Mapping the Languages of Edinburgh

SCOTLANG Seed Project 6

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Abbreviations used in this report

AAP	Assessment of Achievement Programme
ALUS	Adult Language Use Survey (an LMP survey)
EAL	English as an Additional Language
ESL	English as a Second Language
FLUSS	Foreign Languages in the Upper Secondary School
GMU	Gaelic Medium Unit
ILEA	Inner London Education Authority
LEA	Local Education Authority
LfA	Languages for All
LMP	Linguistic Minorities Project
MLPS	Modern Languages in the Primary School
Panjabi (G)	Panjabi spoken by people of Sikh heritage, using the Panjabi written in the Gurmukhi script as the language of literacy
Panjabi (U)	Panjabi spoken by people of Pakistani origin, for whom Urdu is the usual language of literacy
SCIS	Scottish Council for Independent Schools
Scottish CILT	Scottish Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research
SEED	Scottish Executive Education Department
SLS	Schools Language Survey (an LMP survey)
SPS	Secondary Pupils' Survey (an LMP survey)
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
SQA	Scottish Qualifications Authority

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A Note on Terminology

This report adopts the practice of the Council of Europe in using the term *plurilingual(ism)* to refer to the ability of individuals to speak several languages; and *multilingual(ism)* to refer to societies in which a number of languages are spoken.

The terminology generally used in English to refer to the speaking of many languages is often confusing and sometimes reflects ambivalence or hostility towards the use of languages other than English. As Mackiewicz (2002) points out, the term 'plurilingual(ism)' in English had to be invented by the Council of Europe because English lacks the distinction made by French (plurilingue/ multilingue) and German (mehrsprachig/ vielsprachig), thus hampering translation of documents dealing with these phenomena and the development of thinking around these ideas. The promotion of plurilingualism is a key goal for the Council of Europe, associated with mobility and the exchange of ideas, and with the protection and development of the linguistic heritage of Europe as a source of mutual enrichment (Council of Europe, n.d). For these reasons, the Council of Europe has put considerable resources into the creation of instruments to support and develop plurilingualism, such as the Common European Framework and the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages.

For the multilingual Council of Europe, plurilingualism has entirely positive connotations. In English, the term *bilingualism*, the term most often used in place of plurilingualism, is not necessarily viewed positively. A widely held notion of bilingualism is equal competence in two languages. Linguists recognise that this type of bilingualism – known as 'balanced bilingualism' – is rare, and prefer to define bilingualism as using two languages in daily life.[1] However, lay people rarely accept this definition. Consequently, the move to have children who speak another language or languages in addition to English defined as 'bilinguals' met with considerable resistance when first proposed, and still tends to be challenged by monolinguals who have not encountered the term used in this way before.

Previously, 'bilingual' children were referred to as 'ESL' (English as a second language) or 'EAL' (English as an additional language) students (and indeed, earlier, as 'non-English speakers' or even 'non-speakers'), labels which emphasised these children's less than native-level fluency in English and ignored their competence in other languages. The shift towards 'bilingual' was intended to raise awareness of these children's linguistic abilities rather than deficits, and has undoubtedly promoted more positive attitudes. Paradoxically, however, among those who habitually use the term 'bilingual', it has begun to lose the connotations of someone who speaks more than one language and to be used interchangeably with 'EAL learners', applied only to those who are in the process of learning English. Thus, teachers will sometimes deny that children who speak more than one language but are entirely fluent in English are bilingual.

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[1] See Hamers and Blanc, 1989, for a detailed discussion of definitions and types of bilingualism. Note that they distinguish between *bilinguality* and *bilingualism* in ways similar – but not identical – to the distinction made here between plurilingualism and multilingualism.

As yet, the term 'bilingual' features in no Scottish policy documents relating to the education of children who speak more than one language. The most recent relevant document, on the National Priorities for Scottish education, makes reference – for reasons which are unclear – to 'speakers of lesser used languages' (Scottish Parliament 2000a). At a meeting at which performance indicators relating to the National Priorities were being developed, there was strong resistance to the use of the term 'bilingual' on the basis that the children in question would not be fluent speakers of English. In itself, this resistance would not be sufficient reason to reject the term, given that it is based on misunderstandings and, ultimately, racism. Indeed, these would be reasons to persist with the promotion of the term, to raise awareness of the needs, abilities and potential of children who speak more than one language.

As the authors of the Linguistic Minorities Project (LMP, 1985) pointed out, one major reason to reconsider the use of the term 'bilingual' is the fact that many of the people in Britain who speak another language in addition to English in reality speak more than one other language. In fact, many of the connotations of the term 'bilingual(ism)' in English reflect monolingual perceptions of language use in multilingual contexts. Not only do monolinguals tend to assume that bilingualism requires equal native-like fluency in both languages, but they also envisage what Heller has termed 'parallel monolingualisms' (1999), a term which also implies that the two languages are kept entirely separate. They find it hard to accept that there are many people in the world who use several languages for different purposes. Furthermore, they tend to look for hierarchical relationships between the languages spoken by bilinguals – one must be the 'mother tongue', the 'first language', the 'stronger' language, etc. – failing to recognise that people can acquire more than one language at once, that parents may themselves speak several languages, that people will be better at using each of their languages for certain purposes than for others.

In contrast, plurilingualism allows for any number of languages (including two), and, given that it is more difficult to imagine that people who speak several languages speak them equally well (although this is, of course, possible), the idea that people may have varying levels of competence in their different languages and use them for different purposes becomes more acceptable. 'Plurilingual' is too new a word in English to have developed the negative connotations now associated with 'bilingual', and should in time become linked with the positive messages about European mobility, culture and the exchange of ideas. For these reasons, *plurilingual(ism)* is used throughout this report to refer to people who speak more than one language in their daily lives, while *multilingual(ism)* refers to societies or social contexts in which many languages are spoken.

Summary

1. The *Languages of Edinburgh* study
This report describes and discusses the findings from a study based on a language census of 11 to 12 year old students in Edinburgh schools. The aims of the research were:
- to map the languages known and used by Edinburgh school children;
- to investigate students' own views on levels of linguistic competence they have reached in the languages they know;
- to explore the contexts in which they use their languages;
- to examine students' attitudes to plurilingualism.

The study was conducted as a pilot to investigate the feasibility and value of a larger study, mapping the languages of Scotland.

The census took place in early autumn 2001, and information was collected from 3840 students, estimated to be approximately four fifths of the 11 to 12 year old population of Edinburgh. All were students in the first year of secondary education (or equivalent), in state secondary and special schools, and in independent schools.

The study was part of the SCOTLANG project, a research infrastructural initiative funded by the Scottish Higher Education Funding Council and co-ordinated by the Scottish Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research (Scottish CILT), at the University of Stirling.

2. Main findings
Languages studied at school
Almost all (99%) the participants in the survey said that they were studying another language at secondary school, and, for the majority (81%), this language was French. Most of the students (94%) said that they had studied at least one modern language at primary school. French was also the main primary school language, studied by three-quarters of the respondents (75%). Students who had studied French at primary school were more likely than those who had not to be able to continue to study their primary school language after transferring to secondary school.

Generally speaking, students of French and German were more confident than students of Spanish and Italian about their competence in understanding, speaking, reading and writing these languages. These findings probably indicate that students have had greater opportunities to study French and German, given that many had had to give up Spanish or Italian on transfer to secondary school, and that some Spanish-speakers were reflecting on competence acquired informally rather than at school – e.g. on holiday in Spain.

Languages in use outside school
One in seven (14%) of the survey participants was plurilingual, having have acquired one or more languages apart from English outside school, as a result of family or other connections with places where these languages are widely spoken. Collectively they

spoke 59 languages, the most common of which were Scots (19%), Urdu (11%), French (11%) and Chinese (9%).

Analysis of plurilinguals' confidence in their linguistic competence, and of the contexts in which they use their other languages outside school, focused on five languages: Scots, Gaelic, Urdu, Panjabi and Chinese. Among Scots, Chinese, Urdu and Panjabi (U)* speakers, around half of the respondents reported that they could understand and speak these languages well. This was the case for around a third of Gaelic and Panjabi (G)* speakers. However, Scots and Gaelic speakers were more confident about their literacy skills than were Chinese, Urdu or Panjabi (U and G) speakers.

All plurilinguals were most likely to use their other languages with their parents and least likely to use them with siblings, friends or teachers. Scots speakers are the most likely to use it with siblings and friends, possibly indicating that Scots is seen as having a greater role to play in establishing solidarity among young people than is the case for the other languages.

Home use of the other language was high among all language groups, with four fifths (80%) or more of the respondents indicating that they used their other languages at home (not necessarily all the time). Use of other languages in other contexts (for example on holiday, on the telephone, in a religious place) varied considerably from language to language. Generally speaking, Scots and Chinese speakers were the most likely to use their other languages in a range of contexts. Plurilingual respondents made relatively little use of their literacy skills in other languages, reflecting their lower level of confidence in these skills but also perhaps limited opportunities for reading and writing in languages other than English.

Motivation to learn and use languages

Although there was only limited space on the questionnaire to investigate participants' motivation to learn and use other languages, the findings here suggest that both monolingual and plurilingual students had relatively high levels of motivation at the time the survey was conducted: over four fifths (84%) of the participants agreed that knowing more that one language would be useful to them in the future, and almost two thirds (64%) thought that everyone should be able to speak more than one language. In the context of other recent studies of Scottish school students' motivation to learn other languages, these findings fit a general pattern of high motivation in the late primary which declines over the course of secondary schooling. There was little difference between monolingual and plurilingual respondents in this regard, suggesting that the experience of learning and using other languages outside school does not necessarily promote higher levels of motivation to learn languages among plurilinguals.

3. Conclusions

* See Chapter 3 for a discussion of the differences between Panjabi (U), spoken by people of Pakistani origin for whom Urdu is the language of literacy and Panjabi (G), spoken by people of Indian origin for whom Panjabi written in the Gurmukhi script is the language of literacy.

The *Languages of Edinburgh* was devised as a pilot study to investigate the feasibility and value of a national survey of the languages of Scotland. The aim of such a survey would be to identify the potential language resource which Scotland possesses, and the kind of investment required to help ensure this potential is realised. If the Edinburgh findings were to be replicated across Scotland, they would suggest that:

- primary language learning is now almost universal in Scotland;
- virtually all are studying a language at the start of their secondary careers;
- motivation to learn and use languages at this stage appears to be high;
- the plurilingual population is greater than generally believed.

These are all positive indicators, but greater investment in languages at secondary and subsequent stages of education would bring greater rewards. Such investment might include:

- after-school provision to enable secondary students to study a second language;
- investigation of the experiences and characteristics of 'keen' language learners and ways to capitalise on their enthusiasm;
- more secondary, further and higher education provision for 'world' languages such as Chinese and Urdu;
- investigation of good practice in existing out-of-school provision and ways in which it might be improved ;
- further research into the circumstances and experiences of plurilingual speakers of European languages;
- recognition of the long-term value of supporting the other languages of 'transient' plurilinguals (those who spend a few years in Scotland and then move to another country);
- enhanced educational provision to develop cultural knowledge and understanding which draws on the multicultural traditions and possibilities of contemporary Scotland – with a particular focus on local languages such as Gaelic and Scots - rather than one which prizes only English;
- further investigation of the opportunities for speakers of Gaelic, including GMU graduates from English-speaking families to maintain and develop skills in Gaelic as adolescents;
- further research into secondary school students' perceptions of what it means to speak Scots and into their experiences of learning and using Scots.

Such investment would enable Scotland to capitalise on an enhanced language resource with a range of benefits to the intellectual, cultural, economic, social activities of the nation, and also in terms of greater democratic participation and respect for human rights.

1. Scotland's Language Resource

1.1 Why map the languages of Scotland?

There is currently very limited information available about the languages known and in use in Scotland. While English is clearly the dominant language, spoken by almost everyone, we do not know how many other languages are spoken, nor how many people speak them.

Scots become plurilingual in a variety of circumstances. Some people learn to speak another language (or languages) from one or both of their parents. Some grow up in communities where another language is in use. Some have spent time abroad, in countries where languages other than in English are needed for education, work and social purposes. Almost all Scottish schoolchildren now study at least one language other than English, for a recommended minimum 500 hours, usually over six years, from the penultimate year of primary school to the fourth year of secondary school (Minister's Action Group for Languages, 2000). Some continue to study one or more languages after the age of 16 at school, ultimately to degree level or beyond; and many take up language learning again as adults. However, it is difficult or impossible to estimate the language knowledge and skills of the Scottish population from existing statistics.

Why is it important to have this kind of information? Language skills represent a valuable resource for any nation, but perhaps particularly for a small nation which seeks to make its mark in the Knowledge Economy (Scottish Office 1999). Ruíz (1988) is generally credited as the originator of the language-as-resource orientation in language planning, drawing attention to the importance of languages as a national resource, particularly in relation to national security, foreign affairs and international trade. In this context, he noted the paradoxical nature of educational provision for language learning in the USA, where policy makers were seeking to encourage the study of 'foreign' languages while neglecting or actively discouraging the maintenance of 'community' languages. A country which wished to develop its linguistic resources, he argued, would value the potential contribution which existing plurilingual communities could make.

More recently, Lo Bianco (2001) has elaborated the concept of language-as-resource specifically in the context of language policy in Scotland. He draws attention not just to the economic potential of the language resource but also to the intellectual, cultural, social, citizenship and rights potential. Moving away from purely economic arguments is important, not just because of the risk of exploiting plurilingual communities through the commodification of language, an issue to which Heller (2002) has recently drawn attention, but also because the Scottish Parliament has very clearly established that its policy-making activities are to be driven not (only) by economic interests but, most fundamentally, by principles of social justice (Scottish Executive, 1999).

1.2 The need for co-ordinated policy to develop Scotland's language resources

Another important factor in Lo Bianco's work in Scotland has been to argue for all groups representing language interests to come together, so that the support for Scotland's linguistic resources ceases to be fragmented in ways which are currently very damaging. Lo Bianco links the development of competence in English, including basic

literacy and ‘multiliteracies’ (ability to cope with the increasingly complex ways in which knowledge is constructed and presented in the ‘information society’) with the acquisition or maintenance of similar skills in other languages, whether those already in use in Scotland or learned as ‘foreign’ languages. He sets the following goals for ‘comprehensive, co-ordinated and long-term’ language planning:

> higher and more widely shared literacy skills, widespread proficiency in languages other than English, a higher level of articulate use of spoken language and effective, and concrete actions to support the intergenerational retention of indigenous forms of communication. Considering language as a national and personal resource allows us to connect the highest interests of public authority (citizenship ideals, democratic participation and cultural vitality) with personal interests (cultural, occupational and recreational pursuits), alongside the long-term interests of the national economy. (p5)

However, as Lo Bianco points out, Scotland currently lacks an explicit language policy which links activities in the diverse policy areas in which language issues are typically addressed. In Scotland these most centrally include compulsory schooling, enterprise and lifelong learning, social justice, and culture, although other policy fields may also touch on language issues from time to time. In the absence of such ‘joined-up’ policy there is an ambivalence about long-term, strategic goals, which can provoke competitiveness among different language interests, a blame culture, substantial gaps in policy and resource allocation, and a lack of action in response to policy recommendations. To look only at policy development in relation to languages in education, for the purposes of exemplification of this critique, it becomes clear that the gains achieved by some spectacular successes in particular areas can easily be lost as a result of this kind of fragmentation.

Modern Languages in the Primary School

For example, the Modern Languages in the Primary School (MLPS) initiative, introduced in 1993, has progressively introduced language learning into the top two years of primary schools. Five years later, over four fifths (82%) of all Scottish primary schools were teaching a language to at least the last two years, and sometimes to younger children (Tierney and De Cecco, 1999). Despite the considerable difficulties which the initiative has faced, particularly in terms of teacher supply, the training model developed – a 27-day course in which practising primary teachers learned both the language they were to teach and the appropriate pedagogy – is widely considered to have been a success, in generating immense enthusiasm for the project among both teachers and students, and also in terms of results (McPake, under review). However, the advantage gained – students entering secondary schools already in possession of basic skills in another language and, in most cases, a high level of enthusiasm – can easily be lost if, for example, they are unable to continue to study this language and have to begin another.

Languages for All

Similarly the Languages for All (LfA) initiative, introduced in 1989, has proved highly successful in ensuring that all students study another language, for at least the first four years of secondary education, and now, in most cases, from the penultimate year of primary school, making six years of compulsory language study in all. Before this initiative, some students were allowed to drop the study of another language, typically

after two years of secondary education, and some never studied another language at all, on the grounds that they would not benefit from such courses. Between 1976 and 1996, the number of students sitting a Standard Grade[2] or equivalent examination in another language doubled, so that now virtually all 16 year olds sit the examination (McPake et al., 1999). However, the gains from this initiative have recently been placed at risk by a policy document on flexibility in the secondary curriculum (Scottish Executive Education Department, 2001) which, in providing examples of what curricular flexibility might entail, indicates that students could abandon the study of another language at the age of 14 if they would benefit more from other courses of study.

Gaelic medium education
Educational provision for Gaelic is another area in which considerable gains have been made in recent years. Since 1985, national funding to set up Gaelic medium units (GMUs) in primary schools across Scotland, wherever there was sufficient parental demand, has been provided. There are now 59 primary GMUs in primary schools, teaching 1800 students (Scottish Executive 2000b). The goal of this initiative has been both to maintain Gaelic in the Gaelic 'heartland' areas (the north-west of Scotland) but also to encourage non-Gaelic speaking families to enrol children in GMUs as a form of 'immersion' education – i.e. learning through the medium of another language. This approach has been found to be effective both in enabling students to achieve high levels of linguistic competence, and also in students' general academic attainment. (For a review of immersion education, see Johnstone, 2001. For a review specifically of the impact of Gaelic-medium education, see Johnstone et al., 1999.) Despite the success of the primary initiative, its long-term impact has yet to be established. Particularly problematic is the fact that most children educated in primary GMUs are unable to continue to be educated through the medium of Gaelic at secondary school, because of a lack of subject specialist secondary teachers who can teach in Gaelic. In the case of those from non-Gaelic speaking homes who attended GMUs at primary level, it is not currently known whether these students retain much or anything at all of their Gaelic competence by the time they leave school. Thus the immediate benefits of the primary GMU policy may be lost by the failure to make longer-term provision for students and families who have demonstrated a willingness to contribute to the revitalisation of Gaelic.

Standard Grade Urdu
In 1998, the Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA) introduced a Standard Grade examination in Urdu. For first time in Scotland, a non-European language entered the school curriculum. Student candidates for the examination have risen each year to date, and, though small compared with many other subjects (174 students sat the examination in 2001), exceed the numbers taking Gàidhlig (Gaelic for native speakers of the language), Russian or Classical Greek (Scottish Qualifications Authority, 2002). The initiative has been seen as offering both parity of esteem for Urdu in relation to the other European languages in the curriculum, and also equity, in that students who, in many cases, dedicate considerable amounts of their free time to the study of Urdu, can now gain a national qualification in the language. However, Urdu is the only language for

[2] Standard Grade examinations are Scottish general level examinations (roughly equivalent to the English General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) examination) which students sit at the age of 15-16.

which a Higher examination[3] does not currently exist. The SQA has said that it will consider introducing a Higher if there is sufficient demand, but there are also rumours that the authority is considering removing the subject from the Standard Grade diet because of the relatively low level of uptake. The current position therefore sends out messages which contradict the intention to promote parity of esteem and equity.

In addition, failure to resource the initiative adequately threatens its future. For example, unlike the MLPS initiative, there has been no move to provide training for Urdu teachers working in schools. All school teachers must have teaching qualifications recognised in Scotland. However, there are no initial teacher education courses for Urdu teachers in Scottish teacher education institutes. Therefore the Urdu teachers in schools must either be Urdu-speaking teachers who have qualified to teach another subject in Scotland, or teachers who qualified in Pakistan. In both cases, they may do an excellent job, but none will have the particular expertise in teaching Urdu to children living in Scotland which, for example, secondary French specialists possess. This may have long-term implications for the quality of Urdu provision and student attainment.

1.3 Investing in Scotland's language resources

These examples illustrate the kinds of problems which ensue when 'comprehensive, co-ordinated and long-term' language planning is not in evidence. The contention underlying this study is that one reason for the absence of such planning is the lack of awareness of the nature of the language resources which Scotland currently possesses and, consequently, an inability to plan effectively to capitalise on the resource or to consider what investment strategy is needed to maximise return. A map of the languages of Scotland would therefore aim to describe the current resource – to determine the range of languages known and used by the inhabitants, and to provide some indication of the nature of the linguistic skills they possess. This would help to identify the kind investment needed – principally (but not only) in terms of enhancement of educational provision which would enable people to make full use of their linguistic skills in social, cultural, intellectual and economic contexts.

This pilot study aims to map the languages of Edinburgh via a census of 12 –13 year olds, in most cases in their first year of secondary education. The decision to focus on students in this age group is deliberate: the point of transition from primary to secondary school is a key point at which existing resources, in terms of languages studied at school and languages studied and used outside school, can be identified, along with any gaps in investment. For example, the information these students provide could help to quantify the need for better systems of maintaining continuity and diversification in the provision for language teaching at school; and it would also help to identify the kind of educational support needed to enable students who are already plurilingual to maintain and develop their other languages.

Continuity and diversification

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[3] Higher examinations are Scottish higher level examinations, which students sit at the age of 16-17, as preparation for entrance into higher education.

Students in the first year of secondary education will, in most cases, already have completed two years of language study at primary school, and have just embarked on a secondary language course. The data collected will therefore provide both a general picture of provision for the early years of language learning, and in particular, evidence of the extent to which students are able to continue to study the language they began at primary school when they transfer to secondary school. As noted in section 1.3, there are concerns that the principle of continuity (whereby students ideally study the same language continuously from age 10 to age 16) conflicts with the desire for diversification (the need for a range of different foreign languages to be taught, so that nationally, linguistic capacity is not based on one or two languages alone). Data from a national survey targeting students in their first year of secondary education would provide evidence of any imbalance in the range of languages taught, at an early stage. In addition, it would identify the proportion of students who have had to change languages between primary and secondary school, These students are not only at a disadvantage in having started the language two years or more after many of their peers, but are also likely to lose the initial skills they developed in their primary language.

Investment, in this context, might mean developing local or national systems to support continuity and diversification, but also, for example, providing alternative provision (such as after school classes) for those who are forced to change languages on entering secondary school but would wish to continue with their primary language.

Maintaining and developing existing skills in other languages

Investigating the language skills of plurilingual students in this age group enables us to consider the nature of the linguistic competence they have already acquired, and what additional support may be required. Although it is often assumed by educationalists and policy-makers that children from plurilingual families speak their other languages fluently and become literate in these languages – either through family literacy practices or community provision of some kind – in fact there is now considerable research to show that attrition (language loss) is widespread. Community provision – when available – for developing literacy skills in other languages is generally inadequate. There is limited time for instruction: the amount of time available to the after school or weekend class cannot compare with the amount of time dedicated to the development of literacy skills in the mainstream school. In many cases, community teachers are untrained, unpaid, and have to work with limited and inappropriate teaching materials. In addition, there are strong societal tendencies – particularly in anglophone countries – to devalue languages other than the dominant language, leading to a process sometimes – controversially – termed 'linguicide' (Phillipson, 1992), where children who grew up in plurilingual families gradually lose their ability to speak any other language apart from English.

Understanding the nature of the skills which plurilingual students possess by the age of 12, and identifying what investment is needed to enable them use their other languages for the widest possible range of functions, and as effectively as possible, when they are adults, will enable the students themselves, and Scottish society more generally, to benefit from this linguistic resource.

The identification of the nature of current language resources, their future potential, and the kind of investment required to help ensure this potential is realised is therefore the principal aim of this study.

1.4 The structure of this report

In the report which follows, Chapters 2 and 3 look in more detail at the history of language surveys, and at what is already known about the 'other' languages of Scotland. The methods used to devise the *Languages of Edinburgh* survey are described in Chapter 4. In Chapters 5, 6 and 7, the main findings from the Edinburgh survey are presented and discussed. Chapter 8 reviews the success of the study as a pilot for a larger investigation of the languages of Scotland. Chapter 9 draws conclusions from this study, in terms of the identification of Edinburgh's existing language resources and of the educational investment which would allow the city to capitalise on their potential.

2. Language Surveys and Censuses

2.1 Introduction

Large-scale language surveys are rarely conducted. This may be partly to do with the technical difficulties involved, and possibly also because there is limited public interest in the outcomes. Yet, data of this kind can have a major impact on public perceptions and, consequently, on policy. In Scotland, information about the use of Gaelic has been collected, via the census, since 1881. The first data set produced led to improvements in the provision of Gaelic in highland schools, and to requests for similar provision in the Census for Welsh (MacKinnon, 1988: 1). Longitudinal data on the Gaelic-speaking population from the Census, showing the decline in the Gaelic speaking population (from 254 000 in 1891 to 66 000 in 1991) have been used to argue, very successfully, for dedicated funding to reverse the decline. In contrast, languages about which little or no information is collected (it is estimated that about half of all the world's languages have not been documented in any way) are at great risk of disappearing without trace (Nettles and Romaine 2002: 7). Certainly it is difficult or impossible to plan to support and develop languages when information is lacking about the demography of speakers, the contexts in which they habitually use the language, and their attitudes towards language maintenance and development.

This chapter reviews language surveys conducted in the UK over the past 25 years or so, focusing particularly on the technical challenges identified by those who conducted them and on their success in meeting these, as a prelude to a discussion (in Chapter 4) of the design of the *Languages of Edinburgh* survey.

2.2 Earlier language surveys

Interest in documenting the use of languages other than English, Gaelic, Welsh and Irish can be traced back, in England, to the 1970s, with three initiatives: an investigation of the languages of London school children (Rosen and Burgess, 1980), the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) surveys of the languages spoken in London schools (biennially from 1978 to 1989), and a study of the 'other' languages of England (Linguistic Minorities Project, 1985). More recently, a synthesis of language data collected by the local education authorities (LEAs) serving inner and outer London (Baker and Eversley, 2000) has drawn attention to the wide range of languages spoken by London children (over 350) and the growing numbers of children who are plurilingual.

'The Languages and Dialects of London's School Children'

Rosen and Burgess's study (conducted in 1977-8, reported in 1980) was the earliest of these three surveys. It was administered to 4600 students, aged 11 to 12, in 28 schools in ILEA and Haringey. The findings revealed that 15% spoke at least one other language in addition to English, while a further 15% spoke what were classified as 'overseas dialects of English' (principally English-based Creoles from the Caribbean). The method by which the researchers recommended the survey should be administered involved teachers conducting group discussions aimed at probing students' linguistic repertoires. However, they were aware of variations in the ways in which the information was collected may have varied. The results were recorded by the teachers. As Rosen and Burgess themselves

acknowledge, this approach was dependent on teachers' judgements, and may have produced inaccuracies in the data collected, particularly because students might, in some cases, have been reluctant to discuss their linguistic backgrounds, in the groups, or with their teachers

In addition to collecting information about students' knowledge of languages other than English, the survey also sought to estimate the English language competence of all those who took part, ranging from 'strong standard' (English) speakers to those who spoke a language other than English. It is possible that this aspect of the survey coloured the views of teachers and student participants as to its 'real' purpose: for example, it may have been understood as an attempt to quantify the extent of EAL support need by children who spoke languages other than English. Because of this linking of the collection of data about use of other languages with an evaluation of students' English language competence, it seems likely that the Rosen and Burgess survey produced an underestimate of the numbers of plurilingual students.

The ILEA Language Surveys

A similar problem with dual purposes for data collection affected the ILEA language surveys, conducted approximately every two years from 1978 to 1989, when the Authority was disbanded (ILEA 1979, 1982, 1983, 1986, 1987, 1989). The original aim was to identify children who required English language support. Data about the specific languages which children spoke were incidental: the aim of collecting this information was to target appropriate English-language support to children of similar linguistic backgrounds. In the first survey (conducted in 1978, reported in 1979), over 10% of the ILEA school population was recorded as plurilingual, the main languages being Greek, Turkish and Bengali. This proportion was likely to have been an underestimate, however, given that the aim of the survey was to collect information about children who had difficulties with English, not to identify all plurilingual students.

The 1981 survey, now labeled 'Language Census', changed the focus to the collection of 'statistics of pupils with a home language other than or in addition to English', and stated specifically that these were to include those who had reached 'full competence' in English. This survey identified 14% of ILEA pupils as plurilingual, with Bengali now the most widely spoken language. At the time of the last survey, in 1989, a quarter (25%) of the ILEA school population was plurilingual, and 184 languages were listed. However, the English language competence of plurilingual students was still a major focus of the Census. While collecting data on the placing of plurilingual students in relation to the four 'stages' of English commonly used in ILEA to chart progress from beginner to 'full competence', the census omitted to investigate plurilingual students' competence in oral and literacy skills in their other languages.

Another major flaw in the ILEA surveys was the failure to recognise that children might speak more than one language in addition to English: the question schools were required to answer on their students' behalf was whether they spoke another language in place of English as their *first* language. As Nicholas (1994), reviewing the ILEA language

surveys, points out, this monolingual conceptualisation of plurilingualism creates immense scope for confusion:

> Many plurilingual pupils would, with reason, represent English as their first and home language, and no other. The census would be unlikely to elicit an accurate response from pupils using other languages who regarded English as their 'first language' in the school environment. In addition, respondents who did identify a first language other than English, where the language commonly used at home was seen as 'lower' in status to other languages used, in many cases would be likely to volunteer 'higher status languages, or national languages, in preference. (pp 23-4)

For this reason and others (e.g. the ILEA language surveys consistently failed to record the use of English-based Creoles among the school population, as 'dialects of English' were not included), the proportion of plurilingual students and the number of languages spoken were probably considerably higher than recorded.

'The Other Languages of England'

The Linguistic Minorities Project (LMP) set out to provide detailed information about the range of languages other than English spoken in England at the time: the field work was conducted in the early 1980s, and the definitive account of the findings was published in LMP 1985. Despite the amount of time which has passed since this survey, it remains immensely influential, both in terms of establishing the complexities of multilingualism in England, and in terms of its ambitious approach to language surveys. When the project began, there had been almost no research in this area in England (p4; note that the Rosen and Burgess survey and the first ILEA survey took place at almost the same time as LMP began, although the LMP authors are able to comment on both by the time they published the project findings in 1985). Earlier estimates of the extent of multilingualism in the English cities involved in the project had been highly speculative, and generally turned out to be considerably lower than the LMP surveys found to be the case.

Many of the issues which continue to be the focus of work around multilingualism in the UK can be traced back to those raised by the LMP authors: for example, the educational implications of children's linguistic repertoires; contrasting perspectives on plurilingualism as problem or plurilingualism as resource; and the co-existence among minority language communities of 'high' and 'low' varieties of minority languages (e.g. Standard Bengali and Sylheti) along with the development of new 'British' varieties of Panjabi, Greek, etc. These concepts and others were not necessarily new within sociolinguistics, but LMP is generally recognised as the first study to have explored them systematically and in detail, in England, and to have addressed their findings in these areas not only to linguists but to policy-makers and educationalists.

LMP conducted four surveys, of children's and adults' language use, and on provision for learning community languages, in different areas of England. Brief accounts of the three surveys on language use are presented here, focusing on the technical issues each raised, and on the implications of the choice of methods for interpretation of the findings. The survey of provision for learning community languages is not discussed here, as less relevant to the *Languages of Edinburgh* survey.

