Towards a coherent and comprehensive approach to languages in education: Breaking away from neoliberal and monolingual frames for education policy

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New Zealand has changed rapidly — like all other Anglo countries

...there is still a need for in-depth exploration of the new local and institutional transformations emerging hand-in-hand with the dilemmas and contradictions that the so-called conditions of “late modernity” (Appadurai 1990; Bauman 1998) have posed to the prevailing notions of language, identity, culture and nation. These conditions, which involve widespread socio-economic, institutional, cultural and linguistic changes, include processes such as the intensification of transnational mobility, the expansion of economic neo-liberalisation and the institutionalisation of multilingualism (Codo´ and Pe´rez-Milans 2014; Tollefson and Pe´rez-Milans, forthcoming). (Perez-Milans, 2015)
Superdiversity: multi-layered, interwoven and complex

... a transformative ‘diversification of diversity’ (Vertovec 2006)

... globalization has altered the face of social, cultural and linguistic diversity in societies all over the world. Due to the diffuse nature of migration since the early 1990s, the multiculturalism of an earlier era (captured, mostly, in an ‘ethnic minorities’ paradigm) has been gradually replaced by what Vertovec (2007) calls ‘super-diversity’ (Blommaert and Rampton 2012).

... the multiplication of people of different national origins, but also differentiations regarding migration histories, religions, educational backgrounds, legal statuses and socio-economic backgrounds (http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/schools/social-policy/departments/applied-social-studies/news-and-events/2014/10/commonplace-diversity-social-relations-in-a-superdiverse-context.aspx 2014)

Also, heightened visibility of indigenous people

Concern for inequality
A comment on NZ ‘superdiversity’

• Superdiversity in a small population

• Over 200 countries of birth, and over 160 ethnicities and languages spoken in 2013 census

• However, in only 16 (8 %) cases does the birthplace population exceed 10,000 (excluding NZ)

• Similar situations exist for our ethnic groups and our languages spoken

• We are ‘superdiverse’ but it is quite a ‘slim’ diversity for many of the birthplaces, ethnic groups and languages – (from Bedford 2015)

• A superdiverse society is one with over 100 ethnicities, or where more than 25% of the population was born overseas

• What should/could the education (language) and societal response to ‘superdiversity’ be – something different from the past
NZ population born overseas

- **Auckland**
  - 39.1% (an increase from 37.0% in 2006);

- **New Zealand**
  - 25.2% in 2013
  - 22.9% in 2006
  - 19.5% in 2001
Growth of diversity in New Zealand (NZ Census 2013)

- Ethnic diversity is increasing - there are more ethnicities than countries in the world in NZ
- Five largest ethnic groups are NZ European, Māori, Chinese, Samoan, and Indian
- Biggest increases within the Asian category since the 2006 Census
  - Chinese – up 16%
  - Indian – up 48%
  - Filipino – more than 50%
- Increases in the largest Pacific ethnic groups
  - Samoan – up 10%
  - Cook Island Maori – up 7%
  - Tongan – up almost 20%
The Aotearoa / NZ language context

• New Zealand is overwhelmingly monolingual in English (about 80% of population/ 95.9% speak English)
  **BUT**
• Re-emergent partial bilingualism among Māori (only about 4% of population)

• NZ Sign became an official language – *de jure* - 2006

• Privately NZers speak more than 160 languages

• Growing multilingualism through migration and immigrant groups

• Some presence of multilingualism through education – viz French and Japanese
Crisis in language/s in education??? A few NZ issues

