Provision for Community Language Learning in Scotland

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SEED Sponsored Research

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Acknowledgments

A note on terminology

Community languages are defined as all languages in use in a society, other than the dominant or national language. In Scotland, where the dominant language is English, community languages include Gaelic, Scots, Urdu, Punjabi, Chinese, Polish, Italian and British Sign Language (BSL).

Modern languages are defined as languages studied at school or in other formal contexts. In Scotland, these are typically French, German, Spanish, Italian, Urdu and Gaelic. The difference between modern language learning and community language learning lies not in the languages themselves (note that any 'modern' language can also be a 'community' language) but in the learners' experiences. Community language learners have had some (often extensive) prior experience of the languages before starting to study them in a formal context. Modern language learners begin studying the language from scratch in a formal context and usually have little or no exposure to the language outside the classroom.

Plurilingual refers to someone who can speak more than one language. The term is used in preference to 'bilingual' which indicates someone who can speak two (but not more) languages, in order not to have to distinguish between those who speak two and those who speak more than two languages. It is now well-established in the research literature that someone described as 'bilingual' or 'plurilingual' does not necessarily have 'native-like' competence in both or all languages, although this tends to be a popular interpretation of the meaning of 'bilingual'. Most plurilinguals have acquired their languages in different contexts and use them for different purposes; in addition, they tend not to have equal access to education in each language. Their competences in each language therefore tend to vary and to complement each other.

Multilingual refers to societies in which more than one language is in use – although it is not necessarily the case that all the people in that society are plurilingual. This distinction between the 'plurilingual' person and the 'multilingual' society originates with the Council of Europe and is maintained in this report in order to make links, where appropriate, with Council of Europe policy and debate.

Mainstream education refers to education provided by Scottish local authorities in primary and secondary schools, either during the standard school day *(core mainstream)* or after school hours, as part of a school's *extra-curricular* provision.

Complementary **education** refers to educational provision organised by communities, independently of the local authority. Complementary classes, schools or centres usually operate after school hours or at weekends, making provision for children to learn community languages, often because they do not have opportunities to study these languages in mainstream schools. Complementary classes, schools or centres are sometimes referred to as 'supplementary' or 'community-based' provision, but 'complementary' has become the preferred term for this sector.

Summary

1. Community languages: an asset for Scotland

Scotland has a long history of multilingualism. Several languages in addition to English can be considered 'indigenous' to Scotland: these include Gaelic, Scots, British Sign Language and the languages of Gypsies/ Travellers. A very wide range of other languages are also currently in use, as a result of labour force mobility within the European Union, immigration from elsewhere in the world, and the arrival of asylum seekers and refugees. However, there are no national data on the range of languages, or the number of people who speak them.

There is growing recognition of the benefits of plurilingualism for individuals, their communities and wider Scottish society. These include the practical advantages of being able to communicate with a wider range of people than is possible with one language alone, the cognitive advantages associated with early plurilingualism, and cultural, economic and social benefits for communities and societies which can use several languages to support trade, diplomacy and cultural exchange in an increasingly 'globalised' world, and also support for social inclusion and participation in democratic institutions.

Capitalising on these linguistic resources requires investment. Although many people in Scotland speak other languages apart from English, little is known about the extent to which they can study these languages formally and develop the skills – particularly literacy – which would enable them to take full advantage of their plurilingualism. There is therefore a need to establish what provision is currently available to support community language learning and whether this provision needs to be expanded or enhanced in any way.

2. The Scottish Community Languages Survey

The Scottish Community Languages Survey was conducted between October 2004 and January 2006. The aims were:

- to collate existing information about provision for community languages for children of school age (i.e. between 5 and 18 years old);
- to collect more detailed information directly from providers about the goals of provision and how these are achieved.

Similar surveys were conducted in England and Wales at the same time, in order to construct a picture of provision across Great Britain.

There were three phases to the survey:

Phase 1: a trawl of all local authorities in Scotland for information about provision for community languages in mainstream or complementary schools.

Phase 2: questionnaires to all providers of community language education identified in the course of Phase 1, to collect more detailed information about the rationale for provision, student achievements and the support needs of providers.

*Phase 3:*consultation with specialists in the field of community languages on issues arising from the findings from Phases 1 and 2, and on how best to develop provision in the future.

3. Findings

The range of languages in use in Scotland
At least 106 languages are spoken by at least 12,000 children attending Scottish schools. These figures are almost certainly an underestimate as fewer than half the local authorities in Scotland collect data about the languages spoken by school pupils.

Increasing multilingualism
Although there is not historical data on the languages spoken in Scotland to allow comparisons to be made, it is likely that the range of languages spoken in Scotland and the number of people who speak them have increased considerably in recent years, as a result of increased labour mobility within the European Union, immigration, and greater numbers of asylum seekers and refugees coming to Scotland.

Provision for community language learning
There is provision for children of school age to study at least 21 community languages. Almost 200 primary and secondary schools were identified as making mainstream provision for community languages (principally Gaelic) along with over 100 complementary classes, schools or centres. However, it would appear that there is no provision at all for some 80 languages in use among Scottish schoolchildren.

Gaelic
Gaelic is the language with the most extensive provision, including Gaelic-medium units in mainstream primary schools, Gaelic as a second language classes in mainstream primary and secondary schools, and some subjects delivered through the medium of Gaelic in a small number of secondary schools. There is also complementary provision for Gaelic, principally in the form of Gaelic youth clubs to encourage its social use.

Other 'indigenous' languages
Provision for other 'indigenous' languages is limited. No provision for the study of Scots was identified, although it is known that many schools encourage pupils to study Scots literature, and a few may devote some time to the study of the language. There seems to be no complementary provision for Scots. It proved difficult to identify the sources of provision for British Sign Language through this survey. It appears that there is no formal provision for the languages of Gypsies/ Travellers.

Urdu
Of the other languages, Urdu has the most extensive provision, both in mainstream primary and secondary schools, where it is taught as a second or modern language, with the option in some cases for students to sit Standard Grade and then (in the absence of

Higher Urdu) A/S and A-level Urdu. In addition, 42 complementary classes, schools or centres making provision for Urdu were identified.

Other community languages

There is very limited mainstream provision for other community languages, despite the possibility of entering students for GCSE, A/S and A-level examinations in some 20 languages. However, some mainstream schools act as examination centres for those who study these languages in complementary classes, schools or centres. The trawl identified over 100 complementary classes, schools or centres in Scotland, making provision for at least 21 languages: Arabic, Bengali, British Sign Language, Cantonese, Dutch, Farsi, French, Gaelic, German, Hebrew, Hindi, Italian, Japanese, Kurdish, Makaton, Mandarin, Punjabi, Polish, Spanish, Turkish and Urdu.

Resources for community language teaching

Mainstream schools were able to access a wider range of resources than complementary providers, particularly in the case of Gaelic, but all providers were keen to expand the range, to include more audio-visual and internet-based resources. There was also demand for more materials specifically designed to support children's literacy development and more formal aspects of the community languages they were studying, similar to those available for English language and literacy teaching at school.

Assessment and reporting of progress

Mainstream schools used a wide range of methods to assess and report children's progress in learning community languages, drawing on the mechanisms used generally in the context of the *5-14* curriculum and standard school procedures. Almost all schools provided written reports to parents. It was less common, however, for schools to encourage pupils to assess their own progress, or to include community languages in records of achievement. Almost all secondary schools entered students for examinations in the community languages offered. Complementary providers used a narrower range of assessment approaches, principally tests from textbooks or other sources. Few made reference to *5-14*. Just over three quarters of complementary providers entered their students for Standard Grade, GCSE, A/S and A-Level examinations.

Teacher qualifications and professional development

All primary and three quarters of the secondary schools reported that their community languages teachers had Scottish teaching qualifications. In most mainstream schools, community languages teachers could undertake continuous professional development (CPD) but would like more opportunities to:

- share expertise and learn from others doing similar work;
- learn more about language development;
- learn how to provide differentiated work for students with a range of linguistic abilities.

Complementary providers reported that around a fifth of their teachers had formal teaching qualifications, from Scotland or elsewhere. In at least a third of the schools, teachers were unpaid volunteers. Complementary school staff sought further opportunities for CPD, including:

- training specific to the teaching of languages;
- more general teaching competences;
- knowledge of British education and examination systems;
- opportunities to gain formal accreditation as teachers;
- sharing expertise and learning from others doing similar work.

Rationales for community language learning

All providers were asked to state what they thought were the main reasons for their students wanting to learn community languages. The emphasis varied considerably between primary and secondary schools, between mainstream and complementary providers, and also between Scottish providers and their English and Welsh counterparts. Key points to emerge from these comparisons are:
- Parental motivation is likely to be seen as more important than the students' own views, among providers catering for children in the primary age range.
- Scottish providers tend to view parental motivation more positively than their English and Welsh counterparts, describing parents as 'encouraging', rather than 'pushing' their children to study community languages.
- Mainstream secondary schools saw gaining qualifications as one of the most important rationales, and gaining access to the culture, history and religion associated with the language as the least important.
- Complementary providers saw gaining access to the culture, history and religion associated with the language as among the most important rationales, and gaining a qualification in the language as the least important.

Other issues

Other issues of relevance to emerge from the survey include the difficulty of making provision when student numbers are low, and the need to support parents of children studying community languages, so that they could help their children with the work. It was also very clear that many complementary providers are severely hampered by lack of funds, limited resources and absence of professional development opportunities for their staff.

4. Discussion

Four key issues for further discussion emerged from the review of the findings of Phase 1 and Phase 2 of the survey, during the consultation phase:
- the implications of increasing linguistic diversity;
- advantages and disadvantages of different models of provision;
- training and professional development for teachers;
- the need for an inclusive and joined up languages education policy.

Increasing linguistic diversity

Although there are probably greater numbers of plurilingual schoolchildren than ever before in Scotland, increasing diversity in terms of the range of languages spoken means that making provision for all to learn these languages formally remains a major challenge. Partnerships, among groups of schools, between schools and further education providers,

and between mainstream and complementary providers, are one way of helping to ensure broader coverage. A more systematic approach to provision requires improvements in determining demand, and supportive local and national policy.

Advantages and disadvantages of different models of provision

Three models of provision for community language learning are currently in use, based on three different perspectives:

- that community language learning is essentially a distinctive branch of language learning, requiring different materials and teaching approaches from modern language learning;
- that community language learning is similar or identical to modern language learning and can therefore be accommodated in similar ways;
- that community language learning is best achieved when the language is used as the medium of instruction.

It is not feasible, on the basis of this survey to say which of these models is most effective. It seems likely each of these models is more or less effective in different circumstances, depending on the learners' backgrounds and aspirations. A flexible approach which takes into account the needs and interests of the learners and their communities, and those of wider Scottish society is needed.

Professional development for community language teachers

There is widespread consensus on the need to increase opportunities for community language teachers' professional development. Some of their needs in this context are similar to those of modern languages teachers, while others are more specific to community language teaching. Networking opportunities which would allow community languages teachers to meet up with each other and with modern languages teachers, to share expertise and learn from each other is identified as one of the key ways in which professional development could be enhanced. Web-based support, in development in England for mainstream staff working with plurilingual pupils, could be expanded to Scotland and more specifically for community languages teachers. There is a need for community languages teachers, particularly those working in mainstream schools, to gain formal teaching qualifications specifically in languages education. Approaches developed in England may be relevant for Scotland.

An inclusive and joined up languages education policy

The importance of community languages for achieving higher levels of plurilingualism in Scotland, the UK and in Europe is gaining greater recognition. There is a need both for an *inclusive* language policy, which values all language learning, and seeks to break down power and status differentials; and for *joined up* policy which recognises the benefits to Scotland firstly of linking policy areas which impact on the development of communication skills, and secondly of auditing and reviewing the communication needs associated with all policy domains.

5. Conclusions: realising potential

Scotland's languages are a valuable resource with the potential to bring a wide range of benefits to individuals, their communities and wider Scottish society. For these benefits to be realised, better provision to enable plurilingual children to maintain and develop competence in their community languages is needed. This survey has shown that the extent and nature of such provision currently is very variable. While there are some excellent initiatives, and the level of commitment among providers is high, much provision is poorly funded and community language teachers suffer from a very marked lack of professional development opportunities. For many languages, there is no provision at all. Therefore, Scotland is not currently in a good position to capitalise on its linguistic resources.

Experts in the field of community languages education have a vision of the future in which:
- inclusive terminology is used in the context of language learning;
- plurilingualism is nurtured;
- ICT plays a key role in linking children who speak the same languages but live in different parts of Scotland, and supports distance learning of community languages;
- there is effective assessment of learners' community language competence and planning for their progression;
- there is enhanced professional development for community language teachers;
- the contribution of complementary schools is valued and supported ;
- employers recognise the value of plurilingualism and actively seek to recruit plurilingual employees;
- multilingualism is promoted as part of Scotland's contemporary identity, as a social, cultural and economic asset.

To achieve this, they recommend:
- awareness raising campaigns at all levels;
- a range of new initiatives, including content and language integrated learning (CLIL), the use of new educational technologies and assessment approaches such as the Asset Languages Assessment Scheme to improve provision for community language learning in mainstream primary and secondary schools;
- partnerships between a wide range of educational bodies to ensure coherent and effective provision for community language learning in the wider context of Scottish education;
- a strategic approach to provision post-16, particularly to opportunities to link community language learning with vocational studies at different levels;
- development of responsive and flexible educational approaches which tie the goals of community language learning into wider educational goals: *A Curriculum for Excellence* is a good opportunity to do this for the 3-18 age range.

1. Community Languages: an asset for Scotland

1.1 What are community languages?

This report describes provision for community language learning in Scotland. Community languages are defined as all languages in use in a society, other than the dominant or national language(s). In Scotland, where the dominant language is English, community languages include Gaelic, Scots, Urdu, Punjabi, Chinese, Polish, Italian and British Sign Language (BSL), among many others. Languages which have traditionally been taught as modern (foreign) languages in Scottish schools (e.g. French, German, Spanish) are also community languages for those who use these languages at home or in the community.

The terms 'community languages' and 'modern languages' are not mutually exclusive. Rather, the choice of term implies differences in the students' linguistic backgrounds and therefore their relationship to the language they are learning. These differences may result in different teaching and learning approaches. While students of modern languages are assumed to have no previous experience of the language before they begin to study it, and to have limited opportunities for contact with speakers of the language, students of community languages usually have family, cultural or other personal experiences of the language which predate formal study of the language. In some cases they may already be fluent speakers of the language, because they have grown up speaking the language at home, and/or because they have lived in a country where the language is widely spoken, and perhaps attended school there, with opportunities to become literate in the language. In other cases, the language may be one of several in use in a multilingual household or community, and use may be reserved for particular contexts, such as certain cultural activities, phone conversations with relatives in another country, or religious worship. For these reasons, it is inaccurate to regard provision for community languages necessarily as provision which supports students' 'first language' or 'mother tongue', nor should it be assumed that community language learners are already highly fluent in the language in question.

1.2 The languages of Scotland

Scotland has always been a multilingual country. In addition to the languages with a long-established presence – Gaelic, Scots and English – Scotland has a long history of immigration and of receiving refugees from around the world. Linguistic histories of Scotland recognise the influence of Scandinavian settlers, Flemish merchants and the Auld Alliance with France. The presence of Gypsies in Scotland is recorded from the 16th century onwards (Fraser, 1992), while other Traveller groups may date back long before this time. Some of the distinctive communities currently living in Scotland can trace their origins at least as far back as the 19th and early 20th centuries: e.g. Irish, Italians, Jews, Lithuanians, Indians and Pakistanis (Devine, 1999; Maan, 1992; Pugh, 2000). Others, such as the Chinese, the Japanese, the Iranians, the Poles and speakers of many different African languages, have arrived in Scotland more recently. Sign languages have a long

history wherever communities of Deaf people are to be found (Smith, 1996), and the origins of British Sign Language are believed to date back to the 19th century, when organisations to support Deaf people were first established (Montgomery, 1997; Smith, 2001), Makaton, another sign language, was developed in the 1970s to support the communication needs of people with a range of communication difficulties. As it is closely tied to spoken English, it is not regarded as an independent language in the same way as British Sign Language, but is nevertheless growing in importance as a communicative medium.

Although a variety of bodies collect information about languages in use in different parts of Scotland, there has never been a national language survey. There are currently consultations across the UK concerning the possible inclusion of a question in the 2011 Census on languages in use. If this option is included a far more detailed picture of the range of languages spoken by people living in the UK will become available than has been possible with previous Census data, which collected data only on ethnicity, and, in Scotland, on Gaelic. In the absence of these data, the research conducted for this study offers the most comprehensive account currently available of languages in use among Scottish schoolchildren.

1.3 The case for a comprehensive approach

Traditionally, issues relating to provision for learning 'indigenous' languages such as Gaelic, Scots, sign languages and the languages of Gypsies/ Travellers have rarely been considered in the same context as languages such as Urdu, Arabic or Chinese, While recognising that some languages constitute 'special cases' in Scotland, there are compelling reasons for addressing provision for all community languages in the same context. They are all regarded as 'minority' languages in relation to English, and speakers of these languages therefore share many common experiences and concerns. For example, all families or communities where a language other than English is in use have to develop their own models of plurilingualism which both maintain the community language(s) and also enable community members to communicate more widely with English speakers. Parents have to make complex decisions about education, particularly where education through the medium of the community language is not available. The history of separate consideration for Gaelic, Scots and British Sign Language, compared both with each other and with the other community languages has given rise to different forms of provision for each group. Although it is not necessarily the case that provision for all groups should be the same, there could be benefits in developing an integrated approach, based on the recognition that plurilingualism is an asset for individuals and for society and that an integrated policy could avoid inconsistencies and omissions.