The Schools Language Survey (SLS)
This survey, designed to be implemented as a census by LEAs, aimed to collect information on range of languages spoken at home by pupils in LEA schools, and on the number of pupils speaking each of these languages. The survey was conducted in five LEAs (Peterborough, Coventry, Bradford, Haringey and Waltham Forest), administered by teachers who were asked to ask every member of the class whether they spoke another language, apart from English, at home. Only students who answered 'yes' to this question were then asked to respond to three other questions:

2. What is the name of that language?
3. Can you read that language?
4. Can you write that language?

(LMP 1985: 318)

As with the ILEA surveys, it appears that the SLS approach omitted to provide space for students who spoke more than one language apart from English. There is some mention of this issue in the discussion of the results, particularly in relation to students who spoke one language but were literate in another (as, for example, would be the case for many people of Pakistani origin, who speak Panjabi but use Urdu as their language of literacy), but the overall findings from the survey have to be considered an oversimplification of the linguistic picture for this reason.

As the authors were aware, the teacher's role in conducting this survey was of crucial importance, and could potentially be the cause of distortions in the data. For example, they acknowledge that some teachers may not have formally asked all class members whether they spoke another language or not, but may have asked only those whom they believed to speak another language to provide the answers to questions 2, 3 and 4. In addition, the survey was dependent on teacher and student being able to label the languages spoken: the fact that a number of responses contained responses relating to the students' ethnicity, nationality or religion (e.g. 'Pathan', 'Indian', 'Hindu') rather than to the language(s) spoken indicate that this was problematic for some of those who took part in the survey.

In order to conduct the survey successfully, the project team needed to provide a very high level of information and support for the participating LEAs and their schools. They encountered a range of objections to participation which give an indication of the potential for distortion of the aims of the research and consequently for the generation of misleading data, or the withholding of information. For example, some LEA staff were concerned that the findings would have major resource implications; and LEA and school staff sometimes expressed concerns that the data collected might be misused in ways which might impact negatively either on the ethnic minority populations of the area, or on the 'white' population. Many objections, the team felt, were rooted in racism or in monolingual perspectives. However, clearly the team were successful in overcoming many of these objections, at least at the level of the administration of the survey (but

perhaps not always at classroom level[4]), in that they obtained information on almost the entire school population of the five LEAs.

The findings showed that the proportion of students who could speak one or more languages in addition to English ranged from 7% in Peterborough, to 31% in Haringey, with very different patterns of language distribution in each LEA. Around 50%[5] of those who said they could speak another language apart from English reported having some level of literacy in another language (though this was not always the language they said they could speak).

The Secondary Pupils' Survey (SPS)
The Secondary Pupils' Survey was designed as a smaller scale survey to look in more detail at children's use of language in and out of school. The intention was to make the survey of relevance to all children, not only those who could be defined as plurilingual, and also to investigate whether children would be more willing to provide information about their linguistic repertoire in a format which did not involve teacher mediation. In this survey, there was space for respondents to mention up to three languages (one of which would, in most cases, be English, given that the form was written in English).

Students who said they could speak one or more languages apart from English were asked to assess their oral and literacy skills in the language(s) they knew, to say which language(s) they used with different interlocutors, and what opportunities they had had to study these languages. All students – whether monolingual or plurilingual – were asked whether other members of their family could speak languages other than English, whether they could understand the language(s) when spoken by others, what languages they had studied at school or out of school, and what languages they were aware of being spoken by others in their school or in the local area.

SPS was conducted with around all Peterborough pupils in the first year of secondary education at the time (around 1700 11 year olds) and with around 1000 14-15 years olds in 11 Bradford schools where the researchers knew (from the results of SLS) that over 10% of the school population was plurilingual. The results of the survey indicate that there were some difficulties with the format of the questionnaire: in some cases students had been unable to follow the questionnaire routing, and some questionnaires contained only partial data. These outcomes suggested that the questionnaire format was perhaps over-complicated for some students. However, the data as a whole were regarded as representative of the two student groups.

Around 10% of the Peterborough students and around 30% of the Bradford students said they spoke one or more languages in addition to English. Responses indicated that,

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[4] Some of the feedback they received suggested that: 'Not all schools and teachers followed our instructions to the letter, of course, or even indeed in spirit. We must presume that some teachers did not feel able to give the survey a very high priority within their overall workload, and may even have allowed feelings of hostility to the children most immediately concerned, to senior school staff, to their immediate superiors or to academic researchers to influence what they recorded.' (pp327-9)
[5] The proportion was lower in Coventry, where around 40% reported literacy in a language other than English.

overall, patterns of linguistic competence were the same for both groups: over 80% said that they could understand and speak the languages in question quite well; while around a third said that they could read and write in these languages. The data also showed that plurilingual students were more likely to use these languages with their parents and grandparents, but more likely to use English with siblings and friends, although patterns vary considerably, depending on the language in question. Around a fifth of the plurilingual Bradford respondents and around a quarter of those in Peterborough were studying a community language, usually out of school hours. Of those who said they spoke only English, around one in seven, in both Bradford and Peterborough, said that at least one of their parents spoke another language in addition to English.

Of all the school surveys reviewed here, SPS appears to have been the most successful in avoiding the pitfalls which beset the earlier surveys in London, and also, to a lesser extent, SLS. Unlike Rosen and Burgess or the ILEA surveys, SPS did not link plurilingualism to questions of competence in English, and therefore is less likely to have led respondents to under-report knowledge of other languages. In particular, its approach in seeking information about all students' linguistic backgrounds is likely to have encouraged monolingual and plurilingual respondents to take a positive view of the information requested. Unlike the other surveys, SPS was not dependent on teacher mediation, which the other surveys indicated could lead to misunderstandings, reticence on the part of informants, and missing data, in cases where teachers collect data only from those already known to be plurilingual. Although the SPS researchers themselves thought that only older students (over the age of 15) would be able to complete questionnaires on language practices, the Peterborough cohort demonstrated that students in the first year of secondary education were able to do so. There is, however, no discussion of alternative methods of administration of the questionnaire to those who might have had difficulty in understanding written English: these would include not only plurilingual students whose English was in the early stages of development but dyslexic students and others who, for a variety of reasons, may have learning difficulties or delays.

The Adult Language Use Survey (ALUS)

ALUS was developed to collect information about adults' competence in languages other than English and to investigate patterns of language use, with a particular focus on evidence of language shift and opportunities for language maintenance. As it would have been impossible to look at these issues in relation to all plurilingual adults across England, the survey focused on 10 languages (Bengali, Cantonese, Greek, Gujerati, Italian, Panjabi[6], Polish, Portuguese, Turkish and Ukrainian) in three locations (Bradford, Coventry and London). They aimed to look at communities speaking each of the languages in at least two of the three locations. Rather than conduct a census of these communities, they sought to identify a representative sample from each, in two or more locations, and to conduct interviews with those selected. The samples were based on an analysis of names known to be typical of the linguistic groups in question, from

[6] This included both those for whom Panjabi written in the Gurmukhi script is the language of literacy, referred to as the Panjabi (G) group, and those who speak Panjabi but for whom Urdu is the language of literacy, referred to as the Panjabi (U) group. For further discussion of Panjabi (G) and Panjabi (U) see Chapter 3.

telephone directories and electoral rolls, plus other ‘community lists’ where available. From this analysis, an estimate of the total community size in each location was constructed, and the survey sample based on this estimate.

Over 1000 interviews were conducted, mainly in the languages of the respondents, using interviewers recruited from local communities. This is an important feature of the survey which appears rarely to have replicated elsewhere. As the researchers point out, there are a number of reasons for conducting interviews about plurilingualism in languages other than English:

> The need for our questionnaires and interviewers to be bilingual was only partly to ensure communication with the widest range of respondents. More importantly, it was to show that we recognised the legitimacy of languages other than English for serious public purposes, and in certain cases to show that we did not undervalue certain stigmatised dialects. Nor did we feel that we were likely to be given accurate answers to questions about the use of particular language varieties if the questions were posed in a language which was itself distant from that most commonly used by the respondents. (p138)

Furthermore, in discussion of the data collected, the researchers felt that the community interviewers were able to provide insights which English-speaking interviewers might have missed; and it also emerged that some interviewees had told the interviewers that they would not have agreed to take part in the survey if they had been approached in English.

However, designing a multilingual survey presented a number of challenges:

- translating the original English questionnaire into a number of different languages in such a way as to ensure that the original intentions remained clear, that consistency across languages was achieved, and yet that cultural differences were reflected;
- the need to develop interviewing approaches which genuinely reflected the language of the communities to be surveyed, rather than standard or prestige varieties, and to ensure that interviewers did not convey negativity towards non-standard varieties;
- designing interview questions which interviewers had to read aloud to interviewees, when the language of literacy used in a community was not the same as the language of oral communication (this was a particular issue for both Panjabi (U) communities and Chinese communities);
- enabling interviewers who were fluent speakers of the languages in question but not highly literate in these languages to conduct the interviews effectively;
- designing a response form in which the information collected would be accessible to researchers who did not speak the languages in question.

In addition, there are a number of shortcomings associated with the particular survey method which the LMP authors themselves identify:

- the survey is dependent on participants’ recall – which may not be accurate, and is likely to be limited to current or recent patterns – of their language practices
- the data are the result of the relationship established between interviewer and interviewee; different interviewers might generate different responses;

- the data are based on self-reporting and are not backed up by other evidence (e.g. recordings of the interviewee in interactions with other interlocutors);
- interviewees might withhold information because they did not regard it as important, or because they did not want to reveal aspects of their linguistic practices to others.

Another substantial limitation of the survey is that participants were interviewed only in relation to one other language, plus English. Although the LMP team were aware that many of their respondents would be plurilingual, the complexity of the survey meant that they could not deal with more than one language. They did, however, collect basic information about the other languages spoken in addition to the language about which the survey was concerned. They also developed approaches to interview administration procedures which took into account the possibility of plurilingualism.

The results of this very complex survey cannot be briefly summarised. One of the key issues to emerge, however, is that linguistic practices and patterns of use vary considerably not only from language to language, as might be expected, but also from community to community, even when the same language is in use. The different immigration histories of, for example, Panjabi (U) communities in Bradford and Coventry, and the different contexts in which they were now living, appeared to be linked different types of linguistic behaviour[7]. These findings indicate the danger of generalising from studies which take place within one community or location to the linguistic behaviour of all those who speak the same language, across the UK.

'Multilingual Capital'

The aim of the authors of *Multilingual Capital* (Baker and Eversley 2000) was to find a way of producing visual maps of the languages spoken in London. This study began as part of the Logosphere Programme at the London School of Oriental and African Studies - a project to develop new methods of language mapping. The model developed worked well for African countries but did not suit the situation found in London boroughs. However, the team recognised that a language map of London would be valuable for social policy reasons, as well as enabling them to tackle the issue of urban language mapping.

Thus the approach of the researchers was very different to that of those who had worked on the previous language surveys. A major feature of the study is to demonstrate the potential value of the maps, rather than to develop appropriate methods of data collection. In fact, the data used were not collected by the researchers, but those routinely collected by London local education authorities (LEAs) for their own purposes. The approaches to data collection were known to differ markedly from one authority to another, and some to be more reliable than others: possibly the least reliable method recorded was that of one authority which, rather than spend time collecting the information, averaged the results for the four authorities which surrounded it. It seems likely that several authorities were using an approach based on that adopted for the ILEA surveys, given that ten of the authorities are the successors to ILEA: so, for example, it is probable that, in many cases,

[7] The different findings for these two groups are presented in more detail in Chapter 3.

the data were collected by teachers rather than directly from students or their families; and that forms have space for only one language other than English.

In most cases, the data were collected in 1998 or 1999. They exclude private schools. In all, data from over 850 000 children were included. About 3% of the data was unusable: because language names were derived from the country of origin (e.g. 'Nigerian', 'Ghanaian'); because the language names were unknown to the researchers, nor listed in Dalby's (1999) index of 40 000 languages and dialects; or because for some children, no language information was listed.

The survey found over 350 languages spoken by London children. The 'top ten', following English, are shown in Table 2a:

Table 2a: Ten languages most widely spoken by London school children

	%		%
1. Bengali/ Sylheti	4.5	2. Panjabi	3.3
3. Gujerati	3.2	4. Hindi/ Urdu[8]	2.9
5. Turkish	1.7	6. Arabic	1.2
7. English Creoles	1.2	8. Yoruba	1.2
9. Somali	0.9	10. Cantonese	0.9

Based on data from Baker and Eversley 2000

The data show that speakers of particular languages tend to cluster in the same or adjacent areas of London. There appear to be more speakers of other languages north of the Thames than south. The density of populations of speakers of other languages varies markedly from one authority to another. Hindi/Urdu speakers are the most widespread.

It is possible to use the data collected from London school children to estimate the total number of people speaking these languages living in the city. To do this, it is important to bear in mind that population patterns for different ethnic groups (as defined by the 1991 Census) differ considerably: e.g. communities who emigrated to the UK in the 1950s now include a substantial proportion of older people, while more recent arrivals have a younger profile. Fertility rates also differ among ethnic groups. Using a range of different types of data, two models to estimate the total populations of the speakers of the top 40 languages in London were developed. These indicate changes in the overall distribution of languages, compared with the school pupils survey. The top ten languages (after English) for the whole London population, based on these estimates, are:

[8] Baker and Eversley chose to view Hindi and Urdu as, effectively, the same language, a decision which some linguists would support but which members of the communities which call their language 'Hindi' or 'Urdu' might not accept. For further discussion on this issue, see Chapter 3.

Table 2b: Ten languages estimated to be most widely spoken in London

	000s		*000s*
1. Panjabi	144 – 156	2. Gujerati	138 – 150
3. Hindi/ Urdu	126 – 137	4. Bengali/ Sylheti	120 – 136
5. Turkish	68 – 74	6. Arabic	50 – 54
7. English Creoles	46 – 51	8. Cantonese	45 – 48
9. Yoruba	43 – 48	10. Greek	29 - 31

Based on data from Baker and Eversley 2000

In addition to presenting their findings in a series of maps, showing the range and concentration of populations speaking the principal languages identified, *Multilingual Capital* contains a series of chapters considering the value of the data for various social policy and commercial purposes. So, for example, in one chapter on the potential impact of the data on local authority expenditure, it is noted that, in the light of the MacPherson Report on the death of the Black student Stephen Lawrence, local authorities had been urged to improve services to ethnic minority communities. However, the measure of ethnicity derives from the 1991 census figures and therefore does not take into account more recent arrivals. The data provided in *Multilingual Capital,* in addition to being more up to date, are more detailed and therefore of much greater value in enabling authorities to target resources effectively. In another chapter on how multinational businesses decide where to locate their offices, it is noted that one of the deciding factors is access to skilled linguists. London has been particularly successful in attracting multinationals, because of its multilingual population. *Multilingual Capital* provides accurate data to support the claims made by London bodies competing for this type of business.

Despite these indications of the potential of the type of data synthesis which *Multilingual Capital* represents, it is clear that the quality of data collection within LEAs needs to be improved in order for this potential to be fully exploited. The authors therefore developed a prototype questionnaire which they encouraged local authorities and schools to use. It is designed for use in secondary schools, to be completed in one lesson, with minimal help from the teacher. Particular features of the questionnaire are questions about languages spoken at home/ outside school: these have been found to generate information not provided when students were initially asked which languages they knew. The authors also note the under-reporting of languages spoken by white pupils who are fluent English speakers; and under-reporting of languages which may be regarded as being of low status. This questionnaire is the basis for that used in the *Languages of Edinburgh* survey.

2.3 Technical issues for language surveys

From these surveys, three substantial technical issues emerge for those devising language surveys: sampling, administration procedures and questionnaire design.

Sampling

There are two approaches to sampling for language surveys. The first is to conduct a census – i.e. to survey the entire population in question (for example, the population of

Scotland, in the case of the Gaelic question in the Census; the ILEA school population, in the case of the ILEA language surveys). The second is to identify in advance groups within the population that are of relevance to the survey. Thus, for ALUS, LMP used telephone directory and electoral register data to identify people whose names indicated that they were likely be of ethnic/ linguistic minority origin; and similar techniques have been used in surveys of ethnic (rather than linguistic) minority populations (e.g. Smith's 1991 survey of ethnic minorities in Scotland).

Pre-identifying the relevant population has a number of advantages, including cost: it is clearly less expensive to target only those who are likely to be speakers of the language(s) relevant to the survey than to cover the entire population, when only a fraction will have information of significance. It may be possible to explore linguistic issues in more detail when all those receiving the questionnaire have a shared language background. The fact that such surveys can be conducted in the language of the target group brings a number of additional benefits, in terms of access to the group, and in terms of generating data which might otherwise not be forthcoming.

There are, however, major disadvantages. Not all those likely to be of interest to researchers can be traced via electoral registers or telephone directories, including anyone under the age of 18, refugees and asylum seekers, people who do not have telephones, and those who have not registered to vote. These last two categories possibly include a disproportionate number of people from ethnic minority backgrounds. It is time-consuming to run through electoral rolls, looking for names of ethnic minority origin. Even although this sorting can now be done by computer, making it feasible to extract the minority ethnic population of a district or a town relatively quickly, it would, according to McEnery et al. (n.d.: 3), be a 'daunting task' to do so for the whole of the UK.

In any case, identifying speakers of particular languages from electoral register details cannot be an exact science. The fact that someone has a name which indicates an ethnic minority background does not necessarily mean that they speak the language(s) most commonly associated with that ethnic group: the family in question may have abandoned their 'heritage' language and use only English; or they may have travelled the world and speak a number of languages not necessarily associated with the ethnic community with which they are ostensibly most closely linked. Names are not always clear indicators of ethnic origin in any case. Some names occur among different ethnic groups, including anglophone names deriving from the colonial past; and families in which inter-marriage has taken place at some stage may also have surnames which represent only part of their linguistic heritage.

Pre-identification of the sample therefore works best when dealing with a single-language population, in a relatively small geographical area (a town, or a district of a larger city). It is of particular use when seeking detailed information about a linguistic community for which basic information is already available: e.g. knowing about the prevalence of Panjabi-Urdu diglossia in communities of Pakistani origin will enable researchers both to phrase questions more appropriately and to explore the contexts in which Panjabi and Urdu are used among particular communities. The approach is of much less value when

several language groups, across a wider geographic area, are to be identified, particularly when the range of languages in use in the area is not known, and where basic information about language use among communities in the area is not available.

With large multilingual populations, a census is preferable. A census (theoretically) covers the entire population within the parameters of the survey, and therefore there is no risk of excluding relevant informants. A particular strength is the likelihood of picking up those (perhaps particularly White people) who are fluent speakers of English but are also plurilingual. Major drawbacks, however, are cost and the loss of detail. Questions have to be generalisable to the whole population, rather than tailored to issues which may be meaningful to some but not all groups. A particular problem in the past has been ensuring the scope to cover more than one other language apart from English.

Administration procedures

Administration of language surveys in schools (the model of most interest to the *Languages of Edinburgh* survey) presents a number of challenges. Firstly, for an outside researcher, there is the task of persuading local authorities to take part in the survey, and, once agreement has been reached, to convince school managers and staff to participate. As the LMP SLS exercise showed, securing agreement is in itself a challenge, not simply because of the logistical demands the survey may make, but also because of the political and ideological implications of asking questions about the languages students speak. These factors, inevitably, also influence what students report about the languages they speak. As Nicholas points out:

> For a number of reasons, language diversity surveys in Britain operate unavoidably in an ideological arena. The presence and use of languages in addition to English in Britain cannot be measured as neutral, demographic 'hard facts', primarily because they exist in a hostile environment […] This hostility, which also includes prejudice and racism, overt or covert, exists at every level of British society: in the street, in the classroom, in the political system. Of course, it is a factor in underreporting and underestimates in survey data. (Nicholas 1994: 39-40)

It seems clear from the analysis of the Rosen and Burgess, ILEA and LMP schools surveys that eliciting information directly from the students themselves rather than using teachers as mediators has greater potential for success, both because students have more knowledge of their linguistic experience outwith school than their teachers do, and because confidentiality and anonymity are important in contexts where people may fear negative or dismissive responses to the information they might volunteer.

However, teachers and other adults sometimes object to this approach, usually on the basis that children may 'invent' responses, or that they may over-represent their linguistic knowledge: some teachers objected to the use of 'ever' in the LMP SLS question 'Do you yourself ever speak any language at home apart from English' on the basis that this would lead to exaggeration. It is perhaps useful to note that all questionnaire data can be criticised for the same reason. Although questionnaires are often regarded as providing reliable and objective data, those who analyse questionnaire responses do, on occasion, encounter information which seems quite clearly to be fictitious: some respondents choose not to take the exercise seriously. For example, researchers into linguistic

diversity on occasion encounter the handful of respondents who claim to speak invented languages such as ‘Klingon’ or ‘Pokemonese’, or those who regularly speak Latin with their families. Such obvious fabrications are easily spotted, of course. It is quite possible that other respondents invent more plausible data which are accepted by the researchers in good faith. Those who conduct questionnaire-based studies have to accept that a small number of respondents will provide inaccurate information – either as a result of a misunderstanding of what is sought, or because of deliberate attempts to mislead or trick the researchers – and to hope that such respondents make up an insignificant proportion of the whole group. There is no reason to believe that young respondents are inherently more likely than adults either to misunderstand questions or deliberately to set out to mislead researchers.

Questionnaire design

The overall design of a questionnaire and the wording of individual questions are likely to have a major impact on the nature of the responses. Some formats are believed to lead to under-representation. For example, MacKinnon (1988) reports that the original question relating to Gaelic in the 1881 census asked whether respondents ‘habitually’ spoke Gaelic. The scope for subjective interpretation of this question was recognised and for the 1891 Census, it was changed to asking whether respondents were able to speak Gaelic (only, or in addition to English). This change in the question produced a 10% rise in respondents identifying themselves as Gaelic speakers in 1891 compared with 1881, even although the language was in fact in decline. Baker and Eversley report that making clear that questions about students’ linguistic repertoires refer to languages spoken *outside school* is important, as in school language surveys, some students may believe that questionnaires are concerned only with languages learned in school.

Over-representation is also potentially problematic. Crawford (2000), investigating the unexpected finding from the US Census that more people reported speaking Spanish at home than reported being of Hispanic descent, hypothesises that some people have learned Spanish in order to be able to talk to domestic staff. This raises the intriguing, but rarely discussed issue of whether people who were originally monolingual English speakers but who have learned to speak other languages for particular purposes should be regarded as plurilingual or not. (LMP report considering, but eventually excluding from ALUS a respondent who had learned Panjabi from his neighbours, and an Englishman fluent in Cantonese as a result of many years spent in Hong Kong.) As a way of avoiding this kind of ambiguity, Crawford recommends the format adopted by the Canadian Census, where respondents, reporting the linguistic knowledge and competence of each member of the household, are asked:

> Can this person speak English or French well enough to carry on a conversation? What language(s) **other than English or French**, can this person speak well enough to carry on a conversation? What language does this person speak **most often** at home? What is the language that this person first learned at home **in childhood** and **still understands**?
>
> (Canadian Census 1996, quoted in Crawford 2000: 3; emphases in Census form)

Another requirement for language surveys which the experience of earlier surveys in England has established is the need to cater for more than one language in addition to

English, and to avoid any suggestion of a language hierarchy by describing other languages as 'first' languages, 'mother tongues', 'native' languages, etc. Furthermore, it is important to recognise that the languages people speak may be dialects or non-standard varieties of English or another language, and to encourage accurate and detailed reporting in this respect. The ILEA surveys in particular were criticised for not recognising 'dialects of English' and therefore for obscuring the extent to which London school children might be fluent in Creoles. Reporting the use of Scots presents some similar difficulties, given that people are confused about the extent to which Scots differs from English and do not necessarily accord high status to the Scots element in their repertoire. (See Chapter 3 for further discussion of this issue.)

A particular problem with language censuses which focus only on language issues (i.e. not national Censuses) is that monolingual respondents will have little to contribute. The LMP SPS addressed this by including a section for those who said they spoke only English, which both allowed them to identify monolingual children with one or more plurilingual parents, and to gauge monolingual students' awareness of their multilingual surroundings. An advantage of this approach is that some students who initially define themselves as knowing English only may later realise that they have at least a passive knowledge of other languages. It also provides scope for comparisons between monolingual and plurilingual perspectives

2.4 Conclusions

This chapter has provided an account of earlier language surveys conducted in England, and drawn attention to the technical issues which future surveys need to address. In summary, this review indicates that a school-based language survey should:

- be aware of the ideological context in which such surveys inevitably take place;
- take account of the logistical demands a survey is likely to make on schools, and attempt to minimise these;
- be clear about its focus (e.g. avoiding confusion as to whether the survey is really about plurilingualism or in fact about competence in English);
- recognise the complexity of the linguistic context (e.g. plurilingualism, not just bilingualism, use of dialects and non-standard varieties, avoidance of language hierarchies; existence of diglossia);
- collect data directly from students rather than via teacher mediators;
- consider producing survey forms in a number of languages, or at least address the question of how those who are do not possess sufficiently high literacy skills in English will provide information;
- provide scope for those who speak only English to report on their linguistic experience and views.

Each of these criteria will be reviewed in the account, in Chapter 4, of the design of the *Languages of Edinburgh* survey. Before this, Chapter 3 summarises what is known about the 'other' languages of Scotland, from Census data and other research.

3. The 'Other' Languages of Scotland

3.1 Introduction

The 'other' languages of Scotland are not necessarily easy to define. While Gaelic is well-established as a 'national' language, Scots has a more precarious position. Disagreements among linguists and policy-makers as to whether Scots is a language or a dialect, or a collection of dialects, reflect uneasy perceptions among the general population that Scots is inferior to standard English and therefore not worth consideration. Collection of data about the use of Gaelic has established that the language is in steep decline, but the difficulty of determining the status of Scots has prevented the collection of similar information. For this reason, policy to support the use of Gaelic, and thus to halt the decline, is further developed than policy to support the use of Scots.

Languages other than Gaelic or Scots have received very little attention in Scotland to date. There are no accurate national data on the number of languages spoken or on the numbers of people who speak them. Nor are there Scottish-based sociolinguistic studies of language use in relation to any of these languages, and consequently we can say very little about the language experiences, needs or aspirations of those who speak these languages.

This chapter sets out what is known or can be inferred about the other languages of Scotland, focusing firstly on Census data and other statistics, and then on the literature relating to Gaelic and Scots, and to three other languages likely to be in wide use in Scotland: Panjabi, Urdu and Chinese.

3.2 Census data

Researchers and policy-makers seeking statistics relating to the 'other' languages of Scotland rely principally on data from the UK Census, conducted every ten years. However, these provide only a very approximate idea of respondents' ethnic affiliations and very little information about the languages they know or use. The Scottish version of the Census collects data on speakers of Gaelic, but nothing on any other languages. A proposal to collect data on Scots in the 2001 Census was rejected. (See Scottish Parliament 2000b for the reasons for this decision.) Data on the ethnic origins of respondents were collected for the first time in 1991.

The 1991 Census for Scotland indicates that there were approximately 66000 speakers of Gaelic at that time (1.3% of the Scottish population). As a large proportion of these were in the older age groups, it is likely that the number has fallen over the last decade. The ethnic minority statistics show that around 63000 people who identified themselves as belonging to an ethnic minority group (1.25% of the Scottish population). Those of Pakistani origin made up the largest ethnic minority group, around a third of the total, as is shown in Table 3a.

Table 3a: Ethnic minority groups in Scotland

Census ethnic minority categories	N	
Black	*6400*	
Black Caribbean		900
Black African		2800
Black Other		2600
South Asian	*32400*	
Indian		10100
Pakistani		21200
Bangladeshi		1100
Chinese and others	*23900*	
Chinese		10500
Other Asian		4600
Other Other		8800
TOTAL	**62600**	

Source: 1991 Census of Population Local Base Statistics

These data suggest that there may be around 21000 speakers of Panjabi and Urdu, the main languages of Pakistani communities in the UK, and around 10000 speakers of Chinese. However, these figures can only be estimates: people who define themselves as ethnically Pakistani or Chinese may speak other languages in place of, or in addition to those principally associated with these communities in the UK, or they may speak only English.

Furthermore, there are reasons to believe that the Census figures under-represent the number of people from minority ethnic groups in Scotland, partly, of course, because some 'White' people also belong to minority ethnic groups (Irish, Italians, travellers, Eastern European refugees, etc.); and partly because the pre-determined categories on the Census form do not necessarily conform to people's perceptions of their ethnic origins or affiliations. For example, as Audrey (2000) has demonstrated in her study of the 'Pakistani' community in Govanhill, many of the immigrant generation (now elderly), were born in parts of the Panjab which, following Partition, have become part of India. Had they remained there, as Muslims, they would probably have left the area for Pakistan (as did others from the same areas who have remained in the sub-continent or who came to Scotland at a later date). Use of an identity label such as 'Pakistani' ignores the complexities of geography and religion. In fact, when asked to select one identity label, most of her respondents preferred to describe themselves as 'Muslim' (pp. 225-230).

3.3 Educational records

No national records of the languages school children speak are collected. It might be feasible to do this via the School Census, a form which is sent annually to headteachers by the Scottish Executive Education Department (SEED), requesting information about pupils enrolled in all Scottish schools. These forms gather information on children's ethnic background (using almost the same categories as the Census: the Schools Census,

however, includes the category ‘mixed’ and does not include ‘other Asian’). It also asks headteachers to indicate the number of children who speak English as a second language (ESL), but does not include a question about the other languages children speak. However, the data on ethnic background and ESL are not published, as SEED’s statistics department do not consider them to be reliable. This is principally because of the number of headteachers who either do not keep information on their students’ ethnic origins or who refuse to pass this information on, leading to a substantial proportion of students being classified as ‘ethnicity not known/ not divulged’ (SEED Statistics Branch: personal communication). Reasons for not collecting the information appear to include the belief that collecting the data is, in some way, racist; or concern that the data will not be used appropriately (cf. the views of some of the school and authority staff participating in the LMP school surveys, described in Chapter 2).

Data from the 1999 Schools Census, obtained on request, indicate that 88% of the school population included in the returns[9] are categorised as ‘White’, 2.5% as being of ethnic minority origin (i.e. double the proportion recorded for Scotland as a whole in the 1991 national Census) and just under 10% as ‘unknown’. This picture is shown in Table 3b. The number of children recorded as being speakers of ESL (2484) is just over three quarters (78%) of the total number of children recorded as being of ethnic minority background (3195). However, as some ESL speakers are undoubtedly ‘White’, the relationship between the two data sets is not clear.

[9] The data on ethnicity and ESL are collected for Primary 1 and Secondary 2 only, each year.

Table 3b: Scottish P1[10] and S2[11] students by ethnic background

Schools Census ethnic minority categories	***N***		***%***
White	*108804*		*87.6*
Black	166		*0.1*
Black Caribbean		16	
Black African		83	
Black Other		67	
South Asian	1733		*1.4*
Indian		381	
Pakistani		1284	
Bangladeshi		68	
Chinese and others	1296		*1.0*
Chinese		400	
Mixed		305	
Other		591	
Not known/ not divulged	*12 272*		*9.9*
TOTAL	**124271**		**100**

Source: SEED Statistics Branch (Schools Census 1999)

Some Scottish local authorities also keep records of school children's ethnic origins and/or of the languages they speak, but these records are not collected consistently from one authority to another and the accuracy of the information they contain may not be easy to establish. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Baker and Eversley (2000) noted major inconsistencies in the collection of such data, even in a city such as London, where a high proportion of the population is plurilingual, and where such information has, potentially, considerable importance in the development of social policy.

