Creole languages from other parts of the world such as the Pacific or Indian Ocean, and for non-English Creoles such as those from Mauritius or Dominica.

Pupils with Several Languages
If, in answer to your Question 2, pupils mention more than one language, please try to establish which is the most used, insert this in the ***Language*** column, and put the other languages in the ***Notes*** column.

Language of Literacy
Some pupils may report a written language which is different from the spoken language: for example, many pupils speak Panjabi but write Urdu. In cases like this, enter the spoken language in the ***Language*** column and the written language in the ***Notes*** column with an 'L' after it. (L=Literacy).

Thank you for helping with the Survey! We would be interested in hearing about your experience in using this form. If you would like to know about the work of our Project in general, or some particular aspect of it, please attach a note to this form or write to:

Linguistic Minorities Project,
University of London Institute of Education,
18 Woburn Square, London WC1H 0NS.

Please put this first question individually to *all* pupils in your class:–

Question 1. 'DO YOU YOURSELF EVER SPEAK ANY LANGUAGE AT HOME APART FROM ENGLISH?'

Do not enter on this form pupils who answer 'no' to this first question. But for each pupil who answers 'yes', ask, and record answers to the following questions. (Where even a modest skill is claimed, treat this as a positive answer.)

Question 2. 'WHAT IS THE NAME OF THAT LANGUAGE?'

Question 3 'CAN YOU READ THAT LANGUAGE?'

Question 4 'CAN YOU WRITE THAT LANGUAGE?'

TO RECORD ANSWERS, PLEASE PUT A CIRCLE AROUND FIGURE 1 or 2 AS APPROPRIATE

Pupils Answering 'yes' to Question 1		Question 2 Name of Language Spoken	Question 3 Can Pupil Read it?	Question 4 Can Pupil Write it?	Notes on Dialect, Language of Literacy, Country, etc.	LEAVE THIS COLUMN BLANK PLEASE					
28-29	30		31	32		X 33	A 34-36	B 37-39	C 40-42	D 43-45	E 46-48
01	boy – 1 girl – 2		yes – 1 no – 2	yes – 1 no – 2							
02	boy – 1 girl – 2		yes – 1 no – 2	yes – 1 no – 2							
03	boy – 1 girl – 2		yes – 1 no – 2	yes – 1 no – 2							
04	boy – 1 girl – 2		yes – 1 no – 2	yes – 1 no – 2							
05	boy – 1 girl – 2		yes – 1 no – 2	yes – 1 no – 2							
06	boy – 1 girl – 2		yes – 1 no – 2	yes – 1 no – 2							
07	boy – 1 girl – 2		yes – 1 no – 2	yes – 1 no – 2							
08	boy – 1 girl – 2		yes – 1 no – 2	yes – 1 no – 2							
09	boy – 1 girl – 2		yes – 1 no – 2	yes – 1 no – 2							
10	boy – 1 girl – 2		yes – 1 no – 2	yes – 1 no – 2							
11	boy – 1 girl – 2		yes – 1 no – 2	yes – 1 no – 2							
12	boy – 1 girl – 2		yes – 1 no – 2	yes – 1 no – 2							
13	boy – 1 girl – 2		yes – 1 no – 2	yes – 1 no – 2							
14	boy – 1 girl – 2		yes – 1 no – 2	yes – 1 no – 2							
15	boy – 1 girl – 2		yes – 1 no – 2	yes – 1 no – 2							
16	boy – 1 girl – 2		yes – 1 no – 2	yes – 1 no – 2							
17	boy – 1 girl – 2		yes – 1 no – 2	yes – 1 no – 2							
18	boy – 1 girl – 2		yes – 1 no – 2	yes – 1 no – 2							
19	boy – 1 girl – 2		yes – 1 no – 2	yes – 1 no – 2							
20	boy – 1 girl – 2		yes – 1 no – 2	yes – 1 no – 2							

IF YOU NEED TO ENTER MORE PUPILS, CONTINUE OVERLEAF

For continuation from overleaf only: PLEASE DO NOT BEGIN HERE.

Please put this first question individually to *all* pupils in your class:—

Question 1. 'DO YOU YOURSELF EVER SPEAK ANY LANGUAGE AT HOME APART FROM ENGLISH?'

Do not enter on this form pupils who answer 'no' to this first question. But for each pupil who answers 'yes', ask, and record answers to the following questions. (Where even a modest skill is claimed, treat this as a positive answer.)

Question 2. 'WHAT IS THE NAME OF THAT LANGUAGE?'

Question 3 'CAN YOU READ THAT LANGUAGE?'

Question 4 'CAN YOU WRITE THAT LANGUAGE?'

TO RECORD ANSWERS, PLEASE PUT A CIRCLE AROUND FIGURE 1 or 2 AS APPROPRIATE

Pupils Answering 'yes' to Question 1		Question 2 Name of Language Spoken	Question 3 Can Pupil Read it?	Question 4 Can Pupil Write it?	Notes on Dialect, Language of Literacy, Country, etc.	LEAVE THIS COLUMN BLANK PLEASE					
28-29	30		31	32		X 33	A 34-36	B 37-39	C 40-42	D 43-48	E 46-48
21	boy – 1 girl –2		yes – 1 no – 2	yes – 1 no – 2							
22	boy – 1 girl – 2		yes – 1 no – 2	yes – 1 no – 2							
23	boy – 1 girl – 2		yes – 1 no – 2	yes – 1 no – 2							
24	boy – 1 girl – 2		yes – 1 no – 2	yes – 1 no – 2							
25	boy – 1 girl – 2		yes – 1 no – 2	yes – 1 no – 2							
26	boy – 1 girl – 2		yes – 1 no – 2	yes – 1 no – 2							
27	boy – 1 girl – 2		yes – 1 no – 2	yes – 1 no – 2							
28	boy – 1 girl – 2		yes – 1 no – 2	yes – 1 no – 2							
29	boy – 1 girl – 2		yes – 1 no – 2	yes – 1 no – 2							
30	boy – 1 girl – 2		yes – 1 no – 2	yes – 1 no – 1							
31	boy – 1 girl – 2		yes – 1 no – 2	yes – 1 no – 1							
32	boy – 1 girl – 2		yes – 1 no – 2	yes – 1 no – 2							
33	boy – 1 girl – 2		yes – 1 no – 2	yes – 1 no – 2							
34	boy – 1 girl – 2		yes – 1 no – 2	yes – 1 no – 2							
35	boy – 1 girl – 2		yes – 1 no – 2	yes – 1 no – 2							

Naming of Languages

The problem of interpreting the raw data was particularly difficult with reference to
a) the naming of languages by pupils
b) the way in which these names were recorded by teachers
c) how they were coded and then regrouped under conventional language labels in the process of analysis.

There was a wide variation in the amount, kind and quality of information given on language names in the questionnaires as we received them from the schools. The majority of cases were straightforward, with a single, well-known language name entered on the form. A small number of the difficult cases can be put down to a failure to follow the instructions carefully enough, but the majority of problems were the result of the intrinsic complexities involved in naming languages and varieties, or of the design of the survey instrument itself.

Sometimes it appeared that the child could not give the language name, and that the teacher could not discover a recognisable language name but had made a note about the country of origin, or even about ethnic or religious identity. Although these responses were not ideal, they could at least be coded and some kind of interpretation attempted.

Some problems arose from the language labels themselves. These were of four distinct types.

(a) There were unfamiliar or non-standardised spellings of less common language names. Some of these could be reconstructed with a fair degree of confidence with reference to books such as Voegelin and Voegelin (1977); others were deciphered with less certainty.

(b) Pupils might name their languages, or a teacher might record the name given, with reference to an ethnic, national or religious group (e.g. Pathan, Indian, Cypriot, Hindu) rather than to a particular language.

(c) Our experience in a number of LEAs suggests that the term used to refer to a language or dialect varied according to the pupil's or teacher's perception of the status of this language or dialect in the wider community, either in the country of origin (e.g. 'Urdu' given for Panjabi), or in England ('Pakistani' given for Panjabi, 'Italian' for Sicilian, 'Indian' for Hindi, Gujerati, etc.).

(d) The level of detail in a pupil's answer or in a teacher's reporting of it might be affected by very local factors, the kind of relationship between teacher and pupil or even what other pupils in the class had just said. Some teachers in classes where there was a large number of pupils of one linguistic

minority gave detailed information about dialects and places of origin, while others in classes with fewer pupils answering 'yes' to the first question, or where a wide range of languages was reported, gave little more than the language name.

Coding Language Names and Labels: from language labels to language groupings

In view of the complexities outlined above it was important to devise a consistent coding framework for the languages reported, especially for the South Asian languages. In transferring the data to the computer a scheme was used which attempted to preserve the maximum amount of detail, and yet made it possible eventually to group together the many different language labels given by pupils and teachers into broader categories. The presentation in Table 2.2 (later in this Chapter) of the data for the languages given in answer to Question 2 is based largely on these groupings.

South Asian Languages

The inter-relationship of national, regional, religious and linguistic categories is very important, for example in understanding the situation of South Asian languages in England. From the point of view of planning support for mother-tongue teaching in this country, it would be useful, for example, to be able to group Panjabi speakers on the basis of religious affiliation, which is closely related to language of literacy. Unfortunately, the data obtained in SLS does not allow us to make these distinctions in an immediate and straightforward way. This is partly a reflection of the method by which pupils and teachers (neither of whom may have a detailed knowledge of the linguistic background) were asked to record answers to a single question. Some answers may refer to the local spoken dialect used at home, some to the regional standard spoken language, and others to the language of community loyalty or even the language of literacy: it is not always clear which.

In order to understand the problem it is necessary to appreciate something of the sociolinguistic situation in Northern India and Pakistan and in families from those backgrounds who now live in England.

Before the partition of the subcontinent in 1947 the whole of Panjab was part of a single state and the vast majority of the population spoke one of the local dialects of Panjabi as a mother-tongue. Even today there is a large degree of mutual intelligibility between the spoken forms of Panjabi used on either side of the Indo-Pakistan border. However, as religious divisions became institutionalised in the creation of the new nations of India and Pakistan, language became more closely associated with national and religious identity.

Urdu, a language based on the speech of educated Muslims of Northern India, and written in the Perso-Arabic script, was declared to be the national and official language of Pakistan, even though the only native speakers of Urdu to be found within the borders of the country were migrants and refugees. Almost all education, official business and literacy in Pakistan is in the medium of Urdu. Most Pakistani migrants to England came from Panjab, or adjoining districts of Azad Kashmir. They speak a local dialect of Panjabi as their mother-tongue but may regard Urdu as their community language and use it as their language of literacy.

On the Indian side of the border two standard languages are widely used. The national language of India is Hindi, which in its spoken form is mutually intelligible, indeed almost identical, with the spoken form of Urdu. However, Hindi is strongly associated with the Hindu religion and in formal styles is strongly influenced by Sanskrit. It is normally written in the Devanagri script, which is derived from Sanskrit and is different from the Urdu (Perso-Arabic) script. Beginning in the 1950s India was divided into states along linguistic lines, each state having its own standard language and script. One of these states is Panjab, where the standard language is Panjabi which is strongly associated with the Sikh religion and written in a script known as Gurmukhi, developed by the scribes who first wrote down the Sikh scriptures. Sikhs living in Indian Panjab will speak Panjabi as a mother-tongue, write it in the Gurmukhi script and regard it as their community language. They may use Hindi as a second language or lingua franca. Hindus living in the same area will speak Panjabi, may write it in the Gurmukhi script, but may also know spoken and written Hindi and may exhibit loyalty to Hindi rather than Panjabi as their national and community language.

The result of this is that most families in England with origins in the Panjab, whether in India or Pakistan, and whether they are Muslim, Sikh or Hindu by religion, will use spoken forms of Panjabi which are likely to be mutually intelligible. However, it would be desirable to distinguish the groups for purposes of language education planning: the Muslim, Sikh and Hindu communities would normally expect tuition in their distinct languages of literacy, e.g. Panjabi in the Gurmukhi script for the Sikh communities, Panjabi in the Gurmukhi script or Hindi for the Hindu communities from the Indian part of Panjab and Urdu for the Muslim community from the Pakistani part of Panjab.

Thus a number of pupils whose families originate in Pakistan reported speaking Urdu, when in fact it is likely that their first spoken language was some regional variety of Panjabi. For these Panjabi speakers Urdu is their language of literacy, and may also be a second spoken language. Other children of similar language background in answer to Question 2 reported speaking Panjabi. When the language given is Panjabi it is only possible in a minority of cases to predict with a fair degree of accuracy which linguistic minority an individual Panjabi speaker comes from, and therefore which written language they are most likely to

want to learn (see also notes on Panjabi and Urdu before Table 2.5).

Creoles

This is a large group of diverse languages and varieties, whose common historical characteristic is that they arose in a colonial situation out of contact between a European language and some other language or languages. These were reported in quite large numbers in several of the surveys, and in analysing the data we have divided them into two main categories:

(a) French-based Creoles: this includes all cases where the word "French" appeared on the form or where there was some geographical term mentioned which made it highly probable that the Creole in question was French, e.g. "Mauritius".

(b) English-based and all other Creoles: included in this group are all other cases where the word "Creole" appeared, together with such terms as "Jamaican", and "Patois". It is possible that some of the unspecified Creoles are in fact French-based, but where there was no clear evidence available, we included them in this group.

'Chinese' and Other Groupings

'Chinese' refers to a group including all language labels referring to one of the regional Chinese languages, e.g. Cantonese, Hakka, as well as the general label "Chinese". In other language groupings simple language labels, and those which give more detailed geographical or dialect specifications, were all grouped together under the name of the national or regional official language, e.g. Kutchi is subsumed in the Gujerati group and Sicilian in the Italian group.

In the Tables of the Findings section which follows, we use the phrase 'language or language grouping' in the sense explained and exemplified above.

Findings

Numbers & Proportions of Bilingual Pupils

In the five areas where LMP conducted Schools Language Surveys in 1980 and 1981, the numbers of pupils recorded by their teachers as speaking at least one language at home other than English, for which we use the shorthand expression 'bilingual pupils', are set out in Table 2.1, along with an indication of the proportions that these pupils represented of the total numbers of pupils surveyed.

Table 2.1: Numbers Surveyed and Proportions of Bilingual Pupils

	Bradford Metropolitan District	Coventry Metropolitan District	Haringey Outer London Borough	Peterborough Division of Cambridgeshire	Waltham Forest Outer London Borough
Main Survey Month	March 1981	March 1981	June 1981	November 1980	November 1981
Age Range Surveyed Comprehensively	6-16	6-16	5-15	5-16	6-16
(A) Total Number of Pupils Surveyed	79,758	49,990	24,140	32,662	29,379
(B) Total No. of Pupils Using a Language Other than English	14,201	7,189	7,407	2,408	5,521
(B) as % of (A)	17.8%	14.4%	30.7%	7.4%	18.8%

Most Frequently Mentioned Languages

The languages represented in the different LEAs which we surveyed varied considerably, both in terms of the number of different languages reported, and in terms of the particular languages which were most frequently mentioned.

Table 2.2: Main Languages Reported in Five LEAs

	Bradford	Coventry	Haringey	Peterborough	Waltham Forest
(1) Total No of pupils recorded as using a language at home other than English	14,201	7,189	7,407	2,408	5,521
(2) Total no. of identifiably distinct languages reported.	64	50	87	42	65
(3) The most frequently reported spoken languages or language groupings as % of (1) to nearest whole number.	Panjabi 53 Urdu 19 Gujerati 9 Bengali 3 Pushtu 3 Italian 3 Polish 1 Hindi 1 Chinese 1 Creoles* 1 Ukrainian 1	Panjabi 59 Gujerati 16 Urdu 7 Hindi 3 Italian 2 Bengali 2 Polish 2 Chinese 1 Creoles* 1	Greek 34 Turkish 15 Creoles* 9 Gujerati 6 Italian 6 French -based Creoles 4 Bengali 3 Urdu 2 Panjabi 2 Spanish 2 Chinese 2 French 1	Panjabi 24 Italian 24 Urdu 18 Gujerati 12 Chinese 4 Polish 2 German 2 Hindi 2 Creoles* 1 French 1	Panjabi 31 Urdu 21 Gujerati 8 Greek 8 Creoles* 7 Turkish 4 French -based Creoles 3 Bengali 3 Chinese 2 Italian 2 Hindi 1 French 1
(4) Total of (3) as cumulative % of (1)	95%	93%	86%	90%	91%

*'Creoles' here means English-based and other non-French-based Creole languages.

It will be seen from the data presented in Table 2.2 that, although there are indeed in each of the areas we surveyed quite wide ranges of languages used at home by pupils in their schools as a whole, the 10 or 12 most frequently occurring languages or groupings in each area account for at least 85-90% of the children concerned. What this suggests from the point of view of potential educational support for minority languages is that the kind of objection which is based on the logistic problems arising from extremely large numbers of different languages in particular areas has only limited force. Some LEAs are already showing how a considerable impact can be made by beginning with support for the most widespread three or four languages in an area, before going on to tackle, probably on a more centralised basis, the languages with fewer or more scattered speakers. Table 2.2 also points to the importance on the minority language scene in England, outside London at least, of the main South Asian languages. Panjabi, Urdu and Gujerati in particular, Bengali and Hindi to a lesser extent, are spoken by substantial numbers of children in virtually all the areas we looked at. Only Italian, and in North London, Greek, Turkish, English-based and French-based Creoles are otherwise prominent in this numerical sense. Speakers of Chinese languages are found in smaller numbers in each area surveyed, as are speakers of Polish outside the London boroughs where we worked.

Literacy in Languages Other than English

The questions asked in the Schools Language Surveys about literacy were necessarily simple: we asked teachers to accept as positive answers which suggested even a modest degree of skill in reading or writing the languages concerned. The data which is set out in the following section should therefore be interpreted with this in mind.

Table 2.3: Literacy by LEA: all languages together

	Bradford (n=14,201)	Coventry (n=7,189)	Haringey (n=7,407)	Peterborough (n=2,408)	Waltham Forest (n=5,521)
1. % of bilingual pupils reporting some degree of literacy in any of the languages other than English referred to by them.	52.3	41.4	50.5	50.5	49.0
2. % of the bilingual pupils reporting ability to READ the spoken language given in answer to Qs 1 & 2 of SLS	36.7	37.5	48.6	45.0	41.0
3. % of the bilingual pupils reporting ability to WRITE the spoken language given in Qs. 1 & 2 of SLS	28.8	31.3	40.9	37.1	31.5

Notes:

1. 'Bilingual Pupils' here is used as a shorthand for pupils reporting one or more languages in addition to English.
2. For SLS Questions 1 and 2 see reproduction of survey form.
3. The percentages in lines 2 and 3 are slightly different from their equivalents given in our Reports to LEAs (and in our Summary of Findings from Five LEAs) because of the different base used.
4. For a breakdown of the figures by language grouping see Table 2.6.

Separate Languages of Literacy

In some of the most frequently occurring languages or language groupings in our Schools Language Surveys, the questions about reading and writing were complicated by the fact that the written language concerned was not always the same as the spoken language used at home. We use the term "language of literacy" in such cases, but this covers two rather different kinds of language knowledge. The first is where the language of literacy is a national language fairly closely related to the spoken language and used in the family's country of origin as the major medium of education and official communication: the most notable examples in this category are Urdu for speakers of Panjabi whose families originated in Pakistan, and standard Italian for speakers of regional dialects. The second category of languages of literacy includes those languages being learned for religious purposes, and in these cases in particular there may be a quite limited knowledge of the equivalent spoken language. The most frequently found example in this category was Arabic, learned by Muslims from a variety of language backgrounds. For a small proportion of pupils in each place we surveyed knowledge of both kinds of languages of literacy was reported. Most of these children were speakers of a variety of Panjabi, e.g. Mirpuri from the Mirpur district of 'Azad' Kashmir who had learned to read or write both Urdu and Arabic. Table 2.4 sets out the incidence of these languages in our five areas.

Table 2.4: Languages of Literacy

	Bradford	Coventry	Haringey	Peterborough	Waltham Forest
(1) Total no of pupils reporting any literacy in a language other than English	7,427	2,979	3,739	1,217	2,704
(2) Total no of pupils reporting separate languages of literacy	3,146	272	61	146	674
(3) Numbers of pupils reporting two separate languages of literacy.	597	35	2	9	83

Literacy in Different Language Groupings

The overall differences in the minority literacy rates for each LEA may well relate to the different proportions of each language in the locality, since the specific rates of literacy vary considerably between languages. Table 2.5 sets out the position for some of the languages most frequently reported in the areas we examined.

For pupils reporting Panjabi or Urdu as a spoken language, in order to simplify the interpretation of data, the different language labels reported by, or recorded for the Panjabi-speakers have been put into four categories. This grouping was done on the basis of the coding of the answers to Question 2 about the pupil's (first-mentioned) spoken language:

(1) those cases where the word PANJABI appears with no further specification: "Panjabi unspecified";

(2) those cases where PANJABI is given with a specification that links it mainly with the Sikhs from India, who use the Gurmukhi script: "Panjabi: Gurmukhi script" or "GS";

(3) those cases where PANJABI is given but is further specified in a way which indicates some connection with the Muslims from Pakistan, for whom Urdu is generally the language of literacy. Dialect names such as "Mirpuri" and "Hin(d)ko" are included in this grouping: "Panjabi: Urdu script" or "US";

(4) those cases where the word URDU is given (with or without a further geographical or dialectal specification). In many of these cases we are fairly sure that the spoken variety is some dialect of Panjabi.

Table 2.5: Literacy by Language

Pupils reporting literacy (note 1)	Bradford %	Coventry %	Haringey %	Peterborough %	Waltham Forest %	All Five LEAs %
Panjabi (a) unspecified	54	34	37	46	39	46
(b) Urdu script	52	56	--	66	55	53
(c) Gurmukhi script	39	35	--	--	39	37
Urdu	59	55	52	54	55	58
Gujerati	34	37*	25*	23*	33	33
Bengali	56	51	50	--	48	52
Hindi	29	36	23	--	28	31
Chinese	56	61	69	69	57	64
Italian	72	63	59	63*	68	65
Greek	--	--	60*	--	55*	60
Turkish	--	--	49*	--	46	50
Polish	66	79	--	--	--	71

-- indicates that there are fewer than 80 speakers in this LEA.

* indicates that there are statistically significant sex differences in the literacy rates, with in all cases smaller proportions of boys than of girls reporting literacy.

Note 1: 'literacy' here means that pupils reported that they can read or write at least one of the spoken languages given, or have reported a separate language of literacy.

Note 2: Percentages are of the total number of pupils reporting spoken skills in the relevant language.

To take only the most obvious contrasts pointed up by Table 2.5, we may note that whereas around two thirds or more of those speaking Polish, Italian and Chinese languages such as Cantonese and Hakka report some degree of literacy in a language other than English, only around one third of those in the Hindi, Gujerati or Panjabi-Gurmukhi groupings do so. We can only speculate on the reasons for this contrast, which may relate for example, to a longer settlement history giving a greater opportunity to organise effective mother tongue teaching, or to rather different attitudes to linguistic and cultural assimilation among these different linguistic minorities. The higher rates of reported literacy among girls than boys in several of the groupings corresponds to the widespread evidence of such differences in the educational literature on language-achievement in general, and literacy in particular.

Language Skills and Age

It is sometimes asserted that, given the almost total lack of encouragement by the mainstream school system in most places for the maintenance of languages other than English, early language skills may be lost after only a few years in school.

We have no data bearing directly on this question, since there was no longitudinal element in our design. However, we set out in Table 2.6 the proportions of each age group replying positively to Question 1 of the SLS, which gives some indication of the inter-relationship of age and use of more than one language. This age distribution of course is intimately related to the size of the age cohorts in the bilingual population as a whole, and of the different linguistic minorities of which it is composed. Broadly speaking all LEAS seem to show greater proportions of bilinguals in the primary age groups. This has to be set in the context of overall falling rolls (except in Bradford). In all authorities we can expect the bilingual population to be increasing both in absolute numbers and in percentage terms as the years go on. (The evidence from ALUS tends to confirm this.) The possibility of language shift to English, or that language skills in minority languages have already been lost, or under-reported by older children, make prediction very difficult.

Table 2.6: Percentage of Each Age Group* Reporting Use of a Language Other Than English at Home

LEA / Age-Group*	Bradford	Coventry	Haringey	Peterborough	Waltham Forest
5	14.9	11.5	30.6	6.4	20.6
6	22.4	15.6	30.8	7.1	21.2
7	19.7	14.8	34.2	5.2	19.8
8	22.6	15.3	34.3	8.4	20.5
9	16.5	16.1	29.5	5.9	22.3
10	18.2	12.4	33.0	8.3	20.4
11	17.7	15.2	30.6	5.4	19.8
12	15.3	14.5	29.0	8.9	18.0
13	16.2	15.2	29.1	8.4	19.0
14	14.3	12.8	31.1	8.5	16.7
15	11.5	12	28.9	7.4	15.2
16	9.5	11.3	28.8	7.7	13.9

* Note on 'Age-Group': More than 90% of the pupils surveyed were entered on survey-forms with age ranges of no more than two years, e.g. 11-13 year olds. Only these pupils are included in Table 2.6. The mid-point of the interval between oldest and youngest in each group is used as an indication of the average age in the groups.