1.4 Community Languages as a resource for the individual, for communities and for Scotland

Helping children to maintain and develop their community languages is important for individuals, for their communities, and for wider Scottish society, for many different reasons:

- families have the right to pass on their cultural and linguistic heritage to their children;
- children who have the opportunity to grow up plurilingual have the obvious linguistic advantage of being able to speak more than one language;
- research has shown that plurilingual children have cognitive advantages deriving from the more sophisticated brain development which learning two or more languages from an early age promotes;
- having access to a range of languages is an important economic, cultural, social and intellectual resource for any society.

There is now a substantial body of research testifying to the benefits plurilingualism brings to the individual. It has positive effects on both linguistic and educational development. (See Baker, 2000; Cummins, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000 for overviews of this work.) Research has found that the level of development of children's first language is a strong predictor of their second language development, and that promoting languages other than the majority language at school helps develop not only these languages, but also children's abilities in the majority language (Dutcher, 1994). Studies of intelligence have shown that plurilingual children perform better than their monolingual peers in a range of areas, such as classification skills, concept formation, analogical reasoning, visual-spatial skills, creativity, and other cognitive gains. (Bialystok, 1991; Baker 1993), while comparisons of plurilingual and monolingual students' performance in school subjects such as literacy, numeracy and science, show that plurilingual students who have had the opportunity to develop both languages in an academic context (such as children who speak both Gaelic and English and attend Gaelic medium schools) perform at least as well, and sometimes better than their monolingual counterparts (Johnstone et al., 1999; Johnstone, 2001).

Many of the benefits which modern languages specialists identify for students who gain competence in languages they have studied at school, such as French, German or Spanish, apply equally to those who have acquired community languages such as Urdu, Chinese or Greek. These include increased awareness of and interest in the wider world, greater confidence in communicating in a range of different contexts, enhanced understanding of cultural differences and a willingness to engage with people and ideas from elsewhere in the world (Gallagher-Brett, 2004). These are personal qualities of value in themselves, but also are clearly of considerable worth in a business context. A key issue for the UK in the age of globalisation is which languages are likely to be of most benefit for the economy, for trade, and for international relations in the 21st century (Hagen, 2005). Some of the most widely spoken and studied community languages – Urdu, Turkish, Chinese, Bengali and Arabic – are likely to be on that list.

Many recent reports have pointed to the increasing importance of multilingualism in a world in which international communications, labour force mobility and the impact of globalisation on business and on culture are key factors in economic and political change (e.g. Beacco and Byram, 2003; Commission of the European Communities, 2003; Lo Bianco, 2001). Investing in community languages, in addition to modern languages in

schools, will ensure greater diversity in the range of languages for Scotland to draw on in business, cultural, political and social contexts. It will also capitalise on existing language skills and expertise. Such investment could constitute a valuable counter-balance to the current decline in uptake of provision for modern languages post-Standard Grade (McPake et al., 1999).

Support for community language learning and use also has an important role to play in terms of valuing diversity in Scottish society. Since the establishment of the Scottish parliament in 1998 there have been a number of policy initiatives to promote cultural and linguistic diversity, including the *National Cultural Strategy* (Scottish Executive, 2000) and the *One Scotland*[1] campaign to tackle racism. A commitment to diversity entails recognition of the wide range of languages in use in Scotland and support so that these languages and the cultural activities associated with them can flourish.

There is an unmet need for people who can speak community languages in the Scottish public sector and in businesses serving multilingual communities (McPake and Johnstone, 2002). There are currently insufficient numbers of interpreters and translators to meet the needs of those who cannot (yet) communicate in English, or who would prefer to discuss matters which may be sensitive or complex in the language in which they feel best able to deal with their legal or medical problems, housing needs, or their children's education. Services which habitually work with people from particular linguistic communities would benefit from employing bilingual staff, but often find this difficult or impossible to do. Businesses which serve multilingual communities have, in some cases, recognised the advantages of employing people fluent in the relevant community languages: for example, in some parts of the UK, B&Q employs plurilingual staff who can discuss DIY matters with customers in a variety of languages.

1.5 Investing in Scotland's linguistic resources
If Scotland is to capitalise on these linguistic resources, we need first to invest in them. This entails educational provision at every level, to enable children to maintain and develop their competence in their community languages and to become literate. Just as children who speak only English need many years of English teaching at school to become skilled, articulate users of the language in both spoken and written forms, plurilingual children need support for both or all their languages to acquire similar levels of oral and written competence.

Gaelic-medium provision in a number of Scottish primary schools is an example of such investment. Research has shown that children who have attended such schools typically achieve high levels of competence in both languages by the time they move on to secondary education, at age 11 (Johnstone et al., 1999). Those who are able to maintain and develop their skills in both Gaelic and English will, as adults, be in a position to support the various initiatives under way to preserve and promote this endangered language: they will be able to work in a range of jobs in the cultural, educational and

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[1] See website: <http://www.onescotland.com>

tourism sectors and, by using Gaelic in their daily lives, particularly with their own children, contribute to its revival.

The introduction of Standard Grade Urdu in 1998 is another example of investment. Urdu is probably the most widely used community language in Scotland, after Scots and Gaelic and is of particular significance to communities of Pakistani origin in Scotland as the national language of Pakistan, spoken by 104 million people around the world, and the language of education and literacy. Ensuring that children can speak and read Urdu is seen as an important contribution to their education and understanding of their cultural heritage and identity. Urdu is very closely related to Hindi (they are mutually intelligible, although written with entirely different scripts) and fluency in Urdu opens up opportunities to understand and communicate with people throughout the Indian subcontinent. Enabling children to formalise their knowledge of Urdu and gain recognition for their existing skills, through gaining Standard Grade passes in the language, is important both in recognising the significance of this language in Scotland and in encouraging students to think of the language as relevant to their educational and career aspirations. Examination results[2] make clear that children who sit this examination perform well, compared with students sitting examinations in other modern languages, although students sitting Standard Grade examinations in *Gàidhlig* gain the highest grades:

Chart 1a: Percentage of students gaining Grades 1 and 2 at Standard Grade

☐ French ☐ German ☐ Gàidhlig ■ Urdu

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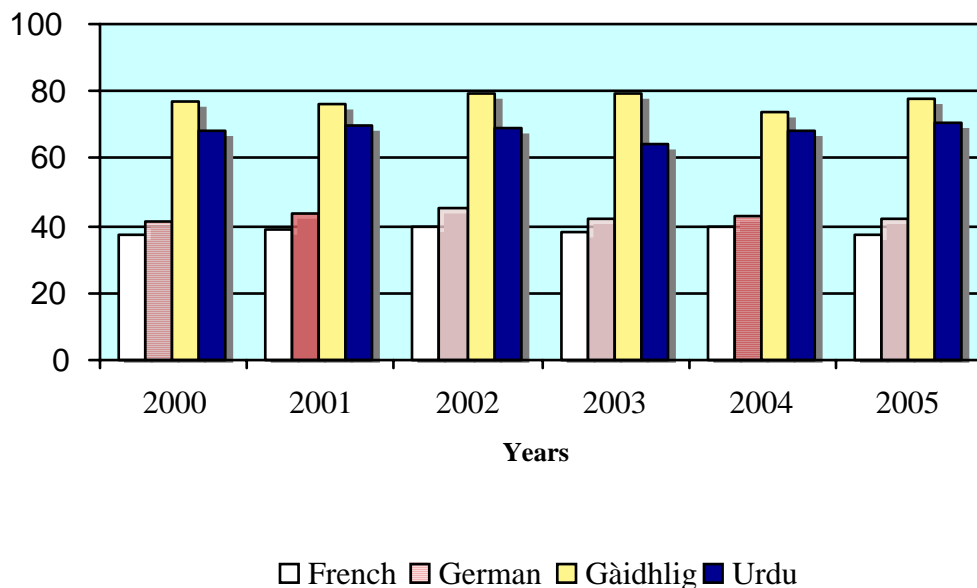
[2] Results for 2005 are pre-appeal figures.

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For some of the other community languages in use in Scotland, there is complementary provision, organised principally by linguistic communities for their own children. Typically, children attend language classes after school hours or at weekends, with the intention of developing their language skills, becoming literate, and acquiring cultural understandings relevant to the language and their community. In some cases, children who have attended such classes may be able to sit GCSE or A-Level examinations in their community languages: English examination boards cater for approximately 20 community languages. As with Standard Grade Urdu, this option allows students to gain recognition for their language skills and link these to their future education and career plans. However, for many of the languages in use in Scotland today there is neither complementary provision nor the opportunity to sit examinations in the language. Children who speak languages for which there is no provision may therefore be unable to become literate, may fail to see their languages are relevant to their education or careers, and thus, in adult life, their language skills may be lost both to their own communities and to wider Scottish society.[3]

The aim of this study is to investigate the extent to which current provision – whether in mainstream schools or complementary classes, schools or centres – enables plurilingual children to maintain and develop their languages, particularly in terms of acquiring literacy skills and other formal aspects, to enable them to make use of these languages in a range of contexts in adult life.

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[3] There is extensive research demonstrating that those who do not have the opportunity to maintain their 'first' languages risk losing these languages later in life. See, for example, Seliger & Vago (1991), Fase et al. (1992), de Bot (1996), Waas (1996)

2. The Scottish Community Languages Survey

2.1 Aims of the survey

The Scottish Community Languages Survey was devised to provide more detailed information than has been available till now about provision for learning community languages. Although local authorities and community networks may be well-informed about provision in their area, it has been difficult or impossible to develop a national picture of the range of languages for which provision is available, the number of children studying these languages or the levels of competence achieved. This has made it difficult to define the extent of the potential linguistic resources available to Scotland or to plan for ways in which the development of these resources can be supported.

The aims of the survey were therefore:
- to collate existing information about provision for community languages in Scotland;
- to collect more detailed information directly from providers about the goals of provision and how these are achieved;
- to identify aspects of provision which could be developed or enhanced, and strategies for achieving this.

This survey complements similar surveys in England and Wales which were conducted simultaneously by Scottish CILT, CILT Cymru and CILT – the (English) National Centre for Languages.

2.2 Phase 1: Local authority trawl

During the first stage of the Scottish survey, all local authorities were contacted and asked for any available information about community language provision in their area, both in mainstream schools and in complementary schools – independently-run schools which provide classes in community languages after school hours or at weekends. The initial point of contact in each authority was the modern languages adviser (where these exist) or others known to Scottish CILT as responsible for modern languages in the authority. The trawl began in August 2004 and continued until March 2005, a longer than predicted timescale for the trawl, reflecting both the complexities of provision and the division of responsibilities. In some authorities, community languages are seen as falling under modern languages, while in others, it is, for example, the English as an Additional Language team or the race equality officer who collects the information. Special needs advisers may hold information about provision for BSL and Makaton. In addition to the local authority trawl, several web searches were conducted, principally to identify complementary schools, as it became clear that many local authorities did not collect this information.

Local authority representatives were also asked to provide any information they already collected about languages other than English spoken by school children in their area: for

example, whether they conducted a language survey, or whether they kept a directory of complementary community language providers.

2.3 Phase 2: Questionnaire survey

As a result of the trawl and the related web searches, questionnaires were sent to all primary, secondary and complementary school providers identified. These questionnaires set out to collect more detailed information about the range of languages for which provision is made, the rationale for provision and the achievements of the students (in terms of examinations sat). They also aimed to identify the support needs of providers.

The questionnaires were distributed between February and May 2005 and analysis of the responses, using SPSS, was conducted over the summer of that year.

Findings from the trawl and from the survey are presented in Chapter 3 of this report.

2.4 Phase 3: Consultation

Initial findings from the trawl and questionnaire stages of the research in Scotland, England and Wales were presented to an invited group of specialists in this field. These included head teachers, teachers in mainstream and complementary schools, inspectors, policy makers, advisers and heads of services for English as an additional language and for refugees and asylum seekers, from all three countries. The specialists were invited to comment on the findings, focusing particularly on the following questions raised by the research:

1. Is there a significant difference between provision for modern foreign languages and provision for community languages in terms of the goals, outcomes and rationale?

2. What are the benefits (for students and their communities and for wider society) of bringing provision for modern foreign languages and community languages closer together?

3. What is the future of community language learning and how might visions for the future be achieved?

The outcomes of these discussions are represented in Chapters 4 and 5 of this report.

3: Findings

This section sets out the findings from the trawl and survey stages, identifying what the research tells us about the range of community languages in use among Scottish schoolchildren and the provision available for children to study these languages, in mainstream or complementary settings. The findings related to provision are presented in two ways: firstly in relation to specific languages, and secondly in terms of comparisons between mainstream and complementary providers. This latter section looks more specifically at the teaching resources used, approaches to assessment, examinations and reporting, teacher qualifications and professional development, and the reasons providers identify for students wishing to study community languages.

3.1 Community languages in use among Scottish schoolchildren

Data from the trawl phase of the study show that in 2004-5, at least 106 community languages were in use in Scotland, by at least 12000 children attending Scottish schools. These data have been collated from language surveys conducted by 14 of the 32 local authorities in Scotland. However, they are almost certainly an underestimate of the true picture, because not all authorities were able to provide this information, and because some authorities collect this information only in relation to children who require English as an Additional Language (EAL) support. Information about plurilingual children who speak English fluently is often not included in such surveys. Furthermore, not all of these authorities included Gaelic-speaking children in their surveys; while the authorities in which Gaelic is most widely taught do not collect figures on any of the community languages spoken in their schools. Thus the figure of 12000 speakers of community languages includes few Gaelic-speaking children. Few authorities collect information about the number of children who use sign languages, and therefore the number of sign language users is also considerably underestimated. See Appendix A for further details of the range of languages and the authorities in which they are spoken.

In absence of any earlier national figures, it is difficult to say whether the number of languages, or the number of people who can speak them, has been increasing or decreasing. This contrasts with the situation for Gaelic, where data on the number of speakers has been collected since 1881, and the decline is thus well-documented. However, evidence from Scotland and from across the UK, from a range of sources, suggests that the linguistic map is evolving: while the number of languages in use is increasing, the make-up of linguistic communities is changing. The 2001 Census revealed that the 'ethnic minority' population of the UK had increased overall from 6% to 9%, over the ten years since the previous Census, in 1991, and in Scotland, from 1.3% to 2%. While the highest concentrations are still to be found in urban areas, particularly in Edinburgh and Glasgow, there is not a single local authority in Scotland without an ethnic minority component (the lowest proportion being recorded in Orkney, at 0.4% of the population there). An analysis of this data conducted for the BBC showed that the percentage increase between 1991 and 2001 in the population of people 'born abroad' was fourth greatest in Scotland (34%) out of all the UK regions, surpassed only by the South East of England (36%), the North East (42%) and London (44%) (BBC, 2005).

Three specific factors (in addition to others less easily identifiable) explain these considerable changes in the make-up of the Scottish population in the course of the 1990s, and indeed, it is likely, since the 2001 Census. The UK government's 'dispersal' policy, which dates back to the 1999 *Asylum and Immigration Act*, has meant a greatly increased number of refugees and asylum seekers being allocated to Scotland, principally in Glasgow, where the local authority is contracted to house 2500 individuals or families. COSLA data concerning the asylum seeker population of Glasgow in 2003 shows that there were then 6000 people from 73 different countries (from Afghanistan to Zimbabwe), with the largest proportions coming from Turkey, Somalia, Pakistan and Iran (COSLA Refugee and Asylum Seekers Consortium, 2003). Clearly this population shifts rapidly, depending both on developments in the countries of origin of current and future asylum seekers and on the outcomes of processes to achieve refugee status. The expansion of the European Union in 2004 brought ten new countries into the Union, most of them in Eastern Europe, presenting new opportunities for mobility. Government projections for the period 2004-7 indicated that approximately 10000 people from accession states were likely to move to Scotland (UK Government Actuary's Department, 2005), although there is some evidence that the actual numbers are considerably greater.[4] The Registrar General for Scotland acknowledges the need for more accurate data in this area (Registrar General for Scotland, 2005). In tandem with these developments, growing awareness that the population of Scotland is ageing and in decline and likely to suffer a workforce crisis as a result, has led to a number of initiatives, such as the *Fresh Talent* scheme, designed to encourage non-EU students who have graduated from Scottish universities to stay in the country. A relocation service set up to support this and other initiatives dealt with 900 people from over 70 countries in its first three months of existence (Scottish Executive, 2005a).

All of these developments indicate that the range of languages in use in Scotland is likely to be on the increase, along with the number of people who speak these languages. This offers greater opportunities than ever before for Scotland to capitalise on the language skills of its population, for all the reasons set out in Chapter 1. But to do this, we need an accurate picture of the provision currently available to support formal learning of these languages, and discussion on how best to develop and enhance this provision. In this chapter, we present the survey findings relating to existing provision and initiate consideration of how best to take this forward, a discussion which continues in Chapters 4 and 5.

3.2 Provision for learning community languages

The information provided by the local authorities and via web searches indicated that in 2004-5 there was provision for at least 21 community languages: during the school day, as an extra-curricular activity, or through complementary schools. The languages were Arabic, Bengali, British Sign Language, Cantonese, Dutch, Farsi, French, Gaelic,

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[4] The *Sunday Herald* ('Poles Apart', 22 January 2006) reported 18000 people from Poland alone as having moved to Scotland since 2004, with 3000 Poles living in Inverness. The source of these statistics is not stated.

German, Hebrew, Hindi, Italian, Japanese, Kurdish, Makaton, Mandarin, Punjabi, Polish, Spanish, Turkish and Urdu.

From the trawl, 86 mainstream primary and 95 mainstream secondary schools were identified as supporting the learning of community languages, either by providing classes or by acting as examination centres, enabling children fluent in their community languages to sit appropriate examinations. Most of the schools providing classes were doing so for Gaelic. In addition, 126 complementary schools or centres were identified as making provision after school hours or at weekends. In some cases these complementary schools were entirely independent of the local authorities. In others, they received some funding or other support from the local, authority. See Appendix B for further details of the languages for which provision was made and the authorities in which this provision was available.