In Scotland, the principal sources of information within local authorities on the languages children speak are the English as an Additional Language (EAL) services who collect the data for two purposes: to record the linguistic diversity of the school population in their area, and as part of their work in identifying children who require EAL support. The ways in which authorities collect these data differ. The City of Edinburgh EAL service collects two sets of data: one, conducted annually, covers all the children who receive EAL support; the second, conducted for specific purposes (most recently for the Council's Best Value review in 2000), collates information collected by schools on the languages spoken by all school students This 1999-2000 data set shows that there were 2922 plurilingual Edinburgh school students (5.4% of the school population), speaking a

[10] P1 stands for 'Primary 1', the first year of primary education in Scotland. P1 students are 5-6 years old.
[11] S2 stands for 'Secondary 2', the second year of secondary education in Scotland. S2 students are 13-14 years old.

total of 69 languages. The numbers speaking each language are not recorded (Edinburgh EAL Service 2000). The data relating to plurilingual students who receive EAL support for the session 2001-2 record 67 languages spoken by 1698 students (Edinburgh EAL Service 2002). Table 3c shows the top ten languages among the EAL students.

Table 3c: Ten languages most widely spoken by Edinburgh school children receiving EAL support

	N		N
1. Panjabi (U)	572	2. Panjabi (G)	182
3. Cantonese/ Hakka	154	4. Arabic	148
5. Bengali	134	6. Mandarin	48
7. Italian	38	8. Korean	33
9. Spanish	28	10. French	27

Source: Edinburgh EAL Service 2002

A comparison between the data relating to all plurilingual students and those relating to plurilingual students receiving EAL support in the session 1999-2000 suggests that this latter group constitutes a little over half (53%) of the plurilingual school population (Edinburgh EAL Service 2000).

Supplementing these data from the EAL Service are figures from the City of Edinburgh Council on the numbers of students attending community language classes supported by the Council in 2001. These show that there were 323 students, aged between 4 and 20, attending classes, around a third of whom were students of Chinese (Cantonese). The picture is set out in Table 3d. Note that there may be other classes organised by language communities who have not sought or obtained Council support. In particular, regulations prevent the Council from supporting supplementary educational activity which has as its main purpose religious instruction: some language classes (e.g. Qu'ranic Arabic classes) may fall into this category.

Table 3d: Languages studied in out-of-school classes by Edinburgh school children in Session 2000-2001

Language	*N*
Chinese (Cantonese)	111
Urdu	73
Bengali	44
Arabic	34
Farsi	25
Chinese (Mandarin)	18
Panjabi (G)	18
TOTAL	**323**

Source: City of Edinburgh Council

If we compare the number of students attending out-of-school classes in session 2000-1 (323) with the total number of plurilingual students in Edinburgh schools in Session 1999-2000 (2922), this would suggest that around 10% of plurilingual students attend out-of-school classes. This is not an exact figure, as the comparison is between two different academic sessions, and, as noted above, there may be other out-of-school classes which do not receive Council support. Reasons for not attending out-of-school classes are likely to vary, but it is important to bear in mind that there appears to be provision only for seven out of the 69 languages spoken.

Edinburgh therefore has quite detailed information about the range of languages spoken by schoolchildren, though not about the numbers who speak each language. Not all authorities keep such comprehensive records. However, figures alone tell us nothing about plurilingual students' experiences of learning and using languages other than English. The next section reviews what is know from earlier research into speakers of five of the main 'other' languages of Scotland: Gaelic, Scots, Chinese, Urdu and Panjabi.

3.4 Other language communities in Scotland

This section reviews what is already known about Scottish speakers of Gaelic, Scots, Chinese, Urdu and Panjabi, and identifies some of some of the key issues which language surveys in Scotland might address. In the cases of Chinese, Urdu and Panjabi, it has been necessary to hypothesise, on the basis of studies conducted in England, some of the issues likely to be of significance in Scotland, given the dearth of specifically Scottish studies.

Gaelic

Scottish Gaelic, a close relative of Irish Gaelic, can be traced back to the 4th century AD, when it began to spread across Scotland from Ireland, via Irish missionaries. However, despite its status as the oldest living language in Scotland, Gaelic has experienced a very long history of decline. (See MacKinnon, 1991, for a short history of the language.)

From 1881 onwards, a Gaelic question has been included in the Scottish version of the Census. These data have provided powerful evidence of the decline in Gaelic usage over the last century – from 254 000 people in 1891 to 66 000 in 1991, or, as a proportion of

the Scottish population, from 6.8% to 1.3%. The decline has been particularly acute in areas regarded as 'Gaelic heartlands' or *Gàidhealtachd* (Rogerson and Gloyer 1995: 47), partly because of attrition and partly because many Gaelic speakers have moved – largely for economic reasons – from the *Gàidhealtachd* to areas of Scotland which are not traditionally regarded as Gaelic speaking. According to the 1991 Census, around 40% of the Gaelic speaking population now lives outside the *Gàidhealtachd*, with approximately 10% to be found in Glasgow, and 5% in Edinburgh. The 1991 data also indicate the likelihood of further decline in the numbers speaking Gaelic when the results of the 2001 Census are known: a third of Gaelic speakers in 1991 were over 60 years old, while only 10% were aged between 3 and 16; in the Western Isles, where Gaelic is strongest, only 20% of the youngest section of the population were recorded as Gaelic speakers (Rogerson and Gloyer 1995: 49).

In part as a result of the very detailed information available from Census returns about patterns of Gaelic use, considerable pressure has been put on national and local government in recent years to take measures to promote Gaelic. These have centred on two types of intervention: support for the use of Gaelic in broadcast media, and provision of Gaelic medium education, particularly at pre-school and primary levels. A detailed account of these interventions and an assessment of their likely success in combating the decline can be found in Johnstone, 1994. In the discussion which follows here, the focus is on Gaelic medium education and its implications for the maintenance or creation of Gaelic-speaking communities.

Although a limited amount of Gaelic-medium education was available in some Gaelic speaking areas of Scotland from the 1950s, (MacKinnon 1988), a nationwide initiative to halt the decline of the language led to the introduction of Gaelic medium units (GMUs) in various parts of Scotland, from 1985 onwards. These are Gaelic-medium streams operating within English-medium schools. Most recent figures indicate that there are 59 GMUs in primary schools in Scotland, catering for around 1800 students, and 13 units in secondary schools, catering for around 230 students (Scottish Executive 2000b). It is estimated that approximately half the students in these classes are 'mother-tongue' speakers of Gaelic (Johnstone et al. 1999). The others are English-speaking children whose parents wish them to learn Gaelic through what is, effectively, an 'immersion' programme. Each year, around 100 students sit Standard Grade examinations in Gàidhlig (i.e. Gaelic for native speakers of the language) and around 50 sit a Higher in the same subject (Scottish Executive 2000). The number of Gaelic-speaking children *not* attending Gaelic-medium units is not known, but it is evident from the study conducted by Johnstone et al. (1999) that a substantial number of Gaelic-speaking parents opt for English-medium education for their children, even when Gaelic-medium provision is available in the same school.

There appear to have been few studies to date addressing the long-term impact of Gaelic-medium education on the maintenance of Gaelic. In particularly, there is a need for follow-up studies of children who attended GMUs when at primary school to discover whether they have been able to maintain the language subsequently, or whether (in the case of children one or both of whose parents are Gaelic speakers) it has increased the

likelihood of their using Gaelic in a wider range of contexts. As Gaelic-medium provision at secondary school is very limited, the issue of Gaelic maintenance into adulthood remains a challenge.

Broadly speaking, two types of Gaelic-speaking community in Scotland could currently be said to exist. Firstly, there are those of the *Gàidhealtachd*, where Gaelic may be used in a variety of community settings: the home, the school, the pub, the church, in shops, and, in some circumstances, at work. These areas are not wholly Gaelic-speaking, as noted earlier: even in the Western Isles, around 30% of the population does not speak Gaelic (Rogerson and Gloyer 1995). But the chances that children growing up in the *Gàidhealtachd* will hear Gaelic spoken around them are considerably greater than is the case elsewhere in Scotland.

The second type of community is to be found in areas where most of the population are not Gaelic speakers. This includes lowland Scotland and other parts of Scotland, such as Highland Region and Argyll & Bute, traditionally Gaelic speaking areas but where the language is now in steep decline. In these areas, Gaelic is likely to be confined largely to home use: it would be rare for people to hear Gaelic spoken in their immediate environment, other than in schools with GMUs. To speak of a 'Gaelic-speaking community' in this context is somewhat misleading. However, although the notion of a geographically defined community is inappropriate, one of the informants in Stradling and MacNeil's study (2000) of the role of Gaelic in the home and in the community in enhancing the Gaelic of children educated in GMUs, points out that the existence of GMUs helps to create or maintain a community scattered over quite a wide area, but one which meets on a regular basis:

> Think of our community as being the community of the Gaelic medium unit that the children go to. It is not a physical, geographical community. But the parents with children in the unit are very active in organising fund-raising activities, outings and Gaelic events. Comunn nan Parant is very active so we actually have quite a lot of get-togethers. (Stradling and MacNeil 2000: 19)

Other Gaelic-related activities (particularly for those whose work involves using and promoting Gaelic) perform similar functions for Gaelic speakers outwith the *Gàidhealtachd*.

There appear to be no detailed descriptions of these Gaelic-speaking networks outwith the *Gàidhealtachd*, although they are the group with which this study is primarily concerned, as Gaelic-speakers in Edinburgh will clearly fall into this category. From the accounts of anonymised groups which contributed to several of the studies conducted by MacNeil and others (MacNeil 1993; Johnstone et al. 1999; Stradling and MacNeil 2000) we can infer that communities outwith the *Gàidhealtachd* which are linked to GMUs consist both of Gaelic-speaking parents who wish their children to be educated in the language in order to preserve the tradition, and English-speaking parents who wish their children to be educated bilingually. This may be either because they have a particular commitment to the maintenance of Gaelic as a symbol of Scottish identity, or because they are, more generally, aware of the advantages of bilingual education. Some of these English-speaking parents are likely to be learners of Gaelic, and therefore at various

stages of linguistic competence. There are a number of families in which one parent is a Gaelic-speaker and the other is not (and may or may not be learning Gaelic). In these families, the children may be brought up bilingually, or they may be brought up speaking mainly English: the latter case is particularly likely if the English-speaking parent is not learning Gaelic and therefore cannot understand interactions in Gaelic. However, there are some accounts of English-speaking Gaelic learners with such a strong commitment to the language that they have brought their children up as monolingual Gaelic speakers (Macdonald 1999: 113). In addition to those who choose to send their children to a GMU and thus become part of the GMU community, there are other Gaelic speaking parents who either choose not to send their children to the GMU or who are unable to do so because there is none in the vicinity. These parents may – or may not – choose to bring their children up bilingually.

In the *Languages of Edinburgh* survey, we can therefore expect to find Gaelic-speaking children whose primary education took place in the one GMU school in Edinburgh, and perhaps a few children who have been brought up bilingual (to some degree) in Gaelic, although they have had little or no formal education in the language. The extent to which any of these Gaelic-speaking children use Gaelic now is likely to be limited, because, now that they are in secondary school, those who attended the GMU will not have the same opportunities to use the language on a daily basis. In any case, they are likely not to be at the same school as the others in their primary class, as children attending the GMU in Edinburgh come from all over the city, but tend to go to the secondary schools for their local area. Those who did not attend the GMU will perhaps use Gaelic in the home or with relatives, but their Gaelic networks may not be particularly dense.

Scots

Confusion over whether Scots is a language, a dialect, or a number of languages/ dialects makes it difficult to establish the number of speakers of Scots, levels of competence, or patterns of use. As Dósa (1999) has indicated in his review of the arguments for and against Scots as a language, the answer is not likely to be found in the careful analysis of linguists' definitions of 'language', 'dialect' and 'accent' but through the outcomes of language policy in Scotland (which would aim to codify modern Scots and to teach the resulting standard in schools, among other things). This perspective is not, however, widely understood by the general population in Scotland: a number of surveys have found that people are unsure, if asked, whether they speak Scots or not. This in part reflects the absence of a widely accepted definition of Scots, and in part, widely held negative attitudes towards the use of Scots, (see, for example, Aitken, 1982 and Menzies, 1989). This rejection of Scots, particularly among the middle-classes and those who aspire to middle-class status, is of long standing: in the 18th century, affluent inhabitants of Edinburgh employed Irish elocution teacher, Thomas Sheridan (father of the playwright), to teach them standard English pronunciation (McCrum et al. 1992); while very recently, a national newspaper noted that middle-class Scottish parents were taking their children to speech therapists to eliminate what were described as 'Rab C. Nesbitt' accents (Paterson 2002). Scottish people who take part in surveys on Scots may therefore not wish investigators to know that they can speak or understand it, even when this is the case.

The difficulty of establishing who speaks Scots and in what circumstances is illustrated by Macafee's account (2000) of the campaign to include a question on the Scots language in the 2001 Census. This involved the development of three versions of a pilot Census question which were tested out in the context of three different market research surveys. In addition, a test of proficiency in Scots, and an analysis of the language used by groups of informants in discussions, were conducted. The results of these initiatives were contradictory. The three versions of the pilot question produced markedly different results: two indicated that about a third of the population regarded themselves as able to speak Scots, while the third that only 17% did so. These results conflicted with those of a pre-campaign survey (reported in Murdoch, 1995) which suggested that between half and two thirds of the population had at least some degree of competence in Scots. The test results did not correlate with respondents' own assessment of their abilities. The linguistic analysis was controversial, both in terms of the ways in which participants' linguistic competence was classified, and in that it attempted to draw definitive conclusions from one set of interviews, in circumstances which may not have been particularly typical of those where Scots tends to be used. Macafee concluded – as did the General Register Office, responsible for determining the questions to be included in the Scottish version of the 2001 Census - that findings in response to census-style questions such as 'Can you speak Scots or a dialect of Scots?' could not be regarded as reliable.

These very major difficulties which previous researchers have encountered in conducting surveys of Scots use raise a number of problems for the current survey. Firstly, there is a methodological problem. Previous surveys have asked a specific question about Scots, and yet cannot, for the reasons indicated above, regard the responses as accurate. The

Languages of Edinburgh survey could not include language specific questions, given that the goal was information on all the languages spoken. This raised the issue of whether Scots speakers, asked whether they speak another language apart from English, outside school, are likely to identify Scots as another *language,* and also whether they will wish to record their knowledge of Scots at all, whether or not they consider it to be a language. A second problem relates to how to interpret data from those who say they do speak Scots (and, by default, those who do not provide any information about their ability to speak Scots). The previous research indicates that what respondents mean by *Scots* in a survey situation differs from respondent to respondent, Furthermore, there is very little research on schoolchildren's perspectives on Scots: Menzies (1989) investigating attitudes towards Scots among Glaswegian secondary school students, and Iacuaniello, (1993) on attitudes among 18-27 years olds, asked to reflect on their school experiences in relation to Scots, are exceptions; and both studies indicate negative experiences and attitudes. Therefore the data collected on Scots in the *Languages of Edinburgh* survey have to be interpreted with great caution.

Chinese

Although the Chinese make up the fourth largest minority ethnic group in the UK, and the second largest in Scotland (1991 Census), there have been far fewer studies focusing on the experiences of the Chinese in the UK than there have of the other main minority ethnic groups (Wong 1992). It is known that most of the Chinese now living in the UK emigrated from Hong Kong, from the 1950s onwards. Emigration was prompted in the first instance by the collapse of agriculture in the rural 'New Territories', an area in which Hakka was the principal language spoken, although Cantonese is the language of education in Hong Kong (Wong 1991). Illiteracy rates among the first generation of immigrants were relatively high, estimated to be around 13% (Tsow 1984). Virtually all first generation immigrants were employed in the catering trade. Because of the demand for Chinese food across the UK, there has been a tendency for Chinese families, running the local restaurant or take-away to be relatively isolated, with identifiable Chinese communities only in the largest UK cities, such as London, Liverpool and Glasgow. The nature of Chinese catering meant that acquisition of English was not particularly swift, as cooks needed no English at all, and serving staff only a minimal grasp of the language. In 1985, it was estimated that over two thirds of the first generation of immigrants did not speak English (Home Affairs Committee 1985). The history of the Chinese in Scotland seems not to differ significantly from that of the rest of the UK (Chan 1982; Barr 1983).

The few studies which include a focus on language use among Chinese communities in the UK show that Cantonese is the main language spoken in Chinese homes, although other Chinese languages (largely Hakka) are also in use, along with English. The extent to which children speak Chinese at home declines, and the amount of English they speak increases, the longer they have spent in the UK (Tsow 1984). Wong's more recent research (1992) indicates that virtually all Chinese children in the London school she studied could speak to their parents and grandparents in Chinese, but that when speaking to siblings and peers, over half used English, or a mixture of English and Chinese.

The most detailed study conducted has been that of Li Wei (1994) who investigated language choice and language shift among three generations of Chinese speakers living in Tyneside. In this study, as in Tsow's, it is clear that Chinese children use English with a greater number of interlocutors than do their parents or grandparents, but also that they can speak Chinese to older members of the community, particularly those who speak little or no English. However, the data also demonstrate that children's Chinese language skills are markedly less developed than those of their parents. In spoken Chinese, most school aged participants in the study could 'partake in casual conversation (usually about domestic topics, among friends)' but few could go beyond this to understanding radio or TV programmes, films or formal speeches, or to 'communicate effectively and with general ease in a range of social contexts'. In written Chinese, with one exception, none of the school-aged participants could go beyond reading simple signs and notices.

Panjabi and Urdu

Panjabi and Urdu are discussed together because of the complex relationship between the two languages. The LMP authors note that

> In all of the areas in which LMP worked, the interpretation of data relating to bilingual families who have their origin in the Panjab has been the most complex sociolinguistic issue we have had to face.
> (LMP 1985: 45)

To understand the data reported in this study, some background knowledge of the linguistic context of the Panjab is required. Before Partition, the Panjab was one province in which Panjabi was the principal language spoken. After Partition, the province was divided between India and Pakistan. In the Indian state of Panjab, with a majority Sikh population, Panjabi, written in the Gurmukhi script developed for the Sikh scriptures, is the official language. In the Pakistani Panjab, although Panjabi is widely spoken, the official language is Urdu, written in a script based on the Persian-Arabic form. Thus in Pakistan, Panjabi is rarely used for written communication (although it is possible to write Panjabi using the Urdu script) or for broadcasting. Pakistanis from the Panjab speak both languages, using Panjabi largely in informal contexts and Urdu for formal situations (see Miller, 1983, for an individual's account of the complexities of choosing whether to speak Panjabi or Urdu), but read and write in Urdu (and are also able to read the Arabic of the Qu'ran).

Urdu, Panjabi and Hindi in their spoken forms are, to some extent, mutually intelligible: linguists have tended to regard the three languages as forming a continuum. However, there are heated arguments about the relationship between Hindi and Urdu, in particular, with a strong case for the autonomy of each from the other being contested by those who hold that they are, in fact, the same language (with minor lexical differences) divided by two scripts. (See Khan, 1991, for a summary of this debate.) The consequences of this complex linguistic context for those conducting language surveys in the UK are that those who describe themselves as speaking Panjabi, and, depending on their opportunities to become literate, as reading and writing the same language are likely to be Sikhs. This type of Panjabi is referred to as Panjabi (G) in this report. People of Pakistani origin may describe themselves as using Panjabi and Urdu or they may choose to mention only Urdu,

as the prestige language of Pakistan.[12] This Panjabi-Urdu diglossia is referred to in this report as Panjabi (U).

For the UK as a whole, the primary phase of immigration from India and Pakistan occurred in the period 1955 to 1970, when men from northern India, Pakistan and what is now Bangladesh were encouraged to come to the UK as unskilled manual labourers. These workers were, in time, joined by their wives and families. Between 1968 and 1973, this population was supplemented by people, largely of Indian origin – including a substantial number of Sikh and Muslim Panjabi speakers - forced to leave Kenya and Uganda.

Maan's account (1992) of Indian and Pakistani communities in Scotland indicates some differences from the pattern of immigration in England. It suggests that the majority of immigrants were Muslims, and therefore likely to be Panjabi (U) speakers. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, a small group of (Muslim) Panjabi[13] seamen employed by Glasgow-based shipping companies came to live in Scotland, either for short periods of time, or, in some cases, permanently. They made their living as pedlars travelling around Scotland, establishing the basis for family businesses in wholesale and retail. During the period of large-scale immigration from India and Pakistan, after the second world war, many of those who came to Scotland were from the same areas as the earlier settlers, because of their existing connections. Those not employed in the wholesale and retail businesses of their relatives or friends found work in a variety of sectors, most notably, in transport. Maan comments that over 50% of Glasgow bus-drivers and conductors were of Indian or Pakistani origin in the 1960s (p162). Only in Dundee, where the jute mills employed a small Pakistani work force, estimated at around 500 – 600 people in the early 1970s (Jones and Davenport, 1972), has there been a community based around employment in textile factories. This contrasts in particular with Pakistani communities in the north of England, where textile factories were the principal employers. The nature of the work, and the fact that many factories were predominantly or entirely staffed by Pakistani workers has had implications for the retention of Panjabi (U) and for educational opportunities for these communities, unlikely to be replicated in Scotland.

Therefore, although there have been a small number of survey-based studies of Panjabi (U)-speaking communities in England, and also, more recently, an interest in patterns of language use among such communities, extrapolation from these studies to Panjabi (U)-speakers in Scotland is dangerous. Both major survey-based studies – the LMP ALUS accounts of Panjabi (U)-speakers in Coventry and Bradford, and a study conducted by Khan (1991) in the London borough of Newham – take as a key focus the possibility of language shift, from Panjabi (U) to English, in these communities. Khan's study compares patterns of language use of 'first generation' (i.e. those aged 31 to 50) and

[12] In other parts of Pakistan, other languages, such as Sindhi, Kachchi and Pashto are spoken, but relatively small numbers of people speaking these languages have come to the UK. There is also a small population, based in Karachi, for whom Urdu is the main language of speech as well as of literacy. But again, few families who, by tradition, speak only Urdu, are thought to have come to the UK.

[13] These seamen came from an area of the Panjab which is now in India, but as they were Muslims, they and their descendants may define themselves as being of Pakistani origin, particularly as later immigrants, often related to the earliest group, moved to Pakistan at the time of Partition, before coming to Scotland.

‘second generation’ (i.e. those aged 16 to 30) respondents, in different domains, for example with siblings, or with Panjabi (U)-speakers to whom the respondents were not related. The hypothesis, borne out by the study, is that the second generation are more likely than the first to use English.

The LMP study allows for comparisons to be made between Panjabi (U)-speaking communities in two different cities: Coventry and Bradford. Thus it becomes clear that certain historical and environmental factors influence patterns of language use. For example, the Bradford Panjabi (U)-speaking population made up a larger proportion of the total population of Bradford (3.3% of the population) compared with Coventry (0.6% of the population) and reached very high levels of concentration in certain parts of the city. In both cities, the LMP researchers found evidence of clustering of the Panjabi (U)-speaking populations in certain areas of the two cities. Clustering has benefits for the language community: resources such as Mosques, Asian shops, and out of school classes to promote literacy in Urdu or Qu’ranic Arabic can be located in areas convenient to those who wish to use them. People who live in such areas will also have more opportunity to speak Panjabi (U) on a daily basis, as encounters outside the home with other speakers of the language will be more frequent than for those who live in predominantly English-speaking areas. However, the numerically greater population in Bradford, and the fact that Panjabi (U)-speakers were more likely to work in places where most of the other workers spoke the same languages (in contrast to Coventry, where factories tended to employ workers from a variety of language minority backgrounds) suggested that opportunities to use Panjabi (U) particularly outside the home, could be greater in Bradford than in Coventry.

Such factors seem likely to underlie some of the main findings relating to Panjabi (U) in Coventry and Bradford. Coventry respondents were more likely to speak English well and to be literate in English They were much more likely to use English in the work place, and their children were more likely to speak mainly English.

A more recent study of Panjabi (U) speakers in Sheffield, (Reynolds 2001) used a different approach to investigate the possibility of language loss across generations, combining a social network analysis of language use, with a study of code-switching behaviour. The social network analysis, which, ten years after Khan’s study, was able to focus on three generations rather than two, showed clearly that older respondents were more likely to use Panjabi (U); and also that, respondents of any age were most likely to use Panjabi (U) with people of the ‘grandparent generation’ and least likely to use the language with friends. However, all but one of the respondents used Panjabi (U) in at least one context, therefore suggesting that language loss may be more gradual than had been hypothesised by Khan. This finding raises the question of whether Khan’s ‘second generation’, contemporaries of Reynolds’ ‘parent generation’ might have begun to use Panjabi (U) more as they became adults.[14] Factors which might change patterns of

[14] Li Wei, in his study of language choice among Chinese communities, mentioned above, notes the danger of assuming that data which appears to indicate that age is a major factor in language choice is demonstrating generational shift, and not lifestyle choices, suggesting that it is possible that as adults,

language use in adulthood could include marriage to Pakistani-born spouses (common in Pakistani communities) and a desire for one's children to grow up speaking Panjabi (and also literate in Urdu).

3.5 Conclusions

This review of what is known about the other languages of Scotland has established that national data on languages in use in Scotland are, with the exception of Gaelic, lacking. The most relevant data from the national Census relate to ethnicity rather than to languages; while collection of data in educational contexts has tended to focus on identifying students likely to need English as an additional language support rather than the potential demand for provision for languages other than English.

There have also been few studies of the use of languages other than English in Scotland, again with the exception of Gaelic. However, even in this case, very little research has been conducted into the maintenance of Gaelic outwith the *Gàidhealtachd*. Generally speaking, much of the research into the use of languages other than English in the UK as a whole has focused on attrition, often in order to support arguments that enhanced provision to support the maintenance of these languages needs to be made. As MacDonald (1999) has argued in the case of Gaelic, asking how it is that other languages have managed to survive as long as they have might be a more effective way of identifying appropriate maintenance strategies. In addition, if Scotland is to capitalise on the potential resource which speakers of languages other than English represent, we need to know much more about these speakers' attitudes to these languages and in particular the intentions of young plurilinguals have towards using their other languages, with their families (including, eventually, their own children), for cultural purposes, in the course of their careers, etc. than is currently the case.

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children from minority language communities may come to use the community language more than they do as children (1994: 115). A similar point is made in LMP (1985:365-6).

4. Designing the *Languages of Edinburgh* Survey

4.1 Introduction

The review of the literature on language surveys reported in Chapter 2 established that a school-based language survey should:

- be aware of the ideological context in which such surveys inevitably take place;
- take account of the logistical demands a survey is likely to make on schools, and attempt to minimise these;
- be clear about its focus (e.g. avoiding confusion as to whether the survey is really about plurilingualism or in fact about competence in English);
- recognise the complexity of the linguistic context (e.g. plurilingualism, not just bilingualism, use of dialects and non-standard varieties, avoidance of language hierarchies; existence of diglossia);
- collect data directly from students rather than via teacher mediators;
- consider producing survey forms in a number of languages, or at least address the question of how those who do not possess sufficiently high literacy skills in English will provide information;
- provide scope for those who speak only English to report on their linguistic experience and views.

This chapter describes how the *Languages of Edinburgh* survey was designed, taking into account these key criteria.

4.2 Ideological context

Nicholas (1994) has drawn attention to the fact that all language surveys (as is the case with all surveys of social phenomena) take place in an 'ideological arena'. For language surveys conducted in the UK, he describes this as largely a hostile arena, given the level of institutional racism which characterises much of British society. In addition, much UK thinking about language typifies what Phillipson (1992) has termed 'linguistic imperialism': a belief that some languages are superior to others, and, in this case, that English is the only language needed in the modern world. According to this belief, not only do monolingual English speakers not need to learn other languages, but speakers of other languages should learn English and – in its most extreme form, most recently articulated by the British Home Secretary, David Blunkett (Blunkett, 2002) – cease to speak their other languages. Is Scotland different from the rest of the UK in this respect? Arshad (2001) notes that Scotland has a long tradition of tolerance and a strong belief in meritocracy, but provides ample evidence that much of this tradition is rhetorical rather than real. A recent survey by the Scottish Executive found that 25% of the Scottish population held racist views (Scottish Executive, 2002c).

The implications of this context for the *Languages of Edinburgh* survey were that headteachers or the teachers involved in the administration might refuse to take part, perhaps because they felt that the data to be collected were irrelevant (on the basis that English is the only language which counts) or because they felt that collecting information which has some relation to children's ethnicity is, in itself, a racist activity.

In Chapter 3, it was noted that data which SEED aims to collect on school students' ethnic origins cannot be published because of a significant proportion of headteachers who fail to provide this information; and that LMP had encountered a similar reluctance among some staff when conducting the schools language survey. LMP argued that the basis of this refusal lies in racism, in that they encountered staff who felt that far too much was already being done to accommodate children of ethnic minority origin in schools, and that resources should instead be put into supporting 'our' children. Another interpretation, however, is that people are suspicious of the purposes of collecting such data. There may be good reasons for this: for example, the proposal to construct language maps of Edinburgh could put children and their families at risk of racist attacks if their location was too precisely plotted.

There can be no foolproof solution to the problems of non-participation which might ensue from the different responses or interpretations of the purposes of the survey. The principal strategies used in the *Languages of Edinburgh* survey were clarity, an emphasis on the potential benefits of the research, and inclusiveness. This involved making clear the purposes of the survey in all written information provided for the City of Edinburgh Council, headteachers, staff, students and parents and reiterating these in personal communication with schools (usually at headteacher level). The likely benefits were presented in terms of identifying the linguistic resource which Edinburgh possesses in all its young people, whether already plurilingual or becoming so. Such benefits are not – overtly at least – controversial, although this might not prevent some from identifying 'race' issues in the exercise and its outcomes. The fact that *all* S1 students were involved, rather than those pre-identified as plurilingual, made clear the inclusive intention of the survey, and had a number of advantages in terms of the findings. Not only did it provide an opportunity to investigate all students' attitudes towards learning and using other languages, whether at school or out of school, but it also enabled students whose teachers were unaware that they were plurilingual to record their linguistic skills.

4.3 Logistical demands on schools

Demands on schools to take part in a wide range of research studies are increasing, partly as a result of the faster pace of change in education and partly because of the current emphasis on evidence-based on policy and practice. Education authority officials and headteachers recognise the need for research, but at the same time have to protect staff and students from excessive disruption. A school survey needs to avoid making substantial administrative demands on staff and to take up the minimum amount of students' time.

Baker and Eversley suggest that the Census form take no more than a lesson to complete (around 40 minutes). However, asking schools to identify a whole lesson in which the demands of the curriculum can be put aside for the sake of research activities could be interpreted as excessive by some teachers, particularly when the census was an independent study, not a local authority initiative. Thus the form used in the *Languages of Edinburgh* survey was very short – 4 pages in total, with 14 questions in all – and required students only to tick boxes or write short (usually one-word) answers. Piloting of the form indicated that it usually took a class teacher 15 minutes, from announcing the

survey and distributing the form to a class, to collecting the forms back in again, to complete the exercise. It could take longer if there were several children in the class who needed help to read the form, or if some students had a substantial amount of information to contribute. In addition, some teachers chose to spend longer on the exercise by reading through the materials provided to inform students about the purposes of the research and discussing these with their classes. In these cases, the exercise might take up a whole lesson.