There were age-differences in literacy-rates too. In most languages the lowest literacy rates were of course reported for the youngest children. In some (Italian in all five LEAs, for example, Greek in two of them) there was a straightforward increase in reported literacy with increasing age. However, there was a tendency for the oldest (14+) age-groups in some languages (Gujerati in two LEAs, Panjabi-unspecified in three) to report lower literacy rates than those in the age-groups beneath them. It is not possible to say from our data alone whether this latter phenomenon is the result of adolescents forgetting, or under-reporting, their literacy skills, whether it is simply a feature of the current 14+ age-cohorts, or whether it relates to some combination of these and a range of other factors. Some languages vary in this respect in the different LEAs, with Urdu for example reporting proportions of literacy increasing with age in Haringey and Peterborough, but falling in the other three areas. Literacy in Bengali similarly increases with age in Coventry, but decreases in Haringey and Waltham Forest. Clearly, the degree of support which schools can offer to pupils wishing to establish literacy in the minority language is likely to be a major factor in influencing future trends in these rates.

Distribution of Bilingual Children by Schools

An important logistic consideration for LEAs and schools considering support for the maintenance and development of pupils' skills in other languages alongside English, is the way in which the speakers of the various languages are distributed over different schools in an area. For the less frequent languages in an LEA some kind of centralised provision would obviously have to be made - possibly even extending to co-operation between neighbouring authorities.

To illustrate the situation with reference to some of the more frequently-occurring languages, we take the examples of Panjabi and Gujerati in Coventry and of Greek in Haringey.

Table 2.7.1: Panjabi*-speakers in Coventry Schools.

Primary Schools	
Number of Pupils	Number of Schools
1-10	41
11-20	7
21-30	8
31-40	4
41-100	12
101-186	6

Secondary Schools	
Number of Pupils	Number of Schools
1-50	9
51-100	2
101-200	4
201-389	3

*figures are for 'Panjabi: unspecified' + 'Panjabi: GS',
as defined for Table 2.5 earlier in this section.

Table 2.7.2: Gujerati-Speakers in Coventry Schools

Primary Schools	
Number of Pupils	Number of Schools
1-10	41
11-20	10
21-79	4

Secondary Schools	
Number of Pupils	Number of Schools
1-50	11
51-100	3
196	1

Table 2.7.3: Greek-speakers in Haringey Schools

Primary Schools	
Number of Pupils	Number of Schools
1-10	29
11-20	22
21-30	8
31-40	9
41-76	9

Secondary Schools	
Number of Pupils	Number of Schools
1-50	4
51-100	6
101-172	3

We have not presented here these figures broken down by age-group, but a few further simple calculations will show that there are in principle possibilities within at least some LEA schools for offering support to numerically important linguistic minorities.

Postscript on Dissemination and Follow-up to the Schools Language Survey

The SLS work relied heavily on teachers and the reliability of the findings depends in the end completely on their attitudes towards, and their ways of carrying out, the survey. Their approach revealed how much interest in and understanding they had of the aims and objectives of the research, and this determined the starting point for the active dissemination which has followed. Throughout the survey work we paid attention to what was revealed about teachers' level of understanding. Although from a common sense point of view some would say that disseminating information comes after the research, it is important to stress that active dissemination starts with, develops alongside, and requires special attention at every stage of, the research process.

The analysis of the findings confirmed the impression of a need to develop a greater sociolinguistic and sociocultural awareness among teachers who were not themselves from linguistic minorities. For example in the four authorities with a high proportion of children from families originating in both parts of Panjab, the language labels 'Indian', 'Pakistani' or Pakistan with no further information were recorded a number of times ('Indian' 134 times in five LEAs, 'Pakistani' 110 times in Bradford and Waltham Forest and 'Pakistan' 80 times in Bradford, Peterborough and Waltham Forest). And such labels were not concentrated in only a small number of schools. The active involvement of teachers in this kind of survey is not only essential for the reliability of the findings: it conditions the impact at a later stage of the dissemination of findings. These can be made use of in an active and constructive way, with a greater chance of fostering changes in attitudes and teaching practices. But it is only when the teachers are thoroughly briefed beforehand, and actively involved in the survey work, that they become aware of the importance of the issue not only for minority children but for the whole education system.

The process of active dissemination by the LMP's sister project LINC is testing several strategies, based on the following assumptions.

(a) Research findings which are not made available to all

those concerned are not fully utilised. It is also possible that findings can be manipulated by the few who retain them for their own purposes in their position of power;

(b) Research findings which are made available to a wide public are in danger of being misunderstood and unintentionally or consciously misused;

(c) Active dissemination means strategies to reach those educationalists who will not look for SLS findings in academic reports or even in booklets displayed on staff-room shelves. The impact of the findings depends on the exchanges they give rise to between a variety of target publics who are all involved in the issue but may rarely meet together;

(d) Active dissemination also means the monitoring of the interpretation and use of the SLS findings once they are made available.

Manual of Use for the Schools Language Survey

A Manual has been designed for use by further LEAs wishing to plan systematic support for the maintenance and development of the mother-tongues of pupils from linguistic minorities, and for those who want to reassess the language options offered to all pupils. The Manual covers all the preparatory stages necessary for the effective conduct of the survey, gives detailed advice on the actual administration at authority and at school level, provides the computer programs for checking and analysis of the data, and suggests how the findings from the survey can be disseminated. Appendices include instructions to coders, and comprehensive lists of languages most likely to be encountered. In 1982 Brent was the first LEA to conduct its own Schools Language Survey using a pilot version of the Manual based on the procedures developed in the first five Authorities referred to earlier; Hounslow, which is planning a survey in the Autumn 1983 term, is also making use of the latest draft, and several other LEAs have made preliminary enquiries.

CHAPTER THREE

THE SECONDARY PUPILS' SURVEY

CHAPTER THREE: THE SECONDARY PUPILS' SURVEY

Aims and Scope

In the early stages of the design and implementation of the Schools Language Survey (SLS) described in the previous chapter, LMP also began work on an alternative approach to the investigation of linguistic diversity in schools. This eventually took the form of the Secondary Pupils Survey (SPS). From the outset, our intention was for these two surveys to have different but complementary functions. The aim of the SLS was to provide a comprehensive sketch of the distribution of spoken language and literacy skills over the school population as a whole in a number of different local authority areas. This emphasis on comprehensiveness necessarily implied that only a few rather simple questions could be asked, and that teachers had to be asked to mediate the questions and to record the answers.

We wanted also, however, to look more directly and in detail at children's use of language, and experience of language diversity, both inside and outside school. We felt that a small-scale survey, involving pupils themselves in answering questions about their own past and present language learning, use and experience, would allow more detailed insights into the significance of different languages in children's lives in England. We also wanted to see if we could provide some indication as to whether bilingual children would be more willing, or less willing, to disclose what they might regard as rather intimate information orally and via their teacher (SLS) or in written form direct to researchers not known to them (SPS).

The SPS was designed to involve all the pupils in a class so that there was no question of any preliminary dividing up of the pupils by their teachers. This of course would have defeated the object of the survey which was to elicit pupils' own perceptions of their linguistic repertoires. We shared with other researchers such as Rosen and Burgess (1980) the view that bilingualism has to be seen within the wider context of linguistic and cultural diversity in Britain, and can only be sensitively investigated in the school setting by recognising fully the inter-ethnic dynamics of the classroom. Trying to work exclusively with the most obviously bilingual children on this topic would certainly have damaged the fragile climate of relationships which sometimes exists among pupils, and between teachers and pupils.

We designed our questionnaire with two main routes through it, partly because the line between monolingual and bilingual is nothing like as clear as might at first appear, partly because of our hope of interesting and involving those pupils who defined themselves as essentially monolingual. One route was for those who from the beginning mentioned that they had earlier in their lives used more

than one language - the so-called 'bilingual route' (pp. 2-5). The other was for pupils who at least in the first place defined themselves as having started life with only one language - the 'monolingual route' (pp 6-9). Interestingly, we found that some pupils who initially chose the monolingual route turned out, when trying to answer later questions, to know more of other languages than they had first volunteered.

In any case, most monolingual English children have quite varied verbal repertoires, which may include indigenous social and regional dialects of English, as well as context-related stylistic varieties. The repertoires of some may also include, for example, Afro-Caribbean creoles or patois, or British varieties deriving from these. For some children the variety of English which they speak may be so different from Standard English, either in form or in symbolic value, that they will want to define it as a separate language. Since in this survey we were trying to elicit all the pupils' own accounts of their linguistic repertoires, we tried to include questions which would be relevant to these monolingual pupils, would give recognition to their special linguistic experience, and would encourage their interest in the different linguistic experience of their classmates.

But the focus is not only on the range of languages that pupils say they speak, read or write now. In addition, we tried to establish what degree of skill they had, by asking pupils for their own assessment of their various current language skills, covering receptive and productive skills in both oral-aural and written modes (see SPS questionnaire p.2). The questionnaire also explores, in cases where children have current experience of more than one language or variety, their patterns of language use with different interlocutors - what language or language variety they choose when speaking with different members of their family or with friends (see SPS questionnaire p.3). The other major area of interest in the SPS is in pupils' formal and informal language learning experience, inside and outside school (see SPS questionnaire pp. 4-5, 6-7) and in the perception by monolingual children of languages spoken at school or in their neighbourhood (see SPS questionnaire pp. 8-9).

Design and Implementation of the SPS

(a) The Questionnaire Design

As we have seen, in SLS it is the teachers who put the questions to the pupils and record the answers. In contrast, the SPS was designed for completion directly by the pupils themselves. This imposed certain constraints and requirements both on the terminology that could be used, and on the layout. We believed originally that a task of this nature could only be set for older secondary school students, since this age group would find it easier to reflect on their language experience in this way, and to cope with the task of filling in what was necessarily a

fairly complex questionnaire. However, in fact we found that pupils as young as 11 were able to complete the questionnaires, with varying degrees of help from their teachers.

The opening question focuses on early linguistic experience, and it is the pupil's answer to this which should determine the initial choice of route through the questionnaire, broadly speaking the 'bilingual' route through green pages 2-5, or the 'monolingual' route through orange pages 6-9. We anticipated that most pupils would answer this first question in one of four ways: (i) by saying they only ever used English at home; (ii) by indicating that they grew up speaking only a language other than English; (iii) by naming two different languages such as Greek and English, Gujerati and English or Panjabi and Urdu; (iv) or by listing, perhaps alongside English, an English-based creole or a regional variety of English.

Each of the two colour-coded routes comprises a different set of questions. The green route on pages 2 to 5 is devised for those who report that, whether or not they also knew any English, they used a language other than English with their family before they first went to school. The orange route on pages 6 to 9 is for those who report that they used only English at home with their family in their early years. It is important to realise that this second route was in fact selected by a number of pupils whose parents had probably grown up speaking another language, and in whose homes this language was still sometimes spoken. Such pupils could be expected to make an initial choice of the green "bilingual" route but would find questions from page 3 onwards not relevant to their situation. Therefore an additional routing instruction was given, telling them to pass on to the orange "monolingual" pages. Such pupils were counted as a separate "mixed" category for purposes of analysis.

Pages 3 and 4 of the questionnaire are aimed specifically at assessing the extent to which those pupils who currently use a language other than English draw on their bilingual repertoire in daily interactions with their family or with friends at school. Pages 4 and 5 ask pupils to give an account of their present or previous involvement in language classes, other than those in the main conventional school languages, whether they are organised outside or inside ordinary school time.

In the orange pages of the questionnaire, for those who identify themselves as originally, or now, monolingual English speakers, the focus is more on contact with speakers of languages other than English, inside or outside their home, on language learning experience both formal and informal, and on sociolinguistic awareness. The questions on page 6 are designed to give some indication of the extent of language shift between generations. It will be remembered that the wording of the key question in the SLS was designed to locate only those pupils who currently had a productive oral skill in a language other than English. If teachers followed the SLS instructions to the letter, they

would not have recorded either pupils who had once spoken but no longer spoke other languages, nor would pupils who claimed only to be able to understand but not to speak another language. Questions 34 to 37 in the SPS were designed to investigate these aspects.

The questions on page 7 have two different purposes. Firstly, they are intended to establish the extent of exposure to out-of-school language learning for those pupils who had not in their infancy used a language other than English. Secondly, they are designed to see whether many children, even where they came from an essentially monolingual family background, had learned languages outside school, for example through living in another country for a period.

Finally, pages 8 and 9 are in part about the observation of languages other than English in use by fellow-pupils in school or in the general area around the school, and in part about the pupils' experience of school language learning.

The last page of the questionnaire is designed for all the pupils to complete, whichever route they have followed. It seeks basic personal information including an indication of religious affiliation, which is closely connected to literacy traditions for some languages at least. It shoud be noted that no names are requested, and indeed in the Teachers' Guidelines it is made clear that anonymity is expected.

(b) Piloting and Redrafting the Questionnaire

In the first few months of 1980 the SPS questionnaire went through a number of drafts, always with the aim of producing a design that would provide a technically straightforward yet engaging exercise for the pupils to be involved in. The first pilot for the SPS was carried out during the months of May and June 1980 in a small number of secondary schools in the outer London boroughs of Harrow, Enfield and Croydon. Over 300 boys and girls aged 11 to 16 were involved at this stage.

LMP researchers observed several of the piloting sessions, and were struck by the high degree of interest many pupils showed in completing the SPS questionnaire, although it was at that stage still without illustrations. In some classes the activity generated unplanned discussion between pupils and teachers, and between pupils of different linguistic backgrounds. It was perhaps this that first suggested to us the potential curricular value of using SPS, an extension of its original purpose as a survey instrument.

The experience of the pilot survey led to the further simplification of the questionnaire, to improvements in both wording and layout, and to the drafting of a set of guidelines for teachers who might be conducting the survey elsewhere. These incorporated some of the ideas and suggestions brought up by the teachers in the schools where the pilot surveys were carried out, for example about the

need for careful introduction and placing of the questionnaire in an appropriate context of interest in linguistic diversity, and about the degree of help which might be necessary for pupils of different ages and ability.

(c) The Surveys in Peterborough and in Bradford

In late 1980 a revised but still unillustrated version of the SPS was administered to all first year pupils in the eleven secondary schools in the city of Peterborough, a total of some 1,700 eleven year old pupils who had already completed the SLS some weeks previously. This was the first large-scale use of SPS, and the age-group and sample size in Peterborough were requested by the education advisory staff there, who hoped to build on the findings from this age-cohort of pupils at later stages in their secondary careers.

A meeting for all the teachers involved was held between the administration of SLS and of SPS in Peterborough, and this provided useful input for the teachers' guidelines. The seeds of the idea for an illustrated version of the SPS Questionnaire, prepared in early 1981 under the coordination of LMP sister-project LINC, and first used in Bradford, were probably also planted at the time of the Peterborough Survey.

Our intention in using SPS in Bradford in early 1981 was to obtain data from a fairly large sample of secondary pupils in the 14-15 year age-range. The maximum size of survey administratively feasible would have been about 1500: in practice we decided to survey around 1100 children, and to conduct the research in schools in the city of Bradford itself rather than the outlying parts of Bradford Metropolitan District.

The selection of schools in which the survey took place was intended to be broadly representative of the range of senior school types in the city. Therefore the survey schools included single sex and mixed schools, inner city schools with a high proportion of South Asian minority pupils, and Roman Catholic secondary schools so as to include a proportion of children from European linguistic minorities. Some schools which were linguistically heterogeneous were also included.

Although we had chosen this wide range of schools in an attempt to make the sample broadly representative of the City, we became aware that it would contain too high a proportion of monolingual children if the whole population of a year-group in all the schools was surveyed. Therefore we arranged for schools with more than 10% of bilingual pupils to survey larger numbers of children than schools where the proportion of bilingual pupils was less than 10%. In this way we hoped that somewhere between 30% and 50% of the pupils completing SPS in Bradford would be bilingual, as compared with the approximately 18% for Bradford Metropolitan District as a whole.

The selection of particular groups or classes in Bradford

within the agreed year-group was under the individual school's control and we have no way of determining whether the classes chosen were representative of the whole year-group. We simply accepted the co-operation of these schools and offered them advice as to the best criteria for selecting pupils within the school.

The SPS in Bradford was in the end completed by a total of just over 1,000 pupils in eleven different schools. They were the first to use the illustrated version of the questionnaire, the production of which had been co-ordinated by the new LINC Project attached to LMP from January 1981.

Findings

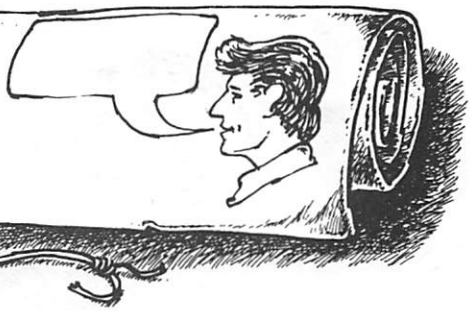
Before going on to present the findings of SPS in Bradford and Peterborough, a few comments are necessary about the quality of the data that was collected. The conditions in which the questionnaires were completed have already been described, and it is obvious that the very varied atmospheres in different classrooms, and the differing amounts of interaction between pupils, must be borne in mind when interpreting the results. Inevitably the task of filling in such a complex questionnaire proved difficult for some of the 11-year-olds in Peterborough, and even for the 14-year-olds in Bradford, despite the use of the illustrated version there. This meant that for the purposes of computer analysis there was a higher proportion of inconsistent data than in any of the other LMP surveys.

In preparing the data for analysis therefore, we identified a number of distinct types of difficulty and edited the data accordingly. Firstly, there was a small number of questionnaires which we had to exclude altogether because they had been filled in inconsistently or incompletely: the loss rate was no more than 1%. The biggest problem in the logic of the questionnaire in both cities proved to be the routing instructions. Most of the dozen or so difficulties in this group concerned the choice of the mixed route, and some editing was necessary. However, where the routing was consistent with most or all of the answers, the decision of the pupil was respected; we did not reclassify any pupil from the monolingual to the bilingual groups solely on the basis of skills and use of a minority language reported on the orange pages. The major remaining problem was the large but varying amount of missing data for each question. With a few exceptions, this information was irretrievable, and the result is that every variable on the questionnaire has to be analysed with differing numbers of valid cases as the base.

Despite all these problems, and some inevitable inaccuracies introduced in the coding and punching of the data, we believe we have a body of data which is broadly representative of the age groups in the two cities, and as accurate as can be expected from a self-completion questionnaire conducted in a classroom setting.

This is a project about languages. We are trying to find out how people learn and use different languages and we hope you may be able to help us by answering our questions.

1 Talking about languages



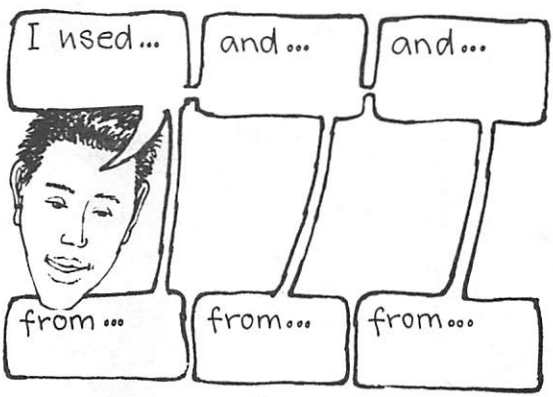
This is NOT a test or an exam.
There are NO right or wrong answers.
We just want YOU to tell us about YOUR language or languages.

Please answer our questions by filling in

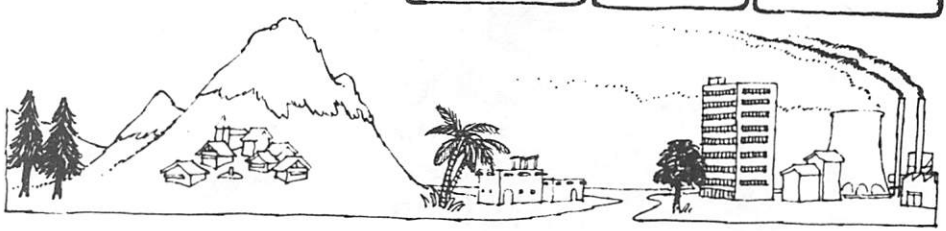
the boxes ☐ **or bubbles** ◯

on every page unless we ask you to skip further on.

1 Thinking back to the time before you ever went to school, which language or languages did you first use with your family?



2 Write in the name of the country the language or languages came from.



If you only put English in the bubble above, go to the orange pages, page **6**

If you put something else, go to the green pages, page **2**

2 Speaking, reading and writing

3 Think back again to the language or languages you used before you ever went to school and fill in either the top bubble or the bottom two bubbles.

Before I went to school

I only used ...

I mostly used...

I also used...

TICK ONE BOX FOR EACH QUESTION FOR EACH LANGUAGE

4 Can you **understand** this language if it is spoken to you now?

yes, quite well
only a little
no, not now

5 Can you **speak** this language now?

yes, quite well
only a little
no, not now

6 Can you **read** this language now?

yes, quite well
only a little
no, not now
never could

7 Can you **write** this language now?

yes, quite well
only a little
no, not now
never could

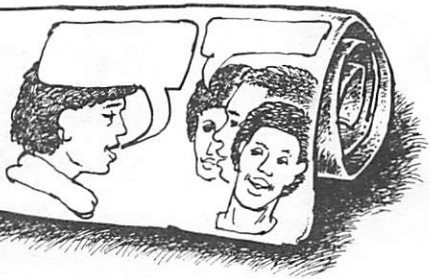
8 Do you understand only English now?

yes ☐ no ☐

If you ticked YES, go to the orange pages, page **6**

If you ticked NO, turn over the page, to page **3**

3 Talking to your family and friends



9 Which two languages do you mainly use now with your family and friends?

I use...

and...

FINISH EACH OF THE SENTENCES BELOW BY PUTTING A TICK IN ONE OF THE BOXES.

IF, FOR ANY REASON, THE SENTENCE DOESN'T APPLY TO YOU, TICK THE FOURTH BOX IN THE ROW.

When I'm talking...

	BOTH LANGUAGES EQUALLY		DOESN'T APPLY
10 to my father I usually speak			
11 to my mother I usually speak			
12 to my brother(s) I usually speak			
13 to my sister(s) I usually speak			
14 to my grandfather(s) I usually speak			
15 to my grandmother(s) I usually speak			

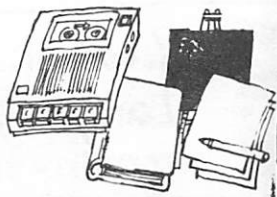
When I'm spoken to...

16 my father usually speaks to me in			
17 my mother usually speaks to me in			
18 my grandfather(s) usually speak(s) to me in			
19 my grandmother(s) usually speak(s) to me in			

20 In school breaks, my friends and I usually speak in			

21 Please write in the names of any other languages spoken in your family.

4 Learning languages



22 Apart from the two languages you mainly use, write the names of any other languages you understand at all.

23 Do you go to any language classes besides English, French, German or Latin (inside or outside school)?

yes ☐ no ☐

If you ticked NO, go to page 5

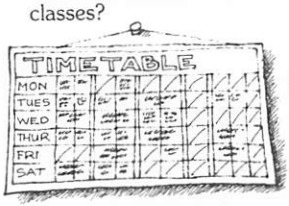
If you ticked YES, carry on with this page

24 Which language or languages are you learning at these classes?

25 About how many hours a week do you spend at these classes?

Each week I spend about ☐ hours

26 When do you go to these classes?



in school lesson time ☐

in lunch hours or breaks ☐

after school or in weekday evenings ☐

at weekends ☐

27 Where do you go to these classes?

in your own school ☐

in another school ☐

in a mosque, gurdwara, temple or church ☐

somewhere else (say where) ☐

28 How long does it take to get to these classes?

about ☐ minutes

Go now please to question 33 on page 5

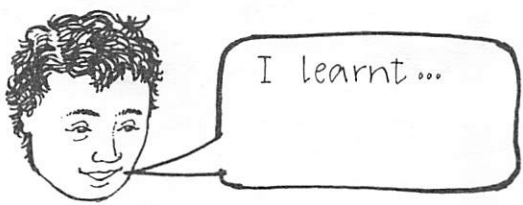
5 Learning Languages continued ...

29 When you were younger, did you ever go to classes, inside or outside school, to learn any languages besides English, French, German or Latin?

yes ☐ no ☐

If you ticked **NO**, go to the last page, page **10**

If you ticked **YES**, carry on with this page



30 Which language or languages did you learn at these classes?

31 How old were you when you **started** going to these classes?

about ☐ years old

32 How old were you when you **stopped** going to these classes?

about ☐ years old

33 In your language classes did you learn about any of these things at the same time?

- religion ☐
- dance ☐
- history ☐
- music ☐
- culture and traditions ☐
- only language ☐
- anything else (say what) ☐

Skip the **orange** pages. Now go to the last page, page **10**

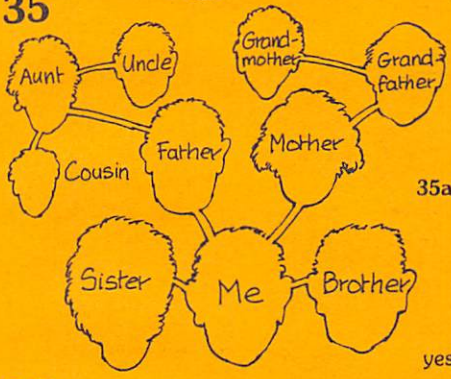
6 Langnages in your family

34 Is there anyone in your family who grew up speaking a language besides English? yes ☐ no ☐

If you ticked NO, go to question 38 on page 7

If you ticked YES, carry on with this page

35



FILL IN ONE BOX BELOW FOR EACH RELATIVE WHO GREW UP SPEAKING A LANGUAGE BESIDES ENGLISH. THEN WRITE THE NAME OF THE LANGUAGE THEY SPOKE IN THE BUBBLE.