It seems likely that there were other complementary schools which we failed to identify either via the local authority trawl or through web searches. It is also possible that local authority representatives were not always aware of mainstream schools' activities in support of community language learning. In some cases, this can be quite sporadic, because only very small numbers of pupils are concerned. Sometimes, it seems that schools do not publicise this activity, for reasons which are not entirely clear. Although some of the local authorities with a commitment to the teaching of Gaelic provide a rationale for learning the language on their websites and in other publicity, other schools known to support community language learning as an extra-curricular activity do not mention this in websites or prospectuses which nevertheless provide extensive details of sports, music and drama activities taking place out of school hours. Appendix C includes two examples of promotional material for parents considering Gaelic medium education, from East Ayrshire Council and from a primary school in Aberdeen City. In the course of this research, no Scottish authority producing promotional material to encourage children to learn other community languages has been identified.

Questionnaires were distributed to all of the organisations identified in the trawl. Responses were received from 92 of these: 41 primary schools, 21 secondary schools and 30 complementary providers. The overall response rate was 30%, but is markedly better for primary schools (48% responded) than for secondary schools (22% responded) or the complementary sector (24% responded). This is at least partly explained by much greater diversity and a high level of precariousness in the complementary sector. In some cases, organisations identified as possibly making provision for community language learning contacted us to say that in fact they did not make such provision: for example, the Asian Arts Academy in Glasgow returned our questionnaire explaining that they teach dance and drama but not Asian languages. Quite possibly a number of such organisations did not return our questionnaire as it was not relevant to their work. In addition, a handful of questionnaires were returned by the post office as the recipients were no longer at the address we had for them. As many schools are voluntary organisations with little or no funding, meeting in private houses or school or community premises when not in use by other bodies, it seems likely that addresses are inaccurate or change frequently. It also possible that some of the organisations we contacted were no longer in operation. We

were also aware that some organisations may not have replied because the questionnaire was in English. Because of the range of languages investigated in this study, it was not possible for financial reasons to provide translations of the questionnaire, and therefore some organisations may have been unable or unwilling to reply. All of these factors are likely to have played a part in the low response rate from complementary organisations.

3.3 Provision for specific languages

Gaelic

Gaelic is the language with the most comprehensive and best developed provision. In 2004-5, there were 61 Gaelic medium units in primary schools, mostly located in the Highlands and Western Isles. However, there were also a number of units in lowland areas. Just over 2000 children attend these units. They are taught in Gaelic throughout their primary education, with English introduced as a second language. There were 15 secondary schools in which some subjects were taught via the medium of Gaelic, and 34 schools offering *Gaidhlig* (i.e. advanced courses for fluent speakers, rather than *Gaelic* courses for those who study Gaelic as a second language). In 2005, 190 students sat Standard Grade and 102 sat Higher examinations in *Gaidhlig,* while 314 students sat Standard Grade and 130 sat Higher examinations in *Gaelic*.

Our survey targeted all primary and secondary schools offering Gaelic as a medium of instruction or as a second language. In addition, we contacted complementary organisations such as *Sradagan* which aim to encourage children to use their Gaelic in social contexts outside school. We received responses from 39 primary schools and 16 secondary schools, and from four complementary providers.

Scots

Although Scots is widely spoken in Scotland, finding information about provision to support children's learning and use of this language is extremely difficult. Although our local authority trawl drew attention to Scots as a community language, none of the authority representatives provided any information about the teaching of Scots, nor is it included as a language in any language surveys. The reasons for this are complex. First, there is considerable debate within Scotland as to whether Scots is a language or a dialect of English – or indeed simply 'bad English' (Lo Bianco, 2001). Ambivalence on this issue is reflected in the *5-14 Guidelines* for the teaching of the English language, which endorse some provision for Scots within the English language curriculum, but offer an unexpected rationale for this, namely that pupils will come to value standard English and its importance as a 'world language':

> From an awareness of the diversity of accents, dialects and languages in Scotland, pupils will develop an appreciation of the diversity of other languages and their importance for the communities which use them. Far from diminishing the significance of English, an understanding of the operations of dialects will enrich awareness of the need for a standard form of language which enables communication

across linguistic and cultural boundaries. It will also give a perspective on the influence of English in the world community of languages.

<div align="right">Scottish Office Education Department, 1991: 68</div>

In fact many – perhaps most – Scottish schools teach *about* Scots, in the context of Scots literature, particularly in the period running up to Burns Night in January, when children traditionally recite the poetry of Burns or other Scots poets. A small number of schools make some provision for teaching the language itself, usually in the context of English lessons. But this kind of activity seems not to be considered relevant to discussions of community language provision.

Sign Languages

British Sign Language (BSL) and Makaton are also languages about which we have found only limited information. Again, this seems partly to do with debates concerning whether sign languages are 'real' languages or not; and partly to do with the fact that national organisations concerned with the education of Deaf children have a wider remit and more pressing concerns than the teaching of sign languages. There may be more information available at local level, but it was not feasible within the time available to conduct a comprehensive trawl of local authority special needs advisers in addition to the other representatives contacted and therefore the information about provision for BSL is patchy. Nevertheless, we identified four primary schools, one secondary and one complementary provider schools making provision for BSL, and one primary school making provision for Makaton as a result of the trawl, and, and received survey responses from all of them.

There is limited information about the extent to which BSL users succeed in acquiring qualifications in the language while still at school. A survey conducted in 2000-1 (Scottish Sensory Centre, 2001) found that seven students acquired qualifications in that academic year. This seems a very small number, particularly when it is recalled that, in addition to Deaf students, their siblings and friends are likely to wish to learn the language, in order to communicate with them, and projects (such as Deaf Connections Millennium Project) were set up at the start of this decade to support hearing BSL learners in schools. Given that an increasing number of Deaf children are now educated in mainstream schools, the demand among hearing children to learn the language may well be quite substantial.

The languages of Gypsies/ Travellers and Roma

Very little information is available about the languages of Gypsies/ Travellers in Scotland, and indeed there is some debate as to whether Gypsies/ Travellers in Scotland now speak languages other than English. Traditionally, Scottish Gypsies/ Travellers spoke Cant, a language mixing elements of Gaelic, Scots and Anglo-Romani. Gypsies/ Travellers from England and Ireland traditionally also spent time in Scotland, and therefore their languages, Anglo-Romani and Shelta (or Sheldru), respectively, have been used in Scotland in the past, and it is possible that there are still speakers of these languages living in Scotland. In the course of the 20th century, Roma people from Eastern

Europe have come to live in the Scotland, as immigrants, asylum seekers or refugees, bringing their own languages, collectively known as Romani (of which there are a number of variants, not always mutually intelligible). In Scotland, as in the rest of the UK, there appears never to have been any formal provision to support the learning of the languages of Gypsies/ Travellers, and it is argued that this reflects the wishes of Gypsy/ Traveller communities for whom these languages form part of an oral tradition kept distinct from the non Gypsy/ Traveller world. However, in other parts of Europe, growing interest in Roma culture, combined with concern that the Romani languages are on the verge of extinction, has led to the development of written versions of these languages and provision for studying them in a more formal way, though these developments remain controversial (Bakker, 2001).

None of the local authority representatives provided information relating to provision for any of the languages associated with Gypsies/ Travellers or Roma.

Urdu

It is likely that Urdu is the most widely used community language in Scotland after Scots and Gaelic. Although precise figures are not available, Census data for 2001 show that there are some 32000 people of Pakistani origin living in Scotland, and it seems likely that a substantial proportion have learned Urdu, the national language of Pakistan, and the principal language of literacy (along with English) for this community. A Standard Grade examination for Urdu was introduced in 1999, and, in 2005, 153 candidates sat the examination. As there is no Higher examination in the language, those who want to achieve more advanced qualifications sit A/S and A-Level examinations, which are also offered by some schools.

In 2004, entries for Standard Grade Urdu were received from 23 centres. These are likely to include schools in which the language is taught as part of the curriculum, and schools which do not teach the language but act as examination centres for students who have been studying the language independently. From the trawl, 12 secondary schools were identified as making provision for Urdu, and replies were received from three of these; 42 complementary schools were identified as likely to be making provision for Urdu, and we received replies from 12 of these.

Other community languages

It is possible for mainstream schools offer classes in community languages other than Gaelic or Urdu, for the languages in which English exam boards offer GCSE, A/S and A-Level examinations. There are some 20 community languages in this category, including Mandarin, Cantonese, Punjabi, Bengali, Farsi and Arabic. However, our survey found that few Scottish schools made such provision as part of the mainstream school curriculum: local authority representatives identified nine schools across Scotland thought to be making provision for community languages other than Gaelic, Urdu or British Sign Language, but we received responses only from one school offering Punjabi and one offering Mandarin as part of the mainstream curriculum. More commonly, though not offering classes themselves in community languages, mainstream schools act as examination centres for students who wish to sit these exams. In some cases,

mainstream schools liaise with complementary schools to enable complementary school students to sit these exams. In other cases, schools make individual arrangements with students who are known to be fluent in these languages (usually students who have arrived relatively recently from a country in which the language in question is spoken) ensuring that the students understand the examination requirements. The number of students from Scotland sitting these examinations is unknown, as the English examination boards do not provide a regional breakdown of exam entrants.

For most community languages, complementary schools are the main sources of formal education. Most complementary schools are organised by families and communities, independently of local authorities, although in some cases local authorities offer financial or other support. Classes are held after the mainstream school day or at weekends, and may be for as little as one hour a week or as much as nine hours a week, spread over several days. Provision varies considerably, depending on the interests and resources of the community. Where there are sufficiently large numbers of students, it is possible to organise classes by age or linguistic competence, employ qualified teachers, and purchase text-books and other teaching materials. Sometimes these are educational materials published in countries in which the languages are spoken, for the use of schoolchildren there. In other cases, materials specially designed for community language learners in the UK are available. Some embassies and cultural organisations sponsored by the governments of the countries in question provide financial support and resources, and they may also enable children to sit examinations of relevance to the country in question. Other communities, particularly those with small numbers of speakers, operate on a more informal basis, with classes in the home of an interested parent, using improvised teaching resources. For some communities, the principal reason for wishing to ensure that children acquire competence in the community language is religious, and therefore classes in the appropriate languages are offered by churches, mosques, synagogues, gurdwaras and temples. Their focus is on developing the linguistic skills needed to read religious texts and to participate in worship.

In the course of this research we identified 126 complementary schools operating in Scotland (including the 42 making provision for Urdu, mentioned above) and received survey responses from 30 schools. These made provision for 13 different languages:

Table 3a: Languages taught in complementary schools and centres

n=30

Language	_Number_	_Percentage_	_Language_	_Number_	_Percentage_
Urdu	12	40%	Arabic	11	37%
Cantonese	6	20%	Punjabi	5	17%
Mandarin	4	13%	Italian	3	10%
French	2	7%	Kurdish	2	7%
Farsi	1	3%	German	1	3%
Japanese	1	3%	Polish	1	3%
Spanish	1	3%			

Note that these numbers add up to more than 30 as some complementary schools made provision for more than one language.

3.4 Mainstream and Complementary Provision

All questionnaire respondents were asked for information on the kind of provision they made for community languages: whether as part of the core curriculum, during the school day, as a school-run extra-curricular option, after school hours, or as complementary provision. They were also asked to comment on the kinds of resources they had available to teach the languages they offered, and on what more they might need. They were asked to say in what ways they assessed students' progress (including formal examinations in the case of secondary aged students) and how this was reported to parents. They were asked to provide information about the qualifications their community languages teachers possessed and to comment on their professional development needs. Finally, they were asked to say what they thought were the main reasons for their students choosing to study community languages. In this section, the findings for each of these questions are reported.

Mainstream providers

Of the 41 primary schools which returned questionnaires, almost all (39 schools; 95%) made provision for community language as part of the core curriculum. All of these schools made provision for Gaelic. In addition, four schools (10%) had provision for students to learn British Sign Language, one made provision for students to learn French, and one made provision for Polish.

Of the 21 respondent secondary schools, four fifths (17 schools; 81%) made provision for community languages as part of the core curriculum. Of these, 16 schools made provision for Gaelic, three for Urdu, one for Punjabi, one for Mandarin and one for British Sign Language.

Four primary schools and six secondary schools offered community languages as an extra-curricular option: the primary schools offered British Sign Language, Farsi and

Gaelic; and the secondary schools offered British Sign Language, Gaelic, Mandarin and Urdu.

Complementary providers
The questionnaire for complementary schools was in two parts. Part A was designed for complementary school or centre directors; Part B was designed for a teacher of each of the community languages offered by the school or centre. Where the centre offered more than one language, there could be several Part B returns for each Part A. Thus there were 30 'Part A' returns from respondents who described themselves as having a wide range of roles within the organisation they represented, including: administrator, owner, head teacher, head of education, play leader, chairperson, supervisor, project manager, trustee and teacher; and 38 'Part B' returns, all from community language teachers working in the schools or centres.

The size of these thirty complementary schools or centres varied from up to ten students to over 150 students. Two thirds (67%) of the schools had between 11 and 50 students. The biggest schools (those with over 150 students) catered for Arabic, Cantonese and Punjabi.

Schools catered for all age groups, from those under the age of 5 to adults, but principally for those between the ages of 5 and 16, for which there was provision in all languages; none of the schools making provision for Gaelic, however, catered for students over the age of 14. Over half (60%) of the schools catered for students aged 17-18, but there was no provision for Gaelic, Farsi or Polish at this stage.

Just under two thirds (63%) of the schools made use of mainstream school premises after hours to accommodate classes, while a fifth (20%) used accommodation attached to religious centres. Other types of accommodation included community education centres, libraries, a YMCA hall and premises owned by the schools' trustees.

Over half (57%) of the schools were funded through student fees, and a little under half (47%) received financial support from local authorities. A third (33%) undertook fund-raising activities to boost funds, while a fifth (20%) received money from charitable sources. Schools also turned to a variety of other sources for financial support, including grants from educational bodies, and donations from the community. Schools also received support in kind, such as rent-free premises (40%), and volunteer teachers (33%). Fewer than a fifth (17%) were able to secure funding for student examination entries from local authorities. Parents and community members helped in various ways; and in some cases, schools were supported by organisations such as Comunn na Gàidhlig or the Italian Consulate.

The amount of time students spent per week in classes depended on the language studied. For example, students of Arabic, Kurdish or Urdu were typically expected to spend 3-5 hours a week at the school (and in some cases over 5 hours), while students of Gaelic or Italian were expected to spend 1-2 hours a week at the school. Age seemed to make little difference to the amount of time students were expected to attend classes. The amount of

homework students were expected to do also varied, from none at all to more than two hours a week. There is some indication that the amount of homework increases with the age of the students, but considerable variety within each language.

Teaching resources

Primary schools used a range of resources, including textbooks (88%), materials produced by the teacher (85%), audio-visual resources (85%), and computer-based materials (73%). They also drew on resources produced by local authorities and drew on the community (story tellers and theatre groups) and visiting groups (speakers, drama and dance groups) to support learning. However, only three respondents (7%) were satisfied with the materials they had. Most would prefer more textbooks (78%), more computer based materials (76%), and more audio-visual resources (59%). More specifically, respondents commented that they needed:
- more structured reading materials to suit children's wide ranging abilities
- more language and grammar books similar to those used to teach English language in schools

Secondary schools also made use of a wide range of resources including textbooks (86%) and materials produced by the teacher (86%), audio-visual resources (81%) and computer-based resources (67%). They also made use of guest speakers, material drawn from magazines, leaflets, etc. and distance learning materials. Fewer than a quarter (24%) of the secondary teachers were satisfied by the range of materials available to them: the others would prefer more audio-visual materials (57%) and more computer-based resources (57%) and more textbooks (48%). More specifically, they would like to see:
- a Gaelic TV channel;
- a common reading scheme for Gaelic, designed to enable parents to support their children's learning.

Most *complementary schools/ centres* had access to basic teaching equipment of various kinds: over three quarters (77%) had blackboards, whiteboards or flipcharts, and over two thirds (70%) had space to store equipment, books, etc. However, audio-visual and computer-based equipment was not widely available: fewer than half (43%) had cassette or CD players, and fewer than a third (30%) had TVs, video or DVD players. Fewer than a quarter (23%) had access to computers and a tenth (10%) had internet access. Other resources listed by schools/ centres included sports and craft equipment and games. Directors of centres were keen to increase the amount and the range of resources available to staff. Around three quarters (73%) wanted more storage space, and two thirds (67%) were looking for more blackboards, whiteboards or flipcharts. A similar proportion (67%) wanted more TVs, video or DVD players, while over half (57%) wanted more cassette or CD players, and greater access to computers. Just under half (47%) would like internet access.

Assessment, examinations and reporting

Most (88%) of the *primary schools* said that they used a range of methods to assess students' progress in community languages, most commonly (in 83% of the schools), 5-14 levels and teachers' own judgements of students' attainment. Teachers also used tests

they had devised themselves (51%), and tests from text books (51%); and in over a third (39%) of the schools, students were encouraged to assess their own progress. Almost all (95%) of the schools reported progress to parents, in a written report. Over two thirds (68%) also provided oral reports, and over a third (34%) noted students' achievements in community language learning in records of achievement.

In *secondary schools*, most (90%) assessed student progress using a variety of methods, including the use of 5-14 levels (90%), tests devised by the teacher (81%), the teacher's own judgement (67%), and tests from textbooks (48%). These methods were used by teachers of all languages. However, only teachers of Gaelic encouraged students to assess their own progress. Most secondary schools (90%) provided written reports to parents of students' progress, and two thirds (67%) also provided oral reports. Just under a fifth (19%) noted students' achievements in community languages in records of achievement.