At the piloting stage, some teachers indicated that they would have liked to use the survey as an opportunity to discuss multilingualism and students' experiences of learning languages, at primary school or out of school, and suggested that support materials were made available for this purpose. The idea of producing a video was considered, but had to be rejected because of time constraints. Should a national survey be conducted, this element could be included as an option which teachers could make use of if they wished. Making such materials available to accompany the survey would go some way to redressing the balance in a situation where researchers are seen to take from schools, giving little or nothing in return.

4.4 Focus

Discussion of earlier studies has made clear that surveys which have, or are perceived to have, multiple – and possibly conflicting – purposes may fail. In particular, surveys which include requests for information about the languages spoken by schoolchildren but which also focus on needs for English as an additional language support may end up underestimating the number of children who are plurilingual, because of an assumption among survey administrators that the survey is *really* about 'EAL students'. Thus it is important that a survey which aims to map multilingualism makes this intention clear and unambiguous.

The *Languages of Edinburgh* survey may not entirely meet this criterion of clarity. Although its aim is to map multilingualism in Edinburgh, at the same time it seeks to make links between children's experiences of learning languages at school and learning and using languages out of school. For those who have always seen these two aspects of children's language learning and use as unconnected, the survey may therefore appear to have two goals rather than one; and given that the student respondents are likely to have been educated in contexts where few links are made between these types of language learning and use, they may themselves find the focus of the survey confusing.

4.5 Linguistic complexity

Previous studies have drawn attention to the fact that many people who are plurilingual speak more than one other language apart from English, and therefore that surveys need to leave space for information relating to several languages. It is also important not to make assumptions about 'language hierarchies' – i.e. not to make reference to 'first' or 'second' languages, 'mother tongues', 'native languages'. etc. – and to recognise that people use their languages for different purposes: for example, having different languages for speech and literacy, using a particular language only in a religious context, and so on. For these reasons, the *Languages of Edinburgh* survey contained space for four other

languages, in addition to English, in each of the questions relating to language use outside school. This would allow, for example, for students to comment on two languages they had acquired outside school and two which they had studied at school, among other options. For the purposes of analysis, it was necessary to limit the number of languages on which students could report, and it is therefore possible that some students know more than four other languages.

Earlier studies have also indicated that some respondents are reluctant to report their use of other languages because of the perceived low status of certain languages, varieties or dialects. This is a difficult issue to deal with in a census, particularly in a context where a wide range of languages, varieties and dialects may be in use. A method which involved some discussion among respondents and survey administrators would enable these issues to be explored in more detail, particularly in contexts where a substantial number of informants have knowledge of the same stigmatised language, variety or dialect. For example Nicholas (1994), who describes the development of a language survey in a London further education college, was able to focus considerable attention on the use of Creoles in the college as a substantial proportion of the college students were Creole speakers: in fact, as a result of this focus, speakers of English-based Creoles emerged as the largest linguistic group. In the Edinburgh survey, it was not possible, however, to draw attention to all the languages, varieties and dialects which students might speak but might not think of including, because of the likely range.

It was decided to take an experimental approach to this issue. The key question in which students were asked to identify the languages they spoke outside school was:

> Do you speak any languages apart from English when you are not at school?

Half of the census forms distributed used this form of the question, without any additional prompts. The other half included a list of possible answers to the question:

> Do you speak any languages apart from English when you are not at school? (*e.g.* Scots, Panjabi, Italian, Cantonese, Creole, *etc.)*

These prompts were chosen to encourage students who might be unsure whether to include certain elements within their linguistic repertoire to do so. Scots was chosen because of the confusion as to whether Scots is or is not a 'language' and because negative attitudes towards Scots could mean that some would not consider this worth mentioning. Panjabi and Creole were included for similar reasons. Cantonese was included to encourage Chinese speakers to be specific about the particular Chinese language they spoke, and Italian to make clear that the survey was concerned with European languages as well as those from elsewhere. The list is not exhaustive: clearly there were likely to be other varieties which students were unsure whether or not to include, but it was hoped that providing a range of possibilities would encourage those whose particular languages, varieties or dialects were not represented to think of including these.

Subsequent analysis of responses to the two variations of the question (A – with no prompts, and B – with prompts) showed that the variations made no difference to most respondents: those who had variation A were as likely as those who had variation B to provide information about the languages (including potentially stigmatised varieties and dialects) they knew. Therefore it is not clear whether the prompts were no help in eliciting responses relating to potentially stigmatised varieties and dialects, or whether, in fact, respondents did not view the languages, varieties or dialects they mentioned as stigmatised[15]. There was one very significant exception to this rule, however: twice as many respondents receiving variation B described themselves as Scots speakers as those receiving variation A. This finding suggests that many Scots speakers either need to be reminded that they can speak Scots, or that they need reassurance to include Scots in a survey of this type.

4.6 Data collection

The *Languages of Edinburgh* survey set out to collect information directly from all 11-12 year olds at school in Edinburgh. Earlier surveys had shown that data collected via teachers or headteachers were likely to be flawed. For teachers to gather detailed information about each child in a class is a time-consuming exercise and requires a degree of specialist knowledge (for example about the names of languages and about the cultural contexts associated with language use in particular communities) which not all teachers possess. Few teachers are in a position to make an accurate assessment of children's language skills in languages other than English, particularly if they cannot speak the language(s) in question themselves. Even if they do speak the child's language, they are unlikely to know in detail the contexts in which the child uses the language. They may assume that the child speaks another language all the time when not at school – when, in fact, the child uses the language with his or her parents and older relatives, but not with siblings or friends of the same age. Alternatively, they may assume that a child who speaks English so fluently as to be indistinguishable from the monolingual English-speakers in the class does not speak another language at all, unaware of the fact that the child may use another language perhaps with grandparents or on the phone to relatives in another country.

Despite the difficulties of collecting data via teachers, there is resistance to the idea that children's own reporting of their linguistic experience will produce reliable data. Some of the general objections to children as informants in questionnaire studies have already been discussed in Chapter 2. In addition to these, more specific concerns about children's ability to assess their own linguistic competence also exercised a number of commentators. The *Languages of Edinburgh* survey asks students to rate their skills using the following formula:

[15] This analysis relates principally to the respondents who reported speaking Panjabi (when coming from a Panjabi/ Urdu background) and those who provided information about the particular Chinese language they spoke. The numbers reporting other potentially stigmatised languages, varieties or dialects – e.g. Sylheti, Creoles, Italian dialects - were so small, or non-existent, that it is not possible to judge the effect of the two variations on the question.

I can understand/ speak/ read/ write (name of language)

well …   quite well …   a bit …   not yet …

Students fill in the name(s) of the language(s) they know and then rate their comprehension, speaking, reading and writing skills according to the four point scale indicated above. It is clear that this kind of question will not provide an objective assessment of the respondents' linguistic skills, firstly because there is no indication of the kinds of comparisons which might be made: 'well' compared with a 'native speaker', with another 11-12 year old learner of this language, with the respondent's command of English? Secondly, even assuming that some model of competence were shared by all respondents (e.g. the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages - see Council of Europe, 2001), it is quite likely that young language learners would not be as accomplished in placing themselves on the scale as their teachers might be.

Responses to this question should not therefore be understood as objective in the sense which teachers and others might like them to be. They are subjective, in the same way as attitudinal questions, commonly encountered in questionnaires, are subjective. What is being measured here are students' own perceptions of their competence, reflecting their attitudes rather than, say, their recollection of test results (though these may have influenced their attitudes). Positive perceptions of competence are important in language learning. For example, in a study of examining the reasons why many students give up learning another language after the age of 16 (McPake et al. 1999), it emerged that students who had performed well in examinations did not necessarily perceive themselves to be 'good at' the language in question. They seemed to measure themselves against native speakers of the language, or in terms of their success in communicating in 'real life' situations, rather than in terms of what could reasonably be expected after four to six years of school-based language study. In this case, because their perception was that their level of competence was low, they often decided not to continue studying a language.

Despite these problems, it is worth noting that self-assessment is quite widely used in language surveys, though generally with adults. For example, in the US Census, respondents are asked to rate their competence in English; and in the Canadian Census, they are asked to rate their competence in the other languages they know. Other researchers have found that self-reported data of this kind are generally reliable (see Fishman and Terry, 1969; Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

4.7 Language of the survey

Despite evidence from earlier surveys that the use of languages other than English was likely to enhance responses, it was not possible to produce *Languages of Edinburgh* survey in any language other than English. There were a number of reasons for this. Firstly, the full range of languages spoken by respondents was not known, and even if they had been, the cost of producing a survey form in so many languages would have been prohibitive. A pragmatic solution might have been to produce the survey in the languages known to be spoken by relatively large numbers: for example, Urdu, Panjabi,

Chinese, Arabic and Bengali. However, this would have created other kinds of difficulties. For example, teachers would have had to identify in advance students who spoke those languages, and in particular, they would have needed to know which students were sufficiently literate in these languages to be able to respond. Although some teachers undoubtedly possess this information, many do not, and therefore the confusion which might ensue had the potential to bias or limit the information collected. Moreover, it is unlikely that many students who are literate in languages other than English have ever been asked to make use of these literacy skills in a school context, and the novelty of the situation might have detracted from the goals of the survey.

For these reasons, the form was produced only in English. Two groups of students were likely to be significantly disadvantaged by this decision: those recently arrived from abroad whose literacy in English was not yet well developed, and those whose literacy skills were still, for other reasons, at the early stages. The support information sent to schools drew attention to the potential problems for these two groups. It pointed out that the information which the first group possessed about the other languages they knew was particularly relevant to the survey. However, the survey aimed to include all students, including those with early stage literacy skills, even if they appeared to speak only English and if, because of their learning situation, they had not had the opportunity to learn another language at school.[16] If possible, schools were asked to make use of language support or learning support staff to assist students in either category to complete the census form.

A different approach was adopted in special schools. All special schools are different, and the literacy skills of students attending these schools vary considerably. However, many students attending special schools were unlikely to have the literacy skills, the concentration or the interest to complete a census form of the kind used in the *Languages of Edinburgh* survey without one-to-one support. It would have been unreasonable to expect special school staff to provide this kind of support, given their other responsibilities. Therefore, the researcher visited each of the schools participating in the survey, and worked on the completion of the form with each of the students concerned. In most cases, this involved interviewing the students, using the questions from the census form as stimuli. Some students were able to complete the forms themselves, with some help and encouragement. Others provided answers orally and these were recorded on the forms by the researcher. Depending on the particular learning needs and abilities of their students, some headteachers of special schools were enthusiastic about the inclusion of the children from their school in the survey, while others were unconvinced that their children would be able to contribute relevant information. In the event, only two of the census forms completed in special schools were rejected on the basis that the information could not be regarded as sufficiently accurate. However, a number of schools were not visited at all, either because they did not have students in the relevant age range at the time the survey was conducted, or because the headteachers, following discussion with the researcher, remained adamant that the students would not understand or be able to contribute to the survey.

[16] For a detailed account of modern languages provision for children with special educational needs, see McColl (forthcoming).

4.8 Inclusion of monolinguals

Discussion earlier in this Chapter (see section 4.2) has drawn attention to the importance of including monolingual students, both in order to explore all students' experiences of language learning and in order not to prejudge those who are plurilingual. The survey begins by asking about the language experiences common to all (or almost all) students – learning languages, at primary school and now at secondary school – and then moves from this to asking about experiences of learning and using languages outside school. In this way, it presents language learning as a 'normal' experience for all students, before focusing on languages studied and used outside school, where some may have more to report than others.

In the second part of the form, which asks respondents to assess their language skills and to say in which contexts they make use of the languages other than English they know, the text does not indicate that these sections are only for those students who might typically be considered plurilingual, but rather encourages all students to report on their language skills and experiences. Thus the form collects data about students' assessment of their skills in the languages they have learned at school, as well as their assessment of those they may use outside school, and enables students to say whether they use the languages they have learned at school when not at school. For these reasons, there are very few elements in the survey form where students conventionally regarded as 'monolingual' would have little to contribute. Effectively, all respondents are considered to be 'plurilingual' on the basis that virtually all will have been studying another language, typically for around two years at the time they took part in the study, and that their views on these experiences were as relevant as those of those conventionally regarded as 'plurilingual'.

4.9 Summary of design and implementation

The design of the *Languages of Edinburgh* survey drew on discussions of the advantages and limitations of earlier language surveys, but also reflected the view that all students are – actually or potentially – plurilingual and that their experiences of language learning and use, in and outside school, should be explored together rather than understood to be unconnected.

Data was collected by means of a census document to be completed by all Edinburgh school children aged 11 to 12, in the autumn term of what, for most children, would be their first year of secondary education. Some special schools and some independent schools do not divide their provision into primary and secondary in the conventional way. In these schools, the census forms were to be completed by students in the same age range as those entering Secondary 1.

The form focuses on six aspects of children's linguistic experiences:

- languages learnt at school, both previously, at primary school, and now, in secondary school;
- languages learnt outside school, in formal provision such as after school classes;
- languages spoken outside school - in the home, in the community or abroad;

- contexts for language use – the people with whom different languages are used, and the places or circumstances in which they are used;
- linguistic competence – how well students perceive they understand, speak, read and write the languages they know;
- attitudes towards learning and using other languages .

For all the questions, students are required either to tick boxes or to write minimal answers (one or two words, such as the names of the languages they use). There are no open-ended questions, and therefore no data which could be subjected to qualitative rather than quantitative analysis. On average, students took five minutes to complete the form, and administration of the survey took around 15 minutes of classroom time.

The form was piloted in five Edinburgh schools, including one special school, in the summer of 2001, following which some minor amendments were made to the form and to the instructions provided for teachers and students.

Permission to conduct the survey in Edinburgh schools was sought from and granted by the Director of Education for the City of Edinburgh Council. There is no body co-ordinating the work of Edinburgh's independent (private) schools, but the support of the Scottish Council for Independent Schools (SCIS) was also sought and given. Having secured permission at Council level, the headteachers of each school was approached for permission to distribute the census forms and support with the collection and return of the data.

In total, 36 schools agreed to take part in the study: 21 (out of 23) state-funded secondary schools; 5 (out of 13) state-funded special schools; and 10 (out of 11) independent schools. One state-funded secondary and one independent school declined to take part when contacted. A second state-funded secondary agreed to participate but encountered difficulties in administering the census and was unable to return the forms. The five special schools which took part in the study were those which had children of the appropriate age who were, in the eyes of the headteachers, capable of providing the information required.

The census forms were distributed to all state-funded secondaries and independent schools at the beginning of the autumn term, 2001, and returned to Scottish CILT by mid-October. Special school visits took place in September and October of 2001. In total, 3840 census forms were completed, a figure which represents approximately four fifths of the 11 to 12 year old population of Edinburgh (estimated to be around 5000).

Given the nature of the data collected, analysis is entirely quantitative. All responses were coded and input for the purposes of running SPSS analysis. Frequencies were established first and these are reported in Appendix A, following the format of the questionnaire. After this initial data run, a series of cross-tabulations were calculated, primarily to investigate in more detail the responses of those from five key language groups: Scots, Gaelic, Urdu, Panjabi and Chinese. In addition, breakdowns of the data by gender and by 'plurilingualism' have been run. In the latter case, respondents were

classified as ‘plurilingual’ (those who reported studying and using languages other than English outside school) and ‘monolingual’ (those who reported using only English outside school) to investigate differences in attitudes to language learning and use.

Work on the development of language maps of Edinburgh has yet to be completed. This involves retrieving the postcodes of all those who are defined as plurilingual and using these data to construct maps which chart the distribution of different languages across Edinburgh. This work will be conducted by staff at the London School of Oriental and African Studies – following the method developed for the maps used in the *Multilingual Capital* study (Baker and Eversley 2000) – at a future date.

5. Languages at School

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents survey findings relating to languages learned at school, typically French, German, Spanish, Italian, Gaelic and Urdu. The chapter looks first at the range of languages studied previously at primary school, and at the languages respondents were now studying at secondary. The implications of these findings are considered in relation to continuity, the principle of continuing to study the same language at secondary as had been started at primary school; and to diversification, the principle of ensuring that a wide a range as possible of languages are taught, in order to ensure that the Scottish population collectively develops skills in several languages.

Findings relating to the number of respondents studying and using 'school' languages out of school are then presented and discussed. These sections include consideration of the opportunities for studying 'school' languages outside school and the possible reasons for doing so. They also distinguish between those children who use 'school' languages outside school because they have family or other connections with places where these languages are widely used (e.g. one or both parents are French speakers, or the respondent has lived in Germany for a period of time), and those who use these languages outside school because they are keen language learners.

Thirdly, data relating to respondents' assessment of their language skills in 'school' languages are presented, again distinguishing between those who would conventionally be considered 'plurilingual' and those who are language learners.

5.2 Primary languages

The teaching of modern foreign languages in primary schools was introduced in the early 1990s, using a progressive implementation model which has steadily increased the number of participating schools, so that now virtually all primary schools in Scotland offer a modern language in Primary 6 and Primary 7 (i.e. ages 9 to 11).

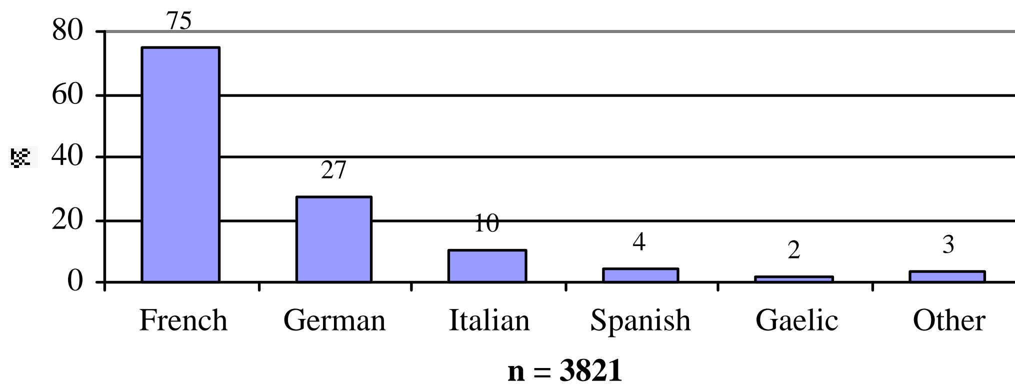
The principal languages taught at primary level are French, German, Spanish, Italian, Gaelic and Urdu. Given the size of most primary schools and the limited number of teachers able to teach another language, most primaries offer only one modern language, usually in agreement with the secondary school to which their students are most likely to transfer, in order to promote continuity.

In the survey, most of the students (94%) said that they had studied at least one modern language at primary school, and almost a quarter (24%) that they had studied more than one language.

Three quarters of the respondents (75%) had studied French, over a quarter (27%) German, and a tenth (10%) had studied Italian. A small proportion had studied Spanish

(4%), Gaelic (2%), or other languages (3%) such as Urdu, Swahili and British Sign Language.[17]

Figure 5i: Primary Languages



n = 3821

The nature of the provision students had experienced was not explored in this survey. The Minister's Action Group for Languages (2000) recommended that primary school students should spend 75 minutes a week (preferably 15 minutes per day) on learning another language, but other research (Tierney and De Cecco, 1999; Johnstone et al., 2000) has shown that provision varies considerably across Scotland. In addition to making provision for the main modern languages, schools may choose to teach other languages, perhaps because a member of staff speaks the language, or because a particular initiative has raised interest in another language. Deaf Connections and possibly other organisations promote and support the teaching of British Sign Language to hearing children in primary schools. Some of the children participating in the survey who were either hearing- or speech-impaired were learning sign languages (British Sign Language or Signalong) as part of their communicative repertoire.

5.3 Secondary languages

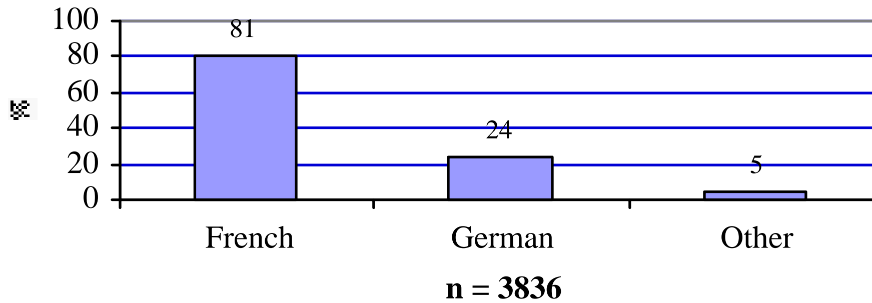
The study of a modern foreign language for four years, from S1 to S4, has been (virtually) compulsory in Scottish secondary schools since the implementation of the 'Languages for All' policy in 1989 (Scottish Education Department 1989). This policy is still in force, although recent policy developments have created some confusion as to how it should be implemented in future. The main languages taught at secondary level are the same as those most commonly introduced at primary: French, German, Spanish, Italian, Gaelic and Urdu. A small number of schools teach Latin, Greek and Russian.

Almost all the students (99%) in the survey said that they were studying another language. The small number (1%) who were not studying a language were principally those attending special schools. Most students (89%) were now studying only one

[17] Note that these percentages add up to over 100% because of the number of students who had studied more than one language.

language, and, for the majority (81%), this language was French. About a quarter (24%) of the respondents were studying German, while a very small proportion (less than 1% in each case) were studying Spanish, Italian, Gaelic, Urdu and Latin[18].

Figure 5ii: Secondary Languages



n = 3836

5.4 Continuity and diversification

Continuity – in terms of studying the same language at secondary school as was started at primary school – is an important principle of provision, but it is not always possible for secondaries to ensure that this occurs. One reason is that not all students transfer to the secondary associated with the primary they attended, perhaps because the family has moved house or because of a request to attend a different secondary school. Students attending the only Gaelic medium unit in a primary school in Edinburgh come from all parts of the city, but are likely to transfer to the secondary school in their own area – which, in most cases, is unlikely to offer Gaelic as a modern language.

The data from this survey show that almost all (90%) of those who studied French at primary school were able to continue studying the language at secondary. In contrast, a little over half (56%) of those who studied German were able to do so, although over three quarters (76%) of those who had studied German as their *only* primary language continued to study the language at secondary school. Opportunities for those who had studied other languages at primary were more limited. The full picture is shown in Table 5a. Given that around a quarter of respondents had studied more than one language at primary, the presentation separates those who had studied only one language (those who should, according to the principle of continuity, have kept the same language at secondary school) from all of those who had studied the language at primary school.

Table 5a: Continuity in language study between primary and secondary school

	Learned in Primary as one of two or more languages		*Learned in Primary as only language*	
Language	*N*	*% still learning in*	*N*	*% still learning in*

[18] Note that these percentages add up to over 100% because of the number of students who had studied more than one language.

		secondary		secondary
French	2895	90%	2012	93%
German	1019	56%	514	76%
Spanish	144	6%	22	18%
Italian	371	1%	118	1%
Gaelic	58	17%	2	50%
Urdu	7	14%	1	0

Achieving diversification – the teaching of a number of languages, rather than only one or two – is a challenge for most education authorities, and has become more complicated since the introduction of primary languages and the need to ensure continuity as well as diversification. One of the ways in which Edinburgh has approached this question is to teach more than one language at primary school and to organise secondary provision so that different languages are taught in alternate years. This appears to be the explanation for the very low level of continuity in Italian, and may also have a bearing on continuity in Spanish.

5.5 'School' languages studied outside school

In the UK, in contrast to most other European countries, it is unusual for children to attend 'foreign' language classes outside school. There is very limited provision, principally for French, and mainly for children of primary school age (or below). Teaching tends to be very informal in style, befitting the age of the children. Parents who take up such provision, in many cases, do so because they believe that an early start to languages will give their child an advantage. It is frequently stated in the publicity for these courses and by the parents who send their children to them, that, to be successful language learners, children must start young. By implication, starting a language at secondary school (or even in late primary) may be 'too late'. However, these beliefs are not supported by research (Johnstone, forthcoming) and in fact there has been very little research into the impact of such provision on students' subsequent attainment in the formal system.

The data from the *Languages of Edinburgh* show that only a small proportion (4%) of survey respondents were attending language classes outside school. Just over half of this group (54%) were studying 'school' languages, and the remainder were studying 'out of school' languages (such as Chinese, Arabic, etc.) Study of 'out of school' languages is discussed in Chapter 6. Table 5b shows the number studying each of the 'school' languages.

Table 5b: Respondents studying 'school' languages outside school

Language	*N*	*% of those studying languages outside school* (N = 142)
French	26	18

German	9	6
Spanish	11	8
Italian	14	10
Gaelic	5	4
Urdu	12	8

With the exception of Urdu (which is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6), it is not known what kind of out of school provision was available to students. The cultural institutes in Edinburgh make some provision for children from French, German, Italian and Spanish speaking families, and there may be other provision, organised informally, by such families. Organised out-of-school classes for learners of these languages who do not have family or other connections with the places where the languages are widely spoken are likely to be relatively limited, even in the case of French, given that much of the available provision is for younger children, to compensate for what is perceived to be a 'late' start in language learning in Scotland. There is some evidence in the survey responses to suggest that some of those who say they are learning 'school' languages out of school are referring to home-based learning, possibly with parents or family acquaintances, in preparation for holidays abroad.

5.6 'School' languages in use outside school

Almost one in five (19%) of the survey respondents said that they used another language outside school. The full picture of out-of-school language use is given in Chapter 6, while this section focuses on 'school' languages which respondents said they spoke outside school. Of these, French was the language spoken by the largest proportion (3% of all respondents).

Table 5c: Respondents using 'school' languages outside school

Language	*N*	*% of those using 'school' languages outside school* (N = 722)
French	110	15
German	77	11
Spanish	79	11
Italian	39	5
Gaelic	15	2
Urdu	56	8

Not all of those who say they can speak one or more 'school' languages outside school are those who would conventionally be regarded as plurilingual – i.e. those who have learned to speak the language(s) and do so regularly because they have family or other connections with the places where the languages are widely spoken. It is clear from the additional comments which some respondents made on the questionnaires that some said that they used a 'school' language outside school because they liked to practise this language when they were at home, with parent, siblings or neighbours, or when on holiday.

Although it would be helpful to distinguish between those who would conventionally be regarded as 'plurilingual' and those who might be categorised as 'keen language learners', this is not entirely straightforward, as what might be regarded as 'over-reporting' of languages in use outside school was not anticipated in the design of the survey. To distinguish the groups, it was decided to classify as 'plurilingual' those who said that they spoke 'school' languages outside school and who also indicated, in questions relating to the contexts for language use, that they spoke these languages a) with their parents or carers and b) at home. Those who did not indicate that they used their 'school' languages in both of these contexts were categorised as 'keen language learners'. This system of distinguishing between the two groups is probably flawed. It is possible that some 'plurilingual' students might not report that they used their other languages at home and with their parents/ carers if, in fact, they use the language with other relatives, and only when abroad. It is possible also that some 'keen language learners' say that they do use their 'school languages' at home with their parents/ carers because it is in these circumstances that they practise the languages they are learning at school. However, it was felt that this was the best way available of making the distinction, and that the addition of any other criteria (for example that 'plurilinguals' might be distinguished by higher levels of competence in the languages than 'keen language learners') would be problematic rather than helpful.

It important to note, however, that the need to make this distinction relates principally to French, German, Spanish and Italian. In the cases of Gaelic and Urdu, there are distinctive features which have led to discussion of Gaelic and Urdu speakers being considered in more detail in Chapter 6. For Gaelic, the situation is complicated by the fact that a number of students attended the Gaelic medium unit when at primary school, but not all have Gaelic speaking parents. The amount of Gaelic they have acquired through what is effective 'immersion' education places them in a different position to others who have studied a language at primary school for a short period of time each week over the last two years. Their particular circumstances mean that they are usually considered to be 'plurilingual' even though they may not use Gaelic at home with their parents or carers. In the case of Urdu, very few of those who say they use the language outside school have had the opportunity to learn the language at primary school and fewer still to start or continue the language at secondary school. It therefore seems more appropriate to consider this group along with those who have acquired another language outside school.

Reanalysis of the data relating to those who use 'school' languages outside school shows that in each case, around half can be considered 'plurilingual' and half 'keen language learners'. Spanish is an exception, in that almost two thirds of those who say they use the language outside school are 'keen language learners' rather than plurilinguals. This may reflect greater opportunities to use Spanish on holiday than tend to exist for the other 'school' languages. The full picture is shown in Table 5d.

Table 5d: 'Plurilinguals' and 'keen language learners'

Language	*Total N*	*'Plurilinguals'*	*'Keen language learners'*
French	110	57	53
German	77	37	40
Spanish	79	29	50
Italian	39	26	13

5.7 Competence in 'school' languages: overview

In this section, the findings relating to students' assessment of their competence in French, German, Spanish and Italian are presented. The picture for Gaelic and Urdu is presented in Chapter 6. Differences in opportunities for learning the four languages discussed here are likely to influence students' assessment of their own competence. As seen earlier, only French and German are now widely studied. Larger numbers of students took Spanish and Italian at primary school, but very few now have the opportunity to study these languages. In addition, the numbers of 'plurilingual' and 'keen language learners' for each language need to be noted, along with those who are studying the language outside school. Table 5e indicates the patterns of study and use for each language.

Table 5e: 'School' languages studied, used, understood, spoken, read and written

	French	**German**	**Spanish**	**Italian**
primary	2895	1019	144	371
secondary	3091	931	30	7
out of school study	26	9	11	14
out of school use:	110	77	79	39
'plurilingual'	57	37	29	26
'keen language learner'	53	40	50	13
can understand/ speak	3056	1287	277	335
can read/ write	2996	1249	246	303

French

Around 200 more respondents were studying French at the time of the survey (3091) than was the case at primary school (2895). This means that some respondents had only started to study French a few weeks before the survey was conducted. This may explain why the number who said they could understand and speak French (3056) is slightly lower than the number studying French at the time. The number who said they could read or write French (2996) is also lower (though still slightly higher than the number who were studying French at primary school). This is probably also a reflection of the fact that some students had only been studying the language for a few weeks, and possibly also of the likelihood that in some primary schools, the emphasis was on the spoken rather than the written language.

Of the 'plurilingual' French speakers, 16% (9 people) were *not* currently studying French at school.

German

Fewer respondents were studying German at the time the survey was carried out (931) than was the case at primary school (1019). It may also be the case that some of those studying the language now only started to do so at the beginning of Secondary 1. The number who said they could understand and speak (1287) and read and write (1249) German is higher than both the number currently studying German, and those who studied it at primary school. This reflects the fact that a substantial number of those who studied German at primary school have had to switch to another language when they started secondary school: almost a quarter of those who studied German as their only language in primary school and just under half of those who studied it as one of their primary languages (see Table 5a). The responses of these students would therefore reflect their view of the language skills they had acquired at the point when they left primary school. Thus the French and German data on competence in the four language skills need to be understood slightly differently. In the case of French, a small proportion (6%) of the students were reflecting on the limited competence they had gained in the few weeks they have been studying the language. In the case of German, a larger group (over 40%) were commenting on the skills they had acquired at primary school but currently had no opportunity to develop further.

Of the 'plurilingual' German speakers, 38% (14 people) were *not* currently studying German at school.

Spanish

Far fewer respondents (30) were studying Spanish at the time the survey was carried out than was the case at primary school (144). The number who said they could understand and speak (277) and read and write (246) Spanish is considerably higher than both the number currently studying Spanish, and those who studied it at primary school. This is difficult to explain, as the combined total of primary, secondary, out of school students and out of school users (264) is still slightly below those who said they understood and spoke the language – and in any case, these four groups are not mutually exclusive. One possible interpretation is that a relatively high number of students had studied or picked up something of the language in informal or semi-formal ways in preparation for, or in the course of, holidays in Spain. The data on students' linguistic competence in the four language skills thus need to be understood in the light of the possibility that a substantial number of those who responded were commenting on language skills acquired in the context of holidays. As with German, it is also clear the case that a large number of students (almost four fifths, or 79%) were commenting on the skills they acquired at primary school but currently had no opportunity to develop further at school.