My	My	My	My
grew up speaking	grew up speaking	grew up speaking	grew up speaking
35a				

36 Do they still speak this language?

yes	☐	☐	☐	☐
no	☐	☐	☐	☐

If you ticked NO in all the boxes you filled in, go to page 7

If you ticked YES in any of the boxes carry on with this page

37 How well can you understand this language when your relative speaks it now?

TICK ONE BOX FOR EACH RELATIVE WHO STILL SPEAKS A LANGUAGE BESIDES ENGLISH

I understand most of what they say	☐	☐	☐	☐
I understand some of what they say	☐	☐	☐	☐
I understand a few words	☐	☐	☐	☐
I understand nothing at all	☐	☐	☐	☐

7 Languages out of school

38 Out of school, have you ever learned to speak any language apart from English? yes ☐ no ☐

If you ticked NO, go to question 43 on page 8

If you ticked YES, carry on with this page

39 Which language did you learn; and if you learnt another language what was it?

I learnt ... | and then I learnt

TICK ONE BOX FOR EACH QUESTION FOR EACH LANGUAGE

40 Can you **speak** this language now?

41 Can you **write** this language now?

☐	yes, quite well	☐
☐	only a little	☐
☐	not now	☐
☐	yes, quite well	☐
☐	only a little	☐
☐	not now	☐

42 Where did you **learn** this language?

☐	from someone in the family here in England	☐
☐	during a visit to another country	☐
☐	when my family lived in another country	☐
☐	at classes out of school	☐
☐	somewhere else (say where)	☐

8 Languages at school

43 Is there anyone in your class who speaks a language besides English? yes ☐ no ☐ don't know ☐

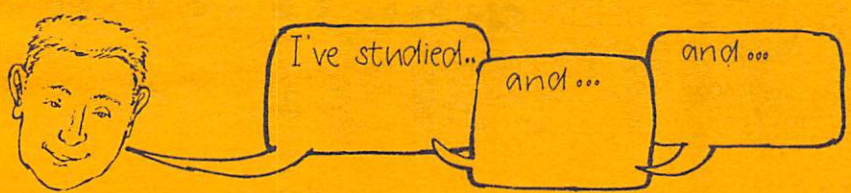
44 If you ticked YES, please write the names of the language or languages in the bubbles below.

45 Have you studied any languages at school? yes ☐ no ☐

If you ticked **NO**, go to question **49** on page **9**

If you ticked **YES**, carry on with this page

46 Fill in one or more of the bubbles below.



47 How well do you think you **speak** these languages?

TICK ONE BOX FOR EACH LANGUAGE YOU HAVE STUDIED

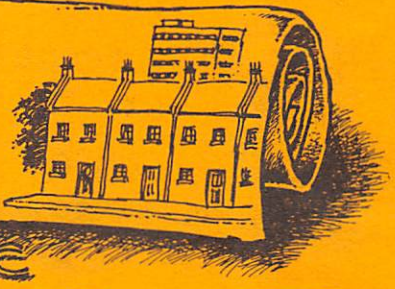
very well			
fairly well			
not very well			
not at all			

48 How well do you think you **write** these languages?

TICK ONE BOX FOR EACH LANGUAGE YOU HAVE STUDIED

very well			
fairly well			
not very well			
not at all			

9 Languages in your district



49 Near where you live, does anyone speak any language(s) besides English?

yes ☐ no ☐ don't know ☐

50 Are there any signs and notices in languages apart from English near where you live?

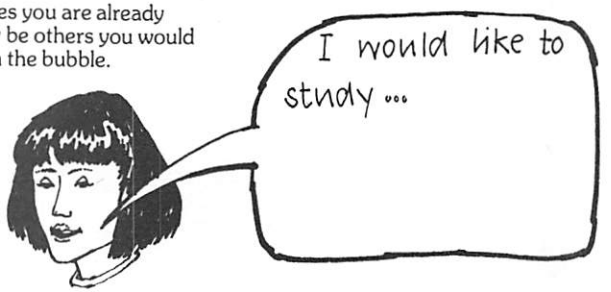
yes ☐ no ☐ don't know ☐

51 If you ticked YES to either question 49 or 50 above write the names of the languages in the box.

Now please go to the last page, page **10**

10 Almost finished!

52 Apart from the languages you are already studying at school, there may be others you would like to learn. If so, please fill in the bubble.



53 Are you a boy or a girl? boy ☐ girl ☐

54 Which year were you born in? 19 ☐

55 How long have you lived in Britain? about ☐ years

56 What religion are you? ☐

57 Which country were you born in? ☐

58 What is the name of your school? ☐

59 Which class are you in? ☐

60 What is today's date? day ☐ month ☐ year ☐

Please write over the page anything else you would like to say about the questions we asked or didn't ask. For example if you speak different languages with different grandparents or with elder or younger brothers or sisters we would like to know.

Thank you!

(a) Bilinguals and Monolinguals

The primary indication as to whether a child can be classed as monolingual or bilingual in SPS is the number of languages listed in answer to the opening question about languages first used in the family. In Bradford out of 1011 cases which were analysed, 752 (74%) listed English and no other language. In Peterborough out of 1768 cases analysed 1600 (90%) gave only English. These cases were classified as 'monolingual'. Included in this group were 15 cases in Peterborough where pupils had specified a dialect of English instead of, or in addition to, "English", and had then consistently followed the orange monolingual route in the questionnaire. Such pupils for example reported Australian, Canadian or American English. 'Scottish', 'Jamaican, 'Welsh' and 'Irish' were also given. For the most part, it was clear that such cases reflected the fuzziness of the boundaries between "language" and "dialect" and between ethnic, national and linguistic criteria in the minds of the pupils. A few of the Irish and Welsh cases, however, evidently represented real cases of bilingualism in two distinct languages and were therefore assigned to the 'bilingual' or 'mixed' categories.

The remaining pupils (in Bradford 259, in Peterborough 168) mentioned at least one language which was not English as the language first used in the family. Amongst these, 101 in Bradford and 48 in Peterborough mentioned English as one of their first languages. A smaller number mentioned at least two languages other than English as first languages.

Of these early bilinguals, 230 out of 259 in Bradford and 153 out of 168 in Peterborough followed the green route, indicating that they are currently bilingual or multilingual. The remaining 29 in Bradford and 15 in Peterborough followed the mixed route, indicating that they now consider themselves monolingual English speakers.

Table 3.1 sets out the languages given in answer to the SPS's first question by all the pupils in the two LEAs who answered this question, and who did not give only "English":

Table 3.1: Language or Languages First Used with Families (Q.1), excluding "English only" answers

Languages and Language Groupings	Peterborough*			Bradford*		
	only one language given	English and the other language given	two languages other than English given**	only one language given	English and the other language given	two languages other than English given**
Panjabi	18	7	8(Urdu)	74	41	23(Urdu) 1('Indian')
Urdu/'Pakistani'	18	3	4(Panjabi)	29	13	4(Panjabi)
Gujerati	14	5	-	12	2	-
Bengali	-	1	-	3	2	-
Hindi/'Indian'	3	-	1(Panjabi)	1	3	-
Pushtu	-	-	-	4	1	-
Italian	22	16	-	1	7	-
Chinese	3	2	-	1	-	-
Irish/Welsh/ 'Scottish'	3	5	-	1	8	-
Other	13	16	2	2	15	2

* In Peterborough the pupils included in this table represent 10% of the total number of pupils surveyed, and in Bradford 26%.

** Not included in this table are 4 pupils in Peterborough and 9 pupils in Bradford, who mentioned 3 different languages used in the family.

(b) The Bilingual Pupils

In this section we shall set out in more detail the patterns of language skills, use and learning reported by the currently bilingual pupils who had followed the green route. In Bradford Panjabi or Urdu speakers account for 77% (178) of these pupils. In all except 9 cases the current second language was reported as English. The fact that of these Panjabi and/or Urdu speakers 126 gave their religion as Islam, 3 as Hindu and 27 as Sikh, enables us to estimate with a fair degree of confidence which pupils would use or seek to use the Urdu or Gurmukhi scripts respectively.

In Peterborough, the main languages in the bilingual group were Panjabi, Urdu and Italian, accounting for 61% of the green route respondents. Only a very few pupils gave two languages other than English.

Table 3.2 shows the level of skills in the minority languages reported by the bilingual pupils of all language groups together in the two cities: the percentage figures given are of all the pupils choosing the green route.

Table 3.2: Minority Language Skills Reported (Qs. 4-7)

A: Bradford: 'Green Route' pupils (n = 230)

Skill	Quite well	Only a little	Not now or Never could
Understanding	93	7	-
Speaking	86	11	2
Reading	36	31	34
Writing	29	33	38

B: Peterborough: 'Green Route' pupils (n = 153)

Skill	Quite well	Only a little	Not now or Never could
Understanding	91	9	-
Speaking	85	15	-
Reading	39	30	31
Writing	31	31	38

(c) Language Use with Family and Schoolfriends (Qs. 9-20)

The patterns of language use for the bilinguals, as shown by the answers to the questions on page 3 of the questionnaire, were only analysed for the cases where English was one of the two languages mainly used now with family and friends.

Table 3.3 sets out the data:

Table 3.3: Language Used by Bilingual Pupils with Family Members and Schoolfriends (Qs. 10-20)

	Peterborough				Bradford			
	n	% minority language	% English	% both equally	n	% minority language	% English	% both equally
To my father I usually speak:	129	51	17	32	203	71	16	13
To my mother I usually speak:	132	62	13	25	209	78	11	11
To my brother(s) I usually speak:	112	16	50	34	200	19	60	21
To my sister(s) I usually speak:	107	17	49	34	189	25	54	21
To my grandfather(s) I usually speak:	83	74	16	10	127	87	6	6
To my grandmother(s) I usually speak:	95	78	13	9	130	78	6	16
My father usually speaks to me in:	128	62	16	22	203	76	14	9
My mother usually speaks to me in:	133	70	14	16	206	87	8	5
My grandfather(s) usually speak to me in:	83	82	14	4	131	87	8	5
My grandmother(s) usually speak to me in:	95	82	11	7	132	88	9	3
In school breaks, my friends and I usually speak in:	131	3	81	16	202	9	84	6

There is a clear pattern among bilingual pupils, which suggests that English is used most of the time with the younger generation, while the mother-tongues are used more often with parents and grandparents. There are also some indications, at least in Bradford, that the minority languages are used more when speaking to females, e.g. mothers and sisters than to males.

The girls in the sample showed no statistically significant differences in terms of language use from the boys, although in Bradford more girls than boys reported using only English with most of their relatives. The differences between the patterns for Peterborough and Bradford probably relate to the different linguistic composition of the sample. There are more Italian speakers in Peterborough, and a comparison of them with the Panjabi- and Urdu-speaking respondents in the same city suggests, for example, that while 30 out of 47 Panjabi or Urdu speakers use only the minority language when speaking to their fathers, only 7 out of 32 Italian speakers use only Italian. When talking to their brothers 17 out of the 23 Italian speakers use only English, and a single speaker reports using only Italian. This compares with 19 out of 44 using only Panjabi or Urdu to their brothers, 9 only English and 16 a mixture among the Panjabi and Urdu speakers.

(d) Language learning

In Bradford, 47 out of the 230 bilinguals responding reported that they were currently going to language classes (Q.23) and a further 31 said that they used to go, but did not currently do so. The languages being studied were given as: Urdu (9), Italian (8), Panjabi (10), Ukrainian (4), Arabic (9), Spanish (3), and the most common languages previously learned were Urdu (20) and Panjabi (8). Most of the classes currently attended were community-based, and 88% of the pupils who no longer attend stopped going at or before the age of 12.

In Peterborough, 43 out of the 153 bilingual respondents were currently attending a class to learn a language other than English, French, German or Latin. The languages studied were Urdu (20), Italian (14), Arabic (4), Polish (2), Cantonese (2), 'Indian' (2), Panjabi (1), and Hindi (1). A further 23 used to attend classes in Italian (12), Urdu (3), Gujerati (2), Panjabi (2), Chinese (2), Spanish (1), Irish (1), and of these most had left by the age of 10.

(e) Monolingual Pupils

For those pupils who followed the orange route in our questionnaire, for presentation here we select information given about relatives who had grown up speaking languages other than English. In Bradford, about 14% reported at least one such relative, with half of them mentioning one parent and just under a fifth both parents. The most

frequently mentioned languages for the first relative were Irish, Italian and German, with smaller numbers in Panjabi, Urdu, Ukrainian, Polish and Welsh. Out of 82 who said the first relative still spoke the language, more than a quarter said they understood most or some of what was said, but nearly 70% only a few words or nothing at all.

In Peterborough, about 16% reported at least one such relative, with over 40% of these mentioning one parent and about an eighth both parents. The most frequently mentioned languages for the first relative were Irish, Italian, Gaelic, German and Welsh, with smaller numbers mentioning French, Polish, Panjabi, Urdu, Ukrainian and Gujerati. Out of 239 who said the relative still spoke the language, again more than a quarter said they understood most or some of what was said, with around 70% understanding a few words or nothing at all.

A large number of the monolingual pupils were aware of classmates who spoke languages other than English, and of languages spoken in the locality. Table 3.4 shows the most frequently mentioned languages in these categories in the two cities.

Table 3.4: Number of Monolingual Pupils Mentioning the Main Minority Languages (Qs.43-45; 49)

Language	Peterborough		Bradford	
	Classmates' Language	Local Language	Classmates' Language	Local Language
Cantonese	47	2	29	3
'Chinese'	53	120	14	107
Gujerati	144	16	39	2
'Indian'	103	135	68	103
Italian	572	275	73	59
'Pakistani'	36	185	88	196
Panjabi	173	64	196	51
Polish	49	101	20	59
Ukrainian	-	-	89	11
Urdu	143	73	203	70

Note: Some pupils mentioned as many as four languages in each case.

(f) 'Mixed Route'

In Bradford 29, and in Peterborough 15 pupils followed the mixed route, indicating that they had earlier in their lives used a language other than English, but by the time they were writing used only English.

The languages involved in Bradford were Irish (1), Italian (2), Hindi (1), Panjabi (9), Gujerati (1), Urdu (2); and in Peterborough German (5), Dutch (1), Irish (2), Norwegian (2), Welsh (1), Italian (3), and Ukrainian (1).

Most of these respondents reported that their skills in the minority language were now low. When they answered the questions on the orange pages of the questionnaire, it was clear that most had relatives who still spoke the minority languages, that these were typically their parents, and that some of the pupils could still understand the language. In Bradford, 20 out of 29 said that they could understand the language spoken by the relative(s) they mentioned, and in Peterborough, 10 out of 15.

(g) Languages Pupils Would Like To Learn:

All the pupils surveyed were asked a question about the languages they would like to learn at school (Q.52). Most of them mentioned one or more of the traditional school languages, as can be seen from Table 3.5.

Table 3.5: Pupils' School Language Learning Preferences

Language	Peterborough			Bradford		
	Bilingual Pupils	Mixed Route Pupils	Monolingual Pupils	Bilingual Pupils	Mixed Route Pupils	Monolingal Pupils
'Chinese'	3	-	19	3	-	19
French	6	-	136	40	3	44
German	39	9	731	38	6	146
Greek	-	-	16	4	2	22
Gujerati	2	-	4	1	-	2
'Indian/Pakistani'	-	-	8	-	1	13
Italian	27	5	250	11	6	114
Latin	5	1	58	16	1	31
Panjabi	2	-	1	11	-	2
Russian	2	3	27	5	1	45
Spanish	12	2	201	12	1	101
Urdu	15	-	5	34	-	5

Note: Pupils mentioned up to four languages each.

(h) Comparison of SLS and SPS Data

We were able to make some direct comparisons of data on the same pupils obtained by two different methods - via the teachers from the Schools Language Survey, and direct from the pupils through the Secondary Pupils Survey. We present this comparison only for a single year group in a single Bradford school, since the administrative arrangements for conducting the two surveys in most places meant that data from the two surveys does not derive from exactly the same sets of pupils. However, in the school selected all the third year pupils present completed the Secondary Pupils Survey, and we also have information on the whole year group from our earlier Schools Language Survey. So, although the two surveys were conducted with different sub-groupings of this same year-group and by different teachers, and although the absentees on the two survey days were inevitably slightly different, the comparisons being made are between essentially the same pupils.

Table 3.6: SLS-SPS Comparison for a Bradford High School Year Group

	SLS	SPS
Total on roll	349	349
Total present	328	-
Total no. of questionnaires analysed	-	314
Number of bilinguals	106	-
No. of pupils following bilingual/a(ult)lingual green route	-	84
No. of pupils following mixed route	-	18
No. of pupils following 'monolingual' English orange route	-	212

The other point of comparison worth attempting is over the particular languages mentioned by the same pupils in the two different surveys.

Table 3.7 sets out the information available on this.

Table 3.7: Languages Reported in SLS and SPS

Languages and Language Groupings	No. of Pupils Reported in SLS	No. of Pupils Reporting* in Green Route of SPS	No. of Bilinguals Reporting** in Mixed Route of SPS
Panjabi	39	40	7
Panjabi (Gurmukhi)	13	4	3
Urdu	28	11	1
Panjabi (Pakistani)	-	2	1
Mirpuri	12		
'Pakistani'	-	2	
Mixed Urdu-Panjabi	1		
Urdu (Pakistani)	1		
Urdu (from India)	-	1	
Gujerati	3	6	
Hindu Panjabi	-	4	2
Hindi	1		
'Indian'	-	2	1
Pushtu	1	4	
'Pathan'	2	-	
Bengali	2	1	1
Telugu	1	1	
'Malaysian'	1	1	
Indonesian	-	1	-
Akan	-	1	-
Welsh	-	-	1
French	-	-	1
Italian	1	-	-

* The figures in the middle column are for pupils reporting languages spoken now.

** The figures in the right-hand column are for languages given in answer to Q.1 of the SPS questionnaire by pupils following the mixed route in completing the questionnaire. Since half of these pupils claimed they could understand their minority language quite well, we can only conclude that they had had difficulty in following the routing instructions.

In broad terms the data from the two surveys match up, although there are problems in detail arising from the different sets of labels used by teachers and by pupils. For example, none of the pupils used the term 'Mirpuri' although it was given by one or two teachers in twelve cases, and Urdu is mentioned more than twice as often in SLS as in SPS. Reported literacy rates correspond quite closely, with a figure of 60% from SLS, and a total of 59% of the pupils following the green route in SPS saying that they could read at least a little.

Collaboration with the ILEA TV Centre

Only those LEAs referred to have carried out the Secondary Pupils' Survey on an authority-wide basis. After appreciating the potential of the SPS as a teaching aid and a resource for teacher-training, we decided to make SPS available directly to teachers and teacher trainers, and over the last two years LINC has been dealing with an increasing number of requests from teachers all over the country to use the questionnaire in one or more classes.

As part of its strategy of active dissemination therefore, LINC decided to produce a video programme on SPS. The ILEA TV Centre was approached, and since LINC's request was supported by the ILEA multi-ethnic inspectorate, the TV Centre agreed to produce at their own expense a 30 minute programme. LINC made contact with North Westminster Community school, whose modern language department was currently involved in trying out a foundation course for all first year modern language classes (Garson, 1982). The filming took place in December 1981, and the work on the programme itself began in March 1982, involving an LMP/LINC team working with Barbara Wethey, an ILEA TV Centre producer.

The programme, entitled "Sharing Languages in the Classroom", shows the children and their teacher using the SPS questionnaire. The programme starts by illustrating the linguistic diversity visible in some London streets, pointing out how vital languages other than English can be for those pupils who use them in their daily life outside school. It goes on to show how a well-prepared teacher introduces the questionnaire in the classroom. Examples of exchanges between pupils and teacher, and among pupils, are shown while the questionnaire is being filled in (see Appendix III).

The purpose of the programme is to illustrate two of the possible uses of the questionnaire: as a teaching aid and as a survey instrument. In schools, the programme may encourage other teachers to document linguistic diversity by using the questionnaire in a similar way. It may also serve as a detailed introduction to the use of the questionnaire at class, department, year or school level.

In initial and in-service teacher training the programme may be used in language education and in multicultural education courses, with particular reference to home-school liaison and in discussing the implications of linguistic diversity in the processes of socialisation experienced by each child both inside and outside the home.

The programme may also encourage Education Committees, Officers and Advisers to use the questionnaire as an instrument for surveying different aspects of linguistic diversity in secondary schools on an authority-wide basis.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE MOTHER-TONGUE TEACHING DIRECTORY SURVEY

CHAPTER FOUR: THE MOTHER TONGUE TEACHING DIRECTORY SURVEY

The Scope and Context

The Mother Tongue Teaching Directory (MTTD) survey gathered information about all the mother-tongue teaching provision in languages other than English in three areas where the Adult Language Use Survey was also carried out: Coventry, Bradford and Haringey. In the context of the MTTD survey, the term "mother-tongue" is used to refer to all the languages used by the different linguistic minorities, including some of the national languages or languages of religion which are not necessarily home languages.

The teaching provision included in the survey covers classes where the languages themselves are not the main focus of teaching, but where pupils are learning other subjects through the medium of the language. It also includes classes where some of the pupils are from bilingual families and others are monolingual English, learning the minority language as a modern language.

Mother-tongue classes are one of the main means of transmitting cultural (including of course linguistic) skills from one generation to another. The MTTD survey findings, therefore, introduce a longer-term perspective on the maintenance and development of linguistic minorities in England than do our other surveys. The actual efficacy of this formal language teaching for the younger generation has, however, to be assessed in relation to its social context and to the ways in which the teaching is integrated into the daily bilingual experience of its pupils. Some of the theoretical implications of the perspective provided by these findings are considered elsewhere in the Project's publications. Here we concentrate on the primary and more immediate aim of the MTTD survey: to provide a clear picture of what is actually happening. We hope this will contribute towards the resolution of some of the policy issues surrounding the question of "mother-tongue" teaching, such as the aims of teaching a child's first or community language, the most appropriate institution to be responsible for the teaching, the location, timing and teaching methods with which it should be undertaken.

The presentation and discussion of our findings is necessary because, although "mother-tongue" teaching has been in existence in England for a long time, few people beyond those immediately involved have known much until quite recently about the scale of it, or its sources of support. This has meant that not only have many minority organisations been unaware of mother-tongue teaching initiatives among other minorities in their own area, but that they have often also been unaware of initiatives in their own language in other cities. In 1976 many local education officers and local teachers either had no knowledge of the existence of mother-tongue provision, or did not recognise that it was fundamental to the general educational development of their pupils (Saifullah Khan, 1976,1977). When minority organisations asked for financial support, or minority teachers working in the LEA schools introduced mother-tongue lessons in school breaks or after school, they were often perceived by the education authorities as exceptional cases, not necessarily reflecting a more general demand.

Since 1979 there has been more public discussion about mother-tongue teaching within the context of other educational developments. The greatest impetus to the debate about mother-tongue teaching has, however, been a result of the organised pressure and articulated demand coming from the minority groups themselves. This was given a considerable boost in 1976 by the Draft Directive of the European Communities on the Education of Migrant Workers' Children (European Communities, 1977). The initial almost total rejection by many educational authorities and teachers' unions of the principles it proposed, without constructive discussion based on sound information, produced a reaction from a wide range of minority organisations. The period 1976 to 1978 saw the first formal links between the European and South Asian interests, embodied in the setting up of the Co-ordinating Committee for Mother-Tongue Teaching (now the National Council for Mother-Tongue Teaching), and greater co-ordination between mainstream educational and community relations associations and minority organisations.

Types of Provision

One way of briefly introducing the different relationships that mother-tongue teaching organisations have with their local communities, and with their LEA schools, is to describe the common forms of organisation for the main groups of languages. Firstly, there are the Eastern European languages, Polish and Ukrainian, which are the national languages of originally refugee populations settling in Britain after the Second World War. Schools were usually set up by parents' groups, often under the auspices of the local church, e.g. in the Polish communities. In most cases no help was received from the LEAs, although it is clear that in certain towns assistance

was sought. These populations frequently support well-organised locally-run classes, with the help of central educational bodies such as the Polska Macierz Szkolna (Polish Educational Society Abroad).

The second major group of languages consists of Bengali, Gujerati, Hindi, Panjabi, and Urdu, spoken by South Asian migrants from the Indian sub-continent and from East Africa. As soon as they had established themselves, most of these populations started teaching the national or regional language of the place of origin, along with languages for religious purposes. In many cases, this provision was developed by, and sometimes in conjunction with, those running religious institutions. Sometimes too the inability to keep up with the increasing demand for teaching resulted in assistance being sought from and occasionally granted by LEAs.

The third major category of languages consists of Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Greek, Turkish and Serbo-Croat, South European languages belonging to people who, in some cases, have a migrant worker status in British society, although those who are nationals of EC Member States have a stronger legal position. Whereas most of the previous populations mentioned have had little official support from their countries of origin, most of the Southern European communities have a government support system providing teachers or their salaries, materials and funds for accommodation and other expenses. In some cases there is also support from the churches or local parents' associations.

A number of cases do not fit into these general categories, such as the Chinese schools run under a variety of auspices including local parents' associations, student unions, churches and missions, sometimes with help from the Hong Kong High Commission. An account of the distribution of these varied organisational structures in three areas of England is included later in this chapter.

The Survey Questionnaires and Research Strategy

The design of the MTTD survey has to be understood within this context. Many of the problems we either foresaw or encountered were the product of the marginal and ambiguous status of so much of the mother-tongue teaching in England. We had to choose research strategies that would reflect the full complexity of the situation, yet at the same time be useful to members of linguistic minorities and to the LEAs.