Almost all (20 schools; 95%) of the secondary schools entered students for examinations: just under three quarters (15 schools; 71%) entered students for Standard Grade and Higher Gaelic; three schools (14%) entered students for Standard Grade, A/S and A Level Urdu; one school entered students for GCSE, A/S and A Level Punjabi, and one for the same examinations in Mandarin. In 2004, these schools entered a total of 194 students for examinations, over half (59%) of whom sat examinations in Gaelic; a quarter (25%) sat Standard Grade Urdu; and around a seventh (15%) sat A/S and A levels in Punjabi, Urdu and Mandarin. In addition, some students were entered for CACDP examinations in British Sign Language.

Almost all (93%) of the *complementary schools* used other forms of assessment in addition to, or instead of, formal examinations. Only the Gaelic centres did not do so: this is because these were youth organisations designed to encourage Gaelic speakers and learners to use the language in social situations, rather than to provide formal teaching. Over three quarters (77%) made use of tests which the teachers had devised, under half (43%) used the teacher's own judgement, and over a quarter (27%) used tests from text books or other sources. Few schools (10%) made use of 5-14 levels to assess student progress, and only one school (of Italian) encouraged students to assess their progress themselves.

Just over three quarters (77%) of the complementary schools entered students for examinations. Of these, a quarter (25%) entered students secondary schools for Standard Grade (Urdu); almost half (47%) for GCSE examinations (Arabic, Cantonese, Punjabi, Farsi, Polish, Mandarin and Urdu); and just under a third (30%) for A/S and A level (Cantonese, Punjabi, Mandarin and Urdu).

Teaching qualifications and professional development
All of the *primary respondents* reported that community language teachers in their schools had Scottish teaching qualifications, and over four fifths (83%) reported that staff had opportunities to undertake continuous professional development (CPD). However, they also noted specific CPD needs for their staff. These included:

- greater understanding of language development;
- differentiation between learners and fluent speakers;
- contact with other community languages teachers, particularly from other local authorities;
- opportunities to observe others' lessons.

Secondary respondents reported that in around three quarters (76%) of their schools, community language teachers had Scottish teaching qualifications, either specifically in language teaching (62%) or in other subjects (14%). One school reported that teachers had qualifications from elsewhere, and one that they had qualifications from a wide range of sources. Most (90%) said that teachers had opportunities to undertake CPD, but noted needs in this area, including:
- liaison with other teachers in Scotland teaching the same community languages;
- opportunities for both local and national in-service training;
- opportunities to share best practice.

Just over a fifth (21%) of the *complementary school teachers* had formal teaching qualifications. Of these, half had specialist qualifications in language teaching and half had general teacher educational qualifications. Just over a third of the teachers (37%) had a university degree, while a fifth (21%) had few formal qualifications.

Almost four fifths (79%) of the teachers said that they would welcome opportunities for further training of professional development. They listed a number of relevant areas:

Training specific to the teaching of languages:
- Training in language and culture
- Up to date information on language learning and teaching
- Training to bring Urdu in line with other modern languages

General teacher competences
- Exposure to modern teaching methods
- Classroom management
- Training in teaching methods
- Working with children
- Lesson planning

Knowledge of British education and examination systems
- Teaching to GCSE standard
- Training in education qualifications

Formal qualifications
- Accreditation of our teachers to raise their profile
- Training to help teachers become 'registered' modern languages teachers

Opportunities to share expertise
- Experts to share experiences

Reasons for studying community languages

All respondents were asked to say what they thought the main reasons students had for studying community languages. They were given a list of possible reasons and asked to rate these as 'very important', 'quite important', 'of little importance' or 'no importance'. Points were attached to these responses and the percentages below indicate the proportion of the total number of points available to each reason. There were differences in the views of primary and secondary teachers on this issue, between those teaching community languages as part of the core curriculum compared with those teaching them as an extra-curricular option, and also between Scottish respondents and their counterparts in England and Wales.

In both primary and in secondary schools, *core curriculum providers* saw learning to understand and speak the language as the most important reason for studying it, but learning to read and write the language was seen as more important by secondary than by primary respondents.

Table 3b: Reasons for studying community languages
(Scotland: Primary Core Curriculum)

n=34 (Maximum number of points = 102)

Reasons	Points
Understand and speak the language	86 (84%)
Enjoyment	76 (75%)
Access to history, culture, religion	72 (71%)
Value for future careers	64 (63%)
Read and write the language	61 (60%)
Gain a qualification	55 (54%)

Table 3c: Reasons for studying community languages
(Scotland: Secondary Core Curriculum)

n=20 (Maximum number of points = 60)

Reasons	Points
Understand and speak the language	54 (90%)
Gain a qualification	51 (85%)
Read and write the language	49 (82%)
Value for future careers	49 (82%)
Enjoyment	48 (80%)
Access to history, culture, religion	39 (65%)

Secondary respondents felt more positively about all the possible reasons listed than did the primary respondents: in each case, the reason is more strongly endorsed by secondary

respondents. This may be because, as several of the primary respondents noted, parental choice is an important factor at this stage, and that as a result the students' own reasons are seen as less relevant.

Scottish respondents' views also contrast with those of their English and Welsh secondary counterparts. (Very few English and Welsh primary schools make core curricular provision for community languages[5].) The latter rated reading and writing the language, and gaining access to history, culture and religion more highly, but enjoyment, gaining a qualification and the value for future careers much lower.

Table 3d: Reasons for studying community languages (England and Wales: Secondary Core Curriculum)

n=26 (Maximum number of points = 78)

Reasons	Points
Read and write the language	66 (85%)
Understand and speak the language	63 (81%)
Gain a qualification	59 (76%)
Access to history, culture, religion	55 (71%)
Enjoyment	52 (67%)
Value for future careers	40 (51%)

Scottish respondents noted that for many of the students, they are continuing to study the language they started at primary school, and that therefore parental perspectives continue to be as important a factor as the students' own views. In this, they echo the views expressed by their English and Welsh counterparts, but with a more positive tone: for example, Scottish respondents mention 'parental encouragement' while English and Welsh respondents talk of parents 'pushing' their children to study a community language.

Although the numbers involved are small, primary and secondary respondents making *extra-curricular provision* have quite different views from core providers on the reasons students are interested in studying community languages as extra-curricular option. For primary respondents, reasons such as gaining a qualification and value for future careers are – perhaps not surprisingly – minor elements. These respondents also did not think that meeting others from a similar background was in important factor. In contrast, the secondary school respondents saw all of these elements are important, with gaining a qualification as particularly salient.

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[5] Note that Welsh was not considered to be a community language in Wales, as it is one of the official languages of Wales, along with English. In the period during which this research was conducted, Gaelic became an official language of Scotland, along with English, and therefore its status as a community language needs to be reviewed.

Table 3e: Reasons for studying community languages
(Scotland: Extra-curricular Primary)

n=4 (Maximum number of points = 12)

Reasons	Points
Understand and speak the language	9 (75%)
Enjoyment	9 (75%)
Read and write the language	8 (67%)
Access to history, culture, religion	6 (50%)
Gain a qualification	5 (42%)
Value for future careers	3 (25%)
Meet others from similar backgrounds	2 (17%)

Table 3f: Reasons for studying community languages
(Scotland: Extra-curricular Secondary)

n=6 (Maximum number of points = 18)

Reasons	Points
Understand and speak the language	16 (89%)
Gain a qualification	15 (84%)
Enjoyment	14 (78%)
Access to history, culture, religion	14 (78%)
Value for future careers	14 (78%)
Read and write the language	14 (78%)
To meet others from similar backgrounds	14 (78%)

As in mainstream schools, *complementary respondents* were asked to rank a list of possible goals for the provision made by their school/ centre. Directors and administrators were asked about the aims of their school/ centre, while teachers were asked to say what reasons they thought students had for learning community languages.

School/ centre directors and administrators indicated that the main aims of their provision are to enable the students to learn to understand and speak the language.

n=30 (Maximum number of points = 90)

Reasons	*Points*
Understand and speak the language	88 (98%)
Read and write the language	79 (88%)
Access to history, culture, religion	77 (86%)
Gain a qualification	63 (70%)

Learning to read and write the language, and having access to the history, religion and culture associated with the language were also though to be very important; gaining a qualification somewhat less so. (Note that the wording of the questionnaire meant that directors and administrators were not asked the same range of questions as mainstream providers or as complementary school teachers.)

These respondents listed several other aims:

Wider cultural purposes
- To raise cultural awareness and promote racial harmony. To help young people to find their identities by knowing the language

Specific cultural purposes
- Our aims are to teach our children the Punjabi language so that they can read our spiritual holy book and sing hymns
- To teach basic attitudes, discipline and manners

To promote informal language learning
- Our aim is for children to learn the Gaelic language through the opportunities of play
- To promote Gaelic outwith the language classroom
- Our youth club is not for teaching Gaelic but to encourage young people to understand the culture and mix with others using the language

The complementary teachers indicated that they also saw learning to understand, speak, read and write the language as the main reasons for students to study community languages.

Table 3h: Reasons for studying community languages
(Scotland: Complementary Teachers)

n=38 (Maximum number of points = 114)

Reasons	*Points*
Understand and speak the language	106 (93%)
Opportunities to meet others from similar backgrounds	98 (86%)
Access to history, culture, religion	96 (84%)
Read and write the language	90 (79%)
Enjoyment	86 (75%)
Gain a qualification	80 (70%)
Value for future careers	80 (70%)

They also saw opportunities to meet others from similar backgrounds and access to the history, culture and religion associated with the language as very important. The least important factors were gaining qualifications and the value of a community language for the students' future careers. Some respondents elaborated on the cultural and family reasons for studying the language:

Cultural and religious purposes
- They learn Punjabi to maintain our culture
- Their history and heritage must be maintained to have a strong link with their community and with their grandparents.
- They want to keep their culture and their identity

Parental support
- Parents want their children to learn Cantonese
- Their parents want them to learn Urdu
- It is the continuation of Italian for the children of immigrants.

The views of English and Welsh complementary school directors were similar to those of their Scottish counterparts. They saw access to the history, culture or religion associated with the language as the most important reason for learning a community language, but understanding, speaking, reading and writing the language were close behind. As in Scotland, gaining a qualification was seen as less important.

Table 3i: Reasons for studying community languages
(England and Wales: Complementary Directors and Administrators)

n=192 (Maximum number of points = 576)

Reasons	Points
Access to history, culture, religion	547 (95%)
Understand and speak the language	541 (94%)
Read and write the language	536 (93%)
Gain a qualification	397 (69%)

There were differences in the views of English and Welsh complementary school teachers, compared with their Scottish counterparts. Both groups saw learning to understand and speak the language as the most important reason for studying the community language, but Scottish teachers ranked social, cultural and enjoyment factors more highly than their English and Welsh colleagues.

Table 3j: Reasons for studying community languages
(England and Wales: Complementary Teachers)

n=235 (Maximum number of points = 705)

Reasons	Points
Understand and speak the language	620 (88%)
Read and write the language	578 (82%)
Opportunities to meet others from similar backgrounds	493 (70%)
Enjoyment	501 (71%)
Access to history, culture, religion	479 (68%)
Gain a qualification	409 (58%)
Value for future careers	395 (56%)

Both groups ranked gaining a qualification and the value of the language for their students' future careers lowest on the scale.

Other issues

Some respondents took the opportunity to raise other issues about community languages provision. *Mainstream providers* in primary and secondary schools identified a number of areas in which provision might be improved, including

- a wider range of materials for teaching language arts through the medium of Gaelic;
- updated ICT-based resources;
- the need for Gaelic-speaking specialists to support staff and assist children with additional support needs.

Some commented on the difficulties of making provision for community languages where the number of students is low, but also offered some solutions to this problem:

> Currently, we only have seven pupils who speak community languages. We access support from the local authority after consultation with parents and enter students for examinations, when appropriate. We also support students by purchasing texts, paying examination fees, etc.

The need for students' parents to be supported was also identified:

> Staff work with parents on a weekly basis to give them the main points for language learning/ acquisition that week. This is essential as parents may be fluent speakers, mature learners, beginners or speakers of Irish Gaelic.

Although those raising these issues were mainly commenting on their experience of making provision for Gaelic, similar issues were raised by English and Welsh respondents, in relation to a range of community languages, indicating areas of common ground which could be jointly explored by teachers of Gaelic and teachers of other community languages if mechanisms to bring these groups together existed.

Both the directors/ administrators and the language teachers in the *complementary sector* took the opportunity to raise other issues about community languages provision in the complementary sector. The limited funding available was a source of considerable frustration to school directors:

> We have over the past 20 years provided six or seven languages, but these are all self-financing. Although the local authority provides rent free premises and funds the teachers two hours a week for 15 teachers, the school needs full-time staff and its own office space in order to develop.

> We tend to have several levels in a class – because of staffing problems – which is not ideal and the students are often not happy with this. We find it difficult to find teachers prepared to commit to working two hours every Saturday morning. We have funding problems and heavy expenses in hiring school premises for classes.

> We believe that with more financial support from local authorities we could expand our number of students.

Lack of funding means that many schools rely on volunteer teachers, but this creates a number of problems:

> We have difficulty in getting teachers on a long-term basis as the teachers are university students here for two-three years while they study. We have no qualified teachers apart from the head teacher. All the teachers are volunteers and only travelling expenses are covered.

We need support as teaching is carried out during the school summer holidays only by volunteer members of the cultural association, with very little training and resources.

We would like to extend our work so we can make it accessible to all children [who speak this language] in Glasgow but we are doing it with very limited resources. We need a permanent place and trained teachers.

Directors and teachers alike wanted to see improvements both to the range of resources and to the professional development opportunities:

All our teachers have no proper training in teaching. We hope we can get some more support in this area.

I am not a qualified trained teacher but I like to pass on my knowledge and I love this. I would like to have modern resources to teach with so that the children do not get bored.

Teachers did not always feel supported by parents or by the mainstream education system:

The language environment is very important: the students need to practise more at home.

We feel it is sad that Italian is not as widespread in schools as it could be. We are concerned that it is being squeezed out of the school curriculum. This is true of languages in general.

We provide a service that is sadly lacking in many secondary schools and FE colleges.

However, they were committed to their work and felt that they provided a valuable service to the community and to the children themselves:

We have only limited resources but we do our best to teach these children our language and culture so that they can communicate better with their parents and grandparents who know only their native language.

We are trying to teach the younger generation Indian culture and language, so that they can communicate with their grandparents and learn moral values from them.

Our children progress slowly but the experience seems to last. Some have taken the language further to a higher level elsewhere.

3.5 Conclusions

This chapter has mapped current provision for community language learning in Scotland, drawing on the data from this study and from other sources to provide as complete a picture as possible. This indicates that the nature and scope of provision is very variable, depending on the language in question and on the mode of provision (i.e. mainstream or complementary). Provision for Gaelic is the most extensive, with opportunities for students to study the language in Gaelic medium units or as a second language, and with a number of complementary providers seeking to enable children to extend their repertoire through social activities outside school hours. Because of this, Gaelic schools and teachers are well represented in the survey and they raise a number of issues which are of immediate relevance to Gaelic itself, but also, in a number of cases, to other community languages as well. For example, Gaelic teachers point to the need to support the parents of children attending Gaelic medium units who may not, themselves be fluent speakers of Gaelic. This is an issue of potential significance for other languages too. Parents of children who have the opportunity to learn their community languages formally may not themselves be literate in the language in question, and therefore, in planning to develop and enhance existing provision, the extent to which parents may or may not be able to support their children's learning needs to be taken into consideration.

There are many languages for which no provision at all is currently made. We have identified some form of provision for 21 languages, but, as we have also found that over 100 languages are in use, this suggests that there is no provision for the formal learning of some 80 languages. In some cases, this may be because only small numbers of children speak these languages and they are scattered geographically. But some of these languages, such as Portuguese, Thai or Tagalog, are in widespread use across Scotland – as our trawl data indicate – and are also languages of considerable economic significance around the world[6]; and yet there appears to be no provision for children to learn them. Opportunities for formal study of languages with a particular significance for Scotland are also limited in some cases. These include Scots (including regional varieties such as Doric), the languages of Gypsies/ Travellers, some of which have a long historical presence in Scotland and are in great danger of disappearing completely, and British Sign Language. For none of these languages does there appear to be any policy which either recognises the need for formal provision or considers the most appropriate forms of support. This situation is in quite stark contrast to Gaelic or indeed to Urdu which, having become a 'modern language' in Scottish schools, is now included in mainstream language education policies. There is no policy specifically addressing the teaching of other languages, such as Chinese or Punjabi, for which there are no Scottish examinations but for which Scottish pupils may be entered as candidates in English GCSE, A/S or A Level examinations, despite some recent interest in encouraging Scottish students to study Mandarin Chinese (Scottish Executive, 2005b).

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[6] Portuguese is spoken by over 177 million people around the world, not only in Portugal but in Latin America, Africa and Asia. Thai is spoken by 25 million people in Thailand, which is in the top five of foreign holiday destinations among high spending UK tourists (National Statistics, 2005). Tagalog (also known as Pilipino) is the official language of the Philippines and spoken as a first or second language by 57 million people.

Our survey of community language providers identified a number of issues which require further discussion in considering how best to develop and enhance provision. Training and professional development for community languages teachers emerges as one of the most salient issues. Teachers have a very wide range of qualifications – ranging from those who have qualified as language teachers within the Scottish education system to those who are willing and committed, but untrained volunteers. Undoubtedly all of these teachers want to do their best for their students, but collectively they have identified a range of challenges for community language teaching, for which they would welcome more opportunities to develop their own skills and to learn from each other. Teachers' professional development needs are addressed in more detail in Chapter 4.