Of the 'plurilingual' Spanish speakers, *none* was currently studying Spanish at school.

Italian

Very few respondents (7) were studying Italian at the time the survey was conducted, compared with the number who studied the language at primary school (371). The number who say they can understand and speak (335) and read and write (303) Italian is a

little lower than the number of those who studied it at primary school. This suggests that most respondents are reflecting on the skills they acquired at primary school but currently have no opportunity to develop further.

Of the 'plurilingual' Italian speakers, only *one* was currently studying Italian at school.

5.8 Competence in 'school' languages: understanding and speaking

In responding to the questions relating to their ability to understand and speak the languages they know, students were asked to include English, and to compare their competence in their other languages with their competence in English. For each language, students were asked to say whether they understood and spoke their languages 'well', 'quite well', 'a bit' or 'not yet'.

As discussed in Chapter 4, students' assessment of their competence is subjective and may well bear little resemblance to their teachers' assessment of what they can do. The data are not meaningless, however. If nothing else, they give us an idea of the confidence respondents have in their language competence. However, as the following discussion on the findings from this section of the survey will show, students' reported level of competence in the languages they know is not out of line with what we might expect for students who have been learning one or more languages at school for just over two years. Few rate their competence as highly in other languages as they do in English; and those studying French and German rate their competence slightly higher than those studying the other languages, reflecting the fact that most students are now studying French and German. Where they report on Spanish and Italian, they are in many cases referring to languages they have now ceased to study, and it is therefore to be expected that they now see their competence in these languages as less developed.

English

All respondents (100%) said that they could understand and speak English, and almost all of them that they could understand (92%) and speak (87%) the language *well*. These data and those relating to 'school' languages are shown in Table 5b:

Table 5f: Competence in understanding and speaking 'school' languages

	I can understand …					I can speak …					
Language (% of all respondents)	well (%)	quite well (%)	a bit (%)	not yet (%)	No resp. (%)	well (%)	quite well (%)	a bit (%)	not yet (%)	No resp. (%)	N
English (100%)	92	5	1	0	3	87	6	1	0	6	3840
French (80%)	5	42	49	3	1	5	39	49	3	4	3056
German (34%)	7	34	52	6	1	6	30	55	6	3	1287
Spanish (7%)	7	13	63	15	2	6	12	69	8	5	277
Italian (9%)	14	22	50	12	2	11	22	50	13	4	335

Those who indicated that they understood or spoke English *quite well* or *a bit* are likely to include some students who have recently arrived in Scotland from a country where a

language (or languages) other than English is commonly used. Survey data show that 154 students (4%) had attended schools in places where English is not the principal language at some point up to the age of 11, but it is likely that some of these students were the children of British parents who were working abroad, and they may therefore have been educated in English. It is also possible that some students were modest in their estimation of their ability to understand and speak English. This was the case with some of the special school students who were interviewed in order to acquire survey results, and may apply to other students in mainstream schools.

'School' languages

Comparisons across the languages of the extent of student competence show that students report a higher level of competence generally, in French and German, than in the other languages. This is the case both for understanding (Figure 5v) and speaking (Figure 5vii). These findings presumably reflect the school situation, where most students are now studying either French or German. Many of those commenting on Spanish or Italian are describing the skills they acquired at the end of their primary school in languages they no longer study. The high proportion of students who say they understand or speak *a bit* of Spanish would seem to support the hypothesis that a substantial number of those who said they understood or spoke Spanish were referring to what they had picked up in holiday contexts.

Among plurilingual students of 'school' languages, however, the picture is more complex. Plurilingual speakers of Italian are the most likely to say that they understand and speak the language *well*, but when the data for those who say they understand and speak these languages *well* or *quite well* are combined, speakers of French and German report a higher level of competence. This may reflect the fact that these respondents are more likely to have had the chance to study the language at school, in addition to out of school opportunities to acquire the language.

The full picture for understanding and speaking school languages is shown in Figures 5iii to 5vi.

Figure 5iii: Competence in understanding 'school' languages: all students

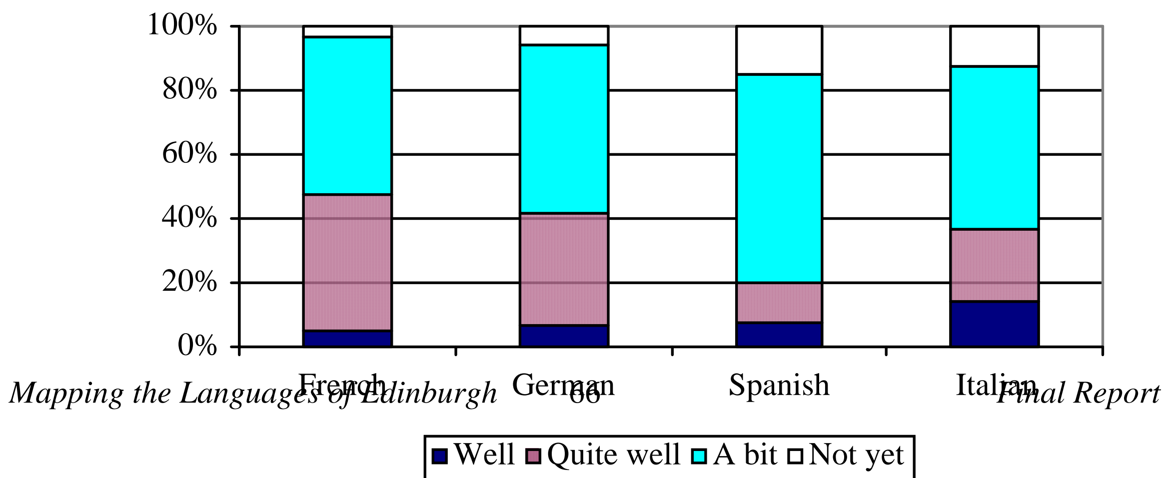


Figure 5iv: Competence in understanding'school' languages: 'plurilingual' students

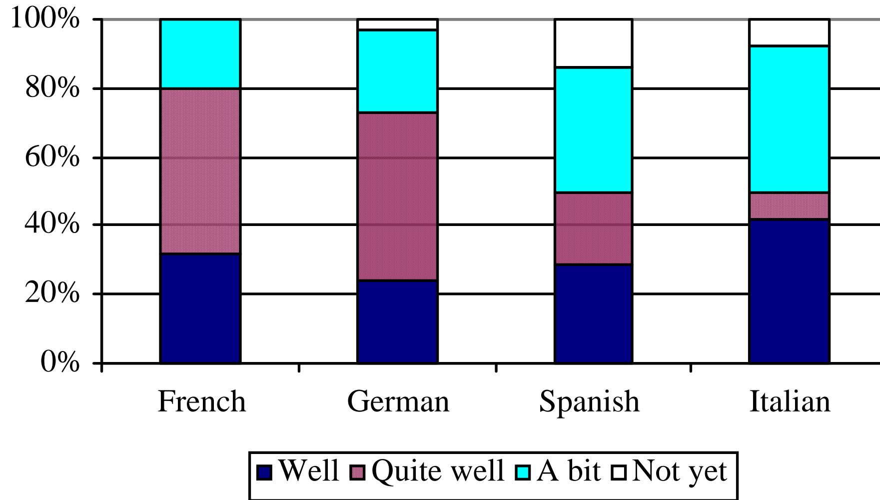


Figure 5v: Competence in speaking 'school' languages: all students

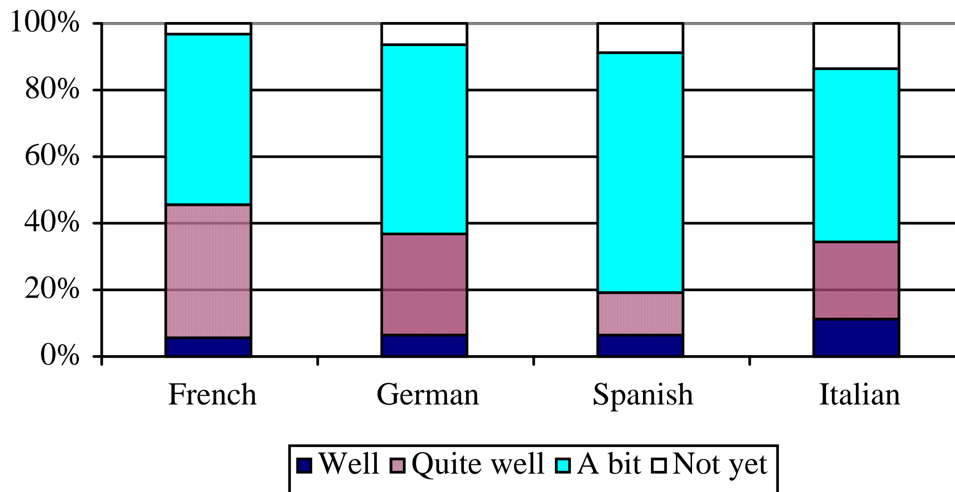
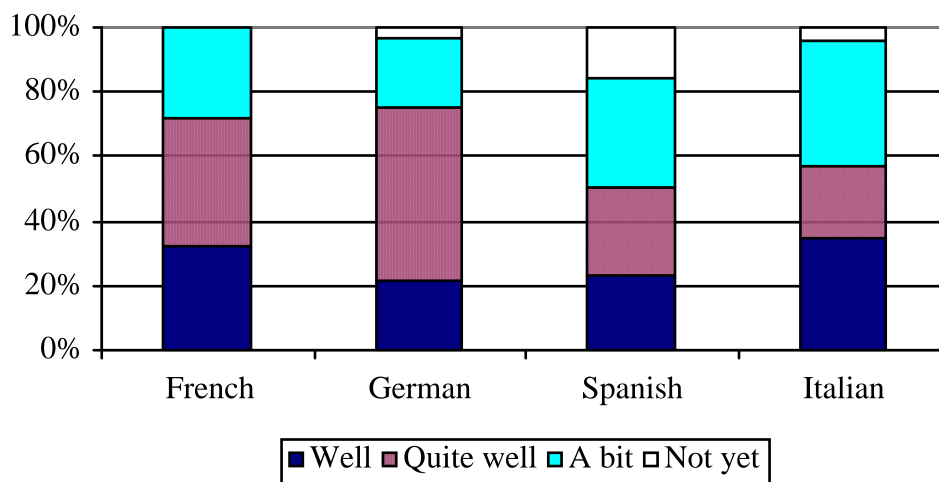


Figure 5vi: Competence in speaking 'school' languages: 'plurilingual' students



5.9 Competence in 'school' languages: reading and writing

As with understanding and speaking, respondents were asked to include English, and to compare their competence in their other languages with their competence in English. For each language, students were asked to say whether they understood and spoke their languages 'well', 'quite well', 'a bit' or 'not yet'.

Table 5g: Competence in reading and writing 'school' languages

Language (% of all respondents)	I can read …					I can write …					N
	well (%)	*quite well (%)*	*a bit (%)*	*not yet (%)*	*No resp. (%)*	*well (%)*	*quite well (%)*	*a bit (%)*	*not yet (%)*	*No resp. (%)*	
English (100%)	92	5	1	0	3	87	6	1	0	6	3840
French (80%)	5	32	52	9	2	7	31	50	8	4	2996
German (34%)	5	25	54	14	2	5	24	53	15	3	1249
Spanish (7%)	7	10	49	32	2	4	8	45	39	4	246
Italian (9%)	8	19	39	31	3	8	15	40	33	4	303

English

All respondents (100%) said that they could read and write English, and almost all of them that they could read (92%) and write (87%) the language *well*. These proportions are identical to those who said they could understand and speak the language *well*, an outcome which is a little surprising. While the majority of the respondents, being 'native speakers' of English could be expected to say that they understood and spoke English well, it might be expected that some had difficulties with the written language. If so, these findings suggest they are not particularly aware of problems of this kind.

'School' languages

The proportions who say they can read and write 'school' languages *well* are similar in most cases to those who said they could understand and speak the languages *well*, although it perhaps surprising that a slightly higher proportion say that they can write French *well* than can understand or speak the language. More generally, as can be seen from Figures 5ix and 5xi, students report higher levels of competence in reading and writing French and German than for the other languages, again reflecting the fact that these are the languages which most students are studying now. The proportion who say they cannot *yet* read or write any of the languages is higher than the proportion for each language who say they cannot *yet* understand or speak them. This is likely to be partly the result of the emphasis on the spoken language in primary schools, and also the fact that literacy skills generally lag behind oral skills when languages are taught using communicative methods.

The figures for Spanish indicate that a substantial proportion of those who say they can read and write the language do not have a very high level of skill. Again, it seems likely that a many respondents acquired some knowledge of Spanish from holidays in Spain: some have not acquired any literacy skills in this context, while others have some rudimentary skills, more in reading than in writing.

Around 20% of the 'plurilingual' students say that they can read the language *well*, the largest proportion being those who speak Spanish. This is perhaps surprising given that none of these students is currently studying Spanish at school and few (7%) are studying Spanish in out of school classes. However, just over a fifth (21%) of the 'plurilingual' Spanish students had attended school in another country, outwith the UK (in another EU country or in South America), and these students may have learned to read Spanish while living abroad. The picture for writing another language is a little different, with French being the language which the largest proportion of 'plurilingual' students say they are able to write *well*.

The full picture for understanding and speaking school languages is shown in Figures 5vii to 5x.

Figure 5vii Competence in reading 'school' languages: all students

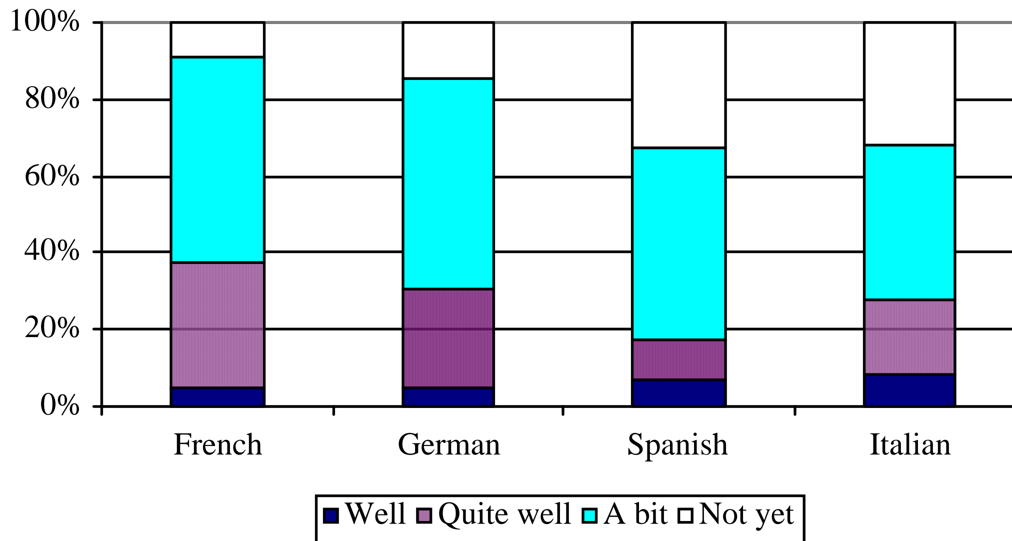


Figure 5viii: Competence in reading 'school' languages: 'plurilingual' students

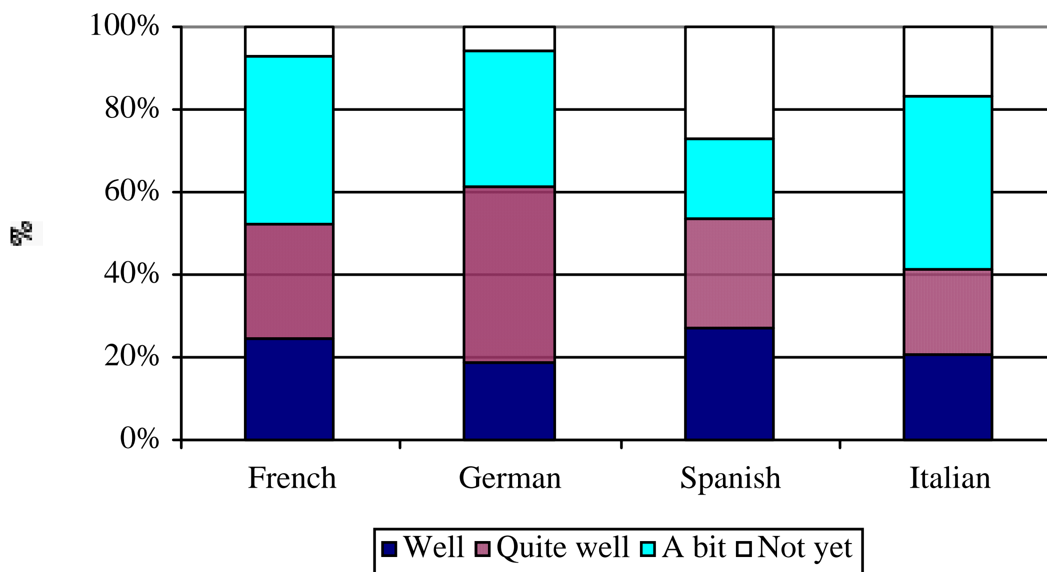


Figure 5ix: Competence in writing 'school' languages

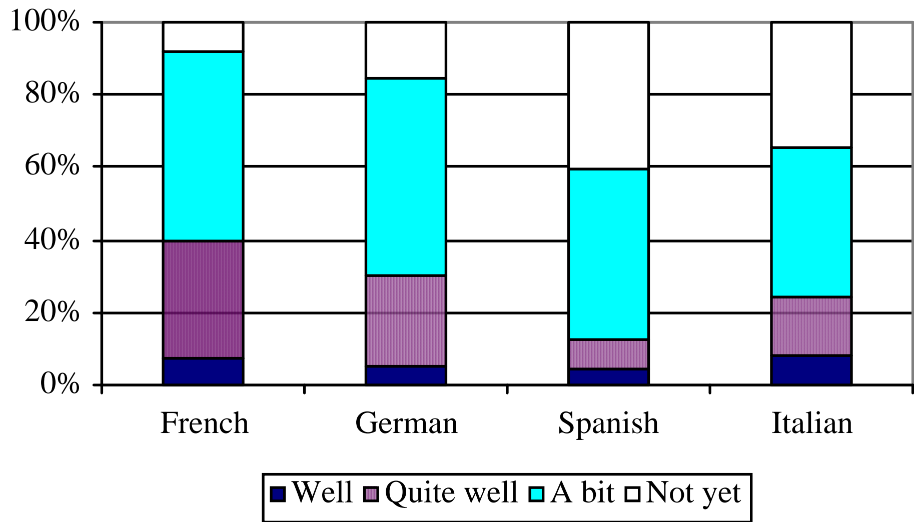
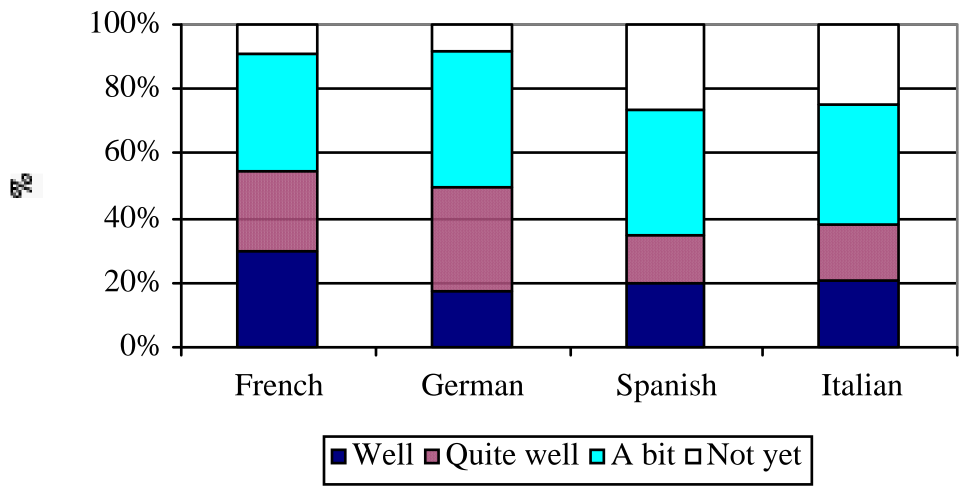


Figure 5x: Competence in writing 'school' languages: 'plurilingual' students



5.10 Conclusions

Survey findings relating to languages learned at school show that virtually all Edinburgh schoolchildren were studying at least one language at school at the time the survey was conducted, with most studying French or German. Although primary provision was also dominated by French and German, greater numbers were studying other languages – including Italian, Spanish, Gaelic and Urdu – than was now the case at secondary school. In part this reflects the fact that students were more likely to study more than one language at primary school; in part the tension between the principles of continuity and diversification.

A small proportion of students said that they used 'school' languages outside school. Analysis of this group showed that some were likely to be 'plurilingual' – i.e. students who had acquired the language outside school because of family or other connections to places where the language is widely spoken; and others could be classified as 'keen language learners' – those who enjoyed trying out the language skills they had acquired at school while at home, or who had acquired some skills while on holiday in a foreign country. Thus interpretation of the data relating to students' assessment of their competence in 'school' languages needs to take into account that this competence was not, in all cases, acquired only at school.

Students' assessment of their competence in 'school' languages, while subjective, shows expected patterns. Students rated their competence in English much more highly than their skills in the languages they were learning at school, and competence in 'school' languages was generally reported to be higher in French and German, the languages that most studying at school now, than in Spanish or Italian, languages which some had studied at primary school but which few were studying now. Some who reported on their competence in Spanish appeared to have acquired a basic level of competence not at school but possibly on holiday. Students who were categorised as 'plurilingual' reported markedly higher levels of competence in 'school' languages than those who had been studying these languages only at school.

6. Languages outside school

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents survey findings relating to the languages which respondents said they spoke and studied outside school. The first part of the chapter looks at the full range of languages which respondents said they could speak, and draws attention to some of the complications in understanding the data, in particular in relation to the five languages which have been selected as a focus for further analysis in this chapter: Scots, Gaelic, Chinese, Panjabi and Urdu.

The second part of the chapter looks in more detail at the data relating to these five languages, reporting the proportion who study these languages outside school, and the plurilingual respondents' assessment of their competence in understanding, speaking, reading and writing them. Discussion focuses on possible explanations for the differences between the five language groups in terms of their assessment of their own competence in each of the four skills.

In the third part of the chapter, the findings relating to the ways in which plurilingual respondents use their other languages outside school are presented. The data collected relates to potential interlocutors (family members and others) and to particular contexts (e.g. at home, in a religious place) in which respondents might have opportunities to use their languages. Different patterns of use for each of the language groups are discussed, and, in the conclusions to this chapter, consideration is given to the implications of these differences in terms of understanding plurilingualism and efforts to maintain the use of languages other than English among these different language communities.

6.2 Languages spoken outside school

In total, 722 students (19%) said that they spoke another language, apart from English, outside school. Of these 99 (3%) said that they spoke two other languages apart from English and 18 (0.5%) that they spoke three other languages apart from English.

As we have seen in Chapter 5, some adjustments to these figures were needed because some students reported that they used the languages they had been learning at school outside school because they enjoyed practising these languages at home. After these and some other minor adjustments, 525 respondents (14%) have been categorised as 'plurilingual', in the sense that they have acquired one or more languages apart from English outside school because of family or other connections with places where these languages are widely spoken.

In all, 59 languages were listed by students. Almost all responses have been treated as languages, although this might be contentious in some cases. Not everyone would grant the status of language to Scots, as discussed in Chapter 3, and there are other responses which might similarly be challenged: e.g. Shetlandese, Frisian, Mirpuri, and possibly others. One might also question whether Dutch and Flemish should be considered two different languages? In addition, 'AAC' - augmentative and alternative communication (systems used by people with speech impairments) – is considered to be another language

(more accurately, perhaps, each user's version of AAC is a separate language). To learn to use AAC is to learn a language quite different from English, even although it can be translated, when computerised, into English (Murphy et al. 1996). Only two responses were excluded, on the basis that they could not be interpreted: one was 'Enjin' (possibly an idiosyncratic spelling of 'Indian'); the other was illegible.

The full picture is set out in Table 6a.

Table 6a: Languages spoken outside school

(N = 525)

French:	11%	German:	7%	Spanish:	6%
Italian:	5%	Gaelic:	3%	Other European[19]:	10%
Scots[20]:	19%	Dialect of English[21]:	1%		
Urdu[22]:	11%	Panjabi[23]:	8%	Bengali:	2%
Chinese[24]:	9%	Mandarin:	1%	Japanese:	2%
Other Asian[25]:	4%				
Arabic:	5%	Turkish:	2%	Other Middle Eastern[26]:	2%
African language[27]:	1%	Sign language:	1%	Other language[28]:	1%

[19] Includes Russian, Greek, Portuguese, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Dutch, Flemish, Friesian, Hungarian, Romanian, Polish, Bosnian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Maltese, Welsh, Irish Gaelic and Romany

[20] Includes 'Scottish', Scots and Shetlandese

[21] Includes Cockney', 'American', 'Canadian' and 'Jamaican'

[22] This category includes those who said they spoke Urdu only and those who said they spoke Urdu and Panjabi.

[23] This category includes those who said they spoke only Panjabi, and those who said they spoke Panjabi and Urdu. If those who said they spoke Panjabi *and* Urdu are excluded the proportion speaking Panjabi (only) falls to 3%.

[24] 'Chinese' includes those who said they spoke Cantonese and those who said they spoke 'Chinese'. From analysis of other survey data relating to Cantonese and 'Chinese' speakers it seems probable that all or virtually all of the 'Chinese' speakers are, in fact, Cantonese speakers. Cantonese and Hakka were spoken by one respondent.

[25] Includes Hindi, Gujerati, Mirpuri, Malayalam, Tamil, Sinhala, Malay, Indonesian, Thai, Tagalog Visnayan and Korean.

[26] Includes Farsi and Hebrew

[27] Includes Yoruba, Ibo. Shona, Swahili and Africaans

[28] Includes Drehu (a language of the South Pacific) and Augmentative and Alternative Communication (AAC)

These data indicate that Scots is the most widely spoken language, after English, followed by French, Urdu, and Chinese (Cantonese). A wide range of languages is spoken: speakers of European languages (excluding Scots and Gaelic) make up a little over a third of the plurilingual population (39%) while speakers of Asian language constitute just under a third (31%). Another significant feature is the number of languages (40, excluding dialects) spoken by a very small number of speakers (i.e. fewer than five people).

In the following sections of this chapter, discussion focuses on five language groups which the findings suggest would be the most significant in the debate about multilingualism in Scotland. These are Scots, Gaelic, Chinese, Urdu and Panjabi. Scots and Gaelic are clearly of particular relevance in the Scottish context. Chinese, Urdu and Panjabi have been selected as the languages with the largest numbers of speakers. The findings indicate that there are also substantial numbers of French, German, Spanish and Italian speakers. Some of the data relating to these groups have been presented in Chapter 5, but further analysis of these groups could be undertaken. However, more information about speakers of European languages living in Scotland is needed to support interpretation of the data. Despite the growing emphasis on 'mobility' within the European Union, there appear to have been very few studies of the impact on the children of 'mobile' workers, in terms of their education generally or, more specifically, on their linguistic development.

Scots

Despite the fact that Scots emerges as the most widely spoken 'other language', the proportion who report speaking Scots is in fact much smaller than might have been anticipated from earlier studies. These estimated the Scots-speaking population as somewhere between 20% and 50% of the population (see Chapter 3). It should be noted that the proportion of *all respondents* (not only those who said that they spoke another language outside school) who said that they spoke Scots is just 2.6% (100 respondents). Why the reporting of Scots should be so low is not easy to determine, other than pointing to the well-established difficulties ensuing from defining Scots as a 'language', and of unwillingness to recognise Scots as a part of Scots' linguistic repertoire. Clearly the format of this questionnaire was not successful in drawing respondents' attention to the possibility of listing Scots as one of their languages. Even if the version of the form in which prompts specifically mentioned Scots as an option (see Chapter 4) had been used with all participants, the overall proportion who mentioned Scots would have increased only to 3.1%.

Gaelic

Although the proportion of respondents who said that said that they spoke Gaelic outside school is small (15 respondents, or 0.4% of all those participating in the survey), it is higher than the available statistics indicate is the case for Edinburgh as a whole. Rogerson and Gloyer's (1995) analysis of the 1991 Census data relating to Gaelic show that 0.87% (574 people) of the Gaelic speaking population of Scotland was then to be found in Edinburgh, indicating that they made up 0.1% of the Edinburgh population. Because of the small numbers of people involved, it is not possible to draw firm

conclusions from the findings of this survey, but these data may reflect the impact of the Gaelic medium unit in Edinburgh. It is unfortunate that the survey did not contain a question to identify those who attended the GMU. If a full survey were to be conducted, a question on this issue should be included.

An analysis of all the data relating to Gaelic in the survey shows that there were 58 respondents who had studied Gaelic at primary school, but only two had studied Gaelic as their only primary language. Of those who said they spoke another language outside school, 15 mentioned Gaelic, and seven of these had studied the language at primary school. This may indicate that seven of the respondents were GMU graduates, and eight were from Gaelic speaking families who had not sent their children to the GMU, but it is not possible to be sure of this. Four of the group were studying Gaelic at secondary school, and three were attending out-of-school classes in Gaelic.

Panjabi and Urdu

The presentation of the data in Table 6a relating to Urdu and Panjabi indicates some of the complexities in understanding the two groups of speakers of these languages. As discussed in Chapter 3, it is usual to divide Panjabi speakers into Panjabi (U) and Panjabi (G) groups. On the basis that those who say they only speak Urdu probably also speak Panjabi but have not mentioned this because of the higher prestige of Urdu, 56 respondents (11% of the plurilingual group) can be assigned to the Panjabi (U) category. By default, the remaining Panjabi speakers (15 respondents, or 3% of the plurilingual group) are probably Panjabi (G) speakers, particularly as Edinburgh is known to have a small Panjabi (G) speaking community. Subsequent analysis of the linguistic behaviour of the two groups (reported in the following sections) show that they are different and that it is therefore likely that the Panjabi only speakers are not from the same language community.

However, this analysis also shows differences in the linguistic behaviour of those who said they knew only Urdu and those who said that they knew Panjabi *and* Urdu, indicating a stronger commitment to the use of languages other than English among the Panjabi *and* Urdu group than among the Urdu *only* group. For this reason, the analyses presented below distinguish between the two groups. It is not easy to provide explanations for the differences between the two groups, given that all accounts of Panjabi (U) speakers in the UK assume that both languages are in use in this community. It could be hypothesised, however, that the use of Panjabi is disappearing in the Panjabi (U) community, given the length of time that some families have been living in Scotland, but that a formal commitment to Urdu remains, as the prestige language and – as the language of literacy, broadcasting and film – an important vehicle for maintaining forma links with Pakistan. Rosowsky (2002), in his analysis of the role of Qu'ranic Arabic among communities of Pakistani origin in the north of England, has argued that Qu'ranic Arabic is likely to remain an important element in the linguistic repertoire of these communities even if Mirpuri (this, rather than Panjabi, is the vernacular in the area studied) dies out, because of its formal cultural (i.e. religious) role. The same may be true for Urdu, at least in communities which have reasonably good access to Urdu classes and cultural activities which make use of the language.