We believed that a community-based approach would encourage confidence and lead to greater reliability of our data, as well as providing a greater potential for returning and disseminating the findings among all those who gave us information. Secondly, we needed to develop an instrument that would document equally satisfactorily the provision outside and inside the LEA school systems. We aimed to collect the information on all the mother-tongue teaching in an area in the same systematic way, with the intention of providing a standardised set of data which would allow comparison between mother-tongue teaching provision organised by local populations and by LEA schools. Thirdly, while we wanted to assemble at least basic data on all mother-tongue schools and classes in each area we studied, we felt that those mother-tongue teachers who so wished should have the opportunity to furnish more details about the circumstances of their work and their attitudes to it.

This suggested a two-stage approach, using two questionnaires: one to elicit essentially quantitative data for computer processing and for circulation in tabular form to minority organisations, LEAs etc.; the other to collect more detailed and more qualitative information of particular interest to other local minority organisations and to mainstream teachers' organisations. Since we could only conduct this survey in three areas, we thought it important to ensure that the MTTD instruments could be taken over and used after the end of our Project. This was also LMP's aim for the two school-based surveys already discussed, but it was particularly important for LMP to build up the community-based support for the MTTD survey to ensure that it would be used effectively by minority teachers' organisations, as well as by those working in the "official" school system.

To this end, LMP sought the advice and collaboration of the National Council for Mother-Tongue Teaching. From January 1981, LMP and LINC researchers worked closely with NCMTT's representatives to revise the questionnaires and prepare the Manual of Use. While LMP/LINC piloted the survey, this joint LMP/LINC-NCMTT group revised the questionnaires and prepared the Manual of Use. At the time of writing, NCMTT is still seeking funds to promote the development of the Directory so that survey data from further areas might be fed into a national data bank at the Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research.

PLEASE RETURN TO:

Date sent:

Date returned:

LEAVE THIS COLUMN BLANK

1 5 Serial No. 1/6

7 Month 10 Year

MOTHER-TONGUE TEACHING DIRECTORY

STAGE 1

This form is being sent to people involved in organising mother-tongue schools and mother-tongue classes.

PLEASE FILL IN OR TICK AS APPROPRIATE.

1. Main address where classes are held: (If there are other addresses please write them on the back page of this form.) _____ _____ _____ 11 12

2. Write here the number of classes which your answers below refer to: _____ 13 14

3. When was the mother-tongue school or class started? 19 ____ 15 16

4. List the languages taught: _____ 17 18
_____ 19 20
_____ 21 22
_____ 23 24
_____ 25 26

5. What is the total number of pupils on the roll? _____ 27 29

6. How many of these pupils attend regularly? _____ 30 32

7. How many mother-tongue teachers are there in your school? _____ 33 34

PLEASE DO NOT WRITE IN THESE (— —) CODING SPACES.

8. Please write in the approximate number of pupils in each of the following age groups:

	under 5	5 – 7	8 – 10	11 – 13	14 – 16	over 16
number of pupils	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —
number of hours spent attending classes each week	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —

35—46

47—58

9. What is the minimum number of hours per week that a pupil attends? _____ — —

59 60

10. What is the maximum number of hours per week that a pupil attends? _____ — —

61 62

11. Who supports your teaching in the following ways? PLEASE TICK WHERE APPROPRIATE.

	(1) no funds	(2) your organisation's resources	(3) fees and contributions from parents	(4) embassy or High Commission	(5) Local Education Authority
(a) teachers' salaries	—	—	—	—	—
(b) teachers' travel expenses	—	—	—	—	—
(c) exercise books and paper	—	—	—	—	—
(d) textbooks and teaching aids	—	—	—	—	—
(e) rent of rooms	—	—	—	—	—
(f) exam entrance fees	—	—	—	—	—

Cols. 1—5 as Card 1 Col. 6 : 2

63—67

68—72

73—77

78 80

7—8

9—13

14—18

12. If you have any other expenses in running the school please write down what they are: _____

19 20

and who pays for them: _____

21 22

13. Name of organisation (or authority) responsible for running your class or school: _____

23 24

PLEASE DO NOT WRITE IN THESE (— —) CODING SPACES.

14. When do the classes take place? TICK MORE THAN ONE IF NECESSARY.

			After school or evening:–	
(1)	before school begins	☐	(6) one weekday	☐
(2)	during school lesson time	☐	(7) two weekdays	☐
(3)	during lunch or other breaks	☐	(8) three weekdays	☐
(4)	one day at the weekend	☐	(9) four weekdays	☐
(5)	two days at the weekend	☐	(10) five weekdays	☐

25 26
27 28
29 30
31 32
33 34

15. Please specify if you have any other arrangement: _____

35

16. If you entered pupils for public examination last year, please write the language(s) offered at the top. Then fill in the numbers of pupils in the appropriate boxes.

LANGUAGE(S)										
	took	passed	took	passed	took	passed	took	passed	took	passed
C.S.E.										
G.C.E. 'O' LEVEL										
G.C.E. 'A' LEVEL										
INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTS										
ANY OTHER										

36–45

Cols. 1–5 as Card 1 Col. 6 : 3

45–65

66–79

7–12

13–32

33–52

53–72

17. Please name any other exams which you use: _____

73 74

18. Are you planning to enter pupils for examinations this year or next year? _____

75 76

If there are any other addresses (for Question 1) or comments that you would like to make, please write them here:

SIGNATURE:

DATE:

Stage II of this questionnaire will soon be available from:

Linguistic Minorities Project
University of London
Institute of Education
18 Woburn Square, London WC1H 0NS

Name of person who has completed this form (in block capitals):

_____

Address for future correspondence:

_____

_____

_____

Telephone: _____

77 78 Month

79 80 Year

THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THIS FORM! PLEASE RETURN IT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE

Findings

The following section of the chapter presents details of the 'mother tongue' classes and schools which we found in Coventry and Bradford in 1981 and in Haringey in 1982. The data presented here covers the classes initiated and run by the LEA or by individual LEA schools, as well as those provided by individuals and minority community organisations. We include classes, therefore, both inside and outside LEA school premises, during and after regular school hours - at lunch hours, in the evenings, at weekends.

(The questionnaire used for Stage 1 of the Coventry and Bradford Surveys is included in this chapter: the layout and the wording of several of the questions used in the Coventry and Bradford Stage 1 surveys were changed before the Haringey Survey was conducted, but no substantial differences were involved.)

The Stage 2 questions which were the same in all three surveys, are included as Appendix IV. With very few exceptions, all the schools and classes approached also completed these more detailed questions, but we do not report fully on the Stage 2 data in this Report.

Languages Taught as 'Mother Tongues'

In Table 4.1. we set out the languages taught in our three areas at the time of the surveys which fell within our definition of mother tongue teaching. In some populations the language taught is not the language spoken by the pupils at home, but is the usual language of literacy, e.g. Urdu for Panjabi speakers of Pakistani origin, or a language being learned for religious purposes, e.g. Arabic or Hebrew. By class we mean a single group of pupils learning a single language.

Table 4.1: Mother-Tongue Teaching in Coventry, Bradford and Haringey: Origin and Numbers of Classes

Languages	Coventry 1981		Bradford 1981		Haringey 1982	
	Year in which first surviving classes began	Number of classes in 1981	Year in which first surviving classes began	Number of classes in 1981	Year in which first surviving classes began	Number of classes in 1982
Arabic	-	-	1974	12	1976	1
Bengali	-	-	1981	2	1980	3
Chinese	1979	3	1979	5	1972	11
Greek	1963	3	1979	3	1955	90
Gujerati	1974	20	1957	9	1981	1
Hebrew	-	-	-	-	1904	7
Hindi	1974	6	1976	3	1981	2
Irish Gaelic	-	-	-	-	1980	1
Italian	1956	9	1971	18	1975	12
Latvian	-	-	1949	2	-	-
Panjabi	1973	30	1970	29	-	-
Polish	1953	10	1954	10	-	-
Serbo-Croat	1978	1	1978	1	-	-
Spanish	1975	1	-	-	1979	6
Turkish	-	-	-	-	1959	5
Ukrainian	1955	2	1948	15	-	-
Urdu	1973	8	1974	16	-	-
Urdu/Arabic	1973	13	1957	58	1980	4
ALL LANGUAGES TOGETHER		106		183		143

Notes:

1. 'Urdu-Arabic' classes are classes where Urdu is taught as a subject within the context of the teaching of Islam and where the same pupils are also taught to read the Qur'an in Arabic. Spoken Panjabi seems to be used largely as a medium of instruction in these classes.
2. The Chinese classes attended by Haringey children are held in premises just outside the borough, but about a quarter of the pupils are from Haringey.

In Coventry, the languages in which we found mother-tongue classes in 1981 represent all but one of the languages reported in our Schools Language Survey (also conducted in 1981) as having more than 80 speakers in Coventry LEA schools, and some languages with fewer than 80, viz. Spanish, Ukrainian and Serbo-Croat. For Bengali, where there had been some provision before 1981, difficulties in finding a teacher had led to the discontinuation of the classes, although there were 137 Bengali-speaking pupils recorded in the schools.

In Bradford too the languages in which we found classes in 1981 cover all but one of the languages reported by more than 80 pupils in our 1981 Schools Language Survey there, and again include some languages with fewer speakers, in this case Arabic, Greek, Latvian and Serbo-Croat. There do not seem, however, to be classes in Pushtu, although 415 pupils reported using the language at home. Most of these pupils will be from Pathan families and some will be learning Urdu, the national language of Pakistan, as well as Arabic for religious purposes.

In Haringey the languages in which we found classes in 1982 represented nearly all the languages reported in our 1981 Schools Language Survey as having more than 60 speakers in Haringey LEA schools. We were not, however, able to discover in Haringey itself classes in Panjabi or Portuguese, nor does there seem to be any mother-tongue type provision for speakers of French-based Creoles, of whom there are sizeable numbers in Haringey. There were on the other hand classes in Irish Gaelic and in Hebrew, which both had fewer than 60 speakers recorded in the Haringey Schools Language Survey. (For all languages, of course, in London in particular, there is always the possibility that classes are offered in neighbouring boroughs.)

It will be noticed also from Table 4.1 that the classes in the different groups of languages were founded in different periods, relating of course to the settlements of the various populations. After the earliest class we have reference to - the Hebrew one started in 1904 - the next group are from Eastern Europe, ranging from 1948 to 1955. The South European classes begin to appear also in the mid to late 50s, but most of them date from the 1970s, as do all the Chinese classes. Again, although two of the South Asian groups began in 1957, and one in 1970, all the rest were founded in the last ten years. Nevertheless, in Coventry and Bradford it is these South Asian classes which account for more than 80% of the pupils currently attending mother-tongue classes - a similar figure applying to the Southern European languages in Haringey, with Greek alone there representing some 70% of the mother-tongue learners.

Table 4.2 gives some notion of the extent of mother-tongue teaching in the three areas studied. Alongside the languages taught are the number of pupils and students reported for each of these languages on the questionnaires returned to us. We report both 'pupils on roll' and those 'regularly attending': the percentages in column (c) for each area do not support the suggestion which is sometimes heard that the nominal rolls of such classes are very much higher than the actual numbers attending. However, it should be noted that teachers and organisers of classes did not always have very exact records to consult when completing their returns. They may have interpreted the term 'regularly' in very diverse ways and we know there are some pupils who may have been counted twice, since they attended more than one set of classes.

We set out to include any language classes which contained at least some pupils or students for whom the language being studied was a language used in the home by members of their families, or in the locality for religious or ethnic minority community purposes. Most of the classes consisted entirely of such students. However, a few of the classes also included students for whom there was no particular family or community connection, but who had some other reason to want to learn the language. This is likely to be increasingly the pattern for a number of languages at both school and further and higher education level, as educational institutions incorporate local ethnic minority languages into their mainstream provision. It also illustrates clearly why the term 'mother-tongue' teaching will less and less satisfactorily cover new developments in the teaching of the languages concerned, and already therefore has only a limited usefulness.

Table 4.2: Mother-Tongue Teaching in Coventry, Bradford and Haringey: Rolls and Attendance

Town / Languages	Coventry 1981			Bradford 1981			Haringey 1982		
	(a) Pupils on Roll	(b) Pupils Attending Regularly	(c) (b) as % of (a)	(a) Pupils on Roll	(b) Pupils Attending Regularly	(c) (b) as % of (a)	(a) Pupils on Roll	(b) Pupils Attending Regularly	(c) (b) as % of (a)
Arabic	-	-	-	161	130	71	15	14	93
Bengali	-	-	-	44	40	91	42	39	93
Chinese	20	17	85	75	70	93	194	170	88
Greek	35	32	91	33	33	100	2073	2003	97
Gujerati	343	258	75	213	197	92	82	82	100
Hebrew	-	-	-	-	-	-	80	67	84
Hindi	25	25	100	40	28	70	20	12	60
Irish Gaelic	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	20	100
Italian	117	88	75	141	136	96	174	156	90
Latvian	-	-	-	6	6	100	-	-	-
Panjabi	763	669	88	555	427	77	-	-	-
Polish	104	100	96	130	109	84	-	-	-
Serbo-Croat	13	9	69	14	10	71	-	-	-
Spanish	33	20	61	-	-	-	128	113	88
Turkish	-	-	-	-	-	-	139	108	78
Ukrainian	19	16	84	87	87	100	-	-	-
Urdu	66	54	82	249	202	81	-	-	-
Urdu/Arabic	356	345	97	1838	1773	96	75	65	87
ALL LANGUAGES TOTAL	1894	1633	86	3586	3248	91	3042	2849	94

Table 4.3: Age Groups of Pupils in Mother-Tongue Classes in Coventry, Bradford and Haringey

Town / Languages	Coventry 1981				Bradford 1981				Haringey 1982			
	age under 8	age 8-10	age 11-13	age over 13	age under 8	age 8-10	age 11-13	age over 13	age under 8	age 8-10	age 11-13	age over 13
Arabic	-	-	-	-	60	10	30	60	5	6	4	0
Bengali	-	-	-	-	0	12	28	4	12	10	7	13
Chinese	1	11	3	5	35	28	6	6	74	74	25	17
Greek	7	13	13	2	14	9	4	1	379	533	514	462
Gujerati	30	62	72	154	20	40	95	57	15	25	35	7
Hebrew	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	37	25	0
Hindi	0	2	2	8	5	10	10	15	5	2	5	8
Irish Gaelic	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	3	2	15
Italian	4	29	9	35	2	12	34	105	10	47	78	39
Latvian	-	-	-	-	4	1	0	14	-	-	-	-
Panjabi	9	142	219	100	94	109	180	159	-	-	-	-
Polish	16	20	39	29	28	26	24	52	-	-	-	-
Serbo-Croat	3	5	5	0	3	4	3	0	-	-	-	-
Spanish	4	3	17	9	-	-	-	-	24	47	33	24
Turkish	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	26	46	27	33
Ukranian	0	9	2	5	24	12	14	32	-	-	-	-
Urdu	0	31	11	12	0	18	40	169	-	-	-	-
Urdu-Arabic	60	133	126	42	485	487	542	323	16	30	13	16
All Languages Total	134	460	518	401	774	778	1010	997	584	860	768	634
Age Groups as % of Total for All Languages	8.9	30.4	34.2	26.5	21.7	21.9	28.4	28.0	20.5	30.2	27.0	22.3

Note: The total of the separate age groups does not always correspond either to the total numbers on the rolls or to the totals attending regularly: cases where the information on age groups was not supplied were omitted from this table.

Age breakdown of classes in community languages

Table 4.3 shows the age-distribution of the pupils and students attending the mother-tongue classes in Coventry, Bradford and Haringey.

It is noticeable that the number of 11-13 year olds attending mother-tongue classes is slightly larger than the numbers of 8-10 year olds in two of the three areas, and only slightly smaller in the third, although it is often believed that there is a sharp drop-off in attendance in the early teens. The proportions of very young pupils are not strikingly high either, contrary to another of the popular stereotypes of such classes. Taking account also of the comparatively small numbers of students over 16 (not detailed in Table 4.3), it is clear that mother tongue teaching in the three areas surveyed was above all an activity involving the 5-16 year olds.

Material Support for mother-tongue classes from the Local Education Authorities

We expected when we undertook the surveys to be able to make a simple division of the mother tongue classes in the three areas into two categories: those which were staffed and paid for entirely by the LEA, and those which relied entirely on human and material resources provided by the various communities concerned. In fact the situation turned out to be much less clearcut than that: although there were examples of classes clearly in each of these categories, a substantial number fell somewhere in between, into a mixed category. That is to say they drew on some resources provided by the LEA, mainly free or subsidised use of school premises outside usual school hours, and some from elsewhere, e.g. from community associations, religious organisations, high commissions or embassies.

In considering the issue of material support for the classes in this respect, we took it that the key factors were:

(1) <u>whether the LEA paid the teachers to undertake this teaching</u>,
i.e. was the teacher employed by the LEA, with the classes in question as a part of the weekly teaching load expected of that teacher, and <u>not</u> as extra work assumed voluntarily?

(2) <u>whether the LEA provided the teaching accommodation free of charge</u>.

This is the data represented in categories A,B and C of Table 4.4 under the general heading of 'Material Support from LEAs for Mother-Tongue Classes'.

Even the term 'class' in this context is less straighforward than we first expected! As indicated earlier, we use it to mean a single group of pupils learning a single language. A few cases were reported to us of the same teacher supervising the learning of more than one language by different pupils in one classroom: to give a clearer overall picture we broke down such cases into 'classes' in the sense defined in the previous sentence.

We did not seek to identify individual teachers in our surveys, and this has the consequence that we cannot always be sure when the same person appears, for example, as a teacher of an LEA class at one time in the week, and again at some other time, as a teacher of a community-run class. Any overall total of teachers in our three areas involved in mother-tongue teaching would have been misleading and would not have done justice to the input of human resources and expertise by many mainstream bilingual teachers in voluntary work. They are an important group of teachers who are increasingly being asked to help bridge the gap between the official and the unofficial school systems.

Table 4.4: Material Support from LEAs for Mother-Tongue Classes

A: Number of classes for which the LEA provides both teachers' salaries and accommodation.
B: Number of classes for which the LEA provides either teachers' salaries or accommodation.
C: Number of classes for which the LEA provides neither teachers' salaries nor accommodation.

Town / Languages	Coventry 1981			Bradford 1981			Haringey 1982		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
Arabic	-	-	-	1	1	10	0	0	1
Bengali	-	-	-	0	2	0	0	3	0
Chinese	0	0	3	0	0	5	0	0	11
Greek	0	3	0	0	0	3	12	4	74
Gujerati	4	14	2	1	0	8	0	0	1
Hebrew	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	7
Hindi	5	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	2
Irish Gaelic	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0	0
Italian	2	0	7	0	18	0	0	0	12
Latvian	-	-	-	0	0	2	-	-	-
Panjabi	13	11	6	6	0	23	-	-	-
Polish	0	10	0	1	0	9	-	-	-
Serbo-Croat	0	0	1	0	0	1	-	-	-
Spanish	0	0	1	-	-	-	0	0	6
Turkish	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	1	4
Ukrainian	0	2	0	0	0	15	-	-	-
Urdu	6	2	0	13	3	0	-	-	-
Urdu-Arabic	0	0	13	0	0	58	0	2	2
ALL LANGUAGES TOGETHER	30	42	34	22	25	136	13	10	120

In understanding the problems faced by mother-tongue teachers as compared with their colleagues in other fields of language teaching, it is clearly important to have some notion of what material resources they are able to draw on to supplement the human resources which they often have in abundance. The major expenditure headings involved in mother-tongue teaching are certainly payment to teachers, although many teach on a voluntary basis, and also payment for premises. Of course, in some of the non-LEA classes, the teacher may be unpaid and premises may be provided without charge by some public or private institution or private individual. Information for some classes in this connection was fuller than for others, so there are some inevitable gaps in the data here.

Other material support sometimes provided by LEAs includes textbooks and teaching aids, exercise books and paper, and examination fees. Details of these are included in the Appendices to our First Reports on the MTTD Surveys for each area (see Appendix 4). Parents, teachers or community resources were drawn on for such additional expenses as administration, stationery, trips, prizes and building expenditure.

Attendance at mother-tongue classes

Table 4.5, setting out our data on hours of attendance at mother-tongue classes, demonstrates that for most children in most languages the weekly commitment in terms of time is not very large - averaging around 2-4 hours. There is a partial exception for some of the Embassy-supported classes, in Italian and Spanish for example, and a clear exception as far as some of the classes in Arabic, Bengali and 'Urdu-Arabic' are concerned. These last are often devoted at least as much to Islamic instruction as to narrowly-defined language teaching, and some children attend classes for two to three hours daily during most of the week.

Table 4.5: Weekly Hours of Attendance by Pupils at Mother-Tongue Classes

Town / Languages	Coventry 1981			Bradford 1981			Haringey 1981		
	Average	Range	Notes	Average	Range	Notes	Average	Range	Notes
Arabic	-	-	-	d	1-10	d	2	-	-
Bengali	-	-	-	4	-	-	e	3-10	c
Chinese	2	-	-	2	-	-	3	-	-
Greek	4	-	-	3	-	-	3	1-4	-
Gujerati	2.5	1.5-3.5	-	3	1.5-4	-	2	-	-
Hebrew	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.5	3-5	-
Hindi	2.5	1-3.5		2	1-2		2	-	-
Irish Gaelic	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Italian	b	1.5-6	b	3	2.5-3.5	-	4	3-4	-
Latvian	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-
Panjabi	2	1-4	-	2.5	1-4	-	-	-	-
Polish	3	-	-	3	2-3.5	-	-	-	-
Serbo-Croat	4	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-
Spanish	6.5	-	-	-	-	-	no information		
Turkish	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1-4	-
Ukrainian	2	-	-	3	2-4	-	-	-	-
Urdu	2	1.5-3.5	-	2	1-3.5	-	-	-	-
Urdu-Arabic	ci	2-10	ci	12	5-14	cii	ciii	2-23	ciii
Urdu-Panjabi -Arabic f	-	-	-	21	-	-	-	-	-

Notes for Table 4.5:

(a) 'Average' figures for weekly attendance were arrived at by adding the numbers of hours reported for each separate age group (see Table 4.3 for breakdown of age groups) on each questionnaire, dividing that total by the number of age groups for which information was given, then rounding up to the nearest half-hour.

(b) Age group differences: There were only very small differences between hours attended by pupils of different age groups within each language, with the exception of the Italian classes in Coventry, where those under the age of fourteen averaged five and a half hours and those fourteen or over averaged two and a half hours.

(c) Urdu-Arabic classes:
   (i) In Coventry the range within each age group was considerable: two to ten hours for the five to thirteen year olds, and two to seven-and-half for the fourteen to sixteen year olds, for example, so no average is included.
   (ii) In Bradford, with the exception of one entry for the over-sixteens, the range was nine to fourteen hours, so an average is included.
   (iii) In Haringey the range is so large in nearly all age groups that an average is again not included.

(d) Arabic in Bradford: For the age groups between eleven and sixteen, we have an entry of ten hours and another of one hour, so no average is included.

(e) Bengali in Haringey: For the age groups between five and thirteen, we have one entry of ten hours so no average is included.

(f) Urdu-Panjabi-Arabic: These are classes where Urdu is taught as a subject within the context of the teaching of Islam and where the same pupils are taught to read the Qur'an in Arabic. Spoken Panjabi seems to be used largely as a medium of instruction in these classes. Some Gujerati-speaking children study Urdu and/or Arabic, or Hindi, in addition to, or rather than Gujerati.

Enlarging the Picture

Some of the most important points which emerge from this comparison of basic figures from the three cities, are that:

(1) the findings from each city cover a wide range of minority languages;

(2) the 'mother-tongue teaching' issue is not solely a question for the South Asian minorities who are often the most vocal in their demands;

(3) the organisational and financial arrangements differ greatly not only between, but also sometimes within, linguistic minorities; and

(4) as the 'mother - tongue' teaching is increasingly recognised by the LEA, there will be an increasing overlap between the LEA and community-run provision.

But, important as these general conclusions are, great care needs to be taken in the interpretation of Stage 1 findings, and this is one of the roles of the data from Stage 2 which helps to fill out the details of what actually is happening in specific classes in any one linguistic minority.

The Stage 2 data complements the basic information from Stage 1. While the standardised findings of Stage 1 make possible an overview and comparison of data between linguistic minorities, between cities and within linguistic minorities in the three areas, the Stage 1 questionnaire does not cover some of the most important issues such as teachers' qualifications, pupils' patterns of attendance, teaching methods used and problems faced by teachers. Responses on these topics could not be coded and processed so easily because of the great range of situations involved.

Any explanation of what is happening, and of why the pattern of provision is as it is, depends upon an understanding of the socio-economic position of the minority in question, and of its relationship to the wider majority society and the school system in particular. To understand the nature of the existing relationships between mother-tongue schools and the LEA, it is also necessary to know about the development of language policies over the past few decades in the community as a whole and in each area surveyed.

Details about the history and aims of the provision often gave an indication of how mother-tongue teaching provision had developed in response to internal changes in the populations. Other external factors which have an influence included the lack of support from the LEA, increased discrimination, and feelings of threat from the dominant English language and culture. An understanding of the

different stages in the development of many schools and classes also counters the kind of simplistic assumptions made by outsider observers of, for example, the education scene. It is clearly wrong to suggest a single, unchanging aim for mother-tongue teaching, which the outsider perceives as having little to do with language teaching but assumes is really about the preservation of the culture or religious instruction. In many cases, there is a mixture of objectives, reflecting the interdependence of linguistic and cultural maintenance. Many of the answers show that mother-tongue classes, particularly in some linguistic minorities, aim to teach related cultural traditions, etc. as well as the languages themselves.