Another key area concerns the reasons why children (and their parents, on their behalf) are thought to wish to study community languages. This is an issue connected to broader arguments for language learning in the UK, an area to which considerable attention has been devoted since the Nuffield Languages Inquiry, which addressed these issues at UK level, and, in Scotland, the setting up of the Minister's Action Group for Languages, at the turn of the century. These discussions have established that languages education needs to take into account the broader context for language learning, for example, addressing the cultural context in which languages are used, the economic context, their role in the workplace, and social usage. From the survey it is clear that community languages teachers are aware of the importance of ensuring that their students can understand, speak, read and write the languages they are learning, and that they tend to place a high value on the access to cultural, historical and religious matters provided by community language learning. Many also appreciate that community language classes offer students opportunities to meet others with similar backgrounds and to learn to develop social skills in their community languages. Fewer teachers however are as aware of the economic value of the languages they are teaching, placing less emphasis on the gaining of qualifications or on their role in their students' future careers. These findings may help to explain why many students cease to study community languages around the ages of 14 to 15. If community languages teachers are themselves unsure or unconvinced of the economic value of the languages they are teaching, it is not surprising that their students fail to understand that their languages could be an asset for their future careers, and see other school work and preparations for other examinations as taking precedence.

Chapter 4: Discussion

This chapter looks at the implications of the key findings from the survey in terms of policy and improvements to provision. It draws on the consultation phase of the research, which considered ways in which current provision for community language learning might be developed or enhanced. A particular focus of the discussion was on the advantages and disadvantages of bringing provision for modern languages and community languages closer together.

The key issues explored in this chapter are:
- the implications of increasing linguistic diversity;
- advantages and disadvantages of different models of provision;
- training and professional development for teachers;
- the need for an inclusive and joined up languages education policy.

4.1 Increasing linguistic diversity

The increase in the range of languages in use in Scotland and across the UK as a whole, and the shifts in population described in section 3.1, raise challenging issues in terms of provision for community language learning. In some cases, established providers are finding that local demand for the languages they have been teaching for a considerable period of time is falling – while it may be rising elsewhere in areas where there has traditionally been little or no provision. There may be no provision at all for the languages of communities which have only recently arrived in the UK, although children in these communities would stand to benefit considerably from opportunities to study a language which they are likely already to speak fluently, and to gain formal recognition for their abilities. In some areas, the number of plurilingual children has increased substantially, along with the range of languages, meaning that there is high demand overall, but there may be only small numbers of speakers of many different languages, making provision difficult and expensive to organise.

In the course of the research, the question of how to develop provision which would build on existing strengths but could better meet the needs of a multilingual population which is both growing and diversifying has been raised by a range of participants at school, local authority, and national levels. A variety of solutions have also been suggested, among which partnerships among a range of institutions has been a key feature.

Partnerships with other schools or further education colleges

The three surveys revealed that partnerships between a group of schools, or between schools and further education colleges, have been developed to rationalise provision for a range of languages for which, in any one location, there may be only a small number of students. For example, one school which had had a substantial Bengali speaking population at one time and had taught Bengali as part of the core curriculum, had seen numbers decline to a level at which this was no longer viable. However, in partnership with a local further education college, they were still able to ensure that students who wished to study the language had the opportunity to do so. Another school, whose

population was linguistically very diverse, but where the numbers interested in studying particular languages were too small to make provision feasible, had made contact with other schools in the city, where some of these languages were taught, to use their examiners. The school paid examination fees, and monitored the demand for different languages: if this reached a certain level, the school would then make provision for students to study the languages in question. This model of 'collegiate provision' is also being developed in Northern Ireland to support provision for a range of subjects (including modern languages) where numbers may be small in any one school, but where, over several schools, there may be sufficient demand. The support which new technologies could provide to such partnerships requires further exploration.

Partnerships between mainstream and complementary schools

There are a number of reasons why partnerships between mainstream and complementary schools could be particularly beneficial. Most complementary schools are keen to enter their students for Standard Grade, GCSE, A/S and A level examinations, where these are available. However, complementary school teachers are not necessarily in a good position to prepare their students for these examinations: only a small proportion are qualified language teachers, and many identified greater knowledge of UK examination systems as a key area for their own professional development. In contrast, many mainstream schools are willing to enter students for examinations in their community languages, but do not have sufficient numbers of students to justify making provision. In Glasgow, Shawlands Academy has recognised the potential for synergy in this context and has established links with a wide range of complementary providers across the city and further afield, for whom the school acts as examination centre: in 2004, 84 students sat GCSEs in eight languages, and 85 students sat A/S or A levels in three languages.

Other kinds of partnerships are also possible. In addition to providing space for community language classes to meet after hours or at weekends, some English schools reported taking an active role in promoting this provision to students and their parents, making clear the benefits bilingual students gain from becoming biliterate. Where student numbers are not sufficient for mainstream schools to offer timetabled provision, such partnerships enable schools to ensure that as many bilingual students as possible are able to develop their community language skills, and also to monitor demand and student progression.

A need for local and national policy

Given the growth in the number of bi- or plurilingual school students and the rapid changes in the range of languages spoken and the location of bilingual communities, it is important that local authorities and the relevant national bodies keep track of developments in order to ensure that provision meets needs. Currently, data gathering in this area is somewhat haphazard: some authorities conduct language surveys on a regular basis but others do not; and there appear to be very few schools with an accurate picture of the range of languages used by their students, or of the number of students who speak other languages in addition to English. In these circumstances it is difficult to establish demand for formal provision to support the languages which students speak, or to monitor changes over time and take action if demand increases or falls.

A useful model for Scottish local authorities to consider is that of Finland where municipalities undertake to make provision for community language learning whenever five or more children interested in taking up such provision can be identified. These children may be attending different schools within the municipality, but the municipality arranges transport to bring the children to a central point for after-school provision. Such arrangements depend on good information gathering practices, which are well-established in Finland. As Finland is a country of a similar size to Scotland, what is feasible in the Finnish context may well work in Scotland too.

Evidence from England indicates that developing an accurate picture of the range of languages in use in a particular area is likely to bring economic benefits: for example, the work of the *Multilingual Capital* researchers (Baker and Eversley, 2000) in identifying the range of languages in use in London has been used to encourage multinational employers seeking a multilingual workforce to locate in London, and most recently, as a factor supporting London's successful bid for the 2012 Olympics. However, it is not enough simply to catalogue the range of languages in use. To be able to capitalise on this potential resource, speakers of community languages need to be encouraged to improve their levels of competence – particularly their literacy skills in their community languages – and for this to happen, suitable provision needs to be available in appropriate locations.

There are thus strong arguments in favour of developing local and national policy to support community language learning, and such policy needs to be based on an accurate picture of local and national linguistic capacity, existing provision and potential demand for further provision. This needs to be accompanied by debate about how best to support and develop provision.

4.2 Models of provision

Three models of provision for community language learning are currently in use, based on three different perspectives:
- that community language learning is essentially a distinctive branch of language learning, requiring different materials and teaching approaches from modern language learning;
- that community language learning is similar or identical to modern language learning and can therefore be accommodated in similar ways;
- that community language learning is best achieved when the language is used as the medium of instruction.

It is not feasible, on the basis of this survey to say which of these models is most effective. In any case, it seems likely each of these models is more or less effective in different circumstances, depending on the learners' backgrounds and aspirations. In this section, we look at the issues underlying each model; and argue for a flexible approach which takes into account the needs and interests of the learners and their communities.

Community languages as a distinctive form of language learning

Is learning a community language qualitatively different from learning a modern language? As noted earlier, languages *per se* cannot be neatly divided into community languages or modern languages. French is a community language for some children who have French-speaking parents or were brought up in a French-speaking country. Similarly, Gaelic or Urdu can be modern languages for children from English-speaking families who have the opportunity to study these languages from scratch, as part of their language curriculum at school. The labels refer rather to the position of the learners in relation to the language. A language of which the student has had little or no experience outwith school, before starting to study it formally in school classes, is approached as a modern language, where everything about the language has to be learned in a relatively formal context, without the expectation that the students' learning will be significantly enhanced by informal learning outside school. Where students have had prior experience, because of family connections, community experiences, or extensive time abroad in a country where the language in question is spoken, it becomes a community language. In this case, students are likely to have some – and often extensive – experience of the language in informal context, but limited formal knowledge. The student may have little or no literacy in the language, and this may therefore be a major focus of provision, particularly when it involves a different script and very different literacy traditions from English. A community language teaching approach thus contrasts the approach usually adopted when teaching a modern language, in which the focus – particularly in the early stages – tends to be at least as great, or greater, on the acquisition of oral competence.

These differences in the prior experiences of language learners would seem to indicate a need for different models of provision. However, although we are distinguishing between community language learning and modern language learning on the basis of learners' prior exposure to the language, it is also important to recognise that this prior exposure differs very widely from one learner to another. A continuum of exposure can be constructed where 'high exposure' represents the situation in which the learner has spent extensive periods of time in a country or community where the language is in widespread use, has been educated in that language and, as a result, is virtually or entirely indistinguishable from a 'native' speaker of the language, not only orally but in terms of levels of literacy appropriate to their age and the standards expected by this language community. 'Low exposure', at the other end of the continuum, represents the situation in which a child, born and brought up in Scotland, retains some connection to the language and culture of his or her non-Anglophone grandparents or great grandparents, usually in a relatively restricted context (e.g. a family tradition of Gaelic singing or some formal study of Punjabi for religious purposes) and therefore cannot speak the language with any degree of fluency and has little or no literacy. Key factors determining learners' place on the continuum include the extent to which they speak and hear the language in their daily lives, the amount of time spent in a country or area where the language is spoken, and prior opportunities to learn to read and write the language, at home or at school.

Complementary schools have to take this continuum into account in devising appropriate provision for community language learning. In some cases they may be dealing with children who have similar levels of prior exposure (e.g. they are mainly second

generation, growing up speaking both English and the other language, but with few opportunities to learn to become literate). In these circumstances, it may be relatively straightforward to arrange appropriate provision at different levels which may be related either to age or more specifically to the amount of formal study in the school which the learners have already undergone. But in most cases, they are likely to be dealing with children whose prior exposure to the language ranges widely over the continuum. They will have to make difficult decisions about organising provision: should it be by age, regardless of the levels of competence of the students, or should they have 'beginner', 'intermediate', and 'advanced' classes, regardless of age level? The teachers may not have the expertise needed to deal with (very) mixed ability classes or with classes where the students' ages vary widely. They may also find it difficult to cope with learners whose linguistic gaps are atypical either of native speakers of the language or of those who learn the language from scratch, the two types of 'typical' learner envisaged by most textbooks.

Complementary schools also have to take into account the learners' goals. These can also vary very considerably from learner to learner and across communities. It tends to be assumed that young learners (of pre-school or primary age) attend classes principally because their parents have decided that they should, and the parents' expectations, rather than the children's own motivation for learning the language, are therefore likely to be an influential factor in determining the focus of provision. We have seen in Chapter 3 that, apart from language skills, complementary school administrators and teachers identified providing access to the history, culture and religion associated with the language as more important than enabling the learners either to gain qualifications or to acquire valuable skills for future career purposes. Historical and cultural factors are often linked to parental concerns – for example that children learn the traditions of the community and can thus develop the cultural identity their parents wish them to maintain in the future. These may or may not be motivating factors for the students themselves.

The combined survey data for Scotland, England and Wales indicate that the numbers of students attending complementary schools start to fall after the age of 14. There may be a number of reasons for this – including the fact that a proportion of these students may be able to take up school-based provision for the language at this point – but one possibility is that as students reach the age at which they are being asked at school to choose the subjects which will best prepare them for the careers they have in mind, they fail to see that their community language studies have much relevance. They may choose to give up these studies in order to accommodate the increased amount of homework and examination preparation which their mainstream school work begins to demand at this point. A rationale for provision which focuses principally on the cultural and heritage value of learning community languages may therefore be less engaging than one which draws attention to the value of qualifications and career potential for students at this stage in their lives.

Community languages as modern languages

Would there therefore be advantages in making stronger links between community language learning and modern language learning, placing greater emphasis on their

relevance for future careers, international mobility and travel? In mainstream schools which make provision for community language learning alongside typical modern languages such as French, German and Spanish, there are already opportunities to make such connections. A key factor in support of making similar or identical provision for community languages and modern languages is that the examination criteria at Standard Grade, GCSE, A/S and A level are the same for all languages. A major advantage for community language learners in this context is that the language skills which they may have been developing over many years of extracurricular study, gain formal recognition, contributing, along with other school work and particularly other examination passes, to the portfolio of skills and qualifications which will allow them to progress to further or higher education and on into work.

There are certain important disadvantages, however. One is that the balance of learning activities may not be entirely appropriate. We have seen that community language learners typically need to focus on the more formal aspects of the language – particularly literacy – while, in many cases, their ability to speak and understand the language may already be relatively well developed. A modern languages approach, however, tends to emphasise the development of oral skills, particularly in the early stages of language learning, and to assume that literacy skills follow on from this in a relatively unproblematic way. This assumption may have some validity in relation to the main modern languages studied at school (French, German and Spanish) given that they use the same alphabet as English and that many literacy conventions are similar or identical in the main European languages. But it is less well-founded in relation to the main community languages for which there is school-based provision – e.g. Chinese, Arabic, Urdu or Bengali – all of which use different writing systems from English and require quite different understandings of text construction at discourse level. The extent to which a school-based course in these languages can take into account the different experiences and needs of the students while still preparing them for an examination based on the typical progression patterns of modern languages students learning European languages is difficult to determine. Work currently under way at Goldsmiths College London to devise curriculum guides for some of the principal community languages in use in England may help to answer this question.[7]

Another disadvantage is the relatively widespread perception is that, by studying and seeking to gain qualifications in a language of which they have some prior knowledge gained outside school, community language learners are, in some way, cheating the system. Some people – including some modern languages teachers – feel it is unfair that students who may, because of their circumstances, be more fluent in the language than others who have started studying it from scratch at school, have an advantage over the latter group which will eventually lead to them gaining higher exam passes, undeservedly in their view.

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[7] These guides, produced with support from the Nuffield Foundation, will be published by CILT – the National Centre for Languages, in Autumn 2006.

There are a number of assumptions to be challenged here. In the most extreme examples, students of, say, Russian origin, may have moved to Scotland at age 14 or 15, and thus could be entered within a few months of their arrival for Standard Grade Russian. They may receive no tuition in the language at all, but still gain the highest grades because they are native speakers of Russian, have been attending school in Russia up until their move to Scotland and are therefore also highly literate. From the point of view of Scottish-born students of Russian, who may have worked hard to learn the language, but achieve lower grades, this may seem unfair. It seems as if the Russian students are being given credit for something they did not work for and are 'naturally' good at. However, this is not really the case. The Russian students have worked hard at school in Russia to become competent and literate in Russian in the same way as Scottish-educated students have worked hard to become competent and literate in English. Because they have left Russia, almost certainly as a result of family circumstances outwith their control, they may have no opportunity to gain credit for this work in Russia. They may be facing a long-term future in Scotland, for which they will need qualifications they are, at this stage, ill-prepared to gain. Standard Grade Russian may be the only qualification open to them because their English may not be sufficiently well developed as yet to enable them to sit other examinations. They are, in fact, at a great disadvantage, compared with Scottish-educated students and it seems unreasonable to deny them the opportunity to gain the only qualifications accessible to them. Moreover, a system of handicapping students who have had opportunities to develop academic skills outside school is not in operation in any other curriculum area: children whose parents have invested in music lessons since early childhood are not barred from Standard Grade music because they are thought to have an unfair advantage, for example; nor are marks deducted from the French examination results of children whose parents have spent annual holidays in France because others have not had the same advantages.

Periodic discussion on this issue on Lingu@net Forum (an email discussion group for modern languages teachers across the UK) reveals a high level of resentment among some modern languages teachers about this situation, particularly in relation to students whose community languages are also studied as modern languages.[8] A key issue to be addressed is the fact that GCSE, A/S and A Level examinations, like Standard Grades and Highers, are norm-referenced rather than criterion-referenced, meaning that a large influx of 'native' Russian speakers inevitably depresses the scores for other Russian learners. If these examinations were criterion-referenced (i.e. the grade gained represents the level of competence achieved regardless of the number of others achieving the same level) the issue would cease to be of such concern.

Recent developments in thinking about languages education in Europe, and in England, may offer some solutions to the problems raised here. The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) was developed by the Council of Europe as a way of setting clear, internationally comparable standards to be achieved at each stage of language learning. It describes the competences needed for communication, the

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[8] See for example, October 2004 when this issue was raised specifically in relation to 'native' Russian speakers. The Lingu@net archive can be accessed http://www.mailbase.org.uk/lists/linguanet-forum/archive.html

related knowledge and skills and the situations in which different kinds of communication take place. According to the Council of Europe, 'it facilitates a clear definition of teaching and learning objectives and methods and provides the necessary tools for assessment of proficiency' (Council of Europe, 2001). The CEFR is increasingly gaining recognition throughout Europe as a way of ensuring that language learning and qualifications achieved in different contexts, including different educations systems, can be understood and compared.

One of the key ways in which ideas from the CEFR have been introduced and implemented in a range of European countries is via the European Language Portfolio (ELP), which allows students to record their existing competences in the languages they know and encourages them to build on what they can already do. There are now many different portfolia in use across Europe, designed to match the different education systems and different stages of language learning (e.g. England has developed a portfolio for primary school children and one for adult language learners; Ireland has developed a portfolio for adult learners of English as an additional language, among other portfolia). It does not appear that ELPa have yet been developed specifically with the needs of community language learners in mind, but the English primary ELP has been valuable in enabling teachers to gather a much more detailed picture of children's existing language skills, and to tailor primary provision (which is less constrained by examination syllabi) to these. An important feature of an ELP is that it enables learners to document the skills they have acquired in different contexts, but classified according to CEFR levels, so that subsequent teachers, or employers, can quickly assess the learner's competence in terms of the key language skills (speaking, listening, reading and writing). It is feasible – and perhaps expected – that the learner is recorded as having reached quite different levels in relation to each of the four skills. Thus someone who is highly fluent orally but has only basic literacy in a language can represent the situation accurately, can make clear the need for provision which focuses on literacy rather than oral skills, if this is the case, and apply for jobs which require high levels of oral skills (e.g. in organisations in which staff have extensive daily contact with clients who speak the language in question) even if their literacy skills are not well developed.