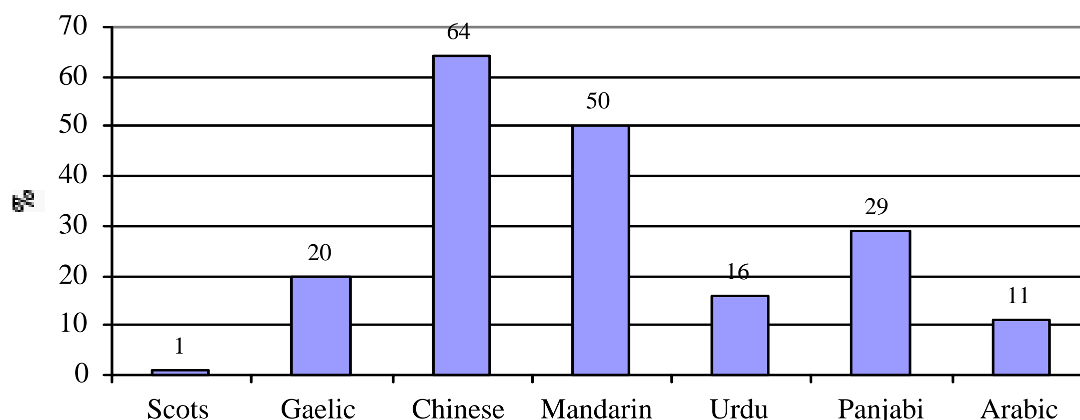
Chinese
The figures for those speaking ‘Chinese’ include those who specified that they spoke Cantonese (33 people) and those who used the generic term ‘Chinese’ to describe the language they spoke (19 people). Analysis suggests that all of those who said they spoke ‘Chinese’ are likely to be Cantonese speakers. One respondent reported speaking both Cantonese and Hakka. Only a small group of respondents (six people) said that they spoke Mandarin outside school, but it seems that all but one of these are Cantonese speakers who are learning Mandarin, or have studied the language in the past, rather than people who have learned Mandarin in a Mandarin-speaking community.

6.3 Other languages studied outside school

In Chapter 5, it was noted that, in contrast to many other European countries there is limited interest in studying languages outside school in the UK. However, for plurilingual communities, out-of-school classes in the ‘heritage’ or ‘community’ language represent an important way of maintaining these languages, and particularly of ensuring that children become pluriliterate. As described in Chapter 3, there are out-of-school classes for Chinese (Cantonese and Mandarin), Urdu, Panjabi, Arabic, Bengali and Farsi organised with the support of the City of Edinburgh Council, and there may be other classes organised independently of the Council. However, the numbers attending these classes (323 in the academic year 2000-2001) seem relatively small, compared with the probably number of children who speak these languages: the available data from the City of Edinburgh Council (see Chapter 3) suggest that around one in four from these language groups are attending out-of-school classes.

The data from this survey indicate that the proportion attending out-of-school classes varies depending on the language in question. In total, 4% of survey respondents were attending language classes outside school. This represents a little over a quarter (27%) of those who said they spoke another language outside school. The full picture of attendance in language classes for the five language groups on which this chapter focuses is shown in Figure 6i. Note that Panjabi (U) speakers do not study Panjabi formally, so the figures relating to Panjabi are for Panjabi (G) speakers. Arabic, however, is included as a language which Panjabi (U) speakers study: the data presented here show the proportion of Panjabi (U) speakers studying Arabic.

Figure 6i: Languages studied outside school



NB: Figures represent % of speakers of each language who study the language outside school. For Arabic, the figure represents the % of Panjabi (U) speakers studying Arabic.

However, while around two thirds (64%) of Chinese speaking children are attending out-of-school classes, only one in six (16%) of Panjabi (U) speakers are attending Urdu classes. The levels of literacy in Urdu among this group (see Section 6.5) suggest that a higher proportion may have attended classes in the past than are doing so now. In addition, a small proportion (11%) of Panjabi (U) speakers are studying Arabic after school. It is likely that this refers to the study of Qu'ranic Arabic in mosque classes, rather than to the study of modern standard Arabic. One in five (20%) Gaelic speakers was studying the language in after-school classes, compared with only one person (1% of the group) who said they could speak Scots. What provision is available either for Gaelic or for Scots out of school is not known.

6.4 Understanding and speaking other languages

Around half (50%) of those who speak one of the five languages say that they understand and speak the language *well*. The picture is set out in Table 6b.

Table 6b: Competence in understanding and speaking other languages

Language	I can understand … well (%)	quite well (%)	a bit (%)	not yet (%)	No resp. (%)	I can speak … well (%)	quite well (%)	a bit (%)	not yet (%)	No resp. (%)	N
Gaelic	33	20	40	7	0	40	20	33	7	0	15
Scots	59	31	9	1	0	50	30	16	0	4	68
Chinese/ Cantonese	51	31	16	2	0	56	29	16	0	0	45
Urdu (only)	54	42	4	0	0	42	25	21	0	12	24
Urdu (P)	61	31	4	4	0	50	31	11	0	8	26
Panjabi (U)	68	20	8	4	0	56	36	0	0	8	25
Panjabi (G)	33	13	47	7	0	27	20	47	0	6	14

The figures are highest for those who know Panjabi *and* Urdu, indicated by the labels 'Panjabi (U)' and 'Urdu (P)'. However, they are lower for those who say they know Urdu only. As noted in section 6.2, these kinds of differences between those who say they know only Urdu and those who say they know Panjabi *and* Urdu are problematic as, in theory, these are simply different ways of representing the same language group. A possible explanation is that Panjabi is being lost in families where English has become the principal home language but that some formal knowledge of Urdu is acquired, even in English dominant families, because of the prestige attached to this language.

Chinese speakers report levels of confidence in their ability to understand and speak Chinese similar to those of the Panjabi and Urdu group, with over half saying that they understand and speak the language *well*, and over four fifths describing themselves as able to speak and understand it *well* or *quite well.*

The figures are lowest for those who know Panjabi (G) and those who know Gaelic: in the case of Panjabi (G) speakers, a third (33%) say that they can understand the language well and 27% that they can speak the language well. This suggests that the shift towards English in the Panjabi (G) community may be more advanced than among other language groups. Gaelic speakers provide rather unusual data, in that a third (33%) say that they understand the language *well*, but a slightly higher proportion (40%) say that they speak the language *well*. The fact that Gaelic speakers are less confident about their linguistic competence may reflect the likelihood that this group contains children who attended the GMU but are not from families which are traditionally Gaelic speaking.

In contrast, Scots speakers seem quite confident about their competence in understanding and speaking Scots, indicating levels similar to Chinese and Panjabi *and* Urdu speakers. This and other data reported below suggests that people who identify themselves as Scots speakers are relatively positive about their competence in the language.

Figures 6ii and 6iii present the data from Table 6b in graphic form.

Figure 6ii: Competence in understanding other languages

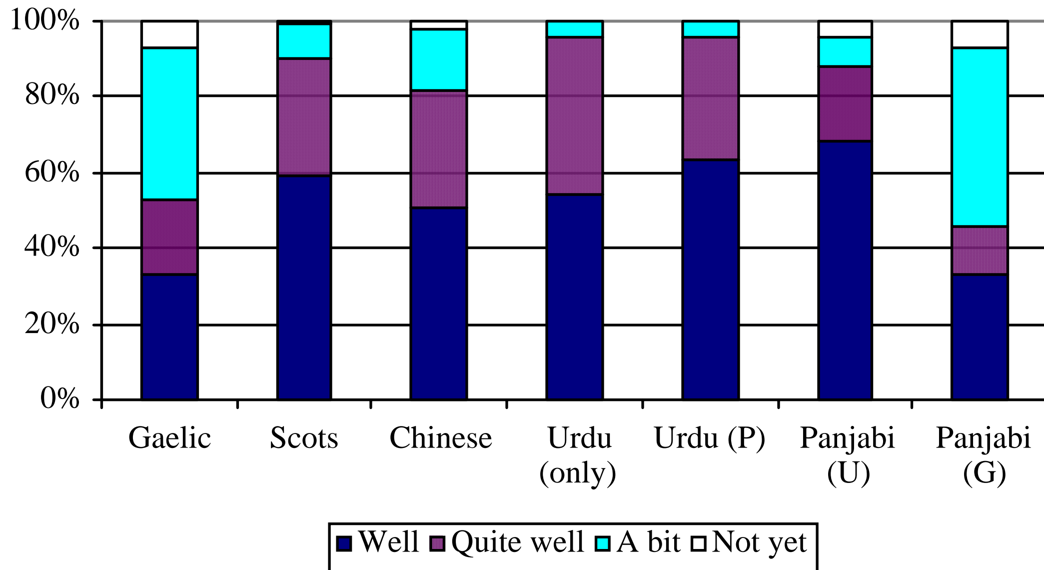
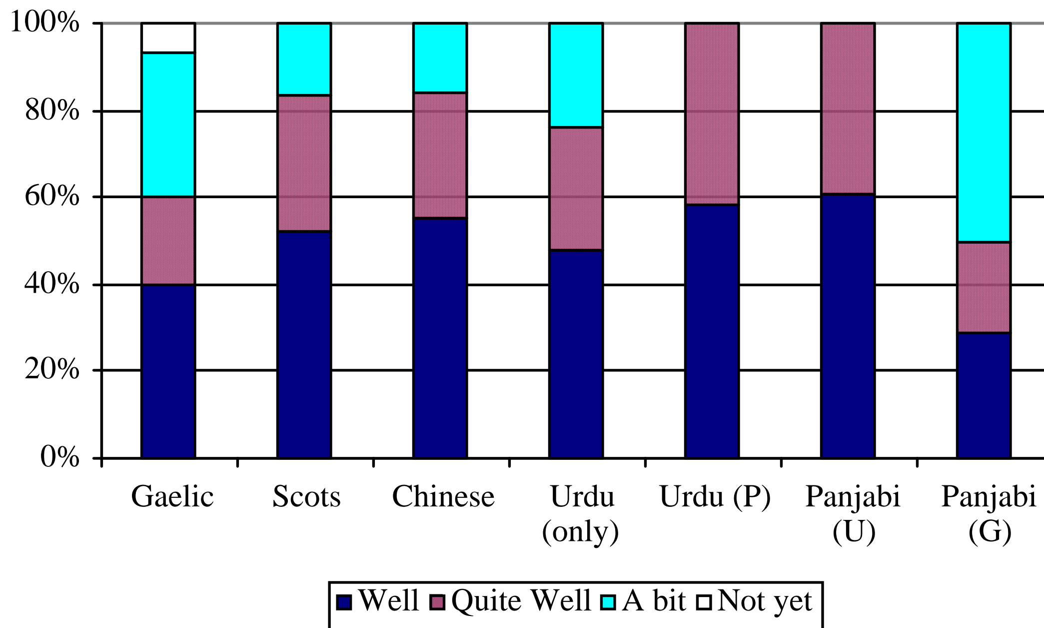


Figure 6iii: Competence in speaking other languages



6.5 Reading and writing other languages

Community language speakers rate their competence in reading and writing considerably lower than their competence in understanding and speaking. This is not surprising, given the small proportion of respondents who are attending out-of-school school classes. The picture is shown in Table 6c.

Table 6c: Competence in reading and writing other languages

	I can read …					I can write …					
Language (% of all respondents)	well (%)	quite well (%)	a bit (%)	not yet (%)	No resp. (%)	well (%)	quite well (%)	a bit (%)	not yet (%)	No resp. (%)	N
Gaelic	40	13	20	27	0	33	13	27	27	0	15
Scots	45	35	18	0	2	38	29	23	3	7	66
Chinese/ Cantonese	18	38	33	9	2	16	31	36	9	2	45
Urdu (only)	16	12	44	20	8	12	12	32	32	12	25
Urdu (P)	31	35	19	11	4	27	31	15	19	8	26
Panjabi (U)	15	20	10	40	15	10	20	10	45	15	20
Panjabi (G)	8	23	31	38	0	15	0	46	31	8	13

Scots are the most confident about their competence in reading and writing, with just under half (45%) reporting that they can read the language well, and a finding which is somewhat unexpected given that literacy skills in Scots are rarely consistently taught at school, and (with one exception) none of the Scots speakers are attending after-school classes. Some students may have had to opportunity to study Scots literature for periods of time at school: for example, primary schools may choose to focus on the poetry of Robert Burns around the time of Burns Night, and students may also be given the opportunity to write their own poems in Scots. Another interpretation of these data is that some respondents do not differentiate between 'Scots' and 'English' and therefore see their literacy skills as generic in relation to whichever language label is applied.

After Scots, the next highest level of literacy is reported for Gaelic. This may be explained by the probability that around half of this group are GMU graduates and therefore will have had extensive opportunities to develop literacy skills in the language.

Among the Panjabi (U) group, higher levels of literacy are reported for Urdu, among those who say they speak both Panjabi *and* Urdu than among those who say they speak only Urdu. Just under a third (31%) of the former say they read Urdu *well*, and just over half (27%) say they write it *well*. The corresponding figures for those who say they speak Urdu only are around half these levels. Again, these findings indicate differences in linguistic behaviour between the two groups. Literacy levels are lowest among the Panjabi (G) group; in fact, somewhat surprisingly, Panjabi (U) speakers report higher levels of literacy in Panjabi than do the Panjabi (G) group. This is unexpected given that Urdu, not Panjabi, is held to be the language of literacy for this group.

Given the high proportion of Chinese speakers who are currently attending out-of-school classes in Chinese, levels of confidence in reading and writing Chinese are, unexpectedly, lower than they are for the Panjabi *and* Urdu group. This may reflect the fact that Chinese is a difficult language to learn to read and write. Without a considerable amount of time dedicated to the memorisation of Chinese characters, it is very difficult to reach adequate levels of fluency in reading and writing, and finding the time to dedicate to this activity is a challenge for students who are also attending school full-time in English, possibly learning English as an additional language and having to complete homework assignments in addition to attending Chinese school. Urdu, of course, also requires the learning of a complex script, and, given that learners are usually Panjabi speakers, knowledge of another language in order to be able to read and understand texts, so comparisons of the relative difficulty of becoming literate in the two languages may be invidious. Another possible explanation of the different perspectives is that, for cultural reasons, Chinese speakers are more self-critical than Panjabi (U) speakers. Cultural differences in response to questions about linguistic competence is an area in which further investigation is required.

Figures 6iv and 6v present the data from Table 6b in graphic form.

Figure 6iv: Competence in reading other languages

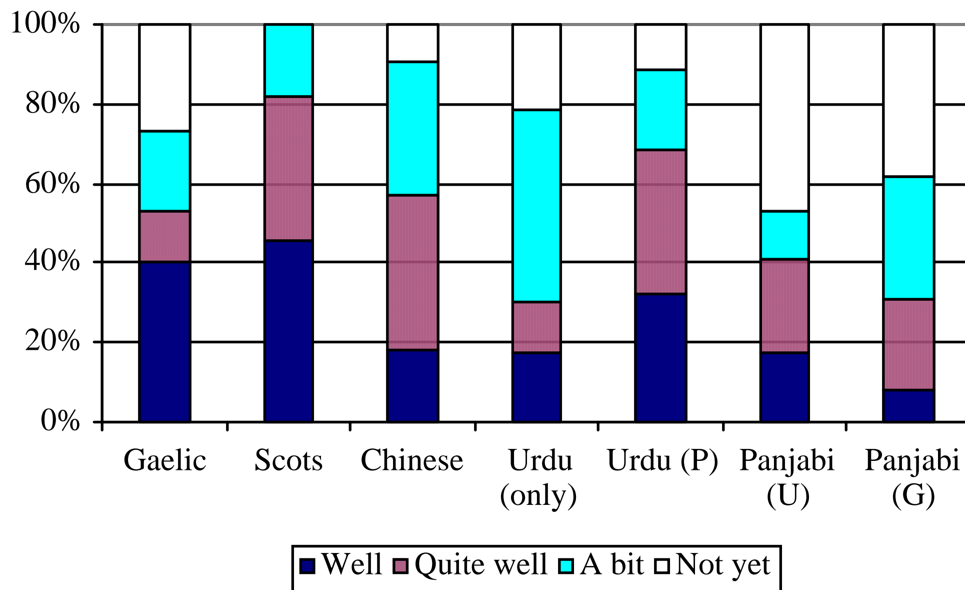
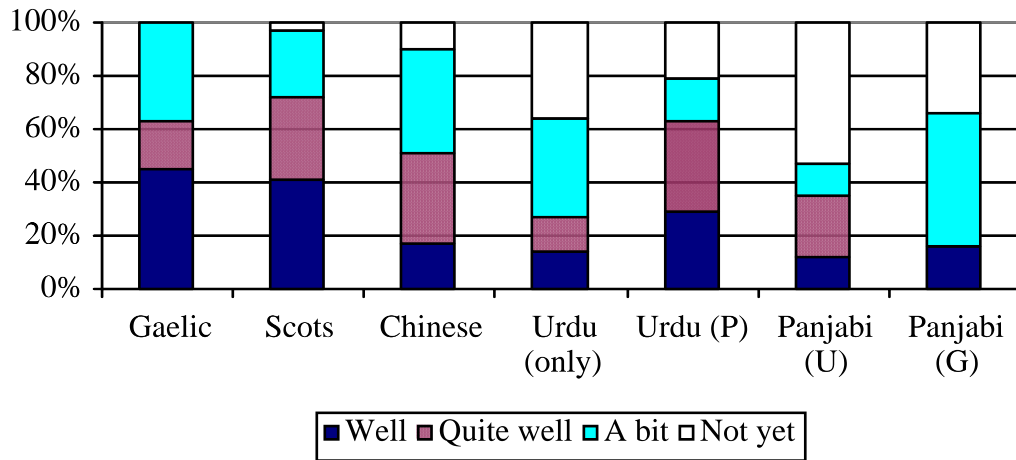


Figure 6v: Competence in writing other languages



6.6 Using other languages outside school

Plurilingual respondents were asked to say with whom they spoke their other languages and in what contexts (e.g. at home, on holiday, when watching videos, etc.) Potential interlocutors and potential contexts were listed on the Census form, and therefore it is possible that key interlocutors and contexts have been omitted. It is also possible that there are cultural biases in each case. For example, Khan's (1991) study of Panjabi/ Urdu speakers in Newham identifies members of the *biradari* (kinship group) as an influential set of interlocutors for this speech community. However, just as it was not possible to produce a census form in the main languages other than in English in use in Edinburgh, it would similarly have been impractical for culturally specific items to be included in the list. It is, of course, not possible to produce a 'culturally neutral' list of interlocutors or contexts, and therefore those selected here are open to criticism on these grounds. It should, however, be noted that studies investigating the contexts in which people use their other languages are relatively rare – there appears to have been much greater emphasis on choices relating to interlocutors – and therefore the inclusion of this element in the census form should be regarded as experimental.

Using other languages with different interlocutors

The Census form invites respondents to say which language(s) they use with relatives – parents or carers, grandparents, siblings and other relatives – and with non-relatives (friends and teachers). There was also space for respondents to add other possible interlocutors, and analysis of this information might identify other significant groups.

It should be noted that where respondents indicate that they use their other languages with the various interlocutors listed, this does not necessarily mean that they use these languages exclusively. They may use the other languages all the time, frequently, sometimes or only very occasionally. As other studies have shown, among plurilingual interlocutors, code-switching between the other language and English is common, and it

is also possible that new forms of diglossia are developing, with each language used for certain purposes: for example discussions about school or homework might habitually take place in English, while conversations about meals might habitually take place in the other language.

Figures 6vi and 6vii show patterns of language use with relatives and non-relatives, for each of the five language groups.

Figure 6vi: Other language use with relatives

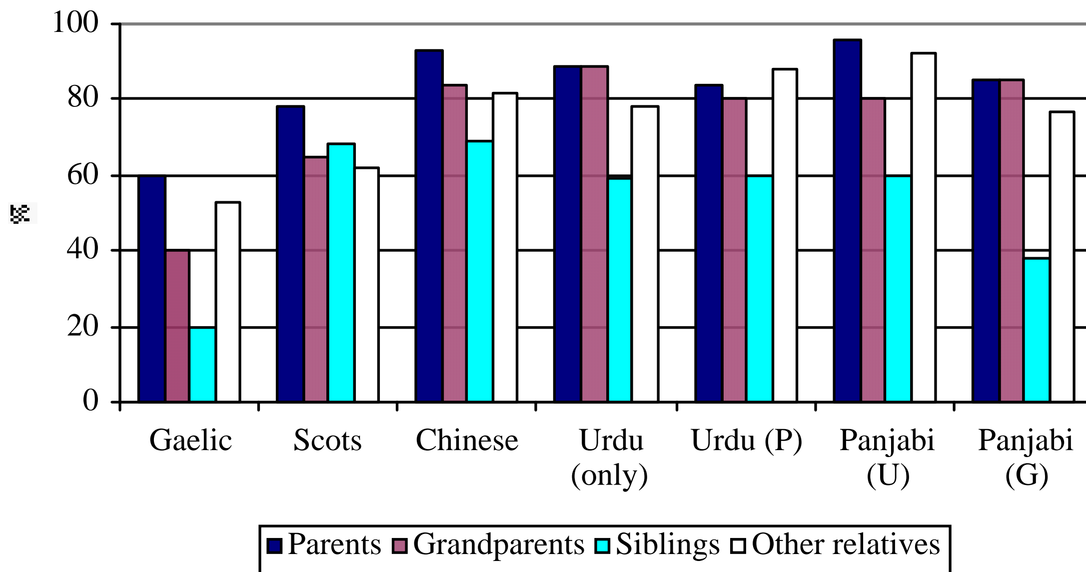
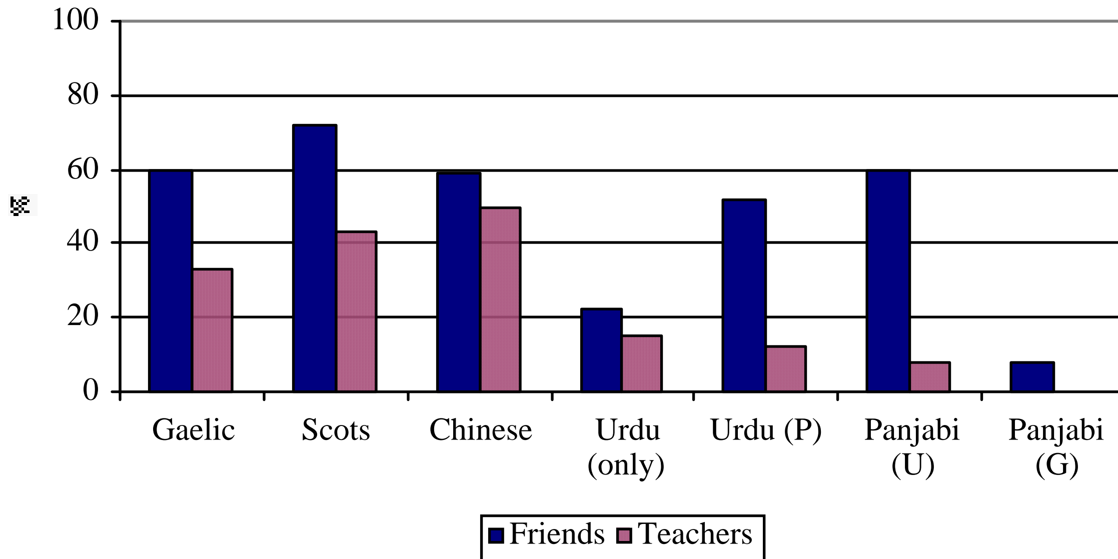


Figure 6vii: Other language use with non-relatives



For each language, the data show that respondents are most likely to use their other languages with their parents. Over 80% of Chinese and Panjabi (U and G) speakers report using these languages with their parents, while Urdu only and Panjabi (G) speakers are as likely to use their other languages with their grandparents as with their parents. In most cases, respondents are least likely to use their other languages with their siblings (among their relatives). This picture fits what is already known about the use of languages other than English within the family: parents are highly influential in determining whether or not their children will learn to speak the other language, and one key factor in maintaining the other language is the need to be able to communicate with older relatives who may never have learned English, and other relatives, particularly those living in the family's country of origin. Siblings living in the UK, however, often use English among themselves, reflecting the fact that English often becomes the dominant language for this generation, as a result of schooling, and perhaps also the fact that interactions with siblings may often take place in contexts (school and other social gatherings) where the other language is not known by all those present.

Patterns for Scots are slightly different from those for the other groups, with Scots speakers more likely to speak Scots with siblings than with grandparents or other relatives. This may reflect negative attitudes towards Scots among older generations, and the use of Scots as an indicator of solidarity among young people. Supporting this hypothesis are the data in Figure 6vii which show that Scots speakers are the most likely to use Scots with friends.

Gaelic speakers show consistently the lowest level of Gaelic use with each category of relatives. They are more likely to use Gaelic with friends than with grandparents, siblings or other relatives. This may be evidence of a substantial proportion of the Gaelic-speaking group coming from non-Gaelic speaking families and having learned Gaelic at the GMU.

Although the use of Urdu and Panjabi with relatives is similar among Panjabi *and* Urdu, Urdu only and Panjabi (G) speakers, Panjabi *and* Urdu speakers are much more likely than Urdu only or Panjabi (G) speakers to use the languages with their friends. Again, this seems to indicate greater commitment to the use of their other languages among this group than the others.

Chinese speakers report high levels of use of Chinese both with relatives and with non-relatives. They are the group most likely to use Chinese with some of their teachers, a finding which presumably reflects their greater participation in out-of-school classes than other groups.

Other language use in different contexts

The census form asked respondents to indicate whether they used their other languages in a range of contexts, listed on the form. These included: at home, at school, on holiday, on the telephone, when reading books, magazines or newspapers, when writing letters or email messages, when watching TV, videos or films, and when in a religious place. These particular contexts were chosen for various reasons. Clearly, the home is a key location for the use of languages other than English (despite the recent Blunkett furore – see Chapter 4) and home use is likely to be a determinant of the strength of commitment to the other language. Conversely, children are unlikely to have many opportunities to use languages other than English at school, unless they have some formal opportunities to study the other language (as is the case for a very small number of Gaelic and Urdu speakers) or unless children are attending school with others – friends or siblings – who speak the same language.

Some children, particularly those whose families are long-established in Scotland, and also, perhaps, those from families where only one parent speaks the other language, may use their other languages principally on the telephone to relatives abroad or when they go on holidays to visit these relatives. In some cases, if they are literate in the other language and maintain links by writing rather than telephoning, they may write letters or email messages to these relatives.

The use of other languages in cultural or leisure pursuits seems also to be an important indicator of commitment to the other language. For example, in Chapter 3, the importance of increasing the amount of Gaelic broadcast media was noted as one of the principal strategies developed to revive the language, but to what extent do children choose to watch the TV programmes, videos and films that are available to them in their other languages, given the enormous range of such material available to them in English? Similar questions apply also to their choice of reading material.

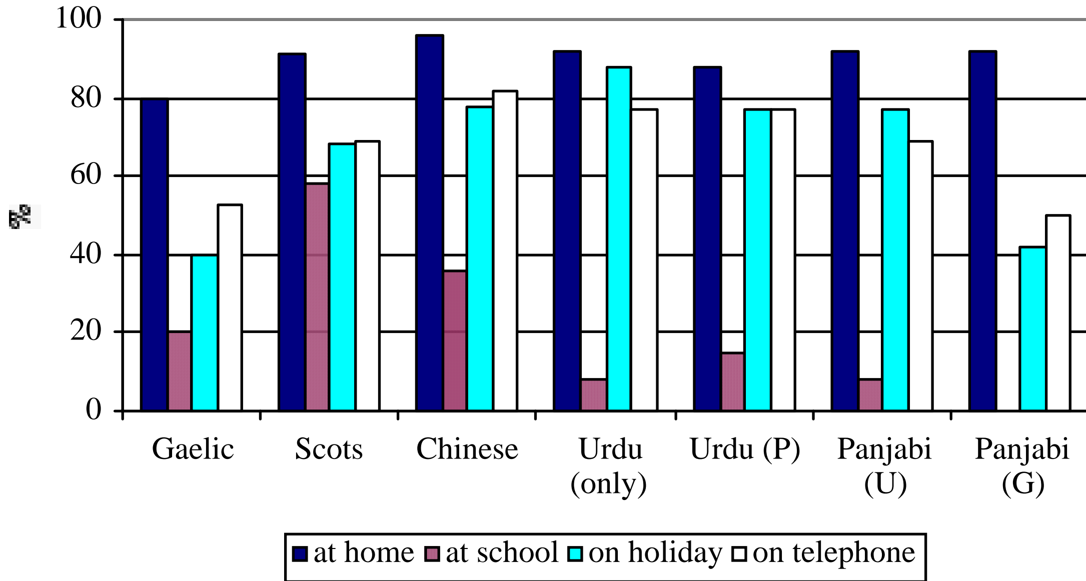
Potential use of languages other than English in these contexts is important not only because it would indicate commitment to other languages but also because these are opportunities for children to acquire competence in their other languages which goes beyond the immediate domestic sphere. Children who read in another language, who are familiar with the wider culture associated with the language through visual media and

who can communicate orally and particularly in writing with non-English speaking relatives or acquaintances (where code-switching is not an option) are developing language skills which would enhance their pluriculturalism as well as their plurilingualism and could enable them to use their languages for a wide range of professional purposes, as adults. Thus understanding the extent to which young plurilinguals can and do take advantage of the opportunities available provides some indication of the potential linguistic resource they possess.

Use of another language in a religious place also has important cultural implications for several communities, and may play an important role in maintaining languages which are otherwise dying out in communities which once spoke them.

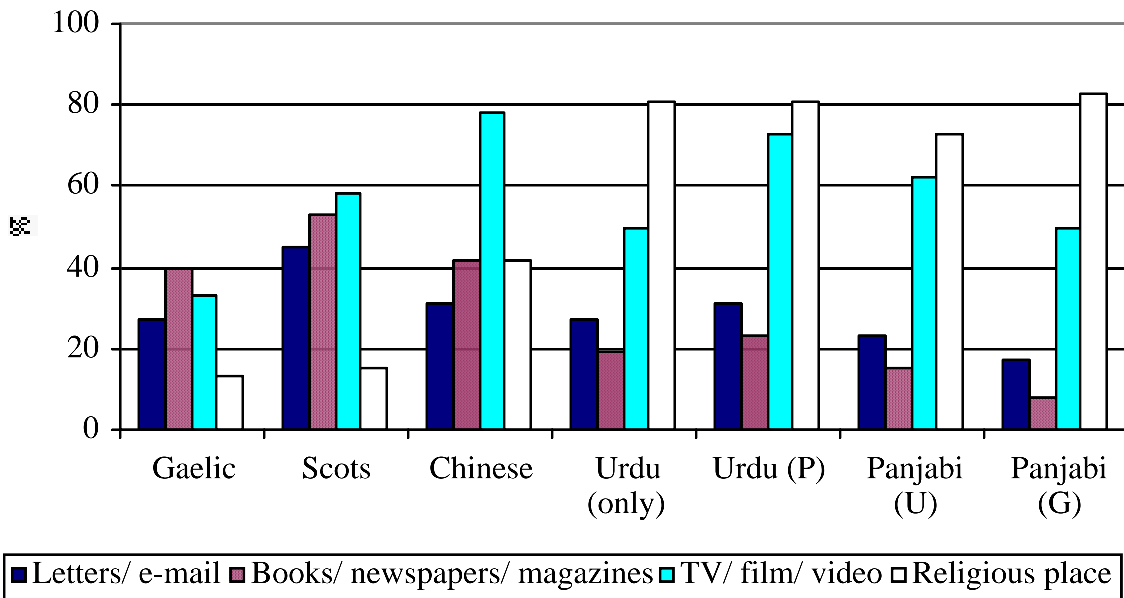
Figures 6viii and 6ix show patterns of language use in different contexts, for each of the five language groups.