Another criticism of existing provision is over the lack of qualifications of many teachers. Noting the rate of payment of mother-tongue teachers in 'voluntary' schools (categories B and C), the lack of openings for promotion for teachers in LEA schools, and the lack of training facilities for voluntary mother-tongue teachers, it is not surprising that many of the teachers have not sought English qualifications. However, there are sizeable numbers of mother-tongue teachers in the 'voluntary' and embassy schools in each city who do have degrees in the language taught, in another language, in a non-language subject or who possess a teaching qualification.

None of the answers about pupils' attendance, teaching materials and methods, examinations, administration and funding should be interpreted at face value. For example, the number of pupils on the rolls and the details of the duration, timing and age-range of classes is not a straightforward representation of need. It simply indicates how many pupils attend a particular set of classes. Attendance patterns have to be assessed with an appreciation of all the constraints on the development of more provision or greater demand. Many of the questions in Stage 2 provide information about the difficulties faced in the organisation and teaching of the mother tongue.

While the number of schools entering pupils for language examinations may reflect other priorities in the curriculum of the school or class, no assumptions should be made without knowledge of the existence of appropriately trained teachers, and the existence or suitability of the examinations offered. The answers to questions about materials and methods show that mother-tongue teachers themselves often raise questions about the appropriateness of their methods, and their lack of resources or training opportunities.

Where respondents have simply described their teaching methods, which are sometimes quite traditional, this does not necessarily mean that they are satisfied. Many of the implications for teacher training and materials' development at local as well as national levels will need to be assessed within the context of the information available to, and the perspectives of, the mother-tongue teachers. The separation of voluntary and LEA-based provision inevitably restricts both parents and teachers in their evaluation of potential

options. And for some their experience with the LEA has deterred them from expecting any substantial support, or trusting the motives of the LEA in more recent initiatives. But it is particularly important to note that, among some of the provision with the most 'traditional' of methods and attitudes, a number of mother-tongue teachers expressed the wish for the LEA schools to take over completely the responsibility for supporting the mother-tongue, or at least supply part of the provision in future.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE ADULT LANGUAGE USE SURVEY

CHAPTER FIVE: THE ADULT LANGUAGE USE SURVEY

Aims, Objectives, Definitions

The main purpose of the Adult Language Use Survey (ALUS), undertaken by the Linguistic Minorities Project in 1980 and 1981, was to increase our understanding of the patterns of language skills and use among adult members of linguistic minorities in a number of different urban settings in England. The information gathered was intended to help us analyse the current characteristics and future likely extent of bilingualism among post World War II migrants and their British-born descendants.

ALUS would, we hoped, provide an important contribution to the academic debate, while at the policy related level it would provide an understanding of the wider context which is essential for informed discussion about the educational implications of bilingualism. As well as giving an account of the development and administration of ALUS and presenting a selection of the data, this chapter shows how the survey raised crucial questions about the appropriate research strategy for working in urban multilingual situations. Although we faced particular difficulties in our sampling and fieldwork procedures, their resolution provided us with valuable insights into the sociolinguistic position of different linguistic minorities.

We designed the ALUS survey instrument around the general themes of language use and language maintenance. We wanted to know about the patterns of language use, and the factors that seem to support or undermine minority language use among linguistic minorities in England. With additional data on minority language teaching, this would give us some indication of the likely future trends in language maintenance.

There are some neighbourhoods in certain cities where 'linguistic minorities' or even a single 'linguistic minority' form the numerical majority of the local populations, so we should make it clear from the beginning that the term 'minority' is to be interpreted within the national context. Furthermore, our conception of linguistic minorities incorporates the dimension of relative powerlessness, which distinguishes subordinate minorities from the dominant majority in terms of their access to economic, political and cultural resources. The starting point for a definition of a <u>linguistic</u> minority is that it is a category of people who share a language which is not the language of the dominant majority, i.e. a language other than English. This of course does not exclude the possibility that migrants already had some quite well developed skills in English when they first arrived in England. For example, many migrants from the Indian subcontinent had considerable familiarity with the English

language, since it plays an important role within India, Pakistan and Bangladesh today.

A definition of a linguistic minority based on 'sharing a language' is clearly a minimal one, and may include people who identify with a given language or collectivity in which it is used, without themselves regularly speaking or fully understanding the language. On the other hand people may use the language in question, fluently and often, without necessarily identifying with the linguistic minority, and would be included by the minimal criterion of 'sharing'. The definition is a social one, delimiting the set of people for whom a 'language' (in this sense a symbolic entity that they themselves define) has either affective or communicative significance. It is a definition which to a large extent must rely on subjective information provided by members of the minority in question, rather than on criteria set by researchers on the basis of linguistic behaviour.

As each of the instruments designed by LMP had its own focus and methods, our definitions of linguistic minorities varied according to our purpose. This meant that the boundaries of the linguistic minorities were defined by different people, and to some extent by different criteria. In the Adult Language Use Survey the set of potential respondents was defined by the researchers, usually on the basis of 'ethnic' criteria such as family name or membership of a community organisation, while the set of actual respondents was defined by negotiation between the interviewer and the person on the doorstep after a preliminary discussion as to whether they were in fact speakers of the language in question.

Context and Coverage

The first step toward an understanding of the sociolinguistic position of linguistic minorities in England is to look at the historical and political developments which have determined the relationship between the people who speak the minority languages and the dominant majority.

Most of the linguistic minorities in England consist of people who arrived in England after 1945 and their descendants. The populations and languages which arrived in England can be categorised along two intersecting dimensions, as well as along a time axis. Firstly linguistic minorities can be distinguished according to the motivation for the original migration and settlement: some came primarily as political refugees, others primarily as migrant labour. The second dimension is place of origin, which can be broadly divided between ex-colonial Third World countries and European countries. This dimension broadly corresponds to distinctions of 'race' and skin colour, which during the period in question have been the main feature of the political debate about immigration policy.

Schematically this can be represented as in Figure 5.0.

Figure 5.0: Linguistic Minorities in England

	Migrant Labour	Political Refugees
Ex-colonial	Bengali, Panjabi, Gujerati Hong Kong Chinese (West Indians)	East African Asian(s) Vietnamese Chinese
	----------Turkish and Greek Cypriots----------	
European Origin	Italians, Portugese, Spanish	Polish, Ukrainian, and other East European

The wide range of linguistic minorities in England, the general brief of the Project, and the desirability of comparative work combined together to suggest that ALUS should be designed to cover as many different languages as possible, each in at least two out of three different cities. Coventry, Bradford and London were chosen in order to give a geographical spread, and to allow us to work with eleven of the nationally most numerous minorities which are represented in those cities. The languages chosen for study were Bengali, Cantonese/Chinese, Greek, Gujerati, Italian, Panjabi (two groups), Polish, Portuguese, Turkish, and Ukrainian.

The Panjabi speakers were treated as two separate linguistic minorities because of the different ways of writing closely similar spoken varieties. For our Adult Survey we designated one 'Panjabi Gurmukhi Script' and the other 'Panjabi Urdu Script' abbreviated as Panjabi (G) and Panjabi (U) respectively. Most families in England with origins in the Panjab whether in Indian Panjab or Pakistani Panjab and whether they are Muslim, Sikh or Hindu by religion, use spoken forms of Panjabi which are mutually intelligible. However, speakers of Panjabi have historical and ideological as well as linguistic reasons to distinguish between the Panjabi spoken in Panjab in Pakistan and the Panjabi spoken in Panjab in India. The former is rarely used in its written form since Muslim Panjabi speakers usually write in the closely related Urdu language in the Perso-Arabic script. When Panjabi is written by Sikhs it is usually written in the Gurmukhi script. (For a fuller explanation see Chapter 2). For the purposes of ALUS the division was made in practice mainly on the basis of name analysis of potential respondents, which distinguished Muslim from Sikh and Hindu households.

As far as is practically possible we attempted to select and interview a representative sample of respondents from each of the linguistic minorities in each city. In deciding on the size of each sample, we needed to take into account a number of factors, such as the large number of linguistic minorities involved, the financial and time limitations of our work and the estimated numerical strength of each minority in question in each city. It was decided that a total sample for any linguistic minority should be at least 200, in order to provide data for meaningful analysis of different sub-groups of respondents, e.g. males and females, younger and older respondents. The resulting completed samples, we feel, are in a very broad sense representative of the national range of linguistic minorities.

Table 5.0: ALUS Actual (and Target) Sample Sizes in Coventry, Bradford & London

	Coventry	Bradford	London
Bengali	79 (75)		185 (200)
Chinese	43 (50)	50 (50)	137 (150)
Greek			193 (200)
Gujerati	203 (200)		99 (100)
Italian	108 (100)		94 (100)
Panjabi(G)	200 (200)	98 (100)	
Panjabi(U)	86 (100)	177 (200)	
Polish	168 (200)	155 (200)	
Portuguese			197 (200)
Turkish			196 (200)
Ukrainian	48 (50)		
TOTAL	935 (975)	480 (550)	1101 (1150)

The context in which we were working led us to develop particular strategies in the field. For the most part, our respondents lived in inner city areas which are typified by economic decline, and a social and political situation dominated by official majority institutions. Minority members often feel powerless and insecure in such a setting, and can be justifiably suspicious of the intentions of the authorities. It was essential that a project, based in a majority institution should earn and keep the confidence of the minorities we were working with in the three cities. This we felt to be important not only to ensure the success of the survey, but as part of our social responsibility to the people concerned. Our approach therefore was to seek out and positively encourage the collaboration of minority members and organisations on a task which they could feel to be of benefit to themselves and their children. One of our main concerns was that the findings of the research would be

available in a form that would be accessible and usable by the linguistic minorities themselves, and we gave clear undertakings to that effect.

The use of the minority language as the main medium for interviewing was established as a principle of our work from a very early stage. ALUS can claim, in fact, to be the first major survey in England where particular attention has been paid to the linguistic factors in interviewing and where interviewing in English is the exception rather than the rule.

Our questionnaires and our interviewers needed to be bilingual therefore, only partly to ensure communication with the widest range of respondents, but more importantly to show that we recognised the legitimacy of languages other than English for serious purposes (and in certain cases to show also that we did not undervalue certain stigmatised dialects). Thus the production of good translations and the recruitment of teams of bilingual interviewers from local linguistic minorities were crucial. They were to operate in the minority languages, introducing themselves and the survey in these languages rather than in English, and indeed only using English where the respondent asked to do so, or initiated a language switch.

Content of the Questionnaire

The recurring themes of the questionnaire were the language skills and use patterns of the respondents and of the people with whom they interacted. The questionnaire was structured in sections based partly on different social settings, such as the home, the workplace, and minority institutions. Besides the sections on language use, a literacy section and a section on attitudes to language maintenance were included. Key demographic variables such as age, gender, occupation and religion were also given attention. We set out in what follows the scope of each section.

A. Language Skills and Learning History (Qs.4-44)

The primary emphasis in this section was on the history of language acquisition and learning and self-assessment of the current skills of individual respondents in the minority language and in English. (Questions 11-24 from the Panjabi (U) version are given in Figure 5.1.)

B. Literacy (Qs.45-70)

In designing this section we wanted to investigate a wide range of literacy functions in both minority languages and in English.

	VERY WELL	FAIRLY WELL	NOT VERY WELL	NOT AT ALL	
11. How well would you say you understand Panjabi when it is spoken to you?	1	2	3	4	
12. How well would you say you speak Panjabi?	1	2	3	4	
13. How well would you say you read Urdu?	1	2	3	4	

جدوں تہاڈے نال کوئی پنجابی بولے تے تہاڈے خیال وچ تسی کنّی کہ چنگی طرح اِنہوں سمجھ سکدے او؟
تہاڈے خیال وچ تسی پنجابی کنّی کہ چنگی طرح بول سکدے او؟
تہاڈے خیال وچ تسی اردو کنّی کہ چنگی طرح پڑھ سکدے او؟

IF RESPONDENT CANNOT READ AT ALL, SKIP TO QUESTION 18

14. Did you learn to read Urdu at home? — YES 1 / NO 2

تسی اردو پڑھنا اپنے گھر وچ سکھیا سی؟

15. Did you learn to read Urdu (also) at language classes outside ordinary school times? — YES 1 / NO 2

تسی اردو پڑھنا سکول دے عام وقت توں ایہ کسی ہور زباناں دے مدرسے وچ سکھیا سی؟

16. Did you learn to read Urdu at your ordinary school? — YES 1 / NO 2

تسی اردو پڑھنا اپنے عام سکول وچ ای سکھیا سی؟

17. Roughly what age were you when you began learning to read Urdu?
WRITE IN NUMBER OF YEARS: ___

تسی اندازاً کنّی عمر وچ اردو پڑھنا سکھنا شروع کیتا سی؟

18. How well would you say you write in Urdu? — VERY WELL 1 / FAIRLY WELL 2 / NOT VERY WELL 3 / NOT AT ALL 4

تہاڈے خیال وچہ تسی اردو کنّی کہ چنگی طرح لکھ سکدے او؟

IF RESPONDENT CANNOT READ AT ALL NOR WRITE AT ALL SKIP TO QUESTION 24

Questions 19 to 22 have been dropped from this page

23. Which country were you in when you learned to read or write Urdu?
PLEASE WRITE IN: _____ ___

جدوں تسی اردو لکھنا پڑھنا سکھیا اودوں تسی کیڑھے ملک وچ رہندے سو؟

24. How many years of full-time education have you had?
PLEASE WRITE IN NUMBER OF YEARS: ___

FIGURE 5.1: ALUS QUESTIONNAIRE: PANJABI(U) VERSION

SECTION C: HOUSEHOLD LANGUAGE USE

ASK THE RESPONDENT QUESTIONS 72 TO 80 ABOUT EACH MEMBER OF THE HOUSEHOLD. WORK DOWN THE COLUMNS STARTING WITH THE RESPONDENT. WRITE IN EACH MARRIED COUPLE SIDE BY SIDE AND DRAW A LINKING LINE BETWEEN HUSBAND AND WIFE.

Ile osób mieszka w tym domu /mieszkaniu/ wliczając Pana/-ią/? Chciał/-a/bym teraz zadać kilka pytań dotyczących Pana/-i/ współmieszkańców:

How many people live in this household including yourself? PLEASE WRITE IN NUMBER __ _____

I would like to ask you a number of questions about each person in the household in turn:

			1	2	3	4	5	6
72. Stopień pokrewieństwa z respondentem, np. teściowa, mąż, siostra, etc.	72. Relationship to respondent, e.g. mother, husband, sister, friend, etc.		RESPONDENT					
73. Płeć	73. Sex of person	MALE FEMALE	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2
74. Ile lat ma ta osoba?	74. How old is this person?							
75. W jakim kraju ta osoba spędziła pierwsze 16-cie lat życia?	75. Where was this person brought up (i.e. spent the first 16 years)?	OVERSEAS RURAL OVERSEAS URBAN OVERSEAS MIXED U.K. & OVERSEAS U.K. ONLY	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
76. Jakie jest zatrudnienie tej osoby?	76. How is this person employed?	WORKS OUTSIDE HOME WORKS FOR PAY IN FAMILY BUSINESS ON PREMISES WORKS AT HOME FOR PAY FULLTIME HOUSEWIFE STUDENT/SCHOOLCHILD OTHER	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3 4 5 6
77. Proszę określić stopień znajomości, przez tą osobę, języka polskiego:	77. How well does this person know Polish?	VERY WELL FAIRLY WELL NOT VERY WELL NOT AT ALL	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4
78. Proszę określić stopień znajomości, przez tą osobę, języka angielskiego:	78. How well does this person know English?	VERY WELL FAIRLY WELL NOT VERY WELL NOT AT ALL	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4
79. Jakiego języka, bądź mieszanki języków lub dialektów używa Pan/-i/ w rozmowie z tą osobą.	79. When the respondent & this person talk with each other, which language(s) or dialect(s) does the respondent speak in?	ONLY OR MOSTLY POLISH POLISH AND ENGLISH ONLY OR MOSTLY ENGLISH OTHER AND ENGLISH ONLY OR MOSTLY OTHER OTHER MIXTURE IF 'OTHER', PLEASE WRITE IN:	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3 4 5 6
80. A jakiego języka, bądź mieszanki języków lub dialektów, używa ta osoba zwracając się do Pana/-i/?	80. When talking with respondent, which language(s) or dialect(s) does the other person speak?	ONLY OR MOSTLY POLISH POLISH AND ENGLISH ONLY OR MOSTLY ENGLISH OTHER AND ENGLISH ONLY OR MOSTLY OTHER OTHER MIXTURE IF 'OTHER', PLEASE WRITE IN:	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3 4 5 6

FIGURE 5.2: ALUS QUESTIONNAIRE: POLISH VERSION

SECTION G: ATTITUDES ABOUT PROVISION OF LANGUAGE TEACHING

READ THE INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT TO THE RESPONDENT AND THEN READ EACH STATEMENT SLOWLY AND CLEARLY AND ASK IF S/HE AGREES OR DISAGREES WITH THE STATEMENT AND HOW STRONGLY

Πολλοί ἄνθρωποι πιστεύουν ὅτι θά εἶναι δύσκολο γιά τήν ἑλληνική παροικία στήν Μεγάλη Βρεττανία νά κρατήσει τήν ἑλληνική γλῶσσα μέχρι τήν ἐπόμενη γενεά. Μερικοί πιστεύουν ὅτι ἡ Κυβέρνηση πρέπει νά βοηθήσει στό νά κρατήσει τέτοιες γλῶσσες μέ τήν εἰσαγωγή μαθημάτων στά σχολεῖα καί ἴσως ὑποστηρίζοντας τά προγράμματα διδασκαλίας τά ὁποῖα ἔχουν ἤδη ὀργανώσει οἱ κοινότητες σέ πολλές περιοχές.

Ἐνδιαφερόμαστε νά μάθουμε τήν γνώμη σας γνώμη σ'αὐτά τά ζητήματα καί ἐάν συμφωνεῖτε ἤ ὄχι μέ τά ἀκόλουθα πού θά σᾶς διαβάσω.

Introduction. Many people think it will be difficult for the Greek-speaking community in England to keep up its language over the next generation. Some people think that the government should help maintain such languages, perhaps by introducing the teaching of them in schools, perhaps by supporting the teaching programmes that the communities have set up already in many areas. We are interested to know your opinion on these matters, so can you please tell us whether you agree or disagree (and how strongly) with the following statements which I am going to read to you.

			strongly agree συμφωνῶ ἀπολύτως	agree συμφωνῶ	not sure ὄχι σίγουρος	disagree διαφωνῶ	strongly disagree διαφωνῶ ἀπολύτως
I33.	Μπορούμε νά κρατήσουμε τόν πολιτισμό καί ταυτότητα τῆς παροικίας μας ἔστω καί ἄν σταματήσουμε νά χρησιμοποιοῦμε τήν γλῶσσα μας.	133. We can maintain the culture and identity of our communities even if we cease to use our languages	1	2	3	4	5
I34.	Μπορούμε νά κρατήσουμε τήν χρήση τῆς γλώσσας μας μέχρι τήν ἐπόμενη γενεά ἐάν ὑπάρχει κανονική διδασκαλία σέ μεγάλο βαθμό.	134. We can keep up the use of our languages over the next generation if there is proper teaching widely available	1	2	3	4	5
I35.	Πρέπει νά κάνουμε ὅτι εἶναι δυνατό νά κρατήσουμε τήν ὁλική χρήση τῆς γλώσσας μας ἐδῶ στή Μεγάλη Βρεττανία.	135. We should make every possible effort to maintain the fullest use of our languages in Britain	1	2	3	4	5
I36.	Ἡ Κυβέρνηση πρέπει νά παράσχει τήν διδασκαλία τῆς γλώσσας μας ἀπό καθῆκον γιά ὅλα τά παιδιά μας στά Κυβερνητικά Σχολεῖα.	136. The government should provide the teaching of our languages as a right for all our children in state schools	1	2	3	4	5

FIGURE 5.3: ALUS QUESTIONNAIRE: GREEK VERSION

C. Language Use in the Household (Qs.72-80)

In this section we attempted to gather in a single grid a fairly detailed picture of the patterns of language use in the home. (Questions 72-80 of the Polish version are given in Figure 5.2.)

D. Children and Language (Qs.81-96)

Questions in this section attempted to discover patterns of language use between parents (not necessarily the respondent) and children, where children or young people under the age of 21 were members of the household.

E. Language and Work (Qs.97-113)

Given our understanding of the importance of economic factors in the processes of language shift and maintenance, and the fact that a number of linguistic minorities are very strongly represented in "ethnic" sectors or niches in the labour market, the section on language in the workplace was clearly of crucial importance.

F. Language Outside Work and Home (Qs.115-132)

This section of the questionnaire was intended to explore the respondents' language use outside the home and workplace and to investigate patterns of language use with their personal contacts.

G. Attitudes about Provision of Language Teaching (Qs. 133-147)

Despite some reservations about the relevance and reliability of attitude studies for our work, it was decided to include a small section of attitude statements (Likert scales) of limited scope around the issues of language maintenance and educational policy. The pool of attitude statements in this section was constructed around the themes of the possibility of language maintenance, the desirability of it, and the educational policy which would help it. (Questions 133-136 of the Greek version are included in Figure 5.3.)

H. Personal

This section was intended to gather relevant personal information which had not been elicited earlier.

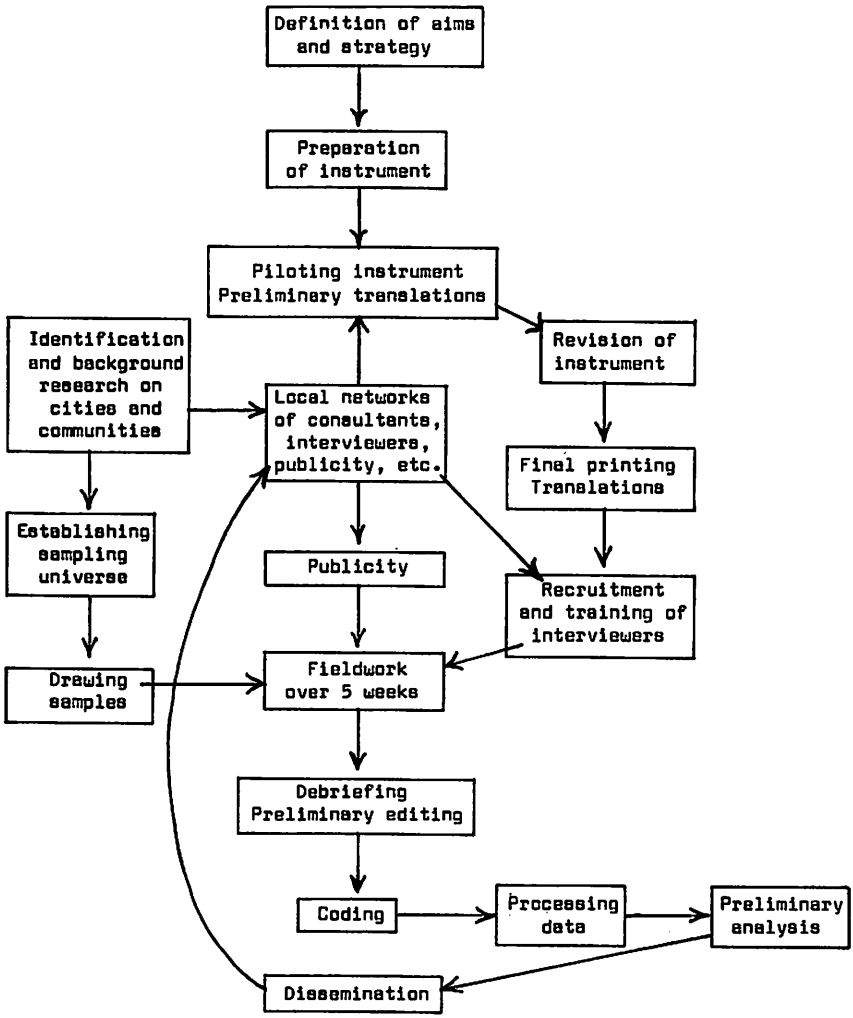
Piloting, Translation and Fieldwork Procedures

The piloting of the questionnaire in Coventry in Summer 1980 gave an opportunity for testing our fieldwork procedures, including the briefing and debriefing of interviewers and the checking of questionnaires, and enabled us to assess the reception our survey was likely to have on the doorstep.

CHART C

Adult Language Use Survey

SEQUENCE



Secondly, our interviewers were able to report back about instructions or questions which had been unclear, or particularly sensitive. As a result of piloting, the structure of the questionnaire was substantially revised and several questions were either modified or discarded.

The most important role of the piloting, however, was to test out our bilingual strategy and to prepare the way for the written translations of the questionnaire. The pilot interviewers produced draft written versions of the questions which they discussed in workshops with our language consultants. It was than necessary to provide a standardised version of the questions written in the eleven minority languages. In three cases romanised versions were also produced; Cantonese because of the particular relationship between spoken Chinese languages and the Chinese writing system, and Panjabi (U) and Panjabi (G) because some of the most appropriate interviewers were not literate in the usual writing systems but were fluent speakers and otherwise particularly suitable.

From our knowledge of the distribution of linguistic minorities it was evident that most, though not all, of the fieldwork for ALUS would have to take place in inner city areas. These districts are often regarded with some trepidation by organisers of social surveys, because they have tended to produce special difficulties in fieldwork and generally low response rates. The rapid turnover of population, the large number of slum clearance and redevelopment projects, the higher proportion of hard-to-contact households and the reluctance of some interviewers to travel to and in these areas, especially at night, have all been mentioned as factors hindering survey work. Refusal rates tend to be high in most such surveys, perhaps because of the lack of rapport between interviewers, who are often middle class and from the majority, and respondents, who tend to be working class or from ethnic minorities. We expected to face most of the difficulties mentioned above and quite possibly some additional ones because of the language factor and the fact that our topic might reasonably be perceived as related to the politically sensitive "race relations" situation.