Another English development of interest is the Asset Languages Assessment Scheme, developed as part of the (English) National Languages Strategy, by the OCR and Cambridge ESOL examination boards. The aim of Asset Languages is to make assessment and recording of language proficiencies more flexible than current examination systems allow. It is linked to the DfES's 'Languages Ladder', made up of six stages: Breakthrough, Preliminary, Intermediate, Advanced, Proficiency, Mastery. Assessment at each stage is flexible, combining teacher assessment and external assessment, with opportunities to gain certification throughout the academic year. A key advantage of this model (similar to the CEFR) is the recognition that students may have reached quite different levels of competence in relation to each of the skills: those learning community languages may, for example, have higher levels of competence in speaking and listening than in reading and writing. Making this explicit may make students decide that they need to work principally on literacy skills; alternatively, students could decide that they are not concerned about low levels of literacy because

their principal goal is to become orally fluent. The Asset Languages scheme is still in the early stages of development, but has considerable potential for community language learners, particularly those who have acquired their skills informally. When the initiative is fully implemented, it will be available in over 20 languages, including Chinese, French, German, Italian, Japanese, Punjabi, Spanish and Urdu (currently available); and Arabic, Bengali, Modern Greek, Gujarati, Hindi, Irish, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Somali, Swedish, Tamil, Turkish, Welsh and Yoruba (from September 2006).

Community languages as the medium of instruction

A third model of provision for community language learning is where the language is used as the medium of instruction. Historically, this model has rarely been adopted in the UK, but is more common in Europe (particularly in relation to 'indigenous' minority languages such as Frisian in the Netherlands, Basque in Spain, German in Hungary, etc.). In Canada, the USA and Australia, provision for a wide range of 'immigrant' and 'indigenous' community languages typically forms part of 'transitional' programmes: children whose English (or French in some parts of Canada) is limited at the time they are due to start school are enrolled in classes where their primary ('first', 'native', 'mother tongue') language is used as the medium of instruction, with a gradual phasing in of English or French, until they are judged ready to move to classes where English or French is the medium of instruction. The transitional model was developed because research showed that children who began their education in classes where they did not understand the language used as the medium of instruction tended not to make good academic progress. They are controversial, however, because their goal is not usually to enable the children to become fully proficient in both the dominant and the other language but rather to smooth the path towards education in the dominant language, after which the other language typically ceases to be used or valued.

Rather different approaches of relevance in this context are 'immersion' education and 'content and language integrated learning' (CLIL). The 'immersion' model was developed, from the 1960s onwards, in Canada, where children from English speaking backgrounds were given the opportunity to be educated through the medium of French. This was because there are many jobs in Canada which require employees to be fluent in both the official languages of the country, but English speaking Canadians in particular tended to find it difficult to achieve sufficiently high levels of French through conventional modern language provision. The outcomes of this model have been extensively researched, and studies show that children educated in this way (particularly those who experience 'early total immersion' – i.e. they start to be educated wholly in French from the age of 5 or 6 onwards) achieve much higher levels of competence in French than those who learn the language in traditional modern languages classes. English is gradually introduced in the course of their education, and research shows that immersion educated students achieve the same (and sometimes higher) levels of competence in English as peers educated in English medium schools (Johnstone, 2002).

CLIL can be categorised as a type of 'late partial' immersion. Typically, provision consists of one curriculum subject (e.g. geography or business studies) being taught through the medium of another language. CLIL-based approaches are becoming well-

established throughout Europe, and a major longitudinal study (Content and Language Integration Project, or CLIP) into its impact on students' linguistic development, along with their progress in the curriculum subject in question, is currently under way, under the auspices of CILT – the (English) National Centre for Languages. The project website[9] argues that there are substantial benefits for students:

> Although it may take a while for pupils to acclimatise to the challenges of CLIL, once they are familiar with the new way of working, demonstrably increased motivation and focus makes it possible (and likely) that they will progress at faster-than-usual rates in the content subject, providing that the principles of CLIL teaching are borne in mind during planning and delivery. CLIL aims to improve performance in both the content subject and the foreign language. Research indicates there should be no detrimental effects for the CLIL pupils (and often progress is demonstrably better). Other advantages include:
> - stronger links with the citizenship curriculum (particularly through the use of authentic materials, which offer an alternative perspective on a variety of issues)
> - increased student awareness of the value of transferable skills and knowledge
> - greater pupil confidence.

In Scotland, there are currently two examples of using a language other than English as the medium of instruction in mainstream schools: the development of Gaelic medium units in primary schools, and the Early Partial Immersion in French (EPIF) project at Walker Road Primary School in Aberdeen. The Gaelic medium initiative clearly has much in common with provision for regional minority languages in other parts of Europe, in that one of its key aims is to ensure that children from Gaelic speaking families, particularly those living in areas where Gaelic is still in use (the 'Gaeltacht'), have the opportunity to be educated in their 'mother tongue'; and thus that the language itself, at risk of dying out, is preserved. However, in contrast to provision in some other countries, Scotland has made this provision open to children who are not from Gaelic speaking families, nor living in the Gaeltacht. This decision was taken partly for language preservation reasons and partly because it became clear that some parents are keen for their children to become fluent in Gaelic, even when the language is not in use in the family: because the language is seen as contributing to a Scottish identity or heritage, and because of the range of benefits which bilingualism is understood to confer. Currently it is probable that at least 50% of the children attending Gaelic medium units are not from Gaelic speaking families or living in the Gaeltacht. Thus Gaelic medium education needs to be understood as being simultaneously provision to enable children who speak a community language to be educated through the medium of this language *and* as a version of early total immersion, for children who are not from Gaelic speaking homes or communities. These features of the context make the provision fairly unique[10]. To date,

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[9] <http://www.cilt.org.uk/clip/faqs.htm>

[10] There are some similarities with 'two-way immersion' programmes in the USA, where children who are 'native speakers' of English and those who are 'native speakers' of another language, usually Spanish are educated together. Researchers have found a similar range of positive outcomes to those associated with other immersion programmes (Howard et

its outcomes have been positively viewed both in terms of the academic outcomes, (Johnstone et al. 1999), which replicate the findings from the Canadian immersion studies, and in terms of public perception which seems predominantly positive.

One of the distinctive characteristics of the EPIF project is that it is set in a primary school in a working class area where it seems unlikely that many of the parents are themselves fluent in French The Director of Education for Aberdeen City Council has stated that the project has important social purposes as well as those which could be interpreted in a more narrowly academic sense: "it also seeks to broaden pupils' horizons, give them a sense of wider opportunity and the self-confidence to 'go for it'" (Johnstone, 2002). The positive results which have emerged from the project to date (Johnstone, op.cit.) are therefore important in that they demonstrate that immersion programmes are not only successful when offered to the middle-class children of parents who have consciously chosen such provision and are likely to be very committed to bilingualism for a variety of ideological and pragmatic reasons which may or may not be shared by working-class parents.[11]

What do the Gaelic-medium and EPIF projects indicate about the feasibility of introducing provision where other languages in use in Scotland – such as Urdu, Arabic, Chinese or Polish – might be the media of instruction? Although there have been very few attempts of this kind in the UK to date (with one notable exception being the Open Door Project in the 1980s in Bradford; see Fitzpatrick, 1987), there is clearly the potential for the success of these projects to be replicated for other languages. These could draw on the strengths of the Gaelic medium programme – in particular the setting up of units within a school, the mixing of children from community language backgrounds with those from English-speaking backgrounds in the group, and the promotion of bilingualism as an asset to parents and the community more generally. They could also learn from the EPIF project about ways of convincing inner city communities of the value of bilingual education. The benefits of developing such provision could well be felt beyond the children directly involved. Once Gaelic became a medium of instruction in some primary classes, there was a need to develop a wide range of materials, parallel with those available for the teaching of English. Teachers in these schools have become more aware of student linguistic development generally and of the kinds of materials which support bilingual development, particularly in the early years. There are few comparable resources available currently for other community languages, and few

al., 2003). Two-way immersion programmes, however, allocate roughly equal amounts of time to education in the medium of English and in the medium of the other language, while Gaelic-medium education in Scotland is exclusively in Gaelic in the early years and then introduces English as a minor element.

[11] Some proponents of bilingual education have expressed major concerns about its effectiveness in schools where most students are not from middle-class backgrounds, most recently, in the context of Welsh-medium education: see BBC report, 'Welsh Medium 'Victim of its own Success''', 23rd January 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/wales/4638444.stm>. In the interests of equity and social inclusion, it is imperative that effective models of bilingual education are developed to benefit all students, not only an already privileged group.

teachers – either in complementary schools or in mainstream education – who have had the opportunity to reflect in depth on their students' developing bilingualism. Thus even a small number of Chinese- or Urdu-medium units could have a significant impact on the development of resources and teaching approaches and on thinking about how to support students' bilingualism and bi-literacy.

Developing a flexible approach

Which of these approaches to community language education is likely to be most effective? It is clear from the preceding discussion that finding the answer to this seemingly simple question would be a challenging exercise, in which the meaning of 'effective' (in terms of linguistic and other academic outcomes, and of social, cultural and economic implications) would need to be clearly defined. There are multiple audiences to be considered too – the learners themselves, their families and communities, and wider Scottish society – in seeking to answer the question 'effective for whom?' It seems likely that different approaches are likely to be most effective for different groups of learners with different degrees of prior exposure and different goals.

Provision organised by communities for their own children will have been designed to meet the needs identified by these communities: these tend to include the cultural, historical and religious contexts for which the language is seen as useful or necessary by the community. There is no intention in this report to suggest that meeting such needs is inappropriate or unhelpful. Mahmood (2005) puts forward powerful reasons why this kind of provision plays an important *complementary* role in the education of children from multicultural and multilingual communities. In fact, this focus raises interesting comparisons with current approaches to modern languages teaching in schools which have been criticised for presenting an ahistorical, de-cultured perspective on language learning (Kramsch, 1993).

However, if we wish to capitalise on the range of languages in use in Scotland, particularly in terms of their potential to support the economic development and international relations, provision for community language learning needs to take such goals into account too. We have seen that community language learners do not necessarily see that the language skills they have acquired have great relevance for their future lives, and particularly for their future careers. In this, they reflect the wider view of Scottish – and UK – society in relation to the value of languages other than English. It is not only community language learners who begin to drop out of language classes from the age of 14 onwards. Recent decades have seen a steep decline in the number of students continuing to study modern languages after the age of 16 (McPake et al., 1999) and, particularly in England, the age at which students abandon language learning is now falling to below 16, i.e. before students have had the opportunity to sit GCSEs in a language (CILT, 2005a). Initiatives mentioned earlier in this chapter – such as the European Language Portfolio, Asset Languages or CLIP – have all been introduced as ways of making language learning more accessible and more relevant to students who have not only a wide range of subject options to choose from, but also far more extensive – and contradictory – information available to them about the subject choices most appropriate for the worlds of higher education and of work to which they aspire. It is

important to ensure that such initiatives include community language learners as well as modern language learners, as they are influenced by the same factors and share many of the same goals.

The conclusions reached following the consultation phase are as follows.

i. Complementary schools have played and continue to play a crucial role in the maintenance and development of the languages they teach. Their approach reflects community concerns and interests and provision is therefore likely to meet many of the goals of students and their parents, particularly in terms of cultural and religious heritage and identity.

ii. However, complementary schools have limited funding to achieve their goals. Staff are often volunteers, with professional development needs which are difficult for the complementary sector to meet. The value of the languages they teach for their students' future studies and careers may not be a major focus of their work, and therefore the wider societal benefits to be derived from a highly competent, literate, multilingual population may not be achieved.

iii. For these reasons, closer links with mainstream provision for modern language learning are recommended. These links would enable community language learners to gain recognition for the language skills they have acquired and take these further, particularly in terms of gaining formal qualifications. It would also enable them to make more explicit links between community and modern language learning, and to identify an appropriate place for all their language skills in their future study and career plans.

iv. A more flexible approach to community and modern language learning is needed to combat the increasingly widespread perception that the ability to use languages other than English is unnecessary in a 'globalised' world. This includes the development of diverse models of provision (including immersion and CLIL approaches) and more flexible modes of assessing and recording students' language skills (including the development of the ELP and consideration of the use of the Asset Languages Assessment Scheme in Scotland).

4.3 Professional development for community languages teachers

The Scottish, English and Welsh surveys show that community languages teachers have a wide range of qualifications, from the UK and overseas, and differing experiences of language teaching. While most of the community languages teachers employed in mainstream schools in Scotland had Scottish teaching qualifications, only around a fifth of those in the complementary sector were in this position. One of their key requirements identified by all community languages teachers is for greater opportunities for professional development. In some areas, their concerns are similar to those of modern languages colleagues: they are looking for opportunities to develop their use of ICT in the

classroom, interested in finding ways of making language learning more engaging and enjoyable, and, like all teachers, they are concerned to become more effective in areas such as classroom management, understanding and responding to different student learning strategies and improving the quality of their teaching.

Other issues are more specific to community language teaching. Given the diversity of students' prior experiences of the languages they study, as set out in the previous section, teachers have a particular concern for mixed-ability teaching and differentiation, to enable them to work in classes with similar abilities but mixed ages, or conversely, similar ages but a wide range of abilities and experiences.

Professional development is expensive and may be difficult for teachers from complementary schools, in particular, to access. One approach may be to support the development of partnerships, between community languages and modern languages teachers in the same school or authority, and between teachers of the same languages in different areas. Informal discussions and opportunities to network may enable teachers to share ideas and approaches and also help to identify a wider range of professional development options.

In this context, there have been two initiatives in England which may be of relevance for Scotland. The first is a website, *Multiverse*, set up by the Training and Development Agency for Schools (TDA) in England,[12] following a survey of newly qualified teachers which sought to establish which aspects of their work they felt their initial teacher education had least effectively prepared them for. This turned out to be working with bilingual pupils. The site acts as a repository for a wide range of materials which can be used in initial teacher education or continuous professional development courses, with a focus on multiculturalism and multilingualism. Although these materials are intended for mainstream teachers without particular expertise in this area, many have wider relevance: for example, in the section on 'bilingual and multilingual learners', there are articles and professional development activities on the importance of enabling children to maintain and develop their other language(s) as well as English, on pupil perspectives and those of parents and communities, and a collection of English and European policy documents. In Scotland, we already have a website designed for modern languages teachers, the *Modern Foreign Languages Environment*,[13] although this does not currently include materials specifically aimed at community languages teachers. A website which combined the strengths of Multiverse and the MFLE (possibly an expansion of the MFLE), aimed at community languages teachers in Scotland, could provide considerable support.

Secondly, an increasing number of English teacher education institutions (TEIs) are offering initial teacher education for community languages. There are currently at least eight providers of such courses in England, training teachers of Arabic, Bengali, Japanese, Mandarin, Punjabi, Turkish and Urdu. The approach adopted by Goldsmiths College in London is interesting in that their student teachers qualify in two languages – a 'community' language (Mandarin, Arabic or Punjabi) and a 'modern' language (French,

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[12] <http://www.multiverse.ac.uk>
[13] <http://www.ltscotland.org.uk/mfle>

German or Spanish), thus enabling student teachers to make explicit connections across models of language learning (optionally, they can also include the teaching of English as an additional language in the qualification) and also ensuring that their chances of finding full-time work in mainstream schools are enhanced, if this is their goal. Currently, no Scottish TEIs offer initial teacher education in community languages other than Gaelic. There are no opportunities to train to teach Urdu, despite the fact that Standard Grade Urdu has been available since 1999; therefore Urdu teachers employed in Scottish schools have had to qualify as teachers of other subjects: our survey showed that over a third (38%) did not have any specific training in language teaching at all.

4.4 An inclusive and joined-up language policy for Scotland

The start of a new century seems to have been viewed as an appropriate time to review language education policy. In Scotland, the Minister's Action Group for Languages produced the report *Citizens of a Multilingual World* which sets out a clear rationale for language learning in the 21st century, including the ability to communicate, to access other cultures, to enhance awareness of language, to support economic regeneration and promote labour mobility, to make full use of the ICT revolution, and to contribute to social inclusion, citizenship and democracy (Minister's Action Group for Languages, 2000). At the same, time, the National Cultural Strategy also identified a key role for all Scotland's languages both in 'creating our future' and in 'minding our past' (Scottish Executive, 2000). At UK level, the Nuffield Language Inquiry was set up to review the UK's capability in languages for the first 20 years of this century and to establish whether existing policy and provision were sufficient (Nuffield Languages Inquiry, 2000). In Europe, both the European Union and the Council of Europe reviewed and expanded their already strong commitment to promoting language learning across Europe. For example, in March 2002, the heads of state and government of the European Union meeting in Barcelona called for at least two other languages in addition to a child's 'mother tongue' to be taught from a very early age; and in 2003, the Commission committed itself to undertake 45 new actions to encourage national, regional and local authorities also to work for 'a major step change in promoting language learning and linguistic diversity'. The Council of Europe, in addition to the development and promotion of the CEFR and the ELP mentioned in section 4.2, has also produced a guide to the development of language education policies in Europe, developing the concept of plurilingualism (Beacco and Byram, 2003), and setting up mechanisms to support countries or communities which wish to review their current policies.[14]

In contrast to languages education policy of the 20th century, which, implicitly or explicitly, excluded most or all community languages from discussion, policy or provision, focusing rather on the major European languages, all of these early 21st century developments have expanded the scope of languages education to include all the

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[14] See the Council of Europe Language Policy Division website for further details:
<http://www.coe.int/t/e/cultural%5Fco%2Doperation/education/languages/language%5Fpolicy/policy%5Fdevelopment%5Factivities/Language%5FEducation%5FPolicy%5FProfiles>

languages which Scottish, UK or European citizens already speak or might wish to learn. For example, *Citizens of a Multilingual World* (op.cit.) states that:

> It will be important to provide opportunities for linguistic development and accreditation for those who wish to continue to develop their skills in a heritage or community language or who wish to develop a language which is a significant part of their cultural identity, including British Sign Language.
>
> (p.15)

The European Union's policy on *Promoting Language Learning and Linguistic Diversity* (Commission of the European Communities, 2003) recognises that:

> Promoting linguistic diversity means actively encouraging the teaching and learning of the widest possible range of languages in our schools, universities, adult education centres and enterprises. Taken as a whole, the range on offer should include the smaller European languages as well as the larger ones, regional, minority and migrant languages as well as those with 'national' status, and the languages of our major trading partners around the world. (p.9)

The Council of Europe's Guide for the development of language education policies in Europe (op.cit.) argues that:

> Steps should […] be taken to make everyone aware that plurilingualism is a social and personal value in order to move to plurilingualism conceived as a form of contact with others. This means embracing the teaching of all languages in the same educational project and no longer placing the teaching of the national language, regional or minority languages and the languages of newly arrived communities in water-tight compartments. (pp. 35-6)

These shifts imply the need both for an *inclusive* language policy, which recognises all languages as having a place, and seeks to break down power and status differentials; and for what Lo Bianco (2001) described as *joined-up* policy for languages education in Scotland. At the time his report on *Language and Literacy Policy in Scotland* was written, a range of different bodies had responsibility for different aspects language and literacy policy: languages education in schools, cultural policy, adult literacy, Gaelic, etc. Bodies responsible for economic policy rarely or never identified the linguistic implications of their decisions: Lo Bianco gives the example of the 2002 EU review of fisheries policy, likely to have a greater impact on Scottish fishing communities than anywhere else in the UK and to lead to the loss of traditional livelihoods and the need for a new diversified economy – yet neither the general nor the more specialised language and literacy implications of these changes were addressed. In the period since, the report was published, it would be difficult to argue that much had changed, despite powerful arguments which Lo Bianco set out for the benefits to be derived from recognising the role which language and literacy skills play in all aspects of social and economic life in Scotland.