Figure 6viii: Contexts for other language use (1)



As predicted, these data show that the home is the context in which plurilinguals are most

Figure 6ix: Contexts for other language use (2)



likely to use their other languages. Four fifths or more of the respondents in each language group reported that they used their other languages at home. Gaelic speakers are

the least likely (at 80%) to do so, once again presumably reflecting that not all plurilingual Gaelic speakers come from Gaelic-speaking families. In contrast, school use is very low for all groups, except for Scots speakers. This may reflect some formal interest in Scots in the English curriculum, or it may be linked to earlier findings which showed that Scots speakers were more likely to use Scots with their friends (which presumably includes informal use of Scots while at school).

Use of the other language on the telephone and when on holiday is high (over 60%) for all groups except Gaelic speakers and Panjabi only speakers. In the case of the Gaelic speakers these findings again reflect the lack of a Gaelic background for some of those who are plurilingual in Gaelic. In the case of Panjabi only speakers, they seem to suggest that this group is more English-dominant than the others and has less strong links to the country of origin or other communities in which Panjabi is spoken than is the case with Urdu/ Panjabi and Chinese speakers. Note also that Panjabi only speakers do not use Panjabi at school at all, perhaps because the speakers of the language are relatively isolated (they may be all at different schools) or perhaps because among young Panjabi only speakers, English is the main language in use, a possibility strengthened by the earlier findings indicating the Panjabi only speakers are unlikely to use the language with friends.

The data relating to cultural contexts in which other languages may be used show different patterns among the different language groups. Gaelic speakers are more likely to read in Gaelic than to write, watch TV or videos or to use the language in a religious place. Scots and Chinese speakers are most likely to watch films, TV or videos in these languages, while Panjabi (U and G) speakers are most likely to use these languages in a religious context. These differences reflect both different cultural emphases in the activities of particular language groups and the related phenomenon of the cultural opportunities available to each group.

Gaelic speakers are likely to be those with the most limited opportunities to make use of their languages in the kinds of cultural context listed. There are, for example, no Gaelic newspapers, although some Scottish newspapers have Gaelic columns, and, despite the move to increase broadcasting in Gaelic, there are still only a few programmes each week, and perhaps few of these likely to be of interest to Gaelic speakers in this age range. Only one or two films have ever been made in Gaelic. The need to write letters or emails in Gaelic is also likely to be more limited for Gaelic speakers than for the other languages, given that some of those in this group may not come from Gaelic-speaking families or communities and also given even among Gaelic communities, writing in Gaelic is rare (MacKinnon 1991).

In contrast, there are very well-established film industries in Chinese (Cantonese) and Hindi which make it much easier for Chinese, Urdu and Panjabi speakers to have access to films (on video, in the cinema or on TV) and, clearly, many of the survey respondents took advantage of these opportunities, at least on occasion: the survey data do not record whether people frequently or only rarely watched films, TV or videos in their other languages.

Use of the other languages in a religious place is also an important context for Panjabi (U and G) speakers. For each group, four fifths or more say that they use their other language in this context. This seems particularly significant in the case of the Panjabi (G) speakers: the religious context is perhaps the main opportunity they have to use their Panjabi. Panjabi (U) speakers are more likely to use Urdu than Panjabi when in a religious place, perhaps befitting the formal context. Of course Qu'ranic Arabic would also be a significant feature of worship for this group.

6.7 Conclusions

The survey data indicate a higher level of plurilingualism among S1 students than might have been anticipated from the available data collected by the City of Edinburgh EAL Service. The city-wide survey conducted by the EAL Service for the academic year 1999-2000 (see Chapter 3) found that 5.4% of the school population was plurilingual, compared with 14% in this survey. Part of the reason for the higher proportion in this survey is the inclusion of Scots speakers, but even if this group were eliminated, this would still give a figure of 11%, double that of the EAL Service findings.

There are a number of explanations for the differences. Firstly, the surveys were conducted in different years, and there are likely to be fluctuations – sometimes substantial – in the numbers of plurilingual students from year to year, depending particularly on the numbers of refugees and asylum seekers, and on the type of educational provision they can access. Secondly, the EAL Service survey covers all children in City of Edinburgh Council schools (including partner pre-school providers), from ages 4 to 18. It is possible that there are concentrations of plurilingual students in particular age groups: for example, there tend to be higher concentrations in the primary school (and perhaps in the early secondary) because families visiting the UK for work or study reasons are usually more willing to disrupt their children's education in the early stages than later, when this might mean missing out on preparation for important examinations. Thirdly, the EAL Service survey does not include independent schools, and it is possible that there is a higher proportion of plurilingual students in independent schools, particularly those which have boarding facilities and target overseas families. Nevertheless, it seems likely that the methods of data collection employed in the two surveys are part of the reason for the differences in findings: asking students to report themselves on their other languages has probably increased the number of respondents describing themselves as plurilingual.

This chapter has focused on five key language groups: Scots and Gaelic speakers, because of their particular significance to discussion of a multilingual Scotland, and speakers of Chinese, Panjabi and Urdu, as three of the most widely spoken other languages. Although several European languages are also widely spoken, further analysis of the data relating to these groups could not be undertaken at this stage, because of the need for more detailed background information about European language-speaking communities in Scotland than is currently available.

The findings relating to the experiences of respondents from these five language groups – of studying their other languages outside school, their assessment of their competence in their other languages and their use of their other languages with different interlocutors and in different contexts – reveal different patterns of study, competence and use. The findings suggest that moves to maintain and develop competence in languages other than English will need to take into account different experiences of or attitudes towards formal study of the language, and different opportunities and choices for use of the language outside school.

For example, speakers of Chinese (Cantonese) demonstrate a high commitment to studying the language outside school: almost two thirds (64%) of this group are currently attending out-of-school classes, and some are studying Mandarin in addition to Cantonese. This level of commitment is reflected in their use of the language outside school: over four fifths of respondents say that they use Chinese with their parents, grandparents and other relatives, and over two thirds that they use Chinese with their siblings (the highest reported use of another language with siblings, from among the five language groups). They also report high levels of use of Chinese with friends and teachers. Chinese speakers are the most likely to use their other language at home and on the telephone, and to watch TV, films or videos in Chinese. Although they are more modest about their competence in relation to literacy skills than might be expected from their commitment to studying the language outside school, the findings show that a relatively high number of respondents make use of these skills, in reading books, newspapers or magazines in Chinese and in sending letters or emails in the language. From these findings, it can by hypothesised that formal moves to support the development of Chinese students' language skills in Chinese would therefore be likely to be widely welcomed by the Chinese community and would build not only on an existing good level of competence but on a desire to maintain the language and to make use of it in a range of different contexts.

In contrast, the data relating to Gaelic indicate that, despite existing initiatives to maintain the language, there are still a number of hurdles to be overcome. This reflects the rather unusual context for the development of plurilingualism involving Gaelic, in which families who are not themselves Gaelic speaking have the opportunity to send their children to the Gaelic medium unit in an Edinburgh primary school. These children are educated throughout the primary years through the medium of Gaelic but, when they move on to secondary school, no longer have the same opportunities for extensive exposure to the language; and indeed some may not have opportunities to continue to study the language at all. These children rightly regard themselves as plurilingual, in English and Gaelic, but it is not clear how they can maintain their Gaelic in a context in which they will no longer be able to hear or speak the language regularly, and in which there will be very limited demands on their literacy skills in Gaelic. Thus the data show that Gaelic speakers are the most confident about their literacy skills in the language, but no more likely than Chinese speakers (who have had less opportunity to develop literacy in Chinese and are more modest about their abilities) to make use of them. The unusual circumstances in which some of these respondents have become plurilingual mean that Gaelic speakers are the least likely to use their other language at home or with relatives,

as likely to use Gaelic with friends as with their parents, and more likely to use the language with teachers than with siblings. These findings suggest therefore that moves to enable Gaelic speaking secondary students to maintain and develop their Gaelic skills need to take into account the fact that the children have limited 'community' opportunities to use their Gaelic. Possibly, opportunities need to be created to enable graduates of the GMU to meet, in contexts where they would make use of their Gaelic rather than their English, in order for these students to be able to use the language in social circumstances.

In seeking to identify the potential resource which these languages could represent for Edinburgh, and ultimately for Scotland, two aspects of respondents' language use which enable them to go beyond the domestic seem significant. Firstly, TV, film and video are clearly an important source of linguistic input for Chinese, Urdu and Panjabi speaking students. More research is needed into the amount of time which children who speak these languages spend watching TV programmes or films, and into their cultural and linguistic content, to determine how influential such material may be in enabling children to develop good comprehension skills in the standard forms of the languages they speak, and greater understanding of the relationship between language and culture. Given the limited amount of TV programming and film material available in Gaelic, these findings may suggest that greater investment in Gaelic broadcasting, particularly targeting the secondary school age group, to enable Gaelic speaking secondary students to develop the same kind of linguistic and cultural competences which some of their other plurilingual peers may gain through these media.

Secondly, the findings show that plurilingual communities face considerable problems in ensuring that their children become functionally literate in their other languages. Apart from the Chinese community, the data indicate that uptake of out-of-school classes is low. For the Panjabi (U and G) communities, given that several classes are available, the reason for low uptake is unclear. In the case of Gaelic, there seems to be limited provision. Fewer than a third of the respondents in the Chinese, Panjabi (U and G) groups say that they can read or write their other languages well, and over a third of the Panjabi (G) group say they are not literate in Panjabi at all. Thus it is not surprising that under a third[29] of these respondents say that they read books, magazines or newspapers in their other languages, or write letters or email messages.

These relatively low levels of literacy in the other languages have implications for the respondents themselves and, ultimately, for Scotland. Plurilingual adults who are pluriliterate will have access to information, to cultural resources and to professional opportunities not accessible to those (monolingual or plurilingual) who can read and write only in English. Pluriliterate people may make use of this access for personal reasons or for career and business purposes; whatever the reason, the ability to do this has the potential to enhance both the individual's cultural and professional development and Scotland's culture and economy. Currently, however, the Scottish education system

[29] A higher proportion of Chinese speakers – 42% - say that they read books, magazines or newspapers in Chinese, a finding which supports earlier interpretations of Chinese students' own assessment of their literacy skills as modest.

neglects the potential here to develop higher levels of pluriliteracy in the plurilingual population.

7. Motivation to learn and use other languages

7.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to bring together the perspectives of those whose principal experience of learning and using other languages is at school, with those who also have experience of learning and using other languages outside school. For the sake of expediency, these groups are defined as 'monolingual' and 'plurilingual', respectively, but, given that virtually all of those in the 'monolingual' group have some experience of learning another language, the label is not entirely accurate.

Because of the time limitations on students completing the survey, only a very small amount of information about respondents' motivation towards learning and using other languages could be sought. Two of the census questions were relevant here: one which asked students to say whether they would like to learn another language, believed to give some indication of their enthusiasm for languages; and one, consisting of four statements about language learning and use, with which respondents were asked to agree or disagree. In the sections which follow, the views of 'monolingual' and 'plurilingual' students are compared. The discussion is supplemented by reference to earlier studies conducted by the author and colleagues, in which similar questions were asked of national (but not entirely comparable) samples.

7.2 Why investigate motivation to learn and use other languages?

It is now well established, both in Scotland and in the UK as a whole, that our national performance in language learning is poor compared with many other European countries. A variety of explanations for this lack of interest or commitment to learning and using other languages has been put forward in recent policy documents (Moys, 1998; Minister's Action Group for Languages, 2000; Nuffield Languages Inquiry, 2000) and elsewhere: these include the rise of English as a 'global' language (leading to the assumption that other languages are not necessary), ambivalence about the relationship of the UK to the rest of Europe, the relative isolation of an island nation, and the quality of language teaching in schools, among others. (See McPake, forthcoming, for a more detailed discussion of explanations for the UK's failure to achieve high levels of plurilingualism.) Most of those who have commented on this issue have not done so in a disinterested fashion, but have wanted to identify ways of persuading people to change their minds. They believe that it is important to learn and use languages other than English for a number of reasons. These include the growing emphasis on mobility within the European Union, the view that British trade would increase if business people were better able to negotiate in languages other than English, and, perhaps more fundamentally, the belief that plurilingualism (and an associated pluriculturalism) is 'good' for people, in terms of intellectual and cultural growth, citizenship and democracy.

For these reasons, understanding language learner motivation and how to influence it has become a major focus of recent UK research, much of which draws on the work of psychologist Robert Gardner and colleagues (see in particular Gardner 1985). This work is concerned with the impact – positive or negative – of the social context in which

language learners study and use languages. Key concepts in Gardner's work include the notions of *integrative* and *instrumental* motivation. *Integrative motivation* refers to a positive disposition in the learner towards native speakers of the language studied, including the desire to communicate with them, to understand the culture and, in a sense, to become 'more like' the native speaker community (i.e. to integrate with the community, or at least to be able to do so on occasion). *Instrumental motivation* concerns the personal gains the learner hopes to make by learning another language. These can range from passing examinations or gaining entry to a higher level of education to improving job-prospects or getting a pay-rise.

Since Gardner, there has been a considerable amount of research focusing on different factors likely to influence motivation. Key recent contributions to this work include those of Dörnyei (1994), Oxford and Shearin (1994) and Nikolov (1999) who have focused more specifically on learners' motivation in the language classroom and sought to identify factors inherent in the learning experience which are likely to influence motivation. Some studies conducted in the UK, making use of the various insights which this body of research has generated, seem to have established that motivational factors deriving from students' classroom experiences are more influential than integrative or instrumental goals (Lee et al. 1998; Chambers 1999). This may be because neither integrative nor instrumental motivation is strong in the UK context, for the reasons set out above, or it may be that younger learners (these studies focused on learners in the early years of secondary education) are, in any case, more influenced by classroom experiences than by wider societal factors. McPake et al. (1999), in a study entitled *Foreign Languages in the Upper Secondary School* (FLUSS), which focused on students aged 15-17, concluded that the interaction of a number of factors led to a decline in uptake of language courses post-16. This interaction involved both the absence of instrumental motivation (students believed that languages would not be as useful for future study or career purposes as other school subjects), and negative experiences of language learning, characterised as 'difficult', in the sense of 'tedious' rather than 'intellectually challenging'. Together these factors were a stronger influence on student decisions to give up language study than the potentially positive influence of integrative motivation (such as the desire to travel abroad and to make contact with people from other countries) which was also found to be present.

These earlier studies have sought to correlate motivation with certain language learning outcomes, such as performance on tests or examinations, or the decision to continue or abandon language learning. In the *Languages of Edinburgh* survey, the principal aim of including items relating to motivation was to make comparisons between monolingual and plurilingual responses. The hypothesis was that plurilinguals would demonstrate higher motivation than monolinguals because their greater experience and expertise in language learning would make them feel more confident about their abilities, more aware of the benefits and therefore more committed to language learning.

At the time the survey was designed, there appeared to have been little research investigating the effects of learning one language on motivation for subsequent language learning. The hypothesis was therefore developed from reflection on teachers'

assumptions about plurilinguals' ability to learn a 'foreign' language. In fact, there are two contrasting assumption, widely held: some teachers believe that plurilingual students, particularly those whose English is not totally fluent, will be less likely than monolingual English speakers to learn another language successfully; while others believe that those who have already learned at least one additional language will be better placed to learn a third or fourth language. The former group seem to believe that foreign language learning is mediated through English (this may or may not be true, depending on the teaching approach adopted) and therefore those who are not fluent in English will be at a disadvantage in the foreign language class. They also sometimes argue that learning 'too many' languages is confusing. The latter take the position that language learning becomes progressively easier, the more experience one has of doing it, and that therefore plurilinguals ought to have an advantage over monolinguals.

The field of third language acquisition is now becoming more prominent. Although there still appears to be relatively little work on motivation in this context, Olshtain (2001) has pointed out that these kinds of assumptions are simplistic. The full range of motivational factors applies to plurilingual learners of languages as it does to monolinguals:

> Acquiring an additional language: second, third or fourth, will be greatly affected by the social, political and economic environment within which the acquisition process takes place. Motivation and investment in this process, either by the individual or by society, will depend on the value attached to prospective gains accompanying proficiency in the relevant language.

7.3 Comparing monolinguals' and plurilinguals' motivation

The items with a bearing on motivation in the *Languages of Edinburgh* survey can only be regarded as the most rudimentary indicators, as there was limited space on the form for this kind of investigation, in view of the constraints on the time available for students to complete it. The findings, comparing monolingual and plurilingual response for the five items which relate to motivation, are presented in Table 7a.

Table 7a: Student responses to five items related to motivation

	Monolingual N= 3315	**Plurilingual** N=525
Would you like to learn another language apart from those you already know?	*Yes* **67%**	*Yes* **69%**
Everyone should be able to speak more than one language	*Agree* **61%**	*Agree* **70%**
Learning another language is difficult.	*Agree* **76%**	*Agree* **65%**
English is the only language I need to know	*Agree* **13%**	*Agree* **9%**
Knowing more than one language will be useful to me in the future	*Agree* **84%**	*Agree* **88%**

Desire to learn another language
Respondents were asked to say whether they would like to learn another language, in addition to the one they were currently learning. This was regarded as giving some indication of the extent to which students enjoyed learning languages: if they wanted to learn another, this would suggest that they had positive views about their language learning experiences so far. The findings in relation to this item reveal very little difference between monolinguals, 67% of whom said that they would like to learn another language, and plurilinguals, 69% of whom said so. These responses are in line with other recent research, conducted as part of the Scottish Assessment of Achievement Programme (AAP), by the author and colleagues (McPake et al., under review) in which a nationally representative sample of French and German students in Primary 7 and Secondary 2 were asked the same question. In this study, 66% of the P7 students said that they would like to learn another language, compared with 45% of S2. These findings correlate with others which indicate that motivation to learn languages is relatively high in primary school, but declines in the course of secondary education. The students surveyed in the *Languages of Edinburgh* survey had only recently left P7 when they completed the census form, and therefore it is not surprising that their responses are closer to the P7 than to the S2 levels.

Importance of knowing other languages, apart from English
Respondents were then asked to agree or disagree with four statements which reflected some of the factors which had been identified as influential in earlier research and policy discussion. These included saying whether they agreed that everyone should be able to speak more than one language, or conversely, whether English was the only language they needed to know. The latter statement reflects what is thought to be the widespread position among anglophones, while the former, effectively, presents the opposite view. In fact, our earlier studies (FLUSS and AAP) had shown that relatively few school students, when presented with a stark statement such as 'English is the only language I need to know' tend not to agree. In the two studies, 10% or fewer agreed with the statement in Primary 7 (age 10-11), Secondary 4 (age 15-16) and Secondary 5 (age 16-17). Secondary 2 (age 12-13) students, however, were more convinced: 21% agreed.

In the *Languages of Edinburgh* survey*,* 13% of the monolingual students agreed, compared with 9% of the plurilingual students. This shows little difference between the two groups, but it is striking to find that a proportion of plurilinguals equivalent to national norms for this age group, agrees that English is the only language needed. Analysis of the responses given by those belonging to the five language groups discussed in Chapter 6 (Scots, Gaelic, Chinese, Panjabi and Urdu) reveals that part of the answer lies in the responses of the Scots speakers, 19% of whom agreed that English was the only language they needed. This finding raises some difficult questions, firstly about what Scots speakers see to be the relationship between Scots and English, and secondly about the possibility that positively identifying as a speaker of Scots might – for a small proportion of this group – correlate with negative attitudes towards other languages. These issues need further exploration. It should also be noted that a small number of the other plurilinguals also agreed that English was the only language they needed, suggesting that the negative attitudes towards languages other than English which are to

be found in wider Scottish and UK society may affect some plurilinguals too. However, the main finding here, and from our earlier research, is that relatively few respondents accept a position which is widely held by policy-makers and the media to reflect majority opinion.

If phrased more positively – 'Everyone should be able to speak more than one language' – would respondents still indicate such a high level of commitment to plurilingualism? Respondents did not accept this statement as strongly as they rejected the view that English is the only language needed, but the findings are still positive: 61% of monolinguals and 70% of plurilinguals thought that everyone should speak more than one language. Although the difference between monolinguals and plurilinguals here is greater than on the previous item, it is still not very large. Again one can infer from this that there are plurilinguals who do not think that everyone should be able to speak more than one language. In fact 9% hold this view; the remainder are unsure. Possibly these are the same plurilingual respondents who believe that English is the only language they need to know.

Difficulty of learning another language

FLUSS had shown that many students regarded language learning as 'difficult', a term which emerged as implying 'tedious' rather than 'challenging'. A statement to this effect was used in the AAP study and in the *Languages of Edinburgh* survey, producing somewhat different results. While three quarters (76%) of the monolingual respondents in the *Languages of Edinburgh* survey and two thirds (65%) of the plurilingual respondents thought that learning another language was difficult, less than half (46%) of the P7 or S2 students in the AAP survey agreed with this statement. One explanation for this may be that the AAP students completed the survey after having taken part in an assessment task which the majority had enjoyed, and believed that they had done well. This experience may have coloured their thinking about the difficulties of language learning. The differences between the responses on the two surveys illustrate ways in which external contextual factors could influence the kinds of responses produced in surveys of this kind. This is the item on which the difference between monolinguals and plurilinguals is the greatest and so may suggest that plurilinguals are a little less daunted by the demands of language learning or that they find it more interesting (depending on the interpretation of 'difficult').

Future usefulness of knowing another language.

For the last item in this set, respondents were asked to say whether they thought that being able to speak another language would be useful to them in the future. This is perhaps the most important statement in that it should correlate with a key element in instrumental motivation, and one which the FLUSS study had shown was weak for many upper secondary school students. In terms of developing Edinburgh's or Scotland's linguistic resource, a positive response to this type of statement is important because clearly those who do not think that being able to speak another language will be useful to them in the future will not invest in developing these skills. This applies as much to plurilingual respondents as to monolinguals, because, as the Chapter 3 discussion of earlier studies of plurilingual communities in the UK has shown, attrition is a major

concern. Plurilinguals who think that their other languages have little value are likely to lose them as they grow older. It is encouraging, therefore, that over four fifths of the respondents thought that knowing another language would be useful to them in future. There was, however, little difference between the monolinguals (84% of whom agreed) and the plurilinguals (88% of whom agreed) on this issue, suggesting that plurilingualism does not necessarily predispose students towards a more positive view of the role of languages in their future lives than is the case for monolinguals. Whether many respondents from either group will act on this view when it comes to making subject choices post-16 is difficult to say.

7.4 Conclusions

These findings suggest that survey participants had relatively high levels of motivation towards learning and using languages at the time the survey was carried out. Other research indicates that motivation is, however, likely to decline over the course of secondary education. Perhaps the main conclusion to be drawn from this analysis of a limited number of items with a bearing on motivation to learn languages is that, contrary to the initial hypothesis, plurilinguals do not appear to be more highly motivated towards language learning than monolingual students, at least at this stage of their education. As Olshtain's comment indicates, this is undoubtedly because the same wide range of factors which influence monolinguals' motivation affect plurilinguals too. If plurilinguals grow up in a society in which languages other than the dominant language of that society have little value, they may well not see a role for their other languages in the future, except perhaps for family occasions and, in some cases, for religious purposes.

8. Evaluation of the pilot

8.1 Introduction

The *Languages of Edinburgh* survey was devised as a pilot, to establish whether it would be feasible to map the languages of Scotland via a national census of S1 students. A key goal of the pilot was to produce language maps similar to those for London created by Baker and Eversley (2000). The population of Scotland is smaller than that of London, and, like London, Scotland is divided for administrative purposes into just over 30 local authorities (32 in Scotland, 33 in inner and outer London). This suggests a certain degree of comparability. However, unlike London, collection of information about children's other languages is patchy in Scotland; and even in London, the methods used to collect this information cannot be said to produce entirely reliable results. Baker and Eversley themselves suggested that the quality of the data could be improved by the use of the same census across London, and therefore the *Languages of Edinburgh* represents a trialling also of that idea, with a census based on a modified version of the questionnaire suggested by Baker and Eversley.

The evaluation of this pilot study is principally an evaluation of the census exercise, in terms of the logistics and of the value of the census form. The production of language maps for Edinburgh is yet to be undertaken, and may raise further issues in relation to the mapping of Scotland, given that the plurilingual population of Scotland is much smaller than that of London and probably more scattered.

8.2 Logistics

This section considers the logistics of conducting a city-wide census and considers what this would mean for a national census.

The administrative demands of the exercise are substantial, requiring contact with the local authority and with headteachers of all the schools involved in the study. In Edinburgh, both the authority representatives and virtually all the headteachers contacted were interested in the research and willing to take part. A small number of headteachers were less enthusiastic, in most cases because their schools were already involved in other research projects and were unwilling to use up more staff time on such tasks. Two headteachers (one of a state school and one of an independent school) refused to take part without giving reasons: in fact the researcher was unable to speak to these headteachers (the message was passed on by school secretaries in both cases) and therefore it has not been possible to establish why they did not wish to take part. Some of the special school headteachers were initially unwilling for their students to take part and extensive discussion was required to establish whether or not the students could provide the information sought. In most cases, it was necessary to interview the special school students on a one-to-one basis.

The personal contact approach adopted by the researcher was feasible in a city-wide survey, but would be difficult to sustain for a national census. In this case, a more effective approach might be to engage local authorities more actively in the task, asking them to take on the census as authority-wide initiative in each case, and using existing

channels of communication with headteachers to agree a timetable and procedures for the administration of the census in mainstream schools. There is still a case for researchers to conduct the interviews in special schools, however. The experience of discussing the census with special school staff indicated that the potential contribution which their students could make to the survey was sometimes underestimated; furthermore, for these students to be interviewed by teachers from their own school would undermine the principle of confidentiality which previous research has indicated is important if students are to provide detailed information about their language histories. Independent schools would also need to be contacted by the researchers, with the help of the Scottish Council for Independent Schools.

Timing of the census is another important factor. It was decided to conduct the Edinburgh survey early in the autumn term for a number of reasons. Other research (perhaps most notably the two AAP studies in which the author and colleagues have been involved: Johnstone et al. 2000 and McPake et al., under review) has established that students' attitudes towards languages change in the early years of secondary education. Generally speaking, primary students are enthusiastic about language learning and about the expansion of their horizons which the idea of being able to speak another language suggests to them. By the time they have reached S2, however, this enthusiasm has dulled considerably. This may be a consequence of adolescence, of the fading of the 'novelty factor' in learning another language, the result of the kind of language teaching they experience at secondary school, or greater awareness of wider societal attitudes towards languages in Scotland – or indeed an interaction of some or all of these factors. It seemed important to capture students' experiences when they were still relatively positive about languages, because in this frame of mind they would presumably be more willing to provide information about their languages. Even later on in the year, they could already have become jaded and fail to contribute as much information.

Some commentators have suggested that, for these kinds of reasons, it would be better to conduct the survey at the end of P7 rather than the beginning of S1, and this may be the case. However, the logistics of a primary survey are more complicated, because of the much larger number of schools involved. Moreover, the information collected is of ongoing relevance to secondary schools, and to planning for this sector, while it has little lasting value for primaries as it represents the language background of students who are about to leave. Therefore, it seemed better to conduct the survey at the beginning of S1. The experience of conducting the survey in the early autumn has been positive: there were very few hitches, and few schools commented that they were too busy to fit the survey in, as might have been the case later in the year. It therefore seems appropriate to recommend that a national survey be conducted in the same period.

Cost also needs to be taken into account. On the basis of this pilot, production and processing of census forms costs around £2 per questionnaire. For an estimated S1 population of around 60000 students across Scotland, this means that the basic costs of a national census would be well over £100000. This figure does not include any researcher time. It is therefore very important to be able to demonstrate that the information

collected is worth both the financial costs and the demands to be made on many people's time.

8.3 The census form

This section considers how effective the census form was in generating the kind of information sought for this study. A slightly modified version of the form is included as Appendix A: the main modifications consist of the removal of routing instructions, for the purposes of displaying the results.

Overall, the form appears to have been successful. Though brief, it generated a wealth of data, as discussed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. From the pre-pilot phase, when the teachers who administered the questionnaire provided feedback on the exercise, it seemed that students experienced little difficulty in understanding the questions and in providing the kind of information sought. Although teachers were not asked to provide feedback in the case of the full survey, there do not appear to have been major problems of comprehension or response.

The structuring of the questionnaire in which students were first asked questions about their language learning at school (an experience common to almost all) and then moved on to questions about language learning and use outside school seems to have worked well as an inclusive approach to a topic which, for the various reasons discussed elsewhere in this report, can be perceived by respondents as sensitive and possibly threatening. Though it is not possible to tell how many – if any – plurilingual respondents chose not to provide information about their other languages, the fact that the plurilingual proportion of the population is considerably higher than previously estimated suggests that most were willing to respond to questions on this topic.

There are, however, a number of modifications which would improve the quality of the data if a similar survey were to be conducted in future. These are listed below, following the order of the items on the form.

Primary languages

Two further questions would provide more detailed background information to help establish the extent of competence which students have acquired in other languages before starting secondary school:

- a question on the 'main' language studied, to distinguish between what may have been 'taster sessions' in several languages, and the language (or possibly languages) which have been studied over a substantial period of time (e.g. one year or longer);
- a question on primary medium of instruction, principally to identify students who attended GMUs, but possibly others who have been taught another language through partial immersion (an approach currently on trial in Aberdeen, and one which may be taken up by other schools); in addition, this would identify which of the respondents who had attended school in other countries in the past had studied through the medium of another language.

Language classes outside school
A number of additional questions would also provide more detailed background information to help establish the extent of competence which students have acquired in the languages they study outside school, and more about the nature of the provision:

- whether students had studied another language outside school in the past;
- how many years students had studied another language outside school;
- how much time per week students spent at language classes outside school;
- where the classes were held – this would help to establish whether there are other providers in addition to those classes supported by the City of Edinburgh Council.

Languages in use outside school
In this section, several questions could be asked to help to distinguish between people who are plurilingual because of family or other links with places where their other languages are widely spoken and those who are enthusiastic language learners, practising the languages they are studying at school when at home, e.g.

- whether the language(s) were first learned at home, at school or elsewhere

It would also be useful to include questions based on those used in the Canadian census (see Chapter 2), such as:

- whether the respondent can conduct a conversation in the other language(s) – this question may need some exemplification and it would be useful to see whether the supporting notes which accompany the Canadian census provide some guidance on this point;
- which language the respondent most often speaks at home.

It seems clear that the question about other languages in use outside school does not generate the kind of data about Scots which would be of value. More research needs to be done to establish whether a census style question can be used to identify Scots speakers in a meaningful way. This would be useful not only for future language surveys but also, potentially, for the next national Census in 2011.

Contexts for other language use
It could be helpful to review the question relating to *where* respondents use their other languages (question 12), considering whether other types of context should be added, particularly cultural-specific contexts, in relation at least to the main other languages in use. It appears that this type of question has not been used in language surveys in the past, but it has significant implications for understanding the potential language resource of a city or a nation, and therefore requires more thought. Qualitative research with speakers of the main other languages would help to identify key contexts for other language use.