• 2013 census shows decline in Māori speaking te reo Māori
• Low levels of English academic literacy for Pacific and Māori learners
• Decline of nearly 20% (14,054) secondary students studying subject languages since 2008. In 2008, the number of students learning subject languages was 71,730 and in 2014 it plummeted to 57,676.
• Multilingual/plurilingual students have their English assessed when they start school in readiness for possible ESOL funding and assistance that might be required. This is seen as a remedial action – to bring students up to the level of ENS speakers.
• Language repertories are not systematically attended (not maintained or developed) to in the New Zealand education system.
• Ten million dollars contestable for Asian language learning (ALLIS) and no strategic discussion over what languages (Chinese, Korean and Japanese only) where, when and by whom, to what level of proficiency – PD for teachers?
• Hindi is the fourth most spoken language in NZ, a heritage language, community language, an important trade language – why isn’t it taught in our schools?
• Most? New Zealand students leave school with functional proficiency in only one language – English – Asia and Europe often three languages. Where is the discussion over English, Māori and one other?
• Special case of Pacific languages in NZ not attended to systemically
• Language teacher capacity
• Public discourse focussed on ‘the basics’: (English) Literacy and Numeracy

• NO JOINED UP THINKING ABOUT THESE ISSUES –Educating for monolingualism in English?
Need to think differently?

- Is educating for monolingualism a responsible position?

‘Monolingualism... encourages native English speakers to feel a false sense of superiority, to talk too much, to listen too little. They may even leave the impression of an arrogance, rooted in imperialist attitudes, that is only prepared to communicate on its own terms, under conditions which ensure its own superiority’ Trim, J. (p.6) in Pachler, 2007

- For students who enter school plurilingual – we see language loss over the period of compulsory education.

- Do monolingual (mainstream students) need remedial language support to become plurilingual?

- Need to look at language education holistically, not in bits Byram 2008.

- Consideration of the interaction of all languages and literacies within the education system (ecological view?)

- Requires coherent articulation between transition points
Plurilingualism and ELF — Canagarajah and Jenkins

- Proficiency in languages is not conceptualized individually with separate competencies developed for each language. What is emphasized is the repertoire – the way different languages constitute an integrated competence.
- Equal or advanced proficiency is not expected in all the languages.
- Using different languages for distinct purposes qualifies as competence...
- Language competence is not treated in isolation but as a form of social practice and intercultural competence.
- There is recognition that speakers develop plurilingual competence by themselves ... more than through schools or formal means. (But should schools be doing more in this respect SH?)
  (Canagarajah, S. (p. 69) as cited in Jenkins, 2015)

- English as a Multilingua Franca. ELF-using multilinguals / ELF within a framework of multilingualism the crucial distinction for
- Competence (understood as intercultural communicative competence/awareness, rather than in the conventional linguistic sense) is no longer between NNES and NES, but between multilingual and monolingual. (Jenkins 2015 78)
Language policy and planning

• Field of language policy is about language and its role in social life (Ricento, 2006) and is a field of power

• ‘...language planning nearly always occurs in multilingual, multicultural settings in which planning for one language has repercussions on other languages and ethnonilingual groups. Decisions about which languages will be planned for what purposes ultimately reflect power relations among different groups and sociopolitical and economic interests.’ (Ricento, 2006 pp. 5-6)

• As LPP researchers we seek not only amelioration of people’s linguistic conditions, but - with Bakhtin – we need to challenge the foundations of linguistic discrimination and inequity’ (Bell, 2014 p. 329) – with something fundamental and comprehensive (Hymes)

• ‘There is no “view from nowhere”, no gaze that is not positioned’ (Irvine and Gal 2000 p. 36 in Bell 2014 p. 256)

• So: How/when and where did we get our view on what languages and how should be taught in schools (including English)? How does it reverberate through time to produce what we do today?
• Could language/s be planned differently and better in schools in superdiverse times?
1992 – Language Policy Framework
Never adopted

The Priorities
Introduction
Revitalisation of the Maori language
Second-Chance Adult Literacy
Children’s ESL and First Language Maintenance
Adult ESL
National Capabilities in International Languages
Provision of Services in Languages Other than English
# National Languages Policy

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Policy developments after Aoteareo

• 1992 draft policy presented (Waite, 1992) – abandoned in 1993
• Separate Ministry policies and initiatives followed particularly in Min of Ed
• Curriculum stocktake (2002)
• New national curriculum in 2007 including Learning Languages as a new ‘strand’
• National ESOL Strategy 2002
• English in the workplace initiatives
• Developments in Te Reo Māori including Māori Languages Strategy 2003
• Developments in NZSL – NZSL Act 1996
• Pacific languages framework
• BUT overall an uncoordinated and uneven effect....pieces of a national language/s education policy
Neoliberal NZ = Monolingual NZ??