An inclusive policy

An inclusive language education policy would recognise that all languages used and studied in Scotland have an important role to play in developing the communicative

potential of the population. Currently, we have some moves towards this (as evidenced by the *Citizens of a Multilingual World* and *National Cultural Strategy* documents cited above) but there are still hangovers from earlier policy positions in which European languages were seen as more important or relevant than other languages. More damaging, perhaps, is the dominance of English which pervades thinking at every level, so that, for example, modern languages teachers sometimes seek to exclude children in the early stages of learning English from their classes on the basis that they cannot learn another language until their English has improved; or that school managers feel that they cannot make provision for community language learning in their schools because the priority has to be English as an additional language.[15] There have been, from time to time, pronouncements by UK politicians to the effect that multilingual communities should use English at home, because this would be the best way of supporting their children's education; and also in public, to promote social cohesion, seen as threatened by the use of languages other than English (cf Blunkett, 2002).

There is no intention in this report to suggest that children who have recently arrived in Scotland and are attending school here should *not* have to learn English: English is essential for their access to the full range of educational opportunities and moreover is a valuable asset for them, whether their future lies in Scotland or elsewhere. But the learning of English and of community languages is not mutually exclusive: there is, in fact, extensive research to demonstrate the benefits of enabling children to develop their primary language and the dominant language alongside each other (see Thomas and Collier, 2002, for one of the most extensive US studies on this issue). It is a hierarchical vision of the importance of different languages which leads people in positions of power and influence to privilege English and ignore other languages, despite the evidence that this approach is counter-productive.

At national level, we can see the legacy of earlier, non-inclusive languages education policy. French, German, Spanish and Italian are entrenched as the languages studied at school, with Urdu making little inroads, despite the introduction of Standard Grade Urdu in 1999. It tends to be assumed that Urdu will be of interest only to students of Pakistani origin, despite evidence from schools which offer the language that other students express an interest in learning a 'different' or 'more exotic' language – or, more pragmatically, are keener to learn a language spoken in their local area in preference to one spoken in a faraway country which they have no plans to visit, by people they have no expectation of ever meeting. This is not to suggest that European languages have no role in Scottish schools. Clearly, economic, diplomatic and cultural ties with our European neighbours are increasingly important and an ability to communicate in these languages will remain a key concern. The question is rather whether other communicative contexts can continue to be considered less important. In the 21st century,

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[15] For example, at the time of writing this report, the newly appointed head teacher of a North London school which had recently begun to teach some science classes bilingually, using English and Turkish, brought the experiment to a premature end on the basis that the children's English could only improve if they ceased to use Turkish. See BBC news article 'Ethnic language classes scrapped', 17 February 2006: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/education/4724556.stm>.

Mandarin and Arabic have at least as significant an economic and diplomatic role as European languages; but currently we do little to encourage children who already study these languages to develop their competence or achieve qualifications which would enable them to make use of their linguistic skills for Scotland's benefit. In view of increasing linguistic diversity within Scotland, as documented in earlier sections of this report, there is a growing need for interpreters, translators and bilingual workers, and more generally for a workforce with a greater understanding of cultural diversity and its implications in service encounters (McPake and Johnstone, 2002). But in an education system where there are currently few opportunities for students to develop their community language skills (particularly literacy) or gain qualifications, where will this workforce come from?

In recent years, considerable policy attention has been devoted to the preservation and promotion of Gaelic, culminating in the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act which comes into force in February 2006. This is designed to promote the use of Gaelic, secure the status of the language and ensure it has a long-term future. Specifically, it

- recognises Gaelic as an official language of Scotland, commanding equal respect with English;
- establishes Bòrd na Gàidhlig as part of the framework of government in Scotland with a key role in promoting Gaelic in Scotland, advising Ministers on Gaelic issues, driving forward Gaelic planning and preparing guidance on Gaelic education;
- requires the creation of a national plan for Gaelic to provide strategic direction for the development of the Gaelic language and provides a framework for the creation of Gaelic language plans by Scottish public bodies.

Scottish Executive Press Release, 13 February 2006:
<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2006/02/1313
0418>

These developments are important and the new official status of Gaelic can be seen as a step on the route to formal recognition of Scotland as a multilingual country. But what of Scotland's other languages, whether 'indigenous', such as Scots or British Sign Language, or originating elsewhere but now well-established in Scotland? An inclusive language education policy would recognise that all languages should command 'equal respect', that there is a need for guidance on education to support the learning of all languages of relevance to Scotland, and that there needs to be a national plan for the development and integration of all languages in use. This is not to say that Gaelic should have less prominence. Gaelic has an important place in Scottish history and culture and has been damaged – perhaps fatally – by a long history of neglect and overt hostility. Nor is it the case that all languages in use in Scotland require the same kinds of institutional support. But an inclusive policy would seek to value and promote all languages both in an educational context and in the wider context of public discourse in Scotland.

A joined-up policy

A joined-up policy would recognise the benefits to Scotland firstly of linking all policy areas which have an impact on the development of communication skills; and secondly of auditing and reviewing the communication needs associated with all policy domains. Thus at national level a communication development strategy would link basic communication skills, literacy, language learning of all kinds, and ICT in the context of social, economic, cultural, democratic activities.

The benefits would be the development of a more systematic and comprehensive approach to the development of the suite of high level communication skills which, it is increasingly recognised, all nations need to participate in the globalised economy: this is a particular feature of current debates around the competing demands of globalisation and localisation (Hegarty, 1999; Feely and Harzing, 2003; InterAct International, 2003a and 2003b).

A joined-up communication development strategy would support the early identification of aspects of policy decisions generally likely to change or influence the demand for communication skills. For example, the Scottish Executive's policy statement *Smart, Successful Scotland* (2001), which sets out what the Executive expects from Scotland's Enterprise Networks, identifies becoming 'the most globally connected nation in Europe' as a key aspiration for Scotland in the 21st century. A range of challenges to be met in order to achieve this are set out in the document: Scotland needs to become a 'leading digital nation', to have 'increased involvement in global markets', to be seen as a 'globally attractive location' and to encourage 'more people choosing to live and work in Scotland'. But at no point is there any mention of the need to develop communication skills, or, more specifically, to enhance Scotland's capacity in languages other than English, in order to succeed.

A Curriculum for Excellence (Scottish Executive Curriculum Review Group, 2004), which has drawn attention to the overarching principles for Scottish education, is likely to have an important role to play in developing a more joined-up vision. The document sets out four key outcomes for Scottish education, from age 3-18:

> Our aspiration for all young children and every young person is that they should be **successful learners**, **confident individuals**, **responsible citizens** and **effective contributors** to society and at work.
>   (p.6)

At the time of writing, groups are meeting to identify ways in which different curriculum areas, including language (which includes English and classical, modern and community languages), can support the achievement of these outcomes, and their decisions are not yet known. But it seems clear that languages education has much to contribute to these goals, and much to gain from a curriculum strategy which seeks to engage teachers from all curriculum areas in common cause. To take just one of these outcomes – responsible citizens – languages education has a significant role to play in terms of emphasising 'the rights and responsibilities of individuals and of nations' (p5); understanding 'diverse

cultures and beliefs' (p.11) and developing the ability 'to communicate in different ways and in different settings' (p.12). And by ensuring that this and the other outcomes are central to what languages education sets out to achieve, its cross-curricular relevance is demonstrated.

At school level, a joined-up communication development strategy would entail an audit of communication needs across the curriculum and identification of areas where existing provision meets these needs, where there are gaps and how these gaps might be filled. All teachers – not just those overtly concerned with the development of communication skills (i.e. English and modern/ community languages teachers, EAL staff and bilingual assistants and teachers of ICT) – have potential to contribute to this work; and earlier projects on communication across the curriculum have identified a number of ways of facilitating this work: see, for example, Hough and Mitchinson (2000); Mann (2002); and the *Building Bridges in Literacy* website[16].

Such an audit is a two-way process, focusing not only on the communication demands of the curriculum and how these can be met but also on the communication needs and aspirations of the pupils. Some of these may be closely linked to the curriculum, but others may differ, go beyond what schools typically expect to do, or challenge schools' philosophies. There are many examples of this kind of mismatch, often unintentional, between students' and schools' perspectives. In a study of the causes of decline in uptake of modern languages provision in the upper secondary school, McPake et al. (1999) found that students who could be described as the best linguists in their schools (those who had gained Credit level passes at Standard Grade and were preparing to sit Highers in two or more modern languages) were nevertheless dissatisfied with their progress and unconvinced that their success was due to anything other than good luck. It emerged that these students perceived 'good' linguists to be people who could communicate with virtually 'native-like' fluency in the languages they were studying. They did not understand that such goals were unrealistic for school level language studies – and their disappointment was often a factor in their decision not to continue with language study after school. Language teachers, unaware that their students had such expectations, often failed to discuss realistic goals or to explore with these ambitious students how they might achieve their goals in the long term. Other examples in the context of ICT indicate that the aims of educational provision can be quite widely at odds with what students want to learn and how they communicate via new technologies outside school, leading one commentator to argue that in the near future young people may cease to regard schools as having any relevance to their educational needs and aspirations in this context, and perhaps in others too, as a result (Gee, 2004). In relation to community languages, the very existence of the complementary school network demonstrates the failure of mainstream education to meet the needs of a substantial group of plurilingual students. All of these examples and many others point to a need for schools to assess students' existing communicative skills and goals periodically, and for continuous monitoring and negotiation of these.

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[16] <http://www.ltscotland.org.uk/buildingbridges/>

CLIL presents considerable potential in this context, for a variety of reasons. CLIL programmes enable students to make the link between their language learning and other aspects of their studies and future career plans which discrete language classes often struggle to achieve. For example, those who have the opportunity to learn business studies through the medium of Chinese have the opportunity to develop a knowledge of Chinese business terminology and cultural practices in a business environment which will be of considerable value to those who go on to work in international business: a recent survey of language and cultural service providers predicted that Chinese, along with French and Spanish, will be the language for which there is greatest demand in the business world in the near future (CILT, 2005b). Not only the students benefit. Teachers trained to teach CLIL are likely to develop a more nuanced understanding both of how to communicate with students and of the ways in which students learn to communicate their ideas because the approach draws attention much more specifically to communication practices in the classroom than may be the case either for those who teach business studies through the medium of English or those who teach Chinese as a modern or community language. CLIL will also require the development of new and more targeted teaching materials which should also help to make much more explicit the links between language learning and future studies or careers.

5. Conclusions: realising potential

This report began by recognising that Scotland has a long history of multilingualism and that the range of languages in use and the number of plurilingual inhabitants seem to be growing rapidly. In a world where global connections are increasingly important for trade, international relations, cultural exchange, social inclusion and democratic participation, these languages represent a valuable resource, but there is a need to invest in provision which will enable the plurilingual population to benefit fully from their skills, on their own behalf and on behalf of their communities and wider Scottish society.

The survey found that provision to enable children of school age to study their community languages varied considerably: from very extensive, well-developed and successful provision for Gaelic, to no provision at all for the vast majority of languages in use in Scotland currently. Complementary provision, organised principally by language communities for their own children, suffers in many cases from very limited funding, a lack of appropriate resources and unmet professional development needs on the part of staff. We have to conclude that, with a few important exceptions, Scotland is not currently well-placed to capitalise on its linguistic resources.

How could this situation be changed? In the consultation phase, community languages experts were asked to think about ways of improving existing provision, by creating a vision of a future in which community languages were valued and their learning effectively supported. They were then asked to say how this vision might be achieved. This chapter presents the main points to emerge from these discussions.

5.1 Visions of the future

Inclusive terminology

In the future, unhelpful distinctions between 'modern', 'foreign', 'lesser-used' languages, 'languages other than English' etc. will have disappeared, and all languages will be valued for the unique contribution each can make.

Nurturing plurilingualism

Plurilingualism will be widely recognised, by students, parents, schools, communities, employers and wider Scottish society as a cultural, intellectual and career advantage. Parents will be keen for their children to develop competence in other languages as well as English, whether they come from a monolingual or plurilingual background. Schools will offer a wide range of options to support children's developing plurilingualism, including a range of immersion and CLIL programmes, more traditional language classes and provision to support the learning of languages for specific (e.g. cultural or vocational) purposes. It will also be recognised that all school staff contribute to the development of pupils' communication skills and benefit in the teaching of their own subjects from skills which pupils have developed in other subject areas. Head teachers and senior managers will have a well-developed strategy to support language learning across the curriculum.

The role of ICT

ICT will have a key role to play both in supporting the learning of languages in addition to English and in enabling plurilingual children to draw on the full range of their languages skills for the purposes of gathering and disseminating information, in connection with their school work, their lives outside school, their career goals, their self-expression and their pursuit of leisure interests. Children who may be linguistically isolated in geographical terms will be able to make contact with virtual communities who share their language and thus have enhanced opportunities to communicate and develop their linguistic skills. Distance learning will enable small numbers of learners in any one geographical location to make links and develop their language skills together. Schools will be able to draw on the combined linguistic skills of their pupil population to draw attention to their work in many different languages and thus expand the range of potential audiences.

Effective assessment and progression planning

Teachers will be aware that children can have reached very different levels of competence within and across the languages they know. The importance of early and accurate assessment of these competences, combined with planning to ensure appropriate progression routes for children with different needs and aspirations will be recognised. Tools such as the European Language Portfolio or the Asset Languages Assessment Scheme are likely to have an important role to play.

Enhanced professional development for community languages teachers

Community languages teachers will be recognised as having valuable insights to contribute to the development of children's language skills, and mechanisms whereby their knowledge and skills can be acknowledged and developed will have been devised. These will include recognition of overseas qualifications, opportunities to gain Scottish teacher education qualifications and professional development opportunities which both exploit synergies with other areas of languages education (English as a subject, English as an additional language, modern languages) but also recognise the distinctive context in which community language teachers work.

Supporting and valuing the contribution of complementary schools

Although community language learning will have become a more central feature of mainstream school provision, complementary schools will continue to have a crucial role to play in reflecting and responding directly to the needs and aspirations of language communities. Partnerships with mainstream schools and support from local authorities will enable complementary providers to develop effective provision, ensure that complementary teachers have opportunities for professional development and that students' language skills are formally recognised.

Diverse employment opportunities

Employers in a variety of fields will recognise the value of plurilingualism and will actively recruit employees who can contribute to the multilingual profile of their

organisation, whether the goal is international trade, cultural exchange, providing services to local multilingual communities or social inclusion. Careers advisers will reflect the demand for language skills by actively encouraging students to develop their language skills and gain qualifications.

Public perspectives
Plurilingualism and multilingualism will be seen as assets for the individual and society and will be promoted as part of Scotland's contemporary identity, whether in the terms of a 'Smart Successful Scotland', 'Creating our future … minding our past', 'One Country Many Cultures' or other campaigns to shape Scotland's future in different contexts. We can expect to see more visual and aural evidence of Scotland's languages in the public domain, growing interest in the culture and heritage of Scotland's linguistic communities, greater flexibility in meeting the communication needs of those who cannot (yet) communicate in English, and enhanced awareness of the complex links between Scotland and the rest of the world and the role which languages play in maintaining these.

5.2 Achieving these goals

Awareness raising
There is a need for awareness raising campaigns at all levels – in communities, in schools, in local authorities, in the media, among policy-makers and politicians, among employers – of the benefits of multilingualism for Scotland. Events or initiatives with a high public profile – such as the 2012 Olympics – offer valuable opportunities which organisations such as the UK Centres for Information on Language Teaching and Research should exploit.

Improving mainstream provision
Those concerned to promote community language learning in schools should be pro-active in identifying initiatives which could showcase their value. The inclusion of community languages from the outset in the Asset Languages Assessment Scheme offers a model for other initiatives aimed at mainstreaming community languages. CLIL projects or other cross-curricular initiatives which make use of some of the most widely used community languages (e.g. Urdu, Turkish, Chinese, Arabic) need to be developed, both as a way of raising awareness of the potential of other languages in this context and in helping to develop relevant resources and teaching approaches. Initiatives to develop the use of educational technologies should be targeted so that a languages education element is included at the planning stage or else comprehensively incorporated.