A number of strategies were developed to meet this challenge, many of which are developments of the methods used by Kosmin (1979), Wallman et al (1980). Working with the conviction that the local minorities should be involved as closely as possible in the research process, we came to the conclusion that it was worth devoting a large part of the time we had to the preparation for our surveys. We set up local offices in accessible buildings in areas of high linguistic minority settlement. We appointed fieldwork co-ordinators in each city to administer the recruitment, training and briefing routines established by the research team. Other part-time workers also helped co-ordinate the teams of bilingual interviewers from particular minorities and in addition often developed local contacts and did detailed work on the sampling.

In the initial phase of our research in each city, we

developed a network of key contacts in each of the local linguistic minorities and received particularly valuable support and advice from many local people involved in mother-tongue teaching. Closely associated with our strategy of developing local contacts was our policy for publicity for the survey. We wanted every potential respondent to have a chance to hear about the survey before it happened. On the other hand we were concerned about possible negative coverage in the majority English language media. We decided therefore to concentrate our publicity through minority media and networks, and to produce most of it in the minority languages. Different linguistic minorities and different cities called for specific strategies of publicity. Thus, as was appropriate in each case, we asked minority organisations, including mother-tongue schools, temples, shops and majority institutions with good contacts with minorities, such as advice centres and clinics, to display posters in the minority languages and to publicize our intentions at their meetings. Some local radio stations which produced programmes in the minority languages were willing to broadcast information about the survey, although the extent of coverage varied considerably in the different cities: information about our work was also given to the minority language press. We produced our own information leaflet about the survey, printed in each of the different languages in parallel with the English version and these leaflets were distributed fairly widely before the surveys and then to all the respondents who completed an interview. This procedure helped us to ensure that respondents knew what the survey was about and could discuss our aims with friends and relatives with minimal distortion.

Recruitment and Training of Interviewers

Our interviewing teams consisted of committed people with a high level of bilingual skills and a high level of interest in the work. The mother tongue teachers and organisers working in the voluntary evening and weekend schools were a particularly rich source of interviewers. The interviewers were of all ages from 17 upwards, and both men and women were equally represented. In some minorities, such as the Panjabi and Bengali, a special effort was made to recruit a team which would allow interviewers to be matched to their respondents in terms both of gender and of religious affiliation.

The training of the interviewers was fundamental to the success of the survey. As soon as they were appointed they were given some background information and a copy of the questionnaire. They were asked to familiarise themselves with this in time for the training day, which was usually held on a Saturday. The first half of the training day was given over to the introduction of the research team and the other interviewers from different linguistic minorities in the city and a presentation of the overall purpose of the survey and the fieldwork procedures. The research team explained and discussed the background and objectives of the

project and the interviewers were given the opportunity to learn by doing: they interviewed each other in English. During the second part of the day the participants split into the separate language teams, and there was an opportunity for discussion about particular issues affecting the different languages, and especially for a fuller explanation of the principles behind our translations and bilingual strategy. The remaining time was devoted to further practice in pairs, this time in the minority languages.

The interviewers were then asked to conduct several practice interviews in the few days following the training day to prepare for their first individual debriefing session. After the first week we tried to establish a weekly rhythm of debriefing sessions for each interviewer which ensured that liaison between interviewers and supervisors took place on a regular basis, and that checking and editing of completed questionnaires took place while the interviews were still relatively fresh in the interviewer's memory.

At the end of the fieldwork period, the interviewers from each linguistic minority met together for a general debriefing session where they were able to share experiences with each other and with the researchers. This session produced a rich crop of qualitative insights and anecdotes and each session was audio-recorded for later transcription and analysis.

Sampling Strategy

Obtaining representative samples for any social survey is clearly fundamental to the reliability of its findings. Achieving the required level of representativeness is particularly problematic when working with minorities within the general population. Such sub-populations are geographically distributed in a non-random way and the conventional sampling frames are either inadequate or inefficient. The lack of language data in the national census for England means that census information is of very limited use for a language survey. Other surveys however, or electoral registers, can help in the construction of a sampling frame, and in some areas 'community' lists are available and may provide the most reliable basis for sampling. In our work on the ALUS we had to develop a number of strategies to tackle the problems presented by the different types of linguistic minorities (for fuller details see Smith 1982 (a) and (b)).

The first stage for each local linguistic minority was to establish a sampling frame which included as many as possible (ideally all) the households in which at least one member was likely to be a speaker of the minority language in question. We used three main sources, separately or

combined, in order to create these sampling frames:
1) 'community lists' which were made available to us
2) manual or computerised searches of electoral registers for distinctive ethnic names
3) manual scanning of telephone directories for distinctive ethnic names

The method we then adopted to select particular households depended mainly on the size of the local linguistic minority. For the very small minorities, such as the Chinese speakers in Coventry and Bradford, an attempt was made to conduct an interview in every household we had identified. For others, where we had compiled a list containing up to 2000 addresses of linguistic minority households, such as the Polish speakers in Coventry, we randomly chose one household in every n. In the case of very large linguistic minorities, such as the Panjabi speakers in Coventry or the Greek speakers in London (usually where the sampling frame was the set of households with distinctive ethnic names on the electoral register), a two stage stratified sampling procedure was used. We first selected a limited number of polling districts in proportion to the number of linguistic minority households we had identified in each and then randomly selected a number of households within them.

The sampled addresses were issued to our interviewers in batches of ten, where possible in close geographical proximity to each other. The interviewers were instructed to attempt to obtain five completed interviews from each batch of ten addresses. They were to visit the households and, when they had confirmed that the relevant minority language was indeed spoken there, negotiate an interview with a suitable adult member of the household. We asked our interviewers as far as possible to attempt to obtain one younger and one older respondent of each sex within each batch of five interviews in order to maintain a balance of age and sex in the completed sample. In the course of our fieldwork we monitored this quota system and, where necessary, in the later stages of fieldwork gave revised instructions to the interviewers.

The range of sampling strategies used for ALUS and the nature of some of them, mean that we are not in a position to measure the representativeness of our findings in the precise statistical sense. It is not possible for instance to generalise from our samples to the whole of a linguistic minority in a given city and to calculate confidence limits on our population estimates. For any of our variables, it is also impossible to test statistically the significance of comparisons between language groups. Such statistical precision in fact was never our aim. However, the efforts we have made to avoid bias, together with the size of our samples and the high response rates the ALUS methodology has ensured, mean that our findings are based on data which give, we believe, the best possible level of reliability and validity which could be achieved in the circumstances.

Three Cities

The three cities in which LMP carried out most of its work exemplify the situation of linguistic minorities throughout the country. There are common factors in the economic and social settings in Coventry, Bradford and London, yet there are also local differences which make each city unique in its mixture of languages and from the point of view of the housing, employment and educational resources available to the people living there.

The pattern of settlement of all the recent linguistic minorities has largely been determined at the regional level by employment opportunities, with the result that they have been concentrated to a large extent in unskilled work in the heavy industrial sector in the West Midlands, in the declining textile industry in West Yorkshire and Lancashire, and in a range of industries in London and the South East (notably the clothing trade in the East End in the case of Bengali speakers, the retail, catering and service sectors for other minority language speakers). These patterns have been greatly influenced by structural changes in industry and the pressures of local labour markets, coupled with institutionalised and overt discriminatory practices which have tended to exclude minorities from many of the better jobs. In most cases the process of chain migration and the practice of recruitment by personal recommendation has increased the level of segregation on the shop floor. Furthermore, in the face of rising unemployment, an alternative route to "prosperity" for members of many minorities is the establishment of small businesses: thus the "ethnic sector" of local economies has developed rapidly, often drawing on contacts and resources within the minority for financial backing and supplies, and in many cases also for labour and custom.

The distribution of languages at the neighbourhood level within each city seems to be related much more closely to housing patterns. With certain exceptions families of recent migrants are rarely to be found in the public sector of the housing market, but have become established as owner-occupiers in the inner areas of cities where property is relatively cheap and close to major workplaces. To exemplify the employment, housing and social situations of minorities the Tables 5.1 - 5.3 present the main demographic features of the ALUS respondents from different linguistic minorities in Coventry, Bradford and London.

Table 5.1: ALUS in Coventry: Main Demographic Features

LANGUAGE	BENGALI	CHINESE	GUJERATI	ITALIAN	PANJABI(G)	PANJABI(U)	POLISH	UKRAINIAN
1) estimate of total populations	600	300	4,500	600	15,000	2,000	1,500	300
2) number of households with member interviewed	79	43	203	108	200	86	168	48
3) numbers of people in the respondents' households	374	213	992	394	1,025	482	471	144
4) % of people in respondents' households aged below 17	49	43	30	22	41	53	14	11
5) % of people in respondents' households aged over 50	7	8	11	24	8	6	44	53
6) % of households in owner occupation	75	61	91	96	98	94	92	88
7) % of households in Council housing	14	12	6	2	0	1	7	10
8) % of males aged 17-65 at work outside home or in family business	72	72	74	82	78	73	80	78
9) % of females aged 17-60 at work outside home or in family business	13	43	42	67	39	11	57	63
10) % of people in respondents' households brought up overseas	51	56	56	49	45	41	54	60

Table 5.2: ALUS in Bradford: Main Demographic Features

LANGUAGE	CHINESE	PANJABI (G)	PANJABI (U)	POLISH
1) estimate of total populations	250	6,000	37,000	2,000
2) number of households with member interviewed	50	98	177	155
3) number of people in the respondents' households	244	529	1,033	449
4) % of people in respondents' households aged below 17	51	42	50	14
5) % of people in respondents' households aged over 50	7	8	5	45
6) % of households in owner occupation	0	99	96	93
7) % of households in Council housing	28	0	1	6
8) % of males aged 17-65 at work outside home or in family business	9	72	61	70
9) % of females aged 17-60 at work outside home or in family business	9	42	1	61
10) % of people in respondent households brought up overseas	87	42	43	51

Table 5.3: ALUS in London: Main Demographic Features

LANGUAGE	BENGALI	CHINESE	GREEK	GUJERATI	ITALIAN	PORTUGUESE	TURKISH
1) It was not possible to obtain satisfactory estimates of the total populations of speakers of different languages in London.							
2) number of households with member interviewed	185	137	193	99	94	196	197
3) number of people in respondents' households	898	597	758	457	367	627	822
4) % of people in respondents' households aged below 17	44	33	25	23	30	24	30
5) % of people in respondents' households aged over 50	5	9	16	14	16	12	11
6) % of households in owner occupation	22	37	86	77	62	10	84
7) % of households in Council housing	65	37	8	16	32	28	9
8) % of males aged 17-65 at work outside home or in family business	82	60	76	77	87	94	76
9) % of females aged 17-60 at work outside home or in family business	11	37	43	44	75	73	32
10) % of people in respondents' households brought up overseas	53	58	52	70	42	69	48

Our aim of obtaining balanced numbers of male and female respondents was broadly speaking achieved in all the languages, with the exception of the Polish and Ukrainian speakers in Coventry, and of Bengali speakers in London, where men outnumbered women amongst respondents. The age-balance was less satisfactory in some local linguistic minorities - notably again with a bias towards the older age-group among Polish and Ukrainian speakers, and to a lesser extent among Italian speakers. The age and sex characteristics of the respondents may in fact have reflected the demographic characteristics of these linguistic minorities as a whole. Our only check - and it is a partially circular one - is to compare the demographic profile of respondents with that of all the members of their households. The fit seemed to us a reasonably satisfactory one, so that we are by and large confident that within each language-group within each town, we do not have grossly unrepresentative samples. We make no claim, of course, to representativeness for speakers of particular languages in England as a whole, nor to representativeness for all linguistic minorities in any of the towns in which we worked.

Findings

From the first data of the Adult Language Use Survey we have selected to focus on in this Report three particular aspects likely to be of particular interest and significance in terms of their educational implications. They are:

(1) the range of language skills of the respondents
(2) the patterns of language use reported by them in their households
(3) the attitudes expressed by them to the maintenance and teaching of their mother-tongues in England.

We feel that it is more useful in this Report to focus in detail on this relatively small selection of data. It should become clear from our presentation and discussion that once again very careful attention to the context and methodology of the survey is needed if it is to be accurately interpreted.

Fuller accounts of ALUS findings, will appear in 1984 in LMP's book, and in the publications arising from the Community Languages and Education Project.

Language Skills

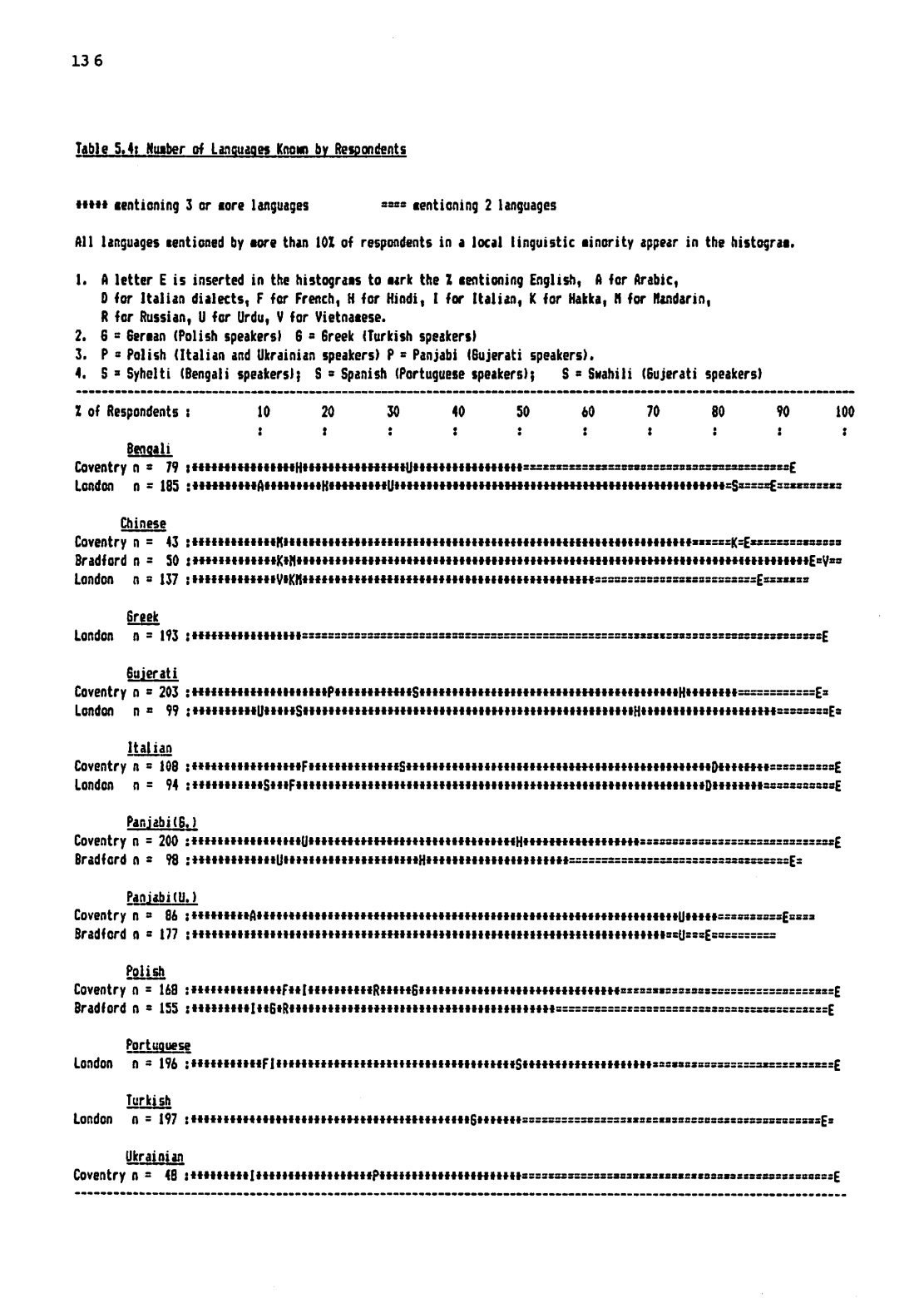
We begin by presenting in Table 5.4 the remarkable scope of the linguistic repertoires of the respondents.

Table 5.4: Number of Languages Known by Respondents

***** mentioning 3 or more languages ==== mentioning 2 languages

All languages mentioned by more than 10% of respondents in a local linguistic minority appear in the histogram.

1. A letter E is inserted in the histograms to mark the % mentioning English, A for Arabic, D for Italian dialects, F for French, H for Hindi, I for Italian, K for Hakka, M for Mandarin, R for Russian, U for Urdu, V for Vietnamese.
2. G = German (Polish speakers) G = Greek (Turkish speakers)
3. P = Polish (Italian and Ukrainian speakers) P = Panjabi (Gujerati speakers).
4. S = Sylheti (Bengali speakers); S = Spanish (Portuguese speakers); S = Swahili (Gujerati speakers)



Of course the main languages are almost always the language of the interview and English: in two thirds of the local linguistic minorities over 90% of the respondents reported some knowledge of these two languages. In only two cases - speakers of Chinese languages in Coventry and of Panjabi (U) in Bradford - was this figure as low as 70%. The explanation, as far as the Chinese speakers are concerned, is that the minority language which was the focus for the questionnaire was Cantonese, although many of the respondents turned out to be speakers of Hakka. But very high proportions of respondents from several local linguistic minorities, notably the Gujerati and Italian speakers in both Coventry and London and the Chinese speakers in Bradford, reported knowledge of three or more languages. In fact in only one did fewer than 40% of the respondents mention fewer than three languages. There are of course very different reasons for this multilingualism among the different linguistic minorities in England: in the case of the Italian speakers, for example, it is largely a question of use of dialects alongside the standard language; among Gujerati speakers the knowledge of Swahili is strikingly high - originating of course from the strong East African connections; among the Polish speakers Russian and German are widely known, for obvious historical reasons; the mention of Greek by nearly half the Turkish-speaking respondents in London, and the absence of significant mention of Turkish by the Greek-speaking respondents reflects the power imbalance which existed between the two communities in Cyprus before 1974.

One important aspect of this knowledge of more than two languages from the point of view of educational planning is the position of Urdu and Hindi among the South Asian linguistic minorities we surveyed. It is clear that, although the three major spoken home languages are Panjabi, Gujerati and Bengali, nevertheless Urdu and Hindi, as two major national or 'link' languages, are quite widely known and used. Their use as lingua franca may well increase among South Asians in Britain, and support for them from schools and colleges is probably necessary beyond the level that the number of native speakers might otherwise justify.

It is against this background, from the commonly monolingual English perspective at least, of a very impressive range of linguistic knowledge and use, that we go on to look a little more closely at the self-rated skills of the respondents in their main minority language, and in English.

We asked the respondents about their understanding, speaking, reading and writing in both of these languages, but in the presentation which follows in Table 5.5, we have reduced the eight original variables to four, in the interests of greater ease in digesting the data. So, for example, in Column One of the table, only respondents who reported both understanding and speaking ability are included; in Column Four only those who reported both reading and writing ability. We have also simplified the four-point rating scale used in our interview schedule, and include here as positive answers only those reporting that they speak, read (etc.) 'very well' or 'fairly well'.

Table 5.5: Summary of language skills for ALUS respondents

% of respondents answering "fairly well" or "very well"

	1) Understand and Speak Minority Language	2) Read and Write Minority Language	3) Understand and Speak English	4) Read and Write English
Bengali				
Coventry n = 79	98	70	52	37
London n = 185	94	70	47	40
Chinese				
Coventry n = 43	79	51	44	30
Bradford n = 50	88	28	10	6
London n = 137	96	65	47	42
Greek				
London n = 193	94	66	72	57
Gujerati				
Coventry n = 203	98	84	74	64
London n = 99	98	79	76	72
Italian				
Coventry n = 108	73	63	83	39
London n = 94	81	69	65	34
Panjabi (G.)				
Coventry n = 200	99	61	67	60
Bradford n = 96	99	54	54	45
Panjabi (U.)				
Coventry n = 86	98	57	61	44
Bradford n = 177	99	47	36	28
Polish				
Coventry n = 168	92	82	91	64
Bradford n = 155	92	83	84	55
Portuguese				
London n = 196	88	74	50	27
Turkish				
London n = 197	98	80	75	46
Ukrainian				
Coventry n = 48	92	83	50	31

Little comment is required on the oral-aural skills in the minority languages, since only in one or two special cases do fewer than about 90% of the respondents report at least a fair command of the minority language in question. The exceptions are Italian speakers, where our questions about skills in the spoken languages were taken to relate to the standard language, rather than to the dialects which many respondents used more commonly; and the Coventry and Bradford speakers of Chinese languages, where there were sizeable numbers of respondents whose home language was Hakka or Vietnamese, rather than the Cantonese on which the questions were focussed. Literacy in the minority language, again with exception of the Chinese-speaking respondents in Bradford (who were all refugees from Vietnam), was never much less than 50%. The rates range from over 80% of the Polish- and Ukrainian-speaking respondents, through notably high proportions of the Gujerati, Turkish and Bengali speakers, with the lowest rates, apart from the Chinese speakers in Coventry and Bradford, occurring among the Panjabi speakers.

Self-rated ability to understand and speak English among these adult respondents is lower than for the same skills in the minority languages. However, again with the expected exception of the recently-arrived Chinese speakers in Bradford, it was rare that fewer than half of the respondents reported speaking and understanding English at least fairly well. Polish speakers in particular, along with speakers of Turkish, Gujerati and Greek, also reported high rates of oral-aural skills in English. Levels of literacy in English (at least as we have defined it for purposes of this presentation - to include an ability to read and write at least fairly well) among respondents from all local linguistic minorities are reported to be less high than levels of literacy in the minority language, although it is noticeable that in the case of the Panjabi (G) speakers in Coventry and the Gujerati speakers in London, the gap is quite small. It is not possible, of course, to tell from this data alone whether this phenomenon relates to differential levels of educational support available for developing literacy in the various languages, whether it is an early indication of language shift tendencies, or whether it prefigures a more stable form of bilingualism.

Finally, we set out in Table 5.6 the proportions of the respondents from the various local linguistic minorities who have at least a minimal degree of literacy in both minority language and English, and those not reporting literacy in either of these languages. It will be evident that the latter category forms a very small percentage of all but the Panjabi (U) speakers, and that in the remaining cases, the 'biliterates' range from a minimum of 52% (the Italian speakers in London) to a maximum of 90% (the Polish speakers in Coventry).

Table 5.6: Literacy Skills in English and in the Main Minority Language

	Literacy* in Two Languages %	No Literacy* in Either Language %
Bengali		
Coventry n = 79	70	10
London n = 185	68	9
Chinese		
Coventry n = 43	67	2
Bradford n = 50	58	6
London n = 137	69	2
Greek		
London n = 193	63	3
Gujerati		
Coventry n = 203	78	2
London n = 99	75	1
Italian		
Coventry n = 108	55	1
London n = 94	52	0
Panjabi (G.)		
Coventry n = 200	65	8
Bradford n = 96	53	18
Panjabi (U.)		
Coventry n = 86	59	27
Bradford n = 177	48	29
Polish		
Coventry n = 168	90	0
Bradford n = 155	78	0
Portuguese		
London n = 196	66	4
Turkish		
London n = 197	61	3
Ukrainian		
Coventry n = 48	88	0

* literacy in this table is defined as reporting ability to read and write at least "not very well" in the relevant language.

Differences in language skills across and within the sets of respondents from various local linguistic minorities seem to be related to length of schooling, gender and age of respondents. These variables themselves are often interrelated and differ according to demographic structures and migration histories. To estimate the effects of schooling, gender and age, a series of statistical tests using the analysis of variance approach was applied to the four composite skills variables. With the exception of speaking and understanding in the minority language, the largest proportion of the variation in skills in almost all cases was attributable to the length of schooling of respondents, with gender and age playing a significant part only for respondents from some local linguistic minorities for some skills. (Usually females reported lower skills in English than males, while younger people reported lower levels of minority language skills and older respondents lower levels of English skills).

Before going on to consider the second of our three main sets of findings from the Adult Language Use Survey, those concerned with patterns of language use between respondents and other members of their families, it is useful to give an account of the pattern of skills of all the members of respondents' households, including children and non-family members. This is presented in Table 5.7. which gives the proportions of respondents' household members from the different minorities (including the respondents themselves and children below the age of 17) who were said by the respondent to know the two relevant languages at least fairly well.

The question did not specify the particular language skills but we assume from the context that respondents will have understood the enquiry to refer to spoken skills. It is clear from the figures that, with the obvious exception again of the Vietnamese Chinese in Bradford, at least half the household members and in most cases two thirds or more, had in principle the possibility of speaking in either English or in the minority language to the respondents.

Language use

Next we examine what were the actual patterns of language use. In the Household Language Use Section of ALUS, after we had established how well the various household members were thought to know the minority language and English, we asked two questions about actual practice:

Q.79: When the respondent and this person talk with each other, which language(s) or dialects(s) does the respondent speak in?

Q.80: When talking with respondent, which language(s) or dialect(s) does the other person speak?

Table 5.7 Language Skills of People Living in Respondents' Households

% of people (including respondents) reported as knowing minority language or English "very well" or "fairly well", and % of bilinguals (i.e. knowing both languages "very well" or "fairly well").