Motivation
The range of motivation statements included in the questionnaire is too limited for very firm conclusions about learner motivation to be drawn. These could be expanded, drawing on those already used in other Scottish studies which include elements on learner motivation, in conjunction with a review of the most recent work in this area.

Alternatively, these statements could be removed and replaced by others which would more directly relate to language resource issues, focusing on the future use which speakers of languages other than English anticipate for these languages, e.g.:

- In the future …
  - … I expect to use another language (or languages) as well as English when studying at college or university
  - … I expect to use another language (or languages) as well as English in my career
  - … I expect to use other languages as well as English with the people I work with;
  - … I expect to be able to search for information (in books, newspapers, on the internet and elsewhere) in other languages as well as English
  - … I expect to be able to send letters and email messages in other languages as well as English
  - … I expect to watch films, TV programmes, videos in other languages as well as English
  - … I expect to read books, magazines, newspapers in other languages as well as English
  - … I expect to play computer games which use other languages as well as English
  - … I expect to listen to music from around the world, using other languages as well as English
  - … I expect to speak another language (or languages), apart from English, with members of my family
  - … I expect to speak to my children in another language (or languages) apart from English
  - … I expect to speak to my friends in another language (or languages) apart from English

The wording for these statements as set out here is cumbersome and work would need to be done to refine and pilot them, as there may be ambiguity in some of the statements. It would also be helpful to find a way of investigating which languages respondents are referring to in relation to these statements – it is possible that students who speak languages such as Chinese or Panjabi might agree with many of these, but in relation to French, for example, or that students associate the various languages they know with different kinds of linguistic activities. It would, however, be easy to make this a very complicated question which students would find difficult to understand.

8.4 Conclusions

As a pilot exercise, the *Languages of Edinburgh* survey has been successful both in terms of logistics and of the amount of data, relevant to the aims of the research, which has been collected. A national survey would be much more demanding, logistically, and therefore the support for local authorities for such an exercise would be crucial to its success. Modifications to the form would eradicate some of the ambiguities produced by the current version and generate additional valuable information, although if all the additions suggested in section 8.3 were included and few of the existing elements omitted, the form would probably double in length, increasing production and processing costs and the amount of time needed to complete it. There is, as yet, no answer to the

question of how, meaningfully, to include Scots in a study of this kind. This is an issue for which more research is urgently needed.

9 Conclusions

9.1 Introduction

This chapter considers what the findings from the *Languages of Edinburgh* survey can tell us about the nature of current language resources, their future potential, and the kind of investment required to help ensure this potential is realised. As stated in Chapter 1, this would be the fundamental goal of a study mapping the languages of Scotland. It is not necessarily appropriate to extrapolate from conclusions drawn about Edinburgh to Scotland as a whole and therefore the issues raised in this chapter should be regarded as suggestions concerning possible wider implications rather than firm conclusions, given that a national survey is still required.

9.2 Estimating the plurilingual population of Scotland

If the findings of the *Languages of Edinburgh* survey were replicated across Scotland, they would indicate that the proportion of the population which is plurilingual is likely to be larger than currently estimated. There are currently no reliable figures for Scotland as a whole: the ‘best guess’ approach, adopted by Landon (2001) and others has been to add the figures for the minority ethnic population to those for Gaelic speakers. Although not all people of minority ethnic origin are plurilingual, the Census data are thought to under-report the true figure for this group in Scotland, so these two unknown elements might be thought to cancel each other out. On this basis, using the 1991 Census data as a baseline, the plurilingual population would be around 130000. In the intervening period, the Gaelic speaking population is likely to have declined, but the ethnic minority population to have increased, so again it could be hypothesised that these changes will cancel each other out. This estimate suggests that 2.6% of the Scottish population is plurilingual.

However, the *Languages of Edinburgh* survey findings suggest that this would still considerably underestimate the position. The ‘best guess’ estimate takes no account of people who speak other European languages (who make up 39% of the plurilingual population in the *Languages of Edinburgh* survey), most of whom are presumably classified as ‘White’ on the Census; nor of people who use sign languages or AAC to communicate. Without a national census, we cannot say whether the figures for Edinburgh in relation to these languages are typical of the country as a whole or not. The estimate does not cover speakers of Scots, although the question of whether and how to include Scots speakers remains difficult to resolve. At any rate, to suggest that around 5% of the Scottish population is plurilingual is probably still a conservative estimate.

9.3 Identifying and investing in Scotland’s language resources

If 5% of Scotland’s population is plurilingual what sort of a resource does this represent? The findings indicate three ‘groups’ of languages to consider: ‘world’ languages European languages, and ‘local’ languages. There are a number of reasons for dividing the languages up in this way. World languages are defined as languages of major international significance, such as Chinese, Japanese, Hindi, Arabic. Several ‘European’ languages are also ‘world’ languages, but the point of differentiating between world and

European languages here is that both the European Union and the Council of Europe have developed policies to promote plurilingualism in European languages, to support communication amongst Europeans and particularly to encourage mobility. Thus educational policy in the UK, as elsewhere in Europe, is likely to continue to favour European over world languages. Local languages are those with limited European or international significance but quite possibly of high cultural value in specific areas. The main local languages discussed in this report have been Gaelic and Scots, which are of particular interest in Scotland but less so elsewhere. However, the term potentially includes the languages of other communities in Scotland, speaking a language – such as Maltese or Visnayan – which also represents a local social and cultural resource, possibly in Scotland, certainly in the countries where these languages are widely spoken, and probably also in certain other parts of the world where people speaking these languages have gone to live.

World languages as a resource

If the findings of the *Languages of Edinburgh* survey were replicated across Scotland, they would suggest the potential to develop capacity in at least three major world languages – Chinese, Panjabi and Urdu – by capitalising on the existing skills of children who already have a 'head start' in these languages. Investment in Chinese could be particularly advantageous, as the Edinburgh survey indicates there is very clear commitment in the community to maintaining the language, in terms of the level of participation in out-of-school classes and of the extent to which children are using Chinese in their daily lives. More research is needed into plurilingual students' commitment to formal language learning, to their perceptions of what they expect to be able to do with their other languages (for example, do they intend to use their other languages with their own children? do they see their plurilingualism as having career advantages?), and to the outcomes of existing provision. Development of provision would include not only considering extending school provision for Urdu (in Edinburgh very few Urdu speakers appear to be attending schools where Urdu is taught) and introducing school-based provision for Chinese, but also addressing the lack of opportunities to study these languages in further and higher education. There are no degree courses in Urdu in Scotland, and those in Chinese focus on classical literature, primarily in Mandarin. There therefore appear to be very few opportunities for speakers of these languages to develop them in the context of their academic or career choices.

The value of enabling these students to develop their skills in their other languages is not only in the potential economic benefits that these might bring, but in a range of other contributions they could make professionally, culturally and socially. There is, for example, a serious shortage of translators and interpreters in 'community' languages in Scotland, and a need for more plurilingual professionals in the police, education, health and social services and counselling (McPake and Johnstone, 2002). Similarly, as indicated in the National Cultural Strategy, there is a need to support and develop the cultural contribution of the other languages of Scotland (Scottish Executive 2000a).

European languages as a resource

The potential resource which European languages represent for Scotland is more widely understood but not necessarily easy to capitalise on. The rationale for developing Scotland's capacity, particularly in European languages, is set out in the Minister's Action Group for Languages report (2000). This draws attention to the economic benefits for the nation, the importance of mobility within Europe for those about to embark on their careers, and on a range of other social, cultural and intellectual benefits. As pointed out elsewhere in this report, it is, however, difficult to persuade the Scottish population of these benefits.

What do the survey data contribute to this debate? They provide us with a snapshot of children's language learning experiences in the relatively early stages. These show that, in Edinburgh, quite a large number of children have already had experience of learning more than one other language at school, although, now that they are at secondary school, French is the principal European language studied. It would require a series of surveys to establish trends: in particular whether French is becoming more dominant, as many suspect. On several of the questionnaires, respondents listed the other languages they had studied at primary school as languages they could speak, but added boxes to the lists of interlocutors and contexts for use which read 'no-one' and 'nowhere'. What could be done to enable students to retain some connection with the languages they studied in primary school but now have no further opportunity to learn? Investment in this case might involve provision of after-school classes or the development of self-study or distance learning courses not only for students who have had to give up their primary language but perhaps also to capitalise on the interest of those students (two thirds of the *Languages of Edinburgh* survey participants) who would study another language in addition to the language they are currently learning at school.

At this stage in their educational careers, *Languages of Edinburgh* survey respondents have relatively positive views about learning other languages, although other research evidence suggests that this is likely to change in the course of their secondary schooling. How to maintain that early enthusiasm is a challenge which many language educators are currently addressing, though solutions are so far elusive. However, among the survey respondents are a group characterised in this report as 'keen language learners'. These are the respondents who said that they spoke languages other than English outside school because they practised the languages that they were learning at school when at home. This is a small group but potentially important. Are they the linguists of the future? What might be done to sustain the enthusiasm and commitment of this group, and how might other children be encouraged to follow their example, seeing the languages they are learning as something more than a school subject? The survey has thus uncovered a potentially valuable element of the resource, but one which requires further study in order to identify an appropriate investment strategy.

In addition, the survey has established that a substantial proportion of the plurilingual school population are speakers of European languages. Very little is known about these students. With the possible, and now largely historical, exceptions of Greek and Italian speakers, they do not feature very highly in studies of ethnic minorities or plurilingual

communities in the UK. We do not know how many of these students are likely to be long-term residents and how many are the children of 'mobile' European workers located in Scotland for a short period of time before moving on elsewhere. We have little information relating to ways in which these children maintain and develop their other languages, an issue which will be of particular significance to them if they are expecting to return to an education system in which native-like fluency in their other language will be required for academic success. (See McPake and Powney, 1995, for a discussion of some of the issues raised for Japanese students moving between two educational cultures.)

Sometimes children who are 'transient' in this sense are not seen as a priority by education systems, because they will not remain in Scotland long enough for a 'return' to be gained on the 'investment'. However, a broader understanding of the resource they represent would refute such views. Given their family histories, many of these children may grow up to be 'mobile' Europeans themselves. Positive experiences of their time in Scotland (including supportive rather than dismissive attitudes towards their other languages) may predispose them to returning to study or to work here. They may bring inward investment, they may foster cultural links, they may promote Scotland in a variety of ways in other parts of the world. Of course these arguments apply not only to 'transient' students from Europe, but also to those from any other part of the world – including refugees. Investment in the language resource which this group of students possesses therefore requires a longer term view, recognising that support to enable them to retain high standards of competence in their other languages could pay substantial dividends in the future.

Local languages as a resource

The most widely spoken local languages in Scotland are Scots and Gaelic. The relationship which the Scottish population has with these languages, whether or not they speak either or both, is ambivalent. On the one hand, there is pride in the distinctive cultural traditions these languages represent and a desire to preserve and celebrate these as features of the 'new Scotland', post-devolution. On the other hand, the long history of suppressing these languages cannot easily be eradicated. Many Scots speakers seek to eliminate Scots from their own speech and particularly from that of their children. Many Gaelic-speaking families feel that their children will benefit more from an education in the medium of English rather than Gaelic. Neglect has brought Gaelic to the brink of extinction and makes any assessment of the use of Scots in Scotland difficult or impossible to conduct.

The *Languages of Edinburgh* survey data provide some evidence of changing attitudes and experiences, but also some warnings about the possibility that the potential resource these languages represent risks disappearing if it is not nurtured. The findings show that the existence of the GMU in Edinburgh is creating children who regard themselves as plurilingual in English and Gaelic, thus swelling the existing small population of Gaelic-speakers in the city. Similar effects will result from the work of other GMUs across Scotland, both in the *Gàidhealtachd* and in areas which are not traditionally Gaelic speaking. But whether educated in the GMU or Gaelic-speaking as a result of family

experience, secondary students, particularly those outside the *Gàidhealtachd* have limited opportunities to use their Gaelic, whether through formal language learning or in social or cultural contexts. Because of the particular circumstances in which they became plurilingual, the GMU graduates may now only very rarely meet other Gaelic speakers. Compared with the speakers of many of the other languages in use in Edinburgh, there are few resources – books, newspapers, films, TV programmes – which they can use to maintain their comprehension of the language and the literacy skills they have acquired. These features of their circumstances raise some serious – and as yet unanswered – questions about the long-term outcomes of Gaelic medium education. Will the substantial investment in primary Gaelic be negated by subsequent neglect? These are clearly issues to be addressed at national level.

The findings for Scots are complex and confusing. It is probable that a survey of this kind is not the best way to investigate the nature and extent of competence in Scots among schoolchildren. Nevertheless, the findings raise issues which future studies need to take into account. It seems clear that school students (and probably others) tend not to understand questions about the *languages* they speak as including Scots. On the other hand, there is also evidence that some children reject the notion that the language they speak is called 'English', presumably on the basis that not being English is a key tenet of Scottish identity. The survey thus includes under-reporting of Scots, because some Scots speakers did not understand a question about languages to include Scots, and over-reporting because some people refuse to call the language they speak 'English'.

What those who identified themselves as Scots speakers understood 'Scots' to mean is also difficult to ascertain. Other research has indicated that people may regard themselves as Scots speakers because they have a Scottish accent, because they use occasional Scots words in their speech, or, alternatively, only consider themselves to be Scots speakers if they habitually use what is sometimes called 'broad Scots' – i.e. a variety whose vocabulary, pronunciation and structure would present comprehension difficulties for a speaker of standard English. The possibility that Scots and English exist in a diglossic relationship is also difficult to explore. Many people seem unaware of the fact that they shift from one to the other, depending on the context, and this may be the reason why those who identified as Scots speakers confidently assert that they use Scots at school, that they read and write in Scots and have achieved high levels of literacy. These are possible but perhaps unlikely scenarios.

A worrying finding is that those who identified as Scots speakers were more likely than other survey respondents to think that 'English is the only language I need to know'. Paradoxical though this statement seems, it raises the possibility that a Scots identity is associated with parochialism. Action may be needed to enable Scots speakers to see themselves in a wider social context – possibly European – rather than locked into an identity whose principal characteristic is 'not English'.

In these circumstances what can be said about Gaelic and Scots as a resource? There is already widespread interest in the cultural connotations of the two languages. It is perhaps assumed that people can continue to enjoy these cultural assets without any

investment in the languages. After all, people have continued to speak Gaelic and Scots over decades – even centuries – despite the moves to eradicate them. Now that the climate is more propitious, will they not flourish, even without any formal support? This is of course possible, but surely failing to provide support for the development of these languages cannot be regarded as an effective strategy. It also ignores the cumulative effects of centuries of neglect. How much more vibrant might the Scots and Gaelic cultural scene be if both were taught in schools and all Scottish children taught to see themselves as the inheritors of a multicultural and multilingual cultural heritage rather than one which prizes only English?

9.4 Potential returns on the investment

In his critique of language and literacy policy in Scotland, Lo Bianco (2001) identifies six dimensions of a nation's language resource: intellectual, cultural, economic, social, citizenship and rights. A nation which invests in all its languages is therefore likely to see:

- *enhanced intellectual and academic achievement* of all children, particularly those brought up plurilingually; a vast body of research from around the world points to the fact that plurilingual children whose other languages are ignored or devalued in an educational context may underachieve as a consequence, but those whose other languages are supported both by positive attitudes and by educational provision which enables them to develop formal language and literacy skills often excel academically, outperforming peers who are monolingual in the dominant language (see Portes and Hao, 2002 for very recent research in this area);

- *enriched cultural activities in all arts fields*, drawing on the traditions and creative potential of many languages and cultures, and also on the rich possibilities of hybridity which a multicultural city or nation presents;

- *greatly increased possibilities for trade and investment*, not just in the relatively narrow sense of greater linguistic ability *per se* but also because of the network of social and cultural links between people who speak the same language, increasing ability to identify potential markets, understand cultural practices in relation to trade, and embrace the career opportunities of enhanced mobility;

- *heightened capacity to compete in the knowledge economy*, gathering information not only from English language sources but from the growing volume of information available via the internet and other sources in other languages, and also disseminating information multilingually;

- *improved social services*, catering for people in linguistically and culturally more appropriate ways, identifying needs and opportunities which monolingual staff may be unaware of, fostering a sense of inclusion and well-being;

- *greater opportunities for participation in public life, and for shaping democratic practices* by helping to break down the barriers which can be created by traditional

monolingual political language practices, and by reflecting and drawing on the ideas and interests of everyone;

- *better strategies to combat prejudice, promote tolerance and mutual understanding*, through the valuing of other languages and the cultures they represent and by providing opportunities to address these issues multilingually.

These are returns which would seem to justify investment in Scotland's language resources.

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Appendix A: Student Questionnaire, with responses

N = 3840

Version 1: 50%
Version 2: 50%

Mapping the Languages of Edinburgh: Student Questionnaire

1. Are you a girl or a boy?

Girl 50% Boy 50%

2. How old are you?

age 11: 31% age 12: 67% age 13: 1%
no response 1%

3a What is the post code of your home address?

not representable

3b What is the name of the street where you live?

street name given: 99% street name not given: 1%

4. Have you ever been to school in another country, apart from Scotland?

Yes: 10% No: 89% No response: 1%

4a In which other country or countries apart from Scotland have you been to school?

Number of other countries in which students had attended school:

N = 377

one: 82% two: 14% three or more: 4%

Last age at which student was at school in another country:

N = 369

age 4 or below: 9%	age 5-7: 31%
age 8-10: 30%	age 11 or above: 30%

Last country in which student attended school:

N = 375

England, Wales, N. Ireland or Irish Republic:	48%
Other EU country	15%
China, Hong Kong, Taiwan	5%
Australia or New Zealand	5%
Africa	5%
Middle East	4%
Indian sub-continent (Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Afghanistan)	3%
South America	1%
Other Asian country	4%
Other European country (not EU)	3%
Other country	1%

5. *Which language(s) did you learn at primary school?*

Number of languages studied at primary:

none: 6%	one: 70%	two: 21%
three: 2%	more than three: 0.5%	no response: 0.5%

Languages studied at primary:

N = 3610

French: 75%	German: 27%	Spanish: 4%
Italian: 10%	Gaelic: 2%	Urdu: 0.2%
Other: 3%		

Total = more than 100%, as some students studied more than one language

6. *Which language(s) are you learning at school now?*

Number of languages studied now:

none: 1%	one: 89%	two: 9%
three: 0.5%	more than three: 0.2%	no response: 0.1%

Languages studied now:

N = 3610

French: 81%	German: 24%	Spanish: 0.8%
Italian: 0.2%	Gaelic: 0.5%	Urdu: 0.1%
Other: 3%		

Total = more than 100%, as some students study more than one language

7. *Do you go to language classes outside school?*

Yes 4%	No 95%	No response: 1%

7a *Which language(s) are you learning in language classes outside school?*

N = 142

French: 18%	German: 6%	Spanish: 8%
Italian: 10%	Gaelic: 4%	Scots: 2%
English: 1%	Other European: 6%	
Chinese (Cantonese): 19%	Mandarin: 6%	
Arabic: 10%	Urdu: 8%	Panjabi: 3%
Japanese: 5%	Other: 3%	

8. *Do you speak any languages apart from English when you are not at school? (e.g. Scots, Panjabi, Italian, Cantonese, Creole, etc.)*

Yes 19%	No 78%	No response 3%

8a Which language(s) do you speak outside school?

N = 525[30]

French:	11%	German:	7%	Spanish:	6%
Italian:	5%	Gaelic:	3%	Other European[31]:	10%
Scots[32]:	19%	Dialect of English[33]:	1%		
Urdu[34]:	11%	Panjabi[35]:	8%	Bengali:	2%
Chinese[36]:	9%	Mandarin:	1%	Japanese:	2%
Other Asian[37]:	4%				
Arabic:	5%	Turkish:	2%	Other Middle Eastern[38]:	
African language[39]:	1%	Sign language:	1%	Other language[40]:	1%

9. *How well do you understand or speak the languages you know?*

	I can understand …	I can speak …	

[30] These figures have been adjusted to represent 'plurilingual' students – those who have learned and use other languages outside school because of family or other connections with places where the languages are widely spoken. 'Keen language learners' – those who practise the languages they are learning at school when not at school have been omitted.
[31] Includes Russian, Greek, Portuguese, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Dutch, Flemish, Friesian, Hungarian, Romanian, Polish, Bosnian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Maltese, Welsh, Irish Gaelic and Romany
[32] Includes 'Scottish', Scots and Shetlandese
[33] Includes Cockney', 'American', 'Canadian' and 'Jamaican'
[34] This category includes those who said they spoke Urdu only and those who said they spoke Urdu and Panjabi.
[35] This category includes those who said they spoke only Panjabi, and those who said they spoke Panjabi and Urdu. If those who said they spoke Panjabi *and* Urdu are excluded the proportion speaking Panjabi (only) falls to 3%.
[36] 'Chinese' includes those who said they spoke Cantonese and those who said they spoke 'Chinese'. From analysis of other survey data relating to Cantonese and 'Chinese' speakers it seems probable that all or virtually all of the 'Chinese' speakers are, in fact, Cantonese speakers. Cantonese and Hakka were spoken by one respondent.
[37] Includes Hindi, Gujerati, Mirpuri, Malayalam, Tamil, Sinhala, Malay, Indonesian, Thai, Tagalog Visnayan and Korean.
[38] Includes Farsi and Hebrew
[39] Includes Yoruba, Ibo. Shona, Swahili and Afrikaans
[40] Includes Drehu (a language of the South Pacific) and Augmentative and Alternative Communication (AAC)

	well (%)	quite well (5)	a bit (%)	not yet (%)	No resp.	well (%)	quite well (%)	a bit (%)	not yet (%)	No resp. (%)	N
English (100%)	92	5	1	0	3	87	6	1	0	6	3840
French (80%)	5	42	49	3	1	5	39	49	3	4	3056
German (34%)	7	34	52	6	1	6	30	55	6	3	1287
Spanish (7%)	7	13	63	15	2	6	12	69	8	5	277
Italian (9%)	14	22	50	12	2	11	22	50	13	4	335
Gaelic (2%)	19	15	43	23	0	19	13	55	11	2	62
Scots (2%)	59	31	9	1	0	50	30	16	0	4	68
Other European (2%)	14	17	53	13	3	14	13	56	12	5	91
Chinese (Cantonese) (1%)	51	31	16	2	0	56	29	16	0	0	45
Mandarin (0.4%)	23	12	59	6	0	18	23	53	6	0	17
Urdu (1%)	57	47	4	2	0	46	27	18	0	9	56
Panjabi (U) (0.7%)	68	20	8	4	0	56	36	0	0	8	27
Panjabi (G) (0.4%)	33	13	47	7	0	27	20	47	0	6	14
Bengali (0.2%)	75	0	12	0	13	75	25	0	0	0	8
Japanese (0.8%)	3	10	57	30	0	6	10	67	17	0	30
Other Asian (0.8%)	26	39	32	3	0	19	29	46	3	3	31
Arabic (1%)	25	17	37	18	3	12	33	40	15	0	40
Turkish (0.3)	25	25	50	0	0	25	33	34	8	0	12
Other Middle Eastern (0.3%)	33	0	67	0	0	17	17	66	0	0	6
African language (0.1%)	29	14	43	7	7	43	21	36	0	0	14
Sign language (0.1%)	9	36	55	0	0	0	45	46	0	9	11
Other language (0.2%)	20	20	60	0	0	20	20	60	0	0	5

10. How well do you read or write the languages you know?

	I can read …					I can write …					N
	well (%)	quite well (5)	a bit (%)	not yet (%)	No resp.	well (%)	quite well (%)	a bit (%)	not yet (%)	No resp. (%)	
English (100%)	92	5	1	0	3	87	6	1	0	6	3840
French (80%)	5	32	52	9	2	7	31	50	8	4	2996
German (34%)	5	25	54	14	2	5	24	53	15	3	1249
Spanish (7%)	7	10	49	32	2	4	8	45	39	4	246
Italian (9%)	8	19	39	31	3	8	15	40	33	4	303
Gaelic (2%)	18	13	24	43	2	17	11	31	39	2	54
Scots (2%)	45	35	18	0	2	38	29	23	3	7	66
Other European (2%)	10	14	38	36	2	7	7	36	44	6	88
Chinese (Cantonese) (1%)	18	38	33	9	2	16	31	36	9	2	45
Mandarin (0.4%)	20	27	33	20	0	27	20	33	20	0	15
Urdu (1%)	23	23	31	15	6	19	21	24	26	10	56
Panjabi (U) (0.5%)	15	20	10	40	15	10	20	10	45	15	27
Panjabi (G) (0.3%)	8	23	31	38	0	15	0	46	31	8	14
Bengali (0.2%)	45	0	0	44	11	45	0	11	44	0	9
Japanese (0.8%)	4	4	12	80	0	4	0	28	68	0	25
Other Asian (0.8%)	14	14	24	48	0	7	14	28	48	3	29
Arabic (1%)	19	27	22	32	0	7	30	29	34	0	41
Turkish (0.3)	18	27	9	46	0	18	27	0	55	0	11
Other Middle Eastern (0.3%)	16	17	17	50	0	16	17	17	50	0	6
African language (0.1%)	18	18	18	28	18	9	27	37	18	9	11
Other language (0.2%)	0	20	40	40	0	20	20	20	40	0	5

11. *With whom do you use the languages you know?*

	one or both parents, or the people who look after you %	one or more grandparents %	N
English (100%)	95	87	3840
French (77%)	25	8	2954
German (31%)	25	8	1196
Spanish (6%)	35	15	227
Italian (7%)	28	13	273
Gaelic (1%)	27	26	55
Scots (3%)	78	65	100
Other European (2%)	54	31	87
Chinese (Cantonese) (1%)	93	84	45
Mandarin (0.4%)	25	6	16
Urdu (1%)	87	85	56
Panjabi (U) (0.5%)	96	80	27
Panjabi (G) (0.3%)	85	85	14
Bengali (0.3%)	90	100	10
Japanese (0.6%)	29	13	24
Other Asian (0.9%)	78	58	36
Arabic (1%)	63	50	40
Turkish (0.4%)	71	57	14
Other Middle Eastern (0.1%)	80	80	5
African language (0.3%)	77	46	13
Other language (0.2%)	63	63	8

11. With whom do you use the languages you know?

	brother(s) and/ or sister(s) %	some other relatives %	N
English (100%)	86	89	3840
French (77%)	16	10	2954
German (31%)	19	12	1196
Spanish (6%)	23	20	227
Italian (7%)	15	23	273
Gaelic (1%)	9	27	55
Scots (3%)	68	62	100
Other European (2%)	26	41	87
Chinese (Cantonese (1%)	69	82	45
Mandarin (0.4%)	19	31	16
Urdu (1%)	60	83	56
Panjabi (U) (0.5%)	60	92	27
Panjabi (G) (0.3%)	38	77	14
Bengali (0.3%)	70	90	10
Japanese (0.6%)	8	13	24
Other Asian (0.9%)	31	61	36
Arabic (1%)	38	58	40
Turkish (0.4%)	43	64	14
Other Middle Eastern (0.1%)	40	40	5
African language (0.3%)	39	39	13
Other language (0.2%)	38	25	8

11. With whom do you use the languages you know?

	some friends %	some teachers %	N
English (100%)	86	89	3840
French (77%)	16	10	2954
German (31%)	19	12	1196
Spanish (6%)	23	20	227
Italian (7%)	15	23	273
Gaelic (1%)	9	27	55
Scots (3%)	72	43	100
Other European (2%)	26	41	87
Chinese (Cantonese) (1%)	59	50	45
Mandarin (0.4%)	19	31	16
Urdu (2%)	37	14	56
Panjabi (U) (0.5%)	60	8	27
Panjabi (G) (0.3%)	8	0	14
Bengali (0.3%)	70	90	10
Japanese (0.6%)	8	13	24
Other Asian (0.9%)	31	61	36
Arabic (1%)	38	58	40
Turkish (0.4%)	43	64	14
Other Middle Eastern (0.1%)	40	40	5
African language (0.3%)	39	39	13
Other language (0.2%)	38	25	8

12. Where do you use the language(s) you know? *Please tick the correct boxes*

	at home %	at school %	on holiday %	on the telephone %	N
English (100%)	95	95	89	93	3840
French (76%)	26	87	35	4	2922
German (31%)	29	78	22	5	1173
Spanish (7%)	31	20	74	11	277
Italian (7%)	29	35	38	10	255
Gaelic (1%)	32	34	32	23	56
Scots (3%)	91	58	68	69	100
Other European (2%)	49	12	70	24	92
Chinese (Cantonese) (1%)	96	36	78	82	45
Mandarin (0.5%)	39	44	33	22	18
Urdu (1%)	90	12	82	77	56
Panjabi (U) (0.5%)	92	8	77	69	14
Panjabi (G) (0.3%)	92	0	42	50	8
Bengali (0.3%)	90	20	90	90	10
Japanese (0.7%)	35	23	12	15	26
Other Asian (0.7%)	77	6	63	43	35
Arabic (1%)	62	10	46	46	39
Turkish (0.4%)	71	14	93	43	14
Other Middle Eastern (0.3%)	60	20	60	20	5
African language (0.4%)	64	50	57	29	14
Other language (0.2%)	71	57	57	29	7

12. Where do you use the language(s) you know? *Please tick the correct boxes*

	letters and e-mail %	books and magazines %	TV/ video/ film %	religious place %	N
English (100%)	93	94	93	54	3840
French (76%)	8	11	10	1	2922
German (31%)	7	9	7	1	1173
Spanish (7%)	10	9	20	2	277
Italian (7%)	14	10	15	6	255
Gaelic (1%)	13	23	25	7	56
Scots (3%)	45	53	58	15	100
Other European (2%)	13	15	20	12	92
Chinese (Cantonese) (1%)	31	42	78	42	45
Mandarin (0.5%)	6	6	22	6	18
Urdu (1%)	29	21	61	81	56
Panjabi (U) (0.5%)	23	15	62	73	14
Panjabi (G) (0.3%)	17	8	50	83	8
Bengali (0.3%)	20	0	40	80	10
Japanese (0.7%)	4	4	19	4	26
Other Asian (0.7%)	14	11	31	37	35
Arabic (1%)	18	10	28	60	39
Turkish (0.4%)	29	14	21	14	14
Other Middle Eastern (0.3%)	20	0	40	40	5
African language (0.4%)	0	14	0	14	14
Other language (0.2%)	14	0	0	29	7

13. Would you like to learn another language apart from those you already know?

Yes: 67% No: 31% No response: 2%

13a If you could choose just one other language, which would you like to learn?

N = 2560

French: 4% German: 10% Spanish: 42%
Italian: 21% Gaelic: 3% Urdu: 0.3%
Scots: 0.3% Russian: 2% Other European: 4%

Chinese: 4% Japanese: 3% Other Asian: 0.6%
Middle Eastern: 0.5% African: 0.5% Latin: 1%
Other: 0.5% Dialect: 0.3% Sign Language: 0.1%

14. Do you think it is important to learn other languages? Say whether or not you agree with these comments.

		Strongly agree (%)	*Agree (%)*	*Don't know (%)*	*Disagree (%)*	*Strongly disagree (%)*	*No response (%)*
a)	Everyone should be able to speak more than one language	16	46	21	11	3	2
b)	Learning another language is difficult.	21	53	11	10	2	3
c)	English is the only language I need to know	5	7	15	47	22	4
d)	Knowing more than one language will be useful to me in the future	52	32	9	2	2	3