Where schools have already developed constructive approaches to mainstreaming community languages, the production and dissemination of successful case studies would be of value to others. Example of how schools have used the European Language Portfolio or the Asset Languages Assessment Scheme would be particularly useful.

Developing partnerships
A wide range of organisations need to consider how best to develop partnerships which will improve provision for community language learners. At local level, these include

partnerships among mainstream schools and colleges and between mainstream schools and complementary providers, with the support of local authorities. At national level, bodies such as the Scottish Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research (Scottish CILT), the Scottish Association of Language Teachers (SALT), the Scottish Association of Teachers of English as an Additional Language (SATEAL) and community language organisations such as the UK Federation for Chinese Schools, where these exist, need to collaborate, and to engage other, generic educational organisations such as Learning and Teaching Scotland, the Scottish Qualifications Authority and the General Teaching Council.

Provision post-16
A strategic approach to provision for community language learning post-16 is urgently needed. There are no Scottish qualifications for community languages apart from Gaelic and Standard Grade Urdu, and this lack of opportunities for formal recognition of learners' achievements limits curriculum offers both in the upper secondary school and in further education. For those students who achieve A/S and A-level passes in their community languages there appear to be very few opportunities to take their studies further. The only Scottish universities to offer non-European languages are Edinburgh (Arabic, Farsi, Turkish, Chinese and Japanese) and Heriot-Watt (Arabic). There are no opportunities at all to study languages of the Indian subcontinent, such as Urdu, Punjabi or Bengali, among the most widely spoken and studied community languages in Scotland. In particular, there is a need for courses which would enable students to combine community languages with vocationally oriented degrees (e.g. law, accountancy, business studies, management, etc.), so that the economic benefits of Scotland's multilingualism can be realised.

Choices and the changing context
The context for community language learning and use will always be dynamic, reflecting shifts in the Scottish population, the rise and fall of economies and their associated languages around the world, the impact of developing communication technologies and other factors which cannot currently be anticipated. Providers of languages education need to be aware of these developments, willing to listen and respond to learners' own needs and interests and to link these to the wider context, and to operate systems which are flexible enough to change when needed. Much of the current provision for language learning at levels of the education system remains rooted in the worldview of the 1960s and this needs to change. *A Curriculum for Excellence* has the potential to do this for schools, but other drivers need to be identified for other sectors. A key shift is to move from an elitist, academic model of language learning to one which recognises the relevance of language learning to people in all walks of life and ensures that valid and engaging choices are available to all.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Languages spoken by Scottish school children

This list is based on information supplied by local authorities which conduct surveys of the community languages spoken by children in authority schools. The contributing authorities are: City of Edinburgh, East Lothian, West Lothian, Glasgow City, North Ayrshire, South Lanarkshire, Dumfries & Galloway, Stirling, Dundee, Falkirk[17], Angus, Aberdeen City and Moray.

Language	Authority
1. Afrikaans	City of Edinburgh, South Lanarkshire, Stirling, Angus
2. Albanian	East Lothian, Aberdeen
3. Amharic	West Lothian, Dundee, Aberdeen
4. Arabic	City of Edinburgh, East Lothian, West Lothian, Glasgow, North Ayrshire, South Lanarkshire, Stirling, Dundee, Falkirk, Angus, Aberdeen, Moray, Argyll & Bute
5. Bahasa Indonesia	Stirling, Aberdeen, Argyll & Bute
6. Bahasa Malayasia	City of Edinburgh, Stirling, Dundee, Aberdeen, Moray, Argyll & Bute
7. Bari Pojulu	Dundee
8. Belorussian	Aberdeen
9. Bemba	Dundee, Aberdeen
10. Bengali	City of Edinburgh, Glasgow, South Lanarkshire, Dundee, Aberdeen, Moray, Argyll & Bute
11. Bosnian	City of Edinburgh, East Lothian, West Lothian, South Lanarkshire, Dundee
12. Bulgarian	City of Edinburgh, East Lothian, South Lanarkshire, Stirling, Aberdeen
13. Cantonese	City of Edinburgh, East Lothian, West Lothian, Glasgow, North Ayrshire, South Lanarkshire, Stirling, Dundee, Falkirk, Angus, Aberdeen, Moray, Argyll & Bute
14. Catalan	City of Edinburgh
15. Chechen	Dumfries & Galloway
16. Chichewa (Chewa, Nyanja)	City of Edinburgh, Aberdeen

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[17] Falkirk collects detailed information only about Urdu, Punjabi, Cantonese, Arabic and Farsi. Other languages are listed as 'European' and 'Other' and therefore cannot be included in this list.

17. Chinese (unspecified)	Stirling, Dundee, Angus, Argyll & Bute
18. Creole	City of Edinburgh, Moray
19. Czech	City of Edinburgh, Angus
20. Danish	City of Edinburgh, West Lothian, Stirling, Argyll & Bute
21. Dari	Aberdeen
22. Dutch	City of Edinburgh, East Lothian, West Lothian, Dumfries & Galloway, Stirling, Dundee, Angus, Aberdeen, Moray, Argyll & Bute
23. Edo	Aberdeen
24. Estonian	Aberdeen
25. Faroese	Aberdeen
26. Farsi (Persian)	City of Edinburgh, West Lothian, South Lanarkshire, Stirling, Dundee, Falkirk, Aberdeen
27. Fijian	City of Edinburgh, Moray
28. Finnish	City of Edinburgh, Stirling, Aberdeen, Argyll & Bute
29. Flemish	Angus, Aberdeen
30. French	City of Edinburgh, East Lothian, West Lothian, Glasgow, North Ayrshire, South Lanarkshire, Stirling, Dundee, Angus, Aberdeen, Moray, Argyll & Bute
31. Gaelic	City of Edinburgh, Glasgow, North Ayrshire, South Lanarkshire, Argyll & Bute
32. German	City of Edinburgh, East Lothian, West Lothian, Glasgow, North Ayrshire, South Lanarkshire, Dumfries & Galloway, Stirling, Dundee, Angus, Aberdeen, Moray, Argyll & Bute
33. Greek	City of Edinburgh, Glasgow, North Ayrshire, South Lanarkshire, Dundee, Aberdeen, Moray
34. Gujarati	City of Edinburgh, West Lothian, Glasgow, South Lanarkshire, Stirling, Dundee, Aberdeen, Moray, Argyll & Bute
35. Hakka	City of Edinburgh, Glasgow, South Lanarkshire, Stirling, Dundee, Aberdeen, Argyll & Bute
36. Hallam	Argyll & Bute
37. Hausa	City of Edinburgh, Aberdeen
38. Hebrew	City of Edinburgh, West Lothian, South Lanarkshire, Stirling, Aberdeen, Argyll & Bute
39. Hindi	City of Edinburgh, West Lothian, Glasgow, South Lanarkshire, Dundee, Aberdeen, Argyll & Bute
40. Hungarian	City of Edinburgh, West Lothian, South Lanarkshire, Dundee, Aberdeen
41. Ibibio	City of Edinburgh

42. Ibo	City of Edinburgh, East Lothian, Dundee
43. Icelandic	City of Edinburgh, Stirling, Aberdeen
44. Ilocano	City of Edinburgh, Dundee
45. Italian	City of Edinburgh, East Lothian, West Lothian, Glasgow, North Ayrshire, South Lanarkshire, Dundee, Angus, Aberdeen, Moray, Argyll & Bute
46. Jamaican	City of Edinburgh
47. Japanese	City of Edinburgh, West Lothian, North Ayrshire, South Lanarkshire, Stirling, Aberdeen
48. Kagoro	City of Edinburgh, East Lothian
49. Kadazan	West Lothian
50. Kannada	Aberdeen
51. Katchi	Dundee
52. Kikuyu	South Lanarkshire, Argyll & Bute
53. Konkani	City of Edinburgh, Angus, Aberdeen, Moray
54. Korean	City of Edinburgh, Aberdeen
55. Krio	City of Edinburgh
56. Kurdish	City of Edinburgh
57. Lithuanian	City of Edinburgh, South Lanarkshire, Dumfries & Galloway, Aberdeen
58. Luganda	City of Edinburgh, Aberdeen
59. Maithili	Argyll & Bute
60. Malayalam	City of Edinburgh, East Lothian, West Lothian, South Lanarkshire, Aberdeen
61. Maltese	Dundee, Angus
62. Marathi	Aberdeen
63. Memon	Dundee
64. Min Nan (Taiwanese)	Aberdeen
65. Mirpuri	Dundee
66. Mongolian	City of Edinburgh, West Lothian
67. Ndebele	Dundee
68. Nepali	City of Edinburgh, South Lanarkshire,
69. Norwegian	City of Edinburgh, Glasgow, North Ayrshire, Stirling, Aberdeen, Argyll & Bute
70. Olongo	Dundee
71. Punjabi (Gurmukhi)	City of Edinburgh, Glasgow, North Ayrshire, South Lanarkshire, Stirling, Dundee, Falkirk, Angus, Aberdeen, Moray, Argyll & Bute
72. Polish	City of Edinburgh, East Lothian, West Lothian, South Lanarkshire, Dundee, Aberdeen, Moray, Argyll & Bute

73. Portuguese	City of Edinburgh, West Lothian, Dumfries & Galloway, South Lanarkshire, Stirling, Dundee, Angus, Moray, Argyll & Bute
74. Pushtu	City of Edinburgh, Dundee
75. Putonghua (Mandarin)	City of Edinburgh, East Lothian, South Lanarkshire, Stirling, Dundee, Angus, Aberdeen, Argyll & Bute
76. Romanian	City of Edinburgh, South Lanarkshire, Aberdeen, Moray
77. Russian	City of Edinburgh, East Lothian, West Lothian, South Lanarkshire, Dumfries & Galloway, Stirling, Dundee, Angus, Aberdeen, Moray, Argyll & Bute
78. Serbian	West Lothian, Dundee
79. 'Serbo-Croat'	City of Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Moray
80. Serer	City of Edinburgh
81. Setswana	City of Edinburgh, Aberdeen
82. Shona	City of Edinburgh, South Lanarkshire, Stirling, Dundee, Aberdeen
83. Sinhala (Singhalese)	Stirling, Aberdeen
84. Slovak	City of Edinburgh, West Lothian
85. Slovene	West Lothian
86. Somali	City of Edinburgh
87. Sotho	City of Edinburgh, Stirling
88. Sourashtra	Aberdeen
89. Spanish	City of Edinburgh, West Lothian, Glasgow, North Ayrshire, South Lanarkshire, Dumfries & Galloway, Stirling, Dundee, Angus, Aberdeen, Moray, Argyll & Bute
90. Swahili	City of Edinburgh, South Lanarkshire, Aberdeen, Argyll & Bute
91. Swazi	East Lothian
92. Swedish	City of Edinburgh, Stirling, Angus, Moray, Argyll & Bute
93. Tagalog	City of Edinburgh, West Lothian, South Lanarkshire, Dumfries & Galloway, Stirling, Dundee, Aberdeen, Moray, Argyll & Bute
94. Tamil	City of Edinburgh, South Lanarkshire, Stirling, Dundee, Aberdeen
95. Telugu (Tengu)	City of Edinburgh, South Lanarkshire, Stirling, Dundee, Aberdeen
96. Thai	City of Edinburgh, East Lothian, West Lothian, South Lanarkshire, Dumfries & Galloway, Dundee, Angus, Aberdeen, Moray, Argyll & Bute
97. Turkish	City of Edinburgh, Glasgow, North Ayrshire, South

	Lanarkshire, Dumfries & Galloway, Stirling, Dundee, Angus, Aberdeen, Moray, Argyll & Bute
98. Turkmani	Aberdeen
99. Twi	City of Edinburgh, Aberdeen
100. Ukrainian	City of Edinburgh, South Lanarkshire,
101. Urdu/ Punjabi	City of Edinburgh, East Lothian, West Lothian, Glasgow, North Ayrshire, South Lanarkshire, Stirling, Falkirk, Dundee, Angus, Aberdeen, Moray, Argyll & Bute
102. Urhobo	Aberdeen
103. Vietnamese	City of Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Moray
104. Welsh	Stirling, Moray, Argyll & Bute
105. Yoruba	City of Edinburgh, Aberdeen
106. Zulu	City of Edinburgh, West Lothian

Appendix B: Languages for which there is authority-based or complementary provision

Language	Authority-based provision	Complementary Provision
Arabic	S. Lanarkshire, Fife	Edinburgh, Glasgow, N. Lanarkshire, Dundee, Moray
Bengali		Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee
BSL	Inverclyde, Falkirk	Falkirk, Moray
Chinese (not specified)	Edinburgh, Dumfries & Galloway	Edinburgh, Glasgow, E. Ayrshire, E. Dunbartonshire, N. Lanarkshire, Fife, Moray
Cantonese	S. Lanarkshire	S. Lanarkshire, Dundee
Dutch		Aberdeen
Farsi (Persian)	N. Lanarkshire	Edinburgh, N. Lanarkshire
French		Scottish Borders, Dumfries & Galloway
Gaelic	Edinburgh, Glasgow, Argyll & Bute, E. Ayrshire, E. Dunbartonshire, Inverclyde, Dumfries & Galloway, Stirling, Angus, Aberdeen City, Highland, Western Isles	Scottish Borders
German	Moray	
Hebrew		Glasgow
Hindi		Dundee
Italian	Moray	Glasgow, Dumfries & Galloway
Japanese		Edinburgh, W. Lothian
Kurdish		Glasgow
Makaton	Highland	
Punjabi (Gurmukhi)		Edinburgh, Glasgow, Inverclyde, Dundee
Polish		Edinburgh, Dumfries & Galloway
Putonghua (Mandarin)	S. Lanarkshire	
Spanish		Glasgow
Turkish		Dumfries & Galloway
Urdu	Edinburgh, Glasgow, N. Lanarkshire, S. Lanarkshire, Dumfries & Galloway, Fife	Edinburgh, W. Lothian, Glasgow, E. Dunbartonshire, N. Lanarkshire, Dumfries & Galloway, Fife, Dundee, Moray

Appendix C: Promotion of Gaelic

East Ayrshire Council EDUCATIONAL SERVICES[18]

Gaelic-medium Education Class Gaidhlig Inbhir Air an Ear

Get the best of both worlds
People who speak two languages 'bilinguals' have two windows on the world. So they can access far more literature, music and media, and all those things that people speaking the same language share. Belonging to two cultures is a matter for pride, not prejudice, so they tend to be more tolerant.

...and they learn better...

Official Scottish research has found that children receiving Gaelic-medium primary education in many instances "outperformed" children taught only in English.

World-wide research confirms that, by the end of their school education, pupils taught in two languages not only gain cultural and psychological advantages in addition to their bilingualism, but are better at problem-solving.

So what is 'Gaelic-Medium education'?
• Children are immersed in the Gaelic language all day long
• Children use books and materials written in Gaelic
• English language lessons (reading and writing) are gradually introduced in Primary 3 and 4
• By Primary 7 children are following the full range of subjects in both Gaelic and English
• Children join the rest of the school for physical education, assembly, trips and other big occasions in the school year
• Gaelic-medium units are specially funded by the Scottish Executive

Where can I find it in East Ayrshire?

At Onthank Primary School in Kilmarnock where there are playgroup, nursery and primary school classes up to P6.

Children are taught by specially qualified teachers and staff in a unit within the main school building.

Frequently Asked Questions...

Does Gaelic-medium education work?
Most certainly. According to recent research, pupils match the attainment targets set out in the national guidelines for all children in primary education. In many cases, they

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[18] http://www.east-ayrshire.gov.uk/ess/education/gaelic.asp

actually do better than children taught only in English.

Do parents need to be able to speak Gaelic?
It certainly helps. Even a few words will encourage children and demonstrate that the language exists outside school. For those with no Gaelic and who wish to join their children in the challenge, there is a special course for learners organised by Kilmarnock College.

How do children cope in Primary 1 if all they hear is Gaelic?
 Most parents send their children to the playgroup or nursery, where they learn enough of the language to be able to fit into P1 comfortably, right from day one. They then quickly pick up all that is needed.

Don't they fall behind in their English?
They do get English lessons. Moreover, all the evidence indicates that the gap between Gaelic-medium learners and English-medium pupils quickly disappears, especially if there is help at home. By P7, Gaelic-medium learners often do better in English than the rest of the school.

How will they cope with learning another language like French or Spanish?
The fact that Gaelic is radically different from English means that learners have several years' training in the skills and insights involved in learning a new language. This will give them an advantage when they start another European language in P6. Millions of people throughout the world speak more than two languages.

What happens once they have finished primary school?
East Ayrshire is investigating how to set up a Gaelic-medium education in a secondary school. It already happens elsewhere in Scotland, and there are now national examinations in Gaelic in several subjects.

TEN REASONS TO CHOOSE GAELIC MEDIUM EDUCATION

- The best years to learn a Language is between 2 years and 8 years. Bilingual education is the best way to develop a child's linguistic capacity.

- Listening and concentration skills are enhanced with a bilingual environment.

- Small class size.

- Increased employment opportunities.

- Learning and being part of a language which has been in Scotland for more than 1000 years.

- Opportunities to take part in Scottish Cultural Events such as the Mod, eg Scottish dance, traditional instruments and music.

- Children are reading and writing in both Gaelic and English by P3/P4. The pupils in the Gaelic unit reach, and often exceed, the standard of their counterparts in mainstream English education.

- Once a child is bilingual it becomes much easier to learn subsequent languages later on in their education or life.

- The children form a close knit community in their 'school within a school'. They also develop friendships with the mainstream pupils at playtime.

- Social events at the school, such as Gaelic after school club or Christmas Ceilidh, are well attended and strengthen ties within and between families.

Gilcomstoun Primary School, Aberdeen

http://www.gilcomstoun.aberdeen.sch.uk/best_kept_secret.htm