	Minority Language	English	Bilingual
Bengali			
Coventry n = 308	80	71	57
London n = 802	75	57	47
Chinese			
Coventry n = 213	49	55	26
Bradford n = 233	66	18	16
London n = 504	82	61	51
Greek			
London n = 673	82	79	63
Gujerati			
Coventry n = 973	87	79	69
London n = 383	85	80	68
Italian			
Coventry n = 387	58	89	50
London n = 339	76	86	65
Panjabi (G.)			
Coventry n = 993	89	75	68
Bradford n = 471	87	75	67
Panjabi (U.)			
Coventry n = 472	79	66	54
Bradford n = 941	86	67	62
Polish			
Coventry n = 465	71	93	65
Bradford n = 401	79	83	61
Portuguese			
London n = 592	78	69	50
Turkish			
London n = 761	87	80	70
Ukrainian			
Coventry n = 132	80	80	62

Note: Base numbers include only those household members for whom respondents reported their language skills; those excluded are mainly small children.

Table 5.8: Languages Used between Respondents and all Other Household Members

n = number of people in households (excluding respondents and missing cases)	% of interlocutors using only or mostly minority language** reciprocally* with respondents	% of interlocutors using only or mostly English reciprocally* with respondents	% of interlocutors using both English and the minority language** reciprocally* with respondents
Bengali			
Coventry n = 286	64	5	15
London n = 671	88	2	5
Chinese			
Coventry n = 157	57	10	19
Bradford n = 184	85	0	13
London n = 446	73	6	14
Greek			
London n = 548	51	16	18
Gujerati			
Coventry n = 760	67	2	22
London n = 340	66	3	27
Italian			
Coventry n = 284	21	37	19
London n = 269	34	16	20
Panjabi (G.)			
Coventry n = 788	67	3	18
Bradford n = 404	76	2	14
Panjabi (U.)			
Coventry n = 373	74	1	16
Bradford n = 809	82	1	10
Polish			
Coventry n = 302	36	35	15
Bradford n = 290	41	28	19
Portuguese			
London n = 420	67	12	10
Turkish			
London n = 607	60	7	16
Ukrainian			
Coventry n = 94	63	16	9

* "reciprocally" here indicates that the answers to the two Questions (78,79), were the same.
** "minority language" here includes "other languages" such as Hakka and Italian dialects.

Table 5.8 lays out the patterns of language use between respondents and members of their households, without any reference to their level of skills in either of the languages concerned. It is important to stress that this data does not reflect the exercise of free choice by members of the household: in this context language use patterns are constrained because high proportions of particular linguistic minorities may have had little opportunity to develop skills in English, for example.

One of the main points of interest here is the question of how much the different languages are used overall in the different minorities. There are sharp contrasts, for example, between the Polish and Italian households surveyed in Coventry on the one hand, where more than a third of the participants use English, and the South Asians households on the other, where no more than 5% report using English reciprocally. It must be remembered too that the figures in Table 5.8 will obviously reflect to a great extent the level of language skills available to the speakers concerned.

In Table 5.9 we narrow the focus to those family members who apparently do have a choice of which language they use, as suggested by their reported skills. As it is respondents who are reporting their patterns of language use in interaction, only the households where the respondent knows both the minority language and English are included in the table. Friends, lodgers, etc. are excluded from consideration here, as are family members who are not reported to know both relevant languages at least fairly well.

The proportions of this more narrowly defined set of interlocutor pairs using the minority language reciprocally vary from the unsurprising 100% of the small number of Bradford Vietnamese Chinese pairs who can speak English, and the surprisingly high proportion of the Coventry Ukrainians speakers, through quite high proportions of the speakers of South Asian languages in London and Bradford (although not so high in Coventry), to under a third of the Italian speaking bilinguals, both in Coventry and in London.

These patterns of language use by bilinguals were examined by analysis of variance for the effects of gender, age and place of upbringing of the interlocutor. The only factor which seemed to have a significant effect on the language spoken to or by the persons involved in a large number of the linguistic minorities surveyed was the place of upbringing. Persons who were brought up overseas, even when they were bilingual, were more likely to be spoken to and to speak in the minority language than persons brought up in the U.K.

Table 5.9: Languages Used Between Bilingual Respondents and Other Bilingual Family Members

Column A: Number of pairs of interlocutors where both know both English and the minority language fairly well or very well.
Column B: % of col. A where minority language is used reciprocally all or most of the time
Column C: % of A where English is used reciprocally all or most of the time

n = number of persons in households (including respondents)	Col A	Col B	Col C
Bengali			
Coventry n = 374	44	36	-
London n = 896	99	90	
Chinese			
Coventry n = 213	14	2* (+3*)	-
Bradford n = 244	3	3*	-
London n = 597	58	60 (+12)	3
Greek			
London n = 758	167	59	6
Gujerati			
Coventry n = 992	371	58	1
London n = 457	80	73	3
Italian			
Coventry n = 394	80	31	16
London n = 367	95	17 (+20)	2
Panjabi (G.)			
Coventry n =1025	346	51	4
Bradford n = 529	144	76	-
Panjabi (U.)			
Coventry n = 482	101	62	2
Bradford n =1033	211	79	1
Polish			
Coventry n = 471	141	50	9
Bradford n = 449	83	54	2
Portuguese			
London n = 627	94	65	2
Turkish			
London n = 822	285	60	3
Ukrainian			
Coventry n = 144	18	16*	-

Notes: Figures in brackets are for Hakka (Chinese) and Italian Dialects used reciprocally
* Starred figures are actual numbers (not percentages) given in cases where the base figure is less than 20

The patterns of language use outlined in Tables 5.8 and 5.9 all involve at least one adult, the respondent. The answers to our later question, about the language used by the children in the household when talking to each other, produces some interesting supplementary data. The histogram in Table 5.10 shows the percentage of valid cases where the respondents reported the children as speaking only or mostly English.

There are some interesting comparisons to be drawn here with the data presented in Chapter 3 on the Secondary Pupils Survey. The pattern of widespread use of English among children with others of their own generation is confirmed as is our hypothesis that children from Italian speaking families tend to use more English than children from Panjabi speaking familes.

The third aspect of the ALUS findings which we have selected for brief presentation and discusssion in this Report relates to attitudes among the members of the various linguistic minorities towards institutional support, from the LEAs or elsewhere, for their children's languages. We included in our ALUS questionnaire fifteen statements on this topic with which respondents were invited to register their agreement or disagreement. Firstly however, we indicate from some earlier questions in the survey the extent to which people were aware of available classes in their neighbourhood. We also include information on attendance at mother - tongue classes as reported by respondents with reference to young people in the 5-18 age range in their households.

Most respondents in households where there were children, whether they themselves were parents or not, said they were aware of classes in which children could be taught the relevant community languages. However, there were some differences between the respondents from the different local linguistic minorities as shown in Table 5.11.

These differences probably reflect the level of "mother tongue" provision and the degree of minority institutional organisation in the area. The exception may be Panjabi (U.), where the apparently low level of awareness perhaps results from respondents and interviewers perceiving the question to be about Panjabi (or Urdu) when much of the teaching organised in the 'voluntary' sector by this linguistic minority in fact involves Islamic studies and Qur'anic Arabic.

Table 5.10: Languages Used between Children - % reported as using only or mostly English

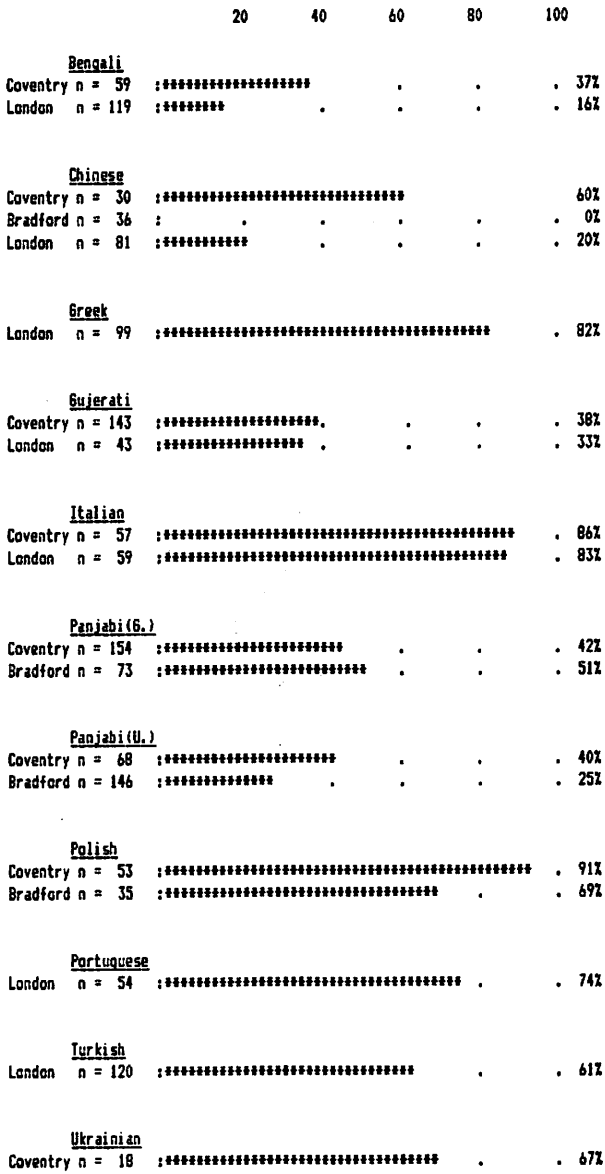


Table 5.11: Knowledge of "Mother-Tongue" Classes

Data from Q93: Do you know of any classes where children can learn (your community language?)
% of Respondents with children or young people under 21 in household only.

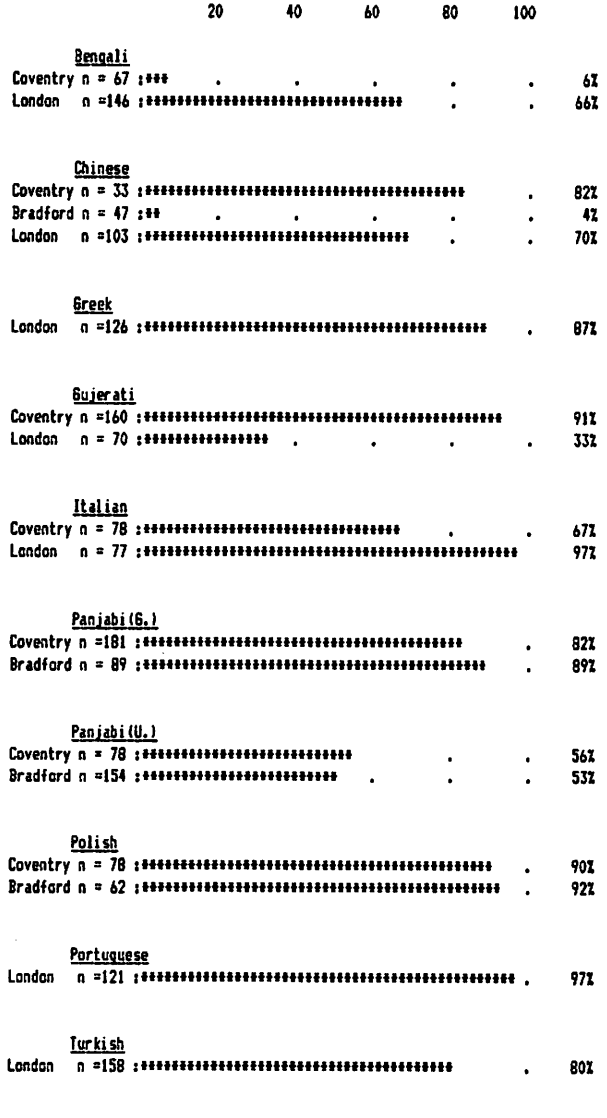


Table 5.12 shows the pattern of reported attendance at mother-tongue classes for those respondents where there were children in the 5-18 age range living in the household. The non attendance in the Coventry Bengali-speaking families is simply because of the absence of available classes in the city, and the extremely high rate of attendance (70%) for the Italian speakers in London reflects our sampling strategy for this local linguistic minority which included the use of lists obtained from "mother-tongue" classes. The figures for attendance are above the average for Greek, Polish in Coventry, and Panjabi (U) in both Coventry and Bradford, and below average among the Turkish-, Italian- (Coventry), Gujerati- (London) and Chinese- (Bradford and Coventry) speaking households surveyed.

A wide range of reasons for non-attendance was given, and it is particularly interesting to look at the types of reasons given by the respondents from different local linguistic minorities. The most frequently mentioned reasons were of three main types. Firstly, there were situations where there were no classes locally available or where it was too far to travel. These reasons were especially common for the two sets of Panjabi-speaking respondents and the Bengali speakers in Coventry, for the Panjabi (U.) speakers in Bradford and for the Chinese and Bengali speakers in London. Secondly, there were many respondents who said the children in their homes were too young, or occasionally too old or too proficient in the minority language to make it worthwhile going to classes. Such reasons were frequently mentioned by the Ukrainian- and Polish-speaking respondents in Coventry, the Panjabi- (G.), Panjabi- (U.) and Polish-speaking respondents in Bradford and by the Bengali-, Gujerati-, Italian-, Portuguese-, Greek- and Turkish-speaking respondents in London. Finally a few respondents indicated that parents or children were too busy, or thought the classes were not very valuable, given their other priorities. This type of reason was most frequent among the Chinese-, Italian- and Gujerati-speaking respondents in Coventry and London, the Panjabi (G) speakers in Bradford and the Greek-, Turkish- and Portuguese-speaking respondents. Occasionally specific problems with local classes were mentioned or respondents said the children were learning at home.

Table 5.12: Attendance at Mother Tongue Classes.

	1) Number of households with children age 5-18	2) Number of households where at least one child attended in last 4 weeks	3) 2 as % of 1
Bengali			
Coventry n = 79	62	0	0
London n = 185	119	39	33
Chinese			
Coventry n = 43	29	5	17
Bradford n = 50	33	2	6
London n = 137	86	25	29
Greek			
London n = 193	102	42	41
Gujerati			
Coventry n = 203	142	37	26
London n = 99	49	8	16
Italian			
Coventry n = 108	58	8	14
London n = 94	71	50	70
Panjabi (G.)			
Coventry n = 200	148	33	22
Bradford n = 98	72	21	29
Panjabi (U.)			
Coventry n = 86	65	23	35
Bradford n = 177	136	49	36
Polish			
Coventry n = 168	58	25	43
Bradford n = 155	41	10	24
Portuguese			
London n = 196	94	34	36
Turkish			
London n = 197	133	15	11
Ukrainian			
Coventry n = 48	19	6	32

Attitudes to Language Maintenance

The attitudes section of the ALUS questionnaire is very different in concept and design from the other sections in that it seeks to elicit opinions, rather than reports on behaviour. It was also a difficult and unfamiliar exercise for many respondents, as they had to listen to a large number of sometimes quite complex statements and express their opinion of them in terms of a conventional five point scale.

Before we piloted this section, we feared a number of things might go wrong. Firstly, some respondents might find the task too unfamiliar, too difficult or too disagreeable and fail to produce replies. In fact the amount of missing data in this section is minimal. Secondly, we felt that some respondents might exhibit generalised agreement or uncertainty tendencies across all the items. Again the statistical evidence suggests that this did not happen to any great extent. In fact we gathered from our interviewers that most respondents welcomed the opportunity offered by this section to express their views.

In order to simplify and reduce the amount of data to be presented, and to decrease the influence of random variation in individual attitude statements, factor analysis was carried out. Although there were minor differences in the factor structure revealed when separate analyses for respondents from each local linguistic minority were undertaken, the overall pattern was fairly clear and consistent across the languages. The best overall solution suggested that there were two sets of items which were highly correlated to each other within the sets (but not to other items), and which produced systematic patterns of response in the different local linguistic minorities.

The first set of items constituted a fairly general factor concerned with the language rights and needs of minority communities. It reflected a high level of demand that the state should offer positive support to mother-tongue maintenance and to the minority languages more generally. This factor is heavily weighted on the following items, which showed a high level of intercorrelation and tended to produce similar patterns of response across the different linguistic minorities. The overall mean scores on each item are given in brackets; a score of -2 would mean 100% strong disagreement, a score of +2, 100% strong agreement. (The numbers of the items are those used in the ALUS questionnaire.)

> 134 "We can keep up the use of our languages over the next generation if there is proper teaching widely available" (+1.3)
>
> 135 "We should make every possible effort to maintain the fullest use of our languages in Britain." (+1.4)

136 "The government should provide the teaching of our languages as a right for all our children in state schools."(+1.3)

137 "The use of our languages in school lessons to teach other subjects would be a great help to our children" (+0.6)

138 "Unless we make our children work very hard at learning our languages they won't be able to keep them alive in Britain." (+1.0)

139 "The government should support our communities' efforts and give us money to organize classes for our children to learn our languages." (+1.3)

140 "The authorities should produce versions of most official letters, notices, forms, and leaflets in our languages as well as in English." (+1.0)

143 "The maintenance of our languages is the most important of all matters for our communities" (+1.1)

144 "The government should employ far more doctors, teachers and social workers who can speak our languages." (+1.1)

146 "More English people should be encouraged to learn our languages." (+0.7)

There is an overwhelming agreement with these statements among the respondents from all the local linguistic minorities surveyed, confirming our observation that there is a widespread demand from linguistic minorities for public support for minority languages.

The ten items were combined by a simple linear transformation into a scale ranging from -100 for strong disagreement with all ten items to +100 for strong agreement with all ten items. There are some noticeable differences in the degree of agreement between the respondents from the various local linguistic minorities. However, it is on individual items that some of the most interesting and explicable differences occur. For example on item 140 the demand for leaflets in the minority languages was greatest among the Panjabi- (U.) speaking respondents in Coventry (mean = +1.6) and Bengali-speaking respondents in London (+1.5), and smallest among the Polish speakers in Coventry (+0.2). On item 136 the feeling that "mother tongue" teaching should be provided as a right was strongest among the Bengali- (London) (+1.8), Ukrainian- (+1.8) and Panjabi- (U) (+1.7) and Panjabi- (G) (+1.6) speaking respondents in Coventry and weakest among the Polish-speaking respondents in Coventry (+0.8) and Chinese - speaking respondents in London (+0.8).

However, the variation within each local linguistic minority is minimal; when tested by analysis of variance for the

effects of age, gender and length of schooling, the only significant effects were among the Ukrainian-, Greek-, Turkish-, Gujerati- (Coventry), Panjabi- (G)- (Coventry), and Polish- (Coventry) speaking respondents, where the older respondents tended to score higher (i.e. agree more strongly) than the younger ones, and in the Polish- (Bradford), Chinese- (London), Italian- (London) and Greek-speaking respondents where the ones who had fewer years of schooling had higher scores than those with longer schooling. The only significant gender difference was among the Bengali- (London) speakers, where the males had higher scores.

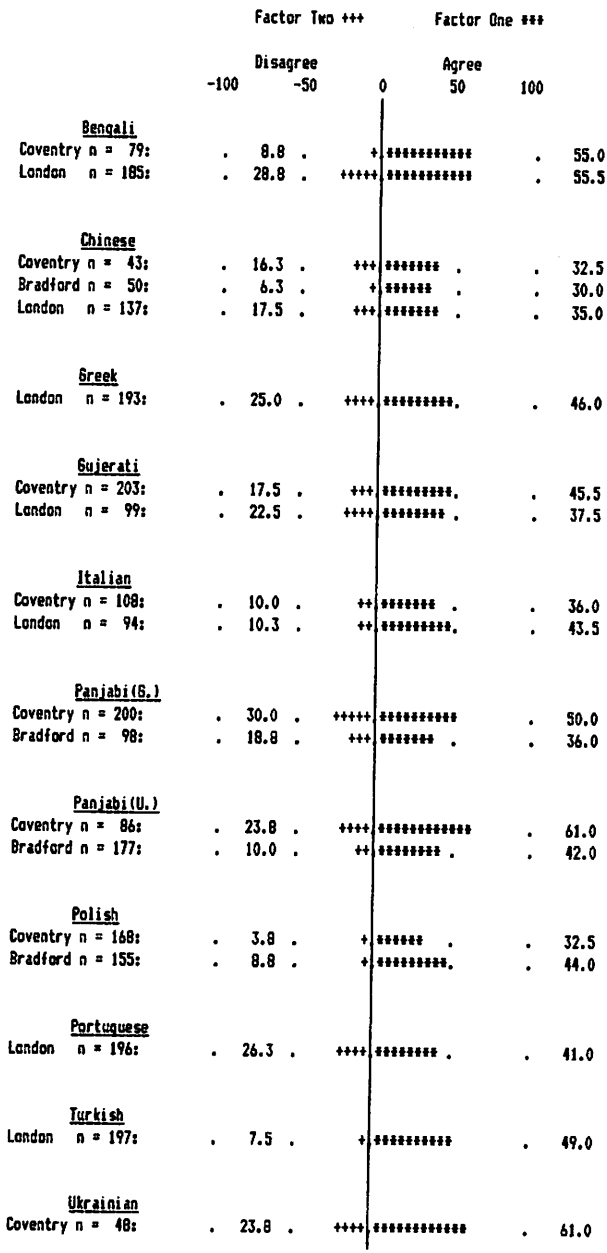
The second factor revealed by the factor analysis was most heavily weighted on the following items (scores calculated as for factor one):

> 133 "We can maintain the culture and identity of our communities even if we cease to use our languages" (-0.6)
>
> 141 "Our communities are able to organize all the teaching of our languages that is needed without any help from the government" (-0.4)
>
> 142 "There is no problem maintaining our languages; they will not die out in Britain" (-0.3)
>
> 147 "Our children will learn as much of our languages as they need to know from the family without special teaching." (-0.8)

In many ways this factor appears to be the obverse of the first one, in that agreement with each of these statements would imply a lack of concern about the prospects of language maintenance and a laisser faire attitude to language provision. The overall level of disagreement, (though weaker than the level of agreement on factor one) suggests that on the whole our respondents are concerned about the prospects for their languages unless special provision is made.

These four items were also combined by a linear transformation into a scale ranging from +100 for strong agreement with all four items to -100 for strong disagreement to all four items. With the scores for the two sets of items now using the same scale, the mean scores for respondents from each local linguistic minority for both factors are shown in Table 5.13.

Table 5.13: Factors One and Two



The differences between respondents from different local linguistic minorities on the second factor scale appear to be very small. Individual item scores help to elucidate the patterns. For example on item 141 the Polish-speaking respondents in both Bradford and Coventry seem confident in the success of their own voluntary efforts (+0.2 & +0.3) in contrast with the Panjabi speakers in Coventry (U. = -0.9, G. = -1.1) (cf. Panjabi U in Bradford = 0.0). On item 142 it is the Panjabi- (G) speaking respondents in Coventry who appear most pessimistic about language maintenance (-0.9) while the Panjabi speakers in Bradford (U = 0.5, G = 0.2) and the Chinese speakers in Bradford (0.5) and London (0.4) and Portuguese speakers in London (0.4) who see least problem.

Variation within the minorities on this scale according to gender, age and length of schooling is negligible. Analysis of variance showed that the only significant factor was gender among the Bengali- (Coventry) and Panjabi- (U.) (Bradford) speaking respondents, where the males scored higher, i.e. disagreed more strongly.

The two factors described above account for all of the statements in the pool except one:

> 145 "Our communities should completely abandon the use of our languages and should adopt the use of English everywhere". (-1.5)

For respondents from almost all the minorities the mean score on this single item was in the range of -1.0 to -1.7, indicating a strong level of disagreement. The sole exception was the Chinese speakers in Bradford, where the score was 0.2. As recent refugees it is likely that their first priority is seen to be learning English. Furthermore, since most of them reported bilingualism in Cantonese and Vietnamese (with more Vietnamese used in the younger generation), it is possible that language shift away from Cantonese is felt, for the time being, to be irreversible.

This tends to confirm the overall picture, that in all the linguistic minorities surveyed there is a very high level of agreement with the idea that minority languages have, and should continue to have an important role in England. There is a greater degree of uncertainty as to the best strategy for language maintenance and about the urgency of the need for public support, but overall it is clear that language maintenance is seen to be desirable.

It must of course be admitted that the setting of the attitude statements in the context of the interview had raised the salience of the issue for the respondents. In addition, the values implicit in the questionnaire, and the presence of interviewers who were more likely than not to be

enthusiastic supporters of the minority language, would tend to influence answers in this positive direction. It is clear too, that sentiment does not always lead to action, in that although the vast majority say they support language maintenance, a smaller proportion of parents give it a high enough priority to make sure that their children attend classes (even where they know they are available). On the other hand the type of reason given for non-attendance suggests that it is practical problems rather than lack of interest that explain this. Our work on attitudes suggests clearly that there is considerable support among the adult population of the linguistic minorities for increased and improved "mother tongue" provision.

ALUS: Some Hypotheses

There are many factors which speed up or slow down what is often believed to be an inevitable process of shift from bilingualism to monolingualism in the dominant language of countries of immigration. 'Language shift', the habitual use of one language being replaced by the habitual use of another, is a reflection of power relations in a society producing a redistribution of social and linguistic resources from generation to generation.

The findings of ALUS serve, above all, to illustrate the complexity of the factors involved in the process of language shift. The different patterns of language skills, use and attitudes revealed in the different linguistic minorities might be expected, given the varied sociolinguistic relationships between the different minority languages and English, and the varied migration histories of their speakers. But we have also discovered major differences between members of the same linguistic minority in different cities, for example in the extent to which they use the minority language.