Jane Kelsey 1997

Features of NZ neoliberalism

• One of the most open markets in the world
• ‘Self governing’ schools run as businesses (languages can be inefficient)
• The discourse of ‘choice’ masking lack of government coordination and funding
• Discourse of individual and family responsibility for language education (some languages)
• Reliance on internationally commodified education
• Commercialised science/research system
  - contestability normalised as a way of rationing resources
• Lack of institutional and public commitment to linguistic and cultural diversity – public monolingualism/private multilingualism
• Focus on the ‘norm’ homo economicus – rational English speaking? ‘man’
• Culture of ‘efficient’ communication?
Aotearoa / New Zealand – examples of current competing discourses / ideologies

• Everyone should learn Māori

• Pasifika languages are the responsibility of the MXE along with the community

• Everyone needs access to high quality and coordinated English language education

• Our young people should learn a variety of languages to be responsible and interculturally competent citizens at home and abroad

• Only Māori should learn Māori (no-one should learn Māori???)

• Pasifika languages are the responsibility of families and communities and do not need government support.

• Improving English proficiency is mostly the responsibility of individuals – particularly if they are adults

• The whole world speaks English or are learning it so we don’t need other languages
Towards a languages in education policy for NZ

- Not the market will decide - because the market will always decide on English

- But rather some principled discussions and thinking about what is important for NZ and its diverse communities

- Plan for plurilingualism in NZ – allow and support difference

- Look at New Zealand specific conditions and how we work with these rather than working off anyone elses’ languages in education policy

- Secure the future for Māori by requiring all New Zealanders to learn - educating for at least a bilingual future for New Zealand

- Need to look at the interaction between English and ESOL in schools and the languages children bring to school
Towards a languages in education policy for NZ – continued

• Three languages for all???

• How to work with, maintain and extend children’s home languages, heritage languages – not just as a way to scaffold into higher proficiency English?

• Identify home languages New Zealand has future requirements in: Hindi, Mandarin, Spanish????

• High quality English for bilingual learners

• ‘The basics’ – language and literacy taught through several languages not just English

• Emphasis on language pedagogy training for all teachers so language across the curriculum is well understood
A Languages-in-Education Policy - what might it include?

- Important pillar of a national languages policy?
- The place of Te Reo Māori? When, where, for whom, to what level? Immersion/Bilingual/Subject language
- Pasifika languages - preservation as well as maintenance, extension and development?
- Bilingual education – what kind, what language/s, for whom, when?
- Subject languages – international/heritage/community – when, where, how much, to what level – transition points
- Language maintenance and extension – what languages? for whom? To what level of proficiency?
- English as a subject/ academic language
- English (other languages?) across the curriculum
- English as a new/developing language (for specific learners)
- NZ sign language
- Translation, interpreting and other services (for parents, educators and students)
- The effects one domain/language exerts on another/others?
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Things to consider:

• Want to see an enabling rather than a constraining languages in education policy – one that expands and develops young peoples’ linguistic and communicative repertoires

• How do we draft a policy that can handle complexity, diversity, dynamism and change?

• Need a policy that sees our language ecology in Aotearoa/NZ as constitutive of who we are when ‘we’ is forever changing

• Can the Ministry of Education systemically manage a comprehensive languages in education policy?

• (Where in the Ministry of Education would a languages policy be located)?

• What would the job/s of such a policy be? E.g. equity and access for all/ preserving linguistic diversity/cosmopolitan citizenship? All of these things?

• What would the policy components/domains of a languages in education policy be?

• Can we imagine and enact something really ‘productive’ (Foucault) within the neoliberal state?
References/Bibliography