The major factors affecting language maintenance are likely in fact to be the fundamental external forces which influence the economic, political and social resources of a linguistic minority. There are also likely to be factors emerging from within the minority, and from within the situation of contact between cultures, this "internal" response often being a reaction to outside pressure. Geographical concentration, time of migration, relationship to the local labour market, social mobility and degrees of social conflict and competition over scarce resources, all have to be taken into account in attempting to assess the key influences on the process of language shift. Nor should we neglect the different kinds of majority and minority institutional support, such as radio and television programmes in minority languages, minority-owned press, community-run schools and churches. While we can describe

some of the main social circumstances which encourage the maintenance of minority languages at local level (Linguistic Minorities Project, 1984; Community Languages and Education Project, 1984-85), there is a need for much more comparative research before the parameters of language maintenance and shift can be isolated with confidence.

Given the wide range of factors influencing language maintenance and transmission from one generation to the next, it is not surprising that there are already very different situations within the same linguistic minorities in different cities. Language shift, and assimilation to the dominant language and culture, may be an overall national trend, but this does not preclude the possibility of more 'stable' bilingualism for some.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUDING COMMENTS

The Linguistic Minorities Project is an example of a policy-orientated research project. It should be assessed therefore in relation to its contribution to the ongoing debate about mother-tongue teaching, as well as on its contribution to a new area of academic enquiry in England. Some of the main problems faced by the Project, in both its applied and academic roles, are due to the relatively recent development of interest in linguistic minorities in England, and the absence of well-established academic and pedagogical structures within which to operate.

In many areas where the Project worked there was a great thirst for information, to provide a concrete basis for discussion and argumentation. A range of interests and preoccupations was evident among, for example, minority organisations, teachers, and policy makers. Without the LINC project (funded by the E.C.), we would not have been able to fulfil our intentions of providing feedback on our findings to the full range of potential users.

Much time and technical expertise had to be invested in the initial stages of contacting, instrument development and sampling procedures, stages which for many other research projects drawing on previous related research or existing expert advice are routine. This careful, thorough groundwork was essential to the quality of our data, and provided particularly important contributions to the development of our research methods. In addition, establishing support and feedback from local contacts and especially from the teams of bilingual interviewers became an essential element in our research strategy.

Once we had developed our research instruments, the process of administering them provided at each stage invaluable information to supplement the survey data itself. While much of this experience fed directly and indirectly into our research design, constraints on time and human resources unfortunately meant that we were not always able to keep a careful record of these qualitative insights, or to introduce them into our analysis.

By accepting our three-fold academic, applied and action-orientated roles, and by building upon our inter-disciplinary expertise, we imposed other demands and challenges upon ourselves. Being first in the field in exploring on a large scale the educational and social implications of bilingualism in England, we thought it very important to cover a wide range of the languages used. The choice was difficult, and dealing with each new linguistic minority meant a new set of sampling problems, translations, interviewer briefings and local advisers. The more we

important in enabling us to compare language use in the same linguistic minority in different settings; but this involved setting up local offices in each in turn, and reorganising ourselves as local teams with different local fieldwork co-ordinators in each place.

Despite these and other problems to be mentioned below, our research will, we hope, make a valuable contribution to current educational debate and to future academic enquiry. The Linguistic Minorities Project has already we believe widened the focus of ongoing discussions in a number of ways. Firstly, we have provided basic information where there was little or none. Secondly, we have shifted the debate away from an exclusive preoccupation with state schools by asking questions about language use and learning in the local communities. Thirdly, we have extended the focus of the 'mother-tongue debate' to include adults, whose language use and attitudes are crucial to our understanding of bilingualism in general and bilingualism among school children in particular. Fourthly, we have widened the scope of the discussion by stressing that the educational development of individual bilinguals (and of monolinguals for that matter) can only be understood in the context of societal bilingualism.

It seems unlikely that bilingualism in England will disappear in the foreseeable future. Minority languages are of value to their speakers for a range of reasons: social, psychological, and linguistic. The more they are devalued or ignored in certain contexts, the more they are likely to develop as a resource for resisting the domination of English. The same processes which restrict the use and value of minority languages also work against the recognition of regional or class-based dialects among 'monolinguals'. Many of the educational issues are similar - the consequences of transference from one dialect or language to another as the child enters school, or the problems of an individual's development from oral vernacular skills to literacy in the standard language.

There is, however, a major difference between the phenomena of bidialectism and bilingualism. While many people of the different regional cultures of England are used to switching from one variety of English to another according to context and company, very few use two quite separate languages in their daily lives. In fact English monolinguals have in general a rather poor record in learning foreign languages at school, and enormous sums of money are spent annually in language learning for adults in, for example, industry, leisure and the diplomatic services. Yet many of the ethnic minority community languages in England are at present ignored or devalued as an individual and societal resource, when in fact their speakers could with minimal investment have their existing skills developed during their school years, and thus offer the country an educational, economic and political resource of considerable value. And the value of minority languages lies not only in what they offer to the large number of bilingual members of our society. Bilingualism in our society also offers the possibility of

changing the narrowly monolingual perspective of many majority institutions and individuals.

The Linguistic Minorities Project was not asked to assess the arguments for or against educational support of individual bilingualism. There are other research reports which attest to the educational as well as to the social value of being bilingual. The Project team started from an assumption that many members of linguistic minorities will continue in the future to grow up with two or more languages. What we investigated was the extent to which such a phenomenon would last, which economic and social circumstances were associated with the maintenance of minority languages alongside English, and which circumstances seemed to discourage their use and to be likely to lead to their loss.

Perhaps the most important message of our research is that language policies in schools must be developed with an understanding of the social context of language use in their localities. Few teachers know much about the languages their pupils speak, and very few teachers have consciously assessed the impact of the often unstated, but nevertheless powerful, language 'policies' which derive from their own linguistic skills and often negative attitudes to different languages and language varieties.

The methodology developed for the Schools Language Survey provides a solid basis for estimating the numbers and range of bilinguals in our towns. The findings of this survey also illustrate the way in which many linguistic minorities are concentrated in particular areas of a town. If the SLS can be extended to build a more comprehensive picture of linguistic diversity in schools in further areas of the country, it should help to encourage appropriate policy and practice throughout the country. This will be facilitated by the fact that a high percentage of bilinguals is concentrated in a relatively small number of LEAs. The DES survey of 1982 indicated that approximately 4% (375,000) children in the U.K. come from homes where English is not the first language and that "more than half of these children live in just 12 English LEAs" (DES, 1982).

The SLS will also help the assessment and development of policy and allocation of resources at local levels, since it shows which schools have the highest concentration of particular languages. However, it should be noted that those who seek reasons to evade the educational implications of data on children's bilingualism will use the statistics to stress the problems of extensive diversity; those who actively seek areas to introduce schemes for ameliorating the disadvantages experienced by bilinguals will use different selections from the same data to argue the educational potential of the existing concentrations of pupils in the same languages.

When SLS was carried out in the five LEAs which worked closely with LMP, many of them were in fact using the survey as a means to explore unknown territory. Although it was

developed as a basis for assisting the formation of policies, we quickly understood the survey's additional potential for raising issues and disseminating information to the teaching force as a whole. The administration, feedback and the follow-up to SLS through dissemination work provided us with important data in this connection. Many teachers did not know about the languages spoken by the pupils; some were surprised and sufficiently interested to develop this potential in their classroom. But also some bilingual pupils did not know much about their languages, or thought it best to adopt in the classroom general labels for them (e.g. Indian). It is also clear that some pupils did not want at the time of the survey to admit to their bilingual skills, at least in the classroom context.

It is this type of as yet unquantified data which presents crucial features of the context within which teaching policies and practices develop. SLS has shown us, among many other things and often quite indirectly, the need for pupils to feel confident about both their languages, for parents to understand their role in supporting their children's bilingualism, and for teachers to appreciate the influence of their own attitudes and expectations and those of mono-monolingual English pupils on their bilingual pupils.

The Secondary Pupils' Survey was developed as a sample survey intending to cross-check and elaborate on the teacher's basic recording of linguistic diversity. Secondary pupils, both monolingual and bilingual, recorded details of their own patterns of language use and their perceptions of these. The SPS however soon developed into a piece of teaching material, encouraging pupils to share their experiences and skills, while their teachers explored often for the first time the languages and varieties of their pupils' linguistic repertoires. The instrument did provide us with a more detailed picture of the pupils' use of their languages: the fact that some children chose monolingual routes through the questionnaire although they reported some receptive or productive skills in more than one language is further evidence of the probable under-reporting of bilingual skills in the SLS. In both cases the school context of the surveys may have influenced the data, and this is itself an important hypothesis emerging from our research. However, neither SLS nor SPS enabled us to carry out direct observation on reported skills. Such further studies would provide a valuable development of the research, particularly if they could be carried out, taking into account the full range of social activities of the children (as ALUS did for adults). Another obvious extension of the SPS research would be its use in out-of-school situations. If present language policies in schools are not fostering bilingualism, there are other institutions which could counter their neglect, e.g. youth clubs and

assess their pupils' changing patterns of language use over the years.

Some of the most interesting reactions about community-run mother-tongue schools and classes came from the bilingual interviewers participating in the Mother-Tongue Teaching Directory Survey. Many of the usual stereotypes about these classes (e.g. the so-called traditionalist attitudes of the teachers, the supposed lack of interest in wider educational questions, the lack of interest or tiredness of the pupils, etc.) were challenged by those participating in the research process. This suggested to us that many of the apparently most 'traditional' and self-sufficient of teachers were appreciated by the linguistic minorities and open to innovation and support. But these qualitative insights also included a degree of suspicion or exasperation on the part of some mother-tongue teachers or organisers, reminding us that the potential for co-operation is closely related to the type of approach and attitude adopted by the education authorities in the past, as well as to their current policies.

While the basic information gathered in Stage 1 of the Mother Tongue Teaching Directory is of greatest interest to advisers, teachers, etc. in their own city, and to minority parents and teachers from the same linguistic minority in other cities, it is the information in Stage 2 which fills out the details of the type and content of mother-tongue teaching provision in local LEA and community-run schools. It is only with the kind of historical perspective incorporating LEA actions and community responses which Stage 2 includes that it is possible to understand the present degree of tension in some places between LEA and community-run schools and, in a few instances, a minority's intention to set up its own full-time school.

Whether local LEAs assume a greater responsibility for the educational development of their bilingual pupils or not, there will always be the need for community-run provision in some populations. This is particularly so when bilingual pupils are scattered in many different schools in an LEA. So the questions raised by the need for collaboration between those different forms of schooling can be better assessed when teachers and parents have a greater appreciation of the extent and the content of what each has to offer. The MTTD Survey findings should not be interpreted purely at face value. They reflect a need expressed by local parents and pupils, and a potential for general educational change in the wider society, which can only be developed within an understanding of intergroup relations.

While the findings of ALUS remind us that mother-tongue teaching is just a part of the wider use of minority languages in the daily life of many bilinguals, the scope of mother - tongue schools or classes revealed by the MTTD

Surveys demonstrates a recognition among parents and teachers of linguistic minorities that a deliberate effort needs to be made if minority languages are going to have a continuing role alongside English.

The patterns of bilingualism illustrated by the findings of the ALUS survey raise many questions of an applied as well as of an academic nature. For example, what translation and language learning facilities are there for non-English speaking members of our society? Do many bilinguals have access to literature in their own language? What can parents do to support the developing skills in the 'first' language alongside the acquisition of English? All these questions focus on the means to support the educational and social resources of individual bilinguals. What are the social implications of communication problems between many bilingual parents and near-to monolingual offspring, of forms of parallel alternative schooling, of many youngsters losing a cultural resource which later comes to have a new salience in their attempt to find a place in English society, of the impact of the ethnic economy on language retention? None of these questions can be adequately tackled if they are not assessed in relation to other developments in the wider society. What other legal or political constraints affect the economic and social options of many bilinguals in England? What influence would new language policies in the media, in schools, and in other state institutions have on the maintenance of bilingualism and the undermining of the dominant monolingual perspective in both public and private settings? How can mother-tongue teaching or bilingual education in the LEA school system be encouraged without jeopardising the important role of mother-tongue schools as a focus of minority initiatives?

At the most general level the LMP will have contributed to the theoretical debate in England if it encourages those working in the field of ethnic relations to appreciate the significance of language in intergroup relations and identity development, and if it also encourages socio linguists to turn their expertise to an analysis of the complex and changing linguistic repertoires of linguistic minorities in Britain. There is a need for more interdisciplinary research to link sociological and linguistic insights. The LMP and its SSRC-funded follow-up project (Community Languages and Education: see Appendix 2) will have provided a firm foundation for this work. But our survey research, with its dependence on people's self-rating of their language skills, needs to be complemented by more detailed observational studies of language use in particular settings. Longitudinal studies are also essential if the relationship between language and ethnicity in specific contexts is to be explored. Both the MTTD survey and the ALUS also raise new aspects of important theoretical questions which are already under discussion, e.g. the role of 'supplementary' schooling, of language policies and

social control and the processes of language shift and maintenance.

Together the four survey instruments have helped us build up a picture of patterns of bilingualism in specific parts of the country, among children and adults. But through the research process, community involvement and active dissemination, we have also learnt a lot about the institutional power of the dominant English language and culture. The position and future of linguistic minorities in England is tied to the attitudes and institutions of the dominant majority, which maintains some of its power and influence through essentially monolingual perspectives and policies. These perspectives and policies also need to be the subject of thorough research. They are partly responsible for information and understanding gained through existing research being restricted to the educational establishment, rather than being offered to all those who are equally interested in, or in need of its insights.

The experience of LMP also shows that the research design can be geared quite closely to the interests and needs of the informants without jeopardising the validity or 'objectivity' of the research. Much research in inner city areas cannot (and should not) be carried out without the co-operation of the communities themselves. We developed two ways of ensuring that our research did not inhibit existing initiatives, while at the same time maximising the possibilities for immediate feedback into the research process and a longer-term dissemination of the findings to all the participants. With the help of the LINC project we built in strategies of active dissemination (still underway), which were able to exploit existing contacts from the support systems of the schools surveys, and the contacts established through community-based research strategies of the ALUS and MTTD surveys. The involvement of local people from different backgrounds in the design, administration and dissemination of the research provides a continual check for researchers working in a sensitive field. It also provides a means of fulfilling the researcher's social responsibility in the most constructive and concrete of ways. Academic research projects often cannot directly apply their expertise or insights to the specific situations, or in the interests of the specific participants of their research. However, a carefully planned programme of community involvement and dissemination can enrich the analysis of the data. At the same time it permits the dissemination of findings and their utilisation by those who can profit from them, and by others who need to be encouraged to recognise their significance. The other contribution of these research strategies, which LMP was only able to demonstrate in a restricted way, is the built-in training potential. The success of future research on bilingualism in England will depend on the postgraduate training of bilingual researchers from the different linguistic minorities.

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APPENDICES

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Language Information Network Co-ordination (LINC)
Linguistic Minorities Project, 18 Woburn Square, London WC1H 0NS

Chairperson: Dr Verity Saifullah Khan Telephone: 01-636 1500 Ext 266/645

Co-ordinator: Xavier Couillaud **Administrative Secretary:** Judy Tasker

LANGUAGE INFORMATION NETWORK CO-ORDINATION (LINC)

The Language Information Network Co-ordination (LINC) is a small research project funded by the Commission of the European Communities. It was initially attached to the Linguistic Minorities Project (LMP) from January 1981 until April 1983, when the LMP ended, and now continues on its own until December 1984. The staff of one research officer and one administrative secretary have worked in close collaboration with the LMP team.

The LMP research team was set up to look at the changing patterns of bilingualism and mother tongue teaching in England. Four survey questionnaires were devised and carried out mainly in Bradford, Coventry and London. The team was thus able to test new methods of research as well as to gather a considerable amount of data. This information is of use and interest to a variety of people, for example parents and children from the linguistic minorities and members of the majority, mother tongue teachers, teachers from mainstream schools, administrators, education advisers, policy makers. LINC is preparing LMP findings in different ways so that they can reach and be used by a far larger audience than is usually the case with a research project.

There are three processes involved in assessing and carrying out this dissemination: (i) to discover the different needs for "dissemination" and the information networks that already exist; (ii) to devise new ways to prepare and present material and (iii) to develop new channels of communication between members of the minorities and of the majority.

With this approach, LINC aims to encourage discussion between members of linguistic minorities and the people involved in providing education for a multicultural society. It aims to assess which are the most effective ways to disseminate this sort of information (LMP research objectives, methodologies and findings) with regard to content, style of presentation and channels of information. It is hoped that this active dissemination work will both inform and increase awareness and understanding among all those concerned with the bilingualism of the newer linguistic minorities in England and other countries in Europe.

LINC is collaborating with various agencies. For example: (a) with the media at local and national level: a video programme for teacher training has been produced with the Inner London Education Authority TV Centre. This is entitled "Sharing Languages in the Classroom" and is now available (details for sale and hire from LINC): (b) with other research projects: teaching materials for primary school teachers to explore linguistic diversity with their pupils, inside school and in the community, have been produced with the Schools Council Mother Tongue Project (SCMTP). These materials will be published in 1984.

LINC is also creating channels of communication and an information network between Member States and researchers of the European Community, about LMP research and related work carried out in other countries.

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Director: Euan Reid **Project Secretary:** Carrie Harvey
Research Officers: Anna Morawska, Greg Smith

COMMUNITY LANGUAGES AND EDUCATION PROJECT 1983-85: General Information Sheet

The essential foundation for this project is the substantial body of material and human resources represented by the work of the Linguistic Minorities Project (LMP), which worked in this field from 1979 to 1983, and in particular the Adult Language Use Survey (ALUS) undertaken among linguistic minorities in Coventry, Bradford and London during 1980 and 1981.

The major task of the Community Languages and Education (CLE) Project will be to carry out the second stage analysis of the ALUS data already available from the Linguistic Minorities Project in computer-readable form. The ALUS was designed to investigate patterns of bilingualism among adults in a number of contrasting communities in different parts of England and involved interviews with some 2,500 people, covering eleven languages, and working with over 100 bilingual interviewers. The analysis of the ALUS data done under LMP aegis, however, had to be limited in a number of ways. As comparatively little was known about the demographic and social composition of the minorities surveyed, the first stage of data analysis dealt with the social characteristics of the populations studied, and the broad patterns of language skills and use reported by the individual respondents.

CLE intends to tackle more fully the interrelationships between detailed patterns of language skills and use on the one hand, and demographic and social characteristics on the other. Detailed consideration will be given to household composition, age, sex, migration 'generation', employment and attitudes to various forms of mother tongue or community language support. This second stage analysis will derive almost entirely from the ALUS data, but the Project will also continue the process of interrelating ALUS data with other LMP survey data.

Looking beyond this second stage analysis of LMP data, the CLE Project will complement the largely survey-based and self-report material with three small-scale case studies, all designed to establish more clearly the educational implications of the sociolinguistic situation documented by the LMP analysis. These case studies will focus on three languages, Polish, Bengali and Turkish, selected to represent three of the major sources of post World War II migration, and in addition, all relatively unresearched from a linguistic point of view.

Our intention is to structure the work of the project around a series of Working Papers relating to the three areas where ALUS was undertaken, the various language groups studied, and the topics of the different sections of the ALUS Questionnaire. It is hoped that these Working Papers will build into a collective volume towards the end of the project. The case studies will grow out of the ALUS analysis, with the fieldwork for them scheduled to begin in late 1983.

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The project is based at the University of London Institute of Education from May 1983 until April 1985, funded by the Social Science Research Council. The research staff all worked on the LMP and the new project is chaired by LMP's Director, Verity Saifullah Khan.

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THE SECONDARY PUPILS' SURVEY - (SPS)

The Secondary Pupils' Survey (SPS) of the Linguistic Minorities Project has a more sociolinguistic focus than its Schools Language Survey (SLS). The emphasis is on the ways in which children actually use the languages they know; their language-learning experience; their own assessment of their language skills, understanding, speaking, reading and writing; their perceptions of their own and other languages spoken in their neighbourhood or learned at school.

The SPS questionnaire is designed for use with both bilingual and monolingual children together in any one classroom, since we believe that bilingualism and biliteracy should not be seen as separate from other types of linguistic variation, such as regional and social dialect differences. If the SPS involved only bilingual children it would serve to reinforce the view that bilingualism is somehow problematic, particularly with regard to the acquisition of English language skills and that bilingual/multilingual children form a special category of pupils who require special educational provision.

Where it is carried out in conjunction with SLS, SPS can serve as a means of evaluating the findings of the Schools Language Survey. The SPS self-report data on language skills and language use complements the SLS data gathered by the teachers and, at the same time, provides a more detailed picture of the function and significance of different languages in the lives of the children outside the mainstream school.

So as to gain direct insights into children's own perceptions and their own account of their language experience, the SPS questionnaire is designed to be completed by the pupils themselves in a classroom setting. The questionnaire is illustrated. There are two alternative routes through it which are colour- coded; the children follow one route or the other according to the answer they give to an initial screening question: "Thinking back to the time before you ever went to school, which language or languages did you first use with your family?" Those who answer "only English" to this question are routed through the 'monolingual' section of the questionnaire, the others through the 'bilingual' section. The content of these alternative sections is as follows: the 'bilingual' route includes questions about (a) language skills and self-assessment of language dominance, (b) patterns of language choice at home and (c) attendance at 'mother tongue' classes. The 'monolingual' route includes questions on (a) linguistic resources of family members, (b) language-learning experience, inside and outside school, and self-assessment of language skills and (c) sociolinguistic awareness, both of languages spoken by other children at school and in the community beyond the school.

The LINC project has been dealing with an increasing number of requests from teachers wanting to use the survey form in one or several classes. It has become evident that the SPS is considered by teachers of great potential as a teaching aid for language awareness work in multilingual schools.

In view of this LMP/LINC have produced a 30-minute video programme, entitled "Sharing Languages in the Classroom", in collaboration with the ILEA TV Centre, a section of the ILEA Learning Materials Service. The programme is intended to serve the several purposes which correspond to the two possible uses of the questionnaire: as a teaching aid and as a survey instrument. The programme is available from: (within ILEA) ILEA Learning Resources Branch, 275 Kennington Lane, London SE11: £4 for hire, £10 for sale; (outside ILEA) Central Film Library, Government Building, Bromyard Avenue, London W3 5JB: £15 for hire, £35 for sale).

MOTHER-TONGUE TEACHING DIRECTORY

STAGE 2

List of Questions

(taken from the Stage 2 questionnaire)

History and Aims

1. Please describe the origin and the development of your school.

   e.g. Who started the school? What was the reason for establishing it? What changes have there been in numbers of pupils and teachers, subjects taught, methods used, your financial basis and other problems?

2. What are your present aims?

3. Do you know of any other mother-tongue school/class for the same language(s) which was started before your school?

   If so, please write the name and address.

Languages and other Subjects Taught

4. Name the language(s) you teach that are ...

   (a) national or regional language(s)

   (b) language(s) for religious purposes

   (c) language(s) used for other purposes
   Please specify what purposes.

5. Please list all the languages and dialects (including English) that your pupils speak at home.

6. Are there other subjects taught in these languages?

Teachers

7. How much is a teacher paid on the average?
   Please add any comments you would like to make.

8. Total number of staff: _____

How many of your staff have ...
(a) a degree in the language(s) taught?
(b) a degree in other languages?
(c) a degree in a non-language subject?
(d) a qualification for teaching the language(s) taught?
(e) a qualification for teaching a second or foreign language?
(f) a general teaching qualification?
(g) teaching experience without formal qualifications?
(h) a general education to secondary school leaving certificate, without teaching qualifications or experience?
(j) other - please specify:

Attendance

9. How many children learn each language, when and what age are they?

Materials and Methods

10. Please give your opinion of the books available by putting one of the following numbers in the boxes below:

0 = not used at all
1 = not very useful
2 = satisfactory
3 = useful
4 = very useful

- Books published in U.K.
- Books published in home country
- Books published in another country

11. What changes (if any) would you like made to the books and teaching materials you use?

12. How do you decide what class to put your pupils in? Tick more than one if necessary.

(a) according to their age
(b) on the basis of a conversation/ interview with the pupil
(c) on the basis of some written work done by the pupil
(d) some other way
Please explain why:

13. (a) If you have pupils of different ages or different levels of knowledge within the same class, how do you organise your teaching? e.g. Do you use different books? Do you divide the class into groups? Do you use pupils as helpers?

(b) What changes would you like to make if you had the opportunity?

14. Please describe briefly any teaching materials you have developed (and attach examples if possible).

15. What other teaching materials do you use (besides books mentioned above and your own materials)?

16. Do you and/or your pupils have access to books in the language(s) you teach from ... (tick where appropriate)

(a) the school library?
(b) the mother-tongue school library?
(c) the public library?
(d) the local teachers' centre?

17. Do you have access to equipment and materials? If so, please say what (e.g. charts, tape-recorders, films).

18. Which of the following do you spend most time on?
(a) teaching to speak the language
(b) teaching to read the language
(c) teaching to write the language
(d) other
Please specify:

19. Please describe below the methods you use when teaching.

Examinations

20. Which examinations do you prepare your students for?

21. If you do not prepare your students for any public examinations, which syllabus do you use in your teaching?

(a) published. Please specify:
(b) teacher prepared
(c) none

22. If you use an examination syllabus, please give your opinion of it. Indicate name(s) of language(s) and tick where appropriate.

(A) Level of mother-tongue required
(B) Level of English required to answer examination questions
(C) Cultural and literary content of examination syllabus
(D) Balance between oral and written skills required

23. Do you use any other kinds of regular tests in your school/class?

24. What suggestions would you make to improve ...
- the range and variety of examinations?
- design and content?

Administration and Funding

25. To what extent and in which ways are the parents involved in the school?

26. What are the main problems in running the school?

27. What are the main problems with funding?

28. Have you any other comments to